

# Palaces on the Edge of the Atlantic

## The Architectural Reformation and the Space Ritualization of the Portuguese Royal Residences during the Reign of Philip I of Habsburg (1580–1598)

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**Milton Pedro Dias Pacheco<sup>1</sup>** (University of Coimbra/CHAM)

*Portugal is mine because I inherited it, bought it and conquered it!*

D. Philip I of Portugal

Four hundred years after the death of D. Philip I of Portugal (Philip II of Spain, 1527|1580–1598) we have still not clearly recognized all the major architectural and artistic campaigns promoted in the Portuguese royal palaces during his reign. Despite the full-scale biographies dedicated to the Habsburg king that portray him as deeply connected with imperial expansion and religious fanaticism, he must also be seen as a profoundly devoted patron of the arts, a dedicated *Kunstfreund*.<sup>2</sup>

D. Philip I, the Prudent, was son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), from the Austrian House of Habsburg, and queen Elisabeth (1503–1539), princess of the Portuguese House of Avis. After several political movements he inherited part of the vast Habsburg Empire. As hereditary prince he received the Netherlands and all the Spanish possessions, which included the Italian states of Naples, Milan, Sardinia and Sicily, and the French region of Burgundy. By marriage, he was briefly king-consort of England and in 1580, through *de iure sanguinis* but chosen by the divine will,<sup>3</sup> he inherited the throne of the Portuguese kingdom and vast overseas domains, including the territories of America, Africa and Asia, an empire on which the sun never set. Under his rule, the Habsburg Empire in the West reached the height of its influence and power.

In order to consolidate his political position, after the acclamation ceremony at Tomar Courts, on 16 April 1581, the monarch decided to observe and maintain all the vowed national sovereign privileges and traditional prerogatives. So, as had been predicted in *Tomar's charter* signed at the Palace of Almeirim on 20 March 1580, the king would keep the same legislative rights, with the exclusive right of national nomination for administrative positions; economic rights, with a currency of his own; religious rights, with the appointment of innate bishops; and cultural rights, with the native language. Despite his deep suffering because of the queen's death, during the acclamation

ceremony D. Philip I wore a white and gilded brocade suit to demonstrate to his new subjects the continuity of the Portuguese protocol royal rites.<sup>4</sup>

According to some Spanish and Portuguese Golden Age authors, Lisbon was the eyes of the Iberian Peninsula and one of the most eclectic, economic and crowded cities of Europe at the time. It was in any case the perfect capital for the Western Habsburg Empire. Curiously, in 1580 one of the worst fears of the dual monarchy opponents was the suspicion that the king wanted to establish the Empire's capital at Europe's tail and reinforce Lisbon as the utmost economic city of the world, combining all the Atlantic and Indic commercial routes.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, the king was not going to neglect the geographic potential of the Lisbon ports for the military campaigns, since it was from them that he prepared numerous armed expeditions, in particular against England, as his successors did too, the most famous but also the most disastrous episode being *La Armada Invencible* in 1588.

Raised with a deep religious faith but with an education firmly in the spirit of the Renaissance, the monarch, as he had done in other domains, undertook an enormous architectural campaign in Portugal, erecting or renewing important public infrastructures such as bridges, aqueducts, fortresses, and many others. He also made large sums of silver available to proceed with the renovation of some emblematic convents and monasteries, especially those which were related with the foundation of the kingdom.<sup>6</sup> In 1590 the marquis of Velada, Gómez Dávila (1541–1616), described the three main passions of the king, “his own personal trinity,” as architecture, gardens, and hunting.<sup>7</sup> These were indeed passions that he could enjoy to the full in the Portuguese royal residences. Determined to restructure the Portuguese kingdom to his own image, the king would spend more than two years as the powerful ruler of the vast Western Habsburg Empire in Portugal in order to reorganize it in accordance with the requirements for the administration of his global domains and his concern for political centralization.

In Lisbon the monarchs had two principal residences: the 13th-century Alcazar Palace (*Paço da Alcáçova*), on the urban hill, and a second, early 16th-century one located along the banks of the Tagus river embankments, the River Palace (so called *Paço da Ribeira*) [Fig. 1].<sup>8</sup> Probably dazzled with the epics of medieval knights that led him to his sad adventure in North Africa, D. Sebastian of Portugal (1554|1557–1578) had shown preference for the fortified residence (more for its suitability than its exquisiteness<sup>9</sup>), which he reformed. For that reason he relegated the River Palace to the background, and it entered into a certain material decay, already having been affected by two earthquakes in the 16th century. The medieval appearance of the River Palace, still in the Portuguese late Gothic, so-called *Manuelino* style, was visible from the exterior in its different building masses, a condition that determined the complexity and disorder of its interiors and exteriors (like the Alcazar of Madrid), especially if compared with the rigid frames of the monastery-palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.<sup>10</sup>

Although D. Philip I soon recognized the impossibility of living regularly in Portugal, after some personal observations about the material situation of the Portuguese Crown residences he promptly decided to promote an intensive program of architectural renovation and aesthetic enrichment, not only of the major royal palace, but also of the other countryside residences. Aiming at a pomp and visibility combined with the sober and austere mood proper to the Counter-Reformation, he also established new court ceremonial protocols, both civil and religious, for the

public and private palatine dependencies. Once more, art patronage would become vital to emphasizing the political project of *repraesentatio majestatis* and so to reinforcing adherence to the Spanish Habsburg monarchy on these regions on the edge of the Atlantic.



