This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.
PHILIP II OF SPAIN & MONARCHIA UNIVERSALIS: ARCHITECTURE, URBANISM, & IMPERIAL DISPLAY IN HABSBURG IBERIA, 1561-1598

VOL.I

LAURA FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ
PHD ARCHITECTURE, 2012
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification except as specified.

Signature:.................................................... Date:.........................
ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate ideas of empire and imperialism in the architecture, urbanism and culture of the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century. At this time, the Monarchia Hispanica ruled by Philip II of Spain was Europe’s most powerful composite monarchy, with an empire that stretched from Europe to the Americas and South-East Asia. One of the ways in which the Castilian monarch displayed his power and authority was through architecture and artistic display. The way the empire saw itself, and the manner in which it wished to be seen, was thus projected in a number of buildings in Iberian cities. Therefore, the basic premise of the thesis is to consider how the idea of ‘empire’ affected the way the Castilian monarch saw himself as ‘ruler’ of a ‘global empire’.

This thesis explores these ideas of empowerment through a number of case studies that reflect the way the ‘centre’ of the empire was affected by Universal Monarchy. With Madrid as the capital of this empire from 1561, the Castilian monarchy designed new spaces in the old city that were intended to echo imperial glory. Philip II regulated the building fabric in the city to conform to a universal and homogeneous imperial city model that had been implemented in the Indies in previous decades. This is precisely the focus of the first case study, with a new approach to understanding the debated decade of the 1560s in the urban history of Madrid. I propose a novel perspective on the utopian planning of Madrid, through comparison with urban legislation enforced in other domains of the empire.

Philip II’s empire was ruled through the written word, with a highly specialised and sophisticated bureaucracy. This bureaucratic character was mirrored in the architectural reforms of Simancas fortress to adapt it for archival needs. The archive in Simancas is the second case study: this is a multi-layered examination of cultural and political history and how this was reflected in the spatial configuration of the new archival chambers. I identify a hitherto unknown European vernacular tradition in the architecture of the incipient sixteenth-century regal archives. The architectural expansion in the fortress contextualises the crucial role that the archives played in the expansion and cohesion of the composite monarchies under Philip II’s rule.

As the supremacy of Philip as ruler of a global empire was emphasised both through the arts and propaganda during the union of 1580, the celebration of the union of Portugal with the Monarchia Hispanica is the focus of chapter three: the joyous entry of the ruler into Lisbon in 1581. I demonstrate how sections of this entry were clearly designed to evoke the imperial vision defined at Philip II’s court, while other ephemeral displays were the result of local traditions. The interaction of both
realities is critical for comprehension of how the monarch wished to be seen in his new realm, and of the difficult relationships between the ruler and the ruled.

This imperial dominion was also displayed architecturally in significant regal buildings, such as the Monastery of El Escorial, the most paradigmatic example of the Austriaco style created under Phillip II’s rule. The final part of this thesis examines a chamber in this building: the Hall of Battles. This chamber is ornamented with impressive frescoes representing victorious battles. I explore the themes emerging from the Hall of Battles, such as the war against heresy and infidels, the propagation of faith and the Spanish hegemony in Europe, amongst others. These themes were treated in many of the chronicles, sermons, and eulogies printed in Madrid and throughout the empire. By examining how these are narrated in the funeral chronicles, I consider how the ruler wished himself to be portrayed in his kingdom upon death. In short, all these case studies explore from diverse perspectives and locations how Spain’s imperial expansion during the sixteenth century allowed Philip to project and communicate an image of himself as the monarch of a worldwide empire through art and architecture.
Preface

Like many of my peers, I knew from childhood that I wanted to be a historian. However, after graduating with a degree in art history from the University of Seville in Spain, I became fascinated with the work of conservation and what it meant to me: the closeness to historical buildings, and the thrill of feeling that I was contributing towards the preservation of architectural and urban heritage. My initial professional experience in history was from both this perspective, and that of the conservation and management of architectural archives. After six years working for a Spanish city council, and then working on a research project at Newcastle University, I decided I wanted to devote my life to full-time research in academia.

At our first meeting my thesis advisor, Dr Alex Bremner, suggested I could pursue a study on empire and architecture in sixteenth-century Spain. This project was envisioned as being similar, to a certain extent, to his thesis concerning imperial London. Although I had in mind another possible topic, after an interesting discussion I found myself fascinated by this proposed research. Therefore both lines of research share a general premise, although they have explored two different empires, periods, and focused on different specific issues. In addition, Dr Bremner’s particular view of the ‘wider’ picture in his own research pushed my work towards an understanding, and an analysis, of my case studies within the global context of the Spanish empire.

King Philip II of Spain was among the most important art patrons of the time, and his keen interest in architecture has enabled me to investigate the span of imperial ideas which underlie the narrative of the current thesis. I opted to select a range of case studies that would enable me to explore ideas of exchange from the periphery to the hub of the empire, in line with scholarly works on Atlantic studies. This is very significant in the first chapter of this thesis. Furthermore, I was interested in the manner in which the Castilian court was party to European cultural trends, and the impact that the Iberian union under Philip II’s sole rule had on the imperial rhetoric developed at his court.

My previous experience in conservation has shaped my views on architecture. A building constructed over time is ‘narrating’ a history through the superposition of shapes and spaces. This observation of the object was recurrent in the case of the archive in the Simancas fortress. My own interest, education, and experience in archives were decisive for chapter two. A city as an organic entity, a building, an ephemeral display, and a fresco cycle can be examined in the same way as an archival collection. Each of them, with its particular arrangement and the spatial configuration that conforms and frames it, fleshes out the intentions of their patrons. A historical investigation carries a certain level of suspense, until the ‘pages of the book’ begin to open to the observer. In this sense, they can be approached with similar questions.
Another element important to this thesis has been to consider ways of representing my findings. I felt it necessary to project, through drawings and other media, the way I viewed the architectural objects which have not survived. The inspiring departmental discussion with my peers from Architectural Design has influenced this decision-making. For example, the idea to ‘reconstruct’ the urban space and the ephemeral architecture of Philip II’s triumphal entry into Lisbon (chapter three) emerged through a question I was asked after a departmental talk: ‘Is it possible to “see” what the king viewed through the itinerary?’ I initially thought that this quest was unachievable, as Lisbon had been destroyed in the natural disaster of 1755. However, after consideration, I realised it could be accomplished. This part of the investigation has been a journey into viewing other ways to analyse objects, and explore other tools of investigation.

In addition to my experiences during the years preceding my doctoral investigation, during the time I have been shaping the thesis, the large body of literature concerning Philip II has been critical in developing my view of the investigation and also on the suitability of the inquiry. I was encouraged greatly by reading works on imperial political thought, Atlantic history, and the Habsburgs in a wider context. This reading and the discussions I have established with scholars have been critical in shaping my thinking, and the direction the research had finally taken.


L.F.G.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION I
ABSTRACT II
PREFACE IV
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS IX
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS XI
ABBREVIATIONS XVII

INTRODUCTION

I.0. PHILIP II’S IMPERIAL DESTINY 1
   1.1. Philipus II Hispaniarum Rex: Imperium or Monarchia?............... 5
   1.2. Thesis Organisation and Methods. ...................................... 8
   1.3. Scope, Contents, and Limits. ......................................... 10

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. HABSBURG IMPERIAL UTOPIA: PHILIP II & THE URBANISM
   OF MADRID (1561-1584) 19

   1.1. Architecture and King Philip II. ...................................... 19
   1.3. Urban Legislation in Madrid (1565 to 1584): Vegetation (I),
       Domestic Architecture (II), Sanitation and City Wall (III). ....... 32
       1.3.I. Vegetation: ‘Poplars for the King, Poplars for Madrid’ .... 33
       1.3.II. Domestic Architecture in the Empire: Madrid and the Wider
                World. ............................................................... 35
       1.3.III. Madrid: Sanitation and City Wall. ............................. 47

   1.4 Memoria de las Obras de Madrid (c. 1565): Emerging Urbanism in
       the Capital of the Empire. ............................................ 53
   1.5. Philip II’s Urban Legislation: Madrid and the Empire ............. 61
CHAPTER TWO

2.0. PHILIP II’S UNIVERSAL MONARCHY: THE IMPERIAL ARCHIVE IN SIMANCAS CASTLE 74

2.1. Legitimising Authority in Early Modern Spain: When the Written Form Ruled the World. ................................................................. 79

2.1.1. Philip II’s Universal Monarchy: the Art of Ruling and the Archive. ....................................................................................... 82

2.1.2. Establishing the House of Habsburg in Castile: the Creation of the First Archive Chamber in the fortress of Simancas, Valladolid. ...... 88

2.1.3 The Architecture of the Treasure-Archive: Simancas in the Wider European Tradition. ................................................................. 93

2.1.4. Philip II’s Cubiculum: Completing the Tower of the Archive at Simancas, 1559-1568. ................................................................. 105

2.1.5. Simulacra, Archetype, and Eclecticism in Philip II’s Cubicle. ...... 108

2.1.6. Simancas Archive & the Wider World ........................................ 113

2.2. The Expansion of Simancas Archive: the Inclusion of the Vassal’s Documentation and the Architectural Reforms, 1571-1588. ............. 118

2.2.1. Tabularium Caesaris: Instructions for the Governance of Simancas (1588). ................................................................. 129

2.2.2. The King’s Chambers: Francisco the Mora’s Reforms (1588-1598)... 132

2.3. Conclusion. ................................................................................. 143

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. IBERIA TRIUMPHANS: ARCHITECTURE & VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF PHILIP II’S EMPIRE IN THE LISBON ENTRY OF 1581 ................................. 148

3.1. Dynastic Marriages & their Political Reverberations .................... 152

3.2. The Triumphal Entry into Lisbon, 1581: the Water Festival. .......... 156

3.3. Empire and Imperial Display in the Entry of Philip II into Lisbon, 1581. ................................................................................. 159

3.3.1. Philip II: Imperial Triumph and Global Dominion. .................. 164

3.3.2. Dominae Mundi: Philip II’s Role in the Pageantry. ................. 184

3.3.3. Lineage & Religion: the Duties of a Christian Ruler. ............... 190

VII
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. HISTORIA PRO PATRIA: THE HALLS OF BATTLES IN EL ESCORIAL MONASTERY & THE FAME OF THE UNIVERSAL MONARCH .................................................. 208

4.1. The Hall of Battles: Commission, Artists and Programme. .............. 214

4.2. Tapestry and Battle Representation: I. Pastrana. II. Pavía. III. Tunes. .... 219

4.3. I. The Triumphs of Alfonso V of Portugal ‘The African’: Pastrana Tapestry Series. ................................................................. 220

4.3.II. The Battle of Pavia Tapestry Series. ......................................... 222

4.3.III. The Tunes Tapestry Series. ....................................................... 224

4.4. ‘The Victories of Charles V’: Martin van Heemskerk and Giulio Clovio. 225

4.5. Philip II on the Art of Writing & the Recording of History. .............. 227

4.6. Battle Painting in fifteenth and sixteenth century Castile and Aragon. .... 230

4.7. Representations of Juan II’s Campaign against the Kingdom of Granada: Battles of La Higueruela and Jimena (1431). ......................... 237

4.8. Battle ‘Reportage’ in the Royal Palaces During Philip II’s Rule: ‘Painted Chronicles’ & Style in the Hall of Battles. .............................. 242

4.9. Philip II’s Triumphant Image upon his Death & the Hall of Battles. ...... 246

CONCLUSIONS .......................................................... 254

APPENDIX .......................................................... 260

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................... 267
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the past few years many people have contributed towards the realisation of this thesis. I am greatly indebted to all of them. Unfortunately, I am unable to mention all of them here, although many of those not included in these words are acknowledged within the notes of the thesis.

I am particularly grateful to Dr Alex Bremner for his generosity, encouragement, time, and patience as principal supervisor. His professionalism, seriousness, and perfectionism in his own work have been inspirational. His guidance and critical review of my work have been essential in shaping the thesis into its current form.

I am very grateful for the encouragement, advice, and inspirational research of a number of scholars and other postgraduate students in the departments of Architecture, History of Art, and History at the University of Edinburgh. I would like to thank Professor Fernando Checa Cremades for his generosity and advice on the contents of this thesis. I am thankful to a number of scholars who have generously shared their own expertise with me; these discussions have shaped some of the chapters of this thesis. Dr Alejandra B. Osorio’s own work, and the long discussions we have shared concerning her theory of the ‘common imperial grammar’ on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean have been greatly important to chapter one. Dr José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, Professor Fernando Bouza, and Dr Bernardo J. García García’s revisions of and critical input to chapter two have been instrumental in enhancing it. Dr Annemarie Jordan, Dr Ana Isabel Buescu, and again Fernando Bouza were essential to the development of chapter three. Discussions with Professor Geoffrey Parker, again Fernando Checa and Bernardo García, and more recently with Professor Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, were essential in shaping my theory on the ‘visual narrative of history’ in chapter four.

My research was only possible thanks to the generous University of Edinburgh studentship I was awarded. I am also grateful for the grants I received for research and conference attendance from the Edinburgh College of Art (formerly School of Arts, Culture and Environment), University of Edinburgh; and for the grants received from the Anglo-Spanish Society (London, 2010), the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon, 2011), and the European Science Foundation Palatium travel grant (2011).

I am especially indebted to Mr Federico Palomera, Spanish Consul in Edinburgh until August 2010, thanks to whom I was granted a generous fund from the Ministry of External Affairs in Spain for the realise of: a 3D model reconstruction of Philip II’s triumphal entry into Lisbon; the organisation of a two-day international conference, July 2010; an exhibition in The Matthew Gallery, September 2010, and a project website: www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com. This project also received generous funds from the Architecture and History of Art departments at the University of Edinburgh. I
am especially grateful to Dr Thomas Tolley, Dr Jill Burke, Dr Viccy Coltman, and John Lowry for their support in obtaining these funds. I am also indebted to the Society for the Renaissance Study of Great Britain for supporting the project conference with generous funding. Thanks to this project, the contents of my thesis were enhanced greatly, with the realisation of the virtual model, and also by bringing together scholars whose expertise was fundamental to my own research. This was the case with Professor Ronnie Mulryne, Professor Margaret Shewring, and Professor Maria Ines Aliverti among many other specialists in early modern festivals and court culture.

I am also grateful to the staff of all the libraries and archives cited in this thesis. Without their dedication to their work and attention to researchers, this thesis and the work of many other scholars would not be possible. I am greatly indebted to all of them. I am especially grateful to José Luis Rodríguez, librarian at El Escorial Monastery, Dr José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, former director of the Simancas archive, and his wife Isabel Aguirre, Head of Reference department at the same institution. I am also very thankful to Almudena Perez de Tudela, Curator of El Escorial Monastery, for her assistance and generosity with my research concerning the Hall of Battles at El Escorial.

My friends have been an essential part of my life during these years. I am especially grateful to my friends in Edinburgh who have not only formed part of my daily life but also on many occasions have helped me greatly with my own work. I would like to express my gratitude especially to Susana and Catarina Fonte, Dr Jessica Taylor, and Emily Peppers. The rest of my friends have supported me in many other ways and I am grateful to all of them; especially to my dear friend Juan Luis González, whose generosity, strength, and courage have been inspirational. May he rest in peace.

This thesis would not have been possible without the encouragement and loving support of my family, especially my parents, my brother, my grandmother, and my partner, from whom I received advice and support wherever necessary. This thesis is dedicated to them, and to the loving memory of my grandfather, who only saw the beginning of it.
Chapter 1

Figure 1.1: Sketch of the Palace of El Pardo with Annotations by Philip II c. 1556. [AGS. Casa Real - Obras y Bosques, Leg. 248, no. 166. See MPD 40/004].

Figure 1.2: Drawing for the Alcázar in Madrid with Additions by Philip II [AGS. Casa Real - Obras y Bosques, Leg. 248, no. 165.]

Figure 1.3: View of Madrid A.V. Wyngaerde, 1562. Complete Drawing & Details. Key: 1) Alcázar. 2) Casa de Campo.

Figure 1.4: Model Recreating a Casa a la Malicia. Front Façade. Madrid, Museo de la Ciudad.

Figure 1.5: Model Recreating a Casa a la Malicia Rear Façade. Madrid, Museo de la Ciudad.

Figure 1.6: Photograph of Santa Fé, Granada. Detail of the Urban Pattern in the form a Grid. City Designed under the Catholic Monarch’s order (c. 1490), [Google Maps].

Figure 1.7: Drawing- Detail of the Old City. Plan of Santo Domingo, 1805. Scale (1:7000). The Urban Design Nicolas de Ovando used was a Grid. [http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4954s.ct000102]

Figure 1.8: Francisco de Mora’s Design for a House in Valladolid (1602) [AGS. MPD, 24, 079].

Figure 1.9: Elevation of a House with three stories, Valladolid (1606- 1608). [AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Diversos de Castilla, Leg. 40, no. 55. The drawing is now in AGS. MPD, 62, 075].

Figure 1.10: Casa Cisneros in Madrid (1537).

Figure 1.11: Casa de las Siete Chimeneas Madrid (1577).

Figure 1.12: Façade Museum of the Casas Reales. Original construction for the palatine complex in Santo Domingo (1511).

Figure 1.13 (a-d): Reconstruction of the domestic architecture in Madrid (1565-1584).


Figure 1.14: Design of the residence of Bautista Spínola in the plaza of Santa Catalina de los Donados, Madrid, 22 May 1589 [AGS. Escribanía Mayor de Rentas, Exenciones de Aposento, Leg. 2, no. 13. Now in AGS MPD. 16-182.]

Figure 1.15: Façade of the Encarnación Convent in Madrid by Fray Alberto de la Madre de Dios (1610). [B. Blasco Esquivias, ‘Utilidad y Belleza en la Arquitectura Carmelitana: las Iglesias de San José y La Encarnación,’ Anales de Historia del Arte vol. 14 (2004), pp. 143-156.]

1 Illustrations are in the second volume of this thesis. New legislation on the image database.
Figure 1.16: Madrid Urban Growth 1535-1600. [J.M. Barbeito, ‘La Capital de la Monarquía, 1535-1600,’ in V. Pinto Crespo and S. Madrazo Madrazo(eds.), Madrid, Atlas Histórico de la Ciudad (Madrid, 1995) pp. 32-39, (p.33).]


Chapter 2

Figure 2.1: The Archive in Simancas Castle. Photograph of the building before the conservation works. [Second Report on the Conservation project, 2005]

Figure 2.2: The Archive in Simancas Castle. Photograph of the building during the conservation works. [Second Report on the Conservation project, 2005]

Figure 2.3: Castillo de Simancas. Plans.

Figure 2.4: Castillo de Simancas. Elevations.

Figure 2.5: Castillo de Simancas. Axonometrics.

Figure 2.6: Axonometric of Tower of the Archive (1540-1569). Detail.

Figure 2.7: Elevation of the Fortress Detail of the Tower of Obras y Bosques (blue outline).

Figure 2.8: Charles V Archival Chamber at the Top of the Tower & Archival Boxes.

Figure 2.9: Charles V’s Chamber . Interior.

Figure 2.10: Simancas Castle Plan (Attics). Detail, Charles V’s Cubiculum.

Figure 2.11: Treasure. Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I, woodcut Print (1512-1515) designs by Albrecht Dürer and pupils from his workshop: Hans Springinklee and Wolf Traut. British Museum, London.

Figure 2.12: Archivum Arcis & Sala Rotonda Castel Sant’Angelo (Rome).

Figure 2.13: Ulysses Tower (Torre do Tombo) in St. George Castle in Lisbon.

Figure 2.14: Francisco de Mora design for furniture, 1589. [AGS. MPD, 50, 039]

Figure 2.15: Photomontage – Reconstruction of Philip II’s cubiculum. [© Laura Fernandez-Gonzalez & M.A. Romero 2011].

Figure 2.16: Original Chest for the documentation c. 1567.

Figure 2.17: Access to Philip II’s Cubo.

2 The building photographs were taken by me in May 2009 except otherwise stated. All plans and elevations of the building in this chapter, except otherwise stated, are my own copyright. Harry Kirkham and Nick Sharp delivered the drawings under my instructions in CAD and Sketch-up. I later edited them in Photoshop. They are based on both, the eighteenth-century plans delivered respectively by Ventura Rodriguez, and the plans published in M. Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo General de Simancas. La Intervención 1999-2007 (Madrid, 2008).
Figure 2.18: Philip II’s cubo, interior.

Figure 2.19: Woodwork in Philip II’s Cubiculum.

Figure 2.20: Cubillo de las Trazas, Alcázar Madrid. Drawing by J. Bautista de Toledo with corrections from King Philip II, 1562-1563. [AGS, Casa Real - Obras y Bosques, Legajos, 00248, 164. Sig. MPD, 40, 00].

Figure 2.21: Southeast elevation. External view of the pavilions designed by Juan de Herrera.

Figure 2.22: Northeast elevation. Juan de Herrera’s pavilion.

Figure 2.23 Ground Floor Simancas Castle, evolution of the architectural development. [Inspired in the appendix included in M. Perez Fernández, Casa Archivo General de Simancas. La Intervención 1999-2007 (Madrid, 2008)].

Figure 2.24: Cabinets & Structural Solution for the Roofing System, Simancas Castle.

Figure 2.25: Barred Windows Facing the Patio.

Figure 2.26: Juan de Herrera. Well’s Pavilion, now Reading Room.

Figure 2.27: Patio in the Simancas Castle.

Figure 2.28: Cross Section Elevation of the Archive, Francisco de Mora (c. 1589). [AGS MPD, 50, 038].

Figure 2.29: Cross-Section Elevation and Plan of Patronazgo Real Room, Francisco de Mora, 1589. [AGS, MPD. 05-096].

Figure 2.30: Patronazgo Real Façade.

Figure 2.31: Juan Pantoja de la Cruz sketch for Patronazgo Real Room at Simancas Castle. [AGS MPD 65-123].

Figure 2.32: Patronazgo Real Room. After Conservation Project 2007.

Figure 2.33: Second Floor Plan Showing the Passageway and Stairs the King’s Rooms, c. 1591.

Figure 2.34: Second Floor Plan Including Bishop’s Cubo.

Figure 2.35: Façade. Simancas Archive.

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1: Philip II’s entry into Lisbon, 1619. Print from the edition of 1622.

Figure 3.2: ‘Masterplan’ for Philip II’s entry into Lisbon, possible based upon Philip II’s entry of 1581. Oil on Canvas dated 1613. Weimar Castle.

Figure 3.3: St. George Castle Blasting its Guns. Detail Oil on Canvas kept at Weimar Castle.

Figure 3.4: Detail of ships sailing through the River Tagus on Philip III’s Entry, 1619. Print included only on the version published in 1622.

Figure 3.5: Detail of the Ships on the oil on canvas dated 1613. ‘Masterplan’ of Philip III’s Entry into Lisbon.

Figure 3.6: Detail of the Canvas dated 1613. The Royal Galley.
Figure 3.7: The Conquest of Lisbon by the Royal Spanish Army, 25th August 1580. Print entitled originally *Die Belagerung von Lissabon* by Leonard Blümel (1580), [Zürich, Zentralbibliothek].

Figure 3.8: Itinerary of the Entry of Philip II into Lisbon.

Figure 3.9: Hypothetical Re-creation of Philip II’s triumphal entry into Lisbon, 1581.

Figure 3.10: *Alfadinga* (right) & German Merchants (left) Arches. 3D Re-creation.

Figure 3.11: Elevation and Profiled Figures on the Maritime Customs façade.

Figure 3.12: View of Lisbon. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg’s atlas *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* vol.2 (1598).

Figure 3.13: Lisbon. Print. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg’s atlas *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum* vol.1 (1572).

Figure 3.14: *Mercadores Alemaes* Arch. 3D Re-creation.

Figure 3.15: German Merchants Arch, 1613.

Figure 3.16: German Merchants Arch, 1619.

Figure 3.17: Triumphal Arch of the Spanish, Antwerp, 1549. [Coeck Van Aelst, Cornelius, Scalinger, *Le Triumphe d’Anvers* (Antwerpt, 1549), p. 39].

Figure 3.18: *Mercadores Alemaes* Arch.

Figure 3.19: Philippvs III Dvx Brab. Hisp. II Rex. [BNE, A.V. Baerland, *Chroniques des Ducs de Brabant* (Antwerp, 1600), (Biblioteca Nacional Digital) PID. 394152].

Figure 3.20: Philip II’ Emblem. Print. [J. Ruscelli, *Le Imprese Illustri* (Venice, 1566), p. 233].


Figure 3.22: King Philip II as World’s Ruler, 1585. [Miniatur in der Handschrift von J. Holzhammer, *Beschreibung des Portugalesischen Krieges*. (Vienna, 1585). Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Handschriften- und Inkunabelsieg. Cod. 9865, fol. IVr.]

Figure 3.23: Simulated street: Elevation with Statues. Right hand side.

Figure 3.24: Simulated street: Elevation with Statues. Left hand side.


Figure 3.26: Emblem by Lorenzo de San Pedro entitled: TRIVMPHO PRIMERO IMPERIAL. Drawing, ink on paper. [BUSA Mss. 2092].

Figure 3.27: Medal of Philip II, Cast and chased silver medal by G. P. Poggini c. 1559-1562. [British Museum Ref. CM George III, Flemish and Dutch Medal no. 313].

Figure 3.28: *L’ingresso di Filipo II a Lisbona* Cosimo Gamberucci, 1598. Oil on Canvas. [L. Goldenberg Stoppato, ‘Los Lienzos con Historias de la Vida de Felipe II’ in *Glorias Efímeras: Las exequias Florentinas de Felipe II y Margarita de Austria. Sala Municipal de*]
Figure 3.29: Philip I of Portugal at the Courts of Tomar (1580). Attributed to A. Coello. [Museo San Carlo Mexico].

Figure 3.30: Representation of Philip II Lapidarios Arch, 1619. Print.

Figure 3.31: Topo da Padaria arches 3D Re-creation.

Figure 3.32: Mercadores Alemés Arch. Façade Facing the City.

Figure 3.33: Façade of the Silversmith Guild (Plateiros), 1619.

Figure 3.34: Plateiros Arch 1581. 3D Urban Re-creation of Rua Nova dos Mercaderes.

Figure 3.35: Plateiros Arch Elevation.

Figure 3.36: Lisboa by Francisco de Holanda. [F. Holanda, J.F. Alves, Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa (1571) (Lisbon, 1984), p. 14].

Figure 3.37: Portas da Ribeira, Elevation with Statues outlined.

Figure 3.38: Rua Nova dos Mercaderes, Lisbon. c. 1570-1590. [Rossetti Collection at Kelmscott Manor.]

Figure 3.39: Chafariz de Rua Nova, 3D Recreation & 2D Elevation with statues.

Figure 3.40: Fangas da Farinha 3D re-creation.

Figure 3.41: Cityscape of Lisbon c.1700. Museo Nacional da Azulejo, Lisbon. White and blue Faience. Measurements:115 x 2247 cm. Originally in the palace of the Counts of Tentúgal, Lisbon. [Museum ref. MNAz, inv.º 1].

Figure 3.42: Seal of Philip II Vatican Secret Archive [Parker, Felipe II, p. 135].

Figure 3.43: Medal Coined in Lima around 1583.[Parker, Felipe II, p. 796].

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: The Hall of Battles (I): plan, 3D photomontage, and details of the battle of La Higueruela.

Figure 4.2: The Hall of Battles (II): the battles in France, Netherlands & Azores.

Figure 4.3: El Escorial. Print. [P. Perret, Diseños de toda la Fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escurial[...] (Madrid, 1694), p. 20.].

Figure 4.4: The Battle of St. Quentin 10 August, 1557. The Hall of Battles, El Escorial.

Figure 4.5: The Battle of the Milvian Bridge by Giulio Romano. Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. Detail.

Figure 4.6: Battle Depictions. Cantigas de Santa María.

Figure 4.7: Pastrana tapestry.

Figure 4.8: Detail. Pastrana Tapestry.

Figure 4.9: The Battle of Pavia. Tapestry. Bernard Van Orley.
Figure 4.10: Detail of the battle of Pavia. Tapestry.

Figure 4.11: Detail of the battle of La Higueruela. Hall of Battles, El Escorial.

Figure 4.12: The Hunt of Maximilian I. Tapestry. Louvre.

Figure 4.13: Tunes tapestry. Willem Pannemaker after Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen’s cartoons. Patrimonio Nacional.

Figure 4.14: Detail of Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen drawing. Tunes tapestry. Patrimonio Nacional.

Figure 4.15: Details displaying battle sub-scenes. Tunes tapestry. Patrimonio Nacional.

Figure 4.16: Charles V on the Tunes tapestry. Detail.

Figure 4.17: The Siege of Vienna in 1532. After Heemskerk, attributed to Giulio Clovio. [British Library].

Figure 4.18: The Count of Buren Unites Forces with the Imperial Army in 1546. After Heemskerk attributed to Giulio Clovio. [British Library].

Figure 4.19: Details of La Higueruela, El Escorial (left) & Clovio’s depiction (right).

Figure 4.20: Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385 by J. Froissart.

Figure 4.21: Details of mural depictions at the Castle of Calatravos, Almuñiz. Fresco-secco.

Figure 4.22: Battle of Aljubarrota by Jean Wavrin late fifteenth century. [British Library].

Figure 4.23: Choir, Cathedral of Toledo, Details of Master Rodrigo’s Bas-reliefs.

Figure 4.24: Cisneros Campaign in Oran by Juan de Borgoña (1514).

Figure 4.25: Battle of San Romano, Paolo Uccello (c. 1438-1440). [National Gallery, London].

Figure 4.26: Apse Old Cathedral Salamanca. Dello Delli.

Figure 4.27: Battle of Ricardina by Il Romanino (c.1530-1535). Castle of Malpaga, Bergamo.

Figure 4.28: Colliding troops. Detail, Battle of La Higueruela, El Escorial.

Figure 4.29: Colliding troops. Detail, Battle of Ricardina by Il Romanino (c.1530-1535). Castle of Malpaga, Bergamo.

Figure 4.30: Details of the Saxony Wars. Palace of Oriz.

Figure 4.31: Estufa de la Alhambra, Granada. Tunes Campaign fresco series prior restoration. Scene one.

Figure 4.32: Estufa de la Alhambra, Granada. Tunes Campaign fresco series prior restoration. Scene two.

Figure 4.33: Siege of Jimena, 1431. Ink on paper. [BMCJ- R. 27210].

Figure 4.34: Details of the siege of Jimena & the battle of La Higueruela.

Figure 4.35: Battle of Gigonza (1371). Ink on paper. [BMCJ- R. 27210].

Figure 4.36: Socorro de Arcila (1509). Ink on paper. [BMCJ- R. 27210].

XVI
Appendix

Fig. 5.1: German Merchants Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.2: Comparative Study: Elevations of German Merchants Arch.

Figure 5.3: Alfadinga Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.4: Ribeira Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.5: Pezo Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.7: Padaria Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.8: Topo Padaria Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.9: Ferro Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.10: Silversmiths Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.11: Poço da Fotea Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.12: Chafariz Rua Nova. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.13: Moeda Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.14: Fangas da Farinha Façade. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.15: S. Francisco Façade. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.16: Tanoaria Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.17: Armazem Arch. Plan, Elevation, 3D re-creation.

Figure 5.18: View of Lisbon from the South, attributed to Antonio de Holanda, after 1534. Illuminated parchment, 41.5 x 29.5 x 9 cm. Duarte Galvão, Crônica do rei Dom Afonso Henriques (1534). [Museu Condes de Castro Guimarães, Cascais, Câmara Municipal, Sign. 14.]

Figure 5.19. Lisbon, Tinoco, 1647. [National Library of Portugal].
ABBREVIATIONS

AGI: Archivo General de Indias, (Seville, Spain).
AGP: Archivo General de Palacio, (Madrid, Spain).
AGS: Archivo General de Simancas, (Simancas, Spain).
AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional, (Madrid, Spain).
ATT: Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, (Lisbon, Portugal).
AVM: Archivo de la Villa de Madrid, (Madrid, Spain).
BGPR: Biblioteca General del Palacio Real, (Madrid, Spain).
BMJF: Biblioteca Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera, (Jerez, Spain).
BNA: Biblioteca Nacional da Ajuda, (Lisbon, Portugal).
BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de Espana, (Madrid, Spain).
BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris, France).
BNMP: Biblioteca Nacional del Museo del Prado (Madrid, Spain).
BNP: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, (Lisbon, Portugal).
BRME: Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de El Escorial, (El Escorial, Spain).
BUSA: Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca, (Salamanca, Spain).
CODOIN: Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos de la Historia de España.
IVDJ: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, (Madrid, Spain).
MVM: Museo de la Villa de Madrid, (Madrid, Spain).
ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, (Vienna, Austria).
[The Treaty of Tordesillas] did, in fact, determine the principles on which the vast extent of unappropriated empire in the eastern and western hemispheres was ultimately divided between two petty states of Europe.¹

I. Introduction.

I.0. Philip II’s Imperial Destiny.

The Treaty of Tordesillas, signed on the 7th of June 1494 between the Iberian kingdoms of Juan II of Portugal and of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon,² was the diplomatic truce that fulfilled their imperial ambitions by dividing the world between their realms. As William H. Prescott stated in the text quoted above, this division of the globe also affected unconquered land and maritime routes. Christopher Columbus’ discovery of the ‘new world’ radically changed the position of these two relatively small monarchies in Europe. They would rise into previously unimaginable empires with vast and eminently rich new lands. Both realms were strongly allied through dynastic marriages and mutual political interests,³ and their vast territories and political organisation defined them individually as empires in their own right.

Machiavelli praised Ferdinand II of Aragon’s expansionist policy in 1513:

Ferdinand of Aragon, present king of Spain. He can be regarded as a new prince, because from being a weak king he has risen to being, for fame and glory, the first king of Christendom. If you study his achievements, you will find they were all magnificent and some of them unparalleled[…].⁴

Most of the European realms in the sixteenth century were a union of kingdoms under the same ruler. Castile and Aragon and their respective dominions composed the Spanish monarchy. This composite monarchy was created through dynastic marriages, and gained by inheritance and conquest. Each individual realm was a zealous defender of its own rights and identity, and therefore reluctant to accept a foreign ruler who might encroach upon the independence of their courts. Consequently, the ruler had to negotiate the status of these rights with the courts upon accession to the throne. This particular relationship between the ruled and the ruler originated in the Middle Ages, during which kingship was perceived as a contract between the two, and accordingly to be adhered to and respected by both parties concerned.⁵ Machiavelli, in the text

¹ W.H. Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic vol. 2 (Boston, 1838), p. 183.
² Isabella and Ferdinand are known as the ‘Catholic Monarchs’.
³ These dynastic relationships between realms are examined at length in chapter 3.
quoted above, lauded King Ferdinand’s political astuteness and might. Specifically, the author praised the conquest of Granada, the king’s support of the Church through the expulsion of Jews and Muslims, and the subsequent attack on Africa. According to Machiavelli, Ferdinand had gained his dominions and reputation by inheritance, truce, war and conquest.

The increase of power and dominion was a common ideal shared by sixteenth-century Christian monarchs. Like Machiavelli, Erasmus was highly influential in the definition of ‘monarchy’, with his *Speculum Principis* dedicated to Charles V in 1516, before his accession to the Holy Roman Emperorship. The Dutch philosopher and theologian theorised about the ideal Christian prince who was now educated in both the Christian faith and humanist thought. The imperial theory of the period encompassed religion, humanist thought, and territorial expansion. Erasmus, however, envisioned an emperor in pursuit of a pax armistice, encouraging Charles to aim for a ‘universal peace’ in his empire; his writing was along the lines of Thomas More’s political thought, and in contradiction to Machiavelli’s postulates.

The empire built up by the Burgundian ruler was gained through both inheritance and conquest, and with the incorporation of the Iberian realms, Charles V also acquired the relentlessly expanding transatlantic territories. In the emperor’s entourage, this was viewed in messianic terms: as Grand Chancellor Gattinara wrote to Charles in 1519: ‘God has set you the on the path towards a world monarchy’.

Mercurino Gattinara (1465-1530) envisioned a universal monarchy emulating Dante Alighieri’s *De Monarchia* (1312-1313), in which the civil and religious powers were separated and the ‘imperial domain’ or ‘universal monarchy’ was Europe-centred. This new breed of humanist thought defended and idealised Imperial Rome as the model to pursue in the new universal monarchy. In the sixteenth century,

---

6 The ruler also campaigned in Italy and France, see Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 71.

But you, noble Prince Charles, are more blessed than Alexander, and will we hope, surpass him equally in wisdom too. He for his part has seized an immense empire, but not without bloodshed, nor was it destine to endure. You were born to an splendid empire and are destined to inherit one still greater, so that, while he had to expend great efforts on invasion, you will have perhaps to work to ensure that you can voluntary hand over part of your dominions rather than seize more. You owe it to heaven that your empire came to you without the shedding of blood, and no one suffered for it; your wisdom must now ensure that you preserve it without bloodshed and at peace

theoretical works evoking the exploits of the Roman empire to instruct the new Christian rulers were circulating among European courts.

Hernán Cortés’ imperial vision included the lands of the American conquest. Cortes argued that Charles could become ‘the world’s monarch’. In similar terms, the Bishop of Badajoz opened the courts of Castile of 1520, convoked by Charles V, with these words: ‘The Empire comes now looking for the Emperor in Spain, and our King of Spain is [crowned thanks] to God’s grace, King of Romans and Emperor of the world.’

The imperial panegyric came to include the new world within the boundaries of the universal monarchy. Erasmus’ ideal of universal peace, recommended in his *Speculum Principis* to Charles of 1516, was never realised or pursued. Charles’ art of ruling was the epitome of the Renaissance hero as portrayed in Leoni’s bronze piece: ‘Charles V and the Fury’ (Prado), commissioned in 1549, with the emperor presented as a victorious and mighty warrior-ruler. The piece was inspired by Virgil’s *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas pacified Lazio. The emperor’s theory of peacemaking was through war; only by subjugating the enemies of the empire and Christendom would peace on earth be realised.

This imperial authority, both in the old and new world, was sustained by victory and conquest, which in combination with the incoming wealth from the Indies gave Charles a strong impression that he was on a divine mission to become the leader of a Christian world. Philip II embraced his father’s messianic endeavour, becoming the paladin of the Counter-reformation. During Philip’s rule (1556-1598), he fought to maintain his inherited possessions in Europe. In 1580, Philip became King of Portugal and its overseas empire, thereby becoming ruler of the greatest empire ever known, with dominions in all known continents of the period. If his ancestors had divided the world in 1494, it was now united under his sole rule. Unsurprisingly, imperial propaganda reached its peak in the monarch’s court and elsewhere at this time. He became the first global ruler and, to his entourage, the epitome of the Christian emperor envisioned by the humanists.

As John H. Elliot has argued, Charles V was a warrior king, as opposed to his heir who reformed the administration to manage the vast and remote lands under his rule. Charles, in his abdication speech of 1555, recounted his almost frenetically peripatetic life, in which he fought for the seizure and defence of his European

---

14 Armitage, *Theories of Empire*, p. XX.
16 ‘Mirror for princes’ was a genre which was widespread in the early Middle Ages, in the form of an educational book for princes and future rulers. This genre endured in the Renaissance and was used by a number of authors, e.g., Erasmus’ *Education of a Christian Prince*.
territories. Philip II, however, travelled more frequently than has been portrayed in the past, when he was viewed only as a ‘hidden’ and ‘sedentary’ ruler. In general, the traditional historiography has generated an image of the ruler which is not completely accurate. According to Rosemarie Mulcahy:

He is frequently seen as the severe defender of his Habsburg political inheritance and of the Catholic Faith […], as a religious fanatic who ruled territories that extended through Europe and the Americas from his palace-monastery, the Escorial. He has been given the epithets of ‘prudent’, ‘bureaucratic’ and ‘hidden’: all of them are valid but none does justice to his complex personality. Philip was passionately interested in architecture, art, books and nature - he also had a keen interest in gardens. During the forty-two years of his reign (1556-98) he transformed, modernised and internationalised the arts in Spain, largely provincial up till then. In fact there were two Philips, the Renaissance Prince and the Catholic King; and two cultures, Humanist and Catholic.

Indeed, more recent scholarship has reclaimed a more balanced image of King Philip II, re-evaluating the ‘black legend’ and the ‘white legend’ in more just terms.

Prince Philip was summoned by the emperor to travel in central Europe in order to familiarise himself with his northern realms and future allies. This first journey took place between 1548 and 1551, when he travelled through Italy, Germany and the Low Countries. This is considered the period in which he cultivated his artistic preferences. Upon his return to Castile, Philip implemented an intensive programme of artistic and architectural reforms in his properties; for instance, the palace in Aranjuez with its modernised garden design, and major architectural reforms in the Alcázar in Madrid, El Pardo, and Valsaín. Most of these palaces, except for El Escorial, have either disappeared or changed drastically throughout history.

This monastery was conceived as a mausoleum for the Habsburg dynasty of kings of the Monarchia Hispanica, and most of the original religious decoration is still intact. As Mulcahy has argued, the fact that this building is the only survivor: ‘[…] has

---


Nine times I went to High Germany, six [years] I spent in Spain, seven in Italy, ten [times] I came here to Flanders, […] in peace and war times, I have been in France, twice in England, other two I went against Africa, […] I sailed eight times the Mediterranean sea and three times the Spanish ocean and now it will be the fourth […]

20 For instance, King Philip was described as ‘sedentary’ because of his dedication to his office, and projected, mostly by supporters of the ‘black legend’, as almost cloistered in El Escorial. This has been demonstrated by more recent scholarship to be a misinterpretation. The king not only moved, normally depending on the season, from one retreat to the next (known as the Reales Sitios), but also travelled in central Europe and England in his youth. He also toured Castile, travelled to Aragon and resided in Lisbon.


22 The ‘black legend’ is the term used to describe the negative reputation which emerged from the propaganda generated by King Philip II’s enemies. Such criticism also emanated from his realms, mostly Castile. The ensuing historiography generated misleading interpretations regarding the ruler. The ‘white legend’ is precisely the opposite, in which the qualities of the monarch are exaggerated and exalted. These historical misinterpretations have also been misused for political purposes, as in the case of many Spanish historians during Franco’s dictatorship, who used a distorted image of the king to support certain political postulates. See an interesting discussion in G. Parker, Felipe II, la Biografía Definitiva (Madrid, 2010), pp. 956-983.
tended to give a distorted view of the king’s aesthetic interests. The renaissance prince has been almost obliterated by history, while the Counter Reformation zealot has stubbornly persisted in the public consciousness.”

The original idea for the construction of the monastery emerged after Philip’s return from his second European journey (1554-1559), in which he went to England to wed Mary Tudor, and after to France, where he participated in the famous battle of St. Quentin (1557).

During Philip II’s first journey, Charles V stated his intention was to abdicate the Holy Roman Emperorship in his son’s favour, and festivals for the celebration of this abdication were organised for Antwerp in 1549. The plan did not come to fruition, however, as the imperial throne remained in the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs with Ferdinand I. Indeed, the history of this triumphal entry as printed in the famous chronicle was largely fictional. The booklet was ready before the event and prepared to celebrate an abdication of the imperial throne which never happened. Additionally, poor weather conditions ruined most of the ephemeral structures, including the magnificent arches. As Philip did not inherit the imperial throne, his de facto empire received different treatment from political theorists to that of his father, and also influenced historiography.

I.1. PHILIPUS II HISPANIARUM REX: Imperium or Monarchia?

Monarchia Hispanica Universalis is the Latin term used to define the Spanish empire under Philip II and thereafter. This supranational terminology has been also shortened to Monarchia Universalis or Monarchia Hispanica, meaning a number of monarchies or realms under the same sovereign. This is the term which emerged from political history inspired by the Imperium Romanum. Since Charles V’s imperial throne of the Holy Roman Empire did not pass to his heir Prince Philip, the use of the word ‘empire’ was a sensitive matter in the different realms that composed the confederation of monarchies under Philip II of Spain.

Indeed, the de facto Imperium of Philip II has traditionally been known as Monarchia Hispanica Universalis, and also its Castilian adaptation Monarquía Hispánica. Accordingly, Anglo-American scholars have extensively used the terms ‘Empire’ and ‘Imperial’ when referring to Spanish global dominions. Elliot, in his widely known

---

Imperial Spain, published in 1963, was not the first scholar to use such terminology; for instance, John H. Parry published The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century in 1940. More recently, María José Rodríguez-Salgado studied the complex period of transition between the empires of Charles V and Philip II. Anthony Pagden has compared the ideologies of empire in early modern Spain, Britain and France. Much earlier, William H. Prescott’s unfinished biography of Philip II was careful with the term ‘empire’, employing ‘Castilian empire’ on a number of occasions, thereby alluding to the distinct political status of the composite monarchy under Philip’s rule. Indeed, Castilian dominions were per se a global empire; as Serge Gruzunski has argued, Castile was a globalised realm. However, other French scholars have used the term Empire Espagnol regarding Philip; likewise, German and Austrian scholars with Spanisches Kolonialreich and Spanische Monarchie. Regardless of the terminology selected, all these authors afforded the composite monarchies of Philip II the correct political status. In this sense, the utilisation of ‘empire’ or ‘imperial’ does not entail ambiguity in the understanding of the political ‘division’ of each of the realms which composed Philip’s empire.

In a similar vein, Conrad Russell proposed the use of the term Monarchia Britannia to convey the concept of multiple kingdoms within the British empire. This was an emulation of the terminology adopted by the historiography of the early modern Spanish empire. In this same discussion, Pablo Fernández Albaladejo argued

---

26 Elliot, Imperial Spain.
30 W. H. Prescott, History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain (Boston, 1856–1858). There were three volumes of this unfinished work. The titles I have used to support my argument are not intended to be comprehensive, given the overwhelming volume of publications concerning the ruler. This monarch is one of the historical figures who has received most attention from historians throughout the centuries. The rest of the publications I have consulted to write this thesis, or read during these years of research, are either commented on within the text, or included in the bibliography. In this context, Geoffrey Parker argued recently that given that more has been written about Philip II than any European ruler, except for Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler, an exhaustive bibliography about him would demand a complete new publication devoted only to this; see Parker, Felipe II, p. 1049.
33 For instance see: R. Konetzke, Süd- und Mittelamerika I. Die Indianerkulturen Altamerikas und die Spanisch-Portugiesische Kolonialherrschaft (Frankfurt, 2004). In the recent published biography of Philip II by Friedrich Edelmayr, the historian uses the term Spanische Monarchie, F. Edelmayr, Philipp II: Biographie eines Weltherrschers (Stuttgart, 2009).
that Philip’s reign was an imperium de facto, even though he did not hold the title of Holy Roman Emperor.\(^{35}\)

In this thesis, the term ‘empire’ is used to express the concept defined by Monarchia Universalis or Hispanica; either ‘empire’ or ‘universal monarchy’ define the actual political organisation of the period (i.e., a composite monarchy under the same ruler).

Although Philip II never officially held the title of emperor, his contemporaries still used the words ‘empire’ and ‘imperial’ to describe the extent of the territory and power that he exercised. The imperial panoply reached its height in the lead-up to the incorporation of Portugal into the composite monarchy, most prominently in the king’s image in the arts. For instance, the famous medal identified by Geoffrey Parker, and cast around 1583, had a portrait of Philip with the Latin inscription PHILIPP II HISP. ET NOVO ORBIS REX (i.e., Philip II [King] of Spain and King of the New World). On the reverse was an image of Philip’s horse riding over the globe, with the clouds above representing divine protection. The inscription on this side read NON SUFFICIT ORBIS (i.e., The World is not Enough).\(^{36}\) Imperial propaganda was more explicit in Lorenzo de San Pedro’s manuscript defending the convenience of the Iberian Union. This piece is ornamented with a number of drawings, one of them being an imaginary representation of Philip II entering the city of Lisbon, entitled: TRIVMPHO PRIMERO IMPERIAL (i.e., First Imperial Triumph).\(^{37}\)

The reinforcement of the king’s authority was multilayered and deeply rooted in sixteenth-century urban society. Print was one of the major instruments of early modern rulers in the propagation of the desired image of the king.\(^{38}\) Philip II ruled a monarchy of territorial vastness, in which he was an absent ruler for most of his subjects. The sovereign’s authority was persuasively implemented in the ritual life of Habsburg cities, perpetuating an image of kingship often embodied in objects and


\(^{36}\) First published in G. Parker, The Grand Strategy of Philip II (New Haven & London) p. 5. More recently, see Parker, Felipe II, pp. 796-797 and Fig.48. See a reproduction of this medal and further discussion in chapter 3, Fig. 39 pp. 258-259.

\(^{37}\) Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca (BUSA) Ms. 2092, L. San Pedro, Dialogo Llamado Phillipino, Donde se Refieren Congruencias Correspondientes al Derecho que Sui Magestad Tiene al Trono de Portugal. For this manuscript, of which there is another copy in the library in El Escorial, see RBME III-12 . Olim: IV-N-6 . Olim: IV-C-11. It has been cited before, see for instance F. Bouza Álvarez, Imagen y Propaganda: Capítulos de Historia Cultural del Reinado de Felipe II (Madrid, 1998), pp. 59-60. This is analysed at length in the third chapter of this thesis.

\(^{38}\) See R. Chartier, El Libro y sus Poderes (siglos XV-XVIII) (Medellín, 2009), and for the case of the Spanish monarchy under Philip II, see Bouza Álvarez, Imagen y Propaganda, F. Bouza Álvarez, Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia, 1999) and F. Bouza Álvarez, Del Escritano a la Biblioteca, (Madrid, 1992).
personified in the ruler’s representatives. Ideas of empowerment and ‘new order’ were reflected in the erection of larger and ever more imposing buildings in the cities within Philip’s global domain. Under his rule, a unique architectural regal style was created, with a reductive classicism, of which the major surviving model is El Escorial monastery. All these different ‘media’ briefly outlined above supported and legitimised the power of Philip II and his presence in the cities of his empire.


In this thesis, I examine diverse ways in which the notion, and actual possession, of such an empire affected the way Philip II viewed himself as ruler of a global empire. The idea, as expressed in the abstract, is to explore the relationship between the periphery of the empire and the centre, and how the notion of global dominion was thus reflected in the image of kingship. I have selected four studies in urbanism, architecture and art, which in my view offer a multilayered and novel approach to this topic. The case studies encompass both the imperial enterprise of Castile and Portugal, and the image of kingship of Philip II, with three of the studies located in central Castile (i.e., Madrid, Simancas and El Escorial), and the fourth in Lisbon, the capital of the Lusitanian empire. These two realms were the greatest and richest empires of the Iberian peninsula and Western Europe, the protagonists of the Age of Discovery, and co-signatories of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. While Philip II largely resided in central Castile, he also settled his court in Lisbon, if only for just over two years shortly after the Iberian union. Each realm was intrinsically an empire, but the incorporation of Portugal into Philip II’s Monarchia Hispanica converted the king into the first global ruler – with and empire stretching from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans. Throughout this thesis, the studies are intertwined with each other by means of themes emerging from the ruler’s imperial or supranational policies.

These case studies, which will be explained at length hereafter, are also structured in the thesis around two concepts: chronology and typology. The first case is a study on urban legislation and the regulation of the built environment in Madrid (1561-1584). The second is a building: the archive in Simancas fortress. The third is a novel examination of the ephemeral structures in terms of architecture and art display of Philip II’s triumphal entry into Lisbon in 1581. Finally, the fourth study is a gallery in El Escorial monastery: the Hall of Battles ornamented with frescoes. Typologically, it is therefore organised as such: a city, a building, a festival (temporary architecture) and

a chamber. Chronologically, the studies are also organised progressively throughout Philip II’s reign. The thesis begins in 1561 and concludes with the monarch’s demise in 1598. However, discussion on former periods is unavoidable, in areas such as the education of the prince or references to the rule of his father, Emperor Charles V, which are essential to construct the argument in some chapters. Additionally, references to seventeenth-century historical material are equally necessary, both archival and printed.

The concept of kingship is therefore examined through architecture, urban and building legislation, ephemeral architecture and the art displayed in each of these cases. The first building that comes to mind concerning a regal architectural style which symbolised Philip II’s kingship is the Austriaco style deployed in El Escorial monastery. However, these selected models are suitable for the purpose of this thesis for several reasons. One is eminently practical, as the studies have been ‘virtually’ unexplored before, and even if some publications have examined them, the approach taken in this thesis is different, rendered so by incorporating hitherto unknown data, fleshing out lacunae and by contextualising the ‘object’ of study within the wider world.

The basic premise of this investigation is Philip II’s imperial image and the relationships from the ‘periphery’ of the empire to the ‘metropolis’, and vice versa. The case studies in this thesis clearly explore this imperial narrative. Another critical element is the presentation of each study within the global perspective of Philip II’s world. For example, in the first chapter, the urban legislation of Madrid is compared to that implemented on American soil and elsewhere during the same years. The second chapter, on Simancas archive, examines the building as a ‘mirror’ of the king’s policy and the ‘administrative’ growth of the empire. The project for the expansion of the building is a function of the extension of Philip II’s control over his empire. In the third chapter, the ephemeral architecture for the entry into Lisbon in 1581 is examined exhaustively, including the exaltation of Philip as a global ruler. The festival is analysed within, and compared to, the European and wider sphere of festival culture in the period. The final part is the Hall of Battles, in which I establish new comparisons between the frescoes of this chamber and tapestry and depictions of battles in the tradition of the Iberian peninsula, as well as other European influences. Finally, I examine how the themes emerging from the frescoes are portrayed in the numerous chronicles on the death of the monarch. For this, I have consulted material relating to funerals in Mexico, Madrid, Naples, Florence amongst others.

In terms of methodology, in addition to extensive archival and bibliographical research, I also conducted an exhaustive examination of Simancas archive and the gallery in El Escorial. Unfortunately, this was impossible with the other two case
studies. The regulations on the built environment of Madrid, enacted between 1565 and 1584, were largely unsuccessful, and there are few examples of domestic architecture of the period in Madrid. Those still standing are analysed in the chapter. The ephemeral architecture for the entry of Philip II into Lisbon was dismantled after the festival. There were no printed editions of the arches, and the only canvas that represented the fifteen triumphal arches of the festival was lost in the fire of 1734 at the Alcazar in Madrid. In both cases, architectural drawings and 3D technologies where possible have been used to ‘re-create’ architectural and urban environments. There is an appendix attached to this thesis explaining scientific criteria and historical accuracy in the terms recommended by the London Charter (2.1, February 2009) for the Computer-Based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage.40


The historiography, in the broadest sense of the term, devoted to Philip II of Spain, is overwhelming. As noted before, since the death of the monarch in 1598 there have been innumerable biographies and other works dedicated to him.41

Richard Kagan explored the uses of history in the Spanish medieval and early modern world as a fundamental basis for propaganda. Depending on the ruler, history was used in different ways. The opposing ways in which Charles V and Philip II used history is a crucial element of discussion in this thesis.42 William H. Prescott’s aforementioned unfinished work on Philip II is considered one of the pioneers of a proto-modernised historical genre.43 Parker highlighted, from a biographical standpoint, the emblematic works in the beginning of the twentieth century of Carl Bratli (1909), Rafael Altamira y Crevea (1926) and Ludwig Pfandl (1938).44 Systematic archival research was explored in the publications of Louis-Prosper Gachard.45 After this, Gregorio Marañón and Fernand Braudel’s novel techniques and approach to

41 See note 30.
42 R.L. Kagan, Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain (Baltimore, 2009). This study is explored at length in relation to the historical painting genre in the final chapter of this thesis, and also concerns the second chapter on Simancas archive. Biographical works on the monarch, and other chronicles on his reign, proliferated in the Iberian peninsula and other European realms, both during his rule and after. These were the basis for the ‘black’ and ‘white’ legends which portrayed the king’s image in history, in what can be described as a ‘dialectic war’ between excessively loyal supporters and fervent enemies.
43 Prescott, History of the Reign.
historical research opened a new path for modern historians.\textsuperscript{46} Biographical works on Philip II have proliferated considerably since, with a new breed of scholars reassessing his personal and political career. Parker has published the most recent biography, preceded by Edelmayer in the previous year.\textsuperscript{47} Before these, Kamen proposed a new view on the king, and has recently also produced a book on El Escorial.\textsuperscript{48} Rodríguez Salgado accomplished the complex task of analysing the transition between Charles V and Philip II, and recently published another monograph on Philip II and his relations with the Ottoman empire.\textsuperscript{49} José Luis Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero has published an exhaustive study on the monarch’s childhood.\textsuperscript{50} José Antonio Escudero analysed the manner in which Philip II worked in his office and with his paperwork.\textsuperscript{51} The monumental number of publications reached stratosphere levels on the commemoration of the death of the monarch and his father in 1998.\textsuperscript{52} The works on Philip II and the Habsburgs are growing in relentless fashion.

Surveys and monographic publications concerning the arts, architecture, urbanism and culture during Philip II’s reign are as voluminous as the biographical works. Philip II’s critical input regarding modernisation of the arts has been studied and reassessed by Fernando Checa Cremades.\textsuperscript{53} Rosemarie Mulcahy has seminal publications on the decoration of the basilica in El Escorial and the monarch’s patronage of the arts.\textsuperscript{54} There are many surveys on architecture and art, including the


\textsuperscript{47} Parker, Felipe II and F. Edelmayer, Philipp II. J. Martínez Millán has edited and authored many publications on the Spanish Habsburg court such as: J. Martínez Millán and C. J. de Carlos Morales (eds.), Felipe II (1527-1598). La Configuración de la Monarquía Hispana (Salamanca, 1998). It it also important to mention the publication: S. Édouard, L’empire Imaginaire de Philippe II. Pouvoir de Images et Discours du Pouvoir des Habsbourg d’Espagne au XVIe Siècle (Paris, 2005). Édouard’s study aimed at examining the life and reign of Philip II thorough festivals, literature, and and iconography. The contents of her publication are very different to the topics examined in this thesis.


\textsuperscript{49} M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire and more recently M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, Felipe II. El “Paladín de la Cristiandad” y la Paz con el Turco (Valladolid, 2004).

\textsuperscript{50} J.L. Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero El Aprendizaje Cortesano de Felipe II: la Formación de un Príncipe del Renacimiento (Madrid, 1998).

\textsuperscript{51} J.A. Escudero, Felipe II: el Rey en el Despacho (Madrid, 2002). This work is fundamental for the second chapter of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{52} Parker stated there were over twenty thousand printed pages in publications about the monarch. See Parker, Felipe II, p. 982. The large body of publications is impossible to compile here; as mentioned before, a monographic study could be devoted to such a task alone.

\textsuperscript{53} Only citing some of the most relevant works on Philip II: F. Checa Cremades, Felipe II Mecenas de las Artes (Madrid, 1992). F. Checa Cremades (ed.) La Monarquía Hispánica Felipe II, un Monarca y su Época, (Madrid, 1998). More recently, Fernando Checa has published the results of a project, spanning over ten years in length, which compiled most of the inventories of the imperial family. The following volume will be devoted to Philip II. This, it is believed, will shape the research of new art historians in forthcoming years. The inventories have revealed much regarding the collections and the artistic taste of Habsburg family members. F. Checa Cremades (ed.), The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family 3 vols. (Madrid, 2010).

\textsuperscript{54} I am citing here only three major monographs: R. Mulcahy, The Decoration of the Royal Basilica
pioneering work of Eugenio Llaguno on architects and architecture in Spain. George Kubler completed a monograph on the construction of El Escorial, and produced surveys on Spanish and Portuguese early modern architecture. José Javier Rivera Blanco contributed with a monograph on the architect Juan Bautista de Toledo, who worked for Philip II on the creation of the regal architecture style for his realms. Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner’s monograph on Juan de Herrera was a major contribution to the field, although this architect has also been the focus of many other studies. Fernando Marías’ publications on art and architecture in early modern Spain are critically important. Fernando Bouza is one of the major voices in academia on cultural studies in the reign of Philip II, and an imperial propaganda through print. His excellent work on the Iberian union is also essential for this thesis. Publications devoted to the arts under the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs, and especially on Philip II, are numerous and growing, to the extent that it is impossible to cite all of them in the introduction; however, many will be considered at length throughout the thesis, or alternatively included the bibliography.

The thesis timeline spans from the creation of Madrid as the ‘temporary’ site of the Castilian court in 1561 until Philip II’s death in 1598. As stated before, the selection of studies derives from a combination of opportunity and suitability for disclosing the effects of the ‘empire’ on the notion of kingship. Each case study analyses the basic premise of this thesis, and at the same time aims to fill identified lacunae in its previous study.


The three-volume work of Llaguno was published in the nineteenth century by Ceán Bermúdez, see E. Llaguno y Amírola, Ceán Bermúdez, Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España desde su Restauración (Madrid, 1829).


J.J. Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II. La Implantación del Clasicismo en España (Valladolid, 1984)


and Madrid (1561-1584). The aim is to ‘reconstruct’ traces of the imaginary city that Philip II and his entourage envisioned for Madrid.

Philip II enacted a *Real Cédula* in 1565 to regulate the minimum requirements for domestic architecture in Madrid. This type of housing was of grand dimensions for the period. Two years later, the king would have to lower the standards of such an ‘ideal’ house in the regulations of 1567. These norms of 1565 and 1567 in Madrid have been largely neglected in the study of town planning in this period.\(^{61}\) They were combined with other initiatives in the city, as described in the famous ‘report on the work in Madrid’ (i.e., *Memoria de las obras de Madrid*, c.1565).

Developments in regal properties were also ongoing, like the Alcázar and Casa de Campo. All these combined actions: public works, urban legislation and the redevelopment of regal properties bear traces of the utopian city envisioned in this decade.\(^ {62}\) The urban experience in the creation of American cities may have had a degree of influence in the development of this metropolis in central Castile.

In this chapter, I explore the common regulations enacted in both territories, as well as other peninsular examples. I also analyse the role of the ministers involved in both enterprises. This chapter ponders the ‘definition’ of Madrid as an ideal city, based on these surviving regulations and documents. I argue that, in Madrid, the aim was to impose a practical ideal city through balancing the harmony of the architecture and the functionality of the spaces. Different types of architecture was intended to implement a visual hierarchy in the city to reinforce the king’s authority. This type of architectural display, put to the political service, had been employed in American cities before and during this decade of the 1560s. This is the second line of discussion in the chapter, exploring the incoming information on American cities to Madrid’s court and its possible impact.

This decade has had different theoretical interpretations regarding Philip II’s role in the construction of the capital. With scant archival sources regarding the role of the king and his entourage when compared with later periods in the monarch’s reign, the first decades of Madrid’s urbanism has been so far insufficiently studied but much

---

\(^{61}\) The *Real Cédula* of 1565 is conserved in the Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid); it was published in: A. Díez Navarro, *Alegación Fiscal por el Derecho y Regalías de la de Real Aposento de Corte* (Madrid, 1740) pp. 21-33. Francisco Iniguez published in 1955 the complete transcription of the norms enacted in 1567, see F. Íñiguez Almech, ‘Límites y Ordenanzas de 1567 para la Villa de Madrid,’ *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo* no. XXIV, (1955), pp. 3-38. He also published a paper on later reforms in the city; these are beyond the time frame of this study, although there will be references to them; see F. Íñiguez Almech, ‘Juan de Herrera y las Reformas en el Madrid de Felipe II,’ *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento*, Madrid, no. XIX, 1950, n° 59-60, pp. 3-108. A complete bibliography of the relevant publications is included in chapter 1.

\(^{62}\) Archivo General de Simancas, (AGS ) Casas y Sitios Reales Leg. 247-1 no. 257. This section of the archive is fundamental to ‘reconstruct’ the construction history of the regal buildings under Philip II. Also critical are the collection of books of *Reales Cédulas Section Obras y Bosques* in Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid), both consulted for this chapter.
debated in the academic community. This is in great part because of the failure of measures taken by the king and other authorities to ‘construct’ a capital. The aim of this chapter is to reveal the scope of the regulations on the built environment enacted in 1565 and modified in 1567, and 1584. These have been cited and transcribed before. How they are compared to other regulations of the period, both elsewhere in peninsular Castile and in the overseas territories. In this chapter, architectural drawings and computer-based images have been used to ‘re-create’ the domestic architecture indicated by these regulations.

The publications on the Alcázar of Madrid constitute an important resource for the study of the urbanisation of Madrid under Philip II. For instance, the works by Veronique Gerard and José Manuel Barbeito, and the study coordinated by Fernando Checa, are fundamental. The latest monograph on this topic, by Jesús Escobar, focuses on the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. There is a revealing introduction to Philip II’s period, with a reassessment of the Memoria de las Obras de Madrid. However, Escobar’s publication concentrates on the main square, and does not consider other urban legislation of the period (i.e., the Real Cédula of 1565 and the urban norm of 1567). This author is also preparing a book on seventeenth-century Madrid under Philip IV. Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra gathered many documents from Philip II’s period in his monograph. Although the analysis of the dwelling legislation only focused on the norm of 1567, it is indeed one of the few that viewed the regulations on the city from different perspectives. The work of Claudia Sieber opens a new path in the social history of the capital city. These are only some of the most important publications, and others will be discussed in the chapter. Nevertheless, none of these works explore the way Madrid was ‘imagined’ in the early years of Philip II’s rule.

The second chapter of this thesis is entitled: ‘Philip II’s Universal Monarchy: the Imperial Archive in Simancas Castle’. It explores the architectural evolution of the regal archive in Simancas fortress. The archives of any kind of ‘institution’ reflect (or at least should) the structure of the organisation, and accordingly, Simancas archive
echoes the practices of governance in the sixteenth century. I would argue that the importance of Simancas for understanding Philip II’s empire is equal to that of El Escorial in terms of cultural impact. There is no study to date on the creation and evolution, both architecturally and culturally, of early modern archives in Europe, or indeed in the overseas territories. In the case of Simancas, the most important publications are those of the conservation works on the building, as well as the notable contributions to its archival history by former director José Luis Rodríguez de Diego.69 This is the first comprehensive study on the building as a cultural object from an architectural and artistic perspective.

In this chapter, I explore a hitherto unidentified vernacular architecture characteristic of kingly treasures and archives, which was in extensive use at the dawn of sixteenth-century. The first two chambers in Simancas archive can be classified in terms of this type of architecture. The architectural expansion of the archive was coetaneous with the establishment of an efficient bureaucratic administration to govern and control the vast territories of the empire, and the archive’s organisation within the building mirrors the hierarchy of Philip II’s councils. Concepts of kingship were also displayed in the planned gallery of kings in the new chambers designed in the late sixteenth century.70

The third case study of this thesis explores the triumphal entry of Philip II of Spain into Lisbon in 1581. It is entitled: ‘Iberia Triumphant: Architecture and Visual Representation of Philip II’s Empire in the Lisbon Entry of 1581.’

On June 29, 1581, King Philip I of Portugal (II of Spain) was received in the city of Lisbon. The entry was one of the most grandiloquent of its kind ever staged in Portugal. The royal procession, combined with religious interludes and popular celebrations, resumed a dialogue between the ruler and the ruled which had not occurred in Lisbon since 1557. Fifteen triumphal arches and other ephemera were erected, while plays and songs celebrated the union of the largest global empire ever known. The principal theme of the entry glorified Philip as Universal Monarch and ruler of two of the largest early modern kingdoms: Portugal and Castile. I argue that sections of the festivals were intended to reflect the imperial vision conceived at the king’s court, whereas other ephemeral displays were the result of local traditions. The interaction of both demonstrated how the monarch wished to be seen in his new realm, and made explicit the complex relationships between the ruler and the ruled. This

70 The gallery has received only a brief study in 1935; this author also wrote the guide to the archive, with brief references to its architecture. A. Plaza Bores, ‘Juan Pantoja de la Cruz y el Archivo de Simancas,’ Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología vol. VIII-IX. (Valladolid, 1935). A. Plaza Bores, Guía del Archivo General de Simancas (Madrid, 1959).
chapter will also compare different written sources concerning this fête—those officially commissioned by the Crown, and ‘independent’ accounts directed against the rule of a foreign sovereign in Portugal. 71 The ephemeral architecture described in these sources has been recreated graphically and superimposed upon a 3D city model of Lisbon. Ultimately, the study seeks to shed new light on the symbolism of the festival, which celebrated the triumph of King Philip II at the height of his career. This is a novel approach to the investigation of this festival. 72

The final study of this thesis is The Hall of Battles in El Escorial monastery, entitled: ‘Historia Pro Patria: the Hall of Battles in El Escorial Monastery and the Fame of the Universal Monarch.’

