

The *Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal* of King D. Filipe I of Portugal and the architectonic renovation of the palatine residences: the case of the Royal Palace of Lisbon (*Paço da Ribeira*)¹

Milton Pedro Dias Pacheco²

Recibido: 1 de febrero de 2020 / Aceptado: 28 de marzo de 2020

Abstract. During the Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal, which started in Madrid in March 1580 and ended in Lisbon in February 1583, the Spanish King Felipe II became D. Filipe I of Portugal. But this political expedition, which resulted in the legitimation of the new king before the old kingdom, would have serious repercussions in the field of palatine architecture, with the renovation of an important set of royal palaces belonging to the Portuguese Crown, integrated since then in the Iberian Dual Monarchy.

The detailed analysis of the coeval documentary sources, with an emphasis on the epistolary correspondence produced within the sphere of *Prudent-King* circle, directly or indirectly, permits to comprehend the initial procedures implemented in the architectural renovation and spatial expansion of the main Portuguese royal palace in Lisbon: the *Paço da Ribeira*. The political and symbolic dimensions given to the palace building, made in a power scale and strength image of the King himself, must be analysed in the context of the materialization of a ruler who would inevitably leave the kingdom but not its people.

Keywords: Iberian Dual Monarchy; King D. Filipe I of Portugal – Felipe II of Spain; Sixteen-century palaces; Portuguese Royal Residences; Palatine architecture; Royal Palace of Lisbon.

[es] *El Viaje Real de Sucesión a Portugal* del Rey D. Filipe I de Portugal y la renovación arquitectónica de las residencias palatinas: el caso del Palacio Real de Lisboa (*Paço da Ribeira*)

Resumen. Durante el Viaje Real de Sucesión a Portugal, emprendido en Madrid en marzo de 1580 y terminado en Lisboa en febrero de 1583, el rey español Felipe II se convirtió en D. Filipe I de Portugal. Pero esta expedición política, que tendría como resultado la legitimación del nuevo rey ante el antiguo reino, asumiría serias repercusiones en el ámbito de la arquitectura palatina, con la renovación de un importante conjunto de palacios reales pertenecientes a la Corona portuguesa, integrados desde entonces en la Monarquía Ibérica Dual.

El análisis detallado de las fuentes documentales coetáneas, con énfasis en la correspondencia epistolar producida dentro del círculo del Rey-Prudente, directa o indirectamente, permite comprender los procedimientos iniciales implementados para la renovación arquitectónica y la expansión espacial del principal palacio real portugués en Lisboa: el *Paço da Ribeira*. Las dimensiones políticas y simbólicas otorgadas al edificio del palacio, hechas en una escala de poder y una imagen de fuerza del propio Rey,

¹ This article had the support of CHAM (NOVA FCSH / UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2019)

² PhD candidate in History of Art at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Coimbra
Research assistant of the CHAM – Centre for the Humanities of the Nova University of Lisbon and University of Azores and of the Camões Interdisciplinary Studies Centre of the University of Coimbra.
miltondpacheco@yahoo.com.br
Código ORCID: 0000-0002-1574-8252.

deben analizarse en el contexto de la materialización de un gobernante que inevitablemente dejaría el reino pero no a su gente.

Palabras clave: Monarquía dual ibérica; Rey D. Filipe I de Portugal – Felipe II de España; Palacios del siglo XVI; Residencias reales portuguesas; Arquitectura palatina; Palacio Real de Lisboa.

Cómo citar: Dias Pacheco, M. P. (2020) *The Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal* of King D. Filipe I of Portugal and the architectonic renovation of the palatine residences: the case of the Royal Palace of Lisbon (*Paço da Ribeira*), en *Anales de Historia del Arte* nº 30 (2020), 301-323

In April of 1580, Felipe II of Spain, son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Archduke of Austria and King of Spain Carlos I [1500-1558] and the Portuguese *Infanta* D. Isabel of Portugal [1503-1539], would start one of the most important political expedition of his life, the so-called *Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal*³, the kingdom where he would be acclaimed as D. Filipe I of Portugal [1527|1580-1598]. Following the diplomatic strategies initiated in Madrid, in 1578, and then with the military occupation of Lisbon, in 1580, D. Filipe I was proclaimed King of Portugal in the Courts of Tomar, in April 16, 1581⁴ (Fig. 1).

The Crown of the old Kingdom was inherited by *iuris sanguinis*, conquered by force and negotiated politically, or, in other words, attributed to D. Filipe I himself:

*Yo lo heredé, yo lo compré, yo lo conquisté. Yo lo heredé, porque me lo resolvieran muchos Doctores; yo lo compré, para evitar repugnâncias: yo lo conquisté, para quitar dudas. Y como lo heredado, comprado, y conquistado es, de quien lo heredó, compró, y conquistó: de la misma manera Portugal por todas as cabeças es mio*⁵.

During almost seventy days, D. Filipe I chose the Convent of the Order of Christ, in the village of Tomar, for his accommodation, where he had participated at the Court's ceremony and started to dedicate to the governance⁶. Here he signed and confirmed the *Statute of Tomar*, a diploma composed by twenty five articles conceived to preserve Portugal as an autonomous and independent kingdom – with its own judicial laws, economic privileges and territorial borders –, permitting not only

³ The *Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal* started in Madrid in March 4, 1580, and ended in February (12?), 1583, despite the King only had entered in Portugal in December 1580. Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, March 5, 1583, February 14, Introdução, *apud* Bouza Álvarez, F. (1998). *Cartas para Duas Meninas Infantas. Portugal na Correspondência de D. Filipe I para as Suas Filhas (1581-1583)*. Lisbon: D. Quixote, 129-132, 185-187, (15). Archivo General de Simancas [AGS], *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 420, Letter to the secretary Gabriel de Zayas by Hierónimo de Arceo, 1580, December 11, *apud* Fernandez Navarete, Sáinz de Baranda, M. P. and Salvá, M. (1857). *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero, tm. XXXIII, 324-325.

⁴ On January 31, 1580, twenty days after the Courts had assembled to discuss the succession of the Portuguese throne, the Cardinal-King D. Henrique died in the Palace of Almeirim with no heirs. Moura, M. (1840). *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique e Vida de Miguel de Moura*. Lisbon: Typographia da Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Úteis, 101-103; Bouza Álvarez, F. (2005). *D. Filipe I*. Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 57-85, 145-193.

⁵ Costa, M. (attrib.) (1744). *Arte de Furtar*. Amesterdão: Oficina de Martinho Schagen, Cha XVI, 116. D. Manuel I was the grandfather of D. Filipe I, from whom he would inherit the Portuguese Crown, after the thorough consultation of the legal processes outlined at the end of the fifteenth-century for the union of the Portugal, Castile and Aragon kingdoms, a political project firmed around the birth of D. Miguel da Paz, grandson of the Catholic Kings and son of D. Manuel I. Bouza Alvarez, F. (1998). María, «Planeta de Lusitania». Felipe II y Portugal. *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época: La Monarquía Hispánica*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 105-115.

⁶ Guerreiro, A. (1581). *Das festas qye se fizeram na cidade de Lisboa na entrada del Rey D. Philippe primeiro de Portugal*. Lisbon: Printed by Francisco Correa, Cha I.

to ensure the social peace among the people as well to consolidate his political government amid the nobility and the clergy⁷. Some concessions would have to be made by the King, who knows if taking into account the Spanish popular saying: «Data prisa despacio y llegarás a palacio».



Figure 1. D. Filipe I of Portugal acclamation ceremony
at the Convent of Christ in Tomar in 1581

Jan Luyken | 1699 | Print on paper

Source: Rijksmuseum | Amsterdam – Netherlands (Inv.º nr.º: RP-P-1896-A-19368-1682)

But D. Filipe I would have then the chance to renew his empire through the Portuguese kingdom domains. Only with the annexation of Portugal, and the vast

⁷ Soares, L. (1583). *Patente das Mercês, Graças, e Privilegios, de que ElRei Dom Philippe nosso senhor fez merce as estes seus Regnos*. Lisbon: Printed by Antonio Ribeiro – the King printer.

territories spread over the four continents, the expression of an empire where the sun never sets down seems to make sense.

After the acclamation ceremony, D. Filipe I left Tomar in direction to Lisbon, the most important city in the Kingdom and where he intended to consummate definitively his legitimacy as King of Portugal⁸, but not before visiting some palaces of his ancestors on the way. The reliance placed in the political project of incorporating Portugal into the Dual Monarchy led the King to take several resolutions before his acclamation – several months actually –, and they are closely related with the palaces network supervision. The instructions issued to the architects and engineers that integrate the royal entourage since Badajoz, before his entry in Portugal, reveals a vigorous reforming material plan⁹.

The *capital-city* of Lisbon not only was sacked before the abandonment of D. António's [1531-1595] loyal troops and but also attacked after the arrival of D. Filipe I military legions, while still facing a plague outbreak responsible for the population weakening¹⁰. After a series of missives dispatched between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, Fernando de Toledo y Pimentel¹¹ [1507-1582], several instructions were sent to the city counselors, like the one dated on May 14, 1581, demanding them to «clean, distemper and clear the houses that are still closed», assuring that

⁸ The itinerary between Tomar, where the King left in May, 1581, and Lisbon, where he entered gloriously in the following June 29, was described by the official chronicler Guerreiro, A. *Das festas qve se fizeram na cidade de Lisboa na entrada del Rey D. Philippe primeiro de Portugal*, Cha I.