Fig. 1 Lisbon in 1572 with the River Palace (below) and the Alcazar Palace (above)

The truth, however, is that the monarch started his embellishment campaigns on the Portuguese residences before even being acclaimed as a sovereign. In November 1580, the duke of Alba, Fernando de Toledo y Pimentel (1507–1582), already in Lisbon after the invasion of the kingdom, sent to the king the plans of the royal residences to prepare for his arrival at Lisbon, which was probably carried out by the minister Miguel de Moura (1538–1600).<sup>11</sup> After that he sent also the building plans for the Salvaterra de Magos countryside palace made by the Italian Filippo Terzi (1520–1597), who was also to be responsible for the late designs of the Palace of Almeirim. The plan for Lisbon alcazar was made by Giovanni Battista Antonelli (1527–1588), another Italian military engineer working on this major reform plan.<sup>12</sup>

In his letters, the duke of Alba, who was the principal chamberlain of Royal Household and the first Portuguese viceroy nominee, describes both Lisbon residences. Concerning the palace erected near the river, he mentioned that it was a gloomy house, "sad as a prison" and that the second one, in the castle, was too cold to spend the winter periods.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, both residences were definitely not suitable for occupation by the King's Majesty!

Curiously, some years earlier, in 1571, the Portuguese humanist Francisco de Holanda (c.1518–1585) had already declared that Lisbon lacked one decent royal residence, stressing further the absence of a resilient fortress to keep the city safe.<sup>14</sup> Could this be the reason for the regular absence of the king D. Sebastian from the capital ten years before D. Philip I acclamation?<sup>15</sup> Besides, the cardinal-king D. Henry of Portugal (1512|1578–1580) refused to live in the main royal palace after his acclamation, thus creating a situation that certainly did not contribute to the cause of building maintenance during both reigns.

So it was that as early as 14 January 1581 the monarch instructed Duarte Castelo Branco (c.1540–?), count of Sabugal, to undertake a survey of all Portuguese royal residences projects, mainly the Lisbon River Palace and the seasonal palaces of Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos, with the aim of lodging him.<sup>16</sup> In order to give the building greater comfort and better internal arrangements, the monarch called upon Filippo Terzi to coordinate the project's execution, aided by the Portuguese master builder Álvaro Pires, both under the administrative supervision of the count of Sabugal.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the opinion of several authors, we cannot today be sure who was the architect that drew the architectural plan of the palace, whether it was the Italian Filippo Terzi, or whether the Spanish Juan de Herrera (1530–1597) made a contribution of his own. Furthermore, the name of another Spanish architect, Francisco de Mora (1553–1610), appears to have been involved in a second phase at the beginnings of the 17th century.<sup>18</sup> Actually, Herrera had come up to Portugal with the mission of overseeing the installation of the king's embassy in Tomar's Courts and preparing the official entrance in Lisbon,<sup>19</sup> but he returned immediately to Spain to take over the numerous royal architectural projects.<sup>20</sup> Our position is that Terzi, a Bolognese military engineer at the service of the Portuguese Crown since 1577 and later nominated major architect-engineer of the reign, projected and directed himself the several campaigns under the close proximity of the king and his royal architect.<sup>21</sup>

On the basis of the letters sent to his young daughters, Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and Catalina Micaela (1567–1597), during the *Royal Journey of Portugal Succession*, it appears that between 1581 and 1583 the monarch made several appointments related to the palatine residences, such as Lisbon, Sintra, Almeirim and Xabregas.<sup>22</sup> Concerning the Lisbon official residence, which had been erected as the new economic and financial centre by the *spices king* D. Emmanuel I (1469|1495–1521), grandfather of D. Philip I, near the shipbuilding harbor complex (the *Ribeira das Naus*) and the Indian and Mine Commerce Houses (*Casas da Mina* and *India*), D. Philip I described it as a huge building with large corridors, an exotic and delightful interior garden, and several balconies with magnificent views over the city. Nevertheless, despite the curiosity that was evident, he points out that it was carelessly organized internally.<sup>23</sup>

The available sources lead us to believe that Terzi met the monarch in Elvas in January 1581 to discuss the architectural plans personally. The king specified the refurbishment of the residential wings, including the royal chapel dedicated to the apostle of the Orient, Saint Thomas, and elevated to patriarchal status<sup>24</sup> during the reign of D. John V (1689|1706–1750). In the subsequent April the Italian architect informed the king that the works had been interrupted due to lack of money.<sup>25</sup>