This grand chamber, the Sala de las Batallas, in El Escorial Monastery, is a long gallery decorated in frescoes devoted to a number of victorious battles. The gallery is one of the most remarkable halls in El Escorial, located between the regal palace adjacent to the administrative palatine section and the basilica. Several battles are depicted on the walls, with the battle of La Higueruela against the ‘moors’ covering the longest wall of the chamber. The hall’s decorative programme also displays frescoes of the siege of St. Quentin (1557) and paintings of the Azores battle (1582), where the forces of Philip II finally destroyed Antonio Prior de Crato’s pretensions to the Lusitanian crown.

Philip II of Spain commissioned these paintings in the decade of the 1580s and after. They represent some of the triumphs of his forces, and also Joan II’s defeat of Granada in 1431. The themes underlying these victorious battles were some of the major achievements and responsibilities of Philip and his dynasty: Fidei Defensor against Islam (portrayed in the painting of La Higueruela), hegemony over Europe with the victory over France, and the global empire achieved with the unification of the ‘Roman Hispania’, represented in the Iberian union. This chapter explores the ideas behind those pictorial creations, and considers their importance in the construction of the monarch’s fame. Upon Philip II’s death, the ‘image’ of the king was portrayed in sermons, funerals and ephemeral architecture erected to mourn his loss. In the funerals, fragments of the life of the Universal Monarch were presented as a ‘summarised’ biography. Elegies and other publications of this type highlighted aspects of his personality and devotion.

This study compares the representation of the res gestae in its multiple forms, immediately after the monarch’s demise, by cross-examining accounts from cities in America and Europe. These chronicles, some of them little known, have not been studied before in relation to the ‘themes’ exposed in the Hall of Battles in Escorial.

71 A detailed bibliography and review of these works is provided in chapter 3.
72 The most important scholarship on this festival are the publication of Fernando Bouza Álvarez. For further details on his publications, and other authors’ input, see chapter 3.
Thus, this study asks the question whether the ‘discourse’ of these numerous and diverse sources of information was directed under the ‘umbrella’ of the central court in Madrid. Fray José de Sigüenza is still one of the most important contemporary sources for the study of the gallery. There are a limited number of publications on this chamber, the most relevant by Jonathan Brown, Jesus Sáenz de Miera and Carmen García-Frías, largely based on the primary research of Julian Zarco Cuevas.

The approach taken in this thesis is novel. The style of the battles depicted on the walls of the chamber emulates tapestry, and is therefore linked to the immense collection owned by the Habsburgs. I include considerations on the style of the Hall’s depictions, with comparisons to tapestry and other little-known battle depictions in the peninsula. The fresco cycle in the Hall of Battles at El Escorial has been examined here as a work of history; this is, as representations treating the battle as an historical event. Furthermore, in this chapter I explore the way the depictions aimed at narrating battles, and how perspective techniques reinforced the claims of historical accuracy. These considerations are critical in pondering the objectives behind the artistic programme deployed in the chamber, and the selection of a certain style to represent these battles as a ‘visual chronicle of history’. With this in mind, the series of frescoes is analysed in relation to King Philip II’s views on the art of writing history.

In short, this thesis explores an ‘imperial narrative’ through a selection of models, some of which have been little studied and others now viewed through a different ‘lens’.

---

73 Fray José Sigüenza’s works are still fundamental for the study of the El Escorial Monastery and Philip II. J. Sigüenza, Segunda [- tercera] Parte de la Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo: Dirigida al Rey Nuestro Señor, don Philippe III (Madrid, 1600-1605) p. 688.
1.0. Habsburg Imperial Utopia: Philip II and the Urbanism of Madrid (1561-1584).

[...] these celebrated and famous Architects [the] emperors Hadrian and Justinian [...] and those who wrote the art of architecture [...] one of the ancients was Marcus Vitruvius, a Roman noble [who] lived in the military habit and exercise [...] of the art of architecture [...]¹

1.1. Architecture and King Philip II.

The preoccupation of Philip II with architectural matters was familiar to his entourage and was celebrated by admirers.² In 1541, Prince Philip at the age of 15 had already a small collection of books on geometry, mathematics and architecture. He owned a copy of Diego Sagredo’s Medidas del Romano³ and one of Euclid’s works bought by his tutor, the humanist Juan Calvete de Estrella.⁴ Among his books he also had Geometry and Architecture by Durer, treatises by Serlio and Vitruvius, and Sphere by Fineo. The next year, more works of Euclid were acquired, and another on architectural figures. Later, in 1547, the Sphere by Sacrobosco, and De Quadratura, Sphera y Arimetica by Fineo were added to the prince’s personal library.⁵ This compendium of geometrical and philosophical treatises reaffirms how the prince’s tutor cultivated the future ruler in geometry and sciences related to architectural studies.

---

¹ De Arquitectura Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, (BNE) Ms.9681 p. 4.
² For instance, one of his biographers Baltasar Porreño described Philip II’s interest and habililities in architectural matters he [Philip II] was highly educated in geometry and architecture, he was so skilled at sketching palaces, gardens and other things, that when my uncle Francisco de Mora Master Mason and successor to Juan de Herrera brought him the first plan [of a buiding] he changed it as if he was Vitruvius or Sebastiano Serlio. He achieved so much in this matter, that he knew more that the professionals; and my uncle had every day an hour reserved with his Majesty to review the drawings, (he) was very interested in architecture as exemplified by the numerous buildings he developed
³ B. Porreño, Dichos y Hechos de el Señor Rey Don Philipe Segundo, el Prudente […] (Brussels,1666), p. 181. This text has been quoted many times since it was first published in 1639 in Seville see for example J.J. Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II. La Implantación del Clasicismo en España (Valladolid, 1984) pp. 59-60 and J. Escobar, La Plaza Mayor y los Orígenes del Madrid Barroco (Madrid, 2009) p.39.
⁴ The tutor was also the author of the chronicle of the first European tour of Prince Philip, see J. Calvete de Estrella, El Felicissimo Viaje del […] Príncipe don Philipe, Hijo del Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Máximo, Desde España a sus Tierras de la Baxa Alemana: con la Descripción de Todos los Estados de Brabant y Flandes (Antwerp, 1552).
In the mid 1550s, the prince had two important encounters with architectural theory. Francisco de Villapando published his translation of the third and fourth books of Serlio’s treatise into Castilian in 1552. In this edition, dedicated to the prince, Villapando proposed architecture as a vehicle to impose regal authority and argued that it could be used for the glorification of the king. The author suggested the future ruler should continue with the architectural developments the emperor had commenced, and lauded the Roman ruins and Vitruvius’ treatise as suitable models.6

The text quoted at the beginning of the chapter,7 is from an anonymous treatise of architecture dated around or after 1550. The piece of text concerned the crucial role of architecture for these Roman emperors, with the author differentiating between the duties of an official or mason and those of an architect. He argued that the Roman emperors were architects, as opposed to officials, who were merely builders. The treatise, entitled De Arquitectura, was dedicated to Prince Philip. This manuscript stems from Alberti’s De Re Aedificatoria (1485)9 and it is believed became influential in the development the distinctive regal architectural style under Philip II.10 In fact, the moral dimension the author gave to regal architecture was extraordinary. He advocated the creation of a royal architectural style, largely unornamented and emulating ancient Roman public buildings.

The text essentially described many of the characteristics of the desornamentado or Austriaco style developed under Philip II’s rule in the subsequent years.11 The work was not solely a stylistic treatise for El Escorial, but also referred to topics like the role of architects in sixteenth-century Castile and Aragon, as well as the introduction of a form of classicism clearly different to the then prevalent Plateresque. Whilst agreeing with Alberti on the desirability of ornamentation in churches to educate the illiterate in divine matters, the writer also reasserted the antique sobriety of Roman public buildings as a means of displaying regal authority. Alberti’s reinterpretation of

---

6 S. Serlio, F. Villalpando, Tercero y Quarto Libro de Architectura (Toledo, 1552) p. II.
7 See p.18 note 1.
8 This treatise was studied in two articles: an article by Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner and an earlier paper by Fernando Marias and Agustín Bustamante, they provided with different dating all around or after 1550. See, C. Wilkinson Zerner, ‘Planning a Style for the Escorial: An Architectural Treatise for Philip of Spain,’ Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians vol. 44, No. 1 (Mar., 1985), pp. 37-47. F. Marias, A. Bustamante,’Un Tratado Inédito de Arquitectura de Hacia 1550,’ Boletín del Museo y Instituto Camón Aznar vol.13 (1983), pp. 41-57.
9 Alberti’s treatise first translation into Castilian was commissioned by Philip II under recommendation of his architect Juan de Herrera printed in 1582: L.B. Alberti, Los Diez Libros de Arquitectura de Leon Batista Alberto. Traduzido de Latin Romance.[…] (Madrid, 1582).
11 An outline on the terminology on this regal style is discussed in this section.
Cicero’s rhetoric on oration was used to emphasise that ornamentation ought to be reserved for religious buildings, whereas public buildings should be less decorative.\textsuperscript{12} The treatise contended that matters of architecture and urban planning were pertinent to rulers; they may have been costly, but an ordered city would improve the wellbeing of both realms and subjects. In this way, the writer reinforced the moral dimension of architecture and urban space.

If architecture and urban planning represented the image of the ruler, then Philip II’s urban and architectural developments would represent his empire. As mentioned before, the treatise was strongly influenced by \textit{De Re Aedificatoria}, and in many instances the author simply copied pieces of text from the original.\textsuperscript{13} Nevertheless, it was more complex than just a stylistic outline of the forthcoming regal architecture developed during Philip’s reign. For instance, the importance of a central square (i.e., plaza) and the necessity of a theatre for the entertainment of the citizens were also advocated. Regarding the plaza, which was the hub in Hispanic cities, he wrote:

\begin{quote}
People of our day have not taken the care to make plazas of good measure or ornament, unlike the ancients who recognized that [these] spaces are of foremost importance in the city given that they are the most frequented places for the people [of the city] and for foreign [visitors], who tend to report about [our] cities in their homelands. For this reason, it is worth shaping our plazas as the ancients did.\textsuperscript{14}
\end{quote}

In emphasising the value of the plazas and also noting the reports of foreigners, the writer expressed a preoccupation with the image the city in the eyes of external visitors. Again, an ordered and neatly designed city would echo the wellbeing of both the community and the realm, which ultimately was the responsibility of the ruler. The section devoted to the theatre is one of the most extensive chapters in the treatise; the writer again follows previous theoretical works, but adds a justification in the preface about the need for theatres to entertain the population.\textsuperscript{15}

This text is crucial to contextualise Philip II’s architectural education and keen interest in the built environment. The author states clearly that the prince requested this treatise expressly, and according to Wilkinson-Zerner it is ‘the only textual evidence of architectural thinking in Prince Philip’s immediate entourage focused


\textsuperscript{13} Wilkinson-Zerner, ‘Planning a Style’, p. 38


upon architectural reform. […] we may conclude that the assertive ideological message of the Escorial, which so forcefully impressed contemporaries, was consciously intended by Philip II and his architects’.16

In the architectural and artistic education of the prince, his two journeys through Europe were important. The first of these experiences happened between 1548 and 1551, when he travelled through Italy, part of Germany and Flanders to meet the emperor and become acquainted with his northern realms.17 The second journey occurred between 1554 and 1559, when the regent went to England to wed Mary Tudor, and thereafter to France. The buildings Philip encountered during his European journey seem to have made a profound impression on him, especially the royal residence in Brussels where he resided much of the time, and the palace at Binche, among other remarkable edifices.18

This architectural experience has been demonstrated to have inspired the young prince for the designs in Madrid’s Alcázar and the surrounding urban area. This was reflected in other regal residences that were developed and enlarged, with the introduction of a new style meeting Philip’s requirements.19 This period is considered to be when the prince took control of the architectural works in his palaces and commenced an energetic implementation of classicism therein. This involvement went beyond the reception of reports and plans for his approval; the prince would amend proposals thoroughly and even draft plans for the architects. According to Barbeito, the prince’s correspondence with the Junta de Obras y Bosques, created in 154520 was fluid, and the flow of correspondence with his architects increased over time.21 In fact, there is plenty of evidence that Philip II personally intervened in the design of regal buildings with plans ‘corrected’ by his own hand.

17 This journey benefits from a chronicle written by the prince’s tutor Juan Calvete de Estrella. See note 4.
18 As described in Calvete de Estrella’s chronicle (see note 4) and also demonstrated in the famous report Philip entrusted to his architect Gaspar de la Vega concerning European architecture. This information has been published and outlined many times see for instance: F. Checa Cremades, Felipe II, Mecenas de las Artes (Madrid, 1992), pp. 71-86.
19 The network of palaces and retreats developed by Philip II on the surroundings of Madrid are known as the ‘Reales Sitios’. The Palaces and gardens of Aranjuez, El Pardo, Valsaín, and El Escorial are among these regal residences.
20 The Junta de Obras y Bosques was created in 1545 to control and govern the regal palaces, forests, including the developments of new buildings. The Junta was suppressed in 1768. See P. Escolano de Arrieta, Práctica del Consejo Real en el Despacho de los Negocios […] vol.2 (Madrid, 1796) p. 193. For a recent publication on this Junta see: F.J. Díaz González, La Real Junta de Obras y Bosques en la Época de los Austrias (Madrid, 2002).
The drawings (Figs. 1-2), for his palace known as the Alcázar in Madrid and the nearby retreat of El Pardo, are well-known examples of Philip’s corrections to the designs of his architects. In the case of the Alcázar section, he was requesting the inclusion of an additional storey, as can easily be discerned in the drawing (Fig. 2). These models of Philip’s engagement in the design of his properties have previously been used in many publications to illustrate the ruler’s interventionist approach to architecture.22

In the years prior to the declaration of Madrid as the ‘temporary’ capital of the realm, Philip commissioned many works, both during his absence in Europe and also upon his return (between journeys).23 The appointment of Juan Bautista de Toledo in 1559 under Philip’s orders would become essential to the development of the regal architectural style. Bautista de Toledo was educated in Rome under Michelangelo, and was also an experienced architect from his time in Naples. His Italian education attracted the attention of the monarch, who was interested in creating a style that would define and mirror his authority.24 Bautista de Toledo was styled ‘mayor architect of the realm’ and master mason; this double authority gave him a supremacy in the royal developments never seen before in Castile, and never repeated by Philip II during his reign.25 The archive in Simancas fortress conserves many reports from the architect to the monarch, and royal responses, on developments in the construction of the king’s regal premises, often combining information about the Alcázar in Madrid, El Pardo, Aranjuez and El Escorial.26 This demonstrates that the preoccupation of the king was centred primarily on his properties, and also shows his interest in creating a courtly network of residences around his new official administrative court in Madrid, from 1561 onwards.

The new development of Madrid was very much focused on the surroundings of the regal premises, especially the Alcázar, which was undergoing redevelopment that had been initiated by the emperor Charles V. The most important master masons who had worked for the emperor were Alonso de Covarrubias and Luis de la Vega, and both would continue to work in Philip’s buildings. However, the status of Bautista

---

22 Regarding Fig. 1 see for instance: Wilkinson Zerner, Juan de Herrera: Arquitecto de Felipe II (Madrid, 1996), p. 70. For Fig. 2 see: F. Checa Cremades (ed.), El Real Alcázar de Madrid (Madrid, 1994) pp. 142 and 519 and Wilkinson Zerner, Juan de Herrera, p. 78
23 See for instance Barbeito, ‘Felipe II y la Arquitectura’.
24 The best study so far on Juan Bautista de Toledo is still J.J. Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II. La implantación del Clasicismo en España (Valladolid, 1984).
25 A good outline on the hierarchical system of the mason guilds and architects in Castile see Zerner-Wilkinson, Juan de Herrera, pp. 10-11.
26 See for instance the bundles of papers in AGS Casa Real-Obras y Bosques Legs. 247 to 250 amongst others.
de Toledo was superior to the other professionals on his field. The architect was the designer of the master plan for El Escorial monastery, and it was also prominent among those responsible for the creation of the reductive classicism characteristic of the regal buildings of Philip II. Bautista died in 1567, and his dual position would never be replicated. Afterwards, Juan de Herrera became one of the most important designers, and has been lauded through the centuries as the one who finished El Escorial. However, other architects made vital contributions to the creation and evolution of the style during Philip II’s rule they included Francisco de Mora and Gaspar de la Vega.

The *desornamentado* or *Austriaco* style are two of the terms used to define the reductive classicism of the regal buildings of Philip II.27 *Desornamentado* style was used by Carl Justi with a pejorative intention.28 This was as part of a larger discussion around the character of King Philip II and his relationship with Juan de Herrera, very much in the context of the ‘black legend’ associated with the monarch. George Kubler followed up this debate by comparing it with the plain style in Portugal, which displayed certain stylistic similarities but had greater longevity. In the Spanish empire, Philip II and his architects created a style broadly blending Italian classical architecture and Flemish influences.

This style was unadorned and manifested itself differently depending on the architect in the service of the king, although the ruler had an essential role in the development of his regal buildings and other public architecture in the kingdom. It was also called Herrerian style after the architect Juan de Herrera. This is what Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner has called ‘the appropriation of El Escorial’.29 The author noted how, in the historiography, the crucial input of Juan Bautista de Toledo in the creation of this style was almost ignored in favour of Herrera. Wilkinson-Zerner

---


28 For an interesting discussion on the terminology see Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera*, pp. 33-36.

identified a unique style in Juan de Herrera, contrasting with that of Juan Bautista de Toledo, and therefore adopted the term Herreriano in her monograph on the architect.

Rivera Blanco’s study on Juan Bautista fleshed out the architect’s personal approach. However, both architects maintained an unadorned classical style with the predominance of Doric over other orders, the inclusion of a Flemish-inspired roofing system, following the king’s preference, and an ever-imposing regularity in all regal and public buildings. The new style was a combination of Castile’s classical traditions, Italian fashion in architectural forms, and Flemish solutions to building roofing and towers. The style was epitomised by El Escorial and can be traced in many other public buildings developed during the House of Habsburg’s rule in the Iberian Peninsula and beyond, though unfortunately few have survived. Regarding the terminology of the style, it seems the issue may be the periodisation of history per se, as any stylistic term and historical period always causes problems of interpretation; they tend to be both too general and not sufficiently fluid. The nomenclature for the style created during Philip’s reign has been revised since that time. The ‘style’ endured after Philip II’s demise and was exported to American soil too, concluding after Habsburg rule of the Spanish empire ended.

Among these terms, my preference is for Austriaco style, as it is inclusive of the dynasty that created this characteristic architectural form. It also embodies the role of the monarchy in its development, without any derogatory intention. While the term seems to be even more generalist than the others, it reinforces the idea of a style developed by, and for the representation of, the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty in the early modern period. The original maker of this style was Philip, who began to develop this regal style, in combination with his selected team of architects and artists, during regency for his father. For the purpose of this thesis, the critical role that Philip II had in the creation of this style is fundamental, as is the contrast with other contemporaneous art traditions still in place in the peninsula such as the Plateresque style. The relation of the Austriaco style with the anonymous treatise De Arquitectura, discussed before, is enlightening, as the author of the treatise proposed an architectural style to represent the monarchy, along similar lines to that later developed under Philip’s rule.

---

30 For a discussion on Bautista de Toledo and Herrera see Wilkinson-Zerner, Juan de Herrera, p. 90.
31 Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo.
32 Philip demanded the roofing system with slate explicitly in imitation of those in Flanders. Nieto Alcaide, Checa Cremades, Morales, Arquitectura del Renacimiento, p. 256. Most royal buildings promoted under his reign used this aesthetic see for instance the towers and roofs at El Escorial (Chapter 4 Fig. 3).
1.2. Philip II, Madrid and the Regalía de Aposento (1561).

The designation of Madrid as the aposento real, or the temporary residence, of Philip II’s court in 1561, marked the beginning of an extraordinary transformation in this small town in central Castile. Scholarship have discussed widely the selection of Madrid ahead of other candidates; the Castilian town was certainly undeveloped in comparison with Toledo, Valladolid, or the ever-growing Seville. Valladolid, however, suffered a devastating fire in 1561 that destroyed most of the city centre. Toledo had a strong and consolidated medieval urban pattern, and the topography of the settlement did not allow much urban expansion or change. Seville was also unsuitable due to its southern location and immense growth, with incoming inhabitants attracted by wealth from the American convoys. The focus on Madrid was almost coincidental with the arrival of Elisabeth of Valois as the third wife of Philip II. Queen Elisabeth’s arrival at Toledo in 1560 was celebrated with an extraordinary festival that endure in the form of a chronicle, and the court was settled in the legendary city. However, courtiers found the old Visigothic capital uncomfortable.

The selection of the capital has traditionally been represented as a decision made by Emperor Charles V and Prince Philip during the latter’s first journey through Europe. Alvar Ezquerra has argued that the state existed before the capital, and that the machinery of government was therefore consolidated and functional before the city was finally selected. The decision for this selection in the words of Luis Cabrera de Córdoba:

 [...] as disposed to found a great city [that he could] augment over time and through art by means of magnificent buildings, recreations, gardens, and orchards. It was proper that so great a Monarchy should have a city that could perform the duty of the heart, that its principality and seat be in the middle of the body to administer equally its virtues in peace and war to all its States, like those permanent seats of the Roman court, and those of France, England, and Constantinople.

This connects with Tielman’s notion that ‘the Monarch and the prince must be in the middle of the realm’. In early modern thought, the concepts of centrality and

---

33 Although Madrid was de facto capital, Philip II never officially designated it as the capital of Castile.
34 G. Parker, Felipe II, La Biografía Definitiva (Madrid, 2010), p. 350
36 L. Cabrera de Córdoba, J. Martínez Millán and C. J. de Carlos Morales, (eds.) Filipse Segundo, Rey de España (Madrid, 1619) vol. 1, (Salamanca, 1998), p. 218. This passage has been cited many times, see for instance: Escobar,‘Francisco de Sotomayor’, p. 362.
authority were inspired by the Roman empire, where the king or emperor was the head of the state. The ‘centrality’ or seat of government did not necessarily mean it had to be equidistant to all outlying parts of the realm, although in the case of Madrid it satisfied this criterion. According to Botero, the città capitale (1589) was where the ‘head of the realm’ resided, and the site of the parliament or senate, the state council and other important institutions.  

Madrid corresponded to the capital city described by Botero at the end of the sixteenth century, and thereafter became the hub of the empire and its administration.

José Luis Gonzalo Sanchez-Molero has demonstrated how Philip resided for longer periods of time there before the abdication, and argues that Madrid was, even before the official decision, already the hub of Philip’s court administration. This theory, now accepted by the majority of the scholarship, is reinforced by the fact that Philip in the previous decade had energetically started to redevelop the regal retreats, both inside and outside Madrid, as well as in nearby cities.

Philip II’s role in the development of Madrid in this period of the 1560s to 1580s has been much debated by scholars. As noted in the introduction of this thesis, this discussion is, to a certain extent, stimulated by the scant archival evidence and the failure of the measurements of control imposed by the ruler, his court and the city authorities.

There are diverse theories on urban matters, many based on interpretations of the report on the works in Madrid (c.1565). Scholars like Alvar Ezquerra and Rivera Blanco view a magnificent city envisioned by the king’s royal architect, Juan Bautista de Toledo, who instigated this report, possibly written by a city councillor.

Escobar has argued that the report was a reflection of the enormous interest shown and effort expended by Francisco de Sotomayor in the development of Madrid. There has been increasing interest in the role of the city authorities in the development of Madrid, which on many occasions surpassed that, at least documented, of the Crown.

---

38 J. Escobar, La Plaza Mayor y los Orígenes del Madrid Barroco, (Madrid, 2009), p. 29.
40 Madrid was never designated as a city, but as a villa, which translates as a town. In this chapter, I may use indistinctively expressions like ‘city authorities’, amongst others. In spite of using such expressions, it should always be understood to have a similar status to a town, as per the regal charters in Castile. This is a crucial element of discussion, as Philip II selected a town instead of a city, which would normally have more rights and privileges than a town.
41 See for example, Alvar Ezquerra, El Nacimiento, pp. 193-194. Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo, pp. 231-232. amongst others.
However, according to Virginia Tovar, there is no evidence of any kind of demonstrable urban renewal during Philip II’s rule. She has argued that the ruler only used similar measures to his predecessors, and therefore it is impossible to argue that he was aiming to impose a new urban order based on Renaissance thought.

The historical analysis is at its most complex in the first years of the capital, as the evidence is limited when compared to later decades in the century. One possible reason for this may be the loss of the archive of architectural plans in the fire of the Alcázar in Madrid in 1734. This fire not only destroyed fine architecture and an immense collection of art and books but also a rich archival repository conserved in the Cubo de las Trazas.

Philip II created officially the new Junta de Policía de Madrid in 1590 to control the built environment in the capital, although there is evidence such a commission was working since the early 1580s. Wilkinson Zerner has argued that Philip, by divesting the town’s authorities of their powers, was aiming to take control of the city. The establishment of this Junta and the accompanying bylaw has traditionally been the key point in examining, and even defending, the ruler’s role in the creation of the capital.

I propose an alternative assessment in this chapter combining aspects of both views. Philip II’s measures for Madrid blended tradition and innovation. These characteristics, I would argue, are reflected in the remaining documentary evidence, and more importantly in the bylaws of 1565, 1567 and 1584 on the built environment in Madrid.

[…] all those cited constructions [works] are undertaken with care and diligence to conclude them with the brevity your Majesty demands […] and then everyone says this town of Madrid is the favoured one of your Majesty with particular favour in ennobling it with sumptuous and regal buildings, and not allowing anyone else to leave a mark or set foot in [your Majesty’s] territory.

---

44 Civility can be translated as policía, and embellishment would be ornato in Spanish. It is an interpretation of Alberti’s and Serlio’s theories on architecture and the city, recasting Cicero’s rhetoric on oration.
46 Wilkinson Zerner, Juan de Herrera, pp. 106-107.
48 AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 248, fol 70 (20 January 1559): […] en todas las dichas obras se pone el cuydado y diligencia posible para q con la brevedad q. esta Villa de Madrid es la favorecida de v. Md. Con particular favor en nobleciendola con tan sumptuosos y Reales edificios, y no consintiendo q. nadie deje
Philip II ‘officially’ designated Madrid as the ‘temporary’ seat of his court in 1561. In the previous years, he had systematically intervened in the development of his properties, attempting to impose his criteria in certain urban reforms, largely focussed on the surroundings of the Alcázar. There is evidence, for example, that in 1544 he ordered the valuation of some houses for expropriation and demolition in order to open a new street to connect the Alcázar with the Church of San Juan for the purpose of ornato (i.e., the embellishment and order of the town). This shows the ruler’s particular interest in Madrid ahead of other towns, as reflected in the letter quoted above from Luis Hurtado de Mendoza to Philip II, written in 1559, and cited and used many times before. As discussed, information on the early years of Philip’s reign in relation to the capital is sparse, but the role of a number of noblemen like Hurtado de Mendoza in the development of ‘practical’ urban planning in the Spanish empire is crucial for the contextualisation of the capital.

In Wyngaerde’s view of Madrid, dated 1562, the topography of Madrid’s settlement can be perceived, in particular the royal palace (Alcázar) on the left, facing the Casa de Campo. The medieval wall is well defined and the spires marking the eminently medieval townscape highlight the location of churches (Fig. 3).

In 1562, Philip II acquired the land and orchards of what would later become the Casa de Campo, a beautifully landscaped garden. Views from his private premises in the Alcázar overlooked the ‘ideal landscape’ in the same way that his rooms in El Escorial monastery looked out on the landscaped countryside and the basilica. In this view, the settlement of Madrid is medieval in character, adapted to the topographical conditions, and natural features such as the river Guadarrama (now Manzanares), orchards and vegetation are emphasised.

In 1565, Philip II received a detailed memorandum concerning the needs of the capital. He developed a new city wall in 1566, specifically for commercial purposes, which matched the boundaries demarcated by the ‘cleaning’ bylaw of 1565. The second bylaws on the built environment of Madrid were enacted in 1567 under the

---

49 AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 247-1, fol. 1-2: Letter from Prince Philip concerning urban reform around the Church of San Juan, 25 July 1544.
51 AGS Casas y Sitios Reales Leg. 247-1 no. 257, ‘Memorias de las Obras de Madrid (c. 1565)’.
52 For the cleaning boundaries see Alvar Ezquerra, El Nacimiento, pp. 216-226 and Iñiguez Almech, ‘Juan de Herrera’, p. 107-108.
king’s command.53 These were largely a modification of a previous Real Cédula of 1565, detailing the measurements and materials required for the erection of houses in the city. In 1561, Madrid was the newly inaugurated capital in the heart of Castile, a small rural villa with a medieval pattern, underdeveloped in comparison with other cities in Castile, such as Valladolid, Toledo or Seville. The report of 1565 described a capital way advanced for the period in terms of hygiene, urban order, and embellishment.

Scholarship have partially studied this report, the ordinances and other early documents, but had not yet assessed the wider scope of all these measures in relation to the ‘imperial’ urban expansion of the Spanish empire and the ceremonial needs of the monarchy. In his monograph on Madrid, Alvar Ezquerra transcribed only some of these documents regarding urbanism.55 The relevance of his input was to compile in one volume information concerning population, social life and town supplies, together with urbanism and vegetation. Sieber conducted an interesting analysis of the works developed by the local and religious authorities, although this later study ignored the important report on the public works of 1565 in Madrid.56 Juan Luis Gonzalez García examined the building regulations of 1565, 1567 and 1584, with an emphasis on the building permits granted under these.57 This interesting article concentrates mostly on the local perspective, while establishing some comparisons with Italian treatises.

This investigation places Madrid within the wider imperial urban policies of Philip’s world. More importantly, we demonstrate how the regularisation of domestic architecture, legislated for both in America and peninsular Castile, was also the subject of experimentation in Madrid. In this case, Philip II and his entourage envisioned housing types of higher standards, as will be discussed hereafter. Sieber attempted to examine developments in Madrid in relation to the influence of the 1573 regulations for American cities,58 establishing certain comparisons between these and the direction

54 Villa’s translation into English is town; it refers to a lower category of urban settlement to the city (‘cibdad’), and its genesis dates back to the Middle Ages in Castile. There are many publications on this, for further insights see for example, S. Moxo, Feudalismo, Señorío y Nobleza en la Castilla Medieval (Madrid, 2000).
55 Alvar Ezquerra, El Nacimiento, pp. 189-227. With a section devoted to the urbanism in the sixteenth century, although as mentioned above this study did not include all pertinent documents, and did not analyse profoundly the scope of those studied, like the impact on domestic architecture of the 1567 norm. The report on the public works of c.1565 is transcribed, but the Reales Cédulas of 1565 and the alteration of 1584 are not mentioned.
58 Sieber, The Invention, pp. 127-189. This is the section most relevant to this thesis, entitled: ‘The Reform of a Town’. The Laws of Indies regarding the creation of new urban settlements and the
of Madrid’s urban design at the end of the century. She did not examine, however, the report of 1565, which included core urban projects, some of them already underway. The focus of Sieber’s study was on the actual building activity of the period and other social aspects. The scope of the norms on domestic architecture of 1565, 1567 and 1584 were not studied in depth. Her examination regarding the American law of 1573 and the parallels with Madrid was very suggestive, but this analysis was based on comparisons between the final text as printed in 1573 and what actually occurred in Madrid. In the end, only relevant parallelisms were established, while there was a lack of stronger evidence to link both initiatives.

In this chapter, I examine the corpus of legislation prior to 1573 in both locations, which in certain aspects were quasi-homogeneous. I also investigate noblemen and ministers who were key members of councils and juntas involved in the consultation process and decision-making for legislation concerning both peninsular and transatlantic Castile. Indeed, the ever-evolving and practical urbanism implemented in Spanish transatlantic cities contrasts sharply with the opinion of scholars regarding the lack of urban perspective or thought in Madrid and other cities in Castile. In this respect, this study aims to determine the possible connection of both realities by including evidence from the period in which this ideal urbanism was brewing. To this end, the impact and scope of the regulations of 1565 and 1567, and the modification of 1584 on the built environment, are crucial. These have been described as of little importance, and have not yet been assessed in relation to other texts on urban development in other territories of the empire.

organisation of towns, including urbanism, are the famous: **Ordenanzas de Descubrimiento, Nueva Población y Pacificación de las Indias dadas por Felipe II, el 13 de Julio de 1573, en el Bosque de Segovia**. There are original copies of these in the Archivo General de Indias and elsewhere, although the text has been transcribed and published many times, and is currently available for consultation, at least partially, on a number of websites. For a discussion on their scope, see J.M. Morales Folguera, *La Construcción de la Utopía: el Proyecto de Felipe II (1556-1598) para Hispanoamérica* (Madrid, 2001). Including an annotated translation into English of critical parts of this law, see D.P. Crouch, D.J. Garr, A.I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge Mass., 1982).

Sieber, and others after, have attempted to formulate a relationship between the American urban enterprise and a similar phenomenon in Madrid. This is certainly a very pertinent line of research. The issue, I would argue, is that they have only used the final text of 1573, and rarely analysed parts of the corpus of legislation and documents which preceded this ordinance. These previous norms were actually coetaneous with, or even earlier than, most of the urban legislation enacted in Madrid. The comparison of some of these with Madrid’s practice is demonstrated to be essential in order to establish such a relationship, as will be discussed hereafter. For another publication exploring the 1573 Ordinance and Madrid, see S. Izquierdo Alvarez, ‘Felipe II y el Urbanismo Moderno,’ *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* no. 13 (1993), pp. 81-107.

See note 44.

Iñiguez Almech, ‘Límites y Ordenanzas’, p.11.
In the last years of Philip II’s reign there was a proliferation of books devoted to the origins and fame of El Escorial, particularly highlighting the legacy of Philip and his regal architects regarding the introduction of classicism in the architecture. This was not the case, however, during Philip II’s early years of government. He did not leave a written manuscript or ‘master plan’ with either his imperial political vision or his ideals on architecture or urban planning. Madrid had nothing comparable to contemporary urban reforms for Rome, or other remarkable plans for European cities such as Turin, all of which showed integrated urban reform. Therefore, many historians see those architectural treatises and historical books printed in the aftermath of El Escorial’s construction as ‘historical opportunism’ to depict an ‘ideal memory’. Theories advanced by many scholars on the planning of Castile’s capital city were based on the negative reports issued at the end of the century, and have concluded that this was a direct consequence of Philip II’s lack of a systematic urban plan for the city. The inefficacy of Philip’s measures and the unsuccessful outcome of his decisions related to the capital are undeniable. Nonetheless, concluding that there was no thought given to urbanism in the capital may be a step too far. Philip’s failure in this regard was provoked by other circumstances beyond the lack of economic investment and further intervention, such as the growth of the city with the incoming population and the impossibility of limiting the casas a la malicia (Figs. 4-5).

The term casa de malicia or a la malicia refers to poorly–constructed housing that proliferated uncontrollably in Madrid to evade the Regalía de Aposento enacted by Philip II in 1561. The typical house a la malicia looked as if it had only one storey on the main façade facing the street, but viewed from the back patio, the ‘hidden’ upper storeys were revealed. The Regalía de Aposento stipulated that a house of more than one storey was obliged to receive ministers and other government personnel. The hosting duties were expensive and generally unwanted. The constructions, or casas de malicia, deliberately tried to flout the aposento by distributing their windows unevenly, and pretending the dwelling had only one storey. The number of inhabitants in Madrid

---

62 A clear example is Villalpando’s book which first volume was published only in 1596. J.B.Villalpando, El Tratado de la Arquitectura Perfecta en la Última Visión del Profeta Ezequiel (Madrid, 1990).
63 However, the Laws of the Indies of 1573 are considered a masterpiece of urban law and a utopian urban treatise. The fact that this document emerged during this decade of the 1560s in Madrid’s court is an unavoidable fact which has not been properly assessed in relation to urban development in the Iberian peninsula.
64 Casa means house in Spanish and the term malicia has two different definitions: mischief and malevolence.
before the arrival of Philip II’s court was between twelve and sixteen thousand, but by end of the century it had reached ninety to ninety-five thousand.\(^{65}\)

1.3 Urban Legislation in Madrid (1565 to 1584): Vegetation (I), Domestic Architecture (II), Sanitation and City Wall (III).

A set of regulations was enacted in the first decade that the court was settled in Madrid. These concerned cleaning boundaries (1565) and tree planting alongside the construction of Philip II’s ‘commercial wall’ in the city (1566), and finally the norms on the built environment and setting the boundaries of the city (1565-1567).\(^{66}\) Scholars have not paid much attention to these early urban norms, nor proposed them as a combined effort to impose primary principles of urban design and town development: city growth, sanitation, minimum quality of domestic architecture and the creation of ‘green areas’. Growth and sanitation were controlled by the wall of 1566, and reinforced by the establishment of city limits in 1567. The edict of 1566 aimed to encourage the embellishment of the town with vegetation, with the intention of creating ‘green’ areas.

Madrid’s landscaped gardens, like the Casa de Campo garden design and artificial lake, were primarily created for the use of the royal family,\(^{67}\) although the most spectacular and celebrated gardens were those in Aranjuez’s retreat.\(^{68}\) The obligation and incentives to plant poplars (1566), however, were for Madrid’s private householders.\(^{69}\) This was a way of enhancing the city’s streets and creating ordered and beautiful promenades through the regulation of species, harmonizing with the aim of standardising the built environment. These norms were enacted in combination with the public works described in the *Memorias de las Obras de Madrid* (c.1565), some of which were already under construction. This body of legislation and public works in


\(^{66}\) The Real Cédula of 1565 was published in: A. Díez Navarro, *Alegación Fiscal por el Derecho y Regalías de la de Real Aposento de Corte* (Madrid, 1740) pp. 23-26. Francisco Inigues published in 1555 the complete transcription of the norms enacted in 1567, see Iñiguez Almech, ‘Límites y Ordenanzas,’. This same norm of 1567 was the only one of the period discussed in A. Alvar Ezquerra, *El Nacimiento*, pp. 199-200.

\(^{67}\) For the artificial lake created in Casa de Campo Philip II requested to be stocked with fish species from Flanders. The designer of these lakes in Casa de Campo and Aranjuez was Peeter Janson, see AGS C y SR. Leg. 247-1 fols. 29-35. Year 1562.

\(^{68}\) For Aranjuez’s gardens see A. Luengo, *Aranjuez, Utopía y Realidad: la Construcción de un Paisaje* (Madrid, 2008). For a complete study on Philip’s interest in garden design see the conference proceedings edited by the Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V,(ed.), *Jardín y Naturaleza en el Siglo XVI: Felipe II, el Rey Intimo* (Aranjuez, 1998).

Madrid were coetaneous with the regal developments in the Alcázar and Casa de Campo, as well as the Descalzas Reales.

1.3.I. Vegetation: ‘Poplars for the King, Poplars for Madrid’.

In the years between 1564 and 1566, Madrid’s town council devised a tree-planting strategy, approved by the king with a *Real Provisión* in 1566. In 1564, the town promoted the planting of trees around the boundaries of the city.⁷⁰ The next year, there is evidence of an incipient plantation on the esplanade outside the Alcázar. Alvar Ezquerra has argued that Madrid was a ‘tree nursery’ in 1565; black and white poplars and willows were planted all over the Guadarrama river bank, at the city’s expense.⁷¹ The site for this plantation on the riverbank can be appreciated in the 1562 view of Madrid (Fig. 3). Additionally, any inhabitant interested in planting trees on their properties could acquire one for free from the council. Philip II ratified this ‘green city’ strategy, enacting the aforementioned *Real Provisión* of 1566, which stipulated that any landowner in Madrid with a property of at least a square mile of land had the obligation to plant trees.⁷² These initiatives seem to have been instigated by the local authorities and then confirmed by the ruler.

However, the trees selected for the ‘plantation’ were those favoured by the king. On the 20th of June, 1563, Philip wrote a memorandum to his secretary, Pedro del Hoyo, containing instructions concerning the works and gardens at his palace in Aranjuez. The report is replete with detailed instructions on the construction of the building and the necessity of finishing the artificial lake in order to introduce fish therein. However, the most interesting section is the order relating to tree planting and its locations. The ruler specified that the plaza in front of his property should have *álamos negros* (i.e., black poplars- also known as *chopos negros* in Spanish and *populus nigra* in Latin), and that the following year, Toledo street should also be planted with black poplars in front of the line of *chopos* (i.e., white poplar- also known as *alamo blanco* in Spanish, and *populus alba* in Latin). The idea behind using lines of two different types of tree was to take advantage of the slightly different blooming period of each.⁷³ This report demonstrates how the selection of trees in Madrid emanated from the ruler’s will, as he planted the same type of trees in streets near his properties, with the

---

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 28.  
⁷² Ibid., p. 28.  
⁷³ British Library Mss, Add. 28350, no. 17. ‘Memorandum Written by Philip II with Instruction for the Developments in Aranjuez, 20 June 1563’.
intention of converting them in time into tree-lined avenues. The choice of poplars was not incidental; both types are characterised by rapid growth with a leafy crown to provide shade for passers-by.

The use of vegetation was seen as indispensable in transforming the city into an ‘ideal’ environment. The council, in conjunction with the monarch, established a double layer of action by providing free trees for those interested in embellishing the city and imposing a planting regime on the landowners with the largest holdings. The aesthetic nuance of tree-lined avenues in the nascent urbanism of the Spanish world is of critical importance. They not only provided freshness and shade to the citizens but also helped in directing the urban vista towards certain buildings, either royal, religious or public, supporting the hierarchies of the cityscape. In this way, the trees were also regularising the urban form. The use of these trees for the ornamentation of the city continued thereafter. At the time of the ceremonial in 1570 to receive the fourth wife of King Philip II, Queen Anna of Austria, the local authorities reordered the orchards and agricultural lands in what was later known as the Paseo del Prado de San Jerónimo. This paseo was described in 1599 as:

[…] very beautiful grove where the poplars form two long, wide avenues and where everyone parades on summer evenings to the sound of music which goes on until midnight.

Poplars appear to have been the preferred species for the urbanisation of avenues, especially, and crucially, those which formed part of the ceremonial route in regal festivals. The city was the ritual stage on which the ruler and the subjects interacted during such events, and it is notable how Philip encouraged the use of the same type of tree to embellish the most important ceremonial spaces, both at his properties and the capital. Additionally, by means of the city council, the idea was to create a

---

74 In this respect there is much written about the sophistication of Philip II’s gardens and his personal implications on garden design. The collection of Reales Cédulas (from the Junta de Obras y Bosques) conserved in the Archivo Real de Palacio in these years confirms the king’s affinity with the plantation of poplars of both types to ornament streets.

75 The ‘official’ chronicle of the entry is J. López de Hoyos, Real Apparato y Sumptuoso Recibimiento con que Madrid […] Rescibio a la Serenisima Reyna D. Aná de Austria (Madrid, 1572). For an interesting article on the impact of festivals in the configuration of El Paseo del Prado, see C. Lopezosa Aparicio, ‘Fiesta Oficial y Configuración de la Ciudad. El Caso del Madrileño Paseo del Prado,’ Anales de Historia del Arte vol. 12 (2002), pp. 79-92.

76 Sieber, The Invention, p. 171.

77 The entry of Queen Anna of Austria finished in the Jeronimos monastery. A recent study on ceremonial routes in Madrid has demonstrated how they greatly influenced the urban configuration and redevelopment in Madrid. See M.J. Rio Barredo, Madrid, Urbs Regia: la Capital Ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica (Madrid, 2000).
homogeneous corpus of vegetation in the city, which would not only offer freshness and colour but also reinforce an ordered urban townscape.

1.3.II. Domestic Architecture in the Empire: Madrid and the Wider World.

The multitude of Indians and Spaniards form one and the same political community, and not two entities distinct from one another. They all have the same King, are subject to the same laws, are judged by a sole judiciary. There are not different laws for some and for others, but the same [law] for all.78

On the 9th of September 1536, Charles V enacted a Real Provisión ordering the encomenderos in the Viceroyalty of Perú to build houses for the Indian population with a minimum standard, as reflected in the materials required for such constructions.79

The norm aimed to establish a permanent settlement, with the Spanish overseas empire fundamentally based on the creation of a solid network of cities and other urban settlements.80 For this purpose, the Council of the Indies had suggested that this permanent domestic architecture should be constructed with stone, mortar, wood and rammed earth (or mud wall).

The Spanish transatlantic empire was organised with an urban emphasis, in the same way as the Roman empire in its conquered lands; the cities and towns allowed the Spaniards to establish their social order and hierarchy based on a sophisticated bureaucracy.81 Charles V ratified this norm in 1536, and instituted a new colonial policy because previously the Spaniards had not aimed to settle permanently in Peru, but to dig for gold and silver before returning to mainland Castile, and therefore had not erected houses with minimum architectural principles. Not surprisingly, the type of domestic architecture described was the same vernacular tradition used in peninsular Castile.


79 This edict is transcribed in F. Solano, Normas y Leyes de la Ciudad Hispanoamericana (1492-1600) (Madrid, 1996), pp. 120-121.

80 For a good outline of the Spanish urban development in America, see Ramón Gutiérrez's seminal work, which has been re-edited and printed many times since the first edition in 1984. See especially the chapter devoted to urbanism: R. Gutiérrez, Arquitectura y Urbanismo en Iberoamérica (Madrid, 2010), pp. 77-102.

81 The bureaucracy in the Spanish empire will be discussed at length in chapter 2.
The Ordinance of Seville (1527) had specific regulations for construction, including materials for domestic architecture and the role of the masons, officials and alarifes; these norms were usually established by local guilds. The materials described were essentially the same as those in the very simple Real Provisión for Peru in 1536. The Council of the Indies, through the emperor, was implementing a homogeneous criterion for domestic architecture in Castile and its empire. These materials were also used to erect public buildings under regal patronage, again both in mainland Castile and to transatlantic dominions. For instance, the royal officials in Santa Marta from the New Kingdom of Granada (America) sent a report in 1533 describing the new royal bastion and adjoining house. The building technique was equivalent to other peninsular models, using stone, tapial, mortar, wood and bricks as the main materials. The fortified mansion, which was a representation of the monarch’s authority in the city, had gates to the plaza and was situated near the church. The plaza of the Spanish urban settlements was the ‘heart’ of social and ceremonial life, and where the important regal, religious and public buildings should be located.

In 1565, Philip II enacted a Real Cédula, granting exemption from the Regalía de Aposento for over fifteen years to any citizen in Madrid who wanted to build or reform his house, there was imposed a number of minimum requirements. For instance, each dwelling should have at least three rooms on the ground floor plus an entrance hall (known as zaguán in Spanish). The façade had to be well built, with a podium constructed of lime-based mortar and stone measuring fifty-five centimetres in both height and width (i.e., two pies of a Castilian vara). Façades were to be a minimum of twelve and half metres long (i.e., forty-five pies of a Castilian vara). If the façade of the existing house or new development did not have sufficient area facing the main street to comply, then the sum of the front and rear façades should total this measurement of twelve and a half metres in some proportion. This set of precise conditions would be adapted to the conditions of the site. The height of the façade was to be a minimum of

---

six metres (i.e., twenty–two pies of a Castilian vara) with the sum of the two floors (presumably including the podium). The floors should be built of wood.  

Two years later, the 1567 bylaw for Madrid was an attempt to eradicate the casas a la malicia through the delimitation of the city boundaries and the establishment of a minimum standard for domestic architecture. This time the type of house described was poorer in comparison with the minimum quality set out in 1565. The bylaw established that outside the boundaries defined in this real provision, any buildings already built or under construction were illegal.  

Evidently, religious institutions were exempt from these regulations as they only aimed to control domestic architecture. Any new private development had to be approved by the local authorities, and for those already underway permit had to be approved. The norm sought to put an end to the negative effects of the Regalía de Aposento by imposing strict rules on the construction of new housing. There should be a solid foundation for the façade wall, and a podium at least fifty-five centimetres above the street’s pavement. The façade itself had to be constructed with pillars and bricks, and filled with rammed earth wall. A minimum of two storeys was stipulated, and the house façade had to be at least 3.64 metres in length. It was necessary for a member of the city council to approve the construction, including its alignment to the street.  

The urban norms of 1567 also intended to regulate building development and streets in an ordered rational form, inspired by theorists such as Alberti:

[the street would be] very well designed, very clean, it would be adorned by houses at the same height and in alignment [with the street].

The term used for the measurement of sites was acordelar, which literally means to measure a plot or site with strings. This ensured both precision in the foundation of the building and straight alignment with the street. This type of procedure was already in use for the design of the new American cities. At the beginning of the Spanish conquest in America the instructions given to colonisers on the foundation of cities were quite succinct. For instance, the famous instruction to Pedrarias Davila of 1513 only recommended that the design of the city should be ordered: ‘once the plots are designated, the town [must] look ordered, [ordered] like this in the space designated

---

85 Díez Navarro, Alegación Fiscal, pp. 24-25.  
87 Ibid, pp. 7-8.  
88 Alberti, Los Diez, p. 249: (8th book)

Y tambien en la calle de fuera que conuiene que este muy bien lastrada, y del todo muy limpia, la adornaran los portales con iguales lineamientos, y de una y otra parte las casas iguales en linea y nivel.
for the plaza, [ordered like] the plot designated for the church, also the order that the street would have’.\(^{89}\) This explanation is rather vague in relation to the urban design. A few years later it would become more detailed. For example, Nicolas de Ovando’s celebrated design for Santo Domingo (Fig. 7): ‘[… ] was designed with ruler-and-compass, and all the streets with [equal] measure’. Ovando had personal experience of the new design of the city of Santa Fé in Granada, built under the auspices of the Catholic Monarchs late in the fifteenth century (Fig. 6). This city was the permanent military camp from which the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada was defeated. The settlement emulated the form of a Roman castrum and was similar to the French bastides. This urban design witnessed by Ovando may have influenced the urban form implemented in 1502 in Santo Domingo (Figs. 6-7).\(^{90}\)

Charles V’s ordinances of 1523 for the foundation of American cities were more explicit:

> And when creating the plan of the place, measure its squares and streets, with streets laid out in a straight line, starting from the Plaza Mayor, and from there commence the rest of the streets, from the square towards the city gates and main roads, leaving space so the town can be augmented in the same way.\(^{91}\)

These were norms regarding the alignment of streets and plots in newly developed cities in the Americas. However, indications on building techniques are documented as early as 1506, with a royal order to construct permanent architecture in Santo Domingo with stones and tapial.\(^{92}\) Indigenous construction techniques in ceramics and adobe were well developed; although tapial was a new introduction. In Santo Domingo, masons and alarifes from Seville were documented working on the construction of the city (Fig. 12).\(^{93}\) Specific orders and instructions for cities on American soil would be compiled in the Ordinance of 1573 enacted by Philip II. At this

\(^{89}\) Also known as Pedro Arias de Avila. See original in AGI Patronato, L. 26, R.5. ‘Power, Instruction and Ordinance to Pedrarias Dávila, 1513’, no. 7.

\(^{90}\) F. Solano, Ciudades Hispanoamericanas y Pueblos de Indios (Madrid, 1990), p.71. Solano was citing Fernández de Oviedo, who was the first chronicler of the Indies, see G. Fernández de Oviedo, Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano (1536).

\(^{91}\) Charles V’s Ordinances of 1523 no. 11. This same norm was later ratified by Philip II in the Ordinances of 1573 nos. 39 and 40 regarding settlements. These were published many times in compilations of the Laws of Indies. For example, Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de Indias Mandadas a Imprimir y Publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Cárlos II (Madrid, 1791). See Libro III Título 7

\(^{92}\) Gutierrez, Arquitectura, p. 14.

\(^{93}\) Ibid., p. 14.
stage in the American expansion, up to two hundred cities were already founded, built
and functioning. Therefore, this law has been seen as an a posteriori compilation
of previous norms. Indeed, this was a practice in use by Castilian monarchs, whereby
regal legislation was based on traditions inherited from their predecessors.

The Ordinance of 1573 (no. 133) for new settlements concerned the construction
of houses for the population. The plots for these houses had already been designated
when the layout of the city was established, and the norm fixed that they should be
erected only once the food supply and other basic needs of the family or ‘coloniser’ had
been secured. The houses had to be ‘built with good foundations and walls, for which
[...] tapiales or wood planks and the rest of tools [had to be available] to construct
[them] rapidly and at low cost’. Tapiales were the tools needed to build tapías, or tapial
as it is known now.

Thus, the use of tapial, a vernacular tradition widely extended in peninsular
Castile, was the principal way to construct domestic architecture in the Americas. The
Ordinance of 1573 (no. 135) also emphasised the formal coherence of the houses in the
city: ‘[put] all possible endeavour into [designing] the buildings in one form, for the
ornament of the settlement’. The urban ideal was clearly for the residential
architecture to be homogenous.

These aesthetic values were also implemented in Madrid, with the
standardisation of construction techniques and a set of strict regulations concerning
height, façade length, and the distribution of rooms within houses in the Real Cédula of
1565. Similar stipulations were set out for a second type of house in the bylaw of 1567.
Despite these regulations on domestic architecture being more specific in Madrid than
elsewhere, the similarities with the American urban experience are suggestive.

In 1584 King Philip II made a modification to the Real Cédula of 1565. The
residential architecture he proposed in this norm was of even grander dimensions.
House owners who aimed to gain exemption from the Regalía de Aposento had to build
or redevelop their properties with four rooms and an entrance hall on the lower floor,
and at least five rooms plus a corridor on the upper storey. The podium of the façade

---

94 Crouch, Garr, Mundigo, Spanish City, p. 2
95 For a lengthier discussion on the process of the organisation and compilation of both
documentation and legislation during Philip II’s reign, see chapter 2 of this thesis.
96 L. Torres Mendoza, Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias Vol. 8 (Madrid, 1867),
pp. 528-529.
   Edificarlas de buenos cimientos y paredes, para lo cual vaya apercibidos de tapiales o
tables par alas hacer, y todas las otras herramientas para edificar con brevedad y a poca
costa.
97 Ibid., p. 529.
   Procuren en quanto fuese posible que los edificios sean de una forma, por el ornato de
la población.
was the usual fifty-five centimetres in both height and width. But the length of the façade required in order to obtain the rights provided by the norm was extraordinary—a minimum of 20.85 metres (i.e. seventy-five pies of a Castilian vara). The height of the building was also greater than the average six metres prescribed in the previous norms of 1565 and 1567, at almost seven metres (i.e. twenty-five pies of a Castilian vara). The dimensions revealed in this housing prototype were impressive, with the increase in height allowing the addition of a small attic or such like space on the ground floor. A few decades later, in 1602, one of the former architects to Philip II, Francisco de Mora, designed a house of similar characteristics in Valladolid, under the orders of his heir (Fig. 8).

The Real Aposento of court was moved from Madrid to Valladolid during the period from 1601 to 1606. This depiction (Fig. 8) accompanied a memorandum from Pedro de Herrera y Lintorne, requesting exemption from aposento hosting duties as he had fulfilled the minimum housing requirements. The request was granted with a cédula in Valladolid on the 27th May 1604. Measures similar to those undertaken in Madrid regarding the hosting of members of the court applied now to Valladolid. The measurements of the house were very close to those of the order of 1584 for Madrid. The height of the building was over ten metres, with uneven distribution of the stories, the largest being the ground floor and the smallest the third floor. The measurement of the façade is slightly shorter than the proposal in Madrid; this example in Valladolid had seventy pies, equating to 19.25 metres, compared to the minimum of 20.85 metres required in Madrid. Interestingly, the royal architect depicted the house; Francisco de Mora was styled master of Madrid in 1591, and with the relocation of the court he presumably undertook similar responsibilities in Valladolid.98

98 For a lengthier discussion on Francisco de Mora, see chapter 2.
99 The decision of the Duke of Lerma to move the court to Valladolid was based on the inadequacies of Madrid as the capital of the empire. However, the return to Madrid was swift, as Valladolid was not prepared to become the new capital. For further insight on this issue, see J.I. Gutiérrez Nieto, ‘El Duque de Lerma y el Traslado de la Corte en el Marco del Arbitrismo (1601-1606)”, in J Jornadas de Historia de la Villa de Lerma (Burgos, 1989) pp. 35-47.
100 AGS. Cámara de Castilla, Leg.893. ‘Memorandum from Pedro de Herrera y Lintorne regarding aposento exemption, Valladolid 27th May 1604.
101 Díez Navarro, Alegación Fiscal, p. 193
102 The reductive classicism applied in the distribution of the windows in the elevation this house in Valladolid (Fig. 8) was another example of the Austriaco style, applied this time to domestic architecture. This elevation without the emblematic corner towers with slatted roof was very similar to the palace of the Duke of Lerma also designed by Francisco de Mora and which was clearly indebted to the design created during Philip II’s rule, such as El Escorial, but also to sections of the Alcázar in Madrid.
There is another remaining elevation of a seventeenth-century house requesting the exemption of the *aposento* hosting duties but, this time, the façade was entirely built with bricks (Fig. 9). These types of façades were not plastered as the new type of Flemish red brick introduced in the royal edifices was being emulated in buildings around the court both in Madrid and, in this period, Valladolid.\(^{103}\) This house was the property that the secretary Gregorio Tapia had in Santa Clara Street and, during the absence of Francisco de Mora, Agustín de Pedrosa approved the exemption.\(^{104}\) The distribution of the windows is similar to the previous example (Fig. 8) it was also inspired by the reductive classicism implemented in royal buildings during Philip II’s reign. Although the minimum standards required in the construction of domestic architecture encouraged the use of *tapia* walls, any other richer materials were clearly welcome by the authorities. The length of the façade of Gregorio Tapia’s house was sixty *pies* of Castilian vara, which equated to 16.68 m.

When the *Real Cédula* of 1565 was enacted, drawings were provided for the use of plot and building owners and also of the *alarifes* and architects involved in the bureaucratic process for the exemption of the *aposento* duties. These drawings have not yet been discovered.\(^{105}\) However, the two latter examples in Valladolid are very similar to the regulations imposed by Philip II in 1584. This also affected the measurements of the buildings for it appears that the length of the façade imposed in 1584 was monumental. However, residential architecture among the upper echelons of society was of palatial dimensions which surpassed the minimum standards. For instance, under the standard requirements of 1565, Gaspar de Escobar Pereira built a palace with a façade of over thirty metres.\(^{106}\) The elevations of these two houses and the floor plan in Fig. 14 are the closest remaining examples to these standardised drawings.\(^{107}\) Alternatively, you can see a complete study on the hypothetical reconstruction of the standard housing under these regulations in Figs. 13 (a,b,c,d).

The three different known construction regulations enacted in Madrid in the period are those of 1565, 1567 and 1584. Each of these presents a similar type of house, but with different dimensions, and all housing types were built with the traditional building materials and techniques employed in Castile. One of the most important

---

105 These are noted in the same Real Cédula in Díez Navarro, *Alegación Fiscal*, pp. 23-26 and also copied by the secretary Mateo Vázquez in Instituto Valencia de D. Juan (IVDJ) Env. 63-37-40 1587. This latter was also cited in Escobar, La Plaza, p. 221, note. 72.
107 All these drawings are unpublished.
omissions of this fledgling body of urban legislation is the distribution of windows. The prototype house described in the 1584 norm also had a corral (i.e., back yard or patio) for animals or a private orchard; this necessarily had to be in the space to the rear of the house.\textsuperscript{108}

The kind of construction, including the recommended materials, settled the traditional construction techniques similar to those used on the Casa Cisneros built in 1537 in Madrid or the Descalzas Reales convent. Juan Bautista de Toledo designed the façade of Descalzas Reales convent in a classical form while the external walls were built in the vernacular tradition of Castile. In Casa Cisneros, although profoundly restored at the beginning of the last century, there are some aspects visible that link the construction of the original edifice to those requirements described in the norm, such as a generous podium made of stone with stone pillars used on the corners and a façade erected with a rammed earth wall (i.e., tapial).

The examples of buildings (Figs. 10-11 -12) using tapial as the most important method of construction for the walls present them now without any plaster and paintings. This architecture was not built to appreciate the materials employed in the construction. The example of the façade elevation designed by Francisco de Mora is very explicit in this with the use of red in the walls and the stones framing the windows and other wall openings. There were other buildings erected entirely in rectangular stone or bricks that would not have been plastered and painted. However, the most extended architectural solutions were the tapia walls.

The residential architecture fostered in Madrid was very specific when compared to that in the Americas. Although both complied with the same primary principles, in Madrid there were at least two coexistent types. It has been argued that the smaller type of housing defined in 1567 aimed at substituting the prototype of 1565.\textsuperscript{109} The content of the norm of 1584 dismantles this theory, clearly setting out regulations intended to supersede the norm of 1565, as this type of house had proved insufficient for court needs. In this sense, the norms of 1565 and 1567 coexisted, while the regulation of 1584 intended to substituted the Real Cédula of 1565. Interestingly, Philip II and his entourage saw the need for a grander house type once the crowns of the Iberian peninsula were united under Philip’s rule. This was a critical moment and one of the most important achievements in Philip’s political career; at this stage, he had dominions in all known continents. The number of court members surely increased, so perhaps the ruler also felt it necessary to enhance the residential architecture in the

\textsuperscript{109} González García, ‘De Ornato y Policía’ , p.103.
capital of his empire. Therefore, it seems there were two Reales Cédulas (1565 and 1584) enacted directly from court and then a third, also ratified by the king but promoted by the local authorities. This meant that there were three different standards of housing in circulation, two of which were combined. Ideally, these three types of houses would have presented something like the Ideal Recreation of Housing Prototypes in Madrid, 1565-1584 (Fig. 13).110

The contents of Figure 13 have been specifically created for this chapter and represents mainly: a) principal construction techniques. 2) possible elevation alternatives of the houses under the regulations of 1565, 1567 and 1584. 3) ideal urban vistas including vegetation of each housing type and then mixed. The focus of the urban vista points towards an outline of a civic building inspired by the emblematic roofing systems of the Austriaco style towers designed under Philip II’s reign. This tower is based on depictions of the Golden Tower in the Alcázar in Madrid, and it is only outlined. Additionally, the intention with the urban vista recreations is to reconstruct an urban ideal bedded in the body of legislation that was enacted in Madrid in this period.

The measurements of the housing type specified in 1567 are small when compared to the other two types. In order to include three rooms, with ventilation, in a house of 3.64 m. façade it was necessarily to have a rear patio; otherwise one of the three rooms upstairs had to be a box-room, which was a common provision at the time. Additionally the stairs had to be small and, if built in the zaguán (i.e., entrance hall), the space was significantly compact. This means that if the zaguán occupied one metre length, then each room had only 1.52 m. space in the façade. There were not dimensions given for the number of square metres of each room but with these minimal dimensions in the façade, one may wonder where the space for the walls and stairs was. When compared to some of the housing types of 1565 and 1584 only one of the rooms of these houses was larger than the façade of the other house (Fig. 14).

This is a plan of a house in Madrid owned by Bautista Spínola which was exempted from the Regalía de Aposento in 1589 (Fig. 14). The residence is of grand dimensions; one of the smallest chambers is slightly grander still if compared to the minimum façade required by the norm of 1567. Both minimum requirements contrast sharply, and one wonders whether the interpretation on the measures required for the length of façades in the 1567 house were really correct. The texts in the norm use pieça when describing this measurements: ‘the pieças in the upper and lower parts’ had to be

---

110 Previous drafts for these figures were depicted by author. Final elevations completed by Harry Kirkham under author’s close supervision. Laura Fernández-González © 2011.
of 3.64 m. Covarrubias defined piezas as ‘a piece of something, [in construction a] one of the house divisions’\(^{111}\) The text reads: ‘two chambers on the ground, plus the hall of entrance, and three upper chambers and that each piece built, either in the ground or upper floor had at least thirteen feet width’.\(^{112}\) This has been interpreted in the past as if the façade length of both storeys had to be of 3.64.\(^{113}\) However, it seems the reading could be interpreted differently as the text describes the rooms and then indicates that each of these rooms (i.e., piezas) both on the first and ground floor had to be of 3.64 m minimum. This means the length of the façade with two rooms and not including the entrance hall had to be at least of 7.28 m. It has been documented how one of the building permissions requested under the norm of 1567 were two upper piezas\(^{114}\)(i.e., two chambers on the first storey of a house). This confirms that pieça referred most possibly to one of the chambers or divisions within a house.

This measurement would match better with the rest of initiatives undertaken in Madrid concerning housing standards: a) 1565 minimum length of façade was 12.51 metres and each room of at least 3.89 m. (Fig. 13 -a); b) 1584 minimum length of façade was 20.85 metres and each room of at least 4.17 m. (Fig. 13-c). With the traditional interpretation of the 1567 house prototype measurements, this building was almost the twice as high as it was long, (i.e., 6 m. high x 3.64 m. façade length). The type of façade wall regulated was rammed earth; depending on the plot in the city this may have caused certain structural issues. Additionally, it raised difficulties in interior distribution of the space, although this type of house may have adapted well to medieval plots in sections of the city with a built environment of compacted density. However, it seems a rare measure to be ratified by both Philip II and the local authorities at this time, as the description interpreted traditionally proposed an eminently medieval type of building. It seems particularly strange that a house of such minimal standards was proposed by local alarifes and ratified by the king. In Fig. 13-b,

\(^{111}\) Covarrubias Tesoro, p. 587.

\(^{112}\) Iñiguez Almech, ‘Limites y Ordenanzas’, p. 7.

\(^{113}\) Iñiguez Almech, ‘Limites y Ordenanzas’, p. 7 and González García, ‘De Ornato y Policía’, p.104. Both cited authors transcribed the measurements, noting how small these houses were, they did not analyse the given data any further. The house actually resulted in being almost similar to the most compact version possible under the Real Cédula enacted in 1565 (see Fig. 13 for further insights).

\(^{114}\) Iñiguez Almech, ‘Limites y Ordenanzas,’ p. 32.
I have included alongside the rest of housing types both possible options for the houses in 1567; based on the traditional interpretation of the text, and on the new interpretation I am proposing. The visual contrast between them is clear, and more evident still when placed beside the models for 1565 and 1584.

The elevation of the houses in Fig. 13 were plastered and therefore the construction details are shown to illustrate the prototype domestic architecture fostered under Philip II. The podiums for the façade’s wall were of the same measurement and the materials exposed are those used in buildings with tapia walls. Any windows or doors had to be reinforced either with brick or stone. If the windows or door frames had architraves they used normally a strong wood beam or a stone with a segmental relieving arch over the lintel as represented in the drawings. Alternatively, the wall openings for windows and doors had a ‘flat’ arch of gauged brick rubbers as in Fig. 13-a. These were also used in Casa Cisneros and Casa de las Siete Chimeneas in Madrid, (see Figs.10-11). There are more examples of buildings using these construction techniques, for instance the aforementioned Descalzas Reales convent, also the Monastery of Yuste with tapia walls and stone framing openings. The engraving of the Encarnación Convent in Madrid in 1610 by Fray Alberto de la Madre de Dios, (see Fig. 15), also presents similar construction techniques in the walls of the building.

The print (Fig. 15) shows how the convent had its walls, other than the façade, built with stone and tapial, and how the podium was of large stones. It is the same building technique used for residential architecture. The solution for the construction of the walls was also extended to palatial, public and religious buildings. The difference between these and average domestic architecture was externally in details of the décor of the façades and also the higher elevation of the façade over the rest of the houses. These differences established a hierarchy in the townscape in which the authority of the upper architectural echelons were reflected in a visible urban order. In this respect, the description of the location of religious buildings in the Ordinances of urban American settlements of 1573 enacted by Philip II is certainly revealing. This norm designated that the churches be located in front of small plazas, which was an ideal acquired from Alberti.  