⁹ The most active artists at the service of D. Filipe I during this journey were the Italian military engineers Filippo Terzi, mainly responsible for the intervention and renovation of the royal residences, and Giovanni Battista Antonelli, responsible for mapping the road network, constructing roads and bridges and lodging the troops (he made the plan of Lisbon castle). As far as the Spanish architect Juan de Herrera, everything points out that his role in Portugal was related not with palatine construction projects or architectonic commissions, but mainly with the monarch's accommodations, as *apostador-mor* (substituted by Terzi in Abrantes, Tomar and Lisbon in 1581). After accompanying the King to Portugal, Herrera returned to Spain to complete the royal quarters in the *El Escorial*, where he was in the first months of 1582. He appeared to be already traveling to Lisbon in May 1582, most likely to begin to deal with the definitive return of the monarch. However, we cannot exclude Herrera's contribution, directly or indirectly, of the palaces network reforming plan. The Portuguese architect Balthazar Alvarez was responsible for the architectural survey of the Palace of Almeirim and probably the one of Salvaterra. But it is curious to note that Terzi was in Almeirim in January 15, 1580, fifteen days before the Cardinal-King D. Henrique death. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Legs. 413, 414, 425, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 23, December 11, 13, 18, 24, 1581, January 27, February 5, Leg. 413, Letter to Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, October 20, Leg. 420, Letter to Gabriel de Zayas by Hierónimo de Arceo, 1580, December 26, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 168-174, 249-253, 326-330, 332, 349-356, 361-367, 377-378, 490-494, 525-528; Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, January 29, February 19, April 16, May 7, *apud Bouza Alvarez*, F. (1998), *Cartas*, 119-124, 125-128, 139-142, 143-147; Letters sent to Italy, 1580, January 15, 1581, February 20, May 20, *apud Battelli*, G. and Coelho, H. T. (1935). *Filippo Terzi: architetto e ingegnere militare in Portogallo (1577-97)*. *Documenti inediti dell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze della Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro*. Firenze: Ti Alfani e Venturi, 4-5, 8-14.

¹⁰ The plague outbreak was the main reason why the courts were programmed to reunite in a place outside Lisbon, a town classified as dangerous and dirty. Among the possibilities presented to D. Filipe I would choose Tomar, instead Évora, Abrantes or Elvas. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 30, December 4, 8, 18, Letters to secretary Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, October 11, November 30, Leg. 420, Letter to Gabriel de Zayas by Hierónimo de Arceo, 1580, December 15, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 123-128, 277-282, 289-290, 311-314, 333-334, 357-359.

¹¹ AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 23, 26, Leg. 425, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 28, 29, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 249-253, 257-263, 267-275.

«the greatest care be taken to clean up the city, as you see, particularly since I am on my way there»¹².

Despite working directly in different fields of Kingdom administration – one of the most striking characteristics of the *Prudent-King* – D. Filipe I continued to travel through some of the main urban towns and villages established on the both sides of the Tagus River banks. During a brief passage of D. Filipe I through Portugal there was a moment of itinerancy through the new domains in terms of residences not only in Lisbon but also in its region, such as Xabregas, Sintra, Almeirim, Salvaterra [de Magos], Muge and Santarém¹³.

In close proximity to the royal countryside residences found outside Lisbon wide properties of the Crown were located, with plenty hunting grounds that were «"so many and so big" that it was not possible to safeguard them all»¹⁴. There the monarch enjoyed a few recreation moments¹⁵. It was precisely in these projects, in which he spent long hours and large sums of silver, that the monarch displayed three of his great passions, according to marquis de Velada [?-1599] in 1590: architecture, gardens and hunting¹⁶. The first two components were suitable only in the royal palaces of Lisbon, while all three could be found at the rest of the countryside residences.

The analysis of the epistolary exchanged during the *Royal Journey* between D. Filipe I chancellery and the duke of Alba, his secretaries and his two young daughters – the *ninãs-infantas* D. Isabel Clara Eugenia [1566-1633] and D. Catarina Micaela [1567-1597] –, allow to trace the monarch itinerary among the several royal palaces and appreciate his personal opinions about the living conditions of those buildings.

These documents allow us to understand with serious clarity the itinerant role not only of D. Filipe I Court but also of all the artists who were at his service. On a truly Iberian scale, they covered the most varied palaces and properties regions, designing new projects, completing works in progress and starting new material campaigns. The large number of references to the numerous architectural works underway in the main royal buildings in Portugal is impressive, namely in Lisbon, Sintra and

¹² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [ANTT], *Livro I de D. Filipe I*, 1581, May 14, fl. 22, *apud* Oliveira, E. F. (1885). *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Typhographia Universal, 1885, tm. II, 39. Meanwhile, five months before, 30 000 *cruzados* should be invested to clean out the towns, in attempt to avoid the plague proliferation. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 425, Letter to the duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, December 11, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 326-330.

¹³ During the two visits to Xabregas, the King never entered at the palace where his aunt, the Queen D. Catarina of Austria, had lived. Apparently, some of her closest maids lived in there yet. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, June 5, August 14, 21, *apud Cartas*, 69, 87-88, 91-95 (88, nt. 72); Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, June 19, *apud* Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., *Filippo Terzi*, 14-16.

¹⁴ We suppose that it was with the intention of reorganizing the royal game reserves that a charter was drafted on July 9, 1594, to reduce and take away hunting privileges, like in the town of Alhandra, maintaining however, the hunting grounds close to Lisbon, Sintra, Colares, Salvaterra and Almeirim, next to royal palaces. Serrão, J. V. (2004). A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, *O tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil*. Lisbon: Colibri, 84-85, 108, 118.

¹⁵ Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, May 7, *apud Cartas*, 143-147.

¹⁶ Bouza Álvarez, F. D. *Filipe I*, 247. Despite his preference for hunting, as his personal letters shows, it must be also included the passion for fishing, practiced by the King in the lakes and tanks of La Fresneda, Aranjuez and Ontigola. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, March 19, April 16, *apud Cartas*, 133-135, 139-142; Barbeito, J. M. (1998). Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud, *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época: Un Príncipe del Renacimiento*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 90.

Almeirim¹⁷, while he followed with serious concern¹⁸, through the journeys of his adolescent daughters, the campaigns running in Spain, in Madrid, Pardo, Aranjuez and *San Lorenzo de el Escorial*¹⁹.

Out of the numerous palatial residences belonging to the Crown, located mainly at the Lisbon region, on an axis essentially defined by the Tagus River, King D. Filipe I chose the Royal Palace of Lisbon. Known among the Portuguese as the *Paço da Ribeira*, due to the location nearby the river, the Royal Palace had been built in the early sixteenth-century by the King D. Manuel I [1469|1495-1521], in the core of the new political, financial and military center of the Portuguese Empire²⁰.

¹⁷ In 1581 the painter Gaspar Dias received the payment for the fresco paintings executed at the Palace of Sintra, campaign promoted probably after the visit of Herrera and Terzi occurred in May 1581. The works in the palace would continue in 1584. Soromenho, M. (2012). *O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II, Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio. História de Um Espaço Urbano*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda/ Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 38, nt. 5. Alongside these royal residences, the monarch informed them about the on-going constructions at the fortresses of *São Gião*, in Oeiras [now called *São Julião da Barra*] and *São Filipe*, in Setúbal. Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, January 29, March 5, April 16, *apud Cartas*, 119-124, 129-132, 139-142. In fact, it is important to mention that during the King's several trips within the Kingdom, between the end of 1580 and the beginning of 1583, the monarch visited and spent the night in many other palace residences belonging to the highest Portuguese nobility. Many notes were made about their architectural composition and interior decoration. During his first stop in Almada, in June 13, 1581, the King was lodged in a «very beautiful house, yet so small» but with «all windows oriented to Lisbon [... and] Belem». Later, when he visited Cascais, in October 1581, he mentioned «a good house and with some wall painted rooms», probably the house of D. António de Castro, where Terzi worked later, as Bouza Álvarez argued. Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, June 26, October 2, *apud Cartas*, 71-78, 97-102, (98, nt. 89).

¹⁸ According to José Manuel Barbeito, the King had been in charge of several palatial building sites in Spain from a young age, especially during his regency, started in 1543. Barbeito, J. M. *Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud*, 83-84.

¹⁹ By the letter of May 1, 1581, he requested news about the works at *San Lorenzo*, and by the one dated from November 20, about the *Real Alcázar* of Madrid: «Write to me about what you think of the works and everything else, since you left it», which appear be concluded in January 29, 1582. In the second letter, and from another from February 19, 1582, the King reveals the intention to send Juan de Herrera to renovate the royal quarters in the palace of *San Lorenzo* before the arrival of his sister, the Empress D. Maria of Austria. They were ready in mid-April 1582 with the exception of the chapel. There are also references, dated from November 8, to the work completed in a kitchen and the works in progress in a gallery, both impossible to locate. But it is quite clear that the monarch had entrusted to his daughters some missions, probably to the older, D. Isabel Clara Eugenia: «you will make advance the works [of the gallery] that I want finished». The sovereign also hoped to surprise his sister with the Palace of Aranjuez because «when she left, nothing had been done yet». In this recreational residence, works were underway in the chapel and in one of the fountains and the placement of a clock. However, the monarch himself seemed to be unaware of the existence of a garden and an island in the tanks/lakes of this residence, thus he would write to Herrera to clarify it. But as he pointed out it was probably located nearby of the bridge over the Tagus River that was in construction at the time. Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, May 1, November 20, 1582, January 29, February 19, April 16, May 7, November 8, *apud Cartas*, 61-68, 109-111, 119-124, 125-128, 139-142, 143-147, 175-177, (65, nt. 19).