As the king later wrote to his daughters, the works were almost finished before the official entry of D. Philip I into the Lisbon Palace<sup>26</sup> on 29 June, preceded by a magnificent *joyeuse entrée* with fifteen triumphal arches planned by Herrera.<sup>27</sup> However, on the occasion of the king's secret visit to the palace four days before, in the presence of his nephew and future viceroy, the monarch saw the progress of the works and stressed that the building still revealed some internal spatial disorder, perhaps on account of the large size of the residential structure, which was a reason for the excessive expenses that he had not anticipated. Up until 27 August 1581, the Crown had already spent 40,000 *réis*, the Portuguese currency of the time, within the maximum amount of 200,000.<sup>28</sup>

After the elder resident members of the royal Avis court were evicted, the Habsburg king manifested his intention of giving a larger unit to the palatine monument, reorganizing its interior and facades according to the classical and austere principles of Mannerism. But the major architectural work was the turret construction at the extreme end of the palace complex alongside the river and over the old bulwark. The *escorialesco* palatine turret [Fig. 2], with direct access from the river, was covered by an octagonal lead dome and had on its first two floors an arms room and, as we know from a 16th-century drawing and a description written in 1619, the artillery warehouse.<sup>29</sup>

Above these, between other rooms and stairs, was the royal library; on the last floor, occupying the entire area, was the throne chamber, also known as the ambassador's room.<sup>30</sup> The main connecting corridor between the palatine residential areas and the turret, a late medieval colonnade with several arches and balconies, was closed. These first works were completed before 1598.<sup>31</sup>

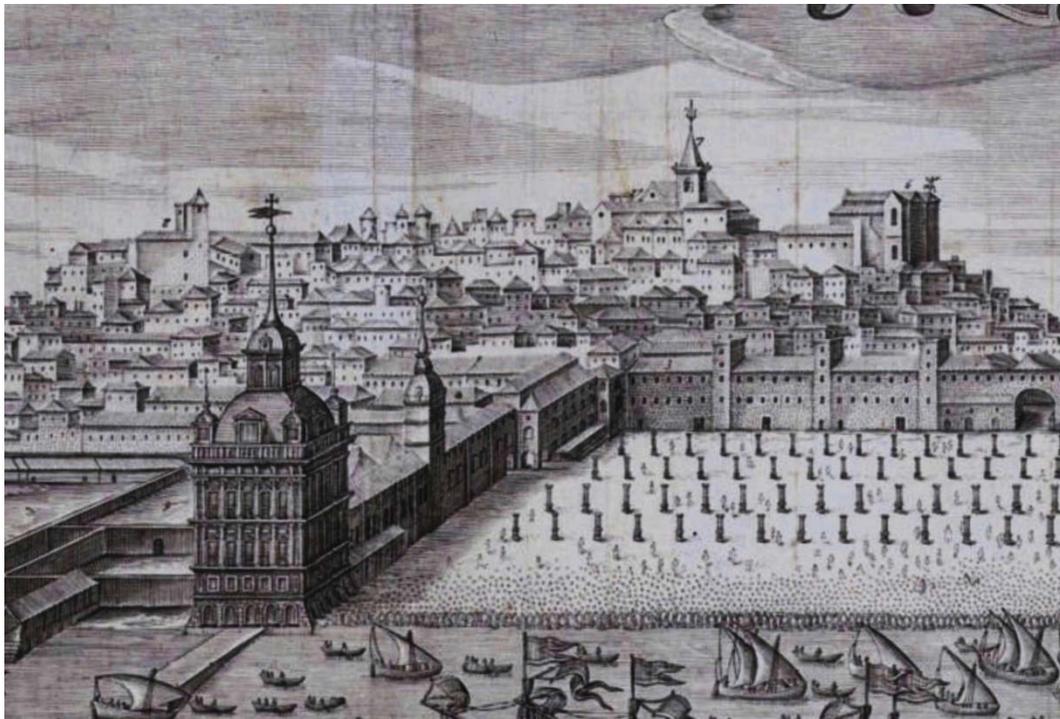


Fig. 2 The River Palace after D. Philip I's intervention. Detail from an engraving published in João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da catholica real magestade del Rey D. Filipe II* (Madrid, 1622).

Preceding the ambassador's room was another space devoted to the public staging of royal power, the *Tudescos'* room,<sup>32</sup> which accommodated the German royal guard of halberdiers serving in close proximity to the monarch. It was a multifunctional great chamber where the most important ceremonies took place, and where the king, and viceroys and governors later on, gathered the court, acclaimed their sovereignty and made their oaths,<sup>33</sup> as happened on 30 January 1583, when prince Philip, future D. Philip II of Portugal (Philip III of Spain, 1578|1598–1621) was sworn in as heir to the Portuguese throne.<sup>34</sup> It is obvious that all these architectural changes would leave their mark on the adjacent urban environment, especially around Commerce Square (*Praça do Comércio/Terreiro do Paço*).