For the American Ordinances see for example Crouch, Garr, Mundigo, Spanish City, p.14. 118. Here and there in the town, smaller plazas of good proportions shall be laid out, where the temples associated with the principal church, the parish churches, and the monasteries can be built, [in] such [manner] that everything may be distributed in a good proportion for the instruction of the religion. See also Alberti, Los Diez, p.248.
these churches be founded on a platform elevated from the ground level, with access only provided by stairs; all of which aimed to impose authority over the citizens.\footnote{Crouch, Garr, Mundigo, Spanish City, p. 15.}

The body of legislation intended to create a quasi-homogeneous housing type, both in Madrid and in the imperial dominions. This residential architecture had to be distinguished in the urban hierarchy from other upper-class architecture, such as larger palaces, religious edifices of any kind, the most eminent civic buildings and the royal properties themselves. Indeed, this hierarchy aimed to achieve the desired dramatic view through techniques of urban perspective. These same techniques were later mastered in seventeenth-century baroque urban design. Residential architecture was required to produce an ordered feeling in the urban space and reinforce the dramatic impact desired for the royal and religious buildings. In this sense the order envisioned for the domestic architecture in the transatlantic dominions was as a backdrop with uniform residential buildings. The sense of order and subtle blending of this type of domestic architecture in the townscape design was a crucial element to reinforce the hegemony of the regal authority.

In early modern Europe architectural and urban order were part of the same concept, in which the city became the ceremonial tableau of the ruler and the image of his capital and empire. This ‘dramatic urbanism,’ intended to create an urban scene aimed at impressing the spectator, in which architects worked to design a dramatic view within the city’s urban pattern, such as a street flanked by trees or the fixing of a vista on an iconic building like a church or the king’s palace. Under these precepts the regulations implemented in Madrid from 1567 to 1584 during Philip II’s reign endured later as demonstrated in the example depicted by Francisco de Mora in Valladolid (Fig. 8).

The regulations in Madrid aimed to achieve minimum standards of urban order and housing quality through formal uniformity. The implementation of such regularised domestic architecture would mirror the ordered state ruled by the sovereign. The ideal domestic architecture envisioned in Madrid together with the tree planting strategy would have created urban environments similar to those depicted in the ideal urban vistas included in (Fig.13 –d).

These are mere approximations to what the king’s architects would have presented in the drawings delivered for guidance in the construction.\footnote{124. The temple in inland places shall not be placed on the square but at a distance and shall be separated from any other nearby building, or from adjoining buildings, and ought to be seen from all sides so that it can be decorated better, thus acquiring more authority; efforts should be made that is somewhat raised from ground level in order that it be approached by steps […]}
details on the distribution of windows were not included in the description was perhaps because they were indicated in the drawing. The basic principles dictated by the regulations of Madrid between 1565 and 1584 both on vegetation and building environment are reflected in the measurements and intended location in the recreated urban vistas (Fig. 13-d). Black and white poplars alongside wide streets with an ordered and uniformed residential architecture reflected the upper hierarchy of the regal, civic and religious buildings in the city. These recreations are not based on real streets in Madrid but on the visualisation of the ideals described in the regulations. For this an outline of one regal or civic building with the shape of the Austriaco style tower with Flemish inspired spire preferred by Philip II is included, (see further explanation on Fig. 13-c).

This type of ideal space was also echoed in the 1573 Ordinances for the American settlements, which were largely a compilation of the legislation issued during the previous decades of the century. These practical and efficient aspects of Philip II’s regulations for both Madrid and America were a result of decades of urban development in the Spanish imperial dominions in combination with an adaptation of the Italian architectural theory.118

This was another aspect of Philip II’s imperial policies and his strategy to reinforce his power in the cities around the globe. This included Madrid. For the capital of his realm he and his entourage envisioned a residential architecture of large standards that would support the desired urban order at the service of the political discourse. The ideal domestic architecture in Madrid was meant to reflect the policía and ornato needed to play its role in the complex hierarchies of the capital’s townscape. Madrid’s regulations for domestic architecture blended Castilian medieval traditions in the building techniques and innovation in the specific set of building standards. The uniformity intended in the aesthetic of the Habsburg imperial architecture were grander and richer in Madrid. The capital had to echo this imperial glory and the role of an ordered, clean plan, and standardised housing was essential to create and imperial ideal reflected in designed urban vistas. The legislation created in Madrid and elsewhere to regulate domestic architecture was a reflection of the imperial supremacy of the ruler and his desire for his capital and imperial cities to echo his authority.

117 As mentioned before, it has been documented that, at the very least, the norm of 1565 was accompanied by drawings which illustrated what kind of house and standards were expected. These have not been discovered yet.
118 Sieber, The Invention, p. 105.
1.3.III. Madrid: Sanitation and City Wall.

In 1565 boundaries were set for the cleaning of the city.\textsuperscript{119} Civic health was a matter of concern in the early modern world with severe sanitation problems. Philip II encouraged city councils in matters of cleaning and urbanism. In 1581, for example, a few months before his official entry into Lisbon, Philip II wrote to the city council regarding these matters.\textsuperscript{120} At this time, the courts were not celebrated in the city due to the deplorable state of Lisbon. The king’s preoccupation with this problem could also be attributed to his imminent arrival and the reception he expected. He ordered the authorities to clean, paint, and disinfect all closed buildings, which could be breeding grounds for infection.\textsuperscript{121}

In Madrid, the cleaning boundaries were almost equal to the ‘commercial fence’ that was built under the king’s auspices in 1566: both were very similar to the delimitation of Madrid under the ordinances of 1567. The erection of walls was a tradition rooted in medieval urbanism. A non-defensive wall like that built under Philip’s auspices was for commercial purposes as well as to shield the city in case of plague and other infectious diseases.\textsuperscript{122}

Implicit in these norms was a double layer of action as a strategy for urban development: they encouraged the enhancement of private land by providing free, though regulated, vegetation, and forced those with an extensive property to plant poplars and willows. This double action is, to a certain extent, similar to the method used in the 1567 norm for the construction and alignment of edifices; the prize was exemption from the infamous Regalía de Aposento, but there was also punishment, and even demolition of those buildings that had not been previously approved.\textsuperscript{123} These aspects referred to matters of building standards, but what does the new ‘commercial fence’ of 1566 (with no defensive purposes) say about the urban policy?

The norm of 1567 not only regulated building standards but also defined the delimitation of the city. The reasons behind this decision were clearly stated in the text of the norm:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Iñiguez Almec, ‘Juan de Herrera’, p. 107.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. Historico, (AMLH) COD. 58 Livro 1º rei-D. Filippe I, fs. 13. 14\textsuperscript{th} May 1581.
\item \textsuperscript{121} AMLH COD. 58 Livro 1º rei-D. Filippe I, fs. 13. 14\textsuperscript{th} May 1581.
\item \textsuperscript{122} S. Julia, D. Ringrose and C. Segura, Madrid, Historia de una Capital (Madrid, 2008), pp. 53-62.
\item \textsuperscript{123} This basic system of soliciting city council permission for construction of a project by an architect or surveyor, with its own modern complexities, is still used today as a tool for urban development and control.
\end{itemize}
having been informed that because the construction of many small houses surrounding this town [has] wasted many building materials and kept busy many surveyors, this is diminishing the ennobling and ornamentation of the town and [interrupting the construction of] many other buildings that would enhance [this town but which] are not being developed [because of the lack of materials and officials], and by having those small houses on the outskirts surrounding the town, they have become the comfortable residence of wanderers and people of bad living, becoming the place for delinquents, […]²²⁴

The background to this problem is settled at the beginning of the edict: the king was officially informed about the matter of the uncontrolled development of casas a la malicia and of the scarcity of construction materials and officials to work on the buildings of interest to the crown and the city council of Madrid.²²⁵ In addition, these suburbs became the resort of ‘delinquents’.

 […] we order that from now it is forbidden to construct any new [building] nor finish those already commenced outside the limits of this Town of Madrid which was closed by doors, fence, houses and walls last year of 1566, to safeguard that into this [town] did not enter any person that came from the places where news of the plague was known.²²⁶

Traditionally, the fence has been called ‘commercial’ because the gates were used not only to control access but also for tax collecting, its boundaries marked by edifices and other walls. There were structures to complete its closure, but it was not defensive in the military sense. However, its aim was to control the spread of the plague within the city, by controlling the movement of people, the practice was common in medieval Castile.²²⁷ This created two different spaces in the urban settlement: one that was considered to be the city and therefore worth protecting and beautifying, and one that was composed of illegal suburbs and not included in any regulation.

[...] sepaes que nos somos informados que a acausa de labrarse muchas casas pequeñas al rededor desa dicha Villa y gastarse en ellas muchos materiales y ocuparse muchos oficiales, se dismiyue el ennoblecimiento y ornato del pueblo y se dejan de hacer algunos edificios que le acreditarían, y de hecerse las dichas casas pequeñas fuera y a la redonda de el, y ser aposento acomodado para unas personas y gentes vagamundas y de mal vivir, es occasion para cometerse y encubrirse muchos delitos,
[...]

²²⁵ Alvar Ezquerra has studied the supply of materials for construction see Alvar Ezquerra, El Nacimiento, pp. 195-197.


[...] que debiamos mandar e dar esta nuestra carta para vos en la dicha razón, e nos tuvimos por bien; la cual mandamos que de aquí adelante no se pueda hacer edificar alguno de nuevo ni acabarse los que estuvieren comenzados fuera de ls partes y límites por donde la dicha Villa de Madrid estuvo cerrarda con puertas y cercada con casas e tapias el año próximo pasado de mil y quinientos y sesenta y seis, para guardar que en ella no entrase persona alguna de los viniesen de las partes y lugares donde se tenía noticia que había enfermedad contagiosa o pestilencia

The ‘approved’ town was subject to an increasing number of regulations and also benefited from the proximity of the court. The ideal urban spaces envisioned in the inner city were not applied to the outskirts, with the exception of paths leading to important religious edifices, such as the avenue to St. Jerome Monastery. The rest of the outskirts simply were not under any regulation except the prohibition on building. In the daily life of Madrid these suburbs beyond the fence would play an important role, mostly in terms of commerce and trading, as market and other products sold at different prices to those inside the fence. Traditionally these *arrabales* would be incorporated ‘officially’ into the ‘city’ if they were designated their own parish church. Such outer settlements and their segments of population played an important role in the social and commercial life of the cities in Castile. This aspect of the norm was not new; in the 1527 ordinances of Seville, a similar measure was recorded regarding the boundaries of the city and the necessity for the king himself to approve the construction of any building outside these limits:

Men of this town who wish to build houses [...] must construct them all inside the town fence, and outside of the fence, [only those] with granted permission from the King, [...] and the plazas, streets and [other public spaces] is the King’s property; and no men can say it’s theirs, […], except if conceded by the King.

The fence built in 1566 on Philip II’s orders and ratified in the edict of 1567 was a tradition rooted in the management of settlements in Castile. It is not clear whether the ruler and the local authorities really believed the building activity on these outskirts would be controlled. Perhaps it was believed that the royal presence in Madrid would be enough to achieve this. Examples like Seville and others demonstrated that exhaustive controls were unlikely to succeed. Also, the coexistence of both inner and outer city realities were part of the social and economic dynamics of cities in Castile, as previously discussed. The limits imposed in this decade for Madrid endured long after, as Philip II still referred to them in the reformed norm for 1584. With this measure, the king perpetuated a way of ‘controlling’ the city’s growth, albeit unsuccessfully. However, his vision, as reflected in the set of standards for the built environment in Madrid, was very modern and intended to echo the imperial supremacy of the realm. In this way, the measures undertaken in Madrid during this period were a mixture of

---

128 See pp. 35-36.
130 Albardonedo Freire, ‘*Fuentes Legales*’, p. 4.
traditional means and innovation. He also tried, along with the local authorities, to effectively control building activity by imposing a sophisticated strategy involving many different aspects of urban design and management. The city fence and limits imposed during Philip II’s reign in this image (see Fig. 16) can be seen in the orange section. By the end of the sixteenth century, just two years after Philip’s death, the city had almost doubled in size; a testament to the failure of the regulations and controls imposed in the previous forty years.

The fence in Madrid now had commercial and sanitary purposes, and would also be used as an urban management tool.

[...] we have been informed that it is good and ample space [those limits] for the population of this town, so it was delimited and closed in all of its parts. [...] we order you make said boundary visible and known to everyone so there are no doubts, because it is our intention and will that the ornamentation, and ennobling of this city increases and not the contrary, [...]

Therefore, the inner area within the fence was appropriate for the current population, or at least for those who were considered worthy of being part of the city. The delimitation of this boundary did not include all the existing housing. It contained only the ‘ideal’ space that the city aimed to be, rather than assuming its relentless growth. This measure might appear futile but as previously mentioned it was rooted in tradition rather than in modern concepts of urban design. Despite the ‘artificial’ fence of 1566, in practical terms, it is impossible to deny the existence of such a mass of people and their buildings, even if they were poorly constructed or contained people of the lowest social strata. Cabrera de Córdoba argues that Philip’s intentions for Madrid were: ‘as disposed to found a great city [that he could] augment over time’. The norm of 1584 on the Regalía de Aposento designated a specific area in the old town within the fence of 1567. Nevertheless, the monarch and his assessors were trying to control the city’s growth by creating two realities within two spaces: a desired ideal

\[131\] That is, those examined in this subheading: vegetation, built environment, sanitation and city growth.
within the new imposed limits of the city and \textit{arrabales} that were beyond the fence (although it was in fact proven by 1584 that they were insufficient).\textsuperscript{135}

\[
[\ldots]\text{we order that the neighbours of it [this town] and other people inside those limits that would want to construct a building from now on, they could not do it under any circumstance without presenting a petition to the City Council, declaring in which part and place they want that construction to be.}\textsuperscript{136}
\]

The rest of the text stated the way in which only permitted residences within the boundary would be allowed to be erected from then on. Later the penalties for not fulfilling such requirements were described. These included a fine and the possible demolition of illegal structures. Here, the double level of action is applied; the ‘advantage’ of exemption from the obligations derived from the \textit{Regalía de Aposento}, concreted with severe punishment for those flouting their obligations.

In short, Philip, his entourage, and the local authorities in Madrid were using traditional means in urban management together with newly created measures. In this sense, the urban principles applied to the new capital were to a certain extent experimental. In the light of the considerable urban development of the Spanish Empire on American soil it is difficult to separate it from Madrid’s urban developments as two different and independent programmes, which at times have been presented as opposed. The American urban experience was mostly based on the foundation of new cities, which was different from the consolidated urban fabric in Madrid. In fact, recent studies have proved how the local authorities tried to shield the town’s right from the ruler’s wishes.\textsuperscript{137}

That there was a failure to create a satisfactory capital in Madrid is unmistakable. However, Philip and his contemporaries tried to implement a number of measures to create a capital with the characteristics of many of the Spanish Imperial cities, but with grander aspirations as reflected in the domestic architecture envisioned as the backdrop of the regal and religious architecture. The way to achieve this was through the application of a number of critical principles in urban management as

\textsuperscript{135} Later in the seventeenth century, long after Philip II’s death, another fence would be erected by Philip IV confirming almost a century later how the ‘fence’ was still used as urban management tool.

\textsuperscript{136} Iñiguez Almech, ‘Límites y Ordenanzas’, pp. 4-5.

analysed before: homogenisation of trees and built environment, cleaning and health control, and city growth.

The monarch was also involved in the public works, such as fountains, opening of new streets, and the construction of the bridge over the river Guadarrama. A number of these initiatives are described in the famous report on the works in Madrid dated around 1565. Many works regarding the urbanism of Madrid under Philip II are mentioned in this valuable report. Here, the input of the Crown and the interest of both the local authorities and the sovereign can be seen, as well as the important role of the regal architects. The high interest shown in this report, however, has been detrimental to the examination of the critical input of the built environment regulations (as previously discussed). This is the reason it seemed appropriate to establish the relevance of these sets of norms in combination with the grand projects described in the report. Once the report is examined in its scope and limits, the remaining issue to address is the role of Philip II and his entourage in the making and management of these regulations and the subsequent architectural boom.

1.4 Memoria de las Obras de Madrid (c. 1565): Emerging Urbanism in the Capital of the Empire.

The ‘Report on the Works of Madrid’ is dated around 1565. The date depends on the authorship of either Antonio de Lugo or Francisco de Sotomayor, both Corregidores of Madrid. Some scholars have seen the strong influence of Juan Bautista de Toledo on this report and even his authorship. The document mentions Bautista de Toledo several times, and this reinforces the theory that the architect was acquainted with the report. Although I would argue that authorship cannot be attributed to Bautista de Toledo, it seems logical it was produced by the Corregidor or alternatively by someone with strong local interests. It is also very probable the architect knew this report was

138 ‘Corregidor’ was in the Hispanic Early Modern world the ‘City Mayor’ but in this case representing the King’s interest in the city.
139 This report has been cited several times Alvar Ezquerra, Nacimiento, pp. 192-194, includes a transcription of the document and a few remarks. See also Wilkinson-Zerner, Juan de Herrera, pp. 151-152; A. Cámara Muñoz, ‘Modelo Urbano y Obras en Madrid en el Reinado de Felipe II,’ in Madrid en el Contexto de lo Hispánico I (Madrid, 1994), pp. 31-48. The most recent studies on the report are: M.A. Castillo Oreja, ‘Dos Proyectos de Intervención Urbana Para Dos Capitales del Renacimiento: Madrid (h.1566) y Lisboa (h.1571),’ in E. Martínez Ruiz (ed.) Madrid, Felipe II y las Ciudades de la Monarquía. Las Ciudades Capitalidad y Economía. Vol. II (Madrid, 2000) pp. 231-251. Escobar, ‘Francisco de Sotomayor’ This author in his recent monograph reedited in Spanish in 2009 and cited before reinforces his theory on Sotomayor. The latest two publications in conjunction with Rivera’s are the most complete on the topic, however focussed mostly on the matter of the authorship of the manuscript, to either the ‘Corregidores’ or the regal architect, and also regarding the inspiration or the intention or the report.
being sent to the ruler and so perhaps may have included his suggestions. This is mere speculation; however, one crucial point is that the account mentioned how the matters contained in the report had been discussed with the king in previous conversations. Therefore, Philip II was familiar with the issues being addressed. This aspect of the record is critical for seeing the king’s involvement in the emerging urban measures to create a capital city. The Memoria is divided into thirty points that can be subdivided in three main categories, i.e. proposals from the anonymous author, public works already approved or in construction, and proposals to support the petitions and works financially. Gerard and Rivera saw in this manuscript the description of a fabulous city. In contrast, Castillo Oreja argued that the document is merely a report on works being undertaken or approved and therefore it is just a request for further funding to expedite the construction. 140

The report has been examined by a number of authors before and, due to its critical role in the examination of this decade in the city’s urban definition, it is included in this chapter. However, only those aspects considered most important in supporting that argument will be discussed.

The Memoria de las Obras de Madrid begins with the recommendation that a Cathedral or Collegiate church be erected. The author does not mention any location, however. There is a fragmented letter dating 1568 that mentions the Collegiate church; but it is not clear whether the king approved it. 141 A seminary for clerks was also requested. This seminary would finally be erected at El Escorial and not in Madrid, despite the Council of Trent’s recommendation for creating one in each city of a certain population. 142

141 AGS. C. y SR. Leg. 248, fol. 97.
Most of the points and proposals itemised in the report would be addressed or realised later in the century, or after Philip’s death. The concentration of the city hospitals into a general one was indeed approved but delayed several times and it was not until the end of the century that it was actually completed.\textsuperscript{143} Juan Martínez de Siliceo had already obtained the Papal Bull to erect the new Hospital.\textsuperscript{144}

The section on public works is the most extensive part of the report, with the first point referring to the \textit{Calle Real Nueva}. Philip II’s plans were to connect the old town to the other side of the Guadarrama river. He owned the Casa de Campo and the Alcázar in Madrid and this was a way of improving communications between them while embellishing the entrance into the city. This new street, called \textit{Calle Real Nueva}, sat over a pronounced precipice in the direction of the road to Segovia. The bridge of \textit{Segovia} was erected later in the century and is attributed to Juan de Herrera. The street was realised partially with some demolitions and works to level the road. The name of the street was later changed to \textit{Segovia}.\textsuperscript{145} The project envisioned was an excellent model of Renaissance urban planning in which a ‘modern’ paved road led to the centre of a city. The plan for \textit{Calle Real Nueva} was for it to become a ‘civilised’ and ‘ornamental’ welcome to visitors arriving at the imperial city. The ideal \textit{vista} from the other side of the river was intended to showcase the newly developed Alcázar and the splendid bridge and road to the city.

The scene planned by the king and his architects was not far from Alberti’s hierarchy of streets in a city. In the eighth book of his \textit{De Re Aedificatoria} there was a section devoted to the city: ‘principal and secondary streets and their junctions, \textit{plazas}, how to build and adorn them and gates and ports’.\textsuperscript{146} The parallels with the developments envisioned in Madrid are remarkable. The description of the \textit{plaza} emphasises the need for harmony and proportion in the scale of buildings relating to open space of the plaza and the alignment of these buildings with the line of the street.\textsuperscript{147} The analysis describes the disposition of the Roman Forum in which a

\textsuperscript{143} This also followed the recommendations of the Council of Trent.
\textsuperscript{144} AGS, C. y S. R. Leg 247-1 no. 257. 8. Fol.5
\textsuperscript{146} See the Castilian version of 1582. Alberti, \textit{Los Diez}, pp. 247-252.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p. 249:

Y tambien en la calle de fuera que conviene que este muy bien lustrada, y del todo muy limpia, la adornaran los portales con iguales lineamentos, y de una y otra parte las casas iguales en linea y nivel. La Puente es el encuentro de muchas calles, pero el espectáculo ninguna otra cosa es que una plaça rodeada de gradas. [...] Aprovaremos la plaça cuya
transformed Christian version was an important urban archetype that was exported to the Spanish American colonies.\textsuperscript{148} In the Castilian translation of Alberti, the principal street is called \textit{Calle Mayor} and leads to the \textit{Plaza (Mayor)}.\textsuperscript{149} The \textit{Plaza} and the \textit{Calle Mayor} were two of the main spaces of Habsburg Madrid. Although the construction of the \textit{plaza} was finalised long after Philip II had died, the plans and works were initiated under his rule in 1581.\textsuperscript{150} The publication of Alberti’s treatise in Castilian 1582, had a similar aim thirty years earlier when Serlio’s was translated by Villalpando and promoted by Philip in 1552. The Alberti translation however, showed the ‘didactic’ intentions of the Spanish House of Habsburg under Philip II, modifying into Castilian terms (with the use of \textit{Plaza} and \textit{Calle Mayor}) and therefore adapting a classical and respected architectural work to reinforce his imperial propaganda. In Alberti’s treatise the city is a theatrical concept where triumphal arches would ornament the streets and where the diverse social strata were divided by a refined urban order, mirroring an ordered state.\textsuperscript{151}

The theatrical scenery of Madrid would have reflected the authority of the Imperial capital. The \textit{Memoria de las Obras de Madrid} reported the need for pursuing the \textit{Calle Real Nueva} project. The document insisted on the need for finishing this street so that Bautista de Toledo could lay out another street which linked \textit{Calle Real Nueva} to the palace.\textsuperscript{152} The aim of this proposal was to improve the access to the regal palace

---

\textsuperscript{148} See the case of Santa Fé in Granada & Santo Domingo.

\textsuperscript{149} Alberti, \textit{Los Diez}, p. 251

Muy comodamente fabricare el arco en aquel lugar donde se terminase la calle que va a la plaza o mercado, y principalmente la calle mayor porque ansi llamo yo a la calle que dentro de la ciudad es mas principal.

\textsuperscript{150} Escobar, \textit{La Plaza Mayor}, pp. 93-95. Including the first known plan of the plaza drafted by the royal architect Juan de Valencia. In this context, it is important to point out how the translation of Alberti’s treatise was encouraged and corrected by Juan de Herrera and ratified by Philip II in 1582. The aim of the publication was once again to instruct and educate architects in his Imperial dominions.

\textsuperscript{151} Alberti, \textit{Los Diez}, p. 247:

Pero a lo que a las plaças y encuentros de calles mas principalmente adorna son los arcos puestos en las entradas de las calles, porque es el arco por los que entendieron el Imperio, porque estos dice Tacito, […]

\textsuperscript{152} AGS, CySR. Leg 147-1 no. 257.

Calle Real nueva que baja desde la puerta cerrada hasta el Puente vuestra mag la mande acabar ya a Juan bautista que haga la traca de la calle que baxa desde las caballerizas hasta la calle real para que desde luego se pueda meter mano en ellas y dar seervicio al palacio y a todos aquellos varios presupuesto que sea de cerrar la puerta de...
complex. Teixeira’s plan of 1656 (Fig. 17) shows that the bridge over the river was completed. In the plan the Alcázar’s plaza is easily visible in front of Casa de Campo. The ‘Renaissance street’ linking one side of the city to the other is a different view to that of 1562 by Wyngaerde (Fig. 3) in which the medieval town has been adapted to the terrain. Now the terrain is levelled so that access to the city is made easier and the splendour of the monarch’s palace can be appreciated while entering Madrid.

Philip also showed interest in the repair of existing fountains and the creation of new ones with potable water. The next point the report addressed was the finalisation of the works of El Peral fountain (i.e., Pear tree fountain): this fountain had its origins in Islamic Madrid. This medieval structure was in need of repair but also of embellishment according to the new architectural order (Fig.18). The report only refers to this public fountain, although the interest of the Crown extended to creating a network of fountains in the city. For example, Alvar Ezquerra documented how in 1565 the king’s master mason had discussed with the city authorities the ways by which to supply drinking water to the city, and the creation of more fountains. These were two important aspects in the urban reform of Madrid: the provision of drinking water to Philip’s properties, and the sanitation of the city by providing minimum services to travellers and visitors to the town. Additionally, it shows the close involvement of the king’s entourage in the development of Madrid. The creation and repair of fountains was not an isolated initiative but one among many on-going urban improvements.

Recent works on the underground in Madrid, in the Plaza de la Opera, have uncovered part of this Renaissance fountain; designed by Juan Bautista de Toledo.

Also your Majesty [would] request Juan Bautista [de Toledo] your master mason that in collaboration with the Town Masons he have a look at the seven Fountains of the Pear Tree and draw a plan as it is convenient for them to be finished according to the commenced [plan] and that his opinion be given to the things to finish in those fountains […]
In the quoted text from the report, Juan Bautista de Toledo was identified as the king’s ‘Master Mason’ working alongside the town’s master masons (i.e., surveyors). The fundamental difference between them was that the king’s architects were able to draw plans, while local surveyors normally only constructed buildings. The historiography of this subject has attributed to the king’s courtly architects the responsibility and authorship of all relevant (and also not that significant) pieces of architecture and planning in the realm. On this matter, some scholars like Castillo Oreja and Tovar have argued how the king’s architects were hardly involved in the day-to-day development of the capital. This view is a response to other authors like Íñiguez Almech and Alvar Ezquerra who have attributed most works to the royal entourage, playing down any other input. Now it seems clear it should be accepted that both were actively involved, as strong documentary evidence sustains the theory in which local surveyors (i.e., alarifes or town masons) and regal architects participated in the creation of the capital. It is also a fact that this evidence is more substantial in later decades in the century with the integral involvement of court functionaries in the development of urban Madrid, and more importantly with the official creation of the Junta in 1590.

The regular meeting of this group of experts from court was a way to palliate the deplorable state of the city. Juan de Herrera wrote in a letter to Mateo Vazquez in 1582:

> It is important to ennoble this town […], because it is certainly strange, that despite the many buildings erected and the money spent on construction, how little this [effort] is perceived [in the city], […] this is […] because it has not been built with order […], it would be convenient if your majesty considers that the bad housing is either to be redeveloped or that [someone] expropriate them.

Interestingly, the king not only created the Junta of Urbanism for Madrid but also modified the regulations for the built environment in 1584, for those owners who wanted to be exempt of the hosting duties.

---

156 See note 44 for Virginia Tovar and 143 for Castillo Oreja.

Juan de Herrera described the bad urban fabric in Madrid as the result of a lack of both regulation of the quality and form of the buildings, and of an orderly location of these within the street network of the city.
The roles of the local and court architectural practitioners seems key to the architectural and urban process in Madrid: while the educated architects working for Philip II were able to deliver architectural plans, the town masons directed building constructions. In this regard, the development of Madrid was a common effort between the local town masons and the Corregidor of Madrid and the king’s court. Juan de Valencia, second architect to Juan Bautista de Toledo, and a member of the king’s architectural team, was apparently in charge of the public works in Madrid under Philip’s command for decades. The roles of the ruler and his entourage (apart from the architects), are documented. These are essential for understanding the early measures undertaken in Madrid, and as such these aspects will be discussed below.

Juan de Valencia worked on the development of Madrid for more than thirty years of his life and under Philip II’s direction. He made the first known plan for the regularisation of Madrid’s plaza. Therefore, there was at least one of Philip II’s architects involved not only in the drawings but also in invigilating those works developed under the monarch’s eye. In 1591 Francisco de Mora became the master mason of the works in Madrid and after the demise of the king he went on to undertake similar duties for his heir in Valladolid.

The Memoria addressed other issues such as improvements needed to the Town Hall building and the new prison. These are clearly petitions showing the Corregidor’s influence. Other works to be relocated or improved were markets and slaughterhouses. The fish market was to be located outside the city for hygienic reasons, and the meat market extended. Access to the house of ‘women in love’ (brothel) was to be orientated towards the countryside rather than the town, demonstrating concern for social and visual etiquette. The preoccupation with the location of markets and other industries which would affect the sanitation of the city shows in the strict regulation in the Ordinances for the American Settlements issued in 1573. They were to be placed in a location adequate for both the well-being of the city and the morality of its population.

---

160 Escobar, La Plaza, p. 80
161 Ibid., p. 81
162 See Figs. 13 (a) and (b).
163 AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 247 fol. 254-7 and 9.
164 AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 247 fol. 254-8.
165 Crouch, Garr, Mundigo, Spanish City, p. 15.
122. The site and building lots for slaughter houses, fisheries, tanneries, and other business which produce filth shall be so placed that the filth can easily be disposed of.
The report also pointed out issues affecting the plaza del Arrabal and its arterial streets, later known as the Plaza Mayor, and linked to the Calle Mayor mentioned previously.\textsuperscript{166}

The Memoria lists other demolitions that would widen streets for the sake of the city’s order and embellishment. For example, the author of the report suggested some demolitions on the streets of San Juan and Santiago to widen them.\textsuperscript{167} Improving the urban quality of some important streets in Madrid was also referred to in the report, such as the Carrera de San Jerónimo (street in the direction of Jerónimos Monastery) and the street leading to the Atocha Monastery.\textsuperscript{168} The report stressed many other concerns about the city, such as the proliferation of uncontrolled buildings around several city gates. The manuscript allowed the reader to see the wishes of both ruler and ruled. However, it did not fully disclose Philip II’s intentions. While summarising later some developments, it omitted many other projects realised under his rule.

The report on the works of Madrid therefore is not intended to be an architectural or planning treatise like De Arquitectura, rather a summary of the needs, ongoing works and other proposals. The report, together with the regulations previously analysed, is key documentary evidence with which we can analyse the urban process in the early years of the capital.

It is difficult to argue that there was a major plan being implemented during Philip II’s rule; rather it seems a number of critical actions were intended to create an ideal urban space that would echo the imperial glory of the ruler’s dominions. The transformation in Madrid was intended to be achieved by using traditional techniques in architecture and urban management while implementing modernised methods and vision. The constitution of the wall and the limits of the city, and also the selection of the tapial as a building technique exported around the globe, were clearly based on vernacular traditions. Nonetheless, the inclusion of vegetation in the townscape of the city, a plan to create a network of potable water, and the sophistication of domestic architectural design were truly modern for the period. Similarly the average housing was set up to a minimum standard so its presence in Madrid’s urban fabric blended

\textsuperscript{166} The publication by Escobar cited before is a major contribution to the history and significance of the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. Although some aspects of this critical element of the Spanish Imperial cities have been discussed in this chapter it seems fruitless to further continue the examination. The input of this chapter is focussed primarily on regulation of the built environment which is believed to be a key element in the configuration of a capital city, and has been neglected by scholarship. Also critical in this thesis is the contribution with an in-depth evaluation of the ruler and his entourage’s input in the creation of an ideal imperial city and the relation these have with the American urban legislation. For the Plaza in Madrid see Escobar La Plaza.

\textsuperscript{167} AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 247 fol. 254-10.

\textsuperscript{168} AGS, Casas y Sitios Reales, Leg. 247 fol. 254-10 and 11.
nicely with the remaining architecture. Additionally, the king put his architects to work on key elements of public and civic architecture that would enhance the urban order in the capital. In this context, one of the major questions about these decades in Madrid is the role of the king and his entourage in the creation of this body of legislation and other works in the capital.

1.5. Philip II’s Urban Legislation: Madrid and the Empire.

Gutiérrez has argued how during the period between 1492 and 1573 the new conquered lands became the urban laboratory of Castile.\(^\text{169}\) The regulations on urban matters multiplied during this period until they were gathered and codified in a single document: the Ordinances of 1573.

The most extended urban plan in America is the grid; the plans for Lima (1535), Caracas (1578), and Mendoza (1561) show this basic design. However, other models were applied to semi-irregular cities, where the street network and their plazas adapted to the particular topographical conditions of the location and the natural growth of the city. This was the case of Havana, founded in 1519 with the name of San Cristóbal de La Habana.\(^\text{170}\) The first of its central squares is still known as Plaza de Armas (i.e., square of arms), reminiscent of the military origins of the Spanish town planning. This plaza was located beside the coast and the design was modelled according to conditions there. The next open space designed in Havana was the plaza vieja (i.e., old square) in 1559; originally known as the ‘new square’, its title was substituted with the growth of the city and the proliferation of other plazas.\(^\text{171}\) Neither of these two plazas were located centrally, as they would be in a city designed according to an ‘ideal’ grid, such as the early plans of Caracas and Mendoza. Another good example of the adaption of Spanish town planning to city growth is Lima at the close of the seventeenth century.\(^\text{172}\)

The Ordinances of 1573 affected, among other urban aspects, domestic architecture and the design of the plaza mayor and other public spaces. This Ordinance sought to palliate social problems with urban design. The scandalous abuse of the indigenous population by the Spaniards\(^\text{173}\) instigated the creation of two separate

---

\(^\text{169}\) Gutiérrez, Arquitectura, p. 77.
\(^\text{170}\) Ibid., p. 83.
\(^\text{172}\) See the Plan of Lima (1687). AGI, Mapas y Planos, Peru and Chile, no. 13.
\(^\text{173}\) This is the case of the encomenderos. The New Laws in 1542 sought to fix this problem,
urban settlements in the Ordinance: the cities of the Spanish and the cities of the Indians. The essential design of both was based on the Christian adaption of the grid employed in previous decades in Spanish settlements in America. Yet the cities of the Spanish were more sophisticated. This utopian urbanism was rarely implemented, as the segregation of population did not function well because the indigenous population preferred to be close to the cities of the Spanish where they worked.174

This ordered urban design in the transatlantic dominions was imposed both on newly founded cities and sometimes on previous settlements, as in the famous case of Mexico founded in 1524 on the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan.175

In Madrid, sometimes Philip II tried to impose his wishes forcefully against the rights of the city council and private owners. For example, the king’s intentions are shown in the preparations for the entry of Anne of Austria in 1570. The king sought to demolish a number of houses in the area of Sol and requested the erection of fountains and a lake in the Paseo de San Jerónimo.176 Most of the time, Philip encountered fierce local resistance to his wishes, and as Zozaya has argued recently the city council organized an effective archive to defend its rights against the encroachment of the Crown.177 Another good example is the design of central Valladolid after the fire in 1561 that destroyed the city centre. The master mason Francisco de Salamanca designed the new plaza for Valladolid. However, Philip supervised and directed this design personally, imposing a regular central square similar to the American cities and earlier Castilian models. The first known design for the redevelopment of the Plaza del Arrabal in Madrid, later known as the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, was a plan depicted in 1581 by Juan de Valencia.178 This new design aimed at squaring the space into a regular plaza, as in Valladolid or the transatlantic imperial cities.

although this legislation was largely unsuccessful. The reports of Las Casas and Fray Bernardino de Mendoza were crucial in influencing this legislation and a report from the latter reached the Vatican as.

174 Morales Folguera, La Construcción, pp. 64-93.

175 The urban design of Aztec cities was regular. One theory concerning the origins of Spanish American town design posits that these pre-existant cities were as influential as the fifteenth century cities in Castile founded by the Catholic monarchs (Santa Fé and others). This theory is now rarely defended by scholarship, as in sixteenth-century Castile a well-governed city (or realm) had to be Christian. One of the major responsibilities of Spanish rulers in America was to evangelise the population of ‘barbarians’. Ibid., p. 65.

176 See D. Sánchez Cano, Festeinzügein Madrid (1560-1690), Unpublished Phd Thesis, Technische Universität Berlin, (Berlin, 2005), pp.171-204. I thank Dr Sánchez Cano for allowing me read and cite this part of his unpublished thesis.

177 Zozaya Montes, El Archivo, p. 48.

178 For a complete study concerning the Plaza Mayor in Madrid see Escobar, La Plaza.
John H. Elliot has studied the flow of ideas and people between peninsular Castile and its transatlantic empire. He concluded that, despite the distance separating the two ‘worlds’, they were part of the one system of the Monarchia Universalis.\(^\text{179}\) Investigation into the urban regulations of the built environment in Madrid (1565-1584) has traditionally been very much focused on local information or, alternatively, has been European centred. As discussed previously, authors have analysed building activity in Madrid, under this legislation, of both legal and illegal developments.\(^\text{180}\) Additionally, there have been scholars interested in establishing links between the Ordinance for American Settlements issued in 1573 and architectural activity in Madrid, as aforementioned. However, these latter studies have received mixed reviews from other scholars. The main cause of this is the lack of explicit documentary evidence establishing a relationship between both enterprises. One of the major debated topics which affected this interpretation is the involvement of the king and his entourage in the fixing of the norms in Madrid.

If Philip and his entourage were not involved in the design of Madrid, as some have argued, then the relationship of the city’s development and legislation and the American urban boom cannot be established. However, if the monarch and his entourage were involved in the design of the legislation and public works, even if the city authorities shared responsibility, then the panorama opens new prospects. By the time the legislation of 1573 was issued there were around two hundred urban settlements (cities and towns) planned or functioning in Spanish America. Therefore, it is impossible to argue that the king’s entourage in the sixteenth century did not know about urban development in those parts of the world. The urban management albeit both tentative and experimental, blending urban theory and practice, was evidently implemented in America.

Seen in this light, it is crucial to examine two issues: a) the involvement of the ruler and his entourage in Madrid’s urbanism, and b) the relationship of key people who were behind enterprises in both Madrid and the transatlantic empire. In the end, the famous Ordinances of 1573 for the Americas were being formulated in those same years in Madrid.\(^\text{181}\)


\(^{180}\) Sieber, *The Invention*, pp. 127-189 and González García, ‘De Ornato y Policía’, 99-122. These two works focussed in the construction permissions but did not analyse the wider scope of the legislation enacted within the evolution of urban utopian ideals in Philip II’s world.

\(^{181}\) The Council of the Indies met in its chambers in the Alcázar in Madrid. Before these chambers were ready they used to meet in the Madrid in the Posada del Presidente but by the end of the 1560s the rooms were already in use. This Council had three rooms, two of them for
The relationship of a number of regal architects in Madrid has already been discussed. A brief outline of the information studied confirms the extent to which Juan Bautista de Toledo was involved in a number of public works, as cited in the Memoria, and how, as documented in 1562, he was also designing the network of fountains with potable water in the city. The design of the bridge over the Guadarrama river has also been attributed to Juan de Herrera. More importantly, Juan de Valencia has been recently discovered to have worked in Madrid for a few decades during the sixteenth century. Since the 1580s, Juan de Herrera led, amongst others, the Junta for Madrid. This Junta aimed to control and reinforce order in the construction and embellishment of the capital. Francisco de Mora was styled master mason of the developments in Madrid in 1591. Additionally, the major inputs of local alarifes and authorities in the development of Madrid and the enormous expenses sustained by the city have been proven by a number of scholars. My interest lies in establishing the extent to which Philip and his entourage, which included architects as well as other members of the court, were involved in the decision-making concerning Madrid’s urbanism.

As the author of the Memoria recorded, Philip II discussed a number of developments in the capital. In this same year, the king enacted a Real Cédula to reinforce the construction of new houses and the extension of existing residential buildings. The local authorities had advised the king that exempting those owners who undertook such developments from the hosting duties for a number of years would result in an increment in the population as well as the ennobling and embellishment of the town. The ruler adopted this suggestion because it was believed that this would also be beneficial in the long term. The ruler used the term gracia to describe the concession of this petition. This expression referred to concessions like noble titles, as well as to important positions in court (and other petitions put forth to the king), which only the ruler could concede and designate. Moreover, the king officially made use of the Cámara de Castilla as the body that would be consulted on such matters. However, it is impossible to know for certain which body he consulted before deciding to enact the norm; but it was essential that either the Cámara or the Royal Council of Castile be involved as Madrid was within the jurisdiction of this realm.

This initiative, reflected in the ‘ideal’ of the house type of 1565 (see Fig. 13-a) was, therefore, unique and associated with the permanence of Philip’s court in Madrid.

---

meetings and another space for the officers. See J.A. Escudero, Felipe II: El Rey en el Despacho (Madrid, 2002), p. 44.  
183 Escobar, La Plaza, and Tovar Martin, ‘La Plaza Principal’, p. 259, amongst others cited in this chapter.  
In fact, when compared to the rest of the Spanish empire, at the time no other regulations on domestic architecture were as sophisticated and detailed as those of Madrid, except perhaps Naples.¹⁸⁵ The example in the Americas only gave rough indications for the creation of urban settlements in which the domestic architecture ideally had to be regularised with a single house model replicated throughout the city. This was a common aspect, as this minimum requirement was also aimed at in the regularisation of the urban fabric of Madrid.

In 1567 a new house type was reinforced with a standard slightly smaller in dimensions than its predecessor of 1565 (see Fig. 13 –b). The first initiative aimed to control development with the spirit of the town’s improvement. Two years later, the proliferation of extremely bad quality houses, known as casas a la malicia, had to be immediately stopped.

[...] to stop such inconvenience, I [the King Philip II] ordered this matter to be studied by you [local authorities] and experienced people who could deliberate what was more convenient to do, [...] after deliberations, our Council’s revision and my approval it has been decided that, [...]¹⁸⁶

Therefore, the matter was considered by a group of experts who were selected by the city council, and then reviewed by Philip II and the Council of Castile. Hence, the involvement of the king, his entourage and the local authorities persisted as the text of the norm stated. However, the text does not refer to those members of his court or of

¹⁸⁵ For instance, in the Ordinances of Seville of 1527 there were no details of any standards for housing. The Ordinances provided guidance on the materials of construction but that was all. See Albardonedo Freire, ‘Lar Ordenanzas’, p. 3. Additionally to the studied norms enacted for American cities and towns, other important cities of the empire, such as Naples, there were some legislation regarding the built environment see for instance F. Strazzullo, Edilizia e Urbanistica a Napoli dal ’500 al ’700 (Naples, 1969). Some of the conclusions of this publication, which was reprinted in 1995, have been recently debated in S. Cabi, Architecture and the Royal Presence. Domenico and Giulio Cesare Fontana in Spanish Naples (1592-1627) (Cambridge, 2010) pp. 247-250. I am grateful to Sabina di Cabi for bringing this publication to my attention. Although this is beyond the scope of this chapter it would be very interesting to compare the body of legislation enacted in Madrid with similar cases in Naples and elsewhere. In peninsular Castile, Valladolid at the start of the seventeenth century, at least during the time the seat of court was settled there, implemented similar regulations on the exemption of the aposento duties of the construction of houses, (see Figs. 13 a–b). These were clearly inspired in the same norms enacted in the previous century in Madrid see, Díez Navarro, Alegación Fiscal, p. 193. Likewise, the local ordinances in American cities began to implement more sophisticated norms regarding the building activity in the seventeenth century For further insights see F. Dominguez Company, Ordenanzas Municipales Hispánicoamericanas (Madrid, 1982).


[…]y para remediar los dichos inconvenientes, se os manda que lo viéades y tratáedes con algunas personas de experiencia, para que con más particular se entendiese lo que conernía proveerase cerca dello y sobre ello, Por vos fueron fechas ciertas diligencias, lo qual visto por los de nuestro consejo, y con nos consultado, fue acordado que, […]

65
the city council who were involved in the deliberations. The final statement is one of the most revealing as it links the interest of the monarch directly to the matter.

[...a delegate from the city Council with the Corregidor or his assistant would ensure the projected building is inside those limits, and not in any other way can a licence be conceded to construct any building. [...] during the time the Court resides in the Town of Madrid, no construction licence can be given without such requirements being met[...]these [building permits] will be overseen by a member of our Council who has been named for this, so he can supervise how [...]and in which way that licence is granted [...]]

A team of selected experts would study each individual building project: a member from the city council, the Corregidor, or his assistant, and most importantly, a member of Philip II’s council. The team created for building permissions represented not only the interest of the city but also that of the king. The mere inclusion of one member of the ruler’s entourage in this team reinforced the input from the monarchy in the development of Madrid. This does not diminish the enormous effort played by local authorities in which local alarifes would have had a major role in revising these proposals. In this sense, the management of construction was the responsibility of the local alarifes until the duty shifted towards the court architects from 1580 till the creation of the Junta de Policía in 1590.188 The exemption from hosting duties was then the responsibility of the designated member from Philip II’s court. This court member acted as the second control or filter so as to ensure that the houses were of the required standards. If any building did not comply with the minimum standards indicated by the regulations, the exemption would not be granted. Additionally, the intention was to filter all domestic architecture through the double layer of authority; local and royal, so as to gradually implement a desired urban fabric.

The new housing envisioned in 1584 was more ambitious and greater in dimension than that of 1565 (see Fig.13-c). These two types of houses were to coexist with the smaller sized houses that had been enacted in 1567. The difference between


[...]para que por vos se nombre un diputado, que juntamente con el nuestro Corregidor que es o que fuere desta Villa, o su lugarteniente, lo vean y fuese dentro de los límites y no en otra manera ninguna, le deis licencia para que se se pueda hacer y haga el dicho edificio, que con el tiempo que nuestra corte residiere en dicha Villa de Madrid, no se puede dar licencia sin que la dicha Justicia e diputados lo traten como uno de los de nuestro Consejo que para ello fue nombrado, que vea si conviene y como conviene que se le de la dicha licencia y que se cumpla lo que en esta carta provision contenido [...]

the two was that the later version was limited to a smaller area closer to the royal Alcázar and only included the Plaza Mayor. Instead, Philip II’s approach was to reduce the space of ‘noble Madrid’ rather than extend the area. His intention was to create a different status for the urban fabric closer to his palace. Members of the court administered the construction of these houses. It was stipulated that a member from the city council, a local alarife and Marshal Logis, go to every building to inspect them. Therefore, the presence of all parties involved was required at the same time. As we have seen, in the 1580s, Philip’s entourage, which included his architects, gradually assumed most of the authority when it came to architectural activity in the city. This was due to the failure of previous initiatives. The fact that Philip’s entourage envisioned a smaller urban space within the city devoted mostly to the residency of court members was very much in consonance with the creation of a more ideal space in the area closer to the royal residence. Additionally, the uncontrolled proliferation of poor housing in the city had demonstrated the impossibility of imposing this urban décor on the rest of the city. The intention of creating a selected ’noble’ area in the capital was a crucial decision which relates to the ideal urban environment that was seen as being necessary for the city’s royal ceremonials.

In this sense, the involvement of the king’s architects in certain public works in the capital can be demonstrated. The developments of the regal sites were controlled by the ruler and managed by the Junta de Obras y Bosques. This Junta consisted of a number of members including both presidents of the Councils of the Indies and Hacienda. Presidents and members of Philip II’s councils would be in charge of different positions. For instance, a very interesting noble involved in major architectural developments for the Crown was Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, II Marquis of Mondejar. Hurtado de Mendoza held the presidency of the Council of Castile and,

---

190 In military jargon this Marshal was in charge of finding the space for housing the troops. In this context, Marshal Logis was in charge of designating the aposento space for members of court, and also of exempting the hosting duties when the owner had complied with the housing standards, and obligations required from court.
191 For the growth of the city see the cited publication: Pinto Crespo and Madrazo Madrazo (eds.), Madrid, Atlas Histórico de la Ciudad.
192 Instituto Valencia de D. Juan (IVDJ) ENV 100. ‘Regarding the Junta de Obras y Bosques’. The Consejo de Hacienda was created in 1523 by Charles V and was in charge of the rents and business of the realm. For further insight into this Council see J.M. Francisco Olmos, Miembros del Consejo de Hacienda (1722-1838) y Organismos Económico-Monetarios (Madrid, 1997) p. 386.
Thus, was also a member of the Cámarade Castilla between 1561 and 1563. Interestingly, he had previously held the presidency of the Council of the Indies (1546–1559).  

Thus, in one way or another, he would have been involved in matters of architecture and public works concerning the Crown, together with the development of Madrid. In 1559, the Marquis wrote a letter to Philip II regarding architectural activity in Madrid: ‘everyone says this town of Madrid is the favoured of your Majesty with particular favour in ennobling it with sumptuous and regal buildings, and not allowing anyone else to leave a mark or set foot in [your Majesty’s] territory.’ Additionally, the presidency of the Council of the Indies gave him access to all the documentation, both written and visual, on the new transatlantic dominions, including that relating to the urban boom of newly founded American cities. When the Marquis moved from one Council to the next, he also appointed some of the members of the Council of the Indies to the Council of Castile, including Gracián Briviesca de Muñatones. Gracián had also been in charge of the Simancas archive for many years, even though his brother Juan had officially held the post. As Juan did not reside in Castile during his tenure, he left Gracián in charge. This provided several court members with access to the information and orders which were being sent to the Indies as well as the information received during this period; copies were kept both at court and in the archive.

Francisco Tello de Sandoval and Juan Rodríguez de Figueroa succeeded Hurtado de Mendoza, respectively, in the presidency of the Council of the Indies (1565–1567) and the Council (and Cámarade Castile) of Castile (1563-1565). These two members of court had been previously visitadores in the Indies. Visitadores of the Indies were envoys.

---


194 I have partially included this translation again, as it seems pertinent to support the argument.


197 There is evidence on how the Council of the Indies kept substantial documentation in their premises in the Alcázar in Madrid. Chests full of papers gradually reached Simancas archives, for example in 1572 Diego de Ayala archivist in Simancas gathered 53 chests of Indies documentation from Madrid. This demonstrates that the period was conserved in both locations and also that the Council of the Indies in Madrid generated much documentation and kept important quantities of it. See Plaza, Guía, p.34.

198 For Juan Rodríguez de Figueroa see Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales (eds.), Felipe II (1527-1598), pp. 304-305. For Francisco Tello de Sandoval see, A. Leon Pinello, Tablas Cronológicas de los Reales Consejos Supremo y de la Cámarade las Indias Occidentales […] (Madrid, 1892), pp. 4-5. Hurtado de Mendoza’s presidency was followed by the brief appointment of Juan Sarmiento who died months after. He was substituted by Francisco Tello de Sandoval, both Juan and Francisco had been council members (consejeros) prior to their appointment as presidents see E. Schäfer, El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias I. (Madrid, 2003), p. 334. For an analysis of the Council of the Indies under Philip II’s rule see Schäfer, El Consejo, pp. 107-176.
from the king’s court who principally reinforced the legislation emerging from peninsular Castile, and reported back on compliance with the regulations and morals imposed from court. Francisco dealt directly with the implementation of the New Laws (1542) while Juan was involved in the reports that preceded them.

These laws intended to palliate the terrible treatment of the indigenous population reported by Las Casas and others. The management of the urban settlements, both ‘spiritually’ and practically, was part of the same strategy required to manage the empire.

These are only some examples of court members who had important roles in the development of the royal palaces and properties in both the urban development of the Indies, and the urbanism of Madrid.

The similarities between the corpus of legislation implemented at both sides of the Atlantic are unequivocal. The communication of data from the urban enterprise of the transatlantic empire to the capital in peninsular Castile was fluid, with a regular flow of reports and plans. Some of the members of court had personally witnessed the American urban development and the problems arising in the management of these cities. They were highly involved in the development of urban policy. The policies that were developed in the Indies, and which would later be compiled in the Laws of Indies, formed a body of legislation which was similar in many aspects to that applying in Madrid.

For the New Laws (1542) and Bartolomé de las Casas see an interesting outline in L.A. Clayton, Bartolome de Las Casas and the Conquest of the Americas (London, 2010), pp. 107-114.

The term ‘spiritually’ also refers to one’s wellbeing. One of the king’s responsibilities over his subjects was to ensure their wellbeing on both sides of the Atlantic. This was possible both by enhancing the public services and urbanism and also by caring about other matters such as religious conversion. For example, see Philip II’s Instructions to the Viceroy of New Spain in 1566 in which he ordered enhancements to public services such as hospitals for the care of mixed race orphans. This was among many other measures he insisted upon regarding the population of Mexico City. For the general development of new settlements, see his Instructions to Gastón de Peralta, Marqués de Falces, 1566. (www.biblioteca.tv/artman2/publish/1566_385/Instrucci_n_del_Rey_Felipe_II_al_Virrey_de_Nueva_E_1175.shtml accessed Sept. 2011). The following year the Viceroy responded with a report on the state of Mexico, (www.biblioteca.tv/artman2/publish/1567_345/Memorial_del_Virrey_de_Nueva_Espa_a_Gast_n_de_Peralta_1020.shtml accessed Sept. 2011). A further set of Instructions in 1568 to the new Viceroy versed on the same issues as those in the instructions of 1566, particularly the preoccupation with the conversion of the American Indians, the creation of new cities, and the maintenance of the existing ones. Philip II to the Viceroy of New Spain, Martín Enríquez Almansa. 1568. (www.biblioteca.tv/artman2/publish/1568_384/Instrucci_n_de_Felipe_II_al_Virrey_de_Nueva_Espa_a_1166.shtml accessed in Sept. 2011) The example of New Spain was among all the reports and information received on the American territories, their population, and urban problems. This information on the state of the American cities occurred at the same time that Madrid was under redevelopment, and when the body of legislation studied in this chapter was being designed.
The Council of the Indies emerged as a more sophisticated institution with effective methods for the collection of data with the appointment of Juan de Ovando (1571-1575).\textsuperscript{201} Among reforms during Ovando’s tenure, such as the new methods for data gathering in the Indies, the Ordinances on American urban settlements of 1573 were promoted largely as a compilation of previous regulations.\textsuperscript{202} The regulations regarding the design of the city and domestic architecture echoed peninsular practices.

In the past, scholars have intended to establish a closer relationship between the American urban experience and the development of peninsular cities. For instance, Rivera Blanco has argued that the plan of Madrid was influenced by both the plan for Valladolid developed after the fire of 1561\textsuperscript{203} and the city of Mendoza\textsuperscript{204} founded in the same year. The author established this relationship between Valladolid and Mendoza with Madrid because the former two cities were designed once the court was settled in Madrid.\textsuperscript{205} The precedent of Valladolid is now accepted as a critical model, possibly together with the plaza of Medina del Campo.\textsuperscript{206} However, in the case of Mendoza, one is still inclined to ask when this drawing of city plan reached the court in peninsular Castile. Perhaps other models were more appealing such as the plan of Lima, (1535) amongst many others of the over two hundred urban settlements founded in America by this time.

The regulation of domestic architecture in Madrid was highly experimental, since it aimed to establish detailed specifications of the prototype of the house for the first time. This also affected the filters and methods of implementation employed within the city.

The Memoria and allied documentary evidence demonstrate the extensive involvement of royal architects in Madrid. Key Council members were also involved in decision-making in Madrid; some of whom had had personal experience in America or, alternatively, had close access to information associated to the Council of the Indies. Additionally, these council members had been involved in the policy making of both peninsular Castile and the corpus of legislation compiled in the Laws of the Indies concerning urban development in the Americas. Thus, the constant flow of information

\footnote{Schäfer, El Consejo, p. 334.}
\footnote{For further insights on these changes see S. Poole, Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Phillip II (Ocklahoma, 2004) pp.138-160.}
\footnote{This is Valladolid in peninsular Castile. This urban plan in Valladolid was supervised personally by Philip II and the form designed for the Plaza Mayor was identical to that described in the Ordinances of 1573 for American urban settlements.}
\footnote{The city of Mendoza was founded on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of March of 1561. This city is now part of Argentina.}
\footnote{Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo, p. 334.}
\footnote{See discussion in Escobar, La Plaza, p. 53.}
that the Council of the Indies received about newly developed cities in America, as well as on city management in general, must be taken into consideration. In this sense, Philip II’s Universal Monarchy encompassing the global territories of his empire may in the end be seen as part of a ‘common grammar’.207

The Castilian capital that Philip II envisioned creating in the form of Madrid had its own version of this ideal urban space reserved for the area covered by the housing regulations of 1584. However, the housing standards were simply evolved versions of the practical housing envisaged for the cities of the empire. The area close to Philip II’s royal palace, which was affected by the norm of the built environment of 1584, encompassed the most important ceremonial routes in the city; from the royal palace to the main square and streets leading to significant religious buildings.208 This was a way of integrating modern concepts of urban décor with traditional means for the construction of domestic architecture. I would argue that the legislation enacted during this period in Madrid demonstrates clear evidence of urban reform.

Philip II was more ambitious on his arrival in Madrid and aimed for this area to be even grander as specified in the boundaries of 1567. However, by 1584 this seemed to be unachievable and this noble space was reduced to a very small area of the old city. The ruler aimed to segregate the quality of the housing into at least three spaces by 1584: the noble city or the court city, the official city, and the ‘non city’ or outskirts.

It seems that Philip II’s plans for the urban reform in Madrid can be discerned more clearly by studying the standards of domestic architecture. With this in mind, the examination of the royal palace alone would not resolve –in historical terms– the monarch’s interest in the reform of the capital. However, the examination of the corpus of legislation on domestic architecture, in conjunction with other architectural activities in the city –namely the development of the royal buildings and the urban reform described in the Memoria amongst others– have proved essential in showing the king’s preoccupation for the urban enhancement of Madrid. Philip II did not invest funds in the city of Madrid to achieve such urban transformation; he left it up to the local authorities to cover such costs. In the end, all these measures failed. The ruler had always had a special interest in his own premises above all.209 However, a closer examination of this legislation has shown how some key issues around the ruler’s

207 This term was used by Dr. Alejandra B. Osorio in her talk in a conference I convened in Edinburgh 6-7 July 2010 entitled: ‘Re-creating Renaissance and Baroque Spectacle: the Hispanic Habsburg Dynasty in Context’. I thank Alejandra for allowing me to cite this term prior to the publication of her current research.
208 For a study on the festivals in Madrid from 1560 to 1690 see Sánchez Cano, Festeinzügein, pp.171-204. Also see Rio Barredo, Madrid, Urbs Regia, pp.19-62.
209 Barbeito, El Alcázar, p. 34.
input in urban matters have been resolved. Philip and his entourage were as involved as the local authorities in the development of Madrid. The ruler did not want to assume the costs involved in major enhancements in the capital. Moreover, it cannot be argued that he intended to create an ideal ‘Renaissance city’ of palatial characteristics within the complete perimeter of the fence of 1566. Perhaps he wanted to create an ideal urban scene that reflected the Spanish Imperial urban style within the perimeter established in 1584. In the last year of Philip II’s reign, Cristobal Perez de Herrera dedicated a book to the king that was about the convenience of entitling Madrid perpetual capital of Castile. Here, Perez de Herrera was trying to prevent the inevitable, since Philip II’s heir, King Philip III, transferred (even if briefly) the capital to Valladolid because of the problems provoked by the urban disorder, and the failure of city planning during his father’s reign. The inefficacy of Philip II’s measures for Madrid is an unavoidable fact. However, a close examination of the domestic architecture, tree planting and the subdivision of urban areas in the city showed a clear preoccupation with the improvement of the city. The type of buildings fostered in Madrid were along the lines of the relentless imperial urban development in the lands ruled by Philip II on the Americas, only with grander aspirations to match the intended image for the capital of the empire. With this in mind, I would suggest that Philip II’s urban legislation was innovative. This innovation was grounded in the detailed specifics of the building types which conformed to a sophisticated and advanced legislation for domestic architecture. However, the roots of this dwelling were traditional, as the construction techniques had been used for generations in Castile. More importantly, the envisioned city was highly practical and effective, and very much Castilian. Philip II used similar urban forms reinforced through legislation in the Americas, with a modernised standard of domestic architecture. Still the intention was for this residential architecture to be a backdrop in the urban scenery. This house constituted an element of a characteristic urban fabric which embodied crucial aspects of the empire ruled by Philip II. The architecture was sober, uniform, regular and effective; these basic premises reflected a single moral code. The codification of the empire was performed by standardising legislation concerning the built environment and urbanism. Philip II’s empire expanded and settled their dominions through the systematic foundation of urban settlements. The Roman empire was the only other comparable imperial force which consistently employed urban

---

210 C. Pérez de Herrera, Discurso a la Católica y Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe [II] nuestro Señor en que se le suplica que, considerando las muchas calidades y grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, se sirva de ver si convendría honrarla, y adornarla de muralla, y otras cosas que se proponen, con que mereciese ser Corte perpetua y asistencia de su gran Monarquía (Madrid, 1597).
settlements for the establishment of its authority.\textsuperscript{211} The most extended urban plan in Spanish America was the grid, clearly based on the Roman castrum. According to Mumford, ‘the Spanish colonial town in the New World was a military survival’.\textsuperscript{212} The author had linked the genesis of the usage of the grid to the new founded cities in Castile such as the case of Santa Fé in Granada which had been founded by the Catholic Monarchs in 1482.\textsuperscript{213} The legitimisation of authority in the Spanish empire was enacted through a systematic and regular urbanisation. The urban development by the Habsburgs in conquered territories was a way of imposing a Castilian identity. This ‘Romanisation’ was adapted into a ‘Castilinisation’ where architecture played a critical role in establishing imperial hegemony on conquered land. Rivera Blanco suggests that Juan Bautista de Toledo was the creator, together with the king, of a global urban plan reflected in the norm of 1573 for the American colonies.\textsuperscript{214} However, the corpus of legislation enacted in the American dominions demonstrates how the tradition of certain types of urban forms in Castile preceded the arrival of the architect in Castile. Moreover, the laws established during Juan de Ovando’s tenure at the Council of the Indies were largely a compilation of the previous norms. As noted, the roles of the council members of Philip II’s entourage, other than architects, were crucial. The urban planning in Habsburg Iberia, and more precisely in Madrid, and the urban regulations compiled in the Laws of the Indies, such as the Ordinances of 1573 on urban settlements, were part of a common and continuous ‘field’ of thought and activity. The evidence for this connection can be found in the personnel involved in the creation of not only the body of legislation regarding architecture and urban design, but also of city management on both sides of the Atlantic. In the light of these clear connections, I would argue we must reassess our understanding of the Habsburg urbanism as a transatlantic phenomenon.

\textsuperscript{211} See this publication for the role of the cities in creating an imperial common identity, M. Taliaferro Boatwright, \textit{Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire} (Princeton, 2000).
\textsuperscript{213} In Santa Fé, one of the gates of the city has a commemorative inscription:

\begin{quote}
Rex Ferdinandus, Regina Elisabet, urben quan cemis, mínima constitueare die adversus fides erecta est, ut conterat ostes. Hit censet dice, nomine Santa Fides
\end{quote}

Translation: The King Ferdinand and the Queen Isabella, erected in just a few days this city that you can see. (This city) was erected to destroy the enemies of the Faith, so they believe it must be called Saint Faith (Santa Fé).

\textsuperscript{214} Rivera Blanco, \textit{Juan Bautista de Toledo}, p.334.
2.0. Philip II’s Universal Monarchy: the Imperial Archive in Simancas Castle.

In this chapter I suggest that the architectural evolution of the Imperial Archive of Simancas in Valladolid – from the ‘secret’ archive created by the late Emperor Charles V in 1540, to the ‘modern’ re-organisation concluded at the end of the sixteenth century under Philip II’s rule – echoed the machinery of the state implemented by the Spanish monarchy. The archive is testament to the bureaucratic character of the ‘centralised’ court of Philip II, his manner of ruling, and the legacy he aimed to leave for posterity with his papers as a tribute to his dynasty. The archives of any kind of ‘institution’ reflect (or at least should) the structure of the organisation, and the changes in the administration throughout its history. This is what is known as the ‘principle of provenance’ in archival theory.\(^1\) It may therefore be argued that the imperial archive echoes the practices of governance of the Spanish Habsburgs. This study aims to unveil the subtle authority and imperial ideals embodied in the creation and existence of the ‘king’s archive’.

The administration of power in Philip II’s Universal Monarchy was exercised through documents and laws. Ultimately, the imperial archive symbolised the power of Philip, reinforced by the laws enacted under his control. The building itself preserves the Universal Monarch’s dynastic rights in the form of papers, and was originally created for this purpose. The archive’s organisation within the building reveals the hierarchy of importance in Philip II’s councils, and also fulfils the ‘higher motive’ that the collection was ‘destined’ for, as the monarch left written in the Instruction of 1588 that the papers must be saved for future ‘memory’.\(^2\)

The contribution of this study demonstrating how this archive embodies the imperial policies of Philip II to the architectural and cultural history of early modern Europe is important. There has been no systematic study to date on the creation and evolution of early modern archives in Europe, (and indeed in the overseas territories),

---


architecturally and culturally. In the case of Simancas (Figs. 1-5), with the exception of
the publication of the recent conservation works on the building finished in 2007 (Fig. 2), and the notable contributions to its archival history by former director, José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, this is the first comprehensive study on the construction of the building as a cultural object.

Rodríguez de Diego’s research changed substantially our understanding of the archival history of the collection in Simancas by focussing on the collection’s arrangement and the interest the Crown, and most importantly Philip II, took in the execution of the ‘archival project’. In his many years of work in the archive, Rodríguez de Diego read all the documents referring to Simancas’ archival affairs during the sixteenth century. His publications cite some of the few archival sources referring to the construction history of the building, many of which had already been briefly referred to in publications by Plaza y Bores and others. These cited letters accompanied investigations on other matters, mostly in archival history, but have never been examined from an architectural perspective.

Indeed, there is a substantial difference between those previous publications and this study which focusses on architectural analysis and also studies the building from a wider perspective within the period. For instance, so far there have been no studies on how other contemporary archives were built in the beginning of the

---


4 I am indebted to Mrs. Isabel Aguirre, Head of Reference Simancas Archive, and Dr. José Luis Rodríguez de Diego (former director of the archive until 2009) for their encouragement and enthusiasm regarding this investigation, and especially for their very helpful insights on this chapter.

5 Four times re-edited since the early 1960s, still the most relevant contribution by Angel Plaza Bores is the ‘Researchers guide to Simancas Archive’, (i.e., A. Plaza Bores, Archivo General de Simancas. Guía del Investigador (Madrid, 1992). In this book the general inventory of the archival collection is preceded by an historical introduction to the collections’ background, in general strongly based on introductory chapters in previous publications of the archive’s inventory. In Plaza Bores’ description, focussed on the archivists and the creation of the collection, some brief notes on architectural matters are inserted, based on the archival sources available in the collection. Plaza Bores’ very brief preliminary interpretations have not been reviewed since. Two letters from the architect Juan de Herrera regarding the works on the fortress in the 1570s were published a couple of times during last century, for example in E. Simons and R. Godoy, Discurso del Sr. Juan de Herrera Aposentador Mayor de S.M. sobre la Figura Cúbica (Madrid, 1976), pp.182-186. Ultimately, however, these and other sources were merely transcribing letters and nothing significant has been studied regarding Simancas’ architecture, only the archival history.
sixteenth century. Can these buildings be compared to Simancas? This investigation explores the architectural similarities and functions of these buildings, contextualising historically the construction of the Simancas Archive. Furthermore, this work is the first of its kind to link archival practices in the overseas empire to architectural evolution in Europe and Simancas.