²⁰ The Royal Palace was erected precisely attached to the commercial and military shipyards centre, the *Ribeira das Naus*, and over the two most important economic structures, the *Casa da Índia* and the *Casa da Mina*. Although King D. Manuel I had manifested and materialized this intention with the construction of the palace nearby the Tagus River, his successors disregarded it. Due to a number of constraints – impossible to list in detail now – King D. João III preferred, after long absences from the city, the palaces of *Estaus* and *Xabregas*; King D. Sebastião opted for those of *Xabregas* and *Alcáçova*; and the Cardinal-King D. Henrique, the former archbishop and gran-inquisitor of Portugal who seeking to live a simple life and as far as possible from the throne that he had traumatically inherited at the end of his life, would opt for the houses of the former governor of India, Martim Afonso de Sousa, located next to the Convent of Saint Francis. Moura, M. *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique*, 17-18, 25, 62, 81-82; Velazquez, I. (1583). *La entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe, Invictissimo Rey de las Españas, segundo deste nombre, primero de Portugal, assi con su Real presencia, como con el exercito de su felice campo*. Lisbon: Printed by Manuel de Lyra, Cha IV, 4v-

The historical origin of the building and the contemporary function of the complex where it was incorporated were two major factors for the King to choose it for his official residence and seat of the central government, a royal administrative apparatus headed by the monarch, but with a provisional occupation due to his imminent return to Madrid.

Once the city of Lisbon was occupied, the duke of Alba was put in charge of compiling inventories and inspecting all the royal houses in the *capital-city* that could accommodate the new king of Portugal, who was waiting impatiently in Badajoz. To help him in this task the duke requested the services of Filippo Terzi [c.1520-1597], a Bolognese military engineer who had come to Portugal in 1577 and participated in the Portuguese military campaigns in North Africa in 1578²¹. In response to one royal missive, the duke of Alba decided to inform the ruler, on 9 October, 1580, about the available palaces in Lisbon:

There are here two houses, one up there in the castle, this one is not good for the winter, and another out here over the marina, but I am told that it is gloomy and sad and would not be good for Your Majesty to live in them²².

Following the field report, the duke informed the King about the possibility of occupying the houses of the count of Portalegre, and the others around it, a proposal that did not please the monarch. In our point of view, the legitimate heir of the Portuguese Crown at the moment of his acclamation could never be housed in a building that was not a royal palace – especially when there were so many in the city –, although the chronicles show that at different times he stayed in other common residences.

In five letters dispatched during the month of October to the secretary Gabriel de Zayas, the duke of Alba took responsibility to send the plans of the royal houses to His Majesty as soon as possible, once they already started to do them. Alongside with the architectural plans would go the list of the Crown jewels and tapestries²³. On November 24, 1580, Terzi had already arrived at Badajoz, bringing a letter sent by the duke of Alba, dated on November 16, and the architectural drawings of the three palaces of Lisbon and the one in Salvaterra. The Palace of Almeirim plans and the negotiations to recover the Palace of Santarém – and later the one in Coimbra – were yet in progress²⁴.

5v; Cha VII, 7v-10v. In fact, as Nuno Senos pointed out, the great royal ceremonies of the Court of the D. João III seem to have been carried out «as if the Ribeira Palace did not exist». Senos, N. (2002). *O Paço da Ribeira: 1501-1581*. Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 95.

²¹ Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Introdução, *Filippo Terzi*, X-XI.

²² AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letter to Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, 9 October, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 120-123.

²³ AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letters to Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, October 9, 11, 16, 20, 26, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 120-128, 148-153, 168-174, 195-197.

²⁴ The architectural survey of the Palace of Almeirim was entrusted to the Portuguese architect Balthazar Alvarez and appeared to be completed on January 27, 1581. But it is possible that he also started the plan of the Palace of Salvaterra. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Legs. 413, 425, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 23, 30, 1581, January 27, Leg. 413, Letter to Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, October, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 168-173, 254-256, 277-279, 490-494. However, it is important to stress two important aspects of this royal patrimonial policy. Once the possession of the buildings was confirmed, the monarch ended up selling the Coimbra palace to the University in 1597, and left the structures of Santarém to ruin, probably due to the political-symbolic connection of this city with the usurper the Prior D. António.

Based on the content of this letter, it is possible to know that Terzi had carried out the architectural drawings of the three royal palaces located in Lisbon: the *Paço da Ribeira*, erected nearby the Tagus River, in the beginnings of the sixteenth-century; the *Paço da Alcáçova* – known as the *high palace*²⁵ –, founded inside the castle on the top of the hill, in the thirteenth-century; and the *Paço dos Estaus*, the palatine residence constructed at the *Rossio* square, during the fifteenth-century, to receive the ambassadors that come to Portugal and meanwhile occupied by the Royal Family in the sixteenth-century²⁶.

Despite the King expressing his preference to occupy the palace nearby the Tagus River: «for what I have just seen until now I am more persuaded to the marina houses»²⁷, he ordered the immediate evacuation of the last one – the headquarters of the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Lisbon and the General Council of the Holy Office –, afore the possibility of lodging it in the future after some material intervention.

When Terzi arrived in the city of Badajoz to meet the King, between November 16 and 24, 1580, D. Filipe I was surprised by the material conditions of the royal palace erected near the river, which contrasted with the report sent by the duke of Alba. Meanwhile the duke reinforced, on the letters of November 30 and December 8, the gloomy atmosphere and aspect of the *Paço da Ribeira*, and also informed that the Tribunal of the Holy Office was still lodged at the *Paço dos Estaus*, at *Rossio* square:

I am very pleased that Felipe Tercio has arrived and made such a good description for Your Majesty of the things of this city, to which, if Your Majesty comes, I believe will not be very pleased with the riverside house because it is as sad as a prison, you can only see the sea from it, and I am sure that Your Majesty will not spend more than eight days in it without becoming unhappy. Due to the state of health in the city, I did not order the inquisitors and prisoners to leave the *Risio*'s house, until Your Majesty's next orders I will not do so²⁸.

The immediate response of the monarch, dated from December 4, 1580, questioned seriously the information provided by his military general:

According to what I have seen from the plans of those houses, and the report of Felipe Tercio, more pleasant must be the (house) of the riverside than the others, due to its galleries and verandas²⁹.

Divided between the opinions of the Spanish duke and the explanations of the Italian military engineer, D. Filipe I, on December 11, ended up assigning the Span-

²⁵ Buescu, A. I. (2005). *D. João III*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 18. The Italian humanist Giovanni Cataldo Parisio called it the «palace on the walls» of the castle. Ramalho, A. C. (2004). *Damião de Góis e os Humanistas Portugueses, Biblos*, II, 436.

²⁶ Giovanni Bautista Antonelli had begun the survey of the city's castle plan first, most likely due to the military implications of the site. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letters to Gabriel de Zayas by the duke of Alba, 1580, October 9, 11, 16, 20, 26, *apud Colección de Documentos*, 120-128, 148-153, 168-174, 195-197.

²⁷ AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letter to duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, November 23, *apud Colección de Documentos*, 254-256.

²⁸ AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letters between D. Filipe I and the duke of Alba, 1580, November 30, December 8, *apud Colección de Documentos*, 277-279, 311-314.

²⁹ AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 425, Letter to the duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, December 4, *apud Colección de Documentos*, 289-291. In fact, several months later, in June 4, 1582, in a nostalgic tone, the monarch expresses to his daughters the taste in which he would like to have the view from the *Paço da Ribeira* over the river or the sea elsewhere. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, June 4, *apud Cartas*, 149-152.

ish architect Juan de Herrera [ca. 1532/1534-1597], the official responsible for the King and his courtly entourage accommodation during his Portuguese journey, to go to Lisbon with Filippo Terzi to check the habitability conditions of the *Paço da Ribeira*:

I have again looked at the plants of these houses with Felipe Tercio, and don't think that the riverside one is as gloomy as has been said; but as I have written before, I have not decided in which I will lodge [...] I think I will send Herrera with Felipe Tercio so that he sees the houses there and other places, to better determine³⁰.

In the missive dispatched two days later, on December 13, the monarch, after analyzing the architectural drawings drafted by Filippo Terzi, informed the duke about the instructions to be carried out, which would also involve the architect Juan de Herrera:

Whatever Herrera says must be done there, you will have done by those whose competence it is and Felipe Tercio will take charge, and Herrera should return right away because he is needed here³¹.

It is to be assumed that Herrera suggested some modifications to the Terzi plan, accepted immediately by the King, even though the primordial role of the Italian military engineer in the project for the reformation of the Ribeira palace is here clarified, despite the duke of Alba manifested doubts. Apparently, Herrera took more of a position to oversee and correct plans than to execute the projects. And despite the countless campaigns entrusted to Spanish architects and engineers during his reign, D. Filipe I in this first phase seems to have tried to entrust the main campaigns as possible to the officers already at the service of the Portuguese Crown before 1580³².

In the meantime, on January 14, 1581, the higher bailiff D. Duarte de Castelo Branco [c.1540-?], who later became the treasury overseer and one of the five Kingdom governors in the absence of the king and viceroy, received prompt orders to start the construction works according with the King's requirements for the palace,

³⁰ The content of this letter reveals that the King's ordered to «dislodge, repair and clean» the *Paço dos Estaus*, the ancient royal residence where the Inquisition Tribunal was established before, showing the possibility of occupying it. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 425, Letter to the duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, 11 December, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 326-330.

³¹ Thirteen days later, on December 26, Herrera had already visited both residences in Lisbon. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 425, Letter to the duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, December 13, Leg. 420, Letters to Gabriel de Zayas by Hierónimo de Arceo, 1580, December 26, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 332, 377-380.