In a brilliant political move D. Philip I had the last two Portuguese kings reburied in the Monastery of Belem before abandoning the kingdom in February 1583, taking with him the Portuguese Council. As his viceroy the monarch appointed his nephew the archduke Albert of Austria (1559–1621), who was assisted in government by a group of statesmen.<sup>35</sup> Having been in Portugal since the end of 1580, and after having assumed the reins of government two years later, the archduke would continue with the embellishment works desired by his uncle at the royal palaces until 1593, the year in which he was called to Madrid.<sup>36</sup>

Even though out of the kingdom, the monarch followed closely the works on the Crown palaces that had been his project from the beginning, as he had during the period he was among us, with the construction of the great monastery-palace of El Escorial. From this moment onwards, the royal residence of Lisbon would be a public image of the king's majestic power and the representation of his authority, but an empty palace without the presence of his legal representative ... *regis imago rex est*.<sup>37</sup> In fact, as the testimony of Inácio Ferreira (16th century) suggests, with the king's departure Lisbon became almost a *widow city*.<sup>38</sup>

The court established by the viceroy in Lisbon was a princely one but it was *domestic* in character because the most important noblemen went with the king to Madrid and the others went to their countryside domains, where they promoted minor *villager courts*, as the work of Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1580–1622) entitled *Courts in the Village* suggests. In accordance with Portuguese royal ceremonial, it was also in this great chamber that the king's receptions and private and public banquets were held, as happened later during the visit of D. Philip II in 1619. Although committed to respecting the Portuguese court rites, the monarch would change them, introducing a new set of ritualized but rigid gestures to symbolically reinforce the king's image and person.

In 1593, after the absence of the viceroy, D. Philip I issued the *Kingdom Governors Regimentation*. In this royal ordinance the King established a new court protocol, which stipulated rigid rules of procedure and planned the demand for a hieratical distribution of the royal power spaces, reducing the use of the palatine areas, but emphasizing the representation of the governor in public.<sup>39</sup> After all, the governors were the monarch's agents, but were not the king himself.

Francisco Porrás de la Cámara, who participated in the *Journey of Lisbon*, a Sevillian embassy prepared by Juan Núñez de Illescas at the beginning of the 1590s, gives us particular descriptions of Lisbon palace interiors, which he describes as being "great and worthy of the greatness and majesty." It was probably in the main reception apartment that the chronicler watched a theatrical comedy, in

the presence of an eccentric court. In accordance with the ceremonial, the archduke was at one end of the room seated on the throne under the canopy, surrounded by wealthy aristocrats, illustrious ambassadors and exotic jesters.<sup>40</sup>

Regarding the organization of space, we are acquainted with the existence of two major intercommunicating courtyards. One of them led to the royal audience and chancellery chambers, and the other one to the governmental departments and also to the royal chapel.<sup>41</sup> Near the most private areas were located the gardens – the *alegreses* –<sup>42</sup> which were described by the king himself in 1581 as a “very pleasant garden, embellished with colorful little tiles and perfumed by many different trees and flowers.”<sup>43</sup> In the north and east extremes of the palatine complex, facing the great New Street (*Rua Nova*) and the major square (*Terreiro do Paço*), were the housing areas for the Royal Family and the courtiers. This was where the empress Mary of Austria (1528–1603), mother of the archduke Albert of Austria, stayed as her son’s guest when she visited Lisbon in 1582.<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately, iconographic sources illustrating only the external facade of the palace are rare, though when considering the interiors Porras de la Cámara noted the magnificent marble and jasper architectural structures.<sup>45</sup> The global vastness of the Habsburg Empire facilitated the acquisition of the most refined materials, which were transformed by the most reputed artists: the marble being from the Portuguese mines of Estremoz, the jasper from the Spanish mines of Osma or Espeja, the exotic woods from the Indian or Brazilian forests, the works in gold or lapis lazuli from Milan, and the extravagant damask tissues from Granada.<sup>46</sup>

Nevertheless, there still exists a rare documentary description of the iconographic program of the ornamentation in the throne chamber. Its composition illustrated several qualities and virtues of the Habsburg monarch: not only greatness and magnificence, but also devoutness and prudence, which were also considered necessary to a ruler of such a great empire.<sup>47</sup>

The decoration program displayed an ingenious mythical and historical succession of themes, which were depicted in thirty-seven paintings as a testimony to the vastness and diversity of the king domains. On the top of the roof were the Royal Arms of the Habsburg monarch and above it a globe with the city of Lisbon integrated within a map of Hispania flanked by several allegorical signs of the zodiac and enriched with distinguished Latin mottos. Despite his profound piety, the monarch was represented as the Greek hero Hercules (or might it be Ulysses, the mythic founder of Lisbon city *Ulissipone*?) in the presence of the major Olympic gods, especially those who were associated with the ocean, in a theme also explored on the triumphal arches erected in Lisbon in 1581.<sup>48</sup>

The paintings attributed to the Italian Tiburcio Spannocchi (1541–c.1606), who is generally considered a better painter than he was an engineer,<sup>49</sup> were directed by Gonçalo Pirez in Lisbon in the year 1590. Started during the government of the viceroy, these decorative works remained there until 1593. In fact, when Albert of Austria was already in Madrid, he received other architectural plans of the royal palace in Lisbon that prove that the artistic campaign was being continued.<sup>50</sup>

Despite some improvement works during the next decades, we believe that the palatine structure, which acted as the symbolic presence of the House of Habsburg in Portugal, did not

change in its essence until the major renovation during the reign of the Portuguese sun king D. João V in the 18th-century.