The architecture of Simancas archive will therefore be studied within the global context of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty and its networks. Additionally, the comparison of this archive with contemporary examples within and outside the boundaries of Castile reveals an interesting architectural pattern similar to other constructions in European realms. The aim is to introduce a novel line of research into the imperial ideals of Philip II as displayed in this building. This investigation examines how the construction of the archive reflects the way imperial expansion affected the epicentre of the Universal Monarchy, opening a new path in an unexplored topic, essential to understanding not only the manner in which authority was legitimised in the Spanish Habsburg world but also the way early modern realms communicated with each other.

The few remaining buildings that were converted into archival repositories conserve the papers by which these ruling powers dispensed and administered their vast territories. In other words, this research aims at demonstrating how the development of Philip II’s imperial expansion can be traced through the structure and decoration of the building.

Navarro Bonilla has contributed to the history of Aragonese and Iberian archives with a persuasive study on the symbolism behind archives and their ‘secret’ character in the early modern world. However, Bonilla focussed on the use of archives and their cultural and social significance rather than on any of the buildings.

The House of Habsburg under Philip II imposed a new form of communication in Europe, but was also influenced by the practices in other realms. Pre-modern

---


7 In my opinion, the publications concerning Simancas’ archival history also neglected the global perspective which Habsburg rule had (and ordered in their dominions) at the time of the transformation of Simancas into a regal archive. Some may argue that Simancas archive was strictly the archive of the Crown of Castile. However, as discussed in the introduction of this thesis concerning the notion of Empire and Universal Monarchy, Castile was per se globalised empire and during Philip II’s reign a clear leader in the confederation of realms that composed the Spanish Universal Monarchy, (see for instance, S. Gruzunski, The Mestizo Mind: the Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization, (London, 2002), pp. 53-55). Only Rodríguez de Diego with his study on the relationship between the Portuguese Cristóbal de Benavente’s report and the Instructions of Simancas of 1588, (Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, pp. 43-53).
globalisation and the revolution instigated by the new forms of communication were
the genesis of the development of state or kingly archives. Ideas on ‘memory’ as a
kingly preoccupation in the early modern world and these new forms of
communication can be traced through the cultural history of archival repositories and
their architecture.

The development of the Simancas archive is almost coincidental with
architectural reforms to convert the fortress into an archive. Rodríguez de Diego³ has
identified two periods in the archival history of Simancas during the sixteenth century.
This periodisation revolves around the most important archivist at Simancas during
this period, Diego de Ayala: the early period or small archive, 1564-1572, and the
second period or archival ‘masterplan’, 1572- 1598, although some of the works
planned in the later period were completed after Philip II’s death in 1598. The history
of the archive becomes more important with the expansion of the archival collections.
Therefore the traditional historiography has tended to view the first period with less
interest. The development of the archival project in the decade of the 1570s was a
critical improvement. Nonetheless, I propose an alternative appraisal, sustained by
hitherto unknown architectural evidence that links archival architecture in European
realms, as well as archival sources, that demonstrate the relevance of the earlier stage
of the archive and its place in contemporary archival architecture.

The Spanish monarchy created several institutions which to administrate,
and establish the presence and authority of the absent monarch. This administration
led to increased production of papers in the form of printed legislation and
manuscripts. Scribes and notaries throughout the Spanish empire communicated,
informed, recorded agreements, and certified events and accounts through documents.
For example, Christopher Columbus recorded his first arrival on the American
continent with a notary who certified the veracity of the events.⁹ The power exercised
by notaries and the written form relied on the ‘veracity’ and authority ascribed to these
documents and the complex social structure that derived from this bureaucracy. In
Castile, there were two Chancelleries of Justice: the older one in Valladolid and the
other in Granada. Another institution that generated a substantial amount of
documentation was the Registry in Seville known as the Casa de Contratacion, charged
with overseeing and recording all transactions with the American viceroyalties.

³ See note 3.
Although these institutions were not archives *per se*, they created their own paper collections that were different to those that dealt directly with the king. In Simancas, the second architectural development included generous chambers for the vassals’ papers that the councils generated. The council system of government created by the late Trastamaras, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, endured into the sixteenth century. Charles V and Philip II promoted new councils and suppressed others but essentially maintained these forms of administration. In addition, chancelleries of Justice or *Audiencias* in the Viceroyalties, *corregidores*, registries, city and town councils, the nobility and other institutions of ‘public’ or private interest kept their own records.

All these differed in one critical aspect from the archive at Simancas. What this deposit kept initially was the emperor’s records. These indelibly affected the vassals mostly with respect to *Patronazgo* documentation. Later, during Philip II’s rule, Simancas incorporated the councils’ archives into its collection. The administrative organisation of the Spanish empire at large mimicked the organisation in Castile. At the head of the Universal Monarchy was the king, then the subsequent councils depending on the realm or viceroyalty, such as the councils of Castile, Aragon, Naples and Sicily, Indies for the American territories, and others. The Chancelleries of Valladolid and Granada in Castile – called the *Audiencias* in the viceroyalties – administered justice. At a lower level, corresponding with subdivided regions, were the *Gobernaciones*, and for cities or towns the *Corregidores* (which also existed in Castile unlike the *Gobernaciones*). Below these in the hierarchy were the city or town councils, and so on. There were also organisations similar to registries supporting some institutions, like the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville, serving the Council of the Indies and the Treasury. In addition there were supranational institutions, such as the Holy Inquisition, which were entitled to act in all the realms and viceroyalties of the composite Spanish monarchy. In general terms the political and administrative organization of the Spanish empire was ‘essentially’ the same in all its territories and therefore all these institutions generated their own ‘reams of papers’. The spectrum of the written form did not stop here: notaries and the nobility had their own repositories,

---

10 *Corregidor* represented the king’s interests in a city or group of towns; this was a different ‘institution’ to the town or city councils as these were constituted by the citizens and did not respond directly to the king. See discussion in chapter 1.


12 A new insight into the organisation and also ‘real’ power exercised by these institutions is the challenging publication: J.B. Owens, *By My Absolute Royal Authority: Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the Beginning of the First Global Age* (Rochester, NY, 2005).
as did ambassadors, the list seems endless. The interest of this study is modern and focuses on the monarch’s archive and the architecture developed to keep these valuable documents.

2.1. Legitimising Authority in Early Modern Spain: When the Written Form Ruled the World.

In Early Modern Spain, writing became inseparable from public institutions of religion and justice [...] Power in Early Modern Europe was founded on writing, on desks and pens, regardless the level of literacy of vassals, who had to obey their lords within the period’s wide spectrum of legal obligations.

Writing, through its multiple possibilities, was a vehicle to through which to exercise power. Although this topic is rich enough to produce several monographs, I will use some specific examples to highlight my arguments. The letters from Hernán Cortés to Charles V, studied extensively by John H. Elliot, contain a clear demonstration of the symbolic power attributed to a document ratified by the emperor. Cortés, by simply showing a document to Montezuma, conveniently signed by Charles V, applied the famous *translatio imperii* (i.e., transfer of the empire). Regardless of the veracity of Cortés’ account of events, the chronicle demonstrates the importance of manuscripts, and the written form in sixteenth-century Europe. Examples like this can be found throughout the period, and most predominantly when Philip II reorganised the administration of his realms. Authority was conducted by correspondence, edicts and legislation, later printed and distributed to the rest of the territories of the empire. The increasingly complex machinery of the state represented in the king’s court and allied institutions generated an ever-growing mass of papers which had to be kept in secure places. Hence the architecture and furniture of these spaces also becomes important. What do these functional chambers and furniture ‘say’ about their purpose? Do they

---

13 Historians such as John H. Elliot, Geoffrey Parker, Henry Kamen and Fernando Bouza Álvarez, amongst others, are recently paying more attention to grandees’ and nobles’ archives, as these in combination with the state and kingly archives open new perspectives on the same historical issues.


16 Elliot, *Empires*, p. 5.

Cortés had secured what he wanted: a *translatio imperii*, a transfer of empire, from Montezuma to his own master, the Emperor Charles V. In Spanish eyes this transfer of empire gave Charles legitimate authority over the land and dominions of Mexico. It thus justified the subsequent action of the Spaniards, who, after being forced by an uprising in the city to fight their way out of Tenochtitlan [...], spent the next fourteen months fighting to recover what they regarded as properly theirs.
really inform us about their lord and his realm? Where were these chambers located in the buildings and what form did they take?

Few authors have conducted research into the creation of archives and their historical devoirs. The publications by Eugenio Casanova (1928) and Adolf Brenneke (1968) are still classics on the topic and amongst the few surveys on western European archival history. Nevertheless, the history of early modern European archives is currently under development. But, how were the papers organised in the Americas, the Philippines, and in other parts of the overseas empire? Louis Prosper Gachard was one of the first researchers to pay attention to the archival history of Simancas, and the different guides to the archive include brief surveys concerning its history.

Philip II’s biographers, and historians such as Henry Kamen and Geoffrey Parker, have also referred to the Simancas archive and the ‘king and his papers’. Scholars repeatedly mention institutional archives in early modern Europe, e.g. Thomas Dandelet’s study on the influence of Spain in Rome from 1500 to 1700. Although some of them have referred to Philip II’s archive and the registry in Seville in the same terms, the functions and documentary collections were of a very different nature.

---

18 The lack of research in this area stems from the recent development of Archives Science as an academic discipline, and its separation from the Librarian educational tradition. This is a long debate and therefore not the objective of this study, but instrumental to comprehend the lack of studies on archival history, and the increasing interest it has been attracting recently.
19 Ots Capdequi’s contributions to the study of Laws of the Indies (i.e., Derecho Indiano); some of his books are now classics, such as: España en América: el Régimen de Tierras en la Época Colonial (México DF, 1959) and Historia del Derecho Español en América y del Derecho Indígeno (Madrid, 1968). The history of law is critical to archival history because of the links of the latter to the ‘institutional’ history determined always by legislation. The study of archives or written production in the early modern Spanish empire is the object of recent interest, with publications such as Roberto González Echevarría’s on early modern Castilian literature in the Myth and Archive (Durham, N.C., 1998), where Garcilaso is ‘sedulous in following the formulae of notarial rhetoric to establish the veracity of his text’ (p. 82). Specifically on the role of notaries and the exercise of power through documents in Cuzco, Peru the recent and previously cited book by Burns, Into the Archive looks at the period between the 1500s and 1600s.
20 L. P. Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas pub. d’après les Originaux Conservés dans les Archives Royales de Simancas, Précédée d’une Notice Historique et Descriptive de ce Célèbre Dépôt et d’un Rapport à M. le Ministre de L’intérieur (Brussels, 1848).
21 M. Alcocer y Martínez, Guía del investigador: Archivo General de Simancas (Valladolid, 1923). The aforementioned Plaza Bores, Guía del investigador, the first edition of which was published in 1962.
The co-authored publication by Ann Blair and Jennifer Milligan, in a special issue of *Archival Science* 7:4 (2007) entitled ‘Toward a Cultural History of Archives’, stimulated the interest of academia not just in the content of the archival collections but also in their history and organisation. More recently Randolph Head’s special issue, also in *Archival Science*, and Orietta Filippini’s book concerning the Vatican archive in the seventeenth century, were both published during 2010 and are some of the latest contributions to the field. Nevertheless, none of these recent publications focus on or mention architecture in their investigations. There is no systematic study on the architecture of archives in early modern Europe. According to Bouza:

For some strange reason, the building of archives is one of the forgotten areas in the history of written culture in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain.

This statement can be extended to European and American archives during this period. If referred to at all, the perspective on the archive is from the standpoint of the cultural history of the written form or archival history. Often, authors ignore the original location of those archives, including often the institutions that housed them. The panorama in archival historiography changes in later periods where information is more abundant and the archives as ‘institutions’ were already established throughout Europe.

---

25 Prof. Randolph Head, University of California Riverside, is currently working on a monograph on the varied systems of arrangement and retrieval in early modern European archives, including Simancas. He has edited a special issue of Archival Science journal: R.C. Head (ed), ‘Archival Knowledge Cultures in Europe, 1400–1900,’ *Archival Science* 10 (2010). The collection of essays focuses on different aspects of the archives as cultural objects, none of them look at architectural matters per se. Some of them with ‘hispanic’ interest are: A. Brendecke, ‘*Arca, Archivillo, Archivo*: the Keeping, Use and Status of Historical Documents about the Spanish Conquista,’ in R.C. Head (ed.), *Archival Science* 10 (2010), pp. 267-284. In addition, the study by M. Friedrich, ‘Archives as Networks: the Geography of Record-Keeping in the Society of Jesus (1540–1773)’ in R.C. Head (ed.), *Archival Science* 10 (2010), pp. 285-297. These papers demonstrate the relevance of archives in the ‘hispanic’ early modern world and also the critical importance for imperial expansion of a good network of archival repositories. Regarding the study of the Vatican archives in the seventeenth century, the ongoing published work by Orietta Filippini is critical, including her most recent monograph *Memoria della Chiesa, Memoria dello Stato. Carlo Cartari (1614-1697) e l’Archivio di Castel Sant’Angelo* (Bologna, 2010).


27 This is not the case for Simancas fortress, but often the brief historical introduction in researchers’ guides published by state archives concerning the history of the collections or the institution does not include the history of the building and if so it often refers to a later period. In the case of researchers not paying attention to the architecture of the archival deposits there are a number of reasons: a) that was not the object of their study and therefore not relevant, b) archives were not accessible to everyone and therefore it was not a common topic to write about, c) the concept of ‘archival management’ as a science is relatively new and therefore so is the interest from historians of all disciplines who viewed the collection as an instrument for their research and only very recently also as an ‘object’ of study.
Four articles published in the *Court Historian* concern European state archives originating from kingly collections. One of these studies concerning the Royal Dutch Archives dealt with archival history from the eighteenth century onwards, and the time frame is even later for the Royal Archives at Windsor. Only the articles devoted to Italian archives have studied previous periods.  

These fragmentary studies and fledging projects, in combination with recent publications, constitute the basis for future research and demonstrate recent interest not only in the history of the written form, but also how archival history can contribute to our understanding of the early modern world.

### 2.1.2. Philip II’s Universal Monarchy: the Art of Ruling and the Archive.

Philip II’s style in governing was commented on by ambassadors, chroniclers, historians and councillors. Such comments are critical to comprehend the character of imperial Spain under Philip II’s rule. For instance, Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, in his famous history of Philip II, devoted one of the chapters (IX) to the archive in Simancas. In this narration, Cabrera de Cordoba made Philip II protagonist of the creation of the archive, forgetting the command given by Charles V in 1540 from Brussels. Moreover, the chronicle entitled the ‘king forms an archive in the Simancas fortress to keep his deeds’, commences with a comment on the operation of government of Philip II:

> Considering the importance that papers have, as using them [Philip II] agitated [moved] the world from his regal throne, Philip wanted to put in order and keep safe all the old deeds dispersed in Castile and at risk of getting lost, to put them to the service of the Crown and his subjects.

---


As mentioned previously, the chronicler gave credit to Philip for something that his father, the late emperor, initiated. Moreover, he summarised with a simple idea the nature of Philip II’s empire: a complex and studied bureaucracy. The system of communications created under Philip II’s rule was highly developed; historians such as Braudel and Parker saw the distances between territories of Philip II’s vast empire as one of his most important enemies. However, he was better informed than any other contemporary ruler.

Philip II lived in a revolutionary period in terms of information; the new printing culture in conjunction with innovative ways of communication by both sea and land radically changed the politics of early modern Europe. Correspondence and edicts could take months, even years, to reach American soil, depending on the region. In Europe, the situation was different: the Spanish monarchy under Philip II controlled the safest and fastest postal routes, establishing its hegemony in the control of information. The Spanish courier ‘corridor’ controlled by the Taxis family and with diplomatic immunity was the highest quality postal route in Europe, connecting Spain and the Netherlands via over a hundred stations. Ambassadors were informed later than the Spanish king of certain news concerning their own countries. There is evidence of an exceptional case during the Duke of Alba’s incursion into Portugal in 1580, in which a letter from Elvas to Madrid was delivered in twenty-four hours. This missive could not have been for King Philip as he was already on his way to Portugal but demonstrates the efficiency of the postal system. Simancas’ archive’s ‘strategic’ location has not been discussed much. In this investigation I argue that the repository guarded the documentation that was not needed on a daily basis. Therefore, the situation of the castle relatively far from the court in Madrid shielded the collections from unwanted visitors. I would argue this was precisely the intention of the ruler – the control of the information.

32 If they were implemented at all, this is one of the reasons why the visitadores, (i.e., envoy) from Castile were sent from time to time to the American viceroyalties so they could oversee whether the king’s demands were really in place.
33 G. Parker, The Grand Strategy, (1998) p. 48. This postal route was also used by the Italian realms under Spanish control and even by diplomats in Madrid as it was much faster than other channels.
34 G. Parker, Felipe II: La Biografía Definitiva (Madrid, 2010), p. 805-806.
Philip assumed his role as guardian of Christendom and emulated the ‘Romanisation’ achieved by the Roman Empire in his personal ‘Castilinisation’. Indeed, he used ‘a network of papers’ to make it function. In Elliot’s words:

The Roman empire became a model and a point of reference for the sixteenth-century Castilians, who looked upon themselves as the heirs and successors of the Romans, conquering an even more extended empire, governing it with justice, and laying down laws which were obeyed to the farthest ends of earth. [...] The sixteenth-century Castilians saw themselves as a chosen, and therefore superior, people, entrusted with a divine mission which looked towards universal empire as its goal. This mission was seen as a higher one than that of the Romans because it was set into the context of Catholic Christianity. It seems that every empire needs its ideology, that the empire builders have to justify to themselves in terms of a higher mission their government of dependant peoples [...]36

Philip II managed to impose a new system, an organisation that granted him control over his realms, overseas empire, and the rest of his European kingdoms, e.g. the Vatican and most of the Italian peninsula.37 He managed his empire by transforming legislation and adapting all his territories to a unique Castilian method under his increasingly ‘absolute’ power. These imperial ideals were supported by legislation and theorised by contemporary scholars and philosophers.38

Philip II emulated the Roman Empire in administration, exporting his ‘Castilinisation’ to every corner of his vast empire in an attempt to homogenise it. He tried consistently to transform the cultural trends, politics, ceremonials and traditions into a ‘Castilian manner’, or into the Spanish Catholic-Counterreformation monarchical style. For instance, Dandelet’s studies on the Spanish presence in the Vatican and the rest of the Italian peninsula demonstrate the Spanish pre-eminence and sometimes ‘forceful’ influence.39 More enlightened were the legislation reforms delivered by Philip

37 There are many publications that focussed on Philip II’s methods of control, such as the aforementioned biographies and histories. For further insights regarding the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) in J-M. Ribera, Diplomatie et Espionnage: les Ambassadeurs du Roi de France Auprès de Philippe II: du Traité du Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) à la Mort de Henri III (1589) (Paris, 2007) and J.H. Elliot, Europe Divided, 1559-1598 (Oxford, 2000). Concerning the Spanish influence in Italy see: T. J. Dandelet, J. A. Marino (eds.), Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700 (Leiden, 2007).
38 On the relation between legislation and Spanish imperial ideas see the essay by J.H. Parry, The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1940).
39 Dandelet, Spanish Rome and Dandelet and Marino (eds.), Spain in Italy. Concerning relations with the Low Countries, the implementation of policy under Philip II’s rule met with strong resistance from the provinces, culminating in temporary independence in 1581 and the longest, most frustrating warfare for the ruler, with the exception of the Armada defeat by England. There are many publications on this period of Habsburg rule, such as Jonathan I. Israel, The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness and Fall 1477-1806 (Oxford, 1995), G. Parker, The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars (Cambridge, 1972 & 2004) and the cited Elliot, Europe Divided.
for Portugal, which aimed for uniformity with the systematic compilation of norms under the umbrella of Castilian practices.\footnote{Concerning Philip II’s reform of the Portuguese court and the realm’s regulations see F. Labrador, \textit{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)} (Madrid, 2007).}

Philip II personally aimed to control everything that happened in his dominions. He was deficient in delegating power, an unsustainable state of things, in an empire of the dimensions of his. He personally reviewed most of the memorials, reports and correspondence, spending long hours reading and revising all this documentation. He also created a system in which his subjects could write directly to him in ‘secret’ missives so the information could not be filtered by any of his secretaries.\footnote{The manner in which the monarch communicated with his subjects and other kingdoms (court, councils, diplomats and also those vassals who were allowed to write to him directly) has been commented on in most of his biographies. The way the ruler worked in his office as well as the missives and type of documentation he received, including the ‘confidential’ correspondence which any subject from any of his realms could address directly to him, are analysed in J. A. Escudero, \textit{Felipe II: el Rey en el Despacho} (Madrid, 2002).}

The immense quantity of documentation generated by Philip II’s state machinery was unprecedented. He tried to deal with most or even all the decisions to be made in the empire. On one occasion he wrote to his secretary Mateo Vazquez that he had only 300 \textit{consultas}\footnote{The Spanish term for consulta here can be translated as petitions or ‘consults of opinion’ and therefore meant Philip had three hundred ‘issues’ to attend to.} and promised to deal with them during that day.\footnote{Parker, Felipe II, p. 766.} In the system created for the compilation of documents in the Simancas archive, all the councils would leave copies of their documentation in the repository, allowing seek retrieval if necessary.

As noted previously, the state in \textit{Ancien Régime} Spain was administered with councils (Concejos). In addition, Royal Military Orders, Crusades, and Hacienda (treasury), amongst others, also deposited their papers in Simancas. The royal councils were essentially created under the Catholic Monarchs’ rule, but were augmented by Charles V and Philip II.\footnote{A. Domínguez Ortiz, \textit{Instituciones y sociedad en la España de los Austrias} (Barcelona, 1985), J. Lynch, \textit{Spain Under the Habsburgs} vol. I and with R. A. Humphreys, \textit{Spain Under the Habsburgs}, vol. II (Oxford 1969) reedited in J. Lynch, \textit{Felipe II y la Transformación del Estado}, in Historia de España, vol. 12 (Madrid, 2007) and J.H. Elliot, \textit{Imperial Spain: 1469-1716} (London, 1963- 2002), etc.} The Royal Council of Castile, originated in the thirteenth century, and reformed by Charles V, included the former kingdom of Granada. The Council of Aragon’s documentary collections were managed in the viceroyal archive in Barcelona. This council was created in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs, and included Aragon as well as Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. The
Council of the Indies (America and the Philippines), created in 1511, and reformed by both Charles V and later by Philip II, was under the political control of Castile.45

The Royal Council of State was a supranational body created in 1526 by Charles V, the majority of whose councillors were grandees. As well as this, there were a number of other councils. This council had to deposit their papers in Simancas and so also the councils of Flanders, Portugal, Italy, and War. All these were supranational councils and therefore not formally under the jurisdiction of Castile. However, Philip II decided to incorporate their documentary collections together with his own royal papers in Simancas. Among other councils, there were the Juntas, such as the Junta de Obras y Bosques, specifically dedicated to architectural development of the royal premises and conservation of the regal forests.46

All these councils generated increasing number of papers, with the bureaucracy during Philip II’s rule expanding considerably. The king preferred to read the information rather than relying on traditional oral audiences; he had time to think about matters that otherwise would have been difficult or impossible for him to decide upon immediately. He usually requested reports from different people on the same issue, trying to get to the ‘true nature’ of the matter. He was known for being suspicious, and never relied completely on one secretary, with the exceptions of Antonio Perez, (though their relationship finished abruptly), and Mateo Vazquez in the last few years of his rule.47 Philip II’s personal system converted the oral tradition of audiences with the king into written papers, memorials, reports and so on.48 Parker published Pascual de Gayangos’ statement about Philip II in a letter to Prescott: ‘The history of Philip II is the history of the world’.49 This exaggerated affirmation can also be applied to this archive; most historians studying early modern Europe have to gather information in Simancas’ archives. Gachard argued the critical relevance of the information conserved in that repository for the history of Europe in order to gain the

45 The Council of Flanders was created in 1588 by Philip II and included both Flanders and Burgundy. The Council of Navarra, created in 1467 and reformed by Charles V. The Council of Portugal, created in 1582 by Philip II after the Iberian Union and comprising the Portuguese kingdom and overseas dominions. The Council of Italy, created by Philip II in 1556 and incorporating all Italian former states of Aragon plus the Dukedom of Milan.
46 See chapter 1 for a lengthier discussion concerning the role of this organisation.
48 Escudero, Felipe II.
49 Parker, The Grand Strategy, p. 397. Pascual de Gayangos catalogued the collection of Spanish manuscripts for the British Museum in the nineteenth century. This collection is now housed in the British Library and Gayangos’s catalogue is still the best archival inventory accomplished so far on the collection.
opening of the archive in Simancas in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{50}

The heavy and complex bureaucratic state created by the Universal Monarch to establish sure methods to effectively control his vast dominions ‘intellectualised and textualised’ the imperial enterprise of Philip. The imperial archive symbolised therefore the ‘brain by proxy’. Through this system, Philip was able to develop a dynamic ‘web’ of papers that exercised \textit{de facto} authority and dominated communications. This system also had its failures, as is expected from any type of ‘information model’ with complex interconnectivity, e.g., intercepted letters from Philip’s couriers and vice versa. The distance between the dominions in the Spanish composite monarchy inevitably hampered the fluency of the intercourse.

Historians have questioned the praxis of Philip II’s administrative system and the role that the central archive of Simancas played. Lynch believes that the distance of Simancas from the court in Madrid was counterproductive to the correct function of such an institution.\textsuperscript{51} And just recently Parker has argued how the immense volume of information was not beneficial, and also questioned if the king was really as informed as his contemporaries thought.\textsuperscript{52} I might suggest that the reason behind Philip’s decision to keep the archive in Simancas was possibly a way of shielding it from the curiosity and easy access the court and councillors in Madrid would have had.

The distance between Madrid and Simancas also works for the intermediate stage of the ‘archival cycle of life’ theory: ‘[the record] is relegated to a semi-active status, which means it still has value, but is not needed for day-to-day decision making. Because the record need not be consulted regularly, it is often stored in an off-site storage center’.\textsuperscript{53} Although the concept of the record life cycle is a modern one, its theorisation was based on the practices applied to archival collections throughout history. This conceptualisation of the Simancas archive was precisely the original function given in the period.

\textsuperscript{51} J. Lynch, \textit{Felipe II}, p. 80.
\textsuperscript{52} Parker, \textit{Felipe II}, p. 806.

In the second stage, the record goes through an active period when it has maximum primary value and is used or referred to frequently by the creating office and others involved in decision making. During this time the record is stored on-site in the active or current files of the creating office. At the end of stage two the record may be reviewed and determined to have no further value, at which point it is destroyed, or the record can enter stage three, where it is relegated to a semi-active status, which means it still has value, but is not needed for day-to-day decision making. Because the record need not be consulted regularly, it is often stored in an off-site storage center.
Philip II modernised the administration of his realms and in many ways was ‘modern’ compared to other contemporary rulers, an example is the introduction of a reference system for the works of history in the Instructions of 1588. Nonetheless, the decision to send copies or original papers to Simancas was based not only on issues of conservation and retrieval but also because the problems raised in those documents were solved for the time being. This chimes with an ‘intermediate’ stage in the record’s usage.

2.1.3. Establishing the House of Habsburg in Castile: the Creation of the First Archive Chamber in the fortress of Simancas, Valladolid.

Because the Emperor and King, my lord, [...], considered that in the deeds lay the memory of antiquity, and observed that in past times good care was not taken in the conservation of those [archives] concerning the patrimony [regal property], the state and crown of these realms and the patronazgo; [the Emperor] ordered the adaptation of a chamber in the fortress in the town of Simancas, to keep not only the [papers] of this quality but other general [documentation] concerning our realms and vassals[...], (1588).  

Years before the construction of the first archival chamber at the Simancas fortress, Charles V started to assemble documents of interest for the Crown. Many of those valuable records were dispersed in diverse repositories, or in the hands of former secretaries or their families. In 1540, when the collection had become substantial, Charles V ordered the construction of a chamber in the fortress. In the emperor’s letter referring to this chamber he used the Spanish word cubo, from the Latin cubiculum.
that referred to a building or chamber with a centred floor plan (i.e., circled or polygonal floor plan). The collection of deeds and allied records conserved in this cubicle constituted the emperor’s archive and that of his dynasty. These documents enshrined dynastic rights and royal properties as well as regal control over the church and lands, (known as **Patronazgo Real**). The collection also included original manuscripts of genealogical or political importance, such as marriage contracts and treaties.

The initial archives grew with the steady accumulation of documents pertinent to the vassals. The documentation kept at Simancas was not needed for frequent consultation. In other words, it was not an administrative department supporting a busy secretary or council but a ‘safe’ in which to keep ‘treasures’ (in this case valuable papers), which were not consulted assiduously anymore (Figs. 6-7). In fact, as the Instructions of 1588 noted, already that during Charles V’s reign it was expected that the documentation from the Councils not used on a daily basis were to be transferred to Simancas. In any case, the documentation was not frequently consulted and there was not a permanent archivist in the fortress until the period of Diego de Ayala. The archival project with all implications, including the document consultation policy, rose during Philip II’s reign.

The chamber was finally located on the top of one of the towers in the castle of Simancas. The cabinets contained wood boxes with the pertinent documentation. A number of these original archival boxes are still in Simancas (Fig. 8). The tower in which the chamber was constructed is one of the former bastions of the fifteenth-century castle. The original castle was a Muslim construction rebuilt by the Admiral Alonso Enríquez. In this process the admiral substituted most of the original rammed earth walls with stone in the squared white pieces that can be observed now, although some of these original walls remained, as in the case of the chapel. The castle maintains

---

on the publications by Plaza Bores and Rodríguez de Diego cited fully in this chapter. In this chapter I will cite this publication using the author as published in the Biblioteca Nacional de España catalogue.

58 In spite some scholars argued the archive of Emperor Charles V was private, (see Pirez Fernández, Casa Archive, p. 17), it has been demonstrated how in the mid 1540s there were some requests of documentation from the vassals, although these were minimal and petitions incremented considerably during Philip II’s reign. For an analysis on the first consultation of documentation in Simancas see M.V. González Mateo, ‘Las Primera Consultas en el Archivo de Simancas’, Revista Bibliográfica y Documentary, I, (Madrid, 1947) pp.185-487. I am grateful to Prof. Fernando Bouza Álvarez, Universidad Complutense, Madrid for bringing this to my attention.

some features from the fifteenth-century fortress; the exterior wall is almost original with the exception of the gate.60

A false ceiling introduced in the last conservation project in the building now covers the original ribbed vault. The floor is also not original, but the rest of the carved wood dates from the construction ordered by Emperor Charles V, with smaller additions in the 1560s as mentioned previously (Fig. 5).61

This first archival repository in Simancas was created twenty years before the court settled in Madrid, and twenty-three years after Charles V arrived for the first time in his Iberian realms. The designation of Simancas as the place to house those valuable items was possibly determined by the fact that Francisco de Cobos was also governor of Valladolid. In the few years Charles V resided in Castile, Valladolid was the de facto administrative capital.

The archive chamber itself was slightly elevated over the top of the tower’s embattlement. This chamber was built with a red-bricked wall from the top of the bastion, making the space slightly higher and keeping it inaccessible. In this period the castle was still used as a prison.62 The red brick is still visible from outside and these external walls were never painted, reinforcing the functional character of this chamber (Fig. 8). Just one window illuminates the cubicle. The interior walls of the cubo were covered with wooden shelves with secured doors. These cabinets have two levels and a small corridor, with a balustrade for access to the second level added in 1567 (Fig. 9).63

The room has a secluded atmosphere in which the dim light provided by the loophole window and the ribbed vault created the impression of entering a small chapel.64 The cabinet-lined walls enhance the severity of the room, notwithstanding the elegance of the dark pine carvings. For centuries this cloistered place guarded the most important imperial treasures: those that guaranteed the continuity and rights of the dynasty to the Castilian realm and its overseas domains, documents that were more valuable than gold. The silence and calmness of this space implies that it was never built to receive visitors but instead acted as an unpretentious strong room, access to

60 Plaza Bores, Guía, p.18.
61 AGS. Secretaría 5 (1) fol. 5-16. The balustrade and some of the decoration was introduced when the archive was expanded and coincided with the creation of the second chamber known as Philip II’s Cubo. These new works will be addressed later.
62 AGS. Cédulas de la Cámara, Libro 2º, fol. 36 and Cámara de Castilla, Leg. 160 fol. 49. The use of the fortress was mixed around the construction of this chamber. The most consistent usage was as the state prison. Cited in Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 21.
63 AGS. Secretaría 5 (1) fol. 5-16. ‘Diego de Ayala to Philip II concerning the Building Works in the Archive Chambers (1567)’.
64 It has been believed that the arms of Charles V adorned the keystone of the vault. However, new research by Félix Martínez Llorente seems to have demonstrated differently. This investigation will be published soon.
which was restricted to a select number of people. The chamber was high enough in the castle to be safe and access to it was intricate and difficult, along a stretch of corridor and up several flights of stairs. The entrance to the cubicle somewhat resembles the description of the labyrinthine path to the Aedificium or library in Umberto Eco’s *The Name of the Rose*, where the trail to knowledge resembled the Greek myth of the minotaur’s maze. The key to *sapientia* was remote, high, inaccessible, and the journey wearying and confusing, though the prize was indeed rewarding, bestowing the authority of wisdom and power. Yet the archive in the chamber at Simancas remained impregnable. A project to rehouse the book collection from Segovia here was never carried out.

Did the first chamber embody this symbolic concept? Was it built with an inspirational, almost ‘magic’, intention? Although this is an appealing explanation, in my opinion, in the case of the first archive *cubiculum* this seems unlikely. The location in the fortress and form are eminently practical, and its inconspicuous medieval style and little attention to architectural detail, such as the unembellished exterior, indicates *praxis* rather than philosophical imagination. Neither the emperor nor his secretary cared about the decoration or the details in its construction, only its function: keeping the papers safe. A different purpose and character, however, encompasses the second *cubiculum* of the archive promoted by Philip II and named after him.

During recent conservation works finished in 2007 a hidden stair leading to the chamber was discovered, apparently belonging to the original fifteenth-century fortress and walled up later, possibly during the major works began in 1578.

In the floor plan (Fig. 7), two stairs can be observed, the discovered one located to the left leading to the attics. The real function of this stair is uncertain. It may be, as

---

65 U. Eco, *The Name of the Rose* (San Diego, 1983).
66 During the reign of the late emperor there was a project to deposit the crown’s collection of books in the fortress but this was never realised. Cited in C. García-Frias Checa, *Carlos V en Yuste. Muerte y Gloria Eterna* (Madrid, 2008), p. 154. I would like to thank Prof. Geoffrey Parker for bringing this to my attention. This book collection seemed to have come from those deposited in the Alcázar in Segovia, possibly together with the treasury including 30000 golden escudos. In this context this book collection cannot yet be considered as a library but rather a precious collectable, like jewellery, tapestries or other valuable objects royalty would keep in their *cámara de las Maravillas* and treasure chambers.
67 There is no evidence of either the emperor or his secretary visiting the chamber of the archive to supervise it, and no documents stressing issues about its architecture. In contrast, Philip II visited the institution in 1592. E. Cook, *Jornada de Tarazona*, Madrid, 1879, p. 21 y AGS. Secretaría, Leg. 7 - 417 Fol. 1º both cited also in Plaza Bores, *Guía del Archivo*, p. 45. In addition, Jehan L’Hermite’s *Passatemps* also documented this visit, see Jesús Saenz de Miera (ed.), *El Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermitte. Memorias de un Gentilhombre en la Corte de Felipe II y Felipe III* (Madrid, 2005), pp. 155-156.
Mario Pirez Fernández, architect of conservation works suggests, part of the former fifteenth century building. However, we must consider that this chamber is elevated over the former tower and therefore this stair may have been part of the initial project of the archive. Unfortunately, at the moment of its discovery an ‘architectural wall reading’ should have been taken into consideration to prove or disprove these theories. However, it was not. In any case, an access to the roof seems a reasonable explanation given the ‘natural’ access there was interrupted with the building of the chamber.

The creation of the archive in Simancas in 1540 was not unique, and neither was it the first archival repository in sixteenth-century Europe. On the contrary, religious congregations and other rulers and realms kept archival collections, such as the Archivum Arcis in the Vatican. In the case of the Simancas enterprise, it has been compared to other peninsular models like the Chancillería de Valladolid’s archive or the viceroyal archive of Aragon in Barcelona. Comparisons of this archive in Castile can also be established with kingly archives, such as Torre do Tombo in Lisbon amongst others.

Charles V was a foreign ruler uneducated in Castilian traditions or manners. When Charles, a seventeen-year-old foreign prince, reached Castile to claim his crown, he was received with scepticism. The unrest in his Iberian realms soon grew, leading to a rebellion. The revolt of the Comuneros of Castile, followed by the Germanías in Aragon, culminated in a real war with factions rising against the ruler. Once the rebellions were crushed, Charles married the Portuguese princess Elisabeth of Aviz in 1526, and resided in Valladolid for several years in order to establish further his authority in Castile, and also to produce an heir.

In this light, the creation of the first chamber at Simancas to house an archival collection corresponds with the installation of Charles V as king of the Spanish composite monarchy. Once he truly settled his rights to the crown, not only defending his territories but also gathering many of the documents that granted them, he decided to keep them safe in a permanent archive. This archive was not located in the palace in Valladolid, as was the case for the viceregal archive in Aragon. The still peripatetic nature of court life may have prevented this option and, moreover, at this stage the

---

69 Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 69.
70 It is impossible to compile in a paragraph the complex situation of Castile on Charles V’s arrival and also to explain the reasons that provoked the revolt. Publications concerning the revolt of the Commoners or comuneros are many, including those works on the history of Charles V’s reign in Castile, for instance and on the revolt issue: J.J. Pérez, Pensamiento político y reforma institucional durante la guerra de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520-1521) (Madrid, 2007). J. Pérez, Los Comuneros (Madrid, 2001) S. Haliczer, The Comuneros of Castile: The Forging of a Revolution, 1475-1521 (Madison, 1981).
collection gathered in Simancas did not demand intense consultation. However, a certain level of caution had to assume that the papers were safe in the highest inaccessible chamber in Simancas. Additionally, there were a couple of decades between Charles arriving in Castile to claim his throne and the creation of the chamber in the fortress. This was enough for his rights, and most importantly his authority in the realm, to be legitimised. The creation of kingly archives in the early modern period may be associated then with the consolidation of the monarch’s authority in the realm.71

2.1.3. The Architecture of the Treasure-Archive: Simancas in the Wider European Tradition.

On the floor below Charles V’s archival cubiculum, another chamber was adapted and furnished to house papers. This new space is known as Philip II’s Cubo, since it was he who ordered its development and decoration. The renovation of the space commenced in the 1560s. During Philip II’s reign the archival project became increasingly important. Before analysing the archive at Simancas, however, it is enlightening to examine how archival chambers were built elsewhere.

In Aragon, Jaime II (1231-1327) created a royal archive in 1318,72 well before the union of Castile and Aragon under the Catholic Monarchs. Juan II (1405-1454) and Enrique IV (1424-1474) of Castile may have been following this example when they tried to accomplish a similar project, although it was not successfully achieved until the imperial order of 1540.73 The Aragonese archive was located in two of the rooms inside the medieval palace in Barcelona and the Crown of Aragon archival collections continued to be housed here until 1770.

However, from the rule of King Pedro el Ceremonioso (1336-1387), the archive of the crown of Aragon grew to have more of an administrative function, and as the ‘private’ king’s repository it became less important. The Aragonese king and his court had greater access to the documentation, and the archive was a busy office put to the service of the king and his vassals. At the time of its creation the Aragonese king aimed, like Charles V two centuries later, to guard his deeds, contracts, and important

72 For a general overview on the institution, including the history of the archive see: El Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Madrid, 1980). For an excellent analysis on the functions and perceptions of archival collections in Castile and Aragon in the early modern period see: D. Navarro Bonilla, La Imagen del Archivo: Representación y Funciones en España (siglos XVI y XVII) (Gijón, 2003).
73 A. González Amezúa, ‘El Archivo de Simancas y la Historia de España,’ Revista Nacional de Educación no. 54, (1945), pp. 11-30
documents relating to dynastic succession and the Crown’s rights, (i.e., for these two chambers to be his private archive). Nevertheless, the functions of the regal archive changed due to the proximity of the court, and the scribes and notaries worked in the service of the ruler. The palace and the premises of the archive in Aragon were eminently medieval in their formality.

[The Archive of the Crown of Aragon] is like a general burial of the princes and kings of Aragon, their successors, where their memories lie. Fray Francisco Diego, 1603.

This metaphor to the archive of the Crown of Aragon encompasses the function ascribed to early modern archives referring to ‘memory’. This was a recurrent theme during the period with respect to art objects, archives, architecture, and chronicles. It is symptomatic that the same concept is repeated in the reports concerning early modern archives; the importance that kings and intellectuals gave to the memory of their dynasty and their acts as a way to justify their actions morally and gain fame through posterity. Ultimately, the monarchs aimed for their dynasty and rule to endure throughout history like those of the ancient Roman and Greek rulers.

Unfortunately, no sixteenth-century features have survived in the two chambers that were used as archival repositories in the palace at Barcelona and there is nothing to compare with those at Simancas. However, elsewhere in Europe, the papal archive in Rome still retains some sixteenth-century furniture.

The location of archival repositories in princely palaces seems like a logical course of action, and on many occasions treasure was kept in the same «safe» chambers. During Charles V’s rule the fortress at Simancas temporarily housed some treasures; for example, in 1530 the Marquis of Cenete deposited his rents and later, in

---

74 There is evidence on the functions of the archive as an office, Archive of the Crown of Aragon (ACA):
- Inventory of the properties from King Jaime I to Jaime II 14th century. ACA. Col. Memoriales, núm. 6, fol. 65r.
- Registry book concerning borrowings and incoming documents, 1363-1630. ACA. Col. Memoriales, núm. 51, fols. 74v-75r.
- The first general inventory of the archive was ordered by Philip II (I of Aragon) and delivered between 1584 and 1590. It was used until the 19th century. ACA. Col. Memoriales, núm. 70/1.


75 In this text, the author intended to establish a metaphor between the royal burials and the archives, as both were recipients of the ‘essence’ of royalty; the burial as the last physical remains of the kings and the archive as the keeper of their memory. Fray Francisco Diego, año 1603, cited in the website of the Ministry of Culture Spain (www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/ACA/Expo Patronato/elogios.htm).

76 This embodied self-importance is still considered as one of the bases for the conservation of history that is represented in archival collections as a testament of humankind by UNESCO’s charters on archives.
1545 on the death of Mary of Portugal, her recamara was kept in the castle, together with the emperor’s, as well as some tents and weapons. The castle also housed the ransom money obtained for Francis I of France’s release.\textsuperscript{77} Elsewhere, the use of ‘safe’ chambers for treasury and archives was already widespread in the tenth and eleventh centuries in a number of northern Italian religious institutions with settled communities. Brenneke observes that archives were often housed, ‘in conjunction with the treasure of the church […] in specially protected parts of the churches: in the tower, in vaulted chambers, or the sacristy’.\textsuperscript{78} The use of towers, vaulted chambers and sacristies, the most sacred spaces in religious buildings, is very interesting.

In this study, I argue that the architecture of archival chambers seems to be a vernacular tradition dating back to the early medieval period (at least) and extending across many European kingdoms. This vernacular heritage can be called the architecture of the «treasure-archive». This building tradition developed in places where, in this case, ecclesiastical authority established a permanent centre. Thus, when secular rulers in the pre-early modern period made arrangements to store treasures and archives, many of them simply adopted almost identical architectural solutions (i.e., for the most part, vaulted chambers in towers). The traces of archival (treasure) architecture are very difficult to find, because most of these chambers did not survive and were not widely known or discussed in the documentation. This is the first time this lacuna has been identified and explored. The panorama improves later with the development of a number of grand ‘state’ archives. For instance, the grand archive at Simancas was developed by Philip II during the second half of the sixteenth century, while in the seventeenth century renovation work was undertaken on the archives in the Tower of London and for the new archival chambers in the Vatican palace complex adjacent to St. Peter’s.\textsuperscript{79} These developments were reflected in the architecture of the buildings that housed the collections.\textsuperscript{80} However, there is a way to establish an architectural ‘pattern’ that links practices in many European realms with the use of the few remaining structures as well as historical evidence.

Maximilian I of Habsburg (1459-1519) tried to assemble all the archival

\textsuperscript{77} Plaza Bores, \textit{Guía del Investigador}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{78} Brenneke, Archivistica, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{80} Simancas archive was reformed and substantially expanded from the 1560s and therefore modernised before most of contemporary archives. In this context, while the creation of Simancas archive in 1540 was behind the general practice when compared to other European realms, the fast evolution of Philip II’s administration and government affected the archival repository and its architecture, rapidly transforming the regal archive into a cutting edge institution to the service of the Universal Monarchy under Philip.
collections in a unified imperial archive. Ultimately, these collections, or at least part of them, were gathered at Innsbruck’s Kaiserliche Hofburg, namely at the imperial court.\textsuperscript{81} The palace underwent major rebuilding in the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{82} In 1512 Maximilian set up a commission, which included the humanist Cuspiniano, to study the possibility of assembling the imperial collection in a large purpose-built Briefgewölbe (a vaulted chamber for filing documents) in the castle in Vienna.\textsuperscript{83} The project remained unfulfilled until Ferdinand I (1503-1564) ordered the documents to be held in two places: the Tyrolean documentation at the treasury in Innsbruck called the Schatzarchiv (literally, the archive-treasure), and the Habsburg archives in the treasury room in the castle in Vienna.\textsuperscript{84} Maximilian I also had Schatzkammer (treasuries) in a castle in Wiener Neustadt and elsewhere, and these structures also served as archival repositories. Some of the archival collections on Austrian soil had been kept from the twelfth century in Neuburg convent, and two centuries later they were reported to be in Lilienfeld convent.\textsuperscript{85} It is known that this type of vaulted chamber (treasury) also housed important archival documents: having been ‘distributed as part of the hereditary divisions in 1379 and 1406-1411’, the ruler’s collection formed «extensive deposits» located in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Graz and Innsbruck.\textsuperscript{86}

The only known surviving image of one of these archive-treasuries under Maximilian I’s rule is the woodcut representing the emperor’s treasury in the celebrated print of the triumphal arch (Fig. 11). As was usual for depictions in this type of art, the image was accompanied by a text that complemented the intended message: namely that the emperor’s treasure of silver and gold was the grandest ever known, and had been accumulated for the greater glory of God.

The most interesting feature of this image for the purpose of this study is the architecture that frames the treasures and curiosities kept in the chamber: a vaulted room with a very small window (Fig. 11). The sober nature of the space resembles the room Charles V built for the first archive in Simancas, except for the decoration that embellish the treasures; there was no such décor in the case of the first Castilian archive. The German term Schatzkammer can be translated as ‘treasury’, ‘treasure chamber’ or ‘treasure vault’. The involvement of architectural features in the definition

\textsuperscript{82} Casanova, Archivistica, p. 353.
\textsuperscript{83} Brenneke, Archivistica, p. 188.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., p. 189.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., p. 187.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., p. 187.
of the concept is intriguing and links it inextricably to its etymological roots and to the idea of ‘safe’ chambers in towers with vaulted roofs. This is the architectural type closest to what we can imagine were the first archival chambers and royal treasury rooms. Another aspect in the print to take into consideration are the chests and coffers depicted, which certainly have a relation to those that still remain in Simancas, and possibly to the type of furniture developed to store them.

The Burgundian archival tradition in the Low Countries was also associated with castles. For instance, the County of Flanders had the archive in Rupelmonde castle and the Duchy of Brabant in the ducal castle of Vilvoorde, near Brussels.

Certain ecclesiastical archives in Franconia (the northern part of Bavaria) were more developed in the first decades of the sixteenth century than their lay counterparts. As mentioned earlier, some religious authorities used their archival repositories to guard their privileges and deeds, as well as their treasure, and they often kept the collections in castle-palaces. This was the case of the Bishopric of Würzburg, which was established in the fortress of Marienberg from the fifteenth century onwards. The sixteenth-century archivist, chronicler and diplomat Lorenz Fries (1489-1550) wrote several books on the history of the collections kept in Marienberg, and also arranged the archival collections. He also undertook diplomatic duties for the Holy Roman Imperial court of Charles V. The archival chambers were located in one of the towers of the castle and about five drawings from different

---

87 Interestingly, the literal translation of the Latin term **Thesaurus** in the English language is: treasure, treasury, storeroom, storehouse and dictionary. Of course, currently this same term is used in English to mean a dictionary/lexicon of synonyms.


89 Brenneke, *Archivistica*, pp. 155-156. The categorisation of this archival collection is equivalent to that of kings as religious authorities were also rulers.


The Vatican archive was housed in Castel Sant’Angelo, Rome, from at least the fifteenth century. Castel Sant’Angelo doubled as the Pope’s palace in times of unrest and during the building works in St. Peter’s complex. The treasury room in Castel Sant’Angelo was located in the one of highest chambers of the ancient mausoleum which was a monolithic structure with a spatial configuration similar to the towers used for archival purposes elsewhere. The room was also the place where the pope’s private archive was kept (Fig. 12). The chamber has a centralised floor plan and is located on the sixth level of the building, exactly at the epicentre of the edifice. Below it was the hall of justice, while the room above would later also form part of the Vatican archive. The castle was originally Hadrian’s mausoleum and it is believed that this room held the Roman emperor’s tomb.

In 1545, Pope Paul III Farnese (1534-1549) commissioned the fitting of walnut cabinets to house the documentary collections of the Archivum Arcis, thereby transforming the original circular space into a room that was polygonal. The security of the chamber was formidable, with two doors whose keys were kept only by the papal treasurer and the cardinal-deacon. While the documents were stored in wooden cabinets, the treasure stood in the centre of the room inside a large iron chest fastened with six locks whose respective keys were assigned to different people. The treasure room was virtually impregnable.

The Archivum Arcis chamber is connected to the library, which was developed during the same period by Pope Paul III Farnese. The walls of the library were frescoed by Luzio Luzi from Todi with a decorative

---

92 Archivschränk, Zeichnung im Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Mss. 43. The type of furniture assembled in this archive is consistent with permanent repository, where the collection had been established for a long time. In the case of Simancas the furniture of the first archival chambers was adapted to fit the chests used traditionally by the peripatetic court. In this sense, the form in which the papers were classified traditionally influenced the furnishing of the chambers and to a certain extent the architecture of the rooms.


96 The assignment of keys to the archive in the hands of different people was also a procedure similar to that used by the Austrias, see details in the subheading ‘Simancas and the Wider World’.

97 This room was used during the nineteenth century as a prison and there are still some signs that the prisoners left on the walls.
programme possibly inspired by the Hall of the Gilded Vault in Nero’s Domus Aurea (rediscovered in the late fifteenth century). The *Sala Rotonda* (Fig. 12) is exactly above the treasure room (*Archivum Arcis*). Access to the chamber is by a narrow staircase situated in the library. Traditionally believed to have been the first chapel devoted to the Archangel St. Michael in the castle, the *Sala* had numerous uses and was altered on several occasions. By the late sixteenth-century, it was incorporated in the expanded archive of Pope Clement VIII Aldobrandini (1592-1605). The treasurer in charge, Bartolomeo Cesi, refurbished the room, lining the walls with carved wooden cabinets. Like the original treasure chamber underneath, the *Sala Rotonda* included a «safe» which was guarded by numerous locks and a door reinforced with iron. The collection of papers kept in this upper room was called the *Archivio Vecchio*. The famous statue of the Archangel St. Michael stands on this same level, at the edge of the roof terrace. The castle-palace was at the same time both defensive in nature and residential. The location of the treasure and ruler’s private archive in the safest tower of a castle or fortified edifice was common to other courts in Europe.

The Torre do Tombo archive in Lisbon was located in one of the strongest bastions of the royal palace-castle of St. George. In 1583 Cristobal de Benavente began his report on the archive, addressed to King Philip I of Portugal (II of Spain), by stating:

> The *tombo* tower is a universal memorial that the Kings of this realm ordered in antiquity […]

Again the concept of ‘memory’ is associated with a ruler’s archive, this time encompassing the universality of the Portuguese Empire. This archive was created between 1373 and 1375, almost contemporaneous with its Aragonese peninsular counterpart and much earlier than the Castilian repository. King Ferdinand I of Portugal (1345-1383) was responsible for housing the collection of ancient royal manuscripts, together with his treasure, in one of the chambers in the Ulysses tower of the castle-palace. The location of the treasure and ruler’s private archive in the safest tower of a castle or fortified edifice was common to other courts in Europe.


Later in the eighteenth century the archival collection expanded to the adjacent *Sala delle Colonne*, where the *Archivio Nuovo* was located.

Biblioteca Nacional de España, (BNE), Mss 6743 fol. 266-10. Memorial das cousas tocantes a torre do tombo que fizo Licenciado Cristobal de Benavente escribano della pera su Mg. (copied from the original dated in 1583).

> A torre do tombo he hu memorial universal que os Rex deste Reino antiguamente ordenarom […]

---

99 Later in the eighteenth century the archival collection expanded to the adjacent *Sala delle Colonne*, where the *Archivio Nuovo* was located.
100 Biblioteca Nacional de España, (BNE), Mss 6743 fol. 266-10. Memorial das cousas tocantes a torre do tombo que fizo Licenciado Cristobal de Benavente escribano della pera su Mg. (copied from the original dated in 1583).

> A torre do tombo he hu memorial universal que os Rex deste Reino antiguamente ordenarom […]
St. George’s Castle in Lisbon (Fig. 13). The castle became the royal palace in the fourteenth century, under the rule of King Dinis (1261-1325) who adopted the former Islamic castle as his residence. João I (1358-1433) changed the name of the castle to St. George at the end of the century once peace had been established with Castile. The military function of the castle changed to residential over time. However, when King Manuel I the Fortunate, Philip II of Spain’s grandfather, built a new royal palace on the Terreiro do Paço in the Baixa on the Tagus riverfront, the archive remained in the Tombo tower. The tower was one of the strongest bastions, known as Albarranas. These monumental structures in general had a small chamber crowning the top, while the rest of the building was solid. However, once converted into an archive, the Tombo tower had two chambers, one underneath the other, as reported by the scribe Thomé Lopes in 1526. The structure may have been originally built like this or it could have been part of its adaptation as an archival repository. Unfortunately the few sources on the matter are not very explicit on the architectural details. However, the first archive building had two small chambers in the tower, like the Vatican and Simancas tower-archive. In Lisbon, these archival chambers were destroyed by the earthquake of 1755 and the present rooms are mere reconstructions. The original name given to this tower-archive was the Torre do Thesouro and in 1526, at least, the loose papers were kept in chests reinforced with iron, as described by Thomé Lopes.

Comparisons between these European archival chambers are multilayered, but a number of common features can be highlighted: for example, the mixed use of the same chambers for the treasury and archival collections, and the implementation of designs typical of the architectural strong room (i.e., a tower-archive). Interestingly, the chests in which the papers were delivered to Simancas were part of the first fitments, which were clearly adapted to this kind of archival ‘filing’ procedure (Fig. 14). These filing procedures changed over time in Simancas. Lisbon’s repository was destroyed in the natural disaster of the mid-eighteenth century, as were the fittings and furniture.

---

101 *Albarrana* is a type of tower extensively used in Al-Andalus, they could be slightly separated from the wall and only connected via a bridge. Sometimes as in the case of Ulysses tower in Lisbon, it was part of the defensive wall system. See the identification of this tower as an *Albarrana* in P. Azevedo and A. Baiao, *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo: sua História* (Lisboa, 1905), p. 5.


103 On the archival history of the National Archive of Tombo in Lisbon there are a few books mostly regarding the collections rather than the building. It is important to note that most of them avoid the period of Habsburg rule: M. Albuquerque, *A Torre do Tombo e os Seus Tesouros*, Lisboa, 1990; Azevedo and Baiao, *Arquivo*, Pessanha, *A Torre*. There are more publications but those are some of the most interesting.

104 Azevedo and Baiao, *Arquivo*, p. 6 and 9.

105 This is also in the case of the cubicula of Charles V and Philip II. Figs. 9-10 & Fig. 15.

However, the room for sixteenth-century exhibits in Lisbon’s *Museo da Cidade* contains two iron chests in which the local authorities kept their cash and papers; these are very similar to those used by the local authorities in Madrid in the *Archivo de la Villa*. The form of these chests, arks or strong-boxes is then conceptually ‘mimicked’ in archive architecture through the use of designs resembling larger reinforced chests or strong rooms. In this sense, a strong-box and a strong room, the latter being an architectural space, are governed by similar intentions: safety, impregnability and purpose-built strength.

There was a proliferation of royal and state archives from the fourteenth century to the late fifteenth century across Europe. Another example is the Venetian archive, which was created in 1402 and located in the Doge’s Palace until the eighteenth century, although the spatial configuration was different.\(^{107}\) The case of the Vatican and Lisbon are almost equivalent, and although the first archival deposits in Simancas resembled these two examples, the major difference is that the Spanish monarchs never inhabited the fortress in Castile. Charles V never visited the building at all (or at least it not which has been documented); while, Philip II visited both Simancas and Lisbon at the end of the sixteenth century.\(^{108}\)

The association of treasure and royal archives located in vaulted chambers, mainly in towers, appears to be a common pattern in different realms by the beginning of the sixteenth century. The concept of a specific ‘treasure-archive’ architecture can be used to describe this type of vernacular architecture, the roots of which can probably be traced back to the Middle Ages.\(^{109}\) Crucially, the indispensable pre-requisite was to have a vaulted chamber in a secure place; as was mentioned earlier, since the early Middle Ages some conventual archives had also been housed with the treasure in the sacristy, the most ‘sacred’ and the safest part of a Christian church.

Other examples can be cited to indicate the extent of this practice across Europe. In Dublin, the rulers kept their archive together with their treasure in Bermingham


\(^{109}\) The archival practices and the architecture in the ancient ‘civilisations’ were in general more sophisticated than the models analysed in this study. If any connection could be established with these ancient archival traditions it is possibly only after the expansion of the archival practice in European realms from the 1570s and thereafter. Still the most important study on the ancient archives is E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World*, (Cambridge, MA., 1972).
tower in the city castle from the fifteenth century, and although part of the collection was moved elsewhere in the seventeenth century it remained for the greater part assembled there until the twentieth century.\footnote{Brenneke, Archivistica, p. 270.} The Scottish royal archives were stored in the treasury chamber of Edinburgh castle from 1282; this collection brought together the diverse documentation that secured the rights to the crown. The archive was transferred to London at the end of the century, and it was only recovered partially in the fourteenth century. Holyrood Abbey in Edinburgh housed the old registry for the chancery archives from the fourteenth century. After a fire in 1544 they were transferred to Edinburgh castle until the English conquest in 1650.\footnote{Brenneke, Archivistica, p. 270.} The English royal records were conserved in different locations during the Middle Ages, including Westminster Abbey, Chancery Lane and the Tower of London.\footnote{Ibid., p. 267.} From the end of the thirteenth century, the Tower of London became a substantial repository of documentation, apparently deposited alternately in the White Tower and the Wakefield Tower. The chamber in the latter tower was adapted to archival needs in the early seventeenth century. The refurbishing of the two chambers in Wakefield Tower was carried out to the highest standards, as at Simancas in the previous century.\footnote{Impey and Parnell, The Tower of London, p. 87. For detailed information on the role of the White tower see: E. Impey, The White Tower (New Haven and London, 2008)} In Germany, the archival collection of the Duchy of Wolfenbüttel was also kept in the castle from the fifteenth century,\footnote{Impey and Parnell, The Tower of London, pp. 87-89.} and similarly the documentary collection of Schauenburg was conserved in one of the castle’s towers.\footnote{Brenneke, Archivistica, p. 382.} Some municipal archives seem to have followed similar patterns: for example, the chambers for the city archives of Cologne were located in the communal tower of the municipal palace from the fifteenth century.\footnote{Ibid., p. 412.}

The scant information available concerning these forgotten chambers demonstrates how little attention this type of architecture has attracted in the past. In spite of the fragmentary information on these archival chambers, an architectural vernacular tradition is discernible in the European context. The connections of these archives to the first two chambers at Simancas are manifest in examples from across Europe, especially with those in Austria.

The principal preoccupation that this type of architecture had to address was the security of the contents. The association with the treasury highlights the critical role
played by these legal documents in securing the ruler’s dynasty. In the fifteenth century the Castilian crown treasury was housed in a tower in the Alcázar in Segovia.\textsuperscript{117} The definition of treasury encompassed not only gold and silver coins and other artefacts, but also jewellery, tapestries, books and valuable manuscripts. Inventories are an extraordinary source of information on the quality and importance attributed to these treasured items.\textsuperscript{118} In the Middle Ages, religious institutions also inventoried books and manuscripts along with silver and gold in the form of liturgical items among their treasured objects. An example is the documented book collection in Zamora’s cathedral in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{119}

A similar architectural solution was used when the royal archives were separated permanently from the rest of the treasury. There are other earlier peninsular examples in which the treasury was housed in a ‘safe’ chamber in a tower, such as the treasure room at Santiago de Compostela. The treasury in Santiago’s cathedral had been kept in the chapter room above the mausoleum of archbishops since the mid-thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, however, because of disputes between the local authorities and the cathedral, a new tower was built in the cloister to house a safe room for the treasury, the library and a new chapter room.\textsuperscript{120}

The location of the collection in the strongest bastion was a guarantee of impregnability. This was essential since the archival collections conserved in these chambers served to legitimise a ruler’s prerogatives over realms and vassals. Not surprisingly, this architectural solution was also used in the first archival chambers in Simancas. In the first expansion of the archive under Philip II in the 1560s, it was a natural step to use the other chamber available in the tower. The architectural tradition for the building of archival chambers inherited from treasury rooms had another important element of security: a vaulted chamber constructed in stone helped to guard against fire. In this respect it seems logical that the most important chambers in the Simancas archive, even those finished at the close of the sixteenth century, were

\textsuperscript{118} See the three-volume edition of the inventories of Charles V and the Imperial family: F. Checa Cremades (dir.) \textit{Los Inventarios de Carlos V y la Familia Imperial} (Madrid, 2010). For instance, the inventory of Margaret of Austria’s cabinet and library of 1524 is highly interesting, see p. 2479 onwards.
vaulted in stone, as Philip II specifically demanded.121 These chambers were the ones that housed the Patronazgo Real collections: the first two chambers in what was known as the Tower of Obras y Bosques (see Figs. 7-8 & 10,15), while others were the product of Francisco de Mora’s intervention from 1588 onwards. In a missive to the archivist Diego de Ayala, Mora stated that it was the king’s desire to continue the expansion of the space dedicated to Patronazgo Real in the Bishop’s Tower and adjacent chambers; these rooms had to be vaulted and the design richly adorned.122 Philip’s interest in having Patronazgo Real in these chambers was also ratified in the Instructions of 1588 for Simancas:

4. Patronazgo in the cubo
The [...] original deeds concerning our state and royal patrimony and our patronazgo: we wish [and it is our will that] they remain in the cubo of the fortress, where they are at present, [...] because this will be spacious and convenient enough and very safe from fire, which is the principal [issue] to attend to [...]123

The text does not specify which chamber (cubo) Philip II was referring to. However, if the room was already built in 1588, the only one it could possibly be was the chamber known as Philip II’s cubo, finished in 1567. The text is self-explanatory: the security of the collections against fire was the main concern and the architecture of the cubicles reflected this requirement. These safer chambers in Simancas were reserved, however, only for the king’s documentation, with the rest housed in the rooms designed by Juan de Herrera, which had a lighter roof system built with bricks and strong wood beams (known as bovedillas).

This typological solution for archival chambers is not limited only to the late medieval or the dawn of the early modern period. For instance, the archive-tower option was also adopted in the archive at the Portuguese colony of Goa, created under Philip II’s order in February 1595.124

121 AGS, Secretaría, Leg. 7-379. ‘Francisco de Mora to Diego de Ayala concerning the works in Simancas Archive, 1588’.
122 As above: AGS, Secretaría, Leg. 7-379.
123 Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p.102.
124 The real provisión given by Philip II (of Spain and I of Portugal) in 1595 was formally accepted by Philip III (of Spain and II of Portugal) in 1602, ordering the creation of a Torre do Tombo in Goa under the responsibility of Diogo do Couto. Nonetheless, Philip II, in a letter to Francisco de Gama in February 1597, stated that the viceroy had located the archives in chambers in the
2.1.4. Philip II’s Cubiculum: Completing the Tower of the Archive at Simancas, 1559-1568.

Philip as a young prince was actively involved in the affairs of government, and there is evidence to indicate that he contributed to assembling the royal documents for the Simancas repository initiated by his father:

Prince Philip Valladolid, August 1545,
Heirs of Pedro Ximenez who was secretary to our lords the Catholic Monarchs, rest in peace, and lived in the city of Burgos. The Emperor and King my Lord realised that there was not [enough] care and diligence in the conservation of the deeds concerning his patrimony and that of the royal crown […] and [as the Emperor] wanted to remedy [this] He ordered from now on [there be] an archive in the fortress of Simancas and to gather all the archives together […] because it is my wish that all deeds that remained in the possession of this secretary Pedro Ximenez concerning his duties as secretary are given to the Corregidor of this city […] so [he] will send them to the graduate Catalan that is in charge of said archive so [he] can put them in the presence of commander Joan Mosquera de Molina current lieutenant governor of said fortress of Simancas […]

The text reveals the role of the secretaries of the kings, who guarded important documents, and the Corregidores, who represented the king’s interests in the towns and cities of Castile. Finally, there is a clear reference to the person in charge of the archive, Antonio Catalán. He had responsibility (witnessed only by the fortress’ governor) for depositing the papers. The procedure demanded by the prince became almost ceremonial, mimicked elsewhere under Habsburg rule, in which the opening of the chamber of the archive and the depositing of papers followed strict norms, with witnesses and a detailed course of action. This indicates a secured modus operandi imposed by the prince, who was acutely aware of the importance of the treasured

---

fortress of Goa, that they were finished in 1596, and Diogo do Couto was already in charge of the collection. E. Ennes, A Secção Ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional: Inventários (Lisboa, B.N., 1928), pp. 42-44; 237 and 257. Some information is also published in C. Veiga Marquesa, A Herança Filipina em Portugal (Lisboa, 2005), pp. 70-71.

125 AGS P.R. Libros copias 7 Fol. 107
Príncipe Philip Valladolid Agosto 1545:
Herederos de Pedro Ximenez secretario que fue de los señores reyes católicos que ayan Gloria que vibis en la ciudad de Burgos el emperador e rey mi señor haviendo entendido que en la guarda de las scripturas tocantes a su patrimonio y corona real en estos reynos no se ha tenido el cuydado e deligencia de que se han seguido […] e inconvenientes y e querido prover en el remedio dello para adelante a mandado haber un archivno en la fortaleza de simancas y buscando todas las escritura de esta calidad que estuvieren
En quales quiere partes destos reynos se recojan alli porque mia voluntad es que todas las escriputuras que quedaron del dicho secretario pero ximenez que estuvieren en otro poder tocantes al dicho ofício de secretario las entregues originalmente al corregidor de esta ciudad (...) para que las embие al licenciado Catalan que tiene cargo de dicho archivo para que las ponga en presencia del comendador Joan Mosquera de Molina theniente alcayde que al presente de la dicha fortaleza de Simancas [...]
records guarded in the chamber. This procedure was not new; on the designation of Antonio Catalan as the first person to take charge of the archive in 1545, Charles V commanded that both Catalan and the fortress governor should have copies of the keys of the archive, and that both had to witness any opening, addition to, or loan of the archival documentation. Covarrubias’ definition of archivist was: ‘Archivists [are those] who have the keys to the archives’. Antonio Catalan was in charge of the archive for only two years, although during this period there was a continuation in the project of assembling papers. After Catalan’s demise, the graduate Diego Briviesca de Muñatones was designated ‘guardian and keeper of the archive of the crown and regal patronate’s deeds’. This designation was only honorary, as his brother Graciano Briviesca was the acting keeper of the archive in Simancas. The archive did not really have an official archivist until the appointment of Sanci and Diego de Ayala in May 1561, just one month before Philip II moved to Madrid. Sanci died the next year and from approximately 1563 Ayala became the sole archivist to the king in Simancas Castle.