³² While Rafael Moreira and António Filipe Pimentel both considers an almost certain participation of Juan de Herrera at the project, Miguel Soromenho argued that there is no doubt about his direct contribution. Moreira, R. (1983). O Torreão do Paço da Ribeira, *Mundo da Arte*, Coimbra, 14, 43; Pimentel, A. F. (1995). Repercussões do tema do Palácio-Bloco na Arquitectura portuguesa, *Actas del VII Simposio Hispano-Portugués de Historia del Arte: Las Relaciones artísticas entre España y Portugal: Artistas, mecenas y viajeros*. Badajoz: Gabinete de Iniciativas Transfronteirizas, 83, 88; Soromenho, M. O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II, 40. But Agustín Bustamante and Fernando Marías had defended that the artistic language of the Palace of Lisbon façade is completely different from the architectural prototypes designed by Juan de Herrera and Francisco de Mora, and definitely closest to Terzi's works. Bustamante, A. and Marías, F. (1987). Francisco de Mora y la arquitectura portuguesa. *As relações artísticas entre Portugal e Espanha na Época dos Descobrimentos*. Coimbra: Livraria Minerva, 283-284, 298-301.

in accordance to the order that was given to Terzi in Elvas³³. It's impossible to know, however, if the construction campaigns started immediately as the monarch wanted.

Despite the impossibility to point out the exact moment when the works begins, based on a letter signed by Terzi, in February 20, it is possible to know that the Italian architect was already «ordering the palace where he would live when he come to this city» of Lisbon³⁴. But the first setback in the construction site occurred just two months later, on April 14, when there was a halt in the «work in the Palace for lack of money»³⁵.

Having overcome financial obstacles, the works conducted by Terzi, *sopra le piante e profili* of the palace, would have proceeded with the speed imposed by the calendar established by the King, who intended to be lodged after the triumphal entry scheduled for June 29³⁶. Meanwhile, by the following August 27, expenditures were around 40:000 of the 200:000 (?) *réis*³⁷ allocated for the campaigns, an amount that was clearly insufficient for all the onerous renovations that would be made in the palace³⁸.

Notwithstanding the strict control of the architectural plans sent by his team of architects³⁹, thoroughly analyzed, validated and altered by the King himself – which was able to read, amend and correct architectural plans⁴⁰ –, D. Filipe I never had been physically in the royal building. The first time that the King had visited the Royal Palace of Lisbon, and the city itself, was on June 19, 1581, in Terzi's company⁴¹. Lodged in Almada, on the south side of the Tagus River, while waiting for the works for the triumphal entrance to be concluded, he decided to attend to the famous *Corpus Christi* processional festivity from the Royal Palace of Lisbon chambers:

In the following Sunday, my nephew and I, went alone with the captaincy, to disembark in Lisbon, without anyone there knowing, to the veranda of my residence where we

³³ By the order of March 29, the former servants still living in the palace were dispatched: Jorge Fernandez, Diogo Lopez, D. Inez, the nanny of deceased D. Sebastião. Biblioteca da Ajuda [BA], Lisbon, *Embaixadas de Duarte Castelo Branco*, Letter to Duarte Castelo Branco by D. Filipe I, 1581, January 14, I, fl. 299, *apud Cartas*, 74, nt. 40, 75, nt. 43; Senos. N. *O Paço da Ribeira*, 105-106, 118, 244.

³⁴ Letter to the duke of Urbino by Terzi, 1581, February 20, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 8-10.

³⁵ BA, *Embaixadas de Duarte de Castelo Branco*, Letter to Duarte Castelo Branco by D. Filipe I, 1581, April 14, II, fl. 372r, *apud Cartas*, 75, nt. 43.

³⁶ Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, May 20, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 10-14.

³⁷ Pacheco, M. P. D. (2014). Palaces on the edge of the Atlantic: The architectural reformation and the space ritualization of the Portuguese royal residences during the reign of Phillip I of Habsburg (1580-1598), *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*. Viena: PALATIUM - Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe 1400-1700 (PALATIUM e-Publication), European Science Foundation, Austrian Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 59, nt. 28.

³⁸ BA, *Embaixadas de Duarte Castelo Branco*, Letter to Duarte Castelo Branco by D. Filipe I, 1581, January 14, I, fl. 299, *Cartas*, 63, nt. 13. Later on, in 1588, the renovations campaigns at the palaces of Lisboa, Sintra and Almeirim already had absorbed 4.000:730 *réis*. Soromenho, M. *O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II*, 45.

³⁹ While D. Duarte de Castelo Branco where the responsible for the financial supervision, the military engineer, Filippo Terzi, supervised the building site, assisted by the master-builders Álvaro Pires and Gregório Pessoa, the masons Pedro Fernandes and Diogo Rodrigues, the woodworker Gaspar Gonçalves and the locksmith João Dias. Bouza Álvarez, F. [“Notas”], *Cartas*, 63, nt. 13; Soromenho, M. *O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II*”, 45-46.

⁴⁰ Barbeito, J. M. Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud, 89.

⁴¹ Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, June 19, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 14-16.

entered and saw it all. We took a long time because it is enormous, though disorganized, but with good corridors and views over a high, beautiful garden. With the construction work that I ordered, which was bigger and costlier than I had thought, it turned out nicely. I believe we can move into it on Thursday, on feast of Saint Peter day⁴².

The appreciation of the residential wings visited and the views over the city and river was extremely positive, although the interior disorganization of the building stands out in the King's speech. Despite the spatial disorder, it is not possible to ignore the campaign of works that took place at the time of the King's visit, as the chronicler Isidro Velazquez registered: «I glance over what was to be the dwelling, which had been under repair, showing his enthusiasm in the renovation, and whose judgment in building exceeds the biggest structures, as in everything»⁴³. Another mentioned criticism was the rooftop covering, composed by ceramic roof tiles, a material that was not soundproof, once the King reported that he had heard the rain during the storms and the city bells during all night⁴⁴.

The total absence of material elements and the lack of documentary sources make it absolutely impossible to understand the palace internal organization after the works led by Terzi under the order of D. Filipe I. It is only possible to locate a limited number of chambers inside the palatine complex and some connections between them. The first phase of the palace renovation lasted, at least, about six months, and was intended to make the palatial complex more suitable for the monarch and his court. The criteria of comfort and convenience must be underlying in conjunction with the orientation of the best views, precepts that have not escaped the fine sensitivity of D. Filipe I since ever⁴⁵.

The rooms destined for the King were located in the northern sector of the palatial complex, facing to the commercial public artery, from where he attended the *Corpus Christi* procession before. Apart from the large number of interior chambers, the monarch was impressed by the views from the windows which opened over to

⁴² The day was June 29, 1581, the date of the official entrance in Lisbon, where he was received under an impressive apparatus constituted by ephemeral arch's and structures planned by Filippo Terzi – helped by Juan de Herrera? –, in a large public and urban scenario animated by parades, dances, theaters and revelry. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, June 26, *apud Cartas*, 71-78; Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, May 20, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 10-14. The royal entrances in Lisbon by D. Filipe I, in 1581, and D. Filipe II of Portugal, in 1619, were studied by us in the conference papers: Celebrate Empire. The presence of the Portuguese possessions at the royal entry of King Philip I in Lisbon (1581), in *European Courts in a Globalized World. International Congress*, organized by PALATIUM - Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe 1400-1700, and Centro de História de Além Mar da Universidade Nova de Lisboa/ Universidade dos Açores, presented in 7 November, 2013; *De vossa Real presença desejada: Uma apologia político-alegórica a D. Filipe II de Portugal*, in *III Congresso SEEPLU. Crisis y Ruptura Peninsular*, organized by SEEPLU and Universidad de Extremadura, presente in 30 October, 2013 [conference published as: Pacheco, M. P. D. (2014). *De vossa Real presença desejada: Uma apologia político-alegórica a D. Filipe II de Portugal*, in *Crisis y Ruptura Peninsular. III Congresso Internacional de la SEEPLU*. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura. Servicio de Publicaciones, 179-212]; and «Do rocío do Ceo». O arco triunfal do Santo Ofício da Inquisição de Lisboa na entrada régia de D. Filipe II em 1619, *III Encontro Internacional de Jovens Investigadores em História Moderna*, promoted by Encontro de Jovens Investigadores em História Moderna, and presented in May 17, 2013. See also the studies of Laura Fernández-González, namely the article Negotiation terms: King Philip I of Portugal and the ceremonial entry of 1581 into Lisbon, in Checa Cremades, F. and Fernández-González L. (2016). *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*. Londres/Nova Iorque: Routledge, 87-113.

⁴³ Velazquez, I. *La entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe*, Cha CXXIV, 117-118v.

⁴⁴ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, August 14, *apud Cartas*, 87-88.

⁴⁵ Barbeito, J. M. Filipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud, 91.

the main street (called *Rua Nova*), to the major palace square (*Terreiro do Paço*), to the Tagus River (*Rio Tejo*) and especially to the ships port (*Ribeira das Naus*), flank where was located the palace gardens and from where he saw the departure of the galleon *São Filipe* in January 1582⁴⁶ (Fig. 2)⁴⁷.