Although we do not know in detail the progress of the residential works, we do know that the chapel was finished in the middle of October 1581. Located near the king's private apartments – the house of the king being next to the house of God<sup>51</sup> – the chapel was renovated during this period but with some ancient structures being preserved, such as the private galleries in which the monarch could attend Mass and which were enshrined in their full intimacy.<sup>52</sup>

Renewing the building and adorning it with devotional images and precious relics was one of the king's major religious passions. Now it was necessary to update the royal church institution. In the absence of a proper, well-organized ceremonial and musicians of quality, the king decided to intensify the religious observances. Preserving initially the Bourgogne traditional rites,<sup>53</sup> the king first hired a body of musicians including such figures as the Spanish court organist Hernando de Cabezón (1541–1602)<sup>54</sup>, son of the famous Antonio de Cabezón (1510–1566), and then ordered the preparation of the first ritual statutes for the chapel royal.

Printed in January 1592 under the supervision of the major chaplain, Bishop Jorge de Ataíde (1535–1611), the new ceremonial was twenty chapters long and established a corps of ninety-two officials, both religious and non-religious. In addition to a battalion of chaplains and acolytes (thirty and twenty respectively), there were around thirty musicians: twenty-four singers, two organists, two bassoonists and one cornet-player.<sup>55</sup> We should not forget that the Golden Age of Spanish music occurred during the reign of D. Philip I, when the court music reached its highest splendor in Europe,<sup>56</sup> a Catholic Europe defended and represented by his royal person.

Described as a little cathedral, the royal chapel was a privileged institution inside of the royal institution; and as such it was a highly hierarchical space in the framework of the king's public appearance and ritualization.<sup>57</sup> Among those who preached here in 1582 was one of the most eloquent preachers of the time, the Spanish Dominican Luis of Granada (1504–1588), the same friar who had originally considered D. Philip I's acclamation to the Portuguese throne illegitimate!<sup>58</sup>

But all this begs one question in particular: What was the reason for the reorganization of the chapel ritual procedures? One clue may be found in a letter sent to the count of Olivares Enrique de Guzmán y Ribera (1540–1607), in which Juan de Silva (1528–1601), the Spanish ambassador who became the 4th count of Portalegre by marriage, criticizes, after the detachment from the king's Court, the royal chapel for its peculiarly *vain* ceremonials. Could it be that the king had wanted to piously subvert the Divine Cult to his royal condition in Court at that time?<sup>59</sup>

Before the threat from the English navy, especially from 1585, the military architects Giacomo Palearo (c.1520–1586) and Leonardo Torriani (c.1560–1628) were given the mission of renovating the entire Portuguese network of coastline fortresses. The ecclesiastical historian Baltasar Porreño (1569–1639), nephew of the architect Francisco de Mora, testifies that the king was also responsible for the renovation of the ancient Lisbon alcazar and all the Tagus river fortresses, providing them with new military architectural structures and artillery mechanisms.<sup>60</sup>

As in Spain, the royal countryside residences were located near the capital in fertile plains with pleasant forests amply stocked with game and were plentifully fitted with gardens and fountains. These provided the king with the main reasons for his regular visits: he came in search of amusement and pleasure in hunting and equestrian sports. Curiously, these leisure activities were a little bit different from the city ones, such as the violent bullfighting or the frightening inquisitorial *autos da Fé*.

We have found no documentation of work being done on the palatine residences of Santarém during Philip's reign, despite the bad material condition of both buildings. According to some documents, in January 1531 the marquis of Tarifa revealed in one of his letters that both palaces were ruined, scattered on the ground. Another source dating from February 1622 tells us that those buildings still remained in the same material condition,<sup>61</sup> even though Isidro Velazquez (16th century) reports having stayed at his palace!<sup>62</sup> But why is that D. Philip II of Portugal/III of Spain was accommodated in the house of the count of Tarouca when he visited Santarém few years before in October 1619?<sup>63</sup>

When one considers the events of 1580, when the village of Santarém gave political and military support for D. Antonio's acclamation as king of Portugal, one can understand the king not promoting any palace restoration. On 19 June 1580 D. Antonio (1531–1595), prior of Crato and the illegitimate son of the prince D. Louis (1506–1555), one of the most young descendants of D. Emmanuel I, was popularly acclaimed in Santarém, that is to say, in the same village where he established the resistance base until the defeat of his troops in the Battle of Alcântara, near the Portuguese capital.<sup>64</sup> It is also notable that when the prior of Crato received the king's ambassador Gutiérrez de Valencia in March 1580, he was lodged at the palace of D. Antonio de Castro, after a first stop at the local Dominican monastery. According to the diplomatic account, D. Antonio was in a residence surrounded by his noble supporters, in a *palatine* environment that was reminiscent of a king's court.<sup>65</sup> And then, when D. Philip I, during his expedition from Tomar to Lisbon, stopped for a few days in Santarém between 2 and 6 June 1581, he was poorly received by the people.<sup>66</sup> The king could certainly not have had good memories of this village, as a result of which, instead of trying to eradicate the symbolic presence of D. Antonio, he preferred to despise it.<sup>67</sup>