Diego de Ayala started his tenure by arranging the documentation, which he had found extremely disorganised. He began the first systematic inventories, and regularly reported his progress with these to his king, who seems to have been very pleased. He also encouraged the collection of more deeds and other material useful to the Castilian monarch. During this early period he also refurbished and adapted the chamber of Charles V, and oversaw the completion of the second chamber, known as Philip II’s cubo (cubiculum or chamber). Ayala referred to these premises as the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ archives. The upper cubo, or Charles V’s chamber, received in 1567 a small corridor with a balustrade, while the lower room was completely adapted for its new purposes.

The cubicle is centralised in conformity with the tower’s circular floor plan, although the fittings make the central space octagonal (Fig. 15). In the new design, a small space was carved in the tower wall towards the window to enlarge the chamber and to accommodate the metal safes, as well as enhancing the luminosity within.

---

126 AGS, Estado Leg. 21 fol 194, also cited in Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 27.
127 S. Covarrubias Orozco, Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, Imprenta de Luis Sanchez Impressor del Rey (Madrid, 1611), p. 83.
128 There are missives and Cedulas signed by Prince Philip in the name of his father asking for documentation from the rest of the secretaries and othernobles, and also to other temporary repositories, such as the Chancellery in Valladolid or the Monastery of San Benito, also in Valladolid. Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 28.
129 Ibid., p. 29.
130 Ibid., p. 30.
131 See cited publications by José Luis Rodríguez de Diego analysing Diego de Ayala’s critical role in Simancas.
The new room was built between 1565 and 1568. The second level of cabinets had new arks (chests), three in pine and seven in chestnut, all lined in red, blue and black velvet.\(^{132}\) The chests were embellished with coloured arms and labelled to indicate the manuscripts they contained.\(^{133}\) Some of these chests can still be identified among the few remaining at the Simancas archive because of the velvet.

This red velvet linen ark responds to the descriptions outlined in the archival evidence (Fig. 16).\(^{134}\) The elaborated metal work of the lock has similarities to those used in the wooden cabinets of Philip II’s chamber (Fig. 15). The missives between Ayala and the monarch confirm that small coats of arms were sent from Madrid. Philip II’s coat of arms, with the Chain of the Golden Fleece on the left is an addition to the chest and is most probably one of those sent from Madrid. A similar tag on the right side has disappeared but was probably the label indicating the documents contained in the chest.

Access to the compact space is through a wooden door with a strong lock, decorated with Philip II’s Iberian Arms, crowned and encircled by the Chain of the Golden Fleece. The space is secluded and the subtle decorative programme is still profuse if compared to the former emperor’s chamber. The cubiculum is slightly smaller than his father’s chamber, limited as it is by the original thick tower walls. Although the walls of the chamber were carved on to enlarge the chamber, the space is still compact (Fig. 18). The décor of the cabinets is austere. The metal bolts were gilded in this period, and their delicate design elegantly displays a political agenda by including the golden crowns. This marks a significant change compared to the former chamber in which the relationship between safe chamber and the notion of its representation is completely transformed in Philip’s cubicle. Two special closets, which were set into the walls and sealed with metal doors to form small strong rooms, displayed more refined materials and decorations than the rest; the ornamentation of the safe doors has been attributed to Berruguete’s workshop.\(^{135}\) However, there is evidence of the involvement of other artists in this project, all of them from Valladolid with the exception of Cristiano, who painted the canvases with the coats of arms of Charles and Philip in Madrid. These artists included Alonso del Barco, who made the metal doors that were later embellished by Gaspar de Valencia with grotesque ornamentation. Valencia also painted the coat of arms on the door. Alonso Esteban gilded the locks of the cabinets in

\(^{132}\) A few of those original chests are still conserved in Simancas archive.
\(^{133}\) AGS. Secretaría Leg. 6, fol. 2 no.1 also cited in Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 33. In addition there is an architectural description of the room in Pírez Fernández, Casa Archivo, pp. 15-20.
\(^{134}\) As above AGS. Secretaría Leg. 6, fol. 2 no.1.
gold and silver, while those for the new chests and their keys were gilded by Francisco de Palencia and Diego Ribín. Finally, Rodrigo de Daques and Juan de Albuquerque built the corridor giving access to the shelves on the second level.\textsuperscript{136}

The room was adapted to the reduced space within the tower; a false vault tops the centralised octagonal plan (Fig. 15). This woodwork, acts as a false ceiling supporting the balcony of the second level of cabinets (Figs. 19 & 15). The wooden cabinets were tailor-made for the documents; for instance, a ladder was fitted in one of the side cupboards to allow access to the second level. The room was designed specifically for archival purposes, and it includes features such as air ventilation holes to protect the documents from the humidity of the walls, and the use of lime plaster on the perimeter walls to keep the papers dry (Fig. 15). The small strong rooms or closets are identical, located on opposite sides of the only window, in a small space carved out from the original tower wall (Fig. 15 no. 4). They are treated with the decorum of a religious altar on which the most sacred and precious treasure was kept. On top of one of the cabinets, a framed oil painting on canvas depicts Philip II’s arms as they were in 1567, sent from the court of Madrid. The shield is crowned and surrounded by the Chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which both Philip II and Charles V were grand masters. The legend reads ‘PHILIPPI SECVDNDI HISPA. REGIS’, (Philip II King of Spain). The other closet used to be embellished with a canvas showing Charles V’s coat of arms, but it was stolen during the Napoleonic Wars.\textsuperscript{137} The small space beside the window was adapted also for the reading and consultation of papers.

2.7. Simulacra, Archetype, and Eclecticism in Philip II’s Cubicle.

The cubicle combines woodwork of excellent execution with apparently unfinished ornamentation on the walls, particularly framing the closets with metal doors. The correspondence concerning the decoration of the entrance door to the archive is revealing:

\textsuperscript{[Archivist description:] The door [which is the] principal entrance [gate] to the archive is [located] at the end of the […] corridor [on the second story] on the right hand side, adjacent to the patio of the fortress. […] [Beside] this door to the archive, there was another door painted [and adorned] with yesería which simulates [an exact copy of the real one] […] The colours for the arms [are] the same [selection] as those in the small arms sent by your highness and the rest of the paintings are water based black and white. On the right hand side of this [entrance a representation of] the Faith for your Catholic majesty and on the left hand side [a representation] of the Fame of your kingdoms […]

\textsuperscript{136} AGS Secretaría leg. 6 fol. 2, ‘Archive expenses between 1564 and 1568’. Cited previously in Plaza Bores, Guía, p.33
\textsuperscript{137} Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 68.
[King Philip II’s handwriting:] It is my wish that the interior [décor] is completed but not the exterior [decorative programme], because the latter could be dismantled [missing].

When this description was written in 1567 the archive was comprised of these two chambers alone. During the expansion and renovation of the archive over the next decades, and the inclusion of a new stair leading to this room from the ground floor, which was designed by Juan de Herrera in the 1570s, what was built of this portico was possibly dismantled. The letter quoted above had a longer description of the chamber. One of the features described confirms that this gate is now lost: ‘wrought wooden-gate for the protection of the painting, and [the protection] of the archive’. This is non-existent in the current structures. Another consideration is that this gate would have closed access to both chambers. Finally, the measurements given do not compare with the current door of access to Philip II’s cubo. For an example, only the frieze atop this gate was of four and one third Castilian vara, which would be approximately four metres. There are certainly no remains of a gate as such now.

---

138 AGS Archivillo 5 (1) fol. 5.16 ‘Memoria con la traça dela entrada del archivo con las medidas, enviada al Zayas en Agosto de 1567’. (‘Memorandum concerning the access to the archive including measurements, from Diego de Ayala to Zayas, August, 1567’).

139 Juan de Herrera designed the project for the expansion of the archive in the decade of the 1570s, while the drawings have not survived there are a few letters with extensive explanations on the scope of the project. These are studied in subsequent subheadings of this chapter.

140 AGS Secretaría 5-1 fol. 21. ‘Letter from Diego de Ayala to Zayas, 1567’. The underlining is my own addition to the quoted text.
The letter referred to above described more features within the chamber in addition to the new door, including the coats of arms decorating the chests and the canvases of the arms, both received from Madrid. It also noted how part of the interior ornamentation of the chamber consisted of ‘black and white’ (water-based) painted decoration on the small lime-plastered vaults. These painted decorations form part of those that seem «unfinished» and of a much lower quality compared to the woodwork.

it primum fabricatum est, vt exemplar reliquis fit [...] ex qua exprimuntur simulacra.  

The missive also describes two figures which were designed to flank the ‘two doors’: the real one and the feigned door replicated beside the latter with painted plaster. In the original plan, which was presumably designed under the auspices of Diego de Ayala in collaboration with the local artists, the ornamentation of the archive was highly elaborate. Philip II’s reaction to this art programme is invaluable for an insight into his artistic and architectural preferences for the archive. Likewise, the correspondence highlights his close involvement in these works. Philip’s wish was to dismantle the ‘architectural delusion’ of the paired simulated door. The king also apparently wished for the painted figures flanking this artifice (Faith and Fame) to be excluded. The ruler only wanted his arms gilded with gold and silver to decorate the gate.

On the other hand, Philip’s opinions on the ornamental details of the interior remain mere speculations. However, during these same years the archive of architectural drawings for the Cubo de las Trazas being built in the Alcázar in Madrid (Fig. 20), with frescoes by Gaspar de Becerra and architectural design by Juan Bautista de Toledo is informative. This chamber was also built in a tower. In a missive to Becerra, Philip II expressed his concerns regarding the quality of the work that the artist’s assistants were capable of delivering, particularly with regard to the grotesque decorations.  

con oro y plata y pues su m fue servido que no se pussiesen las figuras a los lados de las armas y que dan aquellos espacios en blanco ally dexo cuan poner algunos cartuchos con letras y otras cosas mande v m que se me embien los escudicos para los cofres como se fueren acabando, y que venga el dinero/q ya me falta/ con el correo […] hacer yventarios e enviar a su m.  

Covarrubias, Tesoro, p. 84. Concerning the definition of archetype, (the model in which the copy or simulacra is replicated).

142 The architectural designs were delivered between 1562 and 1563, and the construction continued during this decade. For a complete study, including the plans for the chamber, see Barbeito, Alcázar, pp. 42-48. See also for works on the Alcázar in Madrid, V. Gerard Powell, De Castillo a Palacio. El Alcázar de Madrid en el Siglo XVI (Bilbao, 1984). F. Checa Cremades (ed), El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos Siglos de Arquitectura y Coleccionismo en la Corte de los Reyes de España (Madrid, 1994).
may point to the way he viewed the decorative programme in Simancas’s chamber. Philip II disregarded any new pompous artistic features at Madrid. In addition, the king himself corrected the drawings from Bautista de Toledo’s designs for this room in the Alcázar. Not surprisingly, the monarch also intervened in Simancas.

In Simancas, the doors of the two small metallic strongrooms were painted with grotesques, and although the colouration has faded now, one can still perceive the delicate figures in an Italianised Plateresque (Fig. 15).[143] The use of lime-based plasterwork was a traditional feature in the Iberian Peninsula, used in both the Mudéjar—in decline in sixteenth-century Castile— and Plateresque styles. In Valladolid, according to Gómez Renau, most of the carpenters and alarifes[144] working in the city from the fifteenth to sixteenth century were from mudéjar and morisco family-based guilds, including those on the reconstruction of the city centre after the devastating fire of 1561. [145] Although the list of artists in her study do not include those names documented in Simancas, her conclusions help to explain the blended traditions in the artistic design for Philip’s chamber.

The works in the Reales Sitios were well underway by this time, and Philip II’s particular preferences in architecture and art were being defined.[146] Therefore, it was natural for him not to be completely satisfied with a decorative programme for the doorway featuring eclectic features such as the traditional yeserías or the addition of the feigned door to mirror the real one. In the interior, in spite of its heterogeneous décor,

[143] The term Plateresque is problematic as it compiles many diverse tendencies in art and ornamentation that combined Italianised influences and local traditions in the Iberian Peninsula, see an interesting argument in V. M. Nieto Alcaide, F. Checa Cremades, A.J. Morales, Arquitectura del Renacimiento en España, 1488-1599 (Madrid, 1989), pp. 58-61.

[144] Alarife means mason or master mason, depending on the context.

[145] See especially her article M.M. Gomez Renau, ‘Alarifes Musulmanes en Valladolid,’ Al-Andalus Magreb: Estudios árabes e islámicos, No 4 (1996), pp. 223-238. In this paper, she listed the families and guilds after an exhaustive study in the archives in Valladolid; she has other publications concerning the permanence and influence of the mudejar and moriscos in Valladolid, such as: M.M. Gomez Renau, ‘Vestigios arqueológicos y epigráficos árabes en el monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas,’ Qurtuba: Estudios andalusíes, No 6 (2001), pp. 51-57.

[146] On Philip II and his architectural and art preferences, there exists a dilated and expanding bibliography, cited here are only some of the monographs relevant to this note: F. Checa Cremades, Felipe II: Mocenas de las Artes (Madrid, 1992). J.J. Rivera Blanco, Juan Bautista de Toledo y Felipe II: la Implantación del Clasicismo en España (Valladolid, 1984). R. Mulcahy, Philip II of Spain. Patron of the Arts (Dublin, 2004). C. Wilkinson-Zerner, Juan de Herrera. Architect to Philip II of Spain (New Haven and London, 1993). Regarding this publication as I mentioned on chapter 1 of this thesis I will be using the equal Spanish version as it is the copy I own: Zerner-Wilkinson, Juan de Herrera: Arquitecto de Felipe II, (Madrid, 1996). In general I have given preference to the English versions of any publication edited in more than one language, except for cases in which I own another version. I had no preference for books in Spanish language over English but in this case, likewise Jesús Escobar’s monograph on Plaza Mayor in Madrid, they were publications still on sale in Spanish, which their earlier versions on English were more difficult to acquire.
this chamber has a harmonic feeling, possibly enhanced by the perfect proportions of
the false coffered ceiling. Inside the cubicle, the refined and understated opulence of
the decoration acted as an alter ego of the contents, the archival documentation, whose
sober exterior disguised the value of the objects stored within.

Therefore, the mere functionality perceived in the forms of Charles V’s
chamber was completely transformed in the conception of the new archival chamber.
Compared to the functional architecture and sturdy fittings of the earlier chamber,
Philip’s archival cubiculum is like a precious, delicate box in which to safeguard
treasures.

The octagonal form of the woodwork acting as a false ceiling for the upper level
cabinets is magnificent. This type of work may have its roots in the traditional coffered
ceilings for octagonal and circular chambers built in the region (Figs. 19-15). The
decoration is refined with gilded embellishments on the vegetal motifs carved in the
intersections created for the crossing beams. Eight grooved wooden pillars with
classical capitals support the ceiling.

In the context of Renaissance humanist thought, perfect geometry had ‘divine’
connotations; a perfect cube in geometry had a corresponding sequence of non-
negative perfect cubes: 0, 1, 8, and so on. There are eight sides in an octagon, while the
volumetric form is an octahedron or Stella octangula and its conjugate polyhedron is a
cube. The octahedron’s line of symmetry adds up to a total of 72: 2x(3x4+6x2+4x3). The
numbers reflected in the cube’s sequence and then in the line of symmetry of the
octahedron are discernible in the false ceiling of the cubicle, through the repetition of
eight, six, twelve and so on.

The fact that the artists involved accomplished such ‘perfection’ was most
probably unintended and merely based on learned traditions passed down by the local
guilds. But this is not to say that it did not carry significance to the trained eye. At a
more pragmatic level, this was a suitable solution for this compact space, and it
provided the required functionality for the archival collections. There is no

147 The Elements by Euclid and the notion of the Golden Ratio in geometry were fundamental for
architectural development in Western Europe (and indeed beyond). The treatise was translated
and copied several times through the centuries and reinterpreted by authors such as Luca
Pacioli (1445-1517), who interpreted the golden ratio as the divine proportion in his De Divina
Proportione (Venice, 1509). As discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis, subheading entitled: 1.1.
Architecture and King Philip II. King Philip II was cultivated on mathematics, geometry and
architecture, and his interest grew during his life. See V. M. Nieto Alcaide, F. Checa Cremades,
A.J. Morales, Arquitectura del Renacimiento, p. 254. The ruler owned a large compendium of
geometrical and philosophical treatises which reaffirms his knowledge of not only on
architectural matters but also on the ‘divine’ connotations of certain numbers and geometrical
forms. However, this room in Simancas seems not to have been designed by the monarch, as he
did not agree with all the ornamentation.
documentary evidence to support any link between the purpose of the chamber, and the knowledge of the team that was presumably involved in its design and construction, and the structure of this ceiling, and theories on the golden ratio and divine proportions.\(^{148}\) The only connections can be found in the wider theoretical art concerns of the period, but these alone do not justify such a precise intention in this room. One can speculate that the artistic programme possibly conformed to the initial design of the archivist Diego de Ayala, perhaps in combination with the artists involved in the works, since the cabinets are tailored, with extreme care, to meet archival needs. Almost nothing is known about these artists, except that most of them were from the nearby city of Valladolid.\(^{149}\)

Nonetheless, the chamber seems to have been built with an almost semi-sacred intention, and the artistic programme had evolved considerably when compared with Charles V’s cubicle.

### 2.1.5. Simancas Archive and the Wider World.

In the European context archival practice during the early sixteenth century tends to unite the symbolic idea of a vaulted room with a tower of some kind in order to protect the Crown’s treasury and documentation.\(^ {150}\) The tower customised in the Castel Sant’Angelo had two rooms and the Tombo in Lisbon too, enshrines this idea, and also the other realms referred to in Europe. With this in mind, was the use of archives as universal as the Spanish monarchy during sixteenth century? Moreover, what was the source of the inspiration for the Simancas archive in 1540? There are numerous possibilities. However, in 1530 Emperor Charles spent a complete month—from 4 May

---

\(^{148}\) Except for the extended theoretical art preoccupations of the period, which in themselves do not justify such intentions in this particular room.

\(^{149}\) AGS Secretaría leg. 6 fol. 2, ‘Archive expenses between 1564 and 1568’. Cited previously in Plaza Bores, Guía, p.33

\(^{150}\) Leonor Zozaya Montes has argued recently the inadequacy of mixing the ideas of both the treasury and archive, at least in the case of the Archivo de la Villa in Madrid, as this was possibly influenced by the nineteenth-century historiography. She demonstrated how this was certainly true of Madrid’s Archivo de la Villa, where the arcas that kept the archives were never related to the treasury. See her thesis: El Archivo de la Villa de Madrid en la Alta Edad Moderna, (1556-1606), Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Unpublished thesis (2008), pp. 42-44. However, in this investigation historical and architectural evidence manifest an alternative explanation for the relation between treasury and archive: in many cases both shared an architectural space as the personal papers and manuscripts formed part of the regal treasures in the Middle Ages. Later, with the definitive separation between archival collections and the rest of the ‘treasures’, the use of a suitable architectural solution was perpetuated, named here the architecture of the archive-treasure, as it complied with the safety necessary to protect the valuable contents.
to 5 June—in Innsbruck, presumably in the royal palace.151 The efficiency of the archive and its utility at that location may have left an impression. The oldest archival boxes in Simancas seem to have been Germanic in style and may have arrived with the emperor’s papers.152 Charles’s wife, the Empress Isabella of Portugal, lived in her father Manuel I’s court in Lisbon, where the king’s archive was already functioning perfectly in the old royal residence in the castle. Charles also visited Rome, and although it is unlikely that he was invited to visit the papal treasure room, he may have known about it.

Francisco de Cobos and other secretaries may have had an input in these matters too, and it has been suggested that Cobos had a role in selecting the fortress in Castile.153 On 15 April of 1540, Charles V, with Granvelle, ordered the distribution of cédulas and provisiones to the cities, towns, and settlements on American soil. This law not only specified the way the regulations from Castile were to be ‘read’ and acknowledged, but also called for them explicitly to be kept in archives.154 This regulation was delivered just over a month before the construction of Simancas was ordered on 26 May 1540. Thereby, the archival practice of this period in the lands of the Habsburgs is pointing towards a network of archives and an empire ruled by a ‘web of papers’.155

152 Pérez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 10.
153 The private archives of kings and the pontiff were frequently named secret (secreto/segreto); etymologically this comes from the Latin secretum, and the word secretary has its genesis in a derivation of secretum (i.e., secretarium). The involvement of the secretaries of the rulers in the advice and decision-making concerning the private archives of the monarch was implicit in their role. More importantly during the rule of the later Emperor Charles V, as it is demonstrated how Philip II reviewed closely almost every negocio in his global empire, and indeed those concerning the regal archive.
154 Laws of the Indies, Book II, Title I Law no. 3. In Madrid 15 April 1541.
155 The only researcher that has so far introduced the idea of a network of archives is José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, with reference to the rule of Philip II, in Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, pp. 43-53. It is expected that the forthcoming book by Prof. Randolph C. Head on archival practice and information retrieval in early modern Europe will shed new light on this understudied topic. In this context, this is so far the first study that looks specifically at the architecture of archives and at the phenomenon and idea of ruling an empire through a ‘web of papers’. That is, in a wider spectrum, linking the Castilian practice with the European tradition and similar regulations in the American territories. Ultimately, setting a precedent with the analysis of Charles V’s period as a catalyst to the expansion and development of the administration and archives during the last three decades of Philip II’s rule. Other authors provide information about archives under Philip II’s rule in different locations; for example, Thomas Dandelet referred to the symbolic authority that Philip II’s archive embodied in Rome, see Dandelet, Spanish Rome, pp. 57-58. With regard to the existence of a functioning archive in Naples during Philip II’s reign see S. de Cabi, Architecture and the Royal Presence: Domenico and Giulio Fontana in Spanish Naples (1592-1627) (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009), pp. 421-425.
In architectural terms, Charles perhaps implemented a practice already in use in other realms in the Iberian Peninsula: the Aragonese and Portuguese examples, or the imperial archive in Innsbruck. The last named seems to be an opportunistic model for Charles as the archive aimed to collate documents pertaining to the Holy Roman Empire, which was a composite monarchy, like the Spanish ‘confederation’ of realms. Although the archive in Simancas was that of the Crown of Castile, in the end Castile was a global monarchy. In any case, a month after Charles resided in Innsbruck, he continued with the regulation of the law and with the archives in the American viceroyalties:

We order and command to the Cabildos and Regimientos that the Cities and Towns, have to collect every cédula and Provision by the our King’s predecessors and given to us for the benefit and privilege of your Communities, and the rest of the convenient deeds, and papers, and once an inventory of them is made, to put them in an Archive, or ark […] of three keys, that one [key] in possession of the regular Major [Alcalde Ordinario] for the year that has to serve their occupation: another one in the possession of one Regidor: and the other one of the Scribe of the city council or town council where they would be in good form, and one inventory will be outside the Archive, so it can easily be known what it contains; and not finding in the Provinces the Provisions, Cédulas, Ordinances or Instructions, to be requested to the Presidents and Oidores of the district Audiencias, which send copies of them authorised […] The Emperor Charles V and the Queen in Valladolid 24 July 1530. The Emperor Charles V and the Prince C. in his name in Valladolid 1 September of 1548.

156 The archive of the crown of Castile in Simancas is crucial for an understanding of Philip II’s reign not only because of the collections but also concerning the nature of the Universal Monarchy. Although the central archives in the Crown of Aragon and from 1581 onwards also Tombo in Portugal dealt in a pseudo-independent status with their own negocios as reflected in papers. Simancas was an essential archive as it dealt with the overseas dominions and kept the papers of the state councils, which included among others: Italy and Portugal. In this sense, one may argue that while this was not the judically the ‘central’ archive for the all the realms that composed the Universal Monarchy (or Imperium) it was certainly the repository that represented the global empire achieved by the Spanish Habsburgs in Castile.

157 I am very grateful to Dr. Alejandra B. Osorio, Wellesley College for her guidance on the use of the Laws of the Indies, and for bringing these to my attention.

158 Laws of the Indies, Book II, Title I Law no. 31. ‘That the Cabildos and Regimientos must have archives with the cédulas, deeds and that the keys must be in the hands of the persons declared hereby.’ The Emperor Charles V and the Queen in Valladolid 24 July 1530.

The Emperor Charles V and the Prince […] in his name in Valladolid 1 September of 1548.

Recopilación de Leyes de Indias, Libro II Título I Ley 31.

Que los Cabildos y Regimientos tengan archivos de cédulas y escrituras, y estén las llaves en poder de las personas, que se declara. Ordenamos y mandamos a los cabildos y regimientos que las Ciudades y Villas, que hagan recoger todas las cédulas Y Provisiones por los señores Reyes nuestros antecesores, y por Nos dadas en beneficio y privilegio de sus Comunidades, y las demás escrituras y papeles que convengan, y hecho inventario de ellas, las pongan en vn Archivo, ó arca de tres llaves, que vna tenga vn Alcalde Ordinario por el año que ha de servir su oficio: otra vn Regidor: y otra el Escrivabo del Cabildo, ó Ayuntamiento, donde estén en Buena forma, y vn traslado del inventario esté fuera del Archivo, para que facilmente se pueda saber lo que contiene; y no pudiendose hallar en la Provincia algunas Provisiones, Cédulas, Ordenanzas, ó Instrucciones, las pidan á los Presidentes y Oidores de las Audiencias del distrito, los cuales les envien traslados de ellas.

115
The title of the set of laws concerns the way in which the legislation and norms from Castile have to be managed in the American lands: ‘On Laws, Provisions, Cédulas and Regal Ordinances’. In this context the first laws stipulated that this legislation had to be obeyed and the documentary copies kept, and successors of previous viceroys should also comply with the laws established in the past, and those enacted by the emperor and ratified later by Prince Philip. The archive becomes an instrument to secure order and to impose a new moral code with a model of government echoing the peninsular experience. Archives and laws were together a tool that served the imperial or universal model that the Castilian rulers wanted to impose across their composite monarchy. The regulation of the archival repositories became essential for this purpose. The global view of Charles V and his entourage is noteworthy in this respect, implementing regularised legislation and procedures both in Castile and in the overseas empire. This demonstrates how archival practices were intended to be uniform in the dominions under the Habsburgs, at least since the third decade of the century. Thus, the archival practice under the dynasty was as universal as their territories, or at least that was the intention.

The law specified that Charles was supposed to be in Valladolid, which is actually impossible as on those dates he was in Augsburg where he received the famous Confessio Augustana. It is uncertain whether the transcription of the Laws of the Indies was wrongly copied and then printed. There is a ratification of the same law by Prince Philip dating from 1548.

Archival deposits were so inherent to early modern society that they are not referred to explicitly or in detail in the different sources, because every ruler or nobleman had their own archive. Their location and architecture were to be at the same time intrinsically secret yet widely known. This idea may appear contradictory but the
authority displayed by the archival collections of rulers was used extensively in early modern diplomatic negotiations. Therefore, the archive, and most importantly its contents, embodied and legitimised its owners’ authority. Everyone knew about the king’s archive, and usually the building where the collection was kept. The secrecy came in the details of its location within the building and the specifics of access to the ‘private’ spaces. Travellers and other chroniclers, for example, referred to the king’s archive in Simancas extensively during the seventeenth century, but they did not know how the chambers were arranged. This is why remaining evidence about the architectural spaces of archives in the sixteenth century is so scarce. What is clear, however, is that archives played an important role in legitimising the power of rulers because their documents represented their legal rights and generally justified their claims. Often, early modern monarchs and the upper social strata used documents in their archives to support and impose their arguments and will against others. The architecture and furniture of such archives was not made to impress the spectator because, if the archive functioned properly those spaces were made for the eyes of only a small number of selected people. However, is this statement on the decoration of archives applicable to Simancas? The room furnished under Charles V’s command was eminently functional, and so was Philip II’s chamber, but the ornamentation in the latter is completely different to the first room. What does all the fragmentary information on archival spaces and furniture elsewhere tell us concerning the Simancas archive in Valladolid?

Diego de Ayala, archivist of Simancas, wrote a letter to Philip II in 1567 concerning the copy of the inventories and the necessity of gathering more documents for the collection in Simancas. This missive included a comment referring to ‘for this to be in two parts like it is done in every archive in the world’. The connotation of the global dimension of archival repositories is recurrent in this case, as it implies that the way archives were arranged was probably widely known, or at least Ayala pretended he was acquainted with it.164

---

163 AGS Secretaría 5 fol. 22º- y 23 v. Diego de Ayala to his Majesty Philip II, Nov. 1567: Tambien es necesario y conveniente que las bullas de Patronazgo de los Reyes de Castilla y otras escrituras que ay muy importantes y del patrimonio y casa real que han de ser perpetuas y muchas dellas estan maltratadas se copiase para que estuviese en dos apartamentos como se haze en todos los Archivos del Mundo y para esto es necesario mandárseme por provision o cedula real para ponerla en la cabeza del Registro […]

164 This may have been an exaggeration from the archivist, but in any case the proliferation of archives is clearly demonstrable, including those nearby such as Valladolid’s Chancellery or the archives in the Alcázar in Madrid, the latter also housed in a tower. Ayala went frequently to gather documentation in Madrid’s court and therefore it was likely he was acquainted with the
This was a few decades after Charles V commenced the archival organisation of his realms. As mentioned, the archival impulse in Charles V’s empire of composite monarchy aimed at being homogeneous and efficient. Therefore, a network of archives properly functioning from Castile to the American territories was designed to support the Spanish Habsburg empire and the Universal Monarch’s authority.  


The first two chambers in Simancas had a spatial configuration similar to coetaneous regal archives in Europe. In the previous analysis of Philip II’s cubiculum, the co-existence of two different styles in Castile was manifest; a more traditional style was juxtaposed with a newer on created, to a great extent, by the king. The king’s decision to forgo the adornments on the ‘new’ gate completed in 1568 is enlightening. In the next decade, the archive would expand considerably. However, this time, instead of readapting rooms from the old fortified building, new designs were propositioned.

The new rooms were eminently practical based on the so called Austriaco style. This style would reach its most efficient and bureaucratic form at Simancas. Philip’s decision to limit the influence of traditional styles in the design of the cubiculum of the archive may therefore be seen as reinforcing the new notion of authority displayed in the architecture and décor of the building through the Austriaco style. In the subsequent subheadings of this chapter, I argue that the architectural form of the new Simancas Archive embodied Philip II’s ruling style.

In the following missive, dated 1571, we find the archivist complaining about the state of the archive, and the lack of room to house the incoming papers:

---


565 On the early modern revolution of information systems see P. Burke and A. Briggs, A Social History of Media: from Gutenberg to the Internet (Cambridge, 2005)

Ayala was responding to the King’s request for documents concerning the descriptions of the kingdom of Granada composed by the Catholic Monarchs. Ayala argued that the documents and other forms of fragmented information were from different sources, and therefore he copied the relevant manuscripts to avoid having to send the originals, just in case the archive never got them back. Ayala pointed out the benefits of gathering other dispersed material in this same manner. This is an interesting point regarding the archival procedures implemented by the archivist, as sometimes those loaned papers were indeed never recovered.

Ayala travelled to Madrid’s court once the works in Philip II’s chamber had been finished in 1568. His intention was to assemble the collections generated by the councils and other ‘institutions’. There had been a previous order to this effect issued by Prince Philip in 1545, but it proved unsuccessful. There is evidence that during the residence of Ayala in court, and also upon his return, he brought back a large number of archival boxes, with more arriving afterwards. The intention of both the monarch and the archivist was to pursue the original idea in the creation of an ‘intermediate’ archive in Castile. Philip II was pursuing his father’s desire to create an archive that also kept the documents generated by the councils in Madrid. It is pertinent to note the proliferation of copies, because on many occasions it was customary to send the original documents to Simancas, and keep a copy in Madrid. There survive many sixteenth-century documents kept now in the Archivo Real de Palacio and the Archivo Nacional, both in Madrid, and these are either copies, or files from the Councils that never reached Simancas.

As Parker has observed, these functions for the administration of Simancas archive are illustrated in the following letter of 1571 from Philip II to his secretary Eraso regarding the Council of the Indies’s documentation:

[...] they are to make every effort to find all the papers and charts which exists on this, and to keep them safe in the council offices; indeed the originals should be put in the archives of Simancas, and authentic copies taken to the council. I think that I have some [maps of the area] myself, and I tried to find them when I was in Madrid the other day.

---

167 AGS C.C. 2157 fol. 191. Ayala to the King 1571.
En el Cubo de esta fortaleza que se llama Archivo no caben aun los papeles que están que de estar estrechos se maltratan de los que he recogido tengo grand cantidad dellos en precae fuera del dicho cubo para los cuales y los que se han de recoger que no pueden dexar de ser muchos conviene hacerse disposición bastante donde puedar estar

168 AGS C.C. 2157 fol. 191. ‘Letter from Diego de Ayala to the King 1571’.

169 Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 28.
because if I do have them, that is where they will be. When I get back there, if I remember and if I have time, I shall look again. Do you think you could find something on this, Erasso? I would like you to search, and make sure that anything you find is looked after as I have just said, with the council always in possession of the copies.\textsuperscript{170}

The archive aimed at becoming another instrumental department—one that protected, kept, and controlled access to information. Philip on certain occasions required information regarding who wanted to read what deed. As a consequence, most of the time access was denied, except if previously approved by the King himself.\textsuperscript{171} An example is the access denied to the Marquis of Sarria.\textsuperscript{172} Therefore, the information guarded in Simancas was still highly filtered. Although the archive was increasing its volume of files concerning the vassals, in the end it worked mostly for the benefit of the head of the Monarchia Universalis. Analysis of the petitions for copies of deeds to Simancas Archive during the sixteenth century reveals that, with the incorporation of the council’s papers, requests for access also increased.\textsuperscript{173} In this light, the archive did not work as a private archive, but the monarch could, and actually did, control who viewed the information; the more Simancas gathered, the more the monarch could have access to if he wished.\textsuperscript{174} The procedure for access to the documentation was finally established in the ‘Instruction for the government of the Simancas Archive of 1588’:

\begin{quote}
27. Because in this archive have been assembled so many books and registries of the ministers and officials of our court, and more will be collected, it is necessary that some particular people go to the archive (as they do already) with our Cedulas to request […] deeds and papers that they need. And because it is just that said archivist and his officials search for such registry or deed of any council, or university, or particular person, that duty costs fifteen reales […]\textsuperscript{175}
\end{quote}

Diego de Ayala insistently requested an extension to the archive. The ever-increasing documentation generated by Philip II’s government could no longer be housed in the two rooms of the Obras y Bosques tower. Ayala went in 1572 to Madrid to collect more documents and in 1573 he received an extraordinary amount of documentation. The Council of the Indies alone deposited fifty-three chests, contributing to a total of eighty-two chests and more than one hundred loose documents.\textsuperscript{176} In this year Ayala

\textsuperscript{170} Parker, The Grand Strategy, p. 69
\textsuperscript{171} Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 71-72.
\textsuperscript{172} AGS, Secretaría, 21, 1. Also cited in Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{173} On the use of the archive see: Rodríguez de Diego, ‘Un Archivo’, pp. 463-475.
\textsuperscript{174} See previous discussion concerning the ongoing discussion on the king’s control of information.
\textsuperscript{175} Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{176} Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 34. Also in Pirez Fernández, Casa, p. 12
was promoted to Secretary to his Majesty, in addition to his post as archivist. Finally, his persistence succeeded, and the architect Francisco de Salamanca was sent to the fortress to assess and draw up plans for an extension to the archive. The architect commenced the assessment, but could not take over the direction of works as he died in 1573. His son Juan de Salamanca succeeded him in the post of architect of Valladolid.

Juan de Salamanca drafted new designs for Simancas, and this time they were posted to the court in Madrid. In 1574, Juan de Herrera, along with the secretary Vazquez and the architect Gaspar de Vega, held a meeting to assess the proposal presented by Ayala and Salamanca. Herrera changed some important architectural aspects and, once approved by the king, it was sent back to Simancas with instructions regarding its direction and funding. The work on the new extension began, and in 1575 the foundations and the first stones of the walls were being erected.

Unfortunately, Gaspar de Vega and Juan de Salamanca died in the same year. In 1576, Juan de Herrera sent Antonio de Pimentel to measure the woodwork needed for the doors and windows. The works on the Aragon tower were initiated that year, although in 1577 they were suspended.

On the 24th of April of 1578 Juan de Herrera went to the site to oversee and amend the works carried out on the extension and rehabilitation of the fortress (Figs. 21-22). He also had to supervise the building of Valladolid cathedral. Herrera changed Salamanca’s project once again, approved by Philip II. He also designated Pedro de Mazuecos the Elder as the new director of the project.

Herrera’s project forced the boundaries of the original castle to achieve regularity in the articulation of the central patio (Figs. 3 & 23). The overall project aimed at regularising and introducing harmony and proportion into the medieval structures, and where that proved impossible, the architect simply demolished them.

177 Plaza Bores, Guía, p.34-35. Also in Pirez Fernández, Casa, pp. 14-16.
178 Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 35. Also in Pirez Fernández, Casa, pp. 16-17.
180 It is important to note that Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, in her monograph on Juan de Herrera, only cited briefly the development of Simancas, as it seems the architect was unhappy with undertaking this work. The design and development of the new cathedral in Valladolid by Juan de Herrera and other local architects in the service of Philip II is highly interesting, as these same architects and master masons were involved in the development of Simancas under the supervision of Herrera; see Zerner-Wilkinson, Juan de Herrera, pp. 122-127.
181 In the floor plans of the building the patio is not perfectly squared (Fig. 3). However, the spatial configuration created with Herrera’s design aimed at regularising the medieval articulation of the castle, (see the diverse sections of the building in Fig. 23).
One of the pavilions planned by Herrera sits between the first tower of the archive that housed Charles V and Philip II’s chambers, and the tower of Aragon; the pavilion is located on the outer side of the primitive wall, where the original wall was completely dismantled (Fig. 23).

The architect’s project squared the lines in the castle. This decision was completely different from the original proposal presented by Salamanca in which the existent structures were to be reused. One of the implications of this option was that the different heights of the well and the lower terrain between the two medieval fences were to be brought level. The new pavilions were built with different materials, too. The walls of the patio in Herrera’s project were of squared stone only up to a height of ten feet (a little over 3 metres), and the rest of the walls up to the roof made of lighter materials (Fig. 28). In this way, the structure could support the weight of the documentation, and the wooden cabinets. The new rooms were not covered with vaults, as initially envisaged by Juan de Salamanca. Herrera modified the original plans and substituted the heavy roofing system, which he found problematic for the structural security of the edifice. Instead, Herrera designed a flat structure made with wooden beams running perpendicularly to the walls of the large chambers, and filled with small low-weight brick vaults (known as bovedilla). The structure, still perfectly visible, was described in a letter the architect sent to Ayala in 1578 (Figs. 24-26):

I told some of my decisions to to Mr. Mazuecos, who had brought me the designs for the archive. Although I did not have time to [look with] particular [attention] at the sketches, [these are the general instructions:] Regarding [both] upper and lower cabinets, and [also] the two chambers and on how they have to be walked into, and on how the upper ones must be changed, and on how to go up to both [chambers] and [finally on how] some of the windows should be distributed so that they […] [the location of the windows] are in harmony with the chests and also give light. [In order] to accommodate this, the windows that face the parapet walk had to be changed, as I told Mr. Mazuecos, if he understood it well this would not be too difficult to change, […] [and since there are other major things being changed there is no point in not also changing the little]. Given the multitude of cabinets I resolved they will all be wooden […] and [it is not convenient to build the roof with] vaults [because it could be] […] dangerous for the papers so they can be changed and [the roof] constructed with very good beams and small brick vaults [bovedillas] because with this [solution in the roofing system] the storeys maintain the same security and we save much time and money […] and [I also explained details on] the wall that must be demolished, along with the precautions needed for this […]182

182 AGS Archivillo 5-1 fol. 213. Letter from Juan de Herrera to Diego de Ayala, 9 June of 1578: […] vino el señor Maçuecos con las trazas desste archivo, communiqué con el algunas cosas que se me ofrecieron llevar resuelto en lo gral. Porque no tuve tiempo de [mirar] en particular trazas de nada. Lo que toca en los cajones ansi altos como bajos y de las dos piezas y como se ha de andar y como se ha de mudar por los altos y como se ha de subir a ellos ansi a los de una parte como las esta y juntamente con esto se han acomodado las ventanas a proposito de manera que no reshibiendo la […] dellos cajones hagan armonía con ellos y den su luz. Para acomodar esto ha sido forçoso mudar las ventanas que estan hechas habia la ronda como dixi el señor Maçuecos que lo es cual bien entendido creo sera poco embaraço el mudarlos y que se muda lo mas no
The initial fragment begins with a summary of the issues discussed with Mazuecos. The first few paragraphs, the text of which is quite complicated, describe the security and the scaffolding erected with temporary stairs to access the different levels of the construction. Since the new stair was not going to be began until later, the temporary wooden scaffolding to both support the undemolished structures and reach the different parts of the building needed careful thought. In addition, it described the corridors to the upper levels of the pavilions.

The system of windows did not satisfy the architect, and he requested for this to be changed as well (see elevations Figs. 22-23). Here, there is an interesting remark emphasising that this was a minor modification compared with the major changes made. The woodwork of the windows included the necessary blinds for the protection of the papers.

The window system had a studied programme: the two pavilions designated for the archival repositories and facing the patio had barred windows, and the ones in the same chambers looking to the parapet walk were not barred and were of uniform size (Figs. 24 & 28). The parapet windows were aligned to the windows in front (see ground floor plan Fig. 23). The architect’s letter is quite clear on this: he was aiming to gain as much light for the pavilions as possible, while keeping the proportions harmonious with the cabinets inside. In short, the light produced from the windows maintains the proportional rhythm of the space. The opaqueness produced by the wooden furniture is interrupted by the luminous cavities of the windows; harmony is achieved by the combination of the necessary light in the highly-furnished space, and the proportioned relationship between the cabinets and the window (Figs. 25-26).

While the structures are proportioned, the architectural expansion is eminently practical. This architectural and interior arrangement of the cabinets was clearly bureaucratically motivated. These were rooms destined for the documentation of...
vassals, and therefore the interest was in promoting the effectiveness of the space. Although there are some hints of ornamentation, the first sensation is of serene and severe harmony, rather than the feeling of entering a glorious ‘sacred’ space. The décor is plain classical with no further ornamentation, exactly what one would expect from an architect of the Austriaco style of Philip II.

In the letter cited earlier, Juan de Herrera mentions modifying the windows facing the external fence, changing the previous plans (Figs. 21-22). The architect was surely aiming to achieve the proportion of scale and luminosity necessary. In this sense, the objective was to ensure the functionality of the spaces, while keeping the costs down and introducing a new concept of Renaissance architecture into a medieval building. It seems the last played a strong role as most of the changes reinforced the classical regularisation and order of the spaces.

The architect argued that the cost of the demolitions and other changes to the the building would be balanced by the low cost of the materials. It is impossible to prove if his arguments were correct, as the previous plans by Juan de Salamanca adapted the rooms of the existing space, and therefore would have re-used some materials. There is another interesting aspect to this development. The majority of the building material is wood, not only for the cabinets but also for the beams of the roof. The design in general may have been good for the conservation of documents and security from intruders. But the use of wood as the dominant material made it a fire hazard. It seems the architect gave more importance to the form of the chambers and the reconfiguration of the space than to issues of safety. Thus, the medieval structure was profoundly transformed using the classical language of architecture both inside and out.

The building sequence of the pavilions in the years 1571 to 1588 has been narrated before.\textsuperscript{184} The designs of Herrera, whom Spanish traditional historiography has converted into a ‘national hero’, have had the most attention given to them.\textsuperscript{185} Most of these publications, however, are very formulaic and do not go much beyond the information given in the documents.

The memorandum sent from the court in Madrid to Francisco de Salamanca in 1571 had a number of specifications for the design of the new archive rooms namely: a)


\textsuperscript{185} Herrera’s architecture was defined for generations as one of the ‘authentic’ Spanish national styles. See discussion in Zerner-Wilkinson, \textit{Juan de Herrera}, pp. 33-35.
detailed measurements of the castle, including the barbican wall and the upper storeys; b) directions that the new rooms have to be adjacent to the tower where the existing archive was located; c) that the new rooms should not affect the defensive system of the castle, but in fact enhance such protection; d) that the walls have to be built of stone; and e) that the roofing system had to be of brick vaults for all storeys in the building, and the upper one covered with a wooden structure with slates. These specifications would be completely transformed later, but initially all rooms were to be vaulted. This therefore confirms that Herrera changed not only the spatial configuration, but also the fire protection system. In this way, the pavilions gained more natural light from the windows that opened to the whole space. The materials of the walls were also changed, as previously mentioned, and the castle had to maintain if not enhance its defensive system. This was achieved by barring the windows towards the patio (Fig. 25), but such a precaution was not necessary in the walls facing the parapet walk, as they had the barbican wall to protect it from intruders.

This document has been cited only briefly in the literature. I has not been detailed and compared with the changes introduced by Herrera in the final project.

The initial idea from Madrid was for the rooms to be vaulted for fire protection. The details show the architect’s interest in catering for archival needs in conjunction with architectural criteria concerning space, light, and proportional harmony. If the initial plans had been implemented, the spaces would have been dark, the ventilation, and light poor, as well as necessitating extra weight in the walls for the support of the vaulted structure. In this way, Herrera introduced his own design and also fulfilled functional requirement.

The roofing system used by Herrera was the traditional technique used for domestic architecture, known as bovedilla (Fig. 24). This technique is still used today with different materials, such as reinforced concrete or metallic beams and ceramic vaults. This type of ceiling and roofing system can be found in palaces of the period and other houses, such as at the early seventeenth-century Museum Lope de Vega in Cervantes Street in Madrid.

In 1583, the main stair was constructed, and in the next few years the new premises were fitted out with furniture. The beautiful shelves were first put in place in the pavilions designed by Herrera, and thereafter imitated in the rest of the

---

186 Llaguno, Noticias, pp. 264-265.
premises, (see Figs. 24 & 26). The doors of the shelves were commissioned later in 1589.\(^{188}\)

Juan de Herrera’s major intervention in the building was the conversion of the fortress into a modern archive, transforming the medieval building into what was in effect a functional modern office. The current reading room, and the exhibition hall with its display of splendid wooden cabinets for the documentation, are located in more secluded pavilions. The windows are smaller and fewer than in the part assigned for the offices.\(^{189}\) The construction material of the walls was selected to support the weight of the documents; all these features can be observed in the photograph of the patio (see Fig. 27). The windows are barred to protect the holdings against any unwanted visitor. The regularity of the patio is almost achieved, and, although not perfectly square, it is difficult to perceive the irregularity in situ. Herrera again changed the original configuration, aiming for regularisation of the open space.\(^{190}\)

At the end of the sixteenth century, Francisco de Mora completed the designs of arched façade in the patio, along with other features, presumably following Herrera’s designs (Fig. 27).\(^{191}\) Juan de Herrera’s ‘obsession with squaring the patio’\(^{192}\) introduced a High Renaissance sensibility into the medieval castle (Figs. 27 & 3). The configuration of this open space is highly significant in the architect’s work, and associates this project with some of his buildings elsewhere in Castile such as, the Lonja in Seville.

Herrera was ‘involved’ in the production of two books during his distinguished career for Philip II. One was El Escorial’s *Estampas*, with Perret, which contained engravings of the monastery. He also promoted the publications of other classics in architecture, such as the Castilian version of Alberti’s Ten Books in 1581.\(^{193}\) The second book or manuscript he was reputedly involved in is the *Discurso sobre la Figura Cúbica*:\(^{194}\)

The cube is in everything, in the natural and in the non-natural, in the moral and in what is not moral, as in nature and morality […] and well understood and comprehended, in the manner it must, the great marvellous things of Lullian art can be appreciated.\(^{195}\)


\(^{189}\) This was already noted by Rodríguez de Diego, ‘Un Archivo’, pp. 463-475.

\(^{190}\) AGS, Secretaría, leg. 7, 213, M. 214. ‘Memorandum on the Works for Simancas Archive, 1578.’

\(^{191}\) Pirez Fernández, *Casa Archivo*, p. 105.

\(^{192}\) Ibid., p. 105.

\(^{193}\) These was discussed at length in chapter one.


\(^{195}\) Edison & Godoy, *Discurso*, p. 88.

En todas las cosas está el cubo en lo no natural como natural, en lo no moral como moral, y en lo natural y moral como en natura y moral... y bien entendido y penetrado, como se deve, se veran las grandes marabillas que en si ençiera el arte lulliana.
Herrera was an expert mathematician, and this book exhibited a high level of expertise in geometry, and the thought of Euclid and the Majorcan philosopher and logician Raymond Lull. The subject of the book was essentially neo-platonic suggesting that certain geometrical forms were repeated everywhere in things of divine nature as in those made by man. Therefore, the cubic form could be found everywhere. This is an anonymous manuscript, belonging to Herrera’s library, which as mentioned summarises Lull’s theories on the cube and divine proportions. The association of this manuscript with Herrera is highly debated, however. Whilst Rene Taylor suggests its attribution to Juan de Herrera,\(^{196}\) John Bury has argued that the evidence is not strong enough.\(^{197}\) Wilkinson-Zerner accepts the attribution, although her approach to the topic is more rational and focused on the relationship between the manuscript and the proportional systems created by the architect.\(^{198}\)

There is much debate regarding architecture and ‘magic’ in the manuscript, and many authors relate it directly to the king’s interest in alchemy, horoscopes, and hermetic interests. Most monarchs in the sixteenth century had horoscopes made. In addition, Philip tried alchemy a few times during his reign, for gold and other profitable materials; however, the king’s approach to these beliefs seems to have been practical.\(^{199}\)

The development of the Austriaco style, however, was open to other influences (as discussed in chapter 1), and cannot be linked only and/or directly to personal hermetic interests.

During the period, it was widely accepted that architectural systems based on harmonic proportions, perfect geometries such as the perfect cube and circle, had connotations of divinity. Influential works circulated throughout Europe, such as Pacioli’s interpretation of Euclid’s works.\(^{200}\) Geometry, proportion, and harmony were emphasised in Renaissance culture.\(^{201}\) Regardless of attribution, there are some uncontestable facts. Juan Bautista de Toledo, Juan de Herrera as well as Philip II held books by Lull, and also by many other theorists, in their libraries. Whether Herrera and


\(^{197}\) J. Bury, *Juan de Herrera*, pp. 59-62.

\(^{198}\) In this context, Taylor’s theories have been criticised because scholars believe the author always arrived at the most complicated explanation from the evidence given.

\(^{199}\) See Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera*, pp. 48-49.

\(^{200}\) L. Pacioli, *De Divina Proportione*, (Venice, 1509). See discussion in chapter one and also in the subheading in this chapter regarding Philip II’s cubiculum.

Philip were *lulistas* is open to debate. The question is beyond the focus of this investigation. Interest in practices and beliefs like alchemy, horoscopes, and predictions was common in Renaissance courts. As far as architecture was concerned, proportional systems were understood to encompass and represent divine notions, a belief that could be found emanating from the works of Euclid, Lull, Pacioli, Alberti, Serlio and Vitruvius, among others. An ordered, proportional and harmonious city or building was seen to correspond to a morally ruled society, also embracing notions of piety and closeness to God.

Therefore, architecture was important to the regularisation of the bureaucratic state of Philip II. Simancas archive was the epitome of the Castilian empire ruled by the machinery of an ordered state, a Universal Monarchy constrained by papers. The architectural form of Herrera’s pavilions embodies and displays this political agenda. The spaces and the interior décor were not designed for the admiration of visitors. On the contrary, the priority was for defence against intruders and strict control of access. However, the architect still adhered to basic rules of architectural order, discipline, and rigour. These characteristics were embodied in the paperwork and the documents themselves. Now they were also mirrored in the elegant cabinets and ample pavilions: an archive so voluminous, rich, and ornamented in such a regular, ordered, and efficient manner, it could only belong to a powerful ruler.

Wilkinson-Zerner has examined the way Herrera worked with plans in relation to elevations. Indeed, the proportions the architect drew in the elevation of the *Casa de Oficios* of El Escorial show how he based his proportional system on abstract mathematical relations, e.g., the length of the patio was exactly half the height of the adjacent building, and so on.\(^2\)

The proportions in the Simancas pavilions in relation to the rest of the spaces in the building (e.g., the patio) are impossible to discern, and there are no remaining original drawings by the hand of Herrera. More importantly, much of the regularity perceived in the forms was achieved through perspective manipulation. It was noted before that the patio is not perfectly squared, and neither of the pavilions have an even number of windows on both sides (see for the patio Figs. 27 & 3). However, the visual effect produced is harmonious. Perhaps the continuous changes the architect introduced in the design of Simancas aimed at conforming it to the style he used elsewhere in regal public buildings. Herrera’s designs for the Lonja in Seville and the

---

2^2 Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera*, p. 51. The author even tried to find a basic numeric proportion that was common to most of the architect’s buildings (see pages 47-48). Although she proposed an example of this numeric proportion she argued it was almost impossible to obtain a pattern, and unlikely to be applicable to all buildings.
cathedral in Valladolid used a perfect regular square as the basic form for the floor plan and subsequent proportional elements.203 This perfect square in the plan was therefore converted into a cube for the three dimensional geometrical elevation of the buildings. The so-called ‘obsession’ with squaring the patio may have its roots in the same preoccupations reflected in these contemporary examples – regularity and order – as might be expected from a building that belonged to King Philip II.

2.2.1. Tabularium Caesaris: Instructions for the Governance of Simancas (1588).

The architectural development of the archive occurred at the same time Philip II delivered the Instructions for the Governance of Simancas in 1588. The set of norms were inspired by a report that Cristobel de Benavente, keeper of the archive in Torre do Tombo in Lisbon, wrote to the king. The monarch requested this report when he visited the archive during his residency in Lisbon, was mentioned earlier.

Philip had learned since his regency the importance of an archive for the maintenance of order in his vast empire. It was likely at this point in his career that he realised the active power the documents had in legitimating his case for the Iberian Union. The archive in the Torre do Tombo seemed to have been extended from the original tower into some of the rooms of the castle-palace. Unfortunately, those chambers were lost in the earthquake of 1755 and the rest seriously damaged. There are no descriptions known of this extension. Until a couple of decades ago, historians tended to overlook this period in their investigations. Publications devoted to the history of the Portuguese archive as an institution omit any reference to the Habsburgs.204 With the obvious impact the organisation of the Portuguese archive had on Philip, it might be wondered whether the architectural expansion in Simancas was inspired in the Lusitanian chambers.

Although such a theory is impossible to prove, it is reasonable to presume that a profound impression the Tombo archive on the monarch influenced his attitude towards the archive in Castile. Indeed, some of the rules in the Instruction of 1588 are literally copied (and translated from Portuguese) from Benavente’s report.205 The instruction gives exact information on how to manage the archive and the collections. There are also some interesting remarks regarding the premises. For example, it was the king’s wish that the perpetual deeds remained in the first two chambers built in the

203 Wilkinson-Zerner, Juan de Herrera, pp. 44-46.
204 See the architecture of the treasure- archive section.
205 Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 22.
tower, the cubos of Charles V and Philip II. The principal aim of course was to preserve these valuable documents from fire, and to distinguish the ruler’s space from that of his vassals. These special chambers, devoted solely for the royalty papers, were to have a new dedicated space built from 1588 onwards.

The Instruction was aimed at regulating the conservation practice of the archive. According to Rodríguez de Diego, some of these norms were already in place in Simancas, while others were imported from Benavente’s report. The remainder were provided by the group of experts assembled for the purpose. The rules encompassed every detail concerning the workings of the archive, the nature of the documentation, and the highly restricted access to it. For instance, norm no. 20 insisted on precautions regarding access to the documentation: ‘the people who request deeds in this archive should not be present while the [papers] are being searched for.’

The section devoted to the personnel and professional qualifications of the archivists working in the institution is also enlightening. The archive’s staff had to preserve ‘fidelity, secrecy and legality’. Successive archivists could propose official appointments, but they must be approved previously by the Cámara de Castilla. In this sense, the personnel appointed to the archive at Simancas were similar to those of the Roman Tabularium. In both repositories there was a similar clearly established hierarchy of positions that granted different levels of access to the information and documentation.

Simancas archive had the king at the top of its organisation, followed by the Cámara de Castilla. The Chamber of Castile, or Cámara de Castilla, was the highest chamber in the political organisation of the Ancien Régime. As previously mentioned, Castile had the Royal Council of Castile, over which was positioned the supreme ‘council’ of Cámara de Castilla. This chamber was composed of a reduced and variable number of members: the president of the Royal Council of Castile, two or more of its members, and a regal secretary. Created by Charles V, this institution was inspired by the Despacho de la Cámara established under the Catholic Monarchs. The Cámara de Castilla was a reduced committee which dealt with matters regarding the interest of the king, and was independent of the Royal Council. The chamber was meant to be

---

206 This was discussed earlier in this chapter.
207 Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 22.
208 Ibid., p. 111.
209 Ibid., p. 100.
confidential, and was dedicated to advising the king in matters of gracia y justicia. In 1588, the Cámara de Castilla delivered instructions for its own functions, as well as the aforementioned instructions for the archive in Simancas. This was the highest political Cámara in Castile, and the one closest to the ruler.212

In the archive at Simancas the archivists during this period were Diego de Ayala and his son Antonio de Ayala. Only they had access to the king’s chamber where the documentation regarding his patrimony was kept (i.e., patronazgo real), and the same happened with other important collections. They had privileged access to documents not granted to lower officials. In addition, there was a porter, a cleaner, a guard, and the governor of the castle. Similarly, at the head of the Roman Tabularium was a Magistrate, while the archivists were the Tabularius, who normally had previously been Auditoris, equivalent to archive assistants with respect to Simancas. The Tabularius had to be approved, and at both ranks they had to swear loyalty and secrecy concerning the information and tabulae they managed.213 The parallel between both organisations is manifest in this aspect.

Although the similarities in this respect were perhaps casual, there are other analogies with imperial Roman archives worth mentioning. The archival system in ancient Rome was organised with different kinds of repositories for different types of documentation. The Sanctuarium Caesaris, or Tabularium Principis, kept the documentation concerning the patrimony of the emperor; it was located in the Palatino, perhaps housed in the library (the famous double library Greek and Latina) in the area Apollinis.214 This purpose echoes that of the treasure-archive, connecting it with the first two chambers in Simancas. Despite these similarities and connections further examination is required. The relations that can be identified with respect to the storage of information are certainly intriguing.

A brief look into Roman archival administration suggests further correlations. The Tabularium Caesaris was ‘a general archive for imperial administration, the emperor’s correspondence, reports from provincial governors and the like’.215 The Roman provinces had their special repositories for provincial administration, and the local authorities had a tabularium civitatis.216 Thus, Rome was an empire ruled by a

strong bureaucracy. The imperial Roman archive administered the provinces and included correspondence and instructions from the Caesar, along with response from the provinces. Likewise, the Castilian empire was ruled by correspondence, with instructions being issued by the ruler and sent to the realms and subjects of his overseas empire. This was accompanied by the creation of a strong and homogenous corpus of legislation that aimed to regulate the vast territories of the Universal Monarchy, (see also the discussion on chapter 1 dealing with urban legislation). This was fundamental for the control of the overseas viceroyalties, which could be interpreted as being equivalent to the Roman provinces. The emulation of imperial Rome was perhaps not intended in the organisation of Simancas, but the similarities and parallels are significant.

Another of the duties covered by the archivist in Simancas was the collation of curiosities and memorable objects in a book entitled a ‘Summary of Memorable and Curious Things’. The monarch saw that the duties already undertaken by the archivist could be exploited for propagandistic purposes. He requested them to be summarised, focusing mostly on military victories. It also demanded an astonishingly modern concept of documentary referencing; the information had to be easily traceable to the document in the archive that proved the authenticity of the material. This was retrieved thanks to a shelf mark added at the end of each historical note. A referencing system as such in books of this kind had not been implemented in historiography until well into the twentieth century. This summary of curiosities and the event to which they referred aimed to be ‘really truthful’. In the end, in Philip’s world, the papers housed in his archive were the ultimate power of proof, precisely because these papers were enshrined and given legal status.

2.2.2. The King’s Chambers: Francisco the Mora’s Reforms (1588-1598).

Francisco de Mora continued with the plans initiated by Herrera. Mora informed Ayala in 1588 of the king’s interest in enhancing the extension of the archive. The new project pointed out by Mora included the other two remaining towers and the pavilions between. The chapel was also to be renovated, although the precious vault would merely be conserved. The new extension aimed to create new spaces for the Patronazgo real, as the material conserved had increased and did not fit in the initial two cubicula. Although the Instructions of 1588 mentioned that the initial chambers were fine for the perpetual deeds, now the king required newly developed spaces, as noted earlier. The rooms for the additional collections would be built in the Bishop’s tower and adjacent
chambers. Mora vertically extended the old Bishop’s tower and topped it with a baroque spire, which was substituted in the eighteenth century. Again, the highest and more secure premises in the building were devoted to the king’s most important documentation. However, in this project the archaic medieval nature of the fortress would make space for a more advanced design, in consonance with the architecture of the period. Between 1592 and 1593, the façade was finished (Fig. 35), as was the interior stair to the attics just beside the fifteenth-century chapel.

Mora delivered eleven plans for the new works, of which only a few survive. His drawings were accompanied by a letter containing detailed instructions from the Count of Chinchón to Diego de Ayala. A cross-section plan from this set of drawings is revealing (see Fig. 28). The vassals’ documentation would be deposited in the new rooms depicted by Herrera, while the monarch’s perpetual deeds were to be guarded in the original cubiculum finished at the end of the 1560s (see Fig. 28). The elevation has some inaccuracies in relation to the height between the spaces, as Philip II’s chamber was slightly more elevated than depicted in the plan. Nonetheless, a hierarchy is perceived, as the king’s documentation is radically separated from the rest, and located in the safest chamber.

The Council of the Indies’ papers were located on the upper storey, as it generated the most documentation (Fig. 28). These papers not only referred to the governance of a vast territory, but also contained reports, drawings and other information of scientific, social, political, and geographical interest. The lower rooms would be dedicated to accounts, revenue, taxation and what was generally known as the treasury. There was an office on the ground floor beside the staircase.

The organisation is highly symbolic as it established the documentation associated with the Indies at the top of the building, amongst the most secluded section of the vassals’ papers. These papers referred to the people and lands of a new and

---

217 For a brief summary on the construction timeline of the building see Plaza y Bores, Guía, pp. 41-43.
218 In this chapter I will be using only the plans relevant to the argument.
220 AGS MPD, 50, 038.
221 V. Cortés Alonso, ‘Organismos Productores de Documentación en las Indias en el Siglo XVI: las Audiencias y el Consejo de Indias. Documentación y Archivos’ in S. Cabezas Fontanilla and M.M. Royo Martínez, IV Jornadas Científicas Sobre Documentación de Castilla e Indias en el siglo XVI, (Madrid, 2005) pp. 61- 85. In this article the author studied the origins and high volume of documentation (with quantitative data) generated by the diverse administrative institutions created to control the Indies. This documentation included that produced by the Council of the Indies. Not only was the volume of documentation astonishing, but more incredibly the analysis of the Council of the Indies papers demonstrated how Philip II read most of them personally.
fascinating world now not only viewed and appreciated in cabinets of wonders, but also recorded in scientific works funded by the Crown. Philip II in the 1560s had commissioned Wyngaerde and other geographers to depict a number of cities in the Iberian peninsula and other European realms under the ruler’s jurisdiction.222 Now the interest in learning what those new lands were like captured the imagination of early modern rulers. With the obsession King Philip had in ‘recording’ everything in writing and controlling every aspect of his universal dominions, these collections were considered very important. The American colonies not only enriched the crown of Castile and sustained the multiple wars the monarch was waging in Europe, they also symbolised his Monarchia Universallis. As the Castilians had led the way in spreading the Catholic faith among the indigenous population, they maintained the right to the riches of the new world.223

In December 1588 Diego de Ayala wrote to Juan Vazquez de Salazar. The archivist revealed some interesting information regarding the development of the building, and how this might affect the king’s papers.

[…], two rooms very spacious, […] eye-catching and strong; one for your patronados, and the other one for the [council of] state papers […] which is the same as Juan de Herrera designed, and although […] the chapter in the instruction […] reads that the patronado shall remain where it is now[…], it seemed to me these should be in the new rooms designed by Francisco de Mora.224


223 On this topic there are many scholarly publications. One of the lines of research that captured my attention in relation to this thesis is the preoccupation of scholars and intellectuals in sixteenth-century Castile with morally justifying the conquest. An old publication that, in my opinion, summarises, and introduces brilliantly the sophistication of the Spanish legislation in the sixteenth century, aiming at justifying the conquest and their right to those dominions, is J.H. Parry, The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1940). This book has been reprinted on a few occasions; of particular interest is the chapter ‘The Right to Conquest’, from page 12 onwards. More recently, D.A. Lupher, Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America, (Ann Arbor, 2006). This study examines how the model of imperial Rome was essential to formulate theologically, morally, and philosophically the construction of a ‘castilinised’, and ‘Christianised’ empire. The Spanish empire was created by discovery, and conquest, and only after this lands were part of the empire, did intellectuals and theologians try to justify it morally. This was hotly debated in Spanish universities, as well as in intellectual and religious circles. The information on the dreadful treatment of the Indians reported by Bartolomé de las Casas and others, had a real impact back in peninsular Castile. This situation created diverse factions; some questioned the moral right to conquest, and others aimed at morally supporting how the Castilians were the chosen ones to do whatever necessary.

224 AGS Secretaría, Legajo 6, 1-355

[...], que se hagan dos piezas muy anchurosas y vistosas y fuertes vna para sus patronados y otra de papeles d’estado y a lo qual se toma todo el quarto que cae sobre la puerta principal de la fortaleza que es lo mismo que Juan de Herrera traca y avnque yo lo comence a defender y su M. por vn capítulo de la instruction que agora se me dio dize que el patronado se quede donde agora esta parezieme que determina con la vista de ojos de Francisco de Mora que se haga lo que digo y me embia las tracas hechas [...]

134
Ayala argued that the new rooms were the perfect location for the king’s papers as well as for the other collections with international (European) relevance, such as the Council of State’s papers. The Instruction for the Governance of Simancas in 1588 still located these collections in Philip II’s cubiculum. This surprised Ayala as the development of the new rooms had already been planned, therefore the archivist was trying to clarify the situation. His letter addressed some information that seemed contradictory in the Instruction, in contrast to the developments of the building at the time. Indeed, on the 23rd of August 1588, Francisco de Mora had informed Diego de Ayala that the king had ordered him to continue with the works in the archive, and to finish the chambers for the new Patronazgo and the Council of State papers. Mora stated that the king’s wishes were for the new chamber to be vaulted, and the design to be richly adorned:

[King Philip II requested] both [rooms] had to be vaulted [...] and the design be very richly adorned, and these rooms for the Patronazgo and State [should be] built before commencing other works in the building].