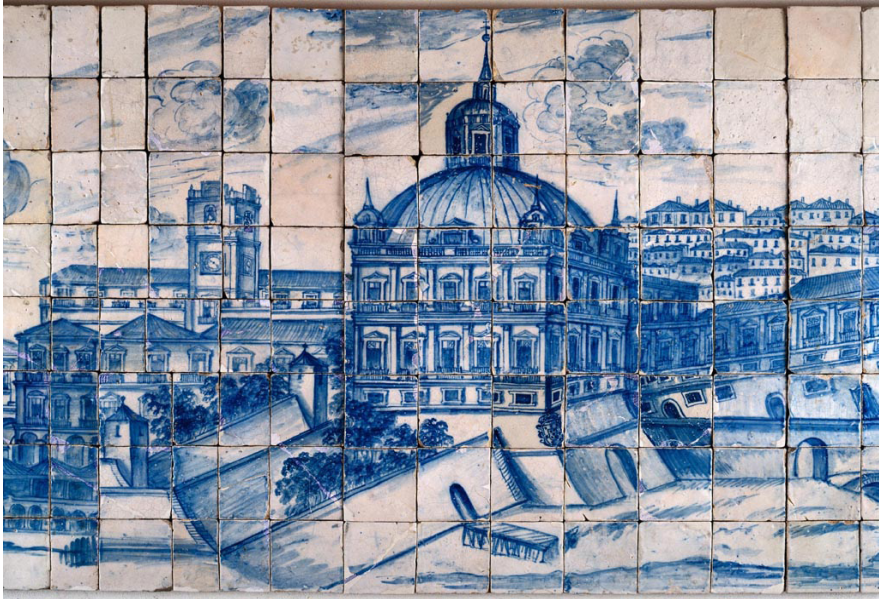


Figure 2. Royal Palace of Lisbon: turret, façades west and south, and garden. Gabriel del Barco (atrib.) | ca. 1700 | Tiles composition | Photographic record: Carlos Monteiro
Source: Museu Nacional do Azulejo | DGPC | Lisbon – Portugal (Inv.º nr.º: MNAz 1 Az)

The internal program conceived focused mainly in the total renovation of the palatine chapel – a new one over the older –, restructuring the interiors compartments with the renovation of the former living lodgings, administrative chambers and government staterooms, and the circulation areas reorganization, with the construction of new spans, corridors and stairways.

Let's begin by examining the palatine section that required the most attention from the monarch, the reason why it was finished first: the King's residential chambers. According to the royal reported in June 19, 1581, the chambers of the kings where practically renovated at the time, once he mentioned the possibility to occupy them after the public entrance that would have happened ten days later, in June 29⁴⁸.

Next to the king's chambers were the so-called queen's rooms, located in the north sector of palace and oriented to the *Rua Nova*. In these chambers the Empress D. Maria of Austria [1528-1603], D. Filipe I's sister and mother of the Austrian archduke and future viceroy of Portugal D. Alberto Ernesto of Austria [1559|1583-

⁴⁶ Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, June 26, August 21, 1582, January 29, September 3, *apud Cartas*, 71-78, 91-95, 119-124, 161-162 (122, nt. 125).

⁴⁷ We wish to express our gratitude to the director of the Museu Nacional do Azulejo, Doctor Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, for providing the image published here.

⁴⁸ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, June 26, *apud Cartas*, 71-78.

1593|1621], was lodged in 1582-1583, during her stay in Lisbon⁴⁹. In between, or nearby of the king's and queen's chambers, the accommodations for the royal and court members should be located⁵⁰.

According to these epistolary sources, both royal chambers – the accommodations reserved for the King and to the Queen, oriented to North –, were constituted by a large set of rooms and were both equipped with windows open to the palace's chapel interiors, as result of the last work campaign promoted in the palace. In the letter written to his daughters, in June 4, 1582, he stated that: «I saw now the letter on which you told me about that I already mention the [existence of the] windows opened to the chapel that my sister has [in her chambers] [...]. Today my sister came to see my quarters, visiting them all, and they are not few, and I would very much like to have this view of the river and sea in another place»⁵¹. Once again, the King highlighted the large number of rooms and the panoramic views achieved from the palace.

After a detailed examination of the palatine chapel project, D. Filipe I concluded on February 1, 1581, that the sacred building «is to be done again»⁵². The reconstruction of the Royal Chapel of Saint Thomas, located in the northwest sector of the palatine complex, was initiated not before of the end of February and was definitely finished in the mid of October 1581⁵³, according the letter addressed on the 23rd of this same month: «Now that I have a chapel and a place to attend Mass, because the constructions works are finished, it is much better without having to go outside»⁵⁴ of the palace.

We are unaware of the spatial arrangement and architectural composition of the royal chapel – meanwhile transferred for another part of the palace in the first half of the seventeenth-century⁵⁵ –, only knowing about the windows opened at the king's and queen's palatine residential quarters⁵⁶, where D. Filipe I, and later his sister, attended Mass privately, in addition to an internal staircase, which permitted them access directly to these chambers and the aforementioned royal chapel:

⁴⁹ During the Portuguese journey, D. Filipe I received his sister in Portugal, who accompanied him on the trips among the royal palaces, namely in Lisbon, Almeirim and Xabregas. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, April 16, September 3, October 25, *apud Cartas*, 139-142, 161-162, 171-174.

⁵⁰ Somewhere in between was the room of Madalena Ruiz, maidservant of D. Filipe I, whose chamber «has a small terrace that faces to the square», the *Terreiro do Paço*. Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, September 17, *apud Cartas*, 163-166 (65-66, nt. 22).

⁵¹ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, June 4, *apud Cartas*, 149-152.

⁵² BA, *Embaixadas de Duarte de Castelo Branco*, Letter to Duarte Castelo Branco by D. Filipe I, 1581, January 14, I, fl. 314r, [Notas], *apud Cartas*, 75, nt. 43.

⁵³ Placed under the protection of the Apostle of India Saint Thomas, the foundation stone placed in the chapel interior had the date of 1581: *Deo Optimo Maximo / Sub honore Divi Thomæ Apostoli / Hic Rex Emmanuel Capellam Regiam / Dicavit, & translata fuit. Anno / M.D.LXXXI / Locum profanari vetat Religio*. Sousa, A. C. (1737). *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. West Lisbon: Oficina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, tm. III, 179. The intervention operated in the royal palace chapel was not only material, since D. Filipe I endowed it with an internal regulation and ceremonial statute, approved in 1592. About this *regimento* see Curto, D. R. (1993). A Capela Real: um espaço de conflitos (séculos XVI a XVIII), *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, 143-154.

⁵⁴ Another criticism directed by the monarch to Portuguese palatine architecture focused on the religious buildings, considering the internal organization of the royal chapels that he had visited, a huge disappointment, namely the one of the Palace of Xabregas. Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, August 21, October 23, *apud Cartas*, 91-95, 103-105.

⁵⁵ Martinho, B. A. (2009). *O Paço da Ribeira nas Vésperas do Terramoto*. Lisbon (Thesis Master), 22-23.

⁵⁶ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, December 25, *apud Cartas*, 113-114.

I spent a good Easter in this house, with windows over the chapel where I attended the services, except the covering and uncovering of the Holy Sacrament, for which I descended to the chapel by way of a staircase⁵⁷. [...] My sister assisted to the Holy Offices at the window next to mine⁵⁸.

It seems that the renovation work of the palace chapel was also assigned to Terzi, as surmised from a letter written by him, around 1582, and to whom other projects were entrusted for the Kingdom fortification network:

Non ho anco finito l'opera di questo Palazzo, imperò che per tutto questo mese averò da fare in dar fine alla Cappella, e di già si è dato principio a maggiore opere, chè per tutte queste fortezze di Portogallo si sono messe le mani e in quelle d'Africa, Ceita, Tanger, Arzilla, Mazagão, di maniera che non dormemo⁵⁹.

The renovation of the internal circulation areas of the *Palazzo Reale di questa città alla ripa del mare, dove sta posto*⁶⁰ was one of the biggest challenges faced by Filippo Terzi. Describing the rapid construction work at the palace, the Italian architect-engineer, in a letter dated from June 19, 1581, gave a disparaging opinion about the existing structures in comparison to the models of interior stairways that he hoped to install at the royal building:

vedendo con molto piacer suo la cose che nel detto palazzo ho fatto, le quali si per la prestezza usatavi da me, come per la differenza che vi si è trovato dalle cose barbare [...] e principalmente per la maniera delle scale fattevi di nuovo, e da loro mai più vedute⁶¹.

According to his personal testimony, written a few years later, on January 31, 1587, Terzi was well congratulated by the King himself during the monarch's visit to the renewed palace, praising him not only for the architectural project execution but also for the construction works diligence:

dove S. M. si fermò, dicendomi che molto bene io avevo mostrato il valore e l'abilità che per fama teneva, e che teneria conto del servizio ch'io gli avevo fatto, sì della proportione del l'opera como della diligenza, e comandò ch'io intrasse dentro con seco, dove andò per dentro da Palazzo, vedendo l'altre cose fatte fare da me, che non aveva veduto, lodandole e satisfacendosi⁶².

⁵⁷ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, April 16, *apud Cartas*, 139-142.

⁵⁸ Letter to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1582, June 4, *apud Cartas*, 149-152.

⁵⁹ Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1582(?), *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 25-26.

⁶⁰ Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, June 19, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 14-16.

⁶¹ Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1581, June 19, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 14-16. According to Battelli and Coelho the *cose barbare* were the ornamental elements of the late Portuguese Gothic: the *Manuelino* at the old palace erected by D. Manuel I. The same authors also mentioned the similarities of this stairs set plan with the one conceived by Terzi for the palace of the duke of Urbino. Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T. *Introdução, Filippo Terzi*, XII, 15, nts. I-II.

⁶² Terzi wrote that two Italians accompanied the monarch: Piero di Medici and Andrea Doria (could be the son of Andrea Doria, the Italian *condottiero* who served Carlos I of Spain?). Nevertheless, the visit would have to have taken place before the King left for Madrid, in February 1583. Letter to Giulio Veterani by Terzi, 1587, January 31, *apud Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T., Filippo Terzi*, 35-39.