Considered one of the most favorite winter residences of 16th-century Portuguese rulers, the countryside Palace of Almeirim, near Santarém, was the scene, on 12 May 1543, of the marriage by proxy between D. Philip I – represented by his ambassador in Lisbon, Luiz Sarmiento de Mendoza (1492–1556) – and the Portuguese princess D. Maria Manuela (1527–1545), daughter of the king D. John III (1502|1521–1557) and the Austrian D. Catarina of Habsburg (1507–1578), the prince's aunt.<sup>68</sup> And it was also where the cardinal-king D. Henrique gathered the Courts to choose D. Philip I as the legal successor to the throne on 11 January 1580, and also where he was buried.<sup>69</sup> In fact, the palace should have been very special to the king, because it had been the scene of several important moments in his life.

The first time that he visited the residence was 6 June 1581, with the purpose of becoming acquainted with the good quality of the building and the nearby game reserves.<sup>70</sup> One year later, the king returned there with his sister, the empress Mary of Austria and his son, the prince Albert.<sup>71</sup>

Once more, we know neither when the works, which were supervised by the architect Álvaro Pires and the gardener Rodrigo Álvares, started, nor the dimensions of the construction work.<sup>72</sup> Commissioned by the prince D. Louis, father of the rebel *Prior* of Crato, the Palace of Salvaterra de Magos (Fig. 3) was also part of the countryside residences network where the royal family dedicated itself to the hunt and pleasures of the garden. Leaving from Almeirim, the king arrived at Salvaterra de Magos on Thursday 8 April 1581.<sup>73</sup>

In 1589, D. Philip I disposed of an annual budget of 80,000 for architectural building and gardening maintenance, which was later confirmed in 1595. In 1581 the choice fell on the palace gardener Rodrigo Álvares, the Portuguese disciple of the royal gardener the Italian Jerónimo de Algora, who worked at the palatine gardens of Aranjuez.<sup>74</sup> However, the character of the monarch's intervention is not known because the building was later rebuilt after the earthquake of 1755. Now all that remains of the original building is the royal chapel, where we can be sure that the king prayed.



Fig. 3 The Palace of Salvaterra de Magos in the 1740s (detail from an ex voto painting)

In 1581, D. Philip I ordered Giovanni Battista Antonelli to complete the Tagus river navigational course, already started in the Spanish river Manzanares by Juan Bautista de Toledo (c.1515–1567), with the purpose of connecting the two Iberian capitals: Lisbon and Madrid.<sup>75</sup> However, the order proved impossible to fulfill and the project linked only population centers where

royal residences were located, such as Toledo and Aranjuez on Spanish territory, or Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos on the Portuguese side.<sup>76</sup> He also made some wonderful observations about the gardens and fountains of the countryside Palace of Sintra and visited the Palace of Xabregas when he arrived in Lisbon.<sup>77</sup> But neither in the case of the country palace of Sintra nor in that of Xabregas are we at present aware that he made any material intervention.

With a privileged view over the Mondego river, the ancient Alcazar of Coimbra was the oldest seats and had been one of the main royal residences of the Portuguese kings for more than four centuries, from the 12th to the 15th century. Since then it had fulfilled the role of a secondary royal residence that was substantially restored to make it more comfortable; finally, it was made the home of the University of Coimbra after its final accommodation in the city, in 1537.

Going on with his policy of creating a vigorous network of royal residences for itinerancy use by the royal family throughout the Portuguese kingdom, on September 30, 1583, D. Philip I, already in Spain, sent Manuel de Quadros (?–1593), the future Bishop of Guarda, to demand the handing over of the palatine alcazar to the university institution and the construction of new buildings for academic purposes.<sup>78</sup>

The official academic visitor called for the temporary handing over of the building, reclaimed it, and suggested the construction of a new one nearby.<sup>79</sup> Beyond this measure, there is also the question of the king's punishment of the scholars who gave ideological support to D. Catherine of Braganza (1540–1614) and then military support to D. António as legitimate heirs to Portuguese throne three years earlier.

Faced by the substantial costs and inconvenience of such an enterprise, the University wrote to the king pleading for the royal building to be put at its disposition. The monarch replied to this petition on 30 September 1583, stressing the necessity of restoring the palatine residence for the reason that he wished to have there a decent dwelling for himself, as he planned to visit it soon, as well as a place to stay for his successors. In reality, the king also had a special connection with this fortified palace, because it was where first wife D. Maria Manuela had been born.

That this process lasted almost the entire reign of D. Philip I is clear from the fact that on 17 May 1597, through a royal decree, he eventually sold the building to the University for 30,000 *cruzados* of silver.<sup>80</sup> Known from 16 October of that year as the School's Palace (*Paço das Escolas*), as it is still known today, the academic institution kept some of the royal building prerogatives, such as: the chapel's honorable royal title with all ceremonial rites and immunity from episcopal jurisdiction; the alcazar prison, reserved only for scholars; and the royal guard of halberdiers with their traditional garments and weapons.<sup>81</sup>

But even though D. Philip I and his successors did not bear a grudge against the University of Coimbra, the academic institution, by contrast, was after 1640 to exclude the three Habsburg sovereigns from the school gallery of royal portraits ...