The new chambers were specifically vaulted, again presumably for fire protection (see Figs. 29-34). This was the main concern, as the king also decided these rooms were to be covered with lead for further security, the only rooms in the building to be so protected. These chambers are essential to understanding how the regal archive also portrayed Philip II’s rule. His involvement with the design and configuration of these

Also cited in Plaza y Bores, Guía, p. 41 Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 71
225 The Council of State normally dealt with diplomacy and relations among European realms and other peripheral and even remote kingdoms. The focus was, however, on Europe, which was in this period the hub of power and where most of Philip’s diplomacy took place. Our modern concept of the Habsburg global empire is focussed on the incorporation of the overseas dominions in America and South East Asia. This is different to what was believed at the time, as these lands did not have the same political status as the European kingdoms. Therefore, the Council of State was perceived as the most ‘international’ of the councils under Philip. For us, however, the State papers are perhaps placed on an equal footing with those of the Council of the Indies as a representation of an emerging global empire. Certain cities in the viceroyalties viewed themselves differently; in the seventeenth century, for instance, Lima requested to be elevated in status, and therefore have representation at the courts in peninsular Castile. On this topic there is an interesting discussion in A. B. Osorio, Inventing Lima. Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis, (New York, 2008), pp. 45-53.
226 This has been examined previously in this chapter see for instance Fig. 28.
227 AGS, Secretaría, leg. 6, núm.1, fol. 101.
y que ambas sean de voveda [...] y quiere se haga una traza muy adornada y rica, y que se hagan luego estas pieças del Patroazgo y Estado, antes que [otras pieças]
Also cited in Plaza y Bores, Guía, p. 41 Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 71
228 AGS, Secretaría, Obras, 1, 373. Also cited in Plaza y Bores, Guía, p. 42 and Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 72.
chambers was very close. Furthermore, he also stipulated a different entrance and path to the archive reserved only for the monarchy, as will be discussed hereafter.

The Patronazgo and allied collections were going to be conserved in the old Bishop’s tower and adjacent chambers. The chamber in the Bishop’s tower also has an octagonal floor plan, and again the space towards the window was formed by removing stone from the wall. The plan of these rooms can be observed in the plan (see Fig. 34). Mora vaulted all of the rooms, as required by Philip II, in a severe classical style.

According to this section and floor plan his Majesty orders the first room of Patronazgo Real to be done. [signed] Francisco de Mora. […] The marked base A.B. which height is of one foot and three quarters must be of stone the rest of brickwork of lime and brick well worked and the whitewash [must be done] with good plaster.

The plans had been approved by the king himself, and the materials and measurements clearly specified. The room, except for the furniture of the cabinets, is almost the same as that designed by Francisco de Mora in 1589. The measurements of the distances between cabinets and other spaces shows a proportional system similar to that used by Herrera in the Casa de Oficios in El Escorial, examined by Wilkinson Zerner. For instance, in the cross section plan (Fig. 29), the length of cavity carved in the wall for the cabinets is exactly double that of the rest of the fabric separating them. These proportions aimed for the harmony of the space, and each volume in the elevation corresponds with the lines depicted in the vault.

In 1591, Philip II sent Francisco de Mora to the archive at Simancas to supervise the works and to produce new plans. Philip wanted a passageway and staircase with direct access to the rooms containing the Patronazgo Real. The intention was to create a ‘private’ route for access to the regal chambers, without the need to use the patio towards the main stairs. These new developments were anticipating the regal visit of 1592.

When Diego de Ayala learned of the possibility that the king would visit the archive, he tried to accelerate the works in the Bishop’s cubo, roofing it so that it would

---

229 AGS, MPD. 05-096, Figure 29.
230 Wilkinson-Zerner, Juan de Herrera, p. 51. Also the main text in a previous subheading of this chapter entitled: 2.10. The Expansion of Simancas Archive: the Inclusion of the Vassal’s Documentation and the Architectural Reforms, 1571-1588.
231 AGS. Secretaría, Obras, 1- 411 & 424. Both letters from Francisco de Mora to Diego de Ayala, 1592. Also cited in Pirez Fernández, Casa Archive, p. 86.
be ready for the king’s visit. It would, he claimed, be ‘one of the most eye-catching things in the world’.\textsuperscript{232} The Bishop’s cubiculum had four windows and inbuilt cabinets in the same way as the previous chamber of the Patronazgo Real (see Figs. 29-32). This room was called the Bishop’s cubo because it was the chamber where the famous commoner Bishop Acuña was imprisoned in 1526. Ayala described the king’s wishes that this new cubiculum be placed in the highest location, with views towards the mountains, towns, rivers and fresh air.\textsuperscript{233} The intention was for these rooms, and the new private access route to the archive, to be ready for the king’s visit. This was largely accomplished except for the roof of the Bishop’s cubicle which was only finished a month later.\textsuperscript{234}

How, for a ceremony? Your Majesty’s self is but a ceremony.\textsuperscript{235}

The keen interest Philip had in creating private access to the building is crucial to understanding his view of ceremony as a vehicle for the display of kingship. In 1546, Charles V implemented Burgundian etiquette in the court at Castile.\textsuperscript{236} His heir, Philip, embraced ceremony and protocol to promote order and hierarchy in his court, with the ultimate objective of asserting regal authority. During Philip II’s rule in Castile, ceremonial was used to ‘make kingship at once impressive and remote’.\textsuperscript{237} These ceremonial became more sophisticated during Philip’s rule, and in many cases highly regulated.\textsuperscript{238} One of the common characteristics of Philip’s ceremonies, except for those of public display, was the isolation of the ruler. This purposely created a sense of distance - yet another means of imposing power.\textsuperscript{239} There were other ways of displaying authority through regal presence, but the location of the ruler’s stage was normally remote from his subjects, as with autos de fé. This was different in triumphal

\textsuperscript{232} AGS. Secretaría, Obras, 1-413, ‘Diego de Ayala to Philip II’s secretary, 13 May 1592’.
\textsuperscript{233} […]que es una de las vistosas cosas que ay en el mundo[…]
\textsuperscript{234} Also cited in Plaza y Bores, Guía, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{235} Pirez Fernández, Casa Archivo, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{236} Plaza y Bores, Guía, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{239} Elliot, Spain, p.154. In this book the chapter entitled, ‘The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?’ pp.141-161. Elliot synthesised ceremonial uses at the Habsburg Spanish court.
\textsuperscript{238} There is an overwhelming, and still growing, number of publications on court etiquette, ceremonies, festivals and their regulation in the early modern court in Europe and beyond. For a more complete bibliography, see chapter 3. A recent publication concerning the Burgundian ceremonial and the Habsburgs is Krista de Jonge, Bernardo José García García, Alicia Esteban Estrínaga (eds.), El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia Cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias (1454-1648), (Madrid, 2010).
\textsuperscript{239} Elliot, Spain, p. 160.
entries in which the role of the king was more active. Philip, like his father before him, normally appeared on horseback, preserving a certain distance and visual hierarchy over his subjects. This remoteness would evolve in the seventeenth century with the use of ornamented carriages. The nature of the new regal path created in the archive at Simancas was a reflection of the ruler’s desire to distance himself from the ruled.

The king spent a few days reviewing documents while in Simancas. An office was prepared for him in a room adjacent (see Figs. 33-34 no. 6) to the Patronazgo real chambers. More importantly, between this office and the chapel lay the temporary bedchamber where the king slept during his visit from the 23rd to the 25th of June 1592. This bedchamber is identified in the original plan as the antechapel (see Figs. 33-34 no. 5). The location of the chamber is highly symbolic, connected as it is to both the chapel and the office. This spatial configuration was not new in the regal chambers of Philip; the most famous model was in El Escorial Monastery, where the king’s room allowed attendance at mass in the basilica and was also adjacent to his office. This can be seen in the well-known plan of the ruler’s room in the monastery depicted by Juan de Herrera. The architect added two lines to the plan, showing the ruler’s view from his bed. Philip II framed both the basilica and the entrance to his chamber. His father’s bedchamber in his retirement monastery at Yuste had a similar location with respect to the church, as did his sister’s chambers in the convent at Descalzas Reales in Madrid.

Philip was reported to have thoroughly examined the ongoing works at Simancas, also observing some of the archival works, most importantly the copying of old deeds. Although the new route was adapted so that the king did not have to access the patio to reach his archival collections, it appears he also ventured elsewhere, as the copyists were in the administrative section of the castle and therefore adjacent to the patio. He was, of course, intending to have privacy and separation if he so desired.

Philip remained quite content with the new archival chambers, and he also ordered the decoration of the Patronazgo chambers with a series of the kings of Castile. There is a draft image by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz showing the type of image that was going to be used (Fig. 31). The ruler was represented all’antica in a clear evocation of

\[240\] For instance, the carriage used by Philip III of Spain in Lisbon, now conserved in the Museu Nacional dos Coches in Lisbon.
\[241\] E. Cook, Jornada de Tarazona, Madrid, 1879, p. 21 y AGS. Secretaría, Leg. 7 - 417 Fol. 1º both cited also in Plaza y Bores, Guía del Archivo, p. 45. In addition, Jehan L’Hermite’s Passatemps also documented this visit, see Jesús Saenz de Miera (ed.), El Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite. Memorias de un gentilhombre en la corte de Felipe II y Felipe III, (Traducción: José Luis, Checa Cremades), Madrid, 2005, pp. 155-156.
\[242\] Las Trazas de Juan de Herrera y sus Seguidores, (Madrid, 2001), p. 47
\[243\] A. Plaza y Bores, ‘Juan Pantoja de la Cruz y el Archivo de Simancas’. Boletín del Seminario de
ancient Roman rulers. The depicted sculpture is presented on a base in a niche with some framed decorations atop. The proposed style is completely different to previous galleries of king’s ordered by Philip II. The famous room of the king in the Alcázar in Segovia was destroyed in the nineteenth century, but some illustrations survive. The style projected for the gallery in Simancas archive was clearly Italianised. This project never saw the light, but the interest paid by the ruler in ornamenting the space with the kings of Castile is highly symbolic. The series was supposed to finish with his portrait, not leaving space for forthcoming rulers.

This projected gallery indicated the interest that Philip II had in genealogy. The series of paintings also evoked the gallery of illustrious men used for the décor of cabinets of study. Nonetheless, in the case of Simancas, it seems the intention was the exaltation of the dynasty. The documents conserved in those chambers were those crucial to sustaining regal authority. Philip had funded works on genealogy, as the European realms seized by the Spanish Habsburgs were gained on the pretence of inheritance. The ‘master plan’ created by their ancestors, with programmed marriage contracts and truces, provided Charles V, and then Philip II, with immense dominions.

Philip’s chambers in the archive were at the ‘heart’ of the building and were where the most valuable documents were kept. The nature of those deeds granted strength and dominion to the monarchs, but what was the specific use to which the king could put these deeds?

The immediate response is power and authority over his dominions, and even the moral rights to expand them. The most successful example of the use of archival documentation for diplomatic business for the benefit of Philip II was the Iberian Union at the end of the 1570s. The monarch requested a detailed list of documents from Ayala, and at the same time ordered his envoy in Lisbon, Cristobal Da Moura, to approach the guardamor of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. The purpose of this diplomatic affair was to find convincing justification for Philip’s rights to the Portuguese crown.

The request to Lisbon proved successful. However, the initial disappointing response from Ayala infuriated the King. Some of the documents he requested from Lisbon included the papal bull Manifestis Probatum by Pope Alexander III (1179), recognising Afonso Henriques as the first King of Portugal; the papal bull by


Concerning the Gallery of the King’s in the Alcázar in Segovia see: D. de Villalta, De las Statuas Antiguas (Madrid, 1590), H. de Avila, Libro de los Retratos de los Reyes, (Madrid, 1594).


Innocence IV (1246), recognising the count of Bologna, Alfonso III, as king of Portugal; and the marriage contracts of his parents, Charles V and Elisabeth of Portugal, as well as his own to Manuela of Portugal.\textsuperscript{247} The fact that the king managed to obtain the papers related to the marriage contracts more efficiently from Lisbon than from Simancas justified his discontent, although it should also be considered that in this year the archive was probably less efficient, given the major works being undertaken on the building.

Eventually, Ayala sent him more deeds as requested, and the documentation gathered from both repositories supported Philip’s claims. There were memoranda and texts created from and supported by the documentation received, including a few genealogical trees.\textsuperscript{248} This documentation presumably circulated in court until the union took effect. The Portuguese succession was an extraordinary case of the practical utility of the deeds, contracts, and other papers. Indeed, following the acquisition of Portugal, the interest of King Philip in genealogy as a form of science increased.\textsuperscript{249}

The façade erected for the new extension of the Patronazgo premises is very revealing (Fig. 30). Through its simple forms it displays the evolution of the architectural style, in terms of both the uniqueness of the architects and artists involved and the history of architecture in Castile during Philip II’s rule. This façade is indeed very classical, with the selection of very pale stone and the display of Philip II’s coat of arms surrounded by the Chain of the Golden Fleece. This followed the pattern of the earlier Patronazgo rooms in the cubicula, where the access was decorated with the monarch’s coat of arms.

The art varied profoundly between the styles implemented by Herrera and Mora. The eminently functional expansion designed by Herrera was unadorned, ordered, and simple in form, responding to the proportions expected in a Renaissance building, while Mora interrupted the curved pediment with the coat of arms, announcing an understated proto-baroque.

Francisco de Mora was one of the court’s younger architects, and was educated with Juan de Herrera under the auspices of the regal style created during Philip II’s rule. He has been identified as following in the Herrerian style, although his approach incorporates certain elements of the proto-baroque. Replacing his mentor, Juan de

\textsuperscript{247} C. Margaca Veiga, \textit{A Herança Filipina em Portugal}. (Lisbon, 2005) p. 70.
\textsuperscript{248} AGS, Section Estado, Leg. 422-1579. ‘Compilation for the Portuguese Succession’. Including genealogical trees. Also related to the union of the crowns, Philip II’s rights and marriage contracts etc: AGS. Estado Legs . 5 , 7, 8, 9 and 10.
\textsuperscript{249} S. Cabi, \textit{Architecture and the Royal Presence: Domenico and Giulio Cesare Fontana in Spanish Naples}, (1592-1627), (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009). Chapter II examines Philip II’s interest in genealogy, mostly focussed on Naples.
Herrera, after his demise in 1597 during the final works in El Escorial, Mora had been part of the team of regal architects since 1591, and became master mason of Madrid in 1592. He was an uncle of Juan Gómez de Mora, the famous architect who in the seventeenth century gave continuity to the Austriaco style, and also of Baltasar Porreño, author of the well-known Dichos y Hechos. Francisco de Mora’s Palacio Ducal in Lerma, designed in 1609, is regarded as his major architectural achievement, in which it can be perceived how his style shifts slightly from that of his mentor. Mora’s clean volumes and proportional systems allowed certain innovations, although his style still comes within the parameters of the regal architecture created under Philip II’s patronage.

In the Simancas chambers, Mora adapted the display of the coat of arms to a new stylistic language. The rooms providing access were also the monarch’s ‘property’, but those of a ‘modern’ king, embellished by new architectural forms, in contrast to the earlier cubiculum. The flexibility in the façade is still serene and the outcome of a classical design in keeping with the regal style.

The façade of the principal gate of the castle (Fig. 35) designed by Mora sits between two medieval towers. The architect intended to fit a simple classical arcade between the medieval structures. Despite his best efforts, the external view of the fortress is still eminently medieval in character, and the solution looks a little forced. The desired harmony and proportion is ‘broken’ by the contrasting styles and structures.

This façade resembles the first two storeys of the façade of San José in Ávila, designed by Mora in 1608. Here, the architect introduced a similar solution - three arches on the ground level portico and a first storey niche with two flanking windows - instead of the balconies as at Simancas. Although the façade in Ávila changed the size of the windows, the proportional structure was essentially the same. The similarity is more evident in the façade of the church at the Encarnación convent in Madrid,

---

251 B. Porreño de Mora, Dichos y hechos de el Señor Rey Don Phelipe Segundo, el Prudent[...], (Madrid, 1666).
designed by Fray Alberto de la Madre de Dios in 1610. The ground level portico and the first storey in the façade of this building have exactly the same proportional design used in the gate at Simancas (except for the niche substituting one of the balconies). Mora’s characteristic façades for the Carmelite convents have been regarded as highly influential in the creation of a pseudo-unique style for religious order churches. Scholars have looked at the influence of the works of St. Teresa of Ávila in the conception of this conventual’s architecture; the form and function had to be perfectly connected for the utility (utilitas) of the building. St. Teresa wanted the architecture to create an environment to foster spiritual calmness and a necessary seclusion for devotion and contemplation. Therefore, any superfluous décor was unwanted in any of her convents. The façade solution for the regal archive in Simancas had strong links with the description of this ‘utile’ architecture. Simancas Archive was a good model for rigour and sober architectural design, where the function was essentially ‘utile’.

Francisco de Mora’s works at Simancas would be the last initiative during Philip II’s reign, ultimately bringing to an end a century of improvements at the fortress. Although many of these works continued after Philip II’s demise in 1598, the design was obviously approved under his order. For instance, it was only in 1599, under the direction of Diego de Praves, master mason of the cathedral in Valladolid, that the portico in the patio of the archive was begun. As for Herrera’s pavilions, one of them would not be built until the seventeenth century. Therefore, the way we imagine Simancas Archive as a ‘unity’ under Philip would not be fully realised until after his death. Nonetheless, the architectural history of the archive reflects the king’s government and echoes the changes in his administration. Ultimately, Philip II and his dynasty are embodied in those papers, and more importantly for the present purpose in the architecture of the chambers reserved for the kings.

---

253 This church has been attributed to Juan Gómez de Mora in the past, but is now widely recognised as a design of Fray Alberto de la Madre de Dios. Gómez de Mora seemed to have been involved in the supervision of the works. Blasco Esquivias, ‘Utilidad y Belleza’, p. 153.
254 See Figure 1.15.
256 Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 36.
2.3. Conclusions.

During his residence in Madrid between 1583 and 1584, Diego de Ayala gathered extensive documentation for the archive. He also suggested to the king the possibility of moving the archive to Madrid. Philip II replied: ‘the works in Simancas shall continue; as for now I do not want the move of the archive to be done’. Parker has argued that the efficiency of the king’s archive gave the wrong perception that the ruler knew virtually everything and therefore his decisions were very likely to be right. This was possibly the king’s aim, but it was an impossible task, precisely because an overload of information in the form of papers made it unachievable. The location of the archive has been seen as counterproductive for the sufficient flow of information. However, it is possible to argue that, Philip II intended this archive to be far from court. Initially, the location was decided by his father and secretaries, emulating other European practices. The function of the archive was to conserve documents that were not used frequently. As explained before, this places the repository at an intermediate stage in the archival life-cycle theory. This suggests that historical interpretations that have viewed the function of Simancas as an office archive do not match with the intentions of the monarchy. In fact, the permanent location of Simancas far from the court was a means of controlling access to the information contained in the papers. Philip II did not mind waiting for the documents, as long as he could control who accessed which deed. The Instruction of 1588 was very clear in terms of access, as every consultation had to be approved by the ruler himself. The intangible and tangible barriers in the building, along with the apparent ‘remoteness’ of its location, assured security and secrecy.

Documentation flowed in both directions between Simancas and the court in Madrid. Meanwhile, each council dealt with their own current affairs in their respective offices, which held the necessary papers to resolve these issues on a daily basis. In theory at least, once these matters were completed the documentation had to

---

257 Plaza Bores, Guía, p. 39. Diego de Ayala visited the court in Madrid a few times to gather documentation from the councils and elsewhere. In this visit, he was allowed to collect documentation across departments at court without the need to have special permission on every occasion.
258 Ibid., p. 40.
259 Rodríguez de Diego, Instrucción, p. 72.
be sent to the archive. In this way, the *negocios* and their papers were firstly filtered at court, and then deposited at Simancas. The network of archival repositories created by the Habsburgs was intended to manage the high volume of documentation, and also to demand adherence to the law.

The replacement of the warrior-king Charles V by a sedentary Philip II, who spent his working day at his desk surrounded by piles of documents, fittingly symbolised the transformation of the Spanish Empire as it passed out of the age of the *conquistadores* into the age of the Civil Servant.260

The architectural evolution of the Simancas archive mirrors in many ways the history of the kingdom and the organisation of the empire. Philip II bureaucratised the administration of his dominions as a means to impose his authority over such vast and widespread territories. The gradual transformation of the fortress into an archive reflected the conversion of the Crown of Castile into an overseas empire. Moreover, the transition between the two different approaches to kingship of Charles V and Philip II is echoed in the building itself; the first chamber, or merely grand strongbox, at the top of the tower of *Obras y Bosques*, followed by the *cubiculum* of Philip II. The spatial configuration of both was similar to a vernacular tradition that extended across in Europe - the architecture of the treasure-archive. This kind of archival architecture is that of a realm with strong medieval roots, and in many ways still reminiscent of treasures and libraries in castles of that time. The spatial configuration and blended décor in Philip II’s *cubiculum* echoed coexisting styles in Castile and the rest of his Iberian realms. In this sense, the creation of the first archival chambers in Simancas lagged behind archival development in other contemporary realms (e.g., Aragon and Portugal).

The bureaucratisation of the state under Philip II left these two chambers obsolete, almost from the finalisation of the second at the end of the 1560s. The incoming chests from court that accumulated in these small chambers soon outstripped the space available. Hence, the expansion of the archive aimed at introducing a new regularity and order. The existing two rooms were essentially adapted within the spatial constraints of the fortress. With the new pavilions designed by Juan de Herrera, a new notion of imperial expansion was reflected in the interior design. Philip ruled his empire through the written word, and these new regularised spaces housed the papers of his expanding imperial dominions. In short, none of these chambers was built for the admiration of contemporaries, but rather for their archival function. Nonetheless, the ruler was deeply preoccupied with his image, and that of his kingdom and dynasty

in posterity. Herrera designed efficient and modern offices that elevated the king’s archive to the grandest and most modernised in Europe.

Simancas gradually became not only one of the symbols of Philip’s power and authority, but also the leading archive of the period. The rest of the great early modern archives would be reorganised and expanded during the seventeenth century, including the English and the new Vatican archive.261

The final improvements of the sixteenth century, designed by Francisco de Mora, reflect the image of kingship that Philip II wished to display.262 The monarch always monitored the improvements to his archive, but it was during this last intervention in the building that he took an even more active role. He visited the building himself, and also insisted on some architectural arrangements to meet his ceremonial needs. The private path created for him is highly symbolic, and was intended for the use of his heir and other rulers thereafter. The passageway was complex, shoehorned into the building, and evokes ideas discussed regarding the hidden route to the cubicula. However, in this case there was an alternative direct route to these chambers via the main stair. The intention of the regal path was to preserve the privacy of the king, and maintain ceremonial distance and manners in a highly ritualised court. The multi-layered architecture at Simancas therefore reflected the ruler and his empire in many subtle aspects.

In this third chamber [the archive] could be [placed] ancient portraits. Julius Caesar dealing with those great things he commenced […] such as the libraries […] Caesar Augustus with the three books he wrote […] Vespasian with the book that he did of the Roman Empire[…] Above all of them the Caesar Majesty [Charles V] doing the greatest thing that was ever done, handing over to your majesty all your realms and domains263

261 A comparative study on the architecture of the seventeenth-century archives has not been explored so far, and would indeed be highly interesting to pursue in future. I have not mentioned much about later architectural works in Simancas archive; the building was almost completed in the seventeenth century, but in the eighteenth century there was a major intervention, and this was also when the Council of the Indies collection was transferred to Seville. Furthermore, after the Napoleonic invasion, some documents were returned to the archive and the new Spanish king visited the building, leaving a commemorative painted canvas in Philip II’s cubiculum. These are only some brief notes as I believe this is beyond the scope of this chapter.

262 Particularly in this period of his political career, as his earlier cubiculum in the fortress mirrored his reign in that precise moment too, but in a less ‘personal’ way than these later changes. The attention to detail and care shown in these new chambers is obvious, particularly the deliberated décor and spatial configuration supporting his imperial image.

263 Paez de Castro, Memoria a Felipe II , p. 40.

En esta tercera sala podrán estar retratos antiguos. Julio Cesar tratando de aquellas grandes cosas, que havia comenzado á hacer, assi de enmendar los gastos demasiados en comer, y vestir, como en las librerias, que mandaba ordenar á Marco Varron. Augusto Cesar con los tres libros , que dexaba escritos al tiempo de su muerte. Yespasiano con el libro que hizo del Imperio Romano , como diximos. Estará sobre todos la Magestad Cesárea, naciendo la mayor cosa , que jamás se hizo , entregando á
The archive was the memory of the king, to sustain and ‘remember’ issues of political importance to him. It also referred to the memory of his ancestors - and another way to perpetuate the achievements of his reign in history. This was an emulation of the history of the emperors of ancient Rome.

The king’s new chambers and the planned gallery of portraits embodied ideals of empire and Philip’s kingship. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz’s drawing of the paintings for this gallery brings to mind the memorandum of Juan Paez de Castro. The gallery of emperors envisioned by Castro was located in the archival chamber of the premises he was describing to the king. The historian suggested including important Roman emperors, as well as Charles V’s abdication of the throne. The idea was to link both lines of imperial rulers, the ancient and the new. The planned gallery in Simancas aimed to present an idealised image of kingship, and although it would have portrayed the kings of Castile, Paez de Castro’s report may have influenced the all’antica style in which they would be depicted as ancient Roman emperors. In this sense, the emulation of Imperial Rome was made manifest in the systematisation of the bureaucratic state, the organisation of the archive, and its visual display.

Paez de Castro envisioned part of the holdings of this archive would be ‘the reports the ministers send, from these parts [parts meaning realms] of Europe where your Majesty’s Empire extends, to the Indies’. Simancas archive conserved the records of the Crown of Castile, along with the papers of other supranational institutions such as the Council of State, which dealt with many diplomatic affairs, along with those of the councils of war, Flanders, and Portugal. This is a crucial fact in arguing the internationality and imperial dimension of the Simancas archive not solely because Castile was an empire itself, but also because it housed these other supranational collections. The gallery of the kings was to be in the chamber where both the Patronazgo Real and the Council of State papers were conserved. Another relevant point is that contemporaries, like Paez de Castro, refer to Philip II’s dominion in imperial terms. In this case, the historian was describing the contents that imperial archive, and the description was very similar to what actually transpired.

The importance of history and the way Philip viewed it is extensively studied in chapter four of this thesis. Nonetheless, the notion of memory as described by Philip.

V. M. todos sus reynos , y señoríos, [...]

264 Concerning Paez de Castro, see Paez de Castro, Memoria a Felipe II. Concerning Pantoja de la Cruz, see subheading 2.12. The King’s Chambers: Francisco the Mora’s Reforms (1588-1598).
265 Paez de Castro, Memoria a Felipe II, p. 40.
Las Relaciones, que los Ministros embian, assi de estas partes de Europa, por donde se extiende el Imperio de V. M. como de las Indias.
II’s Portuguese grandfather is highly pertinent: the achievements and good government of the current rulers could serve as an example to forthcoming kings, so the archive then became a memorial to future rulers. Philip II created the mausoleum of his dynasty in El Escorial, where L’Hermite also depicted genealogical trees adorning the panels between Leoni’s bronze sculptures in the walls flanking the basilica’s apse. This genealogical ornamentation reinforced the authority of a dynasty whose empire was gained by inheritance in Europe and conquest in the new world. The archive at Simancas was yet another critical link in this chain of posterity, and the memory of Philip’s exploits in history. Indeed, the compilation of history that the archivists were instructed to complete was focused on victories in war. In this context, one may argue that Simancas was also a ‘mausoleum’ of the Renaissance ruler responsible for the first global empire. The planned décor of the chambers indicated that the imperial achievement of Philip II should be remembered, and the planned gallery of portraits finished with the monarch - he was the one who achieved the Universal Monarchy desired by every sixteenth-century ruler.

The architecture of the imperial archive at Simancas, both that completed and that which was never realised, is therefore a perfect model through which to analyse the way the periphery affected the centre of empire in Castile, and the way its monarch viewed himself as the ruler of that empire.

---

266 L’Hermite, *El Pasatiempos*, pp. 652-653. These decorations were later substituted.

On the 29th of June of 1581, Philip II of Castile and I of Portugal was received in the city of Lisbon. The regal entry was one the most elaborated and magnificent of its kind and opened a new chapter in festival culture in the Lusitanian capital. The learned itinerary of the procession and the combination of religious events with popular celebrations resumed a dialogue between the two adjoining kingdoms and between the ruler and the ruled. Fifteen triumphal arches and other artefacts were erected. Plays and songs were performed celebrating the union of the most extensive colonial empires ever known. This was the foremost celebration of Philip II’s triumph as a Universal Monarch; King of Portugal and Castile and their respective oceanic empires.¹ Scholars have not given much attention to this entry.

Most of the published work on the entry has examined the festival in comparison with the later entry of Philip III into Lisbon in 1619. The fame of the later entry benefits from a magnificent booklet by Lavanha with lavish engravings.² Because of the richness of printed material of the entry of 1619, many authors frequently see Philip II’s entry in 1581 as a mere rehearsal for his heir’s reception. Even so, these fragmentarily publications only examined the waterfront display, therefore only reflecting partially the real apparatus of the fête. These studies have largely avoided

¹ Contemporary printed material and other accounts on the Iberian Union and the triumphal entry are as follows: A. Escobar, *Recopilacion de la Felicissima Jornada que la Catholica Real Magestad del Rey don Phelipe nuestro señor hizo en la Conquista del Reyno de Portugal [...]* (Valencia, 1583). The copy used for this chapter is from the National Library of Spain. A.M. Vasconcellos, *Succession del Señor Rey Don Filipe Segundo en la Corona de Portugal* (Madrid, 1639). The copy used is from El Escorial Library, Spain. I. Velázquez Salmantino, *La Entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe, Invistissimo Rey de las Españas, Segundo de este nombre, Primero de Portugal [...]* (Madrid, 1581). The copy used is from Escorial Library, Spain. G. Conestaggio, *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugal to the Crowne of Castill [...]* (London, 1600). A. Guerreiro, *Das Festas que se Fizeram na Cidade de Lisboa, na Entrada de el-reii D. Filippe, Primeiro de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1581). The copy used in this chapter if from El Escorial Library, Spain. An incomplete version of the book was reprinted by Reimpressoes, Portugal Amarrado, Nôdoas de Lisboa, Empresa da revista, Lisboa, 1950. The Memorial by Pero Rois Soares is a manuscript kept at the National Library of Lisbon which narrates the events clearly against the Spanish Monarch. Edited by M. Lopes de Almeida, *Memorial de Pero Rois Soares* (Lisbon, 1953).

² Another significant contribution on Philip II’s entry is Lavanha’s booklet on the Entry of Philip II of Portugal or Philip the III of Spain into Lisbon, edited in 1619 and 1622, both copies used from the National Library of Spain in Madrid. These are relevant because there are references to Philip II’s entry of 1581 and also because the entry of 1619 had a similar itinerary. J.B. Lavanha, *Viage de la Catolica Magestas del Rey Don Felipe III [...] a su Reino de Portugal y Relación del Solemne Recibimiento [...]* (Madrid, 1619). There is another version in Portuguese. As noted a new edition was printed in 1622 with the inclusion of the famous panoramic vista of Lisbon.
analysis of the rest of the triumphal route and also neglected some essential features of the waterfront plaza.

E.M. Vetter’s lengthy article is based on the account by Velázquez Salmantino, it contributed to the idea of recycled structures. The reason behind the lack of a well-structured and exhaustive analysis of the festival is that most of these studies have examined the entry of 1619 and not the former.

The chapter published by George Kubler in his Portuguese Plain Architecture used the 1581 reception merely as an introduction to the later festival. He compared these entries to those in the Low Countries and identified the festivals in Lisbon under Philip II and Philip III as joyeuses entrées rather than triumphal entries per se. In this chapter, I propose that Philip II’s entry of 1581 was both a joyeuse entrée – as tacit agreement between the city and the monarch – and a grandiloquent triumphal procession.

The remaining articles and monographs that mention Philip II’s entry into Lisbon in 1581 focus most attention on his heir’s reception, except for the notable work of Bouza and the article by Soromenho. These works concentrate, if at all, on the first two ephemeral structures erected. For instance, this is the case with the work of both Alves and Soromenho, although the latter also analysed the funeral and the ephemeral structure erected in honour of Philip in 1598. Soromenho’s work regarding the first entry of 1581 adds an interesting discussion concerning the authorship of the triumphal arches. More recently, in the book published by Torres Megiani, the earlier entry of 1581 is largely disregarded, except again for the riverfront structures. The study is more concerned with the idea of the absent king as reflected in the festivals

---

3 The article is one of the first reviews on the entry of Philip III into Lisbon in 1619, only based on the decorative programme and avoiding its relation with the historical context. The most important contribution by Vetter is the idea of re-using ephemeral structures. E. M. Vetter, ‘Der Einzug Philipps III in Lissabon 1619’, Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft vol. VII (1962), pp. 187-263. The article is introduced by Philip II’s entry of 1581, but unfortunately Vetter limited the view of the festival observing only the account by Velázquez Salmantino of 1582. The contribution by Velázquez is indeed interesting although incomplete the focus of the book was the king travel and certain aspects on the union and its political reverberations and as a celebration of the Castilian Monarch achievement and justified right to the Portuguese crown. This was a chronicle supporting the political propaganda of the Habsburg king, see Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada.


rather than an exhaustive study of the art display, architecture and urbanism of Philip II’s entry. Therefore, a minor input in this area is justified.6

Margaça Veiga in his recent book on the ‘Philippine’ influence in Portugal assembled the previous contributions on the entry of 1619 and referred briefly to that of 1581.7 The greatest contribution has come from the now seminal work by Bouza on the cultural history of the Iberian Union.8 His studies on print culture and the creation of the Philip II’s kingly image in Portugal are crucial to the analysis in this chapter.9

Accounts of the entry of 1581 have no surviving accompanying graphic material. This was not the case with the entry of 1619 which it is a lavishly engraved chronicle, translated into various languages, disseminated among contemporaries and thereby attracting the interest of historians. The lack of images, and the strong opposition Philip II faced in becoming King of Portugal, lay behind the more niggardly dissemination of this event. The remaining chronicles have complex textual descriptions and only two of them cover completely the triumphal route of 1581.10

Guerreiro’s relación is the most complete, yet the descriptions of the architectural and artistic features of the ephemeral structures are difficult to interpret.11 Therefore, in order to understand fully this festival it was necessary to develop graphically its architectural form, even if only approximately, and to show how these were displayed in the city. In other words, the ephemeral structures had to be drawn and placed in a generated plan of the city as it was in 1581. This is the first study to attempt to ‘reconstruct’ the event graphically.12

---

6 A.P. Torres Megiani, O Rei Ausente. Festa e Cultura Política nas Visitas dos Filipes a Portugal, 1581 e 1619 (São Paulo, 2004).
7 C. Margaça Veiga, A Herança Filipina em Portugal (Lisbon, 2005).
8 Brochado has recently published a paper on the entry of 1581. However, this study is largely based on the publications by Fernando Bouza. A. Brochado, ‘Poderes Concorrentes na Entrada Régia de 1581: Representado e Poder Imaginado,’ Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal no. 9 (Lisboa, 2007), pp. 50-64.
9 See for instance: F.J. Bouza Álvarez, Portugal No Tempo dos Filipes: Política, Cultura, Representações (1580-1668) (Lisboa, 2000). F.J. Bouza Álvarez, Imagen y Propaganda: Capítulos de Historia Cultural del Reinado de Felipe I (Madrid, 1998). F.J. Bouza Álvarez, D. Filipe I (Lisbon, 2005). F.J. Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II y el Portugal Dos Povos. Imágenes de Esperanza y Revuelta (Salamanca, 2011). Regarding this festival, Bouza’s contribution is so far the most valuable. In his latest essay cited above: Felipe II y el Portugal, he uses one of the panel decorations in the festival to discuss the messianic image of Philip II as the ‘shepherd’. F.J. Bouza Álvarez, ‘Retórica da Imagem Real: Portugal e a Memória Figurada de Filipe II,’ Penélope: Revista de História e Ciências Sociais, N°. 4, 1990, pp. 19-58. This article was translated into Spanish with some additions in his cited book, Bouza, Imagen, pp. 58-92. In this, he examines interesting parts of the festival, which will be referenced in this chapter. However, so far this is the first systematic study on this festival with substantial differences with his work as it will be seen hereafter.
10 These were Guerreiro’s and the account of Velázquez Salmantino, (see note 1).
11 Guerreiro, Das Festas, (see note 1).
12 In this chapter I use drawings and other images based on these descriptions. For a full analysis on how these were created and under which criteria see technical appendix.
This study compares the different sources of information on the fête from writers ‘appointed’ by the crown, such as Vasconcellos and Velazques, and ‘independent’ versions like those by Roiz Soares and Conestaggio (voicing opposition to the foreign sovereign).\(^\text{13}\) The ephemeral architecture described in the sources has been re-created graphically and then superimposed on a 3D model of Lisbon. Ultimately, the study seeks to shed new light on the symbolism behind the display and the interaction of agents involved in the entry: power, rendition, privileges, nobility, popular traditions and a new order imposed by a newly-crowned king.

The festival in Lisbon for Philip II was the crowning event of the greatest accomplishment of his political career – a triumph in diplomacy (and bribing), and a conquest by war. This was the victory of the policy of dynastic marriages mastered by Philip II’s Portuguese grandparent, Manuel I of Portugal and his Castilian great-grandparents, the Catholic Monarchs. The festival was the celebration of the union of the Iberian Peninsula and its global dominions under a single ruler. If the Treaty of Tordesillas divided the globe, Philip was able to celebrate its reunion in Lisbon in 1581. The responsibility of the Universal Monarchy was clearly in Philip II’s hands. Philip was predestined for this ‘rightfully inherited’ kingdom of Portugal in order to propagate the Catholic counterreformation.\(^\text{14}\) How was this imperial glory echoed in the festival? Did the monarch have any input in the display? And how did the artistic display promoted by the king differ from that promoted by the local authorities and guilds of Lisbon?

Early modern festivals in Europe were usually funded by local sources or by the region or realm hosting them. For example, one of the reasons for the delay of Philip III’s visit to Lisbon was the difficulty the Portuguese chamber found in gathering enough funds to support the festival.\(^\text{15}\)

As this thesis focuses on Philip II’s imperial authority as displayed in architecture, urbanism and arts, understanding the participation of the monarch’s entourage is essential. In this festival the participation of the local authorities and also the king’s desires were reflected in the arts through a combined effort of the court architects and the local authorities and guilds in the finalisation of the ephemeral structures for the reception. The point is made through archival evidence and a closer

\(^{13}\) See note 1.

\(^{14}\) There were other candidates to the Portuguese crown competing with Philip II and many contemporaries saw his accession as an usurpation. The genealogical studies both supporting his candidacy and against it circulated among European courts. See for instance Connestaggio’s interpretation clearly against the Spaniard in Connestaggio, *The Historie*. See subheading 3.1. for further insights and reference for sources.

\(^{15}\) Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture*, p. 107
examination of the displays. This analysis is indebted to the ‘schematic recreation’ of the ephemeral structures. This visual recreation has been instrumental for the comprehension of the complete artistic programme. In this study it is demonstrated how critical sections of the festival were decorated with images and motifs which had emerged in the ruler’s court in the years before the accession to the Portuguese crown. This imperial décor blended with a strong local input in certain ephemeral structures and reveals the tensions and expectations of both sides: the Portuguese people and their new foreign ruler. The number of triumphal arches erected in European capitals at the time varied between five to nine structures. In Lisbon they erected fifteen arches and other artifices.\footnote{For instance, festivals in Venice, during this period and in the first decades on seventeenth century had between five to seven arches the most. See I. Fenlon, \textit{The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice} (New Haven &London, 2007).}

Many of the structures erected are not going to be discussed in this chapter as the thematic scope of the thesis is not directly linked to them. The themes these arches deployed referred largely to local traditions, or the lives of saints. One example included fragments of the life of St. Vincent. Some stations pointed to city landmarks, such as the location of the\textit{ Porta da Moeda}. Many of them did not have inscriptions, such as the arch of the Order of St. George, or were only used to decorate the urban space as in the case of the façade in the\textit{ Póco da Fotea}.\footnote{You can view most of them recreated in a three-dimensional form in Fig. 9.} Whereas others, like the giant statue of the Goldsmiths, had clear references to the Iberian Union and praised the justice of Philip II’s reign (see Fig.9).\footnote{Guerreiro, \textit{Las Festas}, pp. 57-58.}

However, some of the structures in Lisbon were not finished on time and the ‘reviews’ in the accounts of the entry are mixed. I explore both concepts of ‘magnificence’ and ‘failure’ in the artistic display of the festival. These coexisted in the form of formidable structures echoing classical imagination with other unfinished arches. In the end, the high degree of experimentation and the magnitude of this festival transformed triumphal culture in Lisbon for centuries to come.

3.1. Dynastic Marriages and their Political Reverberations: Aviz, Trastamaras and Habsburgs.

Events to the addition of Portugal to the Spanish composite monarchy can be traced back to the union of Aragon and Castile under Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. This was the starting point for a number of events instigated by dynastic marriages that changed the politics of Europe from then onwards.
At the end of the fifteenth century, with the success of Columbus’ trip, Portugal and Castile were established as the pre-eminent mercantile states in Europe. These realms became the first global empires with control over the routes to the Americas and East Asia. Charles V married Isabella of Portugal (mother of Philip II), who was the primogenital daughter of Manuel I of Portugal. The emperor encouraged Philip to marry his cousin Manuela of Portugal. They married in Salamanca in 1543. The houses of Aviz and Habsburg were strongly linked.

Sebastian I of Portugal was the son of Philip II of Spain’s sister Joanna. The correspondence between the young Portuguese king and his uncle is abundant; they also met on the frontier to discuss common issues. Philip II wanted to negotiate the protection of the Atlantic maritime routes from attack from pirates, among other matters. However, Sebastian was obsessed with crusading against the Muslims and tried to collect funds and allies to campaign in North Africa. Philip tried to discourage him fruitlessly.

In practical terms, both countries needed each other as they shared shipping routes to the Americas, with the Canary and Azores islands as strategic points for the reception and departure of vessels. Portugal had a strategic location in the Atlantic, whilst the Spanish confederation had it in the Mediterranean and Central Europe.

When the Portuguese monarch fell in the Tunes campaign in 1578 without heir, Philip II was ready to assert his right to the Lusitanian crown. A few candidates to the kingdom disputed right of succession. Finally, the elder Cardinal Henry, brother of Juan III of Portugal, was crowned King Henry I of Portugal in 1578, although he died in 1580, leaving the matter of succession unsolved. The possible candidates for the crown were Catherine, Duchess of Braganza; her nephew, the 11-year-old Duke of Parma; Antonio the Prior of Crato; and King Philip II of Spain.

The only candidate to dispute Philip II’s appeal was the Prior of Crato. The prior was an illegitimate grandson of Manuel I. He was popular among the lower social strata, who were opposed to the rule of a Castilian monarch. Crato raised a military contingent to defeat Philip II’s army commanded by the Duke of Alba. The military conquest of the mainland Portugal lasted only four months. However, Crato remained in the Azores resisting defeat until 1583.

---

19 Manuela died in the childbirth of the unfortunate D. Carlos.
21 Kamen, _El Enigma_, p. 199.
During this time, Philip II of Spain delivered a studied piece of political propaganda which aimed to justify his rights to the Portuguese crown. At the same time, counter propaganda was produced against the Spaniard’s candidature among his numerous enemies inside and outside the Lusitanian territories. The complex diplomatic strategy delivered for the acquisition of Portugal exalted an imperial discourse enhancing the role of Portugal in the Iberian union and Philip II’s rights to the crown.

Cristobal da Moura was one of Philip’s envoys in Portugal. He dealt with important negotiations during the period prior to the military incursion. Moura was Portuguese, but he had been educated in the Castilian court. He became Joanna of Habsburg’s confidant and was based in her household in Madrid. As noted before, Joanna was Philip II’s sister, widow to the king of Portugal and mother of Sebastian I of Portugal. She moved back to Castile shortly after she was widowed, and became the patron of the major reforms in the royal monastery of Descalzas Reales in Madrid.

Philip II maintained his correspondence with Portugal, as he had done before the death of Sebastian I. This correspondence expressed his profound sorrow for the loss of his nephew. These letters were promptly followed by others offering his rule to the realm, stating a number of rights to the crown that his advisors meticulously assembled. The king requested information from the Royal Archive in Simancas, and

---

22 There are numerous contemporary sources to the Portuguese succession in Portugal. See British Library (BL) Mss. Add. 8709: A Treatise Concerning the Succession of Portugal circa 1578-1580. El Escorial Library, RBME & III-12 . Olim: IV-N-6 . Olim: IV-C-11: L. San Pedro, Dialogo llamado Philippino donde se referen C. Congrencias Concernientes al Derecho que sv. Magestad Del Rei. D. Philippe nuestro Señor tiene al Reino de Portugal (c. 1579). These are among the many repositories with reports, letters and other material testament to the political interest the succession was generating in sixteenth-century European courts.

23 Vasconcellos, Succession, p. 5. Also the bundles of papers in General Archive of Simancas, AGS, Estado Leg. 397 holds part of the correspondence with Cristobal da Moura and Leg. 398. Reports and other documents from and to Cristobal da Moura and the Duke of Medinaceli concerning Philip II’s rights to the Portuguese crown.

24 There is still no monograph on Queen Joanna of Habsburg, however Annemarie Jordan is intending to complete this work. In the meantime, for an interesting outline of her personality and relationship with his brother Philip II see C. Parker, Felipe II. La Biografía Definitiva (Madrid, 2010) pp. 442-446. Joanna was received in 1552 in Lisbon with the occasion of her wedding. This ceremony was orchestrated between both Iberian courts and it has been demonstrated how Philip II was involved and followed closely the festival for his sister see A. Jordan Gschwend, ‘Cosa Veramente Di Gran Stupore’. Entrada Real y Fiestas Nupciales de Juana de Austria en Lisboa’ in K. De Jorge, B. J. García García and A. Esteban Estríngana, El Legado de Borgoña. Fiesta y Ceremonia Cortesana en la Europa de los Austrias (1454-1648) (Madrid, 2010), pp. 179-240. I thank Ana Isabel Buescu for allowing me to cite her chapter ‘Royal Entries in Portugal in the Sixteenth Century: Lisbon, the “Queen of the Ocean” 1521 and 1552’, due to forthcoming publication with Ashgate 2012 in a collection of essays on Spanish Habsburg Pageantry edited by F. Checa Cremades and L. Fernández-González.

25 The building techniques employed in this monastery were discussed at length in the first chapter of this thesis and the creation of standardised domestic architecture in Philip II’s empire with an emphasis in Madrid.
secretly also commanded Moura to retrieve these documents from the Royal Archive at the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. As explained in chapter 2, the Portuguese repository was highly effective on such business.\textsuperscript{26}

The acquisition of the country was finally achieved by a brief incursion commanded by the Duke of Alba in 1580. The court at Tomar ratified Philip II as Philip I of Portugal in 1581. Philip now ruled the largest empire ever known, exceeding considerably that of his father, the late emperor Charles V.

The sources of information on the triumphal entry of Philip II into Lisbon are diverse: many of them are devoted to the military incursion rather than the festival. For instance, Vasconcelos, Velázquez Salmantino, and Escobar voice the king’s propaganda, and Conestaggio’s account is partisan on the other side of the debate. The only chronicle solely devoted to the entry was written by Mestre Afonso Guerreiro, published a month after the fête.\textsuperscript{27} Guerreiro’s chronicle describes exhaustively the ephemeral architecture and accompanying visual display. Velázquez Salmantino’s booklet is also an interesting source for the triumphal route. Some of the description in this account disagreed with other contemporary sources, which makes it important to contrast the various accounts.

The rest of the chronicles, with the exception of Conestaggio’s and certain sections of Velázquez Salmantino’s, were largely copied from Guerreiro’s. Guerreiro and Velázquez witnessed the events: Velázquez was part of the king’s entourage and Guerreiro was Portuguese and most possibly ‘appointed’ by the city authorities to write the account. The Portuguese text passed the censorship of the Holy Inquisition with some amendments. Guerreiro excused the possible mistakes, and the lack of engravings accompanying the description, due to the pressure of ‘many’ on the conclusion of the book, hence the short time frame to finalise it properly. This urgency was certainly aimed at pleasing the new ruler.\textsuperscript{28}

There are also some surviving ambassadorial letters and reports, although most of these concerned the battles between Philip II’s and Crato’s forces rather than the festival. The \textit{Memorial} by Pero Rois Soares is a manuscript kept at the National Library of Lisbon that narrates the events and was clearly against the Spanish monarch. This account is a very interesting alternative chronicle of the ruling period of the Spanish Habsburgs in Portugal.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{26} Margaça Veiga, \textit{A Herença}, p. 70.
\textsuperscript{27} See note 1.
\textsuperscript{28} Guerreiro, \textit{As Festas}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{29} Lopes de Almeida, \textit{Memorial}. See note 1 for full reference.
3.2. The Triumphal Entry into Lisbon, 1581: the Water Festival.

On the 29th of June of 1581, at 3 p.m., the king departed in his royal vessel from Almada towards the Terreiro do Paço in Lisbon, sailing up the river Tagus. Profusely decorated boats escorted the committee with musicians playing. The king’s departure was announced by the firing guns from the coast, followed by the guns of the eleven vessels escorting the royal ship. The smoke of the gunpowder covered the sky and, in combination with the incredible noise, appeared to be a battle instead of a celebration. Once this ceased, a clear day and calm sea became visible. Then the Castle of St. George began with the blasting of its armament. 30

The citizens of Lisbon were not only welcoming the new king but also competing for the prize the city council had promised to the most beautifully garlanded vessel. The winner of the award was a vessel that imitated a ‘big fish’. 31 As described by Rois Soares there was also a prize for the best decorated building. 32 This is what Bouza has recently called a ‘poetic joust’, showing that the dialogue between ruled and ruler was not unidirectional. 33

These competitions over the reception of the new king into Lisbon were traditional in the Lusitanian capital; the entries of Eleanor (1521) and Joanna (1552) of Habsburg to wed Portuguese monarchs were accompanied by similar prizes, as was the entry of Philip II’s heir in 1619. 34

The vessel in which the monarch sailed to the festival was also offered by the city of Lisbon, and was highly ornamented for the occasion with rich silks for the canopy. 35 The closest image to what occurred that day in the Tagus is that of Philip III’s entry in 1619. The booklet accompanying this event was lavishly engraved with depictions by Lavanha (Fig.1). Similarly, a recently discovered painting shows an earlier version of this entry (Fig.2). Gehlert has argued that since this image was depicted before the festival occurred, it was an earlier template rather than an actual account of events and may therefore have been inspired by the ceremonial of his father

30 Guerreiro, As Festas, p. 11. This is the epic tone used by Guerreiro’s chronicle of the entry.
31 Lopes de Almeida, Memorial, p. 193.
32 Ibid., p.193.
33 Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II y el Portugal, p. 38.
34 See note 23. Additionally, the fruiterers and truckfarmers had put on display in Terreiro do Paço on the side of the riverfront palace many goods of their orchards which perfumed nicely the festival. According to Velázquez Salamantino, La Entrada, p. 120
On the other side, the women selling fruits and products from the orchards had planted trees and green herbs that perfumed nicely, and in the [same] section in the river bank the inventions of the fishermen to win the prizes promised by the city. […]
entry in 1581.  

Both the engraving in Lavanha’s booklet, and the anonymous painting, show the Tagus with a number of galleys and smaller vessels. However the aquatic performance in the pictures is different. The earlier canvas of 1613 displays the galleys in squadron (Figs. 5-6) as described in the sources recording Philip II’s entry of 1581. In contrast, the later version of 1622 does not emphasise this and only a few galleys are shown firing their guns (Fig.4).

The aquatic parade is profusely decorated in the canvas of 1613 compared with the engraving in the booklet. The latter was the official account and the display in the river is moderated. In the canvas much detail is used to emphasise the might of the fleet and its bellicose character. In the booklet’s engraving only some boats are firing their guns and the regal galleys do not appear as garlanded as in the painted depiction.

The difference in the use of guns between both depictions may be because they represent different stages in the entry. For instance, in Philip II’s entry of 1581 the fire of the armament stopped once the Monarch’s flatilla was approaching the pier in Terreiro do Paço, and therefore the images ‘captured’ two different moments in the representation. Although this idea is interesting, it seems that the canvas of 1613 was based more on the previous entry of 1581 and therefore the image was reinforcing the mighty character of that aquatic festival.

Guerreiro wrote: ‘and all these composed a superb image of war in the entry’. Similarly, Escobar noted that the blasting of the artillery ‘emulated a war devastating the city’. The difference between the earlier view dated in 1613 and Lavanha’s booklet reflects not only the different stages in the aquatic performance but possibly the different character of the festivals (Fig.3). In the account printed in 1619 (and 1622) to celebrate Philip III’s entry into Lisbon, the description of the water festival is exiguous and the writer passes over some details on the river. On the other hand, the accounts of 1581 display a delight in describing the aquatic performance, such as in the following verses: ‘Once his Majesty, boarded in his galley, the thunder of the artillery, harrisonous salute performed, the bellicose galleys, in ordered squadron, the regal [galley] as the lady, patron in the midst was [...]’.

---

37 Guerreiro, Das Festas, p. 12: ‘[…] fez esta entrada mais soberba com imagem de Guerra’.
38 Escobar, Recopilacion, p. 109: ‘[…] de tal manera q si como era en regozijo, fuera Guerra pareciera que se assolaba la ciudad’.
39 Bouza Álvarez, Portugal no Tempo, p. 95. A. Falcão de Resende, Romance da Entrada del Rey Philippe o Primeiro em Portugal em Lisboa: ‘Luego que su Magestad, en la galera uvo entrado, los truenos del artillaría, harrisona salvó hão dado. […] , las bellicozas gallerias, que en escadrón ordenado, a la real como senhora, patrona en medio hão tomado’. 

157
This was evoking the military character of the water festival, as a prelude to the entry into the city. The regal galley in 1581 was accompanied by music with royal Ministrioles performing with slide trumpets.\(^40\) The triumph began with an exaltation of the mighty power of the Spaniard. This was mostly because the conquest of Lisbon occurred only a few months earlier. Citizens of the Portuguese capital lamented the Lisbon assault commanded by the Duke of Alba.\(^41\) However, the king’s official historians gave a sanitized account of the events, sharply contrasting with Connessaggio’s narration condemning the ferocity of the troops.\(^42\) There is surviving archival material reporting the state Lisbon was left in after the Duke’s assault. The report was requested by the king.\(^43\) Engravings depicting the battle in Lisbon and the assault by Alba’s troops were circulating around in Europe. The acquisition of Portugal by Philip II was an event of immense magnitude in European politics.

In this depiction (Fig.7) of the battle, the action in the Tagus is the central focus of the piece. Yet the drawing resembles closely the drawings and descriptions of the water festival of 1581. If only we could imagine the dock of the river with the festival structures. This image may appear as one of the visual sources of the fête displaying the water performance. The emphasis given in Philip II’s entry in 1581 to the military dimension clearly asserted the ruler’s control and power thus over Portugal. In the entry of his heir, the diplomatic tableau was different and thus reflected the political discourse printed in the accompanying propaganda.

The river Tagus was ‘soul’ of Lisbon and the epicentre of the Portuguese global empire. Lisbon was one of the most important commercial hubs in Europe during the 1500s. In Velázquez’s description the response of the guns from the fleet anchored on the banks of the Tagus was formidable:

[…]the many galleys that had been repaired from the Portuguese [flotilla, such as ] St. Martin and St. Mathew, [as well as ] the rest of the bulk of the Indies’ navy, [such as] urca, frigates, [and other boats:] Portuguese, French, German, Biscay, […] English, and Italian, all from diverse nations and parts [of the world], were assembled in great numbers, and, as they are normally, [anchored] in this river bank, [all of them] arrived

The term horrisonous is a word uniting horrendous with unisonous could be defined as the storming noise produced by all galleys firing their guns at the same time.

\(^40\) Velázquez, La Entrada, p. 120.
\(^41\) Roiz Soares reported the profound the sorrow that this assault caused Portuguese people in a chapter entitled: ‘The entry and Sack of Lisbon […]’. He compared this intervention with the infamous Sack of Rome (1527). See Lopez Almeida, Memoria, p. 179.
\(^42\) The crossed descriptions of the military incursion became a propaganda war. There are many reports on this matter, see for example the conflicting versions Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, pp. 56- 57 and see the cited Memoria de Pero Rois Soares above.
\(^43\) AGS, Estado, Leg. 426. This bundle is almost entirely devoted to the military incursion in Portugal.
This account is emphasising the commercial character of the Portuguese port. As Philip II wrote in 1579, Lisbon was ‘the principal port and commercial [hub] of everything because of commodity of the port […]’.\(^4\) The aquatic festival was a simulated war but also presented Lisbon as the ‘capital’ of the Atlantic emphasising the strategic role that the port had in the management of the Portuguese empire.\(^5\) The cosmopolitan character of the Portuguese capital would be also expressed by other accounts of the event. The Tagus was the aquatic tableau for royal and official receptions in the city. The grandiloquence of the performances would reach an apogee during Habsburg rule. The relation and identification of Lisbon with the Atlantic Ocean was the basis for iconographical programmes that celebrated the imperial achievements of the crown as reflected in the iconographic programme displayed in Terreiro do Paço. The Portuguese empire was conquered via the sea. This identification was also pertinent to the Castilian empire, as the Spanish had also to conquer the Ocean before reaching American soil. The Portuguese fleet was the ‘pillar’ that sustained the imperial enterprise, and therefore had a crucial role in royal receptions. The heroic connotations in the water festival in the Tagus therefore aimed to present the prestigious sea force of Iberia and their dominion of the Atlantic, now put in to the service of King Philip.

3.3. Empire and Imperial Display in the Entry of Philip II into Lisbon, 1581.

Philip II entered the city of Lisbon in 1581. Likewise, thirty-eight years later, in 1619, his heir Philip III entered the city on the same day of St. Peter. Both Monarchs shared a similar journey from Castile to Portugal and many essential features in the Lisbon entry, including a similar triumphal route, as well as some ephemeral structures that were likely to have been recycled. However, one of the major discrepancies between the festivals was the organisation of these ephemeral structures. The reception of Philip III had many years to be thought through and planned as the journey was postponed

\(^{4}\) Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 121.
\(^{5}\) Bouza Álvarez, Imagen, p. 114.
\(^{6}\) During the sixteenth century and later writers evoked the river Tagus as the ‘mirror’ of Lisbon and as projection of the Portuguese oceanic empire. See for instance Damião de Góis Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio (Evora,1554).
several times. Of the temporary structures of the 1581 entry were organised rapidly and under the pressure of dynasty change and recent war. Philip II had the architect Filipo Terzi work on the entry. The presence of Juan de Herrera was recorded in Lisbon, in 1580, but there is no evidence that he was involved in the festival design. The structures as documented in the chronicles and archival documentation present temporary displays that did not comprise a coherent programme, as it will be demonstrated in this section.

Both entries began, as was traditional in a festival of this kind, with a military parade; in this case an aquatic performance in the Tagus, (see itinerary in Fig.8). As mentioned in the previous section, Philip II’s entry of 1581 had a strong military emphasis. Even though Philip II had conquered the country, the printed propaganda surrounding the event tried to present this conquest as not only being effective but as also having inflicted minimum harm on the population. In fact, when he was still a candidate for the crown, he postulated that he was best suited to protect the realm. It was a complex task to balance both views under the same umbrella and project a combined image of protection and imperial might. The display and performances in the entry tried to balance these apparently contradictory concepts. This balance intended to reinforce the idea that those who accepted the new monarch would be welcomed but those who supported the rebels commanded by Crato would receive the might of the Spanish army.

The organisation of the festival took the following form: Firstly, a military parade, in this case celebrated on the Tagus. Secondly, it was performed the ceremony of the oath (in which the keys of the city were given to the ruler, with the ruler agreeing to maintain the city privileges in exchange). In the entry of 1581, this was a two stage process where the keys were presented at the dock of the river (see Fig.9 no.2) and then at the city gate in which the king responded favourably to the local authorities requests (Fig.9 no.3). Thirdly, there was a processional route to the cathedral for the celebration of mass (Fig.9 nos.4 to 7 on the procession route, the

---

47 Kubler, Portuguese Plain Architecture p. 107
49 This is stated in a letter from Philip II of Spain to the Duke of Osuna (1579) in which the ruler wanted the noble to speak to King Henry. Henry only ruled between 1578 and 1580. Therefore, he was already old and only had access to the crown after the death of King Sebastian I. In this letter, the Spaniard stated the protection he could grant to the Portuguese subjects. He was trying to persuade Henry to designate him as the heir to the throne. See J. Cowans, Early Modern Spain: a Documentary History (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 113. [...] for the universal good of the vassals of that crown [...] I will look after all of them very gladly because of my great desire o see to it that it is never necessary to come to hard measures with my own blood relatives, with my own nation, with my own children, whom I have in this place.
Cathedral’s façade was also embellished). Finally, once the political and religious rituals having come to an end, the celebration then reached its climax in Rua Nova dos Mercaderes and surrounding streets, where it would conclude at the royal palace. The itinerary of the procession followed the following route: the royal committee departed from the Cathedral returning through the same streets until the junction where the arch of the Order of St. George (i.e., Pezo) was located (Fig.9 no.4) and then continuing through Rua Nova dos Mercaderes (where arches 8 to 11 were located). The procession then continued to the tableaux vivant at the Fangas da Farinha (Fig.9 no.12), and on to the structure (Fig.9 no.15), where the ruler finally reached the royal palace.

This festival sequence was common, with slight variations from most other regal receptions, triumphal entries, and joyous entries, in Lisbon and elsewhere in the Iberian Peninsula. In this sense, the reception followed the European pattern of royal entries. However, the number of triumphal arches, façades, and other ephemeral structures surpassed anything seen in the period since the entry of 1549 in Antwerp. The magnificent entry prepared for Philip in Antwerp in 1549 had over fourteen ephemeral structures. In Lisbon, in 1581, there were a total of nineteen ephemeral structures (fifteen of which were arches or façades). This number of structures had not been seen in Europe since the tour of Charles V and Philip between 1548 and 1549. The history of the entry of Antwerp in 1549 is a tale of failure for Charles’ aspirations for his heir were drastically changed by the electors of the Holy Roman Empire. The heavy rain ruined most of the structures and some of them were unfinished. The motifs and inscriptions were prepared to celebrate the accession of Philip and there was an edition of the booklet already printed before the festival had occurred narrating a ‘story’ that never happened.

Now at the entry in 1581, Philip would finally have a reception in Lisbon of imperial magnificence. Although the emperor’s crown held a high reputation, Philip’s

---

50 This processional route in which there were at least two crucial rituals; namely the ‘key ceremony’ and the mass, normally together with the celebration afterwards, were replicated in the European realms during the sixteenth century. For further insights into triumphal entries, see: B. Wisch, S.S.Munshower, Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Vol. 1 Triumphal Celebrations (Philadelphia, 1990). Also see M.A. Zaho, Imago Triumphalis: the Function and Significance of Triumpal Imagery for Italian Renaissance Rulers (New York, 2001).

51 Most of these structures were never finished and some were ruined due to the poor climate conditions. See R. Strong, Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650 (Berkeley, 1984), p. 89, for the most complete booklet of the entry. Also, see B P. Coeck van Aelst, G. Scribonius, Cornelius, J. Scalinger, Le Triumphe d’Anuers, faict en la Susception du Prince Philips, Prince d’Espaign[el] (Antwerp, 1550). The copy used in this chapter is from the British Library.

52 Please note that in Fig. 9, only triumphal arches and some façades are illustrated. They are up to fifteen. Those not included were the canvas decorating the Cathedral, the series of canvases decorating part of Terreiro do Paço and the subsequent display of columns and sculptures preceding Porta da Ribeira.

53 Ibid., p. 89.
dominions before the Iberian union were already *a de facto* empire. However, his European lands and political hegemony in the old continent together with the union of Castile’s and Portugal’s overseas empires gave him power and lands over the four known continents. The triumphal entry of 1581 was therefore the reception in which the notion of global dominion was explored in relation to the imperial image of Philip.

The festival blended both local traditions and clear imperial rhetoric in the artistic display. Most of this imperial discourse had been directed by Philip II’s court, although some locally funded structures supported this display, too. Among the total of structures there are a few which were focused on Philip as a global ruler. In this section, these displays centring on the Portuguese empire and the responsibilities of Philip as a Christian ruler will be analysed. The themes fleshed out in the form of inscriptions, paintings, and sculptures reinforced the authority of the ruler. The decorations presented the communion of Philip’s empire spreading over the four known continents of the period and the responsibility of the ruler.

The structures for imperial display at the festival were located in *Terreiro do Paço* and included local and court structures (see Fig.9): *Alfândega* (no. 1), *Mercadores Alemães* (no. 2), the sequence of canvases, the triumphal path between the *Alemães* and the *Ribeira* arch (no. 3). Along the rest of the route, the most important decorations with emphasis on imperial pomp and Philip’s Christian duties were the Cathedral’s façade, the arch of the silversmiths (no. 8), and the goldsmiths’ giant sculpture.\(^{54}\)

The remaining structures represented largely local motifs like the devotion to St. George (no. 4), St. Vincent, and St. Anthony\(^{55}\) and key landmarks in the city such as the *Porta da Moneda* (no. 11). Among them, two are particularly important for understanding of the complex relationship between the ruler and the ruled. They were the *tableau vivant* in *Fangas da Farinha* (no. 12) and the façade in the *Chafariz da Rua Nova* (no. 10).

The arches and other ephemeral decorations which focused on the imperial representation of the king and his global dominion will be examined in detail around three major themes. The first section entitled ‘Philip II: Empire, Lineage and Global Dominion’ examines the displays which presented Philip as a global ruler, his dynasty, and the supremacy of his Universal Monarch. The second section entitled ‘*Dominae*...
Mundi: Philip’s Role in the Pageantry’ analyses the performance of the king in the festival and his interaction with people in the pageantry. In the Renaissance festival culture, performance consisted not only in the temporary architecture and allied decorations, but also, for the purpose of spectacle, in the form of songs, plays, and sometimes fireworks. The main character in a triumphal entry was the person who was received, in this case King Philip II. Therefore his embodiment in the pageantry was crucial for the celebration’s success. The third section considers the duties of the Christian monarch. These duties encompassed key responsibilities of the ruler such as the propagation of the Catholic faith, war against heretics, and the defence of the Christian realms.

All the temporary architecture has been recreated for this study in a series of drawings following the accurate measurements provided in the contemporary accounts of the event. These have been superimposed in the 3D urban recreation of the festival route (see Fig.9 and Appendix). The recreation of the temporary architecture follows the prescribed requirements of the London Charter (2.1, February 2009) for Computer-Based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage. Additionally, these structures had statues and other decorations, some of which have been outlined in two-dimensional drawings. These are merely indicative and do not intend to represent the real statues or depictions displayed during the festival. Their inclusion is relevant for the clarity of the interpretation between structures, as these will prove helpful when examining the role of Philip II in the pageant. Although most of this chapter deals with the symbolism behind the artistic display and the manner in which the imperial glory of Philip II was presented, there are also important material aspects of the structures which are essential to understanding the reception. Most of them have been resolved in the drawings. However, other sections of the festival are ambiguously

---

56 The 3D model was created specifically for the study of this festival and the urbanism of the city in this period. Images of this model along with videos extracted from the digital re-creation were exhibited in an exhibition in the Matthew Gallery in Edinburgh in September 2010. There is also an on-line exhibition available here: www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/exhibition_laura.htm. See the technical appendix enclosed in this thesis for further information.

57 The recreation of the temporary architecture follows the prescribed requirements of the London Charter (2.1, February 2009) for Computer-Based Visualisation of Cultural Heritage, see the official website (http://www.londoncharter.org/) accessed in August 2011. There is a technical appendix attached to this thesis with a detail explanation on scientific criteria and historical accuracy.

58 I would like to emphasise that while the architectural recreations intend to be as accurate as possible, there is no such intention in the statues’ outlines. However, both have been a good research tool as they made clear the structures and hierarchies of ornamentation and motifs and, therefore, allowed me to go into a deeper and more profound historical analysis.

59 The principal reason for the reconstruction of the ephemeral structures was to use these as a tool to understand the festival better. See further details in the appendix.
described in the chronicles, and these have been discussed at length. This study makes
two major contributions. First, it involves discerning with clarity the different topics
displayed in each temporary structure. This was achieved through drawing and a
comparative examination of all sources. Second, it includes a complete analysis of the
imperial discourse and the tensions between the ruler and ruled.