However, the careful comparison of the missives written by the Italian architect with the report left in 1600 suggests that the campaign carried out in those years had not imposed a total rehabilitation of the interior accesses between all the sequential rooms of the palace. Nevertheless, the quite interesting description made in 1628 by the French traveller monsieur Balthasar de Monconys [1611-1665] reveals the long corridors and the spatial disposition inside the palace building: *De ce Dome part vne galerie de cent pas de long, au bout de laquelle il y en a deux en Croix de mesme longueur, ayant deux estages & des fenestres ornées de leurs balcons*⁶³.

Based on the report of the official *Entrance of the Marquis of Castello Rodrigo in Lisbon* [May 1st] of the year 1600, the viceroy of Portugal, D. Cristóvão de Moura [1538-1613], it is possible to get some descriptions of the palace interior, namely the chambers used during the governance of the archduke and Portuguese viceroy D. Alberto Ernesto. Most important is the explanation about the inconveniences that arose at the time of D. Cristóvão de Moura accommodation in the Royal Palace of Lisbon, which indicates that the construction campaigns undertaken twenty years before had not made the interior chambers more spacious or even the accesses more functional.

After crossing the Tagus River, D. Cristóvão de Moura and his committee «landed at the bulwark», at the pier of the new palace turret, where he was received by the count of Santa Cruz, the count of Basto and many others Portuguese nobles. According to the description, the viceroy was «walking until reaching the [palace] houses entrance». The first chamber mentioned, where the archduke had his meals, was adorned with *guadamecis* wall pieces and one canopy, arranged over the seat at the table. The next compartment had also another canopy over the chair, probably used for the private honorable and official receptions, and the third one, «another house more distant», it was described as the place in which «the Archduke slept»⁶⁴.

The royal quarters, later occupied by viceroys and governors, were organized in a more reserved way, all in an interconnected sequence, and appropriately decorated, as the following 1600 account suggests:

The next room had another canopy with a chair turned toward the wall where he was with the Count of Sancta Cruz shortly both entered another chamber further ahead where the Archduke slept, and we could tell from the outside that it was decorated with yellow cloth and crimson velvet, with two Crowns in the corners that were made for the journey of King D. Sebastião to Guadalupe⁶⁵.

As far as we know the entrance report allows permit to identify also the state-rooms of the Royal Palace of Lisbon organized at the time, prepared for the king himself but used by the viceroy's and governor's nominated for the kingdom governance. The first one was the audience's public room: «it has been determined that in the first Room he will give audiences with the public, sitting on the Chair beneath a Canopy as the Archduke did»⁶⁶.

The next chamber mentioned was used for the:

⁶³ Monconys, B. (1666). *Voyage d'Espagne [and Portugal] fait en l'année 1628, Iovrnal des Voyages de Monsievr de Monconys, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Estat, & Priué, & Lieutenant Criminel au Siege Presidial de Lyon*, Part. III. Lyon: Chez Horace Boissat & George Remevs, 15.

⁶⁴ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 288-291.

⁶⁵ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 290-291.

⁶⁶ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 290.

audiences with the noblemen in the new gallery where the State Council met, sitting in a Chair and giving the Chair with Backrest to those who speak with the one who is in his house because here there is no canopy and to enter they will open one door in the second room and Luis Gonçalves gives the message but they only enter one by one [...] house where Government is carried out⁶⁷.

The description suggests the existence of an antechamber near the latter room – with an internal connection we believe –, for which «benches for all the scholars and judges to wait» had been purchased, followed by a «second room or part of it [...] with one hundred royal chairs for noblemen and other officials of the House»⁶⁸. From the content of the report we feel tempted to identify the government room with the accommodations where the Courts of the Kingdom had gathered on January 13, 1583⁶⁹, and where the committee of the ambassador from Seville, Juan Núñez de Illescas had been received, once he described an extensive room with the royal throne under a canopy at one top. Alongside, or very close, it would be the *Chamber of the Tudescos*⁷⁰, the room to welcome the German royal guards.

Through the passage of the viceroy entourage from the first to the second private chambers there was a huge constriction, to the point that the cloak of the count of Basto, D. Diogo de Castro [c.1567-?], was discomposed⁷¹. When comparing this incident account with the information present in the letter sent by the King D. Filipe I to his daughters, on June 26, 1581, in which he described the palace disorganization, it seems that the architectural reform executed during his reign did not resolve the internal space disorder. Nevertheless, the several staterooms seemed to be large, well equipped and with accessible entrances. But all these internal arrangements, in a larger or smaller scale, had implied external changes in the building. New balconies were erected, and balconies and the main access areas were improved – with the erection of new porticoes, as it would be expected –, namely the ones that access directly to the *Rua Nova*, northwards, and to the *Terreiro do Paço*, eastwards⁷². However, the major reformation occurred in the section of the palatine building facing the Tagus River, southwards.

During the reconstruction of the main royal residence in Lisbon, Terzi would erect a building with the major architectural and visual impact in the extreme south, being responsible for the exterior reconfiguration of the palatial complex – and consequently the staging physiognomy of the urban surroundings –, the turret (Fig. 3).

⁶⁷ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 290.

⁶⁸ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 290-291.

⁶⁹ Apart from political preoccupations that obliged his return to Castile, at the end of December of 1582, D. Filipe I was informed of the death of prince Diego of Austria, sworn heir of the Kingdom of Portugal in the Courts of Tomar, making it thus imperative to convene new Courts to swear his successor, the future King D. Filipe II of Portugal, which happened on January 30, 1583, «in this house, in a large hall with many windows and some of them next to the quarters of my sister, so that she can see from there». Moura, M. *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique* 19-25, 79-80; Curto, D. R. (2011). *Cultura Política no Tempo dos Filipes (1580-1640)*. Lisbon: Edições 70, 210-211.

⁷⁰ Bouza Álvarez, F. D. *Filipe I*, 197-198.

⁷¹ Serrão, J. V. A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, 290-291.

⁷² It seems that the main entrance portals erected in this campaign were not appreciated by the vicereine D. Margarida de Saboia, duchess of Mântua, who stressed the absence of a sufficiently noble entrance at the *Paço da Ribeira* according to those that existed in other palaces of the time. Serrano, J. I. P. C. B. B. (2014). *Margarida de Sabóia, Duquesa de Mântua (1589-1655). Percurso biográfico e político na Monarquia Hispânica*. Lisbon (Thesis Master), 36.

Erected almost inside the river, the turret building was rested over the original bastion built by King D. Manuel I, between 1508 and 1511, and later amputated by King D. João III [1502|1521-1557], in the early 1550s⁷³.

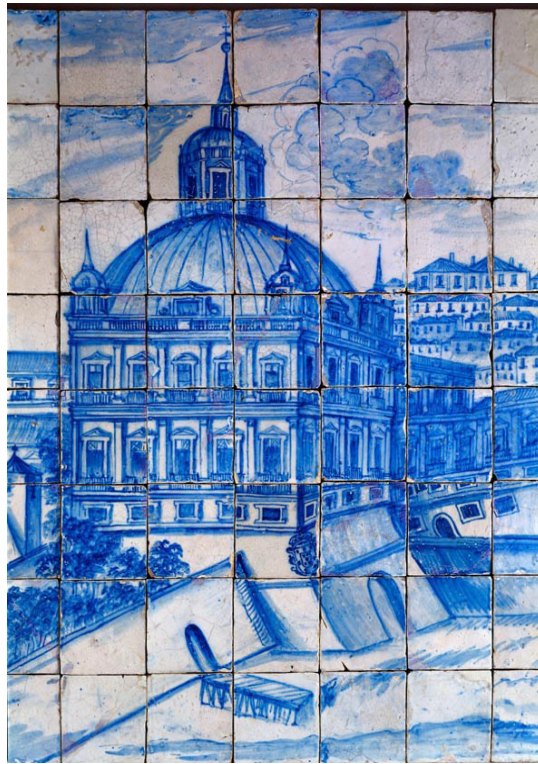


Figure 3. Royal Palace of Lisbon: turret, façades west and south, and garden. Gabriel del Barco (atrib.) | ca. 1700 | Tiles composition | Photographic record: Carlos Monteiro
Source: Museu Nacional do Azulejo | DGPC | Lisbon – Portugal (Inv.º nr.º: MNAz 1 Az)

Influencing deeply the Portuguese architecture archetypes⁷⁴, the construction of palatine turret had reoriented the building internal organization⁷⁵. This building had four floors, the first two heavily fortified⁷⁶ – in the first were the main

⁷³ For a full perspective of the palace internal composition, organizational distribution and construction evolution in the sixteenth-century see the study of Nuno Senos, author who maintains that it was D. Filipe I, grandson of D. Manuel I, who really understood the strategic position and symbolic value of this palace in the political context of Lisbon. Senos, N. (2002). *O Paço da Ribeira: 1501-1581*, Lisbon: Editorial Notícias.

⁷⁴ The best example to quote is the Palace-Convent of *Nossa Senhora* and *Santo António* in Mafra, nearby Lisbon, erected between 1717 and around 1744, royal complex which reveals even more direct influences of the turrets built for the Palace-Monastery of *San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, close to Madrid, commissioned precisely by D. Filipe I in 1563 and concluded in 1584, one year after the *Prudent-King* left Portugal. Pimentel, A. F. (1992). *Arquitectura e Poder: O Real Edifício de Mafra*. Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte, 141-143, 153-164, 167-191, 199-243.