Fig. 4 The Alcazar of Coimbra in the 16th century (detail of the north façade)

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In this summarized essay we have made assertions about the investment made on the main palace in Lisbon, which was D. Philip I's major patronage campaign in the capital if we exclude the majestic construction of the Monastery of Saint Vincent also in Lisbon, about the renovation of the other countryside residences in Almeirim and Salvaterra de Magos, and about the requisitioning of the Coimbra alcazar.

Unfortunately we don't know the accurate dimension or the direct results of the artistic campaigns prepared in those monuments with the purpose of making them more comfortable and more acceptable to the taste and to the political image of a devout, determined and exquisite sovereign. In fact, not only were new works carried out at the River Palace at the end of the reign of his successor, in order for him to be received in Lisbon in 1619, but the works carried out in the following decades in the reign of D. John V were dramatically erased by the earthquake of 1755.

Under the supervision of Italian architects based in Portugal, the ambitious refurbishment program was all part of the king's strategy of legitimizing his rights to the throne and enhancing his powerful image in accordance with the Portuguese palaces, which were places of identity and political unity of real ostentation and royal celebration. These majestic p(a)laces were in any case political instruments, intended to reflect the extension of the power of the king.

Curiously, the main events of the Restoration of Independence, which put an end to the Habsburg Dynasty in Portugal's domains, took place in the Lisbon River Palace. This royal residence on the edge of the Atlantic was where the duchess of Mantua, Margarida of Savoy (1589–1655), Portuguese vicereine between 1634 and 1640, was detained; where her faithful secretary Miguel de Vasconcelos (1590–1640) was thrown from a palace window; and where finally the duke of Braganza was acclaimed king of Portugal as D. John IV (1604 | 1640–1656).

Finally, everything ended where it had begun ... in the palace!

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## Illustrations

Fig. 1 Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1598.

Fig. 2 João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II N.S. ao Reyno de Portugal E rellação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez S. Magestade a mandou escrever por João Baptista Lavanha sev cronista mayor*, 1622.

Fig. 3 Joaquim Manuel da Silva Correia, *O Paço Real de Salvaterra de Magos*, 1989.

Fig. 4 Photo author, 2011.

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- <sup>1</sup> The Humanities Research Networking Programmes from the European Science Foundation, by conceding a short visit grant, allowed us to make a public presentation of this essay at the international meeting *The Habsburg and their Courts in Europe (1400–1700). Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, organized at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, from 7 to 10 December 2011. We would like to express our gratitude for all the ESF financial aid and the logistical support provided by the PALATIUM Research Networking Programme steering committee Professors Herbert Karner, Ingrid Ciulisová, Krista De Jonge, Bernardo García García, Pieter Martens and Nuno Senos.
- <sup>2</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 275.
- <sup>3</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 19 v.
- <sup>4</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 19. D. Filipe I 1999, p. 22.
- <sup>5</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, pp. 75, 80, 82.
- <sup>6</sup> Like the Convent of São Vicente de Fora, in Lisbon, or the Convent of Christ, in Tomar, to name but two.
- <sup>7</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 247.
- <sup>8</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 74, note 40.
- <sup>9</sup> Pimentel 1991, p. 238.
- <sup>10</sup> Filipe I 1999, p. 63, note 13. Senos 2002, pp. 8, 70.
- <sup>11</sup> Moura 1840, pp. 129-130.
- <sup>12</sup> Correia 1989, p. 25.
- <sup>13</sup> Senos 2002, p. 69. Kubler 1988, p. 120. Velasquez 1583, f. 65.
- <sup>14</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, p. 85.
- <sup>15</sup> But we cannot forget that the 1569 plague was responsible for the Court retreat, for example. Velazquez 1583, f. 5v.
- <sup>16</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 22. Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>17</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 63, note 13. Viterbo 1988, 3, pp. 93-96. Pimentel 2006, p. 10.
- <sup>18</sup> Chueca Goitia advocated that Juan Herrera should be the major architect and Terzi the project promoter. Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83, note 105. Ribot 1998, p. 278.
- <sup>19</sup> Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>20</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 120, note 120.
- <sup>21</sup> Viterbo 1988, 3, p. 93; Kubler 1988, p. 101.
- <sup>22</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 28.
- <sup>23</sup> When the king showed the intimate apartments to his sister the empress, he confessed that he wished he possessed such stunning views in other palaces. Bouza 2005, p. 265. D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 15, 150.
- <sup>24</sup> Pimentel 2002, p. 114.
- <sup>25</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 43.
- <sup>26</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 265.
- <sup>27</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 63.
- <sup>28</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 74, note 41, 75, 103. Torre do Tombo, liv. 26. fol. 47 da Chancelaria del-Rei D. Sebastião, e liv. 45. fol. 371 quoted by Sousa 1947, pp. 345-353. Joaquim Correia, *Paço de Salvaterra*, p. 25. Velazquez 1583, f. 118.
- <sup>29</sup> But is it true that the old fortress would regain its military function, integrating the Tagus estuary defense network? Oliveira 1991, pp. 144, 145. Moreira 1983, pp. 43-45.
- <sup>30</sup> Moreira 1983, p. 43.
- <sup>31</sup> Senos 2002, pp. 39, 70, 75. Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83, note 108. Kubler 1988, p. 104.
- <sup>32</sup> Menses 1679, pp. 99, 368, 904. Lobo 1703, pp. 158, 164, 167, 310.
- <sup>33</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 83.
- <sup>34</sup> For a better understanding of the interior spaces see Senos 2002 and Martinho 2009. D. Filipe I 1999, p. 182.
- <sup>35</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 196.
- <sup>36</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 61.
- <sup>37</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, p. 68.
- <sup>38</sup> Bouza Álvarez 1994, pp. 74-76.
- <sup>39</sup> Martinho 2011, pp. 120, 125.
- <sup>40</sup> Bouza 2005, pp. 197, 198.
- <sup>41</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 197.
- <sup>42</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 67, note 124.