3.3.I. Philip II: Imperial Triumph and Global Dominion.

The Terreiro do Paço was where the king disembarked from his vessel. However, the
first piece of ephemeral architecture described in the chronicles was the Alfa
façade (Fig.10). This structure covered the maritime customs building. The Doric
double arched façade was in imitation of vetted marble. From this structure, a
sequence of obelisks and statues upon pedestals leads to the magnificent Arch of
Mercadores Alemaes (which translates as German Merchants’ arch). This ephemeral
structure and that of the German Merchants’ arch are possibly the most studied (or
even the only studied) section of this festival.

The Maritime Customs display was a poetic composition to praise Philip’s
dominion over the Ocean and the ‘communion’ Portugal had with the sea. The
temporary display at the Alfa façade rested on a podium. The podium linked this
classical structure to the series of sculptures on pedestals alternating with obelisks.
The statues on the Alfa dock were Roman gods offering their dominions: the
globe, the sea and heaven, to the most powerful Emperor on earth, King Philip II.

Guerreiro detailed the sequence of statues and obelisks connecting the Alfa façade
and the quay’s arch (see Fig. 11). The first sculpture that stood closest to the German
Merchants’ arch was a statue of Janus in his traditional representation with two faces
and offering two keys to King Philip II (no.1). The inscription read: ‘Here are my keys
that open and close the gates of Heaven and those of War’. This was followed by Fame
in the form of a woman with a trumpet: ‘If the name of Philip resounds in Heaven, I
carry his glory in my trumpet’ (no.2). Terminus was a half figure with no extremities:
this God competed with Jupiter in authority, declining any vassalage to the King of

---

60 Alfa de nga, or in sixteenth-century Portuguese Alfandinga, translates as Maritime customs. See
Fig. 9 no. 1.
61 Although both Guerreiro and Velázquez Salmantino clearly stated that the decoration was
composed of pyramids, the shape described was that of what today we identify as obelisks. See
62 This display has been referred to before by a number of scholars cited at the beginning of the
chapter.
63 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 13. In Philip III’s entry of 1619 a number of sculptures over pedestals
are described at the pier of the river and the material used to imitate the marble was wax, see
Lavanha, Viage, p. 9. This may have been the same option for the earlier entry of 1581.
Roman gods (i.e., Jupiter) yet recognising the greater authority of Philip’s Monarchy (no.3). Terminus paid tribute to Philip’s superiority with the inscription: ‘Be the sun the limit of your realms, I yield to you, Jupiter bows to me.’ A winged Victory offered a palm to Philip (no.4): ‘I used to wander the world with my wings, now I would stay eternally with you’. Neptune offered his trident to Philip (no.5): ‘If you command in West and East, you also command on the sea with my trident’. Astra, symbol of Justice, handed her scales to Philip and with this gesture offered her power to the ruler (no.6). The inscription read: ‘I give you this balance and this kingdom, so you are the King, Father and Pillar’.64

The apotheosis of Philip II’s imperial power was portrayed in the triumphal tone of the verses in the inscriptions. These deities were described as if they were ‘interacting’ (i.e., talking to the ruler through the inscriptions).65 The main idea emanating from all the statues and verses inscribed in the pedestals was how these mighty gods surrendered to the superiority of Philip II as the foremost emperor. One by one, each of them offered their powers and loyalty to the new global ruler.

In architectural terms, the classical façade and the podium adorned with statues and obelisks was a way of ‘ordering’ the riverfront. Although there are no detailed descriptions of the complete decorative programme, this artifice also included the façades of the custom’s building facing the Terreiro do Paço and Terreiro do Trigo (see Fig.12).66 The rectangle facing the river is the location of the display with the Doric doubled-arched façade and the sequence of statues and obelisks leading to the pier. On the other side, the buildings were also garlanded and this included an armação on the Alfadinga façade close to the Terreiro do Trigo. The location of the Trigo gate is highlighted with a point.

The Alfadinga façade facing the river (Figs.12-13) could only be perceived

Janus: Ecco le chiavi, tu apri e serra
   Del ciel le porte equelle della guerra
Fama: Si de Philippo il nome al ciel rimbomba
   Che vana a la sua gloria e la mia tromba.
Terminus: Sia de tuoi regni il Sol meta e confine
   A te cedo to a me gioue sinchine
Victoria: Vagar solea con l’ ali il mondo in torno
   Hor perpetuo faro teco soggiorno.
Neptune: S’ Imperi in Orienti in Occidenti
   Impera l’onde anchor con el mio Tridente.
Astra: Io tido questa lance, a questo regno
   Perche tu ne sia Re, padre e sostengo.
65 This idea of interaction is also relevant for the analysis of the role of Philip II in the pageantry.
66 Both figures are details from originals conserved in Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, (BNP). See Fig. 4 for a detail on the Terreiro do Paço with Philip II’s addition to the royal palace, the Torreao (tower on the left) and ephemeral decorations on the river quay and the Alfadinga.
effectively from the river. The presentation of the alternate pairs of feminine and masculine deities was reminiscent of that of the Dii Consentes in the Roman Forum. The inscriptions are in Italian instead of the customary Latin. The verses of the inscriptions are heroic rhyming couplets in dodecasyllable (see Fig.11). The rest of the structures in this festival, and indeed in most festivals in sixteenth century Europe, had the inscriptions in Latin, so this specific case seems to be unique. The façade was funded by the maritime customs. Italian colonies used to include inscriptions in Latin, rather than Italian, for this type of structure. However, this may have been a way for the organisers to stand out at the festival by attempting to ‘charm’ the king during his reception. Perhaps the Italians were co-organisers with members of the Alfândiga in the decoration of the building. The key to understanding the structure as a whole and also the selection of the Italian language probably lies in the rest of the decorations of the building. Unfortunately, only vague indications are provided in the festival accounts and other contemporary sources on this matter.

Both chroniclers, however, were unimpressed by the structure and decorations. Velázquez Salmantino only briefly mentioned Alfândiga:

---

69 To date there is no documentation of Italian poets or local poets who wrote in Italian whom were working in town in this period. I have consulted this case with many scholars who are specialists in Renaissance festivals, (such as, fellow members of the Society for European Festival Research). In the case of Portuguese scholars working on this topic in Lisbon, this is the first time they have seen something alike. I encountered the same situation in Italian festivals during this period. However, Prof. Maria Ines Aliverti, Univ. of Pisa mentioned that the verses are not especially cultivated and seem to be the work of a versificatore (versifier) that was specifically written for Philip II’s reception. She has never encountered festival structures in early modern Italy with inscriptions other than in Latin. I would like to express my gratitude to Maria Ines for these insights.
70 Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 120 and Guerreiro, Las Festas, pp. 13-15. There is no documental evidence thus far that linked the Italian colony in Lisbon with this structure erected in 1581. Still, for obvious reasons, there must have been at least an Italian poet or versificatore involved in the design of the structure. The colony of the Italians in Lisbon however funded the arch/façade of the Cathedral for the entry of Philip III in 1619. All the inscriptions in this arch were in Latin, see Lavanha, Viage, pp. 30-33.
71 The archival documentation of the local authorities is scant on this festival. The Arquivo Municipal Historico de Lisboa conserves a number of letters which are mentioned in this chapter. Likewise, the documentation in Biblioteca de Ajuda in Lisbon and the National Library on this festival is scarce. Ajuda conserves, however, many booklets on the entry of Philip III in 1619 and some interesting archival material of the Habsburg dynasty which will also be cited in this chapter. Additionally, the National Library of Portugal also has a copy of Guerreiro’s booklet of 1581 and few on the entry of 1619.
72 Guerreiro refers to an armaçom as being something that covers part of the building as a ‘false façade’. See Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 14.
[...] a construction with a façade, funded by the Maritime customs, [this building is] where everything that arrives to this kingdom of Portugal is registered in this port of Lisbon. This façade was made of painted canvas, imitating stone constructions, [the artifice] told poetic stories with characters and enigmas that are not referred to here because the procession did not pass through there. [...]

This account of the artifice is contradictory, in some aspects, to that of Guerreiro. This latter gave plenty of measurements for the temporary architecture which points to a volumetric structure. For instance, he describes how the structure was supported by a generous wooden podium, while the double arched façade was sustained by columns on pedestals of thirty Portuguese palms each (approximately 6.3 meters high each column). The very vague description of Alfadinga by Velázquez Salmantino, suggesting only ‘poetic stories with characters and enigmas’ contrasts sharply with the precise details given by Guerreiro. This would tend to give more weight to the Portuguese chronicler.

Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 13. Guerreiro not only witnessed the entry but most possibly also had privileged information, the detailed scales and measurements given in the architectural descriptions given explicitly for the chronicle. It seems these measurements were given to him in order for him to compose the account. These measurements are regular and ordered with much precision. For example, the height of all columns and pedestals in the festival was uniform, with exceptions clearly stated by the chronicler. On the contrary, Velázquez Salmantino only included the measurements of the German Merchants arch, possibly copied Guerreiro’s notes, as this latter booklet was published only a month after the reception whereas Velázquez Salmantino’s chronicle was printed later. As argued before, Guerreiro was clearly commissioned by the Portuguese elites in the city of Lisbon whom were aiming to please the new ruler. Other accounts simply do not refer at all to the embellishments of the maritime customs building and merely mentioned the German Merchants arch. This was due to the chroniclers’ interest in the political union of the crowns rather than the festival. An extreme case was Conestagio’s review, which was the one which circulated through protestant countries. He only referred to pier’s arch and concluded that the festival was very poor because the people was disappointed with the usurper (i.e., Philip II). Conestaggio was the ‘voice’ of Philip’s enemies, see Conestaggio, The Historie, p. 253.
the building rather than the riverfront described by Guerreiro.\footnote{On the other hand, a volumetric structure described in detail with measurements for the double arched classical façade and the statues and obelisks was planned to be in the river waterfront. Seen in this light, the artistic programme, funded by the maritime customs that ‘told poetic stories with characters and enigmas’, was a complete display that took place not only in the waterfront façade of the building but also in the adjacent plaza. Possibly, as argued before, those enigmas are the key to understanding the mysterious Italian inscriptions.}

The verses in the inscriptions were specifically dedicated to the king’s reception and may have been the work of a versificatore. This, in combination with the poor reviews received, even from the chroniclers who aimed to flatter Philip II, diminishes the likelihood of it being a well-known writer, court architect, or designer.\footnote{The usage of poor quality poems is not that surprising. For example, Prof. Iain Fenlon recently argued that sometimes music that is composed specifically for these celebrations was not of the quality of other contemporary music. In the end, this was composed only for these festivals, therefore, it explains commissions entrusted to versifiers and other musicians capable of writing pieces ad hoc. I am grateful to Prof. Iain Fenlon for allowing me to cite this detail of his forthcoming publication. He mentioned this in a recent talk entitled: ‘Music for the Wedding Celebrations’ at the conference ‘Spanish/French Marriage Festivals and Politics 1612-1615’ convened by Margaret M. McGowan, Ronnie Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, Society for European Festivals Research, Warburg Institute, 18 – 19 March 2011.}

The authors of the festival programme are unknown except for the court architect Filippo Terzi.\footnote{Soromenho, ‘Ingegnosi Ornamenti,’ p. 21.} Terzi had previously worked for King Sebastian I and was afterwards appointed by Philip II as one of his court architects in Portugal. Juan de Herrera also went to Lisbon in 1580 and was possibly accompanied by Francisco de Mora, although his intervention in the festival is not yet established.\footnote{J. Segurado, ‘Juan de Herrera em Portugal,’ As Relacoes Artisticas entre Portugal e Espanha na Epoca dos Descobrimentos (Coimbra, 1987), pp. 99-111.} Philip asked for some works to be done in the Lisbon river palace before his arrival, together with the festival organisation.\footnote{In addition to published letters regarding this, Guerreiro reported that when the king was in Almada he received a committee from the local authorities begging him to postpone the festival by a few days as they were still finishing some structures. Philip II agreed but he went in incognito (or at least he tried) to visit his premises in the riverfront palace, from where he could see the temporary structures and part of the cityscape. See Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 11-12.}

However, the intervention of Herrera in the ephemeral structures is again only a suggestion which has been much debated.\footnote{Soromenho, ‘Ingegnosi Ornamenti,’ p. 21.} One of the major omissions in this debate is the role that local masons and designers had in the festival. Guerreiro’s account narrates how the veedor de obras in Lisbon was involved in the ceremonial of the offering of the keys of the city to King Philip. The role of the veedor de obras was to supervise the works in the city, mostly those that were either funded by or in the interest of the city council, such as the festival. Lucas da Sylva was the veedor de obras (elector or alderman) of public works. He handed the ceremonial golden keys to Philippe Aguilar who bowed to his majesty and presented them saying:
This very noble and always loyal city of Lisbon, give your Majesty the keys to all its gates, and the loyal hearts of their residents, and their bodies, and goods, everything to serve you.  

The festival of 1581 was funded by the local guilds and some foreign colonies. King Philip II expected to have a festival of great magnificence, wanting, as was traditional, for it to be funded by the city. On 25 May 1581, barely a month before the reception, Philip wrote to the Lisbon authorities concerning the arrangements for the festivities on his arrival. He expressed his ‘anxiety’ over some complaints regarding the funding for the festival and stated that it was not his desire to oppress the citizens of Lisbon. In the second letter, written on 5 June 1581, he suggested that the city should plan his entry in a customary Portuguese fashion whilst adding that he was confident that the city would receive him in an appropriate manner. This was a response to a missive in which the city authorities implied that it was not accustomed to such receptions. However, Philip was aware of the Portuguese festival culture as he was involved in some of the preparations for the festival and ceremonies of his sister Joanna of Habsburg during her tour to Lisbon in 1552. Another aspect to take into consideration is how much effort was put into embellishing certain sections of the building and surrounding area, which was not included in the established processional route. This reinforces the idea that this display was not planned by the court designer and, more importantly, points to a lack of coordination between the local and court designers. As seen before, Terzi was sent by Philip to prepare this entry around a year before.

---

82 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p.28.
Esta sua muy nobre e sempre leal cidade de Lisboa, entrega a vossa Magestade as chaves de todas suas portas, e dos leales corações de seus moradores, e de seus corpos e averes pero todo seu seruciço.

83 In 1581, the local guilds supported more displays: St. George Order, the Waxmakers, the silversmiths, the stone- masons, amongst others. The colony that funded the pier’s structure consisted of Germans and Flemish merchants. These will be cited in this chapter as reported by Velázquez Salmantino and Guerreiro.

84 AMLH, Livro 1º Festas, f. 103.
85 AMLH, Livro 1º Festas, f. 105.
86 Jordan Gschwend, ‘Cosa Veramente’, p. 187. The king was eager to arrive to Lisbon as he had a long standing ‘relationship’ with the Portuguese capital, both since his childhood and through his accession to be crown. The king was anxious to arrive in Lisbon for he had been acquainted with the quality of the construction promoted by his grandfather Manuel I of Portugal. Ultimately, Philip II knew the Lusitanian capital perfectly well thanks to the reports, engravings and views he acquired or commissioned to have made for him over the years. On 11 September 1580, the city of Lisbon signed a document of obedience to Philip II, (see AMLH, COD. 58 Livro 1º rei-D. Filippe I, fs. 1). The king invited the electors Vereadores of Lisbon to participate in the Tomar’s court of which ratified him as Philip I of Portugal, (see AMLH, COD. 58 Livro 1º rei-D. Filippe I, fs.2.). In May in that same year of 1581, the newly crowned king wrote on a few occasions to the city about his concerns on hygiene and the measures needed to eradicate the plague that isolated the capital, (see discussion in chapter 1). In the same month, Philip I King of Portugal (and II of Spain) informed the city of his decision to make Lisbon the temporary residence of the court, (see, AMLH COD. 58 Livro 1º rei-D. Filippe I, fs. 12.)
before the festival. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that he was involved in the part of the display which was poorly reviewed by the chroniclers. Furthermore, the design of the German Merchants arch has been attributed to him. A closer examination of the decorative programme will prove this attribution right as well as the rest of the machinery in *Terreiro do Paço*.

Nonetheless, the machinery in the *Alfadinga* served the imperial cause and the symbolism extolled the triumphal image of Philip. The artifice and statues were an excellent classical ‘frame’ for demonstrating the fleet’s might and embellishing the space.

The German Merchants arch was a celebration of the Habsburg dynasty (Fig.14). This arch and allied structures were by far the most sophisticated and finely finished ephemeral display in the festival. The main triumphal arch, described by Velázquez Salmantino as a fortress due to its large dimensions, was profusely decorated on all faces (including interior passages and exterior walls). The same chronicler provided a detailed account of the extended wooden quay especially prepared to facilitate the reception of the monarch and his retinue. Velázquez Salmantino listed the authorities and courtiers accompanying the king in his procession, including Cristobal da Moura. Guerreiro, however, explained in his account that Moura could not attend because he was indisposed. Although at the time both accounts were written for propagandistic purposes, Guerreiro’s, at least on this matter, seems to be more realistic as there would have been no need to invent such an illness given the critical role Moura played in Philip II’s accession to the crown.

---

87 The iconographic lecture displayed in this great triumphal arch occupied most of Guerreiro’s chronicle with more than half of the book devoted solely to the description of the ephemeral structures promoted by the German merchants.

88 Many temporary triumphal arches in sixteenth century were only decorated on one side. For instance, in this entry of 1581, the *Alfadinga* structure facing the river was not decorated on the back. The rest of the arches are only described on the frontal façade which suggests that they were not decorated either. If they are at all mentioned, it is only when they are criticised. For example, the *Portas da Ribeira*’s decoration was unfinished, (see Fig.9 no. 3). This arch was funded by the local authorities, and in order to cover the parts which were not decorated, they used some tapestry and other rich fabrics. Guerreiro praised this structure and made no mention of any possible faults. It seems that, in the end, it is very likely Guerreiro’s narration was funded by the local authorities. See Guerreiro, *Las Festas*, p. 45-46. However, the Spanish chronicler said that the decoration of this gate of the city was unfinished and that the façade towards the interior of the city was not only undecorated but also stated that the construction was in poor state. See Velázquez Salmantino *La Entrada*, p. 133. This arch was demolished in time for Philip III’s entry of 1619.

89 Velázquez Salmantino, *La Entrada*, pp. 119-120.

90 Guerreiro, *Las Festas*, p. 28. Velázquez Salmantino, *La Entrada*, pp.120-121. Guerreiro’s account, despite some obvious mistakes, inconsistency in the architectural descriptions and a frequent rambling writing style, is still probably one of the most accurate sources on the festival. Nonetheless, Velázquez Salmantino’s chronicle has an important value as he reported some details which the former missed. As examined before, Vasconcellos’ and Escobar’s
These two depictions (Figs. 15-16) show the arch erected by the German merchants for Philip III in 1619: the engraving in Lavanha’s booklet (1619) and the canvas dated 1613. The artifice depicted has direct connections to the three-gated triumphal arch constructed in 1581 (see Fig. 14). However, this earlier version had architraved lateral gates; a solution repeated in other structures prepared for the festival. The obelisks are different, standing on the entablature in 1619 and on lateral pedestals on 1581.

The accounts of the festival describe similar measurements for this structure. The approximate dimensions in metres of the triumphal arch were as follows: the façade length was fourteen to fifteen metres, twelve metres in height, and about eight metres deep. The middle arch was six to seven metres high and the collateral entrances were four metres high; the middle arch being almost double the size of the others.

The route from this arch to the next was also decorated as a ‘triumphal path’. Firstly came a series of six painted panels (three on each side of the path), followed by a gallery of columns and sculptures over pedestals, preceded by two large pillars (one on each side). This theatrical path from the German Merchants arch to the Portas de Riberira is key to understanding the role of the ruler in the performance. This type of fabricated ‘triumphal road’ was extensively used in royal entries in Europe. The Spanish arch in the entry of Philip into Antwerp in 1549 presented a similar composition (Fig. 17).

The arch of the Spanish in Antwerp (1549) presented a road or triumphal path composed of a series of statues alternating with columns. This ‘triumphal road’ was preceded by two pillars of larger dimensions. In the case of Lisbon in 1581, these two pillars were of square section instead of round. They also held a group of statues on top. Still, the displays in both these temporary structures show resemblances. In general, many of the ornamental and architectural features of the German Merchants arch and triumphal path structures in Lisbon used décor which had been previously present in the fabulous entries into the Low Countries in 1549. For instance, niches with statues on the top of the arch, lions holding arms, and statues sustaining the globe, among other things, (see further details hereafter).

In the years prior to Philip’s accession to the Lusitanian crown (1578-1580), versions had been merely copied from the previous publications. Interestingly, Connestagio, in spite of him being very critical about the festival, also added: ‘they did a sumptuous preparation’. See Connestagio, The Historie, p. 253.

81 That is those which included architectural measurements: Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 15 and Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 121.
82 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 15.
there was a proliferation of propaganda on both sides: those supporting the Spaniard’s candidacy and those advocating one of the other pretenders. In the written culture of the period, this phenomenon became what Bouza has called the ‚quills war‘ in which philosophers, and jurists and others use dialectics to defend their version of the matter. This was not exclusive to print culture, as other arts and artists played their roles too. Poets such as Luis Franca serve for example, he wrote verses in favour of Philip II’s claims to the crown. There are also a number of images in the form of engravings, medals, and other artistic objects which emerged in Philip II’s court circle at this time.

In the entry of 1581, a number of these images were adapted in the art displayed in the arch of the German Merchants as well as in the decorative programme of the ‘triumphal path’. The direct identification of these motifs in the festival with those produced in the king’s entourage further sustains the argument for the involvement of the court architect Terzi in these temporary structures.

The side of the arch facing the waterfront (Fig. 18) was a panegyric composition with persuasive images and inscriptions reinforcing the absolute power of Philip II as a global ruler. The artifice exalted the messianic mission of the ruler and his identification with the Sun. The hierarchy of the artistic programme, and therefore the ‘narrative’ of this façade, began at the top with the exaltation of Philip’s power and global reach, concluding with the benefits and reward that this union brought to both realms.

The recess on the top of the structure (Fig. 18 nos. 1-3) had its background painted blue with golden stars. Inside was a naturalistic statue of Philip II with real hair and armed in black with the imperial emblems holding a sceptre. Philip’s statue was presented in a warrior-like state of command demonstrating his forceful might. It was flanked by the supporting figures of Atlas (no. 3) and Neptune (no. 2), whose

---

94 F. Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II y El Portugal Dos Povos, Imágenes de Esperanza y Revuelta (Valladolid, 2010), p. 15.
95 Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II, p. 22.
96 The use of inscriptions in early modern tapestry was extended in Europe since at least the fifteenth century. The Pastrana tapestry series exemplifies this. There are more surviving examples of tapestry in the sixteenth century such as the Tunes tapestry series. Both examples used inscriptions to explain the visual content displayed. For further insights and references on these two tapestry series see chapter 4.
97 Only some of the colours of the arch are documented such as this niche. It is also known that most of the painted panels imitated bronze bas-reliefs. No further information was given for the rest of the arch except that it imitated stone. However, it is unknown if it was marble, granite or of another kind. See Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 121. In all the re-creations, the same shade of grey was used when the material was unknown or not precise enough to be re-created. See further details in the technical appendix.
98 Neptune was also one of the statues in the Alfajinga whilst Janus was a god that was used in both close structures: the Customs and German Merchants arch. This needless repetition
nakedness was barely covered with red taffeta. The inscription beneath Philip (no.1) read:

Philip II, King of Spain, pious son of the Emperor Caesar Augustus D. Charles V, [...] defending the saintly religion, spreading the Catholic faith around the world by sea and on land, keeper of the peace and justice. With an open temple [Philip] arrives to Portugal gained by inheritance, with good laws and institutions [...].

The inscription may appear to be an extended ‘motto’ for the festival celebrating the imperial might of the Habsburg dynasty, including the acquisition of new territories and the promulgation of the Catholic faith. The inscription stated that Philip was the legitimate heir of the Portuguese crown and highlighted his responsibility in protecting his newly acquired realm. Justifying the rights the ruler had to the Lusitanian crown was reiterative in a number of motifs in the festival.

The figures atop the structure were three lions representing Spain (no.4), Burgundy, and Flanders (nos. 5-6), with inscriptions regarding their submission to the king. The statues beside Philip - Atlas and Neptune - also received generous texts:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Atlas</th>
<th>Neptune</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My body is deteriorated because of my age and the immense <em>machina</em> I carry, incommensurate with my strength, defeated I leave it for you to carry on your shoulders. You are fit for it.</td>
<td>Until now I commanded over the Oceans, now Philip I give you the sceptre, and from now on there will be no more unpunished corsairs in this sea, neither robberies.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neptune and Atlas were appropriated through Philip’s dominion, thus, deifying him as the new ruler of the world’s lands and oceans. This empire also carried new

reinforces the lack of coherence between the structures and the authorship of different designers. This will be discussed further later.  


100 The lion representing Spain (Fig. 15 no.4) was crowned with a laurel wreath. He held in one hand the arms of the Spanish realms and in the other hand a tree branch with this inscription: ‘HAEC TIBI PERPETVVM DANT LAVERA SERTA TRIMUMFVM, ORNET VT AVSTRIACVM TANTA CORONA CAPVT. (Which is translated as: ’This laurel garland will provide you with perpetual triumph so this crown adorn your Habsburg head’). The lion representing Burgundy was crowned with a wreath of olive leaves and with an inscription that read (Fig. 15 no. 6): MVNERA PALLADIAE BVRGVNDIA MITITIT OLIVAE, TV BONE REX PLACIDA MVNERA FRONTE CAPE’. (Which is translated as: ‘Burgundy offers you the benefits of the Olives of Pallas, you are a good King, receive them with joy as they are peaceful’). The lion on the right holding Flanders arms was crowned with palm tree leaves and in a palm branch, we can read (Fig. 15 no):’ACCIPE DONA TRVCI, QVAL DAT TIBI FLANDRIA, VULTV, IAM PROSTRATA JACET FASCIBUS TVIS’. (Which is translated as: ‘Take the presents offered by Flanders with a cruel [or crude] face, that is already defeated with your army’). See Guerreiro, *Las Festas*, p. 17, Velázquez Salmantino, *La Entrada*, p. 122. The translation of the Flemish Lion’s inscription varied slightly in different versions: the Portuguese account referred to ‘cruel’ and the Spanish as ‘crude’. This is a very interesting piece of information which is instrumental in discerning some aspects of the ceremony.

101 Guerreiro, *Las Festas*, p. 16
responsibilities, all of which were ratified in the inscriptions.

Portugal was hoping to gain a protector against the ‘vandalism’ perpetrated along the coasts of its empire and which increased during the dynastic crisis. However, the extension of both empires was so immense that, despite Philip II’s organisation, it was impossible to defeat the continuous wars and quarrels. The hegemony and, so it seems, unlimited power established with the Iberian union was unacceptable for the rest of Europe. Most protestant kingdoms, as well as France and the Pope, rightly feared the effect that Philip’s global expansion might have on them, both commercially and territorially. The brief four-month invasion of Portugal, commanded by the Duke of Alba, was both admired in military terms and feared for its effectiveness. Other European forces funded and helped Antonio Prior de Crato sustain himself until he was defeated in the Battle of the Azores. Finally, the worse suspicions became a reality when some years later Europe witnessed how the ‘Catholic’ began assembling a fleet in order to invade England. This mighty navy was called the ‘invincible armada’ in Castile, demonstrating the triumphal self-consciousness that emerged in Philip’s court after the Portuguese succession. The union led to much destruction as not only was the armada defeated but attacks on the lands of the united Luso-Hispanic Empire increased. Corsairs were appointed in the service of other European kingdoms, mainly France and England, in order to defeat and weaken the Iberian ‘global hegemony’.

The artistic display of these deities, as represented in the upper level recess of the German merchants arch, was similar to those exhibited in the adjacent structure in the Alfadinga. In both, Roman gods in the form of statues were shown surrendering one by one to Philip’s superiority. One of the interesting aspects of both adjacent displays is

---

102 For the most recent study on the Portuguese campaign see Valladares Ramirez, La Conquista, pp. 85-108.
103 J. Edwards, J. Lynch, Edad Moderna: Auge del Imperio, 1474-1598 (Barcelona, 2005), pp. 662-664. There is documentary evidence of European support for Crato. One example is a recently published letter from Diego de Córdoba mentioning how he went to England, see Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II y el Portugal, p. 83. This battle, in which Crato was finally defeated, is known as the battle of Isla Terceira these will be commemorated in two of the frescoes of the Hall of battles in El Escorial Monastery, see chapter 4 for further insights on the frescoes.
104 There are many works on the bellicose history of sixteenth century Europe, such as Elliot’s study on these complex relationships and European wars during Philip II’s reign. J.H.Elliot, Europe Divided. 5159-1598, (London, 2000). Geoffrey Parker, who is a specialist on war history, has contributed major works on the history. One example is: G. Parker, The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800 (Cambridge, 1996) One of his studies on the wars in the Low Countries and the Spanish struggle is: G. Parker, The Grand Strategy of Philip II (London, 2000). His most recent work on the Armada with Colin Martin reedited in Spanish in 2011 from this publication G. Parker, C. Martin, The Spanish Armada (Manchester, 1999). There are many other works on the Armada such as M.J. Rodríguez- Salgado, Armada. The Official Catalogue of the National Maritime Museum Exhibition (London, 1988); M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, Simon Adams, England, Spain and the Grand Armada, 1585-1604 (London, 1988) and M.J. Rodríguez- Salgado, John Donald, England, Spain and the Grand Armada, 1585-1604 (Edinburgh, 1991).
the repetition of gods. The two façades of the German Merchants’ arch and Alfadinga were placed one beside the other facing the Tagus. Sure enough, the repetition of Neptune’s statue on both façades and in prominent locations (see for Alfadinga Fig.11 no. 5, and for Mercadores Alemaes Fig.19 no. 2) with inscriptions using a very similar message, is a little surprising.\textsuperscript{105} As will be discussed, another god employed more than once was Janus. A statue of this god appeared closest to the German arch in the Alfadinga display (Fig.11 no.1) and this Roman god was represented in the panel above the left passage of the Alemaes arch (Fig. 19 no.8). The clear lack of coherence between the artistic programmes of both structures, in addition to the contrasting quality between them, reinforces the notion that different authors were responsible for these programmes.\textsuperscript{106}

The panels above the lateral passages in the German arch were decorated with paintings imitating bronze bas-reliefs. On the right hand entrance (Fig. 19 no. 7), Diana can be seen offering her empire to Philip. She was represented as a three-headed figure with a bow and arrows dominating three lions beneath: ‘TVO ILLVSTRATA LUMINE PONAM TOLLAMVE. OCEANVM QVUOCVMQVE JUFFERIS’ (‘Enlightened with your luminosity, I will calm and shake the ocean if you command so’). In Guerreiro’s view, Diana was offering her empire in heaven and hell, together with her dominion on hunting, to the king. Velázquez Salmantino did not refer to the ‘numerous’ heads of the goddess, or the lions, but pointed out that Diana had her bow and arrows in an enclosed position, making it seem as if the war had come to an end, and that the monarch’s light had guided her away from darkness.\textsuperscript{107} The emblem may have been one where Philip’s glare illuminated Diana’s actions to obey his rule and how his ‘solar authority’ was as mighty as hers.

The ‘solar theme’ and the exaltation of light embodied in the idea of Philip II’s dominion continued in the panel to the left (Fig. 15 no.8). Once again, the god was Janus, this time with four faces and holding a sceptre pointing towards the ‘spectator’ so that an eye could be perceived on the sceptre’s tip. The representation of Janus shows him leading the carriage of the sun with four horses. In the composition, the sun’s rays seemed to be reverberating on the horizon and illuminating the painting. The emblematic language pinpoints how the sun illuminated the four continents that Philip II dominated - Asia, Africa, America and Europe: ‘TV SOL SPLENDENS

\textsuperscript{105} Both statues of Neptune were offering his trident / sceptre as a way of giving Philip his powers over the oceans.

\textsuperscript{106} As demonstrated before, the decorations of the maritime customs received poor reviews from witnesses while most chroniclers praised the German Merchant’s arch.

\textsuperscript{107} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 17, Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p.122.
SEMPER VIGILANS ABSQVE OCASV’ (‘You are the luminous sun, that always guard without excuse’). The solar attributes attributed to Philip in the imperial propaganda echo his global and ‘absolute’ power. This evoked ideas of ‘enlightenment’ that Philip II brought to his dominions.

This idea of Philip II was used in 1566 by Ruscelli in his Le Imprese Illustri. In this earlier representation Apollo is shown riding a carriage (Fig.20). The god Apollo was traditionally associated with the young ruler. The apollonian reference however is muted in the Lisbon representation in the four-faced Janus, embodying the four continents known at the time. The modification of the earlier engraving also affected the inscription: ‘IAM ILLUSTRABIT OMNIA’, which translates as ‘Now he will enlighten all’.

However, the meaning was essentially the same as that in the Lisbon display: the ‘luminous triumphal path’ which the Universal Monarchy had taken since Philip II had become commander. In Lisbon, the connotation also aimed to encompass the increased territorial dominion of Philip. The engraving in Baerland’s booklet added the messianic mission to Philip’s duties as a global emperor. It included an inscription that read: ‘DOMINUS MIHI ADIUTOR’, which translates as ‘Lord supports me’. In other words, the ‘Lord is on my side’ or ‘I am guided by Lord’s designs’ (Fig.19).

The artistic representation of Philip after his seizure of Portugal was discussed in court circles. For instance, in the court at Tomar in 1581, a Burgundian knight who was part of Cardinal Granvelle’s entourage suggested that they change the original motto in Ruscelli’s emblem to: ‘NIHIL NUMQUAM OCCIDIT’. This intended to embed the notion that Philip’s Universal Monarchy was an ‘Empire on which the sun never sets’.

Thus, the ideas represented in the display at Lisbon evoked the idea of ‘illumination’ with messianic connotations in which the Catholic faith was viewed as the ‘light of the world’. Philip, as its leader, therefore ‘illuminated’ or created a civilisation which embraced both the Christian faith and Roman (or Classical) thought. This was very much in line with the Renaissance concepts formulated by Erasmus and Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 17. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p.123.

RBME 42-V-48. Enc. Esc. G. Ruscelli, Le Imprese Illustri, (Venice, 1566), p. 216. There was a previous representation of this emblem of Philip II in a medal by Jacobo Trezzo in 1555 and it was minted just after he was crowned King of Spain. The representation was exactly the same as in Ruscelli’s engraving and with a similar inscription. This medal is conserved at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London, catalogue no. 6759-1860. Gallery location: Sculpture, room 111, case DR14.

For the apollonian aspects associated with Philip II’s art representation see F. Checa Cremades, Felipe II Mecenas de las Artes (Madrid, 1992), pp. 100-109.

Bouza Álvarez, Imagen, p.85.
other thinkers.\textsuperscript{112} Elliot’s identification of the Castilians as the ‘new Romans’\textsuperscript{113} emphasised notions of imperial embodiment. Philip II was therefore made to seem chosen by God to spread religion and rule the world. He had to bring the ‘light’ of a Castilinised civilisation with its particular religious and moral beliefs to the rest of his lands. The Iberian union and the immense extension of the overseas dominions of Castile and Portugal gave Philip a strong sense that he was on a divine mission to become the leader of a Christian world. These ideas of empowerment and “new order” were reflected in the festival display at Lisbon and in the notion of ‘illumination’ that Philip’s rule brought to his empire.\textsuperscript{114}

Visual culture associated with the imperial image of Philip II was also a source of inspiration for other motifs in the festival display. In the façade that looked toward’ Tagus on the German merchants arch, the pedestals holding the obelisks (Fig.18 nos. 9-10) were also embellished with iconography simulating bronze bas-reliefs. Each pedestal had three decorated panels, two of which had elaborated iconography. The obelisk on the right hand (no.9) had in the inner panel a representation of a carriage led by a woman with a sceptre and three towers over her head. Above this, in the same panel, another female figure on top of a cloud was holding three crowns and a third woman, who was seated beside the carriage, was offering ears of wheat. Guerreiro’s explanation of the iconography was that these female figures represented the kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, Naples and Sicily and the rest of the Italian dominions.\textsuperscript{115} The Latin inscription which read Retributio was a clear allusion to the ‘reciprocity of wealth’ that the Iberian union brought to both realms.

The emblem Retributio features the three graces exchanging symbols of Portugal and Castile (Fig.21). The panel at Lisbon displayed an elaborated version of this symbol for the notion of mutual ‘reciprocity’. This was one of the reasons why Philip II was able to sustain his claim to the Portuguese crown. Not only was he the ‘rightful heir’, but the union would also bring wealth to both kingdoms.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{112} D. Erasmus, Instruction to a Christian Prince, (1516), pp. 5-7.
\item \textsuperscript{113} See discussion in chapter 2.
\item \textsuperscript{114} There is much literature on Philip II’s embodiment of this messianic mission. There are, however, two very illustrative works on the matter. One of them is on his relationship with the Ottoman empire: M.J. Rodríguez Salgado, Felipe II. El Paladín de la Cristiandad y la Paz con el Turco (Valladolid, 2004) and the second on his role as the paladin of the Counter-reformation, also G. Parker, The World is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain (Waco, 2000).
\item \textsuperscript{115} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 18. Guerreiro’s description of this painting was ignored in Velázquez Salmantino’s account but this may simply be a mistake in the account as the arch was so profusely decorated that a formal description involves a meticulous order.
\end{itemize}
The female figure carrying wheat has also been identified with Ceres. This goddess, embodying the united Roman Hispania and holding ears of wheat, was also present in the décor of the wedding celebrations for Joanna of Habsburg in Lisbon in 1552. Jordan Gschwend has identified a medal minted during the period of Joanna’s wedding in which the reverse decoration represents Ceres or Hispania holding ears of wheat and thus signifying fertility. The representation of a united Hispania or ‘Iberian’ union in the form of Ceres also reinforced the symbolism intended in both the drawing and the display of the arch. The motif exhibited in Lisbon in 1581 was more elaborate although the idea was clearly inspired by the ‘dream’ union of Hispania.

The pedestal to the left hand of this façade (no.10) was also embellished with a winged Fortune holding the sails of a vessel and shielding a navy beneath her legs. This represented the protection and fortune of the king’s fleet between the West and East Indies. The inscription read: ‘BONA SPES’ with reference to the Cabo da Boa Esperança (i.e., Cape of Good Hope) discovered by Vasco de Gama and identified as the path between Oceans. This painting intended to highlight the place where the two fleets of the East and West Indies met in their navigation routes. The final inscription in this passage read: ‘FORTUNA REGIS’ (i.e., king’s Fortune), reinforcing similar ideas. This triumphal grammar clearly evoked imperial Rome, in this case adapted to the Portuguese crown in which the courts at Tomar had ratified Philip II as Philip I, King of Portugal.

The representation of Philip II as a global ruler in the aftermath of the Iberian union can be seen in a depiction of 1585 (Fig. 22). The image was possibly inspired by the art displayed at the festival in Lisbon of 1581. The image appears in a chronicle of

---

116 Although the identification of the three graces from Horace’s tradition were these three goddesses: Thalía, Euphrosina y Aglaya, in the sixteenth century Iberian iconography, Ceres is normally represented holding the ears of wheat. See Q. Horacio Flacco, Poesías Lyricas de Q. Horacio Flacco (Madrid, 1783), p. 4.
118 The politics of dynastic marriages between both realms was to strengthen relationships and also dream about this possible union. However, each realm wanted to be the ruler, that is, Portuguese kings wanted to overrule Castile and vice versa. The other panel on this façade made allusion to the freedom brought with Philip II’s good government where the inscription read: ‘LIBERTAS P.P.’, Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 17.
120 As above, note 118.
121 I thank Dr Annemarie Jordan-Gswend for pointing out this image may be interesting for my research.
Philip II’s Portuguese campaign, the author of which, Johann Holzhammer, was an Austrian observer.

In the ‘medallion’ to the left (Fig. 22), the insignia embodies the global dimension of Philip’s authority. This is stated in the Latin inscription with allusions to his realms in Spain and Portugal and the West and East Indies, as was seen repeatedly in the festival panels. The image represents an armed Philip standing on a globe and brandishing his sword, dominating the Oceans. The navy is an assortment of diverse vessel types. The ‘medal’ was a simulation of the globe with the sun and the moon painted in front of each other. Philip II was the commander of the world and his dominions were so vast that the sun and moon could illuminate both latitudes at the same time. The representation could have been inspired by the iconography used at the 1581 entry. For instance, the armed statue of Philip dominating Atlas and Neptune, with connotations to the globe and the Oceans respectively, was located in the front upper level recess of the German Merchants’ arch facing the waterfront (Fig.18 no. 1-3). In this same façade, the ‘solar’ dimension of Philip’s authority, and the extension of his empire, was also stated in the iconography of the panels above the lateral entrances, (see Fig.18 nos. 7-8). The navy shows the dominion of seas and the might of Philip’s fleet, with associations to the water festival performed in the Tagus in 1581. The inscriptions referring to the West and East Indies were used a few times on the arch.

The paired medallion on the right (Fig.22) resorts to the traditional representation of the ‘communion’ of the realms with two adjacent coats of arms. The representation of the two shields together, topped with two lions uniting the world as well as the sea beneath, possibly represented the Cape of the Good Hope in which the two oceans and empires met. The cape was the place where the two navies linked their maritime routes, and this is represented by the armed soldiers with their respective national customs. The Cape of Good Hope was also displayed in the German merchants’ arch in the iconography of one of the pedestals, (see Fig.18 no.10). The scale depicted in the ‘medallion’ is self-explanatory of the Iberian union (signed in Tomar’s court) that would only work so long as it was ‘balanced’ and if the ruler maintained equity and justice.

Charles V’s Imperial device and his motto are the pillars supporting the shields. This may be a way of honouring the German Merchants’ colony in Lisbon, as well as an allusion to the important role given to Charles V in the façade of the arch facing the city. The Emperor was the model and the ‘maker’, and this inspirational character attributed to Charles V was consonant with political reality. Charles encouraged Philip to marry a Portuguese princess as he himself had done before him. Philip II’s sisters
also married Portuguese rulers. Therefore, because of the dynastic marriages between the Iberian realms under his father’s advice, Philip II eventually became the prime candidate for the Portuguese succession. In the end, the Austrian chronicler was highlighting the input of the Germanic realms in the making of the empire.

The decorative programme of the arch of the German colony showcased the vigorous imperial supremacy of the Habsburg dynasty. The façade facing the city exalted Philip II’s lineage and his role in the propagation and defence of the Catholic faith and the empire. From this arch, the temporary ‘triumphal path’ led the procession to the Portas da Ribeira (Fig.9 no. 3). This artificial path, commencing from the German merchants’ arch (see Fig.9 and the temporary path from no. 2 to no. 3), was composed of six painted panels which also exalted the role of Philip II as the leader of Christendom. After this, two large pillars opened a sequence of columns and statues of muses representing different overseas cities and realms. The artistic display in a section of this temporary ‘triumphal path’ (i.e. the two pillars and the sequence of columns and statues), together with one of the outer lateral façades, are pertinent to the triumphal image of Philip II (Figs.23-24).

The outer façade of the German merchants arch facing the regal palace represented a triumphal repertoire composed of mythological figures playing music and extolling Philip II’s power and authority. The virtues had the inscription: ‘MACTE PUER VIRTUTE ESTO, SIC ITVR AD ASTRA, ARDVA AMAT VIRTVS SEMPER ET ALTA COLIT’ (‘Be contentious with the virtues, that is the way to rise to heaven. Because the virtues always loves difficult and high things’). Diana can be seen reclined at the bottom of the hill surrounded by the nine sisters (i.e., the nine Muses), while Apollo is playing music and reading scores in books as other Muses sang: ‘DICITO, IO, PARITER, RVRSVMQVE TRIVMPHE’. This verse highlighted the triumph of Philip and insisted that victory was echoed repeatedly to the far flung corners of the empire. Among these figures were those gathered around a lake, with the inscription: ‘CONSVE QVAESO BONI, QVODCVMQVE INVICTE MONARCHA, NOS IN TE NOSTER LVDERE JVSSIT AMOR. IN PRIMIS TAMEN ILLA TVO QVAE APTATE TRIUMPHO, HAEC EX ROMANIS SUMPSIMUS HISTORIIS’ (‘Receive Invictus Monarch this festival, that the love that we feel for you, completes you, because all the [façades] that are made in your triumph are façades of Roman stories’).


The description of the field, river, and lake with the hill and the ‘hero’ attaining virtue seems to refer to the Elysian Fields, which, during the Renaissance, recovered
their association with the Christian paradise. In any case, the idea of ‘paradise’ aimed to reflect how Philip’s fulfilment through virtue prompted the Roman Gods in the Elysian Fields to perform the triumph and how all images were inspired by the Roman tradition. In other words, the arch of the German Merchants aimed to resemble as much as possible the triumphal entry of a Roman Emperor.

The processional route from the German Merchants’ arch to the next arch was decorated as triumphal path where the Portuguese empire honoured its new ruler in the form of statues with inscriptions. These statues were preceded by two large pillars with statues on the top and inscriptions. The succession of columns and statues represented the Asian, American, and African lands that composed the overseas Lusitanian empire. These were paying tribute to their new ruler in the form of statues and messages from their most important fortified cities pledging loyalty.

The sequence of columns and statues on pedestals commenced with a very large pillar on each side, with statues at the top (see pillars between the panels and the columns) on the same terms as in the image of the simulated street in Antwerp in 1549 (Fig.17). These pillars were also crowned with figures and inscriptions but this time in the form of rhymes. The pillar on the right (Fig.23 no.4) was a statue representing Alfonso de Albuquerque, conqueror of India, armed and presented as a Miles Christi. The inscription read:

MILES CHRISTI
BELLIPOTENS QVAMVIS TIBI SUBDITA TELLUS,
NULLAQVE SINT SCEPTRIS LIBERA REGNA TUIS,
HAEC TAMEN EMMANUEL QUONDAM VICTRIBUS ARMIS,
BARBARICO FUSO SANGUINE CEPIT AVUS,
HOC SIGNO, HIS MILES REGNIS NOVA LITTORA CLASSE
INVENIT, JURI SUBJICIENDA TVO.125

The other pillar had two women embracing a globe, joining hands at the top while holding crowns with the other two (Fig.24). This simultaneously symbolised the union

124 As stressed before, this sequence was preceded by six panels which will be studied in a different subheading.
125 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 31.

Soldier of Christ
Be all wars (powerful conqueror) your subjects
And none of your Kingdoms free of your sceptre,
still there were conquered by your grandfather the King Manuel
with many victories against the barbarians. And with this signal of the habit of Christ this knight discovered new coasts in these kingdoms that are under your jurisdiction.
of the crowns and the empires in the West and East Indies. The inscription read:

VNIVERSI GLOBVS
DIVISUS FUERAT TERRARUM MAXIMUS ORBIS,
SORTEQVE PARS ATAVO, PARSAQVE DABATUR AVO.
DISSONA COUVENIUNT AETERNO FAEDERE IN VNUM,
ASPICIS ELOS, OCCIDUOSQVE GLOBOS.
ARMIPOTENS, MUNDI FUERANT TIBI DEBITA REGNA,
NUNC CAPIS, INVICTA NUNC REGIS ILLA MANU.126

The verses and representations atop these pillars reinforced the imperial message carried on the German Merchants’ arch with ideals of global conquest and dominion. The direct reference to the Treaty of Tordesillas and the ‘victory’ of the dynastic marriages promoted the idea of the divine destiny of Philip II and his rights to the Lusitanian crown. Allusions to these themes were present in the visual culture promoted in the years previous to Philip II’s accession to the Portuguese crown. For instance, the depiction of MONARCHIA in the work of Lorenzo de San Pedro was reminiscent of the statues displayed (Fig.25).

Like the festival statues, this drawing combines two ideas: the Iberian union as well as the global dominion with the extension of both Castile’s and Portugal’s empires under Philip II’s rule. The use of the globe in such a form, supported by two statues, had been used in the past, too. During the entry of Antwerp in 1549, there were similar representations. One of the arches had statues of Charles V and Philip flanking a globe at the top of the arch.127

However, the depiction of Philip II in the emblem is entitled TRIVMPHO PRIMERO IMPERIAL (‘first imperial triumph’).128 In this idealistic representation (Fig.26), an armoured Philip II is riding a horse with the triumphal paraphernalia traditionally used in festivals, such as the canopy and accompanying cohorts.

The text in the form of a Latin rhyme praises the victories of his ancestors against barbarians and the seizing of the Portuguese empire under his rule together with the propagation of the Catholic faith. The drawing in San Pedro’s Dialogo presented Philip as an imperial ruler, thus, reinforcing the intended political propaganda.

126 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 31.
127 See the arch in Coeck van Aelst, Scribonius, Cornelius, Scalinger, Le Triumphe d’Anuers, p. 86
128 Biblioteca Universidad Salamanca, (BUSA) Mss. 2092. There is another copy in the Library of El Escorial although only this copy has this insignia. This image was reproduced in Bouza Álvarez, Imagen, p. 70.
The drawing shows more inscriptions on the king’s canopy and in the standards carried by the damsels and the natives. These texts refer to Philip as the emperor of the world. Bouza as argued that one of these standards represented united Hispania, in which the Portuguese arms are fitted in the centre flanked by the arms of Castile and Aragon (Fig. 26 the standard carried by the damsel on the right). However, this was not the only standard included. For instance, natives can be perceived carrying the regal standards of Ethiopia (i.e., Aethiopia), and the West and East Indies (i.e., India Occidentalis and Orientalis respectively), which embodied the global imperial dominions in Africa, America and South East Asia all of which were incorporated under ruler with the Iberian union.

The retinue of Philip II in the manuscript’s image is reminiscent of subsequent statues over pedestals representing the Portuguese dominions (see elevations in Figs. 23-24). These statues were also damsels or nymphs, as Guerreiro described them, which represented a number of cities or states under Portuguese control and then also incorporated as part of Philip II’s empire. The festival, in this section, seemed to be a ‘re-creation’ of the image envisioned in the lead– up to the Iberian union under Philip II. This propaganda incubated in the years prior to the union clearly influenced the festival features.

The ‘triumphal path’ continued with a sequence of statues alternating with columns over pedestals (Figs. 23-24). The statues were nymphs with diverse attributes depending on what they represented. The composition was made by coupling a nymph with a column respectively embodying the capital city of the region and the fortress erected by the Portuguese. Every device had its inscription in the form of a Latin rhyme. The cities or regions represented were the Indian cities of Goa, Kannur, Kochi, Chaul, Diu, and Sri-Lanka. They also included Malacca in Malaysia, the old Kingdom of Ormus in the Persian gulf, Ethiopia representing the African ports, and Brazil. These representations of the overseas colonial empires impersonated in the nymphs are reminiscent to the emblem mentioned above: Triumpho Primero Imperial (Fig.26). This reinforces the theory that texts and art works created prior to Philip II’s accession to the Portuguese throne were used in the festival. Furthermore, not only was the arch of the Germans designed by the court architect but it was also put on the ‘triumphal path’. San Pedro’s manuscript seem to have been an important inspiration for the fête of 1581. One may wonder whether it was intended that Philip perform a similar way in the pageantry as depicted in San Pedro’s manuscript years before the

---

129 Bouza Álvarez, Imagen, p. 71.
130 Ibid., p. 71.
entry; that is, Philip II, in this ‘triumphal path’, would have ridden his horse under a canopy instead of being accompanied by the ‘living presence’ of damsels carrying the standards of his universal dominions. This may be because these statues over the pedestals embodied this same idea/concept, as represented in San Pedro’s drawing.

The association of female figures with the wealth of the Indies in the iconography associated with Philip II had been used before. For instance, Gianpaolo Poggini designed this medal after 1559 (Fig. 27). Philip II’s portrait is surrounded by an inscription in which he is presented as the ‘master’ of the universe. The other side of the medal, however, is more interesting as a female figure holding a globe embodies the Indies. The author of the medal, Gianpaolo Poggini, wrote to Cósimo I de Médici in 1562:

[…] a reverse of India, for which I dressed men and women with the clothes they wear in Peru, as you see; and that animal which resembles both a camel and a sheep [a llama] I have portrayed from one which is alive here, and I have included it because it is a rare animal and a useful one, since like ours it gives wool, milk and meat, and it bears loads like an ass. I have shown it burdened with bars of silver. The woman who bears the half globe as an offering represents the province of India as my Lord Gonzalo Pérez is pleased to interpret it. But I prefer to identify her as Fortune or Providence. The idea was mine in the first place, then I discussed it with my Lord and good friend Gonzalo Pérez. It seemed to him a good idea and he spent much effort working on the motto and refining the representation, with the help of many learned men at this court. And accordingly I executed it.\[^{131}\]

The decorative programme in Lisbon also featured Providence in a prominent location in the German Merchants arch. However, the most interesting aspect concerns the reminiscences perceived between these artistic objects. These were seen in the light of a visual culture associated with Philip II’s imperial representation that circulated for years, and which was accentuated in the lead–up to the coronation of Philip as the king of Portugal. This iconographic repertoire emerged in the festival decorations, which had been planned by court designers who were presumably familiar with the imagery.

### 3.3.II. Dominae Mundi: Philip II’s Role in the Pageant.

The entry into Lisbon was so dear to Philip that he decorated one of the rooms at the Alcázar in Madrid with a painting showing the many triumphal arches displayed that day in Lisbon.\[^{132}\] With the loss of this canvas in the great fire at the Alcázar, the only image showing the event is a painting delivered to the funeral given in honour of Philip II by Duke Ferdinand I in Florence.\[^{133}\] The funeral aimed to outline Philip’s


\[^{133}\] In addition to the studied drawing by San Pedro.

---

184
biography and highlight the king’s major achievements throughout his life, including the triumphal entry. The canvas presented the king riding his horse under a canopy flanked by his cohorts. However, no ephemeral art structures are visible (Fig.28).

The king’s costumes during the official meeting of the courts at Tomar and the reception in Lisbon are illustrated in two different sources. In a letter to his daughters, he mentioned his dislike of the ‘dress code’ proposed for him to wear. However, it seemed to be the traditional regal outfit in Portugal. Philip II who had recently been widowed following the death of his latest wife, Queen Anne of Austria, wore the black hat as a sign of his mourning (Fig.29). The other visual representation of Philip II during his trip to Portugal was included in Lavanha’s booklet (Fig.30). This was a detail of the façade erected by the guild of gravestone makers (or stone masons) that featured a sculpture of Philip II where it was claimed he was dressed as at the entry of 1581. This statue was framed by an ornamented fabric background and a canopy. Philip I of Portugal (and II of Spain) rode a black horse when he entered the city of Lisbon on 29 June 1581. He was dressed mostly in black, in a garment still conforming to Portuguese tradition.

Once the king arrived at the Ribeira gate (Fig.9 no.3), a member of the city council exhorted the ruler with discourse about the fears and expectations of the people of Lisbon concerning the change of dynasty. The monologue referred to the privileges and liberties of the city and the safeguarding of those by the new monarch. As previously discussed, the ceremonial of the keys seems to have been performed in two stages: initially, the keys were given at the ‘foot’ of the German Merchants’ arch, and then a second station was located just before entering the city gate which had been embellished for the festival. In the discourse, the veedor apologised for the postponement of the festival and possible misunderstandings. Philip thanked the reception and agreed to maintain the city rights granted by his predecessors.

The act of crossing the Ribeira arch and entering the city was highly symbolic in the procession. The inscription welcoming the king glorified the union of old Hispania (i.e., the Iberian Peninsula) under the former Roman Empire.

CATHOLICO CHRISTIANI NOMI
NIS ASSERTORI, PIO SEMPER AV

---

135 Ibid., p. 35.
136 Bouza Álvarez, Cartas p. 35.
137 This was also the guild of the gem cutters, at least in 1581.
138 Lavanha, Viage, p. 47.
139 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 29.
140 Ibid., p. 45.
This gate of the city was ornamented with motifs identified with the city, including iconographic representations of Lisbon, St. Vincent, and St. Anthony. However, the inscription above is possibly a better description of the role played by Philip II at the festival. He was the ruler who finally united the Iberian Peninsula, which had been fragmented into different realms since the demise of Roman ‘Hispania’. Philip II was now the sole ruler of all Iberia and its extensive and growing empire.

In early modern festivals, all the participants in the pageantry had a role to fulfil, and the main character was played on this occasion by the king himself. Beginning proceedings, he was received by the firing of the guns, his vessel garlanded by the city council for the occasion. Once Philip reached the Terreiro do Paço, the chroniclers’ narration explained how successively each of the Roman gods ‘talked’ to the monarch, as if they were actually interacting with him. The means was via inscriptions in combination with their iconography and the objects they carried. These were seen to ‘express’ the ‘dialogue’. As Philip moved through the pageant this ‘conversation’ continued. He even emulated a Roman Emperor by riding his black horse. During the pageantry progress, the sculptures and paintings continued ‘interacting’ with the ruler. What was of significance here, was the section along the ‘triumphal path’ (Figs. 20-21) where each nymph ‘told’ verses to Philip. This was a process by which each dominion was able to pay homage to the foremost global ruler.

Later, a representative of the city council (veedor), along with the Archbishop of Lisbon, exhorted the king with a speech which required a reply. As mentioned, both speeches communicated the tensions and hopes of the locals in the context of an abrupt change of dynasty. The local authorities tried to soften the relationship with the ruler by adopting an apologetic tone. The theatrical ‘performance’ staged by both the ruler and the religious authorities of Lisbon led by the Archbishop was magnificent. As discussed at the start of this chapter, every triumphal entry had at least four

---

142 J. Teixeira Marques de Oliveira, Fontes documentais de Veneza referentes a Portugal (Lisbon, 1997), p. 212.
143 Both chronicles from Guerreiro and Velázquez Salmantino adopted this type of ‘narration’, although the style in Guerreiro is more emphatic in describing this kind of ‘dialogue’. An example of this was in Alfaddinga where the Roman Gods ‘said’ to Philip II see Guerreiro, Las Festas, pp. 13-15.
mandatory stations: the military parade, passing the city gate (normally accompanied by the ceremony of the keys), followed by a ‘pious’ route to the cathedral (or major church) for mass, and concluding with the celebration of the festival with the people until the ruler retired to his premises.

The iconographical programme on the panel covering part of the façade of the Se cathedral was eminently religious: *La Iglesia Militante* (i.e., Church Militant) in a holy war against infidels and heretics. At the top of the painting the Holy Spirit illuminated the Virgin Mary who was flanked by the Apostles. The composition showed the Evangelists, representing the Catholic doctrine and defending the Holy Church. The Pope was represented beside an armed king. Guerreiro identifies this ruler as Philip II, depicted here as the Captain of the Catholic Church whose duty was to defend the purity of the Christian doctrine against heretics, and fight the advancement of the infidels.144 The Archbishop of Lisbon, Jorge Dalmeyda, and the rest of the clergy, had prepared the relic of the *santo lenho* which Philip supposedly kissed with great emotion.145 Philip II was devoted to relics and was a great collector.146 The Archbishop used his sermon to highlight the responsibilities of Philip as a Christian ruler and as a monarch to the Portuguese people. More importantly, he asked the king to grant a general pardon for the rebels, to which the monarch replied that he would consider the suggestion but that it was still too early to do so.147

The interaction during the pageantry was not only restrained to personalities but it also involved other participants. For example, there was a group of women who danced for the king in the *Rua Nova* and, once finished, one of them unexpectedly said to the ruler that they were happy to receive him but only until Sebastian I returned. This apparently made the king smile broadly.148 The monarch also admired the songs and music staged by the stone-masons guild in the only *tablaux vivant* of the festival in the *Fangas da Farinha* (Fig.9 no.12).149 The *Rua Nova dos Mercadores* was packed with people150 and, here, there was a sense of closeness to the ruler’s procession. Therefore, access to the king was easier, as exemplified by the lady who spoke directly to him.

Thus, there was the intention of promoting a quasi-divine image of the ruler

---

145 This relic was meant to be a fragment of the Holy Cross, see Guerreiro, *Las Festas*, p. 51.
147 Rois Soares stressed how the ruler was executing the followers of D. Antonio Crato even though the official chronicles record the -general pardon- the monarch instituted once he was crowned. Lopez Almeida, *Memorial*, p.193.
150 Ibid., p. 52.
while embodying closeness to the population. Guerreiro’s narration followed each of Philip’s glances, conveying the impressions and emotional impact that the ephemeral structures, music, and diverse commemorations had on the ruler.\footnote{For instance, the chronicler wrote that the king was very happy with the embellished streets, and he was especially delighted when he arrived in Rua Nova as he had never experienced such spectacle, Ibid., p. 52.}

The praise of the prince was a central branch of early modern (as of classical) rhetoric and presents the artist with one of his most important tasks. In the thinking of the period, the prince is not an individual human being but a representative figure, playing a vital role within the divinely-ordained system of the universe. Praise of the prince, therefore, is only one step below praise of God and just as much of a duty. If the prince is admirable, this demonstrates that God’s plan for his people is working as it should. It is common in festival books (and festivals), therefore, to present the ruler as the perfect Christian prince.\footnote{See a discussion on the theories of empire in the Introduction.}

In this sense, Philip II was identified through the artistic programme as the perfect global emperor with a divine mission to save the world. The ruler in this pageant fully embodied the notion Universal Monarch envisioned by thinkers. Nevertheless, in this case, Philip’s empire surpassed the European limits of Dante’s thought.\footnote{Strong, Art and Power, p. 66.} However, through adding ‘souls’ and lands from the West and East Indies, he was able to emulate the image of a Christian Roman emperor, simultaneously making him the universal monarch pictured by Erasmus in his Speculum Principis (1516).\footnote{See a study of the Renaissance notion of ‘parallel worlds’ and imaginary ‘spaces’ in G. Mazzotta, Cosmopoiesis: the Renaissance Experiment (Toronto, 2001), pp. 25-52.}

The ambiguous aspects of the reception, such as the circumstances in which the city was ordered to undertake the preparation of the festival, can be traced in the accounts of the pageant. The ‘voice’ given by the chroniclers to the different agents in the festival shows both the exaltation of the imperial aspects of the ruler and a closer relationship with the people of Lisbon during the procession. This festival reflected the desires, expectations, and worries of the monarch and also of his vassals. The ‘dialogue’ between the ruler and the ruled was reciprocal but it also featured characters in an imaginary utopian urban space purposely built in the streets of Lisbon for the festival.\footnote{For instance, the chronicler wrote that the king was very happy with the embellished streets, and he was especially delighted when he arrived in Rua Nova as he had never experienced such spectacle, Ibid., p. 52.}

The festival portrayed Philip II’s empire and power by combining interactions between the pageant performers – both people and artistic objects. The usage of ‘fictional’ objects which embodied or even impersonated divine or semi-divine characters was a familiar practice in certain festivals, sometimes as an alter ego of the

\begin{footnotesize}
\renewcommand*{	hefootnote}{\fnsymbol{footnote}}
\footnote{For instance, the chronicler wrote that the king was very happy with the embellished streets, and he was especially delighted when he arrived in Rua Nova as he had never experienced such spectacle, Ibid., p. 52.}
\footnote{See a discussion on the theories of empire in the Introduction.}
\footnote{Strong, Art and Power, p. 66.}
\footnote{See a study of the Renaissance notion of ‘parallel worlds’ and imaginary ‘spaces’ in G. Mazzotta, Cosmopoiesis: the Renaissance Experiment (Toronto, 2001), pp. 25-52.}
\end{footnotesize}
ruler himself. This was the case of Lima, in which the monarch was absent. Thus, as a way of embodying his ‘divine presence’, they used objects that stood in for the ‘living’ king. This simulacrum consisted of using the ruler’s portrait in order to ‘perform’ his role in the pageant. The portrait, therefore, impersonated the king and fulfilled his role in the festival.\textsuperscript{156}

An important feature of these ceremonies was the enthroned presence of the royal portrait. The royal portrait provided a vivid depiction of the king’s eyes that, according to contemporary chroniclers, allowed his subjects to experience the essence of the king. While the “real” king, which in any case was never produced in the New World, could not be looked directly in the eye, in Lima his subjects could forge a personal relationship with him through his eyes and oath.\textsuperscript{157}

The Topo da Padaria arches built in Lisbon in 1581 (Fig. 31) were the same in architectural form. They were funded by the hat makers and confectioners guilds.\textsuperscript{158} A panel atop each arch was decorated with painting evoking the richness of Lisbon’s location along the Tagus. The route to the cathedral through this street was up a pronounced hill, making the theatrical impact of the ephemeral architecture very impressive. These two arches were erected at the intersection of two narrow streets and their enormous scale was devised to impose authority (Fig. 27). This triumphal architecture ordered the space within the ‘inner fence’ area of the festival itinerary, thereby transforming it into an ideal scene typical of a Renaissance urban utopia. Alberti cites Tacitus regarding the construction of triumphal arches:

\begin{quote}
That the squares and the crossroads of the most principal streets [shall] be embellished with arches constructed in the entry of these streets, because it is the arch [that is the best element to use] by those who are knowledgeable of the [Roman] Empire.\textsuperscript{159}
\end{quote}

These arches may have intended to fulfil the imperial urban order insisted by Alberti. In this case, their location enhanced the histrionic purpose intended.

Ultimately, the combination of the living and still ‘performers’ in the festival, with this temporary ideal space, had pseudo ‘divine’ connotations which confirmed

\textsuperscript{156} A.B. Osorio, \textit{Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru’s South Sea Metropolis} (New York, 2008), pp. 81-102.

\textsuperscript{157} Osorio, \textit{Inventing Lima}, p.51.

\textsuperscript{158} Velázquez Salmantino, \textit{La Entrada}, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{159} L. Alberti, \textit{Los Diez Libros de Arquitectura de Leon Batista Alberto. Traduzido de Latin Romance}. (Madrid, 1582), p. 247:

\begin{quote}
Pero a lo que a las plaças y encuentros de calles mas principalmente adorna son los arcos puestos en las entradas de las calles, porque es el arco por los que entendieron el Imperio, porque estos dice Tacito, […]
\end{quote}

See chapter 1 for further insights concerning the interest and education of King Philip II in architectural theory and practice.
the triumphal image of the king as a *Dominae Totis Orbis*.

**3.3.III. Lineage & Religion: the Duties of a Christian Ruler.**

[...] it is [important] for the service of our Lord God and the universal benefit of Christianity that the matter of the succession of the kingdoms of this crown, [...], be resolved properly and promptly. And I have no doubt that with his [King Henry's] unique prudence and deeply Christian zeal he must have foreseen the great usefulness and advantage that will be secured not only for all Spain but also for the rest of Christendom if I should be declared and sworn to be his legitimate successor, [...]

This is a passage of a letter from Philip II concerning his pretensions to the Lusitanian crown. In the letter he presents himself as not only the rightful heir but also as the person best suited to promulgate the Catholic Faith. In the remainder of the letter, Philip stresses the duties of a Christian ruler in defending his lands and vassals from the dangers of heresy. Philip explained how his rule would be beneficial for the propagation of the faith in the Spanish dominions and also in the Portuguese empire. He mentioned how the promulgation and defence of the faith would be granted in all four continents. These ideas of dynastic rule, and Christian leadership were crucial part of his imperial responsibilities.

The messianic mission to ‘save the world’ was embedded in Philip II’s duties as a global emperor. This divine pursuit had been part of the moral and religious code established by his predecessors, through the ancestry of kings in his family from Portugal, Castile and Austria. This section examines the artistic display devoted to the dynasty of Philip II and his duties as a Christian ruler. Most of the particular motifs were present on the façade of the Arch of the German colony (Fig.9 no.2) facing the city. Other structures funded by local guilds also had important decorations referring to this idea, such as the arch of the Silversmiths (Fig.9 no.8).

The façade facing the city on the German merchants’ arch (Fig. 32) had an iconographical programme devoted to Philip’s heir Diego and to the glory of emperor Charles V. In other words, the Habsburg dynasty and kingly genealogy was celebrated on this face of the arch. This was a clear allusion to the critical importance of the perpetuation of the Habsburg lineage, then granted to Philip II’s heir at the time, Diego. The repertoire commenced at the top of the arch with a number of recommendations to Diego respecting his duties as a ruler concerning religion and justice, including keeping the city privileges. This last piece of advice is further evidence of the anxiety the city of Lisbon to maintain its status through the ratification...