⁷⁵ Senos, N. *O Paço da Ribeira*, 39.

⁷⁶ In 1983, Rafael Moreira published two drawings, deposited in the *Archivo General de Simancas*, that seem to demonstrate the organization of a defensive system on the second floor of the *Palascio de Lisboa* turret around 1587-1588. Moreira, R.. *O Torreão do Paço da Ribeira*, 43-48.

entrances –, while in the last two the noblest areas were organized. Immediately above, on the third floor, was organized the royal library, a noble and large room described in 1628 by monsieur Monconys: *au troisième estage est la Bibliothéque du Roy, où les Liures sont dans de petits cabinets de noyer*⁷⁷. On the fourth and last floor, the king planned to establish the main stateroom designated as the Ambassadors' Hall.

The Ambassadors' Hall would be adorned later – under the directly governance of the viceroy D. Alberto Ernesto –, with an extraordinary iconographic programme conceived to extoll the political qualities and government virtues of D. Filipe I as King of Portugal⁷⁸. A large octagonal lead dome, topped by a lantern, was covering the building rooftop⁷⁹. In the exterior, the walls were adorned with pilasters without capitals, according to Matheus do Couto's [?-1664] testimony: «Phelippe Tercio, the renamed [architect], also used it [the same pilasters] in another important building in this City of Lix^{[bo]a} which is in the Fort»⁸⁰.

Confirming the influence of the Spanish architecture archetypes of the sixteenth-century, but under the Italian taste, it is difficult to point out others influences brought from Spain at the time. On the other hand, the King himself was enchanted with some elements presents in some royal palaces, although centered more on the surrounding landscapes and existing garden spaces than on the architectural models materialized on those buildings before his arrival in 1580⁸¹.

Although some of the details provided by the scarce documentation are not quite perceptible, a painting executed in 1613 (Fig. 4)⁸² – which, in our point of view, was inspired at D. Filipe I royal entrance in 1581 to impress his successor, D. Filipe II of Portugal⁸³ [1578|1598-1621] –, shows the architectural conception and urban layout of the Royal Palace after the renovation works brought about by the *Prudent-King* in this part of the city.

⁷⁷ Monconys, B. *Voyage d'Espagne [and Portugal] fait en l'année 1628*, 15.

⁷⁸ In 2016 we presented a study dedicated to the ceiling program in the article Pacheco, M. P. D. [Printing process] *A king between gods and heroes: The iconographic program of the Palace of Ribeira throne room during the reform of D. Filipe I of Portugal*, *Heraldica Nova. Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the perspective of cultural history*, Dilthey-Project 'Die Performanz der Wappen' – University of Münster, 50 pp.

⁷⁹ Moreira, R. *O Torreão do Paço da Ribeira*, 45.

⁸⁰ Soromenho, M. (2009). *A Arquitectura do Ciclo Filipino*. Lisbon: Fubu Editores, 73.

⁸¹ Later on, in the letter of July 10, 1581, the monarch emphasized again a peculiar aspect of the Sintra Palace, not the colossal kitchen chimneys or the imposing blazon chamber ceiling, but its delicate inner courtyards and water fountains. Despite the fact that he had ordered to design the plans of several gardens to keep with him, he did not have a place in Spain where he could have them reproduced: «here there are also some gardens, in certain places, that they call flowerbeds [*alegetes*] and are pretty. We will take the drawings there, although I don't see where we can make them there». Letters to his daughters by D. Filipe I, 1581, July 10, October 2, *apud Cartas*, 79-85, 97-102.

⁸² We wish to express our gratitude to the former director of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Professor Doctor António Filipe Pimentel, for providing the image published here.

⁸³ Most likely executed to promote the much desired visit of D. Filipe II of Portugal to the Portuguese Kingdom, the painting which was conceived around 1613, six years before the royal entrance of 1619, can only have represented the ephemeral architectural structures and festivity vessels used during the royal entry of D. Filipe I in 1581. It could even be part of the preparatory plan for the royal festivities, but it can hardly be represented an event faithfully before it happens, especially, six years later, a distance that will had forced some programmatic changes. The most recent studies about this painting belong to Andreas Gehlert and Miguel Soromenho and were published in the catalog of the exhibition organized by the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, in Lisbon, in 2016: *Joyeuse Entrée. A Vista de Lisboa do Castelo de Weilburg* (2016). Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



Figure 4. Panoramic view of the Royal Palace of Lisbon – the *Paço da Ribeira* – dedicated to the royal entrance of D. Filipe II in 1619 but inspired in the entrance of D. Filipe I in 1581
 Anonymous author | 1613 | Oil on canvas | Photographic record: J. Deckers-Matzko
Source: Castle of Weilburg | Weilburg, Germany (Inv.º nr.º: Inv.-Nr. 1.1.160_2015)

The reformed Royal Palace of Lisbon distinguished by the massive and symmetric turret (Fig. 3) – inspired by *San Lorenzo de El Escorial* building⁸⁴ but under the Italian artistic canons – would become the highest symbol of the Spanish House of Habsburg government in the Kingdom of Portugal. And this royal palatine building would preserve this power image not only during the governance of the viceroys and governors, between 1583 and 1640, but also after the ascension of the House of Braganza to the Portuguese throne on December 1, 1640. Only the great cataclysm of November 1, 1755, would destroy it and with it its political meaning.

In the first two years of D. Filipe I direct governance in Portugal – during the so-called *Royal Journey of Succession to Portugal* –, the reformation program conceived for the Royal Palace of Lisbon, as well for several others royal residences of the Portuguese Crown, would become some of the most evident and prominent royal policies. Nomadically travelling through the Kingdom, before and after the acclamation ceremony, the King carefully visited the main Crown residences, duly accompanied by the architectural plans designed by his team of architects and engineers.

The main Crown residence of Lisbon acquired a new and definitive political centrality, as a new symbol of the new dynasty before the old kingdom, mainly in regard to the other medieval royal residences, both inspected and reconditioned by his architects, but never forgetting that they were the property of the Crown: the Palace of the *Alcáçova* and the Palace of *Estaus*. The first one would become embedded in the military and defense bastion of the city, used for accommodating of the high ranks of the King's army⁸⁵, and the second one, after several eviction attempts requested by the King himself, would maintain its function as Tribunal of the Holy Office.

⁸⁴ However, we cannot ignore the tower that the King ordered to the *Alcázar de Madrid* some twenty years before, in 1559, taking into account not the form but the its functions. Barbeito, J. M. Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud, 91.

⁸⁵ According to Francisco Manuel de Mello the higher military ranks were lodged at the Palace of *Alcáçova*. In the end of the year of 1580, 1200 soldiers were stationed at the Castle of Lisbon, to which an additional 800

Strategically, D. Filipe I turned the Royal Palace of Lisbon into a new symbol of power by making it the main stage for the different political acts of his short government, not only during his brief passage through Portugal and but also in his long absence from the Kingdom, delegating a representative royal power to the viceroys and governors appointed to rule in his name. In order to regulate the governing role of his ministers in Portugal, the monarch issued a set of legislative regiments in 1583, 1586 and 1593⁸⁶, which «stipulated rigid rules of procedure and planned the demand for a hieratical distribution of the royal power spaces, reducing the use of the palatines areas, but emphasizing the representation of the governor in public. After all, the governors [and viceroy] were the monarch's agents, but were not the king himself»⁸⁷.

In all the great ventures undertaken by D. Filipe I, and later continued by his successor, D. Filipe II of Portugal, the «idea of “re-founding” is registered in the plans of the royal patronage, preserving them for posterity, never refuted, but merely transformed so as to serve new representation purposes»⁸⁸.

The symbolic comparison between the political dimension of D. Filipe I's new project for Portugal and the materialization of the architectural plan carried out in the main residences of the Portuguese kings is intriguing. The ambitious undertaking to gather all the Iberian kingdoms under one crown only – in a real and royal Iberian *political-building* – that was planned by the *Fortunate-King*, D. Manuel I, was successfully concluded eighty years later, by the *Prudent-King*, D. Filipe I of Portugal, his grandson. The establishment of the central government of the Dual Monarchy on an Iberian geographical axis – with a physical seat in the *Alcazar* and the *Palacio-Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial* – forced D. Filipe I, by his absence and distance of all others territories (visited at least once in the time), to implement a policy of (re)building several royal palaces to ensure the institutional proximity with its subjects in the European states. In Portugal it would be no different.

It was precisely in this context that D. Filipe I – before being legitimately proclaimed King of Portugal in Tomar, being publicly acclaimed in Lisbon and also after his return to Madrid –, promoted interventions in the *Paço da Ribeira* and in the surrounding urban area, once it was a space for public presentation and representation of the new monarchy in the old kingdom. And even after the definitive absence of D. Filipe I from the Kingdom of Portugal, the monarch remained seriously committed to the embellishment the *Paço da Ribeira* building. The artistic campaigns would be continued by the hand of the viceroy D. Alberto Ernesto but under the tight surveillance of the King himself. But analyzing the campaigns promoted during the governance of the first viceroy of the Dual Monarchy it would require starting another journey in time.

would be gathered. Sixty years later, around 1645, the number infantry soldiers rose up to between 3000 and 4000 men. AGS, *Secretaria de Estado*, Leg. 413, Letter to duke of Alba by D. Filipe I, 1580, November 28, *apud Coleccion de Documentos*, 265-266; Mello, F. M. (1645). *Ecco polytico. Responde en Portvgal a la voz de Castilla*. Lisbon: Por Paulo Craesbeck, 54v-55.

⁸⁶ Soromenho, M. O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte, 42.

⁸⁷ Pacheco, M. P. D., Palaces on the edge of the Atlantic, 60.