- <sup>43</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 42.
- <sup>44</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 161.
- <sup>45</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 197.
- <sup>46</sup> Porreño 1723, pp. 117-118v.
- <sup>47</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83, 89. Kubler 1988, 103.
- <sup>48</sup> Actually the king had already used the themes of mythological heroes to represent himself in the collection ordered from Titian thirty years before. Bouza 2005, p. 265. Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-89, 101-104. Guerreiro 1581, cap. V, p. 4; cap. XI, pp. 1-5. Velazquez 1583, f. 121-141v.
- <sup>49</sup> Cámara Muñoz 1998, p. 130.
- <sup>50</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-85. Moreira 1983, p. 45.
- <sup>51</sup> Pimentel 2002, p. 205.
- <sup>52</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000, pp. 83-85. Curto 1991, p. 228.
- <sup>53</sup> With the agreement proposed by the Cardinal-King D. Henrique, in November 10, 1579, the future king was obliged to respect several official regulations, namely that the maintaining and administration of the royal chapel should be done locally, as the 23<sup>o</sup> chapter provided. Polónia 2009, pp. 277, 278.
- <sup>54</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 84, note 67.
- <sup>55</sup> Curto 1993, p. 149. Nogueira 1942, pp. 226, 227. *Patente das merces, graças, e privilegios, de que elrei D Philippe nosso senhor*, 1583, cap. XXI. *Gabinete histórico*, 1745-50, p. 132
- <sup>56</sup> Contreras Domingo 1998, p. 179, 185, 186
- <sup>57</sup> Curto 1993, p. 154.
- <sup>58</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 115, 131, note 140.
- <sup>59</sup> Curto 1993, pp. 151.
- <sup>60</sup> Porreño 1723, pp. 92, 93, 109.
- <sup>61</sup> Beirante, 1980, p. 61. Beirante, 1981, pp. 44, 67.
- <sup>62</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 108v.
- <sup>63</sup> Rodrigues 2001, I, p. 93.
- <sup>64</sup> Rodrigues 2001, I, pp. 59, 69.
- <sup>65</sup> But it is nevertheless possible that the meeting occurred at one local religious house, since the chroniclers are not very clear in this matter. Bouza 2005, p. 206. Velazquez 1583, fs. 27, 36 v, 37.
- <sup>66</sup> Guerreiro 1581, cap. I, pp. 2, 3.
- <sup>67</sup> Braz 2000, p. 71; D. Filipe I 1999, p. 71, note 33.
- <sup>68</sup> The ceremony was celebrated by the future Portuguese Cardinal-King, D. Henrique, who was largely responsible for the promotion of the Iberian Union under the Spanish Habsburg Crown. Polónia 2009, p. 28.
- <sup>69</sup> The cardinal-king was buried at the main chapel of the royal palace of Almeirim and later transferred by D. Filipe to the Monastery of Belém, the royal mausoleum of the Portuguese kings since D. Emmanuel I. Velazquez 1583, f. 110v.
- <sup>70</sup> Guerreiro 1581, cap. II, pp. 1, 2. Velazquez 1583, f. 110v.
- <sup>71</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 143; Rodrigues 1997, I, pp. 55, 93.
- <sup>72</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 75, note 43.
- <sup>73</sup> Velazquez 1583, f. 111v.
- <sup>74</sup> D. Filipe I 1999, p. 143. Guerreiro 1581, cap. II, pp. 2-5. Correia 1989, p. 25.
- <sup>75</sup> Isidro Velazquez described the pier next to the palace and the golden brigantine used to transport the royal family. Velazquez 1583, f. 112.
- <sup>76</sup> Bouza 2005, p. 230. Porreño 1723, p. 93.
- <sup>77</sup> Bouza 2005, pp. 207, 230. D. Filipe I 1999, pp. 88, 100. Velazquez 1583, f. 117v.
- <sup>78</sup> Following the royal Portuguese tradition the king D. Filipe I was designated protector of the University March 9, 1583.
- <sup>79</sup> Vasconcelos 1990, pp. 19-20.
- <sup>80</sup> Pimentel 1991, p. 249.
- <sup>81</sup> Vasconcelos 1990, pp. 20-23.