⁸⁸ Soromenho, M. *A Arquitectura do Ciclo Filipino*, 43.

Bibliography

- Barbeito, J. M. (1998). Felipe II y la arquitectura. Los años de juventud, *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época: Un Príncipe del Renacimiento* (pp. 82-103). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V.
- Barbosa, I. V. (1875). O Paço dos Estaus e da Inquisição. Coincidências Históricas Notaveis, *Estudos Historicos e Archeologicos* II (pp. 199-228). Porto: Tipografia de António José da Silva Teixeira.
- Battelli, G. and Coelho, H. T. (1935). *Filippo Terzi: architetto e ingegnere militare in Portogallo (1577-97). Documenti inediti dell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze e della Biblioteca Oliveriana di Pesaro*. Firenze: Ti Alfani e Venturi.
- Buescu, A. I. (2005). *D. João III*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (1998). Ardides del arte. Cultura de Corte, acción política y artes visuales en tiempos de Felipe II. *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época. Un Príncipe del Renacimiento* (pp. 56-81). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (1998). *Cartas para Duas Meninas Infantas. Portugal na Correspondência de D. Filipe I para as Suas Filhas (1581-1583)*. Lisbon: D. Quixote.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (2005). *D. Filipe I*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores/ Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (1998). *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de Historia Cultural del Reinado de Felipe II*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (1998). María, «Planeta de Lusitania». Felipe II y Portugal. *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época: La Monarquía Hispánica* (pp. 105-115). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V.
- Bouza Álvarez, F. (2000). *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes. Política, Cultura, Representações*. Lisbon: Edições Cosmos.
- Bustamante, A. and Mariás, F. (1987). Francisco de Mora y la arquitectura portuguesa, *As relações artísticas entre Portugal e Espanha na Época dos Descobrimentos* (pp. 277-318). Coimbra: Livraria Minerva.
- Cardim, P. (1998). *Cortes e Cultura Política no Portugal do Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: Edições Cosmos.
- Checa Cremades, F. (1998). Un Príncipe del Renacimiento. El valor de las imágenes en la corte de Felipe II, *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época. Un Príncipe del Renacimiento* (pp. 25-55). Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V.
- Curto, D. R. (2011). *Cultura Política no Tempo dos Filipes (1580-1640)*. Lisbon: Edições 70.
- Kubler, G. (1972). *Portuguese Plain Architecture. Between Spices and Diamonds. 1521-1706*. Middletown – Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.
- Hernando Sánchez, C. J. (1998). La corte y las cortes de la monarquía. *Felipe II. Un Monarca y su Época. Las Tierras y los Hombres del Rey* (pp. 70-79). Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura.
- Labrador Arroyo, F. (2006). *La Casa Real Portuguesa de Felipe II y Felipe III: la articulación del Reino a través de la integración de las elites de poder (1580-1621)*. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid.
- Mariás, F. (2014). Le carte corografiche delle città della penisola Iberica. *L'immagine della città europea dal Rinascimento al Secolo dei Lumi* (pp. 79-93). Milan: Museo Correr-Fondazione Venezia/Skira.

- Martinho, B. A. (2009). *O Paço da Ribeira nas Vésperas do Terramoto* (Thesis master). Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon.
- Moreira, R. (1983). O Torreão do Paço da Ribeira, *Mundo da Arte*, 14, 43-48.
- Oliveira, E. F. (1885). *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Typhographia Universal, tomb II.
- Pacheco, M. P. D. (2016). «compor os negocios do Reyno»: O Paço da Ribeira e a política de legitimação do poder de D. Filipe I de Portugal, *A Cidade de Évora. Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Évora*, III/1, 54-65.
- Pacheco, M. P. D. (2016). O Paço dos Estaus. A génese fundacional de Quatrocentos. *Lisboa Medieval: Gentes, Espaços e Poderes* (pp. 313-351). Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- Pacheco, M. P. D. (2014). Palaces on the edge of the Atlantic: The architectural reformation and the space ritualization of the Portuguese royal residences during the reign of Phillip I of Habsburg (1580-1598), in H. Karner, I. Ciuliová and B. J. García García (Eds.), *The Habsburgs and their Courts in Europe, 1400-1700. Between Cosmopolitanism and Regionalism*, (pp. 55-71). Vienna: (PALATIUM e-Publication), European Science Foundation, Austrian Academy of Sciences and Slovak Academy of Sciences.
- Pacheco, M. P. D. (2014). «De vossa Real presença desejada»: Uma apologia político-alegórica a D. Filipe II de Portugal, in C. M. C. Fernández de Cañete, M. C. V. S. P. Cabrita and J. M. Carrasco González (Eds.), *Crisis y Ruptura Peninsular. III Congreso Internacional de la SEEPLU* (pp. 179-212). Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura. Servicio de Publicaciones.
- Pimentel, A. F. (1992). *Arquitectura e Poder. O Real Edifício de Maфра*. Coimbra: Instituto de História da Arte.
- Pimentel, A. F. (1991). Poder, corte e palácio real: os palácios manuelinos e a reforma quincentista da alcáçova de Coimbra. In *Universidade(s)* (pp. 231-253) 2. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra.
- Pimentel, A. F. (1995). Repercussões do tema do Palácio-Bloco na Arquitectura portuguesa, *Actas del VII Simposio Hispano-Portugués de Historia del Arte: Las Relaciones artísticas entre España y Portugal: Artistas, mecenas y viajeros* (pp. 81-94). Badajoz: Gabinete de Iniciativas Transfronteirizas.
- Ramalho, A. C. (2004). Damião de Góis e os Humanistas Portugueses, *Biblos* II (pp. 429-441).
- Senos, N. (2002). *O Paço da Ribeira: 1501-1581*. Lisbon: Editorial Notícias.
- Serrano, J. I. P. C. B. B. (2014). *Margarida de Sabóia, Duquesa de Mântua (1589-1655). Percurso biográfico e político na Monarquia Hispânica* (Thesis master). Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon.
- Serrão, J. V. (2004). A chegada do Vice-Rei D. Cristóvão de Moura em 1600, *O tempo dos Filipes em Portugal e no Brasil* (pp. 285-291). Lisbon: Colibri.
- Soromenho, M. (2009). *A Arquitectura do Ciclo Filipino*. Lisbon: Fubu Editores.
- Soromenho, M. (2012). O Paço da Ribeira à medida da Corte: de Filipe I a D. Pedro II. In FARIA, M. F. (Coord.), *Do Terreiro do Paço à Praça do Comércio. História de Um Espaço Urbano* (pp. 37-71). Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda/ Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa.

Iconography sources:

Castle of Weilburg – Weilburg, Germany:

Anonymous author, *Royal entrance of D. Filipe I of Portugal in the city of Lisbon*, oil on canvas, 1613. Photography of Renate J. Deckers-MATzko [Inv.º nr.º: 1.1.160_2015]

Museu Nacional do Azulejo – Lisbon, Portugal:

Gabriel del Barco (attrib.), *Grande Vista de Lisboa – Torreão de Filipe T[erzi] com sala do trono e biblioteca*, tile composition, ca. 1700. Photography of Carlos Monteiro [Inv.º nr.º: MNAz 1 Az – 02519.12.01 TC]

Rijksmuseum – Amsterdam, Netherlands:

Jan Luyken, *Filips II wordt tot koning van Portugal gekroond, 1581*, etching on paper, Amsterdam, 1699. Photography record Rijksmuseum [Inv.º nr.º: RP-P-1896-A-19368-1682]

Printed primary sources:

Costa, M. (attrib.) (1744). *Arte de Furtar, espelho de enganos, teatro de verdades, mostrador de horas minguadas, gazua geral dos Reynos de Portugal*. Amsterdam: Oficina de Martinho Schagen.

Fernandez Navarete, M., Sainz de Baranda, P., Salvá, M. (Compilation of) (1857). *Coleccion de documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*. Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Calero, tomb XXXIII.

Guerreiro, A. (1581). *Das festas qye se fizeram na cidade de Lisboa na entrada del Rey D. Philippe primeiro de Portugal*. Lisbon: Printed by Francisco Correa.

Mello, F. M. (1645). *Ecco polytico. Responde en Portvgal a la voz de Castilla: y satisface a vn papel anonymo, ofrecido al Rey Don Felipe el Quarto. Sobre los intereces de la Corona Lusitana, y del Oceanico, Indico, Brasilico, Ethyopico, Arabico, Persico, y Africano Imperio*. Lisbon: Printed by Paulo Craesbeck – Printer of the Military Orders.

Monconys, B. (1666). *Voyage d'Espagne [and Portugal] fait en l'année 1628, Iovrnal des Voyages de Monsievr de Monconys, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils d'Etat, & Priué, & Lieutenant Criminel au Siege Presidial de Lyon*, Part. III. Lyon: Chez Horace Boissat & George Remevs.

Moura, M. (1840). *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique e Vida de Miguel de Moura*. Lisbon: Typographia da Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Úteis.

Soares, L. (1853). *Patente das Mercês, Graças, e Privilegios, de qye ElRei Dom Philippe nosso senhor fez merce as estes seus Regnos. E adiante vai outra Patente das respostas das Cortes de Tomar*. Lisbon: Printed by Antonio Ribeiro – the King printer.

Sousa, A. C. (1737). *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. West Lisbon: Oficina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, tomb. III.

Velazquez, I. (1583). *La entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe, Invictissimo Rey de las Españas, segundo deste nombre, primero de Portugal, assi con su Real presencia, como con el exercito de su felice campo*. Lisbon: Printed by Manuel de Lyra.