---


of acquired rights.

The rest of the façade have imperial symbols of both Charles V and Philip II, considering the latter inherited the advice and good governance of his father. This side of the arch emphasised the recognition of Diego as the heir of Philip and prince of Portugal. A winged Providence (Fig.32 no.4) had her arms raised toward the sky, holding in her hands two stone squares. These ‘marbles’ have inscriptions advising the young prince. Beneath this figure was a panel with additional figures: in the centre stood Diego himself (no. 1), flanked by his grandfather Charles V (no. 2) and his great grandfather Philip I of Castile and Archduke of Austria (no.3).

These three images celebrated the Habsburg lineage. In the painting beneath the prince, a nymph, identified as ‘princess of Lisbon’, offered a jewel to foster faith and love in ‘fruitful’ marriages (‘fruit’ meaning offspring). The nymph also offered two shields intertwined with the arms of Portugal and the Algarve, symbolising the acceptance of Diego as heir to the Lusitanian crown.

The ‘providential’ advice to the young prince read as follows (no. 4):


The ‘instruction’ to the young prince was pious, thus embodying the messianic mission of the dynasty, whose future was now granted to Diego. The heir and his dynasty were the incarnation of the Fidei Defensor predestined to spread and protect the Catholic

---

162 Guerreiro described these as ‘epitaphs’, the material was an imitation of stone and was possibly marble. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 19.

163 Known as Philip the Handsome or the Fair, and the first Habsburg ruler in Castile, he married Joana of Castile (‘The Mad’) who succeeded him in the crown after his early death. They fathered six children including Charles V and Eleanor of Habsburg Queen consort of Portugal through her marriage to Manuel I and after his death to Francis I of France who also made her Queen consort of France. The marriage to Manuel I of Portugal was celebrated in Lisbon in 1521 with a lavish festival that incorporated the traditional tableaux vivant.

164 This figure was possibly reclined in the entablature of the arch and has not been included in the elevation. See Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 19.

165 The numbering is my own addition. Ibid., p. 19, also in Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 125.

1. Adore God as a trinity and one. 2. Take care of the Church. 3. Obey the priests as your father. 4. Be merciful with relatives and friends. 5. Do not go over the equality of justice. 6. Restrain ‘disordered’ thoughts. 7. Defend the Catholic and Apostolic Faith. 8. Be guardian of the nuns. 9. The supreme law is the health of the people. 10. Extinguish the contumacy of the heretics. 11. Do not divest the privileges of the cities. 12. Restrain with advice the vanquished rebels.
Faith. This message was alternated with messages communicating the expectations of and rights of his Portuguese subjects. These also concerned the issue of the rebels in which the inscription ‘required’ the king to consider advice on the matter.

This was completed with inscriptions beneath the painted figures. The inscription beneath Philip I read: ‘PHILIPPVS AVSTRIAE, DVX BERGVNDIAE, COMES FLANDRIAE, HISPANIARVM REX CATHOLICVS’. Charles V read: ‘D. CAROLVS V. IMP. CAESAR SEMPER AVGST. GERM. AFRICVS, ASIATICVS, INDICVS’. All these referred to most of the realms inherited by Philip II and which would presumably be succeeded to by Diego. The seizure of Charles V’s empire through conquest was emphasised by attributing him with an imperial ‘crown’ beyond the European limits of his Holy Roman Emperorship, with the inclusion of Africa, Asia and the Indies. These were later inherited by Philip II, unifying all the four known continents under the sole dominion of Philip.

The inscription beneath Diego showed his ancestry from the Austrian branch up to Frederick III (1415 –1493). This panel was a celebration of the Habsburg dynasty and a study on genealogy. If God had fostered the accession of Philip II not only to the Lusitanian crown but also to the largest empire ever known, he therefore had a number of responsibilities to meet.

Another revealing inscription on the arch read: ‘The German Merchants, being in Lisbon, constructed and paid for this arch with devout spirit and the time and faculty offered’. This was a crucial piece of information to make sure that the attribution of this arch to another colony not recognised.

Like the façade facing the Tagus, the decorative programme on this façade extended to the panels atop the lateral entrances (nos. 5-6) and the pedestals sustaining the obelisks (nos. 7-8). The programme explored Charles V iconography in order to present him as the role model for Philip II and his heir. These ‘instructions to the

166 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 20. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p.125. Philip I: Philip of Austria Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders and Spanish Catholic King Charles V: D. Charles V., Cesar always August Emperor of Germany, Africa, Asia and Indies


DIDACO, DIVI PHILIPPI MONARCHAE, HISPANIARVM REGIS F. IMPERATORIS CAESARIS CAROLI V. NEPO. PHILIPPI AVSTR. PRONEP. MAXIMILIANI CAESARIS, ABNEP. IMPERATORIS FREDERICI ADNEP. PRINCIPI SVO,


VTRIVSQVE GERMANIAE. MERCATORES OLYSSIPPONE DEVOTISSIMI ANIMI MONVMENTA QVANTVM TEMPVS ET FACVULTAS TVLERE. S. AERE IN FORO EREXERVNT.

169 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 20. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 125. Salmantino had attributes the funding of this arch to the Flemish colony, although he also included this inscription. This is part of a longer debate regarding the internal disputes among the Flemish and the German colonies in Lisbon.
Christian prince’ bore a resemblance to some of the advice on pious and divine matters given by Charles to Philip upon his abdication in 1555.\textsuperscript{170}

The panel on the top right-hand arch (no. 7) contained a painting simulating a bronze bas-relief with Mercury holding Jupiter’s sceptre ‘in the way poets pictured him’, and as if he was ‘talking’ to Diego: MOSTRABO ITER (‘I will show you the path’).\textsuperscript{171} On the other panel atop the left–hand arch (Fig. 28 no. 6), Hercules is shown dressed in his lion skin holding a truncheon over a Hydra ‘saying’: TE DVCE VINCAM (‘With you as leader I will defeat’).\textsuperscript{172}

The inner panel on the pedestal of the right-hand obelisk (no. 9) read: PIETAS DIVI.\textsuperscript{173} The painting had a column with a fire atop and a pile with holy water on the ground. This was flanked by a bishop reading a book and, on the other side, a portrait of the emperor. This signified the protection that Charles V provided to the Holy Inquisition against heresy. The panel facing the city had a crowned figure representing the late emperor in a pulpit; this pulpit had a painting of an eagle within it, and was surrounded by people: PROVIDENTIA CAESARIS.\textsuperscript{174} This emblem encouraged the young heir to follow the emperor’s example in the ‘art of ruling’.

The left-hand obelisk (no. 8) had its panels painted. The inner panel presented an elephant with a man in his trunk and two underneath his feet: FAMA CAESARIS.\textsuperscript{175} In Guerreiro’s version, the fame of the emperor also came with his mercy by ‘forgiving’ Francis I of France. The panel facing the city had a man holding two horses, one of them tightly because it was agitated and the other loosely because it was tame: AEQUITAS IMPERATORIS.\textsuperscript{176} These referred to the equity in which Charles V treated his subjects.

The façade of the German Merchants’ arch facing the city celebrated the victories of the Habsburgs. The emphasis was put on Charles V and the Spanish branch with the

\textsuperscript{170} Charles V gave a number of instructions to Philip, with several letters or documents: The instructions of Palamós, 1543, where he summaries a set of rules to govern the Spanish nations, among them, encouraging his marriage with the princess of Portugal. The Secret Instruction: enclosed to Palamos’ was a warning to Philip against the power of the diverse factions in Spanish court. Charles recommended Philip to keep both in court and with balanced powers. In 1548, in what had been called ‘Political testament’, the emperor guided his son in foreign policy, encouraging him to work on developing his relations with the Habsburg family. In the abdications in 1555, Charles finally gives some recommendations concerning religion: to guard Catholic Faith and to promote for this the Inquisition, amongst others. See J. D. Tracy, Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign strategy, International Finance and Domestic Politics (Cambridge, 2002), p. 188.

\textsuperscript{171} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 20. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p.126.

\textsuperscript{172} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 21. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p.126.


\textsuperscript{175} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 21. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{176} Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 22, Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 126.
inclusion of Philip ‘The Handsome’, and, although there were clear references to the
Austrian branch, these were only direct predecessors of the Spanish side of the
dynasty. Diego was provided in this display with a detailed instruction on how to be
the leader of Christendom and how to become worthy of ruling the world like his
father Philip II. However, the model set was Charles V. The arch was funded by the
German colony and was a way of linking their lands with the family of the newly
crowned ruler in Portugal. The inclusion of Providence emphasises the unavoidable
destiny for which Philip II and his heir were headed, as their ancestors had extended
and increased their power and dominion. Roman gods and the shadow of the deceased
Charles V and his model of ‘good government’ acted as a guide to Philip II and Diego.

The Silversmith guild also erected a façade (Figs. 33-35) which the chroniclers
described as being of real silver. The magnificent structure was composed of a
double-arched triumphal arch with columns of the Ionic order, topped by three
obelisks and two oval panels with one eagle each. The theme of this arch was the
Castilian and Portuguese union, including allusions to the lineage of kings in the form
of a genealogic tree. This ‘tree’ was similar to those that emerged in Philip II’s court
between 1579 and 1581. Genealogy was a critical aspect of the festival repertoire.
After all, Philip II claimed to be the rightful heir to the Portuguese crown or it was
important that this be demonstrated publicly.

The right hand panel (Fig. 35 no. 2) displayed a globe divided in two, with a
clear reference to the Treaty of Tordesillas. Here, again, the principal theme concerned
Philip II’s rights to the Lusitanian crown by commemorating his triumph by uniting
what Tordesillas had separated. The inscription in Latin read:

CERTATVR, FERRO HOS INTER, QVOD DIVIDIT
OMMEM HESPERIAM, HINC MULTO SANGVINE VERNAT HVMVS.
HINC EST LYSIADVM REGVM DISTINCTA POTESTAS,
STIGMATA ET ALTA VIDES HINC TITULOSQVE NOVOS
AT TIBI CONCESSIT SOLI REGNATOR OLYMPI. DIVISA
HAEC REGNIS NUNC SOCIERE TVIS. 179

The arch was a celebration of the Iberian Union under the House of Habsburg and,
moreover, under Philip. The union apparently made them stronger, and Portugal was
hoping for some protection along its coastal areas. It was hoped that this vulnerability

177 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 22, Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 124
178 For example the study on genealogical trees in San Pedro, Dialogo, fol. xcviv. There were
many others in the period.
179 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 54.

Divided was Spain because of the wars, in which there was much blood, Portugal has a
different power, new titles and noble armament. But God saw for good that only you
had these two kingdoms as one, under your Empire.
during the unstable years prior to the union would reach an end. The attention to
detail in this arch, and the lavish decorations employed were appropriate for a royal
spectacle. Although funded by the silversmiths and possibly designed by them the
arch displayed the political agenda of court.

The emphasis on genealogy was used to both sustain Philip II’s rights to the
crown and demonstrate how his lineage equipped him to undertake this leadership.
Philip II was a descendant of great Christian rulers and, as a global emperor, he was
also the ‘shepherd’ who led the flock. With this iconography of a pastor, Philip II was
presented in the German Merchants arch on the outer panel on the left hand, facing the
Alfadinga (Fig.9 no.2).

IAM NOVA PROGENIES CAELO DIMITITITUR ALTO,
ET POSITIS ARMIS AUREA SECLA FLVENT.
NUNC IMPLEBUNTUR PRUDENTVM ORACVLA VATVM,
REX VNUS TERRIS, PASTOR ET VNVS ERIT.\textsuperscript{180}

This panel had a painting with a shepherd surrounded by his flock. This ‘flock’
comprised exotic animals such as, among others, a lion, an elephant, and a tiger.
Zodiac symbols were placed above the shepherd. In Velázquez’s version, the ‘pastor’
dominated and protected the world as his ‘flock’, thus, defeating the dangerous
serpent of the Lutherans. Guerreiro added to the description a Moon eclipse and comet
crossing the sky above the zodiac symbols. Through this, the chronicler linked this
display with a famous prophecy. This prophecy told of a comet that appeared before
Sebastian I was defeated and killed and also referred to the eclipse that appeared the
day King Henry died. These deaths concluded with Philip II’s accession to the
Lusitanian crown.

The comet and eclipse were also reported in Pero Rois Soares’ account, not
related to this decoration, but instead, narrating the prophetical character of the
astronomical events.\textsuperscript{181}

It seems Velázquez Salmantino did not wish to raise awareness of the prophecies
that linked the death of the previous rulers to Philip II’s accession to the throne.


\textsuperscript{181} This also concerns the movement known as ‘Sebastianism’, that consisted of claims by
diverse people and rumours to have been with Sebastian I or seen after his dead. The Memorial
by Pero Rois Soares narrated some of these apparitions and also reports the predictions based
on astronomy. Regarding ‘Sebastianism’, there is an interesting paper by J.I. Suárez,
‘Saudosismo Movement: An Esthetics of Sebastianism,’ \textit{Luso-Brazilian Review}, Vol. 28, No. 1,
Guerreiro tried on the other hand to explain these predictions to Philip’s benefit. Philip II’s messianic mission, as ruler of the world, was part of a supreme plan in which the monarch’s destiny was already written by the greater will of God. The intention of both chroniclers was clear, but what did the author or designer of this painting want to say? The only certain element is the identification of Philip II as a pastor, and all the related symbolic elements must be seen to relate to this core idea of the Christian leader.¹⁸²

The paintings on the six panels located along the ‘triumphal path’ (see Figs. 23-24) were representations of victorious battles achieved by the Spanish forces. Additional iconography was shown reinforcing the expansion of the faith and Philip II’s role as Fidei Defensor. This section of Philip’s ‘triumphal path’ in the pageant explored in particular the role of the ‘Christian rulers’ of his dynasty in campaigns against heretics and Lutherans. The first panel on the right (Fig. 23 no.1) praised the propagation of the Catholic faith by Charles V and Philip II with at the European frontiers against Islamic forces and Lutherans, as well as the ever-growing expansion of religion in the West Indies. The inscription read: ‘CRESCIT RELIGIO. PLVS VLTRA’, (‘religion grows further beyond’).¹⁸³ In front of this panel was written: ‘FIDES PROPAGATVR’, (‘The Faith is propagated’). The emblem was a figure of a winged Fame over a globe with a trumpet. Her wings had ears and eyes. This meant that Philip II’s fame was great and therefore seen and heard in all four continents.

The rest of these panels were devoted to similar ideas in which the promotion of religion and defence of the realms were part of the same notion closely allied to the emperorship.¹⁸⁴ Philip II was the Christian leader of the world who had to defend the interest of the catholic faith because God was on his side.

Philip II by becoming King of Portugal, was bond to defend the nation and

¹⁸² This display has been recently examined in Bouza Álvarez, Felipe II y El Portugal, pp. 39-43.
¹⁸³ Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 26. The content of the panels is ignored by Velázquez Salmantino.
¹⁸⁴ The third panel read: ‘DEI PROVIDENTIA, SIC PER TE SVPERIS GENS, INIMICA RVAT’, (i.e., ‘Providence of God, like this your enemies will be harmed’), with a representation of Jupiter dominating four lions, again the emblematic language used the continents Philip II ruled. In front of this: ‘PAX REGNAT, CVI TANTA HOMINI COMMIS, SA POTESTAS’, (i.e., ‘The peace reigns, to which man in the world was committed to so much power?’) the painting showed Mars seated on a piece of artillery, tied and furious for the power loss in favour of Philip II. The next panel read: ‘IDOLATRIA EXPELLITVR. ABOLERE NEFANDI CVNCTAVIRI MUNVMENTA IVBET’, (i.e., ‘Idolatry is expelled. This King commands to abolish the machines and lies of this perverse man’), the image represented the Turk tied and suffering and his navy destroyed by Joan of Austria’s fleet, the chronicle also identified the Turk with evil. The last panel devoted to the Justice and identified with Astraea read: ‘TERRAS ASTREA REVISIT PARTIRINON POTEST OR BEM, SOLVS HABERE POTES’, (i.e., ‘Justice returned to earth, you cannot divide the world but posses it’). The Justice gave the world to Philip II for him to govern in peace and justice. The image showed a feminine figure over a globe dominating the ferocity of a lion, a tiger and a dragon. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 27.
become not only his leader but also its hero. The notion of self-sacrifice was explored in the artistic programme through the depiction of Roman ‘heroes’ such as Marcus Curtius. The story told by Pliny the Elder narrated how the oracle augured that Rome would be safe only if ‘courage’ was sacrificed. Hence Marcus Curtius threw himself over a precipice. The painting in the arch was accompanied with the inscription:

DEVOVI VELVTI STYGIIS ME MANIBVS OLIM, CVRTIVS ET VITAE PRODIGVS
IPSE FVI. NON ALITER CAPVT OBIJCIES VITAMQVE PERICLIS, PRO LVSITANIS
MAGNE PHILIPPE TVIS.\(^{185}\)

In the text, Curtius ‘talked’ to King Philip II, saying that the monarch will make the same sacrifices for the people of Portugal. There were other characters used to explore this notion of the hero as a model for the ruler.\(^{186}\)

These decorations formed part of the interior décor of the passageways of the German Merchants’ arch. Significantly, the model of Imperial Rome was echoed at every opportunity to establish the desired triumphal grammar. Intellectuals of the period explored the notion of ‘emperor of the Indies’ in relation to Philip II’s monarchy. In De Regno et Regis Officio, Sepulveda’s treatise on good government dedicated to Philip II, the author argued how the Spanish monarchy had been chosen by God to ‘bring the inhuman into the sphere of the human’.\(^{187}\) The author adapted Aristotle’s postulates on slavery which divided realms into different types: those equipped to practice civil government; those fitted to manage their own affairs only but not suited to exercise rule over others; and, finally, ‘barbarians’ whose traditions infringed God’s natural law.\(^{188}\)

In an artistic manner, the festival ‘message’ was communicated through a visual repertoire in the form of paintings and statues which had their own ‘voice’, through inscriptions. The intention was not only to justify the territorial expansion overseas, and the incorporation of Portugal into Philip II’s empire, but also to convey a common consciousness of superiority. This Castilian psyche as reflected in the image making of their ruler was promoted in the festival decorations and in representations of Philip II following the Iberian union. Earlier on, it was examined how Philip II’s

\(^{185}\) Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 24, Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 127.
\(^{186}\) The use of Roman Heroes was extended in European festival displays and not were especially associated to the image of King Philip II, as other emblems such as the designed Trezzo in the medal and then printer in Ruscelli’s book. For example, these heroes and the notion of self-sacrifice was most important theme in Cardinal Andrea Corner’s entry into Brescia in 1546. See S. Bowd, Venice’s Most Loyal City: Civic Identity in Renaissance Brescia (Cambridge MA., 2010) pp. 28-30.
\(^{187}\) Padgen, Lords, p. 100.
\(^{188}\) Ibid., p. 100.
emblems such as J. Trezzo’s initial design and inscription were transformed in the festival with the intention of encompassing the recent immense territorial expansion of the empire. In the same manner, the efforts made by contemporary thinkers to morally justify territorial expansion in the Americas were now being applied to the Portuguese empire. For this reason, the triumphal discourse exhibited in the festival décor was accompanied by a lecture on Catholic morals which justified God’s ‘selection’ of Philip II and his dynasty to rule the world.

3.4. Lisbon’s Perspective: Conflicted Sentiments and Tradition in the Festival of 1581.

Philip II’s reception in Lisbon in 1581 was celebrated in a large number of ephemeral structures funded by local guilds. In fact, the entry of his heir Philip III in 1619 saw a rise in the number of structures funded by foreign colonies. Early modern festivals were usually funded by the city which hosted them. In this respect, if the display in the Terreiro do Paço had wider imperial grammar. What was within the city fence, was a decorative programme that identified the city of Lisbon.

Local input at the festival was a crucial part of the pageantry and the key to its success. The number of structures erected for the festival relied on the involvement of local guilds. The first of the structures to make a clear reference to the city was the Portas da Ribeira (Figs.36-37). The old gate was transformed into a triumphal arch, the permanent structure constrained to a double arched structure. This gate had been funded by the local authorities and aimed to identify the city of Lisbon.

The height of the arch was 8.4 metres, including the figures on top. The arch imitated stone and the Corinthian columns were decorated with grotesques in the lower part. The shafts were half fluted. The description of the figure representing Lisbon could have been inspired in the emblem drafted by Francisco de Holanda in 1571: ‘a very beautiful woman, with simulated [being made of] marble, with a golden crown on her head […].’

This figure embodied the city of Lisbon, and was accompanied by St. Vincent and St. Anthony. The general theme of the arch was the
welcoming of the new ruler. As discussed previously, it was at the foot of this arch that the second station of the ‘ceremonial of the keys’ was staged. This was where the speeches by the city authorities took place. The inscriptions highlighted the role of Philip II as the ruler who finally achieved the ‘dream of’ the Roman Hispania (i.e., a united Iberia).

The high climax of the celebrations took place in the Rua Nova dos Mercadores. This street was so crowded that the procession had difficulty in progressing. Guerreiro reported the extent to which the king saw a surprising display of structures, as well as masses of people wandering. There were also beautifully decorated balconies in buildings crowded with curious onlookers, musicians playing, and other kinds of performance. In Guerreiro’s words, the space was so colourful that it was like ‘retrato de todo o mundo’ (‘a portrait of the world’). The cosmopolitan character of Lisbon had been praised by contemporaries, including Philip himself who believed the city’s port was the commercial hub of everything. If Terreiro do Paço was the royal stage par excellence, then the Rua Nova dos Mercadores was not only the commercial hub but also one of the most important spaces of social encounter in Lisbon.

The closest surviving image in time of this street is the one shown here (Fig. 38). Dr Annemarie Jordan Schwend and Kate Lowe have recently identified this painting as an illustration of the Rua Nova dos Mercadores in Lisbon. This image (Fig. 38) shows the canvas before its recent restoration. The approximate date lies somewhere between 1570 and 1590. The painting displays the North side of the street and, therefore, the buildings facing in the direction of the riverfront (see Fig. 9 in which the section of the street I believe it represents is placed between nos. 8 and 9).

The festive atmosphere in the Rua Nova led the procession to one of the ephemeral structures which presented the most ambiguous messages in relation to the festival was planned to have coincided with St. Anthony’s day, although as explained before it had to be postponed. One may wonder if some of these decorations were being prepared for the saint’s celebrations in the city and then recycled for the royal entry. It is difficult to know mostly since there is not a serious study to date on the earliest manifestations of St. Anthony’s festivals in sixteenth-century Lisbon. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 11.

193 The chronicler mentioned that buildings in this street had armação on their walls. As studied previously, this meant ‘false façade’. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 52. This type of decoration was located on the top of the buildings façades, as used in some of the lateral façades of Alfadinga.

194 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 52.


197 This canvas depicts almost exactly the section between the end of the arch of the Silversmith guild constructed in 1581 (on the right end of the painting Fig. 9 no. 8) and the next in the procession funded by the tailors located on the corner (on the left end of the painting Fig. 9 no. 9). See a section of this housing re-created in the fashion of the painting.
newly crowned king. Decorating the fountain in the *Rua Nova* (Fig.39) was an immense structure known as *Chafariz*.

The façade of this structure carried a number of paintings and figures. A female figure representing Victory presided at the apex of the *machina*. The central panel was painted with a figure of Temperance carrying the Portuguese flag, dominating Desire in which the iconography was that of a man trying to ‘eat’ the Earth. On the left-hand panel the iconography was of Time with an inscription that read: ‘the power of fame is subject to the free will of Time, that discovers all badness […]’.198 The last panel represented Fame, which in combination with *Mexerico* (translated as ‘tattle’ or ‘gossip’) would divulge everything, ‘saying more than is expected’.199 The theme underpinned in this structure’s display intended to warn the king of the dangers of his power and dominion over the world. ‘Didactic’ recommendations like these were common, as exemplified in the ‘instruction to Diego’ present on the German arch. However, on this occasion, the ‘lecture’ was presented in a ‘direct language’ with accusatory subtleties. There was no reference to Philip II’s good government at all. As seen before, Rois Soares lamented how the battle of Lisbon in 1580 was compared to the Sack of Rome (1527). In this battle, which happened barely a year before the festival, Lisbon had been fought over street by street.200

The iconographic representation emphasised the ‘direct’ tone of the inscriptions: the only kingdom represented was Portugal whose arms were on a flag carried by Victory. In this way, the scene was presented as Victory trying to calm the greed of man who wanted to eat the earth.

Earlier on, we saw how much of the artistic programme was devoted to the exaltation of Philip II’s domination of the world. Here is strange that there was no message explicitly stating something that would exempt Philip from any relationship with this ‘greedy character’. Guerreiro’s chronicle only described the features but did not go into interpreting details as he had done with previous structures. Velázquez Salmantino’s version is unclear as he attributed the funding of the structure to the tavern-keepers and to the potters in the same paragraph.201 His description of the structure added a representation of Adam to which he did not assign any material form or inscription, but remotely linked its iconography with Philip II.202 Significantly, when describing the rest of the façade, which this time coincided with Guerreiro’s

---

199 Ibid., p. 57.
201 Velázquez Salmantino, *La Entrada*, p. 139.
202 Ibid., p. 139.
account, all material forms of the displays were described (e.g. if it was a column or a painting including some measurements). This does not help to decide who gave the most accurate description. However, it has already been demonstrated how Velázquez Salmantino changed the description to Philip’s benefit at any given opportunity. On this occasion, his account, even if isolated from Guerreiro’s, was still incoherent. Guerreiro’s chronicle also aimed to flatter, usually presenting a favourable image of the local authorities to the ruler.

The local structures displayed religious images of protection like the Anjo Custodio (i.e. Guardian angel) at the Porta da Moeda (Fig.9 no.11). This decoration was also featured in Joanna’s entry of 1557. However, the most repeated images, aside from the triumphal motifs, used in the structures designed by court architects were those of St. Vincent and St. Anthony.

Since Eleanor of Habsburg’s entry into Lisbon in 1521 to wed King Manuel I, followed by Joanna of Habsburg’s reception in 1557 to marry King Sebastian I, there was a development in the preferred structures displayed when compared with Philip’s entry of 1581. The proliferation of tableau vivants evolved with time and these became fewer in number, in favour of triumphal arches.

This was not only the product of a change in artistic taste but also a reflection of the triumphal character of the festival. In fact, in the triumphal entry of Philip II there was only one tableau vivant, funded by the stonemasons (Fig.40).

This apparently unfinished structure had a wooden stage in which a number of masons performed a scene pretending to be at work on the pediment of the façade. They sang to the rhythm of their hammers under the orders of a surveyor. The machinery had at the top of each corner statues imitating marble and through the descriptions may be identified as Clio, Muse of History (i.e., it was described as a woman with a laurel wreath and holding a book). Guerreiro wrote that King Philip seemed delighted with the performance. Unfortunately, this song has not been discovered yet and any interpretations are merely speculative. For instance, it may have been an allegory of the king as an architect and the way he would be remembered in history. The song seems key to comprehend the performance: perhaps the explanation is simpler, and this song only referred to the work of the masons in

---

204 This has been noted by Ana Isabel Buescu to whom I thank for allowing me to mention this idea before publication of the forthcoming chapter.
205 Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 141.
206 Both Guerreiro and Velázquez Salmantino only described the features but did not identified the character pictured. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 58. Velázquez Salmantino, La Entrada, p. 141.
general, or even to the urgency of finishing the structures for the festival. Its intention may also have been to show the sophistication of the local guild by demonstrating a relationship with the classical language in architecture.208 Nonetheless, there was a clear line that differentiated the structures in the Terreiro do Paço from those funded by local guilds elsewhere. The triumphal theme shifted once the procession progressed into the city. On the other hand, the Gold and Silversmiths continued the glorious and victorious grammar. The displays and architectural splendour of these arches and decorations contrasted sharply according to the designer. However, both still mediated the relationship and existing tensions between the citizens and their new king.

3.5. Triumphal Grammar in the Imperial Representation in Lisbon’s Festival.

In this chapter I have examined three major themes in the festival of 1581 regarding the notion of empire in relation to Philip II: triumphal discourse, the king’s role in the festival, and the duties and responsibilities of the Christian ruler. Although the lines of differentiation between these themes are very fine, the decorations often blended ideas ranging across the spectrum of imperial discourse and rhetoric. There are a number of conclusions that may be drawn from the décor and the written accounts describing this event.

The festival clearly had the design input of different authors: the court designer Filipo Terzi’s participation has been documented, perhaps together with other royal architects.209 Local designers were certainly involved. A major role was played by the

---

208 A façade like this is reminiscent of earlier Italian models such as Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini. The façade of the Tempio in Rimini was inspired by classical triumphal arches and intended to project an image of Sigismondo Malatesta as an ‘enlightened learned, and triumphant’ ruler. Zaho, Imago Triumphalis, p. 72. However, the relationship of this façade in Lisbon with the Tempio needs further documentary evidence, as there is a century between their constructions. It is known that Francisco de Holanda delivered drawings of this temple while he was in Italy and that they were highly influential back in Portugal. Additionally, many other features in the festival were inspired in Holanda’s work. It would be interesting to pursue further this line of research in the future. Thus far these are mere speculations.

209 The relation of Juan de Herrera with this festival is unclear. Pizarro Gómez sustained this attribution as the architect witnessed the lavish Flemish festivals during Philip II’s tour between 1548-1549 as he was part of the prince’s entourage. Juan de Herrera also accompanied the king in his entry into Seville 1570 as he was in charge of preparing the ruler’s chambers in the Alcázar, see, F.J. Pizarro Gómez, Arte y Espectáculo en los Viajes de Felipe II: 1542-1592 (Madrid, 1999), pp. 45-46. Segurado argued that Juan de Herrera’s presence in Lisbon is sufficient to defend his intervention in the festival. See note 84. Significantly, it is known Philip II also entrusted both Terzi and Herrera the preparation of his premises in the royal in Lisbon prior to his entry, see Checa Cremades, Felipe II, p. 270. As mentioned before he even went in incognito to visit them before the festival. Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 5.
veedor de obras, Lucas da Sylva. Accounts describing ephemeral structures also reported differences in quality. There was a major effort played by local authorities and other institutions such as the Maritime customs and city guilds. However, the German Merchants’ arch and the adjacent temporary ‘triumphal path’ are likely to have been designed by royal architects. In the end, this arch reflected the court’s political agenda concerning Philip II’s image as a global ruler. It also displayed emblems and other insignia that had a clear pedigree defined in court.

Philip II moved his residence to Lisbon for almost two years, at least until Crato’s resistance was defeated. This move was symbolic of Philip’s control over the Atlantic Ocean and the birth of the Luso-Hispanic empire (Fig.41). In fact, it was recommended by Granvela that Philip II locate his permanent residence in Lisbon. Rumours of the possibility of moving the capital of the empire from Madrid to Lisbon circulated during this period. Indeed, one of the most important themes underlining the entry of Philip III into Lisbon in 1619 was presenting Lisbon as the perfect metropolis for the empire. Portugal saw this possibility as a way of bringing the wealth of the empire to the city and the realm. In fact, Lisbon grew to become one of the most strategic locations of the empire. The union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns was of major importance not just for the king but also for the way it transformed the political position of the Iberian empire in Europe.

Philip II would entrust Filipo Terzi and Juan de Herrera with the design of a new tower at the Paço da Ribeira, (royal palace in Lisbon). Unfortunately, the building was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1755. Other major reforms in the urbanism and architecture of the city were performed under Philip’s rule. The monastery of St. Vicente de Fora survived the disaster of 1755. The style of this monastery derived from the reductive classicism of the Austriaco style created under the king’s patronage.

In this eighteenth century cityscape, the imposing tower erected under Philip’s order is clearly depicted (Fig.41). San Vicente da Fora (no. 4) and other important buildings in the city, such as the Se Cathedral (no. 3), St. George’s castle (no. 2), and the Terreiro do Paço (no. 5) can all be seen. Before the disaster the riverfront tower and

---

210 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p.28.
211 Lynch, Los Austrias, p. 391
213 Lavanha, Viage, pp. 8-9.
214 Kubler, Portuguese, pp. 80-82.
215 Except for the dome which had to be reconstructed.
216 In one of the towers of this castle was located the Aquivo da Torre do Tombo studied in chapter 2.
the monastery were prominent in the city’s urban landscape, thus stating the authority of the city’s patron.

Philip II had participated in numerous festivals before; however, this triumphal entry had special connotations. He commenced his journey to the realm while the Duke of Alba was still campaigning in Portugal. He did not participate on the battlefield. However, he followed events closely through correspondence while he and his court were on the move. After St. Quentin, this was the closest involvement he had on one of the military victories of his empire. But this time alone he was not campaigning with his father, for this was his achievement.217

Thus, the sophisticated visual etiquette reflected in the Lisbon entry was intended to mirror the glory and achievement of Philip II’s empire. In the pageant, he was de facto Dominæ Mundi. The significance of the Iberian union on contemporary representations of the monarch appears to have been exploited in the decorations deployed at the festival decorations.

In this seal (Fig.42), Philip II is represented as a Roman Emperor, seated on his throne in a Roman style. On the other side, he is shown riding a unicorn and brandishing his sword in a combative attitude defending Christendom from its enemies. The costumes clearly echo classical antiquity. The new arms of the monarch are displayed on both faces of the seal. These themes were among those employed in the festival paintings. Another very well known medal presents Philip II, dressed in Castilian fashion, as NOVI ORBIS REX.

In this medal (Fig.43), Philip is shown riding the globe he rules with an inscription which reads: Non Sufficit Orbis (‘the world is not enough’).218 The idea of global dominion produced an iconography of the universality of Philip’s empire, both in the lead up to and aftermath of the Iberian union. The profusion and complexity of Philip II’s propaganda pre and post Union are vital to undertaking the imperial motifs used in the entry of 1581.

Philip’s role in the pageant deliberately played on these ideals of universal authority. The spatial location of the decorations on the German Merchants’ arch and ‘triumphal path’ were part of an orderly and coherent programme. The façade facing the Tagus, and the first one that would have been seen, exalted Philip’s imperial power. This imaginary world commenced with Roman gods surrendering one by one to the king’s superiority in rhetorical exaggeration. The world celebrated and echoed Philip II’s imperial glory. The lateral façades on each side were devoted to different but

217 Checa Cremades, Felipe II, p. 270.
218 This motto will be used afterwards see the funerals for Philip II in Naples, see chapter 4.
connected themes: one the one side, to the Elysian fields and how its inhabitants celebrating and honouring Philip II’s glory; and on the other, to Philip as the ‘pastor’ leading ‘his flock’. The passageways of the arch were painted with Roman heroes. By passing this arch Philip began his visual ‘instruction’ as a global ruler through the artistic programme. The didactic tone of the façade facing the city had been anticipated by the self-sacrifice postulated by the Roman heroes. The messianic mission of Philip II was exposed at length here. The celebration of the dynasty, which had increased lands and ‘souls’ under his reign, were also acknowledged.

The importance of family lineage was also present as a means of communicating and thereby asserting Philip’s right to the Portuguese crown. The magnificent tree of the Silversmiths displayed his Portuguese genealogical tree. Dynasty had a major role in the acquisition of realms for the Spanish empire. Charles V ruled over many different realms thanks to the ‘dynastic marriages’ policy pursued by his ancestors. In the end, lineage was crucial for Philip II’s accession to the Portuguese crown.

The colonial empire was celebrated in many motifs in the festival. However, as discussed, the ‘triumphal path’ had especial relevance for its recalling of the drawing ‘Triumpho Primero Imperial’ in Lorenzo de San Pedro’s manuscript, Dialogo.

Even if the artistic programme on the German Merchants’ arch had a structured narrative, the rest of the structures did not follow such a coherent narrative. This was evident in the difference in quality between the Alfadinga and Portas da Ribeira and the German arch. The mixture of different types of structure in the remainder of the arches can be garnered from for the mixed reviews they received, along with other details such as the lack of inscriptions.

There was also a preoccupation at the festival with reassessing Philip II’s imperial image in relation to ideas associated with the sun. The newly acquired realm and its empire had to be necessarily reflected in the arts. Much emphasis was also put in exposing Philip I as the right heir to the Lusitanian crown.

The writing style of the chroniclers, especially Guerreiro, described the pageantry as if Lisbon had become an ideal ‘imaginary world’ for a semi–divine ruler. The pageantry, which had begun with the naval parade on the Tagus, had an epic tone. The temporary architecture intended to echo this triumphal language with profusely decorated arches and façades. The performance of the triumph followed an orderly etiquette in which ‘still’ and ‘living’ ‘actors fulfilled their respective roles. This evoked ideas of art and performance, of ‘animated’ characters both alive and ‘imaginary’.

Guerreiro had avoided including reference to orchestrated interactions that the
people of Lisbon had with the king during the procession. There was the intention to present Philip as a quasi-divine figure equipped to rule Portugal and the globe. At the same time, a sense of closeness was created through narrow streets oftentimes packed with people.

Ultimately, this festival had no parallel to any other celebration staged in the city before. In the previous entry of 1557, only one triumphal arch was built and a small number of tableau vivants was presented. Given the anxiety demonstrated by the locals in organising the festival, it is quite surprising to see the high number of structures that were constructed in the end. This was especially the case given, the threatening tone of the correspondence between Philip and the city authorities. If there was any truth in the city’s claim that they did not have funds to erect the festival, then perhaps fear was the motivating factor.

As mentioned, the visual material portraying the naumachia in the Tagus reinforces the apparent might of Philip II’s fleet. This may suggest that there was an intention to balance a notion of protection for the Portuguese who accepted Philip as their ruler with a strong deterrent to those who rebelled. The ‘living’ dialogue established with the local authorities and the Archbishop of Lisbon was characterised by this tension. The city authorities feared the ‘consequences’ of previous ‘misunderstandings’ concerning the festival. Guerreiro stated in the preface of his chronicle how he could not polish the final version of his work due to the pressure of time he was under.219 This chronicle was printed in the same month the festival was staged. Given that its chronicle was most likely funded by the local authorities, it shows there was an intention to please the king. The Archbishop asked Philip for a general pardon, which the king refused, at least temporarily. The political context was therefore strained.

This festival was as Guerreiro suggested a ‘portrait of the world’.220 The multilayered subtleties exposed in the dialogues and artistic programme reflected the desires, fears, and ‘dreams’ of the ruler and the ruled. Philip’s entourage made every effort to make sure that a magnificent arch and triumphal route were built that embodied the newly-acquired dimension of his realm. The décor deployed in this section of the festival was a display of Philip’s imperial image, the way he wished to be seen, and the image of global dominion that his kingship was supposed to project.

Philip II had finally achieved the dream of Roman Hispania, including the colonial

219 Guerreiro, Las Festas, p. 5.
220 Ibid., p. 52.
empires of both kingdoms. With this achievement, Philip II had a strong sense that he had conquered the world, and he was received in Lisbon in that light.

The decorations around the rest of the city were heterogeneous. The refinement of the Gold and Silversmiths displays reflected not only their wealth but also the interest paid to the new ruler’s wishes and demands. However, other arches did not receive such good reviews and, in general, were largely reflection of vernacular traditions mixed with some imperial references. This heterogeneity in the ephemeral decoration reinforces Guerreiro’s statement regarding the Rua Nova dos Mercadores. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the overarching idea concerned the triumphal entry as a whole: Lisbon in the festival of 1581 was a portrait of Philip II’s world.
4.0. *Historia Pro Patria*: the Hall of Battles in El Escorial Monastery and the Fame of the Universal Monarch.

The Hall of Battles in the El Escorial Monastery is a long gallery covered in frescoes. The artistic programme is devoted to the victories of the ‘Prudent Monarch’ and his dynasty. The chamber is one of the most remarkable spaces in El Escorial, located between the royal palace, which is adjacent to the administrative palatine section, and the basilica. The dimensions of the space are spectacular: almost sixty metres long, six metres wide and eight metres high, with a rectangular floor plan. It is illuminated by a series of windows facing the squared *patio* (cloister) on the south side of the monastery (Figs. 1-2).

On the walls are represented several battles. The longest fresco depicting the battle of La Higueruela (1431) against the ‘moors’, completely covers the wall adjacent to the basilica (Fig.1). Facing this, in the wall panels between the nine windows of the chamber, a number of scenes are depicted representing Philip II’s victories in the Netherlands and France, including St. Quentin (1557) (Fig.2). The remaining walls in the room are painted with frescoes of the Battles of the Azores and of Tercera (1582-1593). It was in these naval battles that Antonio Prior de Crato’s pretensions to the Lusitanian crown were finally defeated (Fig.2). The battles represent some of Philip II’s triumphs, and those of his dynasty. The symbolism behind these scenes and Philip II’s role in them can be interpreted as: *Fidei Defensor* against Islam embodied in battle of La Higueruela; hegemony in Europe with the victory over France after which the Peace of Cateu-Cambresis (1559) was ratified; and, finally, the accomplishment of global empire with the unification of the Iberian peninsula under Philip’s sole rule.

The frescoes were painted between 1584 and 1591. The first section decorated was the vault on which work began on December 1584, by Lazaro Tavarone, Orazio Cambiasso, Fabrizio Castello and Nicolo Granello.¹ The fresco of the battle of La Higueruela was begun in January 1587. After this, in 1590, Granello, Castello, and Tavarone were commissioned to paint the ‘war of St. Quentin’ as well as the battles of the Azores and Island Tercera. The specifications this time were to follow the designs in the canvases painted by Rodrigo de Holanda. In 1591 the hall had been completed.²

The wall adjacent to the basilica is where the battle of La Higueruela was painted. This battle occurred in the Vega of Granada on the 1st of July 1431 (Fig.1). The

¹ The work was finished by 1585. Zarco Cuevas, *Pintores Italianos*, pp. 71-73.
east headwall painted by Granello represents the naval battle of San Miguel de las Azores of July 1582 in which the French fleet supporting Crato was defeated. The West headwall displays the Spanish landing on the island of Tercera in July 1583, also painted by Granello (Fig.2 nos.11-12).

The remaining frescoes were painted in the panels between the windows. The first scene painted by Castello was the siege of St. Quentin by Philip II’s troops (Fig.2 no.2). The following panel, also by Castello, displays the battle of St. Quentin on the 10th August in the same year (Fig.2 no.3). The third panel also depicted by Castello shows the seizure of St. Quentin on the 27th August (Fig.2 no.4). In this depiction the tent of Philip II appears in the foreground adorned with arms. The fourth is the taking of Chatelet in September 1557 (Fig.2 no.5). The following panel is painted by Tavarone, and shows the troops of Philip II on their way to Ham (Fig.2 no.6). Follows the next scene, the conquest of Ham, also in September, again painted by Tavarone (Fig.2 no.7). These next two panels show the battle of the Gravelines in two scenes. This battle took place on the 13th of July, 1558 (Fig.2 nos.8-9). The last panel adjacent to the headwall shows Philip II’s camp outside Doullens (Fig.2 no.10).

Among the vast and growing body of literature concerning the El Escorial monastery there are only a few publications focusing on this chamber (Fig. 3). In the 1930s, Zarco Cuevas made archival investigation into the royal commission of the paintings and the artists involved, contextualising the material history of the chamber. 4 Jonathan Brown’s contribution is the only monograph, even if brief, on the chamber frescoes. Brown’s book was the first systematic compilation of information on the chamber, with an interesting theoretical analysis in which he interpreted the chamber as a cultural artefact. 5 Campos y Fernández de Sevilla’s lengthy article on the chamber is a compilation of quotations concerning the history of the chamber, with a clear yet informative formalist approach. 6

Sáenz de Miera’s article on the battle paintings, which also discussed Fray José Sigüenza’s view regarding the horrors of war in his Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo

5 J. Brown, La Sala de las Batallas de El Escorial: La Obra de Arte como Artefacto Cultural (Salamanca, 1998). Previous to Brown’s monograph there was very little written about the hall. One of the eldest papers was: A. Prast, ‘La Sala de las Batallas del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial,’ in Cortijos y Rascacielos: Casas de Campo, Arquitectura, Decoración vol. 17, (1934), pp. 11-16.
(1595-1605), is a persuasive interpretation of the character of the ‘battle painting’ in the monastery. Based on the accounts of the monk who witnessed the building of the monastery, and hence the execution of the frescoes, the author explored Erasmian influences in Sigüenza’s writings concerning warfare.7

Carmen García-Frías’ research on the hall frescoes and wider investigation of the paintings in the Patrimonio Nacional collections provide an extensive source of information. Her perspective has shed new light on the chamber’s interpretation after the most recent restoration works revoked ‘corrections’ to the original paintings. She has published a few papers on the topic; but possibly her most relevant input in the context of this chapter is the identification of some battle pictures by Rodrigo de Holanda as an inspiration for the series in the hall.8

Pieter Martens discovered additional unknown drawings which may have inspired the artists behind the St. Quentin scenes in the Halls of Battles.9 On the whole, research on the Hall has taken the form of short essays that were elements of lengthier works on broader topics.10

Rosemarie Mulcahy’s article on the representations of the Battle of Lepanto (1571) has established some interesting connections with the frescoes in the Hall of Battles. Of particular interest is the information regarding Lucas Cambiaso’s canvases of Lepanto.11 Agustín Bustamante has also contributed with what now are seminal essays on the Hall and the representation of warfare in Castile.12

---

All these authors have made important contributions to the study of the gallery. But the depictions of the room and its significance also repay further analysis. For instance, the frescoes depicted on the walls of the chamber emulate tapestry, sometimes described as ‘painted tapestry’ by contemporary witnesses during its execution. This ‘emulation’ of tapestry is easily perceived in the corners of the frescoes, (see Fig. 4). This is generally recognised by scholars, and indeed can easily be perceived in the Hall’s depictions. The use of frescoes imitating tapestry was not a new technique: for example, *The Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, by Giulio Romano, in the *Sala di Costantino* in the Vatican, possibly based on a previous depiction by Raphael, also simulated hung tapestry (Fig. 5).

Yet there is no one study that compares this ‘painted tapestry’ with the vast and rich collections of tapestry owned by Philip II, inherited and directly commissioned by the monarch. This series of battle paintings in El Escorial have not been compared with other representations of war; for example, with the illuminated vellum of the triumphs of Charles V, commissioned by Philip II and attributed to Giulio Clovio. In this study, similarities and differences between the tapestry and other contemporary representations of battles are contrasted with the Hall of Battles frescoes.

Among the most important remaining tapestries of battles are the fifteenth-century Pastrana series and the sixteenth-century Pavia and Tunes series. Discerning the ‘relationship’ the frescoes in the Hall have with other examples of contemporary battle representation forms a fundamental part of an exploration of the broad spectrum of Philip II’s image-making. These battle representations are studied here by looking at the way they narrated the historical events. They will be viewed in terms of style; but, the overarching intention is to discern whether these techniques sustained a certain type of visual narrative.

Battle painting as a genre had been used in Castile since Alfonso X ‘The Learned’ commissioned the Cantigas de Santa María, with richly illuminated depictions (Fig. 6). Remaining paintings or tapestries of this genre from before the sixteenth century are low. Some of these are a precedent for the battle scenes at El Escorial’s Hall. For instance, the French historian Jean Froissant, in his chronicles of siglo XVI, in M.J. Redondo Cantera (ed.), El Modelo Italiano en las Artes Plásticas de la Península Ibérica durante el Renacimiento (Valladolid, 2004), pp. 99-130.

15 Now conserved in the British Library (BL), Department of Manuscripts, Add.33733.
war from the fourteenth century, included refined depictions representing battles that occurred on Castilian soil. Jean Wavrin, in the fifteenth century, heir apparent to Froissart, produced illustrations that included certain innovations in perspective and formal arrangement. This type of battle painting was very idealised and inaccurate when compared to the written chronicle. In these images, prominence was given to core characters and details such as armour and standards. There are other interesting models from Italy and Germany, the latter having much in common with the Flemish tradition, as studied by Hale. 17 In the Iberian peninsula, there are further interesting models in Aragon and Portugal, such as the magnificent Portuguese Pastrana tapestry series dating from the last third of the fifteenth century. Although of course it is of the Flemish school, for the tapestry was created most likely in Tournai.

These earlier battle depictions are important for comprehending the style of the frescoes in El Escorial; in particular to an understanding of the Battle of La Higueruela, which, as will be seen, was copied from a fifteenth century original. Significantly, this ‘copy’ presents some advanced techniques in perspective, if –as it was claimed– it is a reliable copy. This fresco has caused problems with interpretation since there are no surviving depictions in Castile comparable in technique. However, a drawing of the siege of Jimena (1431), possibly copied in the late seventeenth century, has been identified. 19 This battle was part of Juan II of Castile’s strategy to corner the kingdom of Granada. A parallel can be drawn between this visual evidence and an analysis of the few fifteenth-century models of battle scenes surviving. Both depictions are copies of earlier originals and share characteristics in the treatment of topography, geography, and other details such as the display of the squadrons. Like Higueruela, the drawing of the siege of Jimena is presented as a visual chronicle of war narrating events in much the same way as do the written chronicles. 20 Both had pretensions to historical accuracy; like a form of pre visual ‘journalism’ with the use of a higher angle perspective and techniques of map making.

This is the first time this drawing has been compared to the fresco at El Escorial and examined within the wider scope of the genre. 21 It is believed that this will

---

19 This drawing forms part of a set of drawings representing pivotal battles of the ‘Reconquest’ led by the knights in Jerez, which was for centuries at the frontier with Al-Andalus. They are conserved in the Biblioteca Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera, (BMJF).
20 García-Frías has demonstrated how the sequence of Higueruela represents visually what was ‘recorded’ in the chronicles of Juan II of Castile. García-Frías Checa, ‘Las Series’, pp. 138-139.
21 These drawings are little known. The catalogue entry in the library was published locally in three short essays, which are fully referenced hereafter. These have never been compared to other battle depictions elsewhere and for many years they were believed to be fifteenth century drawings.
contribute to our understanding of the highly theorised accounts of the largest fresco in the Hall of Battles, and also to the notion of ‘recording history’ in fifteenth-century Castile and beyond. Seen in this light, I will argue that both models in El Escorial and Jerez may be categorised in one of the ‘visual chronicle of battle’ genres proposed by Julian Kliemann concerning Italian mural paintings of warfare.\textsuperscript{22} This type of visual chronicle with historical pretensions marries well with Philip II’s view on works of history.\textsuperscript{23} As seen in the discussions Philip had with the historian Páez de Castro concerning history writing, the heroic type of genre used during Charles V’s reign was dismissed in favour of a different type based on a ‘true account of events’. Similarly, precise accuracy was demanded in the book of historical events entrusted to Philip’s archivists in Simancas in the ‘Instruction for the Archive’ issued in 1588.

The first objective of this chapter is therefore to observe the diverse visual media that preceded the display in El Escorial’s Hall of Battles. The second is to explore how this triumphal message reverberated throughout Philip II’s empire.

The method employed to examine how these victories reverberated is through the analysis of the triumphal image illustrated in a number of sermons, eulogies, and funerals commemorating the king’s death. In these, fragments of the life of the Universal Monarch were represented in the form of ‘summarised’ biography. Elegies and other publications of this type highlighted aspects of his personality and devotion. This study compares the representation of the \textit{res gestae} in its multiple forms immediately after the monarch’s death: \textit{relaciones} and accounts from the Americas; sermons in Madrid, Seville, and France; the famous funerals in Florence. In order to do this a range of chronicles from diverse repositories in a number of languages have been examined, many of which are little known. None have previously been examined in comparison with the ruler’s triumphal image in a wider sense: either in contrast with other chronicles or in relation to other forms of media such as the frescoes in El Escorial. This study seeks to discover whether the ‘discourse’ of these numerous and diverse sources was directed under the ‘umbrella’ of the central court in Madrid, or if it was the result of a dispersed effort. Is it possible to identify a unified imperial image along the same lines as that displayed within the Halls of Battles in El Escorial?

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{22} J. Kliemann, \textit{Gesta Dipinte La Grande Decorazione nelle Dimore Italiane dal Quattrocento al Seicento} (Milan, 1993).
\end{flushleft}
In the Hall of Battles at El Escorial, the attire of the troops in the French campaign, as well as the formation of the squadrons, military tactics, and weapons amongst other details, display clear differences from the fresco showcasing the Battle of La Higueruela. Nevertheless, the decoration in the gallery in El Escorial appears to be somehow ‘concordant’. This apparent similarity is perceived as harmonious, no one of the battle or scenes stands out in the field of vision from another once the spectator enters the gallery. A similar approach, as far as was possible, was taken in the display of the action. The perspective is a bird’s eye view, which allows the study of topographical and geographical aspects as well as the display of further sub-scenes within the same frame. This perspective is more forced in the panels showing the French battles, as the space is constrained by the windows. As stated, there are obvious differences here between the ‘modern’ and ‘old’ in the art of war; for instance, the way cities and forts are shown when compared to the Higueruela (Figs. 1-2).

This may be aimed at maintaining visual coherence and at eluding any aesthetic dissonances that might highlight one battle over another. This was to be accomplished through precision in the historical account, which, in the end, was the principal purpose of the frescoes. The differences between the battlefields are only perceptible when the spectator focuses attention on the detail; but they are still there, as a testimonial of the intended ‘reportage’ of victories achieved by the Castilian army and their allies. This visual harmony may also be traced back to a different battle painting genre as adumbrated in some secondary scenes of Vermeyen’s cartoons for the Tunes tapestry series, and presented in Wyngaerde’s and Rodrigo de Holanda’s depictions. These are all models from the sixteenth century. But how can Higueruela be classified in relation to the other frescoes?

The battle of La Higueruela took place in early July 1431 and was a remarkable victory for the Christian forces in the war with the kingdom of Granada. The sarga, in which the battle was painted in grisaille, is reported to be of the same period. It has been attributed to Dello Delli while he was working for Juan II in between 1433 and 1445.24 Fray José Sigüenza’s and Herrera’s description of the frescoes was based on their personally witnessing the painting process. The artists had presumably the original at hand when they were depicting the frescoes.

24 Sáenz de Miera, ‘Reflejos,’ p. 115.
There is evidence that Fabrizio Castelo restored the *sarga* in 1582, as he was paid for 'a [restoration of a] painting of the war of Granada [depicted on] a big canvas, [that he had restored] according to the instruction given to him, [...] and painted ‘newly’ what was necessary in it'.\(^{25}\) This ‘renovation’ of the *sarga* aimed at restoring it, as far as the description of the work suggests, thereby the introduction of new features in the *sarga* was thought to complete damaged sections of the original. In addition, Orazio Cambiaso drew a copy of the original *sarga*, which it is believed was possibly an initial sketch in the same Hall.\(^{26}\) The artists had to copy the battle of La Higueruela in line with the following requirements: ‘they are obliged to paint the scene according to the costumes and weapons, and everything else as it is depicted [...] on the canvas given as a model’.\(^{27}\)

It is documented that they copied the French battles from Rodrigo de Holanda’s canvases. In the contract it was stipulated that the frescoes ‘had to maintain the colours and squadrons that they have been given in the drawings and canvases painted by Rodrigo de Olanda’.\(^{28}\)

In December 1584, Philip II wrote a letter to the prior of El Escorial, announcing that he had commissioned the decoration of the ‘gallery in the Queen’s chamber’.\(^{29}\) The artists that would depict this fresco were Lazaro Tavarone, Orazio Cambiasso, Fabrizio Castello and Nicolo Granello. In the same year, the king wrote a letter to Sigüenza in which he mentioned the theme selected for the fresco: the Battle of La Higueruela.\(^{30}\) The selection of this battle for the fresco was for the purpose of preservation; the intention was to copy the old *sarga* discovered in an old chest in the Alcázar in Segovia.\(^{31}\)

10. Royal Private Gallery. In this Gallery, completely covering the wall of the church, is painted the battle called the Higueruela, in which the King Juan II defeated the Moors of Granada in the same Vega; it is [painted] just as it happened, and in the order it happened [...], and the clothing of the knights, and horsemen, and the squadrons of paveses lancers, and ballestería, is as it was then; it was taken from a depiction in a canvas that was found in an old tower in the Alcázar of Segovia [...] it was one hundred and thirty feet long, [...] His Majesty ordered it to be painted in this gallery, so that this [rare] antiquity was conserved, [as it] is very lustrous and esteemed.\(^{32}\)

---

28 Ibid., pp. 84-87.
29 Ibid., p. 57.
30 Ibid., p. 71.
31 J. Herrera, *Sumario y Breve Declaracion de los Diseños y Estampas de la Fabrica de san Lorenco el Real del Escorial*, (Madrid, 1589), p. 18.
The motif depicted in the *sarga* was of interest to the monarch, hence his request that it be transformed into a grand fresco for the gallery. Despite the original piece being painted in black and white, the new version would be painted in vibrant colours. The measurements of the original illustrated *paño* were one hundred and thirty Castilian feet long (36.4 meters approximately). However, the fresco almost doubled in size when it was ‘transferred’ onto the wall of the chamber spanning an area of almost sixty meters in length (Fig.1). Fray José de Sigüenza explained the following:

It imitates two pieces of tapestry, hung with hooks, [...] so natural [in style], that it [has] misled many, [some] even tried to lift [the ‘tapestry’], [...] it is called the Battle of La Higueruela [...] As here in the gallery it is colourful – where it was not in the original canvas, which was of clear and black wash drawings – [...] everything is so natural and so well reproduced that it is very fine to view. They [artists] enlarged the figures [a little bit from] those in the original [...] On the other side [is frescoed] [...] the siege of St. Quentin [...] where a different type of militia is depicted [...] In the headwalls are [depicted] the two incursions [...] Azores and [...] the Isla Tercera [...] where warfare at sea and the form of the boats are also shown, [...] so well imitated [...] The ceiling and vault of the gallery are very well built and decorated with grotesques [...]34

Sigüenza confirmed Herrera’s statement concerning the quality of the copy of the battle of La Higueruela and tells of the diverse types of warfare represented. The art of war of Philip II’s Castilian ancestor was honoured in the fresco of the battle in Higueruela. Wars of Philip II’s period were portrayed in the battle of St. Quentin as a sample of the art of war performed on land and at the sea as reflected in the Azores campaign (Fig.2).

The décor of this chamber forms one of the most impressive pieces in the monastery. It is also the one whose interpretation is the most controversial. For instance, Kamen’s recent publication on the El Escorial Monastery devoted a complete chapter to the Hall of Battles. He has argued that the gallery did not aim to celebrate the victories of the war. Kamen defines King Philip II as a monarch uninterested in war and whose involvement in it was provoked by others. However, Kamen’s view of the monarch has been highly debated.35 Philip II’s monarchy was at war throughout his reign, except for six months in 1577.36 Yet some of Kamen’s arguments are interesting. For instance, the chamber was not named ‘Hall of Battles’ until the eighteenth century.37 As mentioned before, Philip II referred to it as the gallery in the Queen’s chambers. It is true, however, that in 1589,

---

36 Ibid., p. 881.
while the hall was being decorated, a letter referred to the chamber as the ‘gallery of the battle’. But in most contemporary sources it is called either the ‘King’s chamber’ or the ‘Queen’s chamber’. The title was arguably given later. In 1764, in his description of the monastery Fray Andrés Ximenez referred to the chamber as the ‘hall of the battles’, a name used from then onwards. This provides evidence that the ‘bellicose’ nomenclature was given after the decoration and therefore opens discussion concerning the function and objectives of the chamber.

Some scholars have suggested that this was the type of long gallery such as that at Chateau Fontainebleau which served as a venue for recreation during days of unpleasant weather. From a similar theoretical standpoint, Bustamente García has argued that this chamber had to have had some ceremonial use because of the grand frescoes depicted. In this long gallery the battles are ordered in a particular sequence. However, the decorative programme, as previously summarised, was decided on once the sarga depicting the battle of La Higueruela appeared. There is no evidence which points to a pre-planned programme. Significantly, this is one of the very few bellicose paintings in the monastery and the only one in fresco. Other royal properties had magnificent programmes devoted to battles and representations of war, such as Valsaín and El Pardo. However, for obvious reasons, religious art was predominant in the monastery. The other battle represented in El Escorial is that of Lepanto, painted by Lucas Cambiaso and acquired by Philip II from among Antonio Perez’s possessions around or after 1585, when the paintings of the king’s former secretary were sold.

According to Kamen, the undetermined functions for this chamber, in the conception of El Escorial, is justified because the ‘prudent’ monarch was uninterested in admiring or promoting the victories of war. Furthermore, Kamen has argued that this was the reason Philip II did not include the Siege of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs but instead that of Higueruela. The Battle of Lepanto (1571) against the Turks would have been an important example for the king’s victories to feature. Additionally, none of Charles V’s famous victorious battles were included.

Kamen argued that the obscure and ‘secondary’ battles selected, and the ‘archaic’ style in the painting, sustains his theory of Philip II’s lack of interest in matters

38 Zarco Cuevas, Pintores Italianos, p. 83.
39 Ximenez, Descripción, p. 417
40 Brown, La Sala, p. 14. Although he concludes that the use of the chamber is uncertain until further evidence is found.
41 García-Frías Checa, ‘Las Series’, p. 137
43 Kamen, El Enigma, pp. 221-222.
of war.\textsuperscript{44} Moreover, he has stated that its presence within a religious building was a gesture of gratitude to the divine intervention in the monarchy’s favour.\textsuperscript{45}

However, most scholars believe this chamber’s decoration was a way of asserting and celebrating the might and power of the Spanish Empire.\textsuperscript{46} Elliot and Brown have argued that this chamber could be classified as a ‘hall of princely virtue’ in which the \textit{res gestae}, in this case military victories of the monarch or prince, were celebrated and narrated through artistic programmes. Kamen disputes this interpretation on some of the grounds discussed but also on the selection of Higueruela; this was not a battle in which Philip II was involved.\textsuperscript{47} However, some of Kamen’s arguments are interesting. For instance, the depiction does not highlight the ferocity of the war, but is a ‘light’ version, more focussed on the account of events than on the ‘bloody tale’.\textsuperscript{48}

I do not believe that this chamber is a good model with which to elucidate a theory concerning the king’s lack of interest in war. On the contrary, the interpretation of the gallery as a hall of princely virtue is more likely to be the case. Krista de Jonge has recently established a relationship to this type of long gallery for the display of the ruler’s military victories in other European palaces. The spatial configuration of the Hall of Battles corresponded to this typology.\textsuperscript{49} As seen in the artistic display on the triumphal entry of Philip II into Lisbon in 1581, the line between triumphal and Christian grammar in imperial discourse was very fine. In fact, Philip II’s image as a global ruler was intrinsically allied with the responsibilities attributed to a Christian ruler. The \textit{sarga} of Higueruela was found when Philip II had recently been crowned King of Portugal. In this period, the imperial image of Philip was exalted both theoretically and artistically. Therefore, the identification of the Hall of Battles with a ‘hall of princely virtue’ is in line with the thinking of Philip II’s entourage. Following this line of thought, galleries ‘dressed’ with tapestry are a tradition imported from Burgundian models.

\textsuperscript{44} Kamen, \textit{El Enigma}, p. 223.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 248
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 244.
\textsuperscript{48} See essay on this matter Sáenz de Miera, ‘Reflejos’, pp. 112-127.
4. 2. Tapestry and Battle Representation: I. Pastrana. II. Pavía. III. Tunes.

Tapestries were included with precious objects that peripatetic courts carried.\(^{50}\) They were used to decorate palaces and chambers in their itinerary.\(^{51}\) In sixteenth-century Europe, tapestry was valued much more than oil on canvas and was far more expensive.\(^{52}\) Their use was profuse and the intention was to embellish rooms both lavishly and rapidly, for example by transforming bare chambers into a magnificent space for the royal throne and in which to ‘perform’ courtly rituals to audiences.

The decoration of the Palace of Binche in Flanders directed by Mary of Hungary to receive her brother Charles V and his heir prince Philip, used a series of tapestries treating the deadly sins. The political tableau was propitious; with many realms that supported the Lutheran reform and therefore spectators to whom this series was directed.\(^{53}\) The Tunes tapestry series was used for the first time in England, for Philip II’s wedding to Mary Tudor, and on many other occasions thereafter.

The Hall of Battles in El Escorial responds to this type of decorum, but, in this case the solution was a series of perpetual tapestries, along the same lines as Giulio Romano’s in the Vatican (see Figs. 4-5). Tapestry is an important precedent for the Hall of Battles. There is a problem, however, for the frescoes in the Hall seem ‘archaic’ compared to contemporary tapestries. Therefore, in addition to tapestry, this gallery ought to be compared to the depiction of ‘historical’ or illustrated chronicles of battles such as those created by Wyngaerde and Rodrigo de Holanda under Philip II’s patronage.\(^{54}\)

The ‘recording’ of history in the sixteenth century was accomplished in different forms. Chroniclers played a pivotal role in the dissemination of the achievements of the victorious king. Other ‘historians’ or ‘reporters’ may have written accounts opposing the ‘official’ version. The tussle over history-telling was performed in every way possible. An excellent example of this was seen in the previous chapter

---

\(^{50}\) See for instance, F. Checa Cremades, *Tesoros de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 2009), p. 17.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., p. 245.

\(^{52}\) Checa Cremades, *Tesoros*, p. 19.

\(^{53}\) The decoration of Binche’s Palace in 1549 is described by J. Calvete de Estrella, *Felicissimo Viaje del muy Alto y muy Poderoso Príncipe Don Philippe, Hijo del Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo, desde España a sus tierras dela Baxa Alemaña: con la Descripcion de todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes*, (Antwerp, 1552), fols. 88-89.

on the triumphal entry of Philip II into Lisbon in 1581, in which the festival chronicles produced different versions of the same event.\textsuperscript{55}

The ‘propaganda war’ deployed to portray the military exploits of sixteenth-century monarchs was expressed in diverse and highly sophisticated media put in the service of the political discourse: chronicles were sometimes visually enhanced with engravings and, thanks to the advent of printing, became weapons of mass production. Correspondence and postal routes were of critical importance in this diplomatic tableau, and art was used as a form of political celebration, such as image making in the form of medals, tapestry, paintings, statues, etc.

Philip II learned and inherited the tradition of using art as a propagandistic tool from the House of Habsburg.\textsuperscript{56} The tapestries were among of the more predominant ‘collectables’ in the households.\textsuperscript{57} The series on the battle of Tunes was one of the most magnificent used by Philip II during his reign. The style and refinement of this series have precedent in fifteenth century tapestry such as the Pastrana, and the Hunt of Maximiliam I, now conserved in the Louvre.


Tapestry was one of the most valued art forms of the late middle ages and the early modern period. They were often very expensive and woven with rich materials such as wool, silk, taffeta, gold, and silver. In the case of the ‘rich tapestry’ it was also garlanded with precious and semiprecious stones, pearls, and other treasured materials. Flemish tapestry workshops were highly active and esteemed, providing most of the regal and noble houses in Europe.\textsuperscript{58} The imperial family’s holdings was no different.\textsuperscript{59} Of course the practice of commissioning and collecting tapestries was not only particular to the Habsburgs. For instance, Philip II assembled an interesting collection of fine pieces inherited from the Trastamara side of his family. Philip’s grandmother, Joanna of Castile (‘The Mad’), had a great collection of art that was

\textsuperscript{55} See discussion in chapter 3. These contradictory versions were even more inconsistent when referring to the political union of the Iberian Peninsula and the military incursion of the Castilian forces into Portugal.

\textsuperscript{56} The recently published inventories of the Imperial family are changing the perceptions of the artistic taste of the royal family members. F. Checa Cremades (ed.), The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family (Madrid, 2010).

\textsuperscript{57} Checa Cremades, Tesoros, pp. 17-20.

\textsuperscript{58} T. Campbell, Tapestry in the Renaissance. Art and Magnificence (New Haven & London, 2002), pp.131-146

\textsuperscript{59} Checa Cremades, The Inventories, pp. 1231-1232.
relentlessly plundered by her relatives during her long ‘illness’ and confinement in Tordesillas.\textsuperscript{60}

The Portuguese Pastrana series (Figs. 7-8) dated after 1475 are composed of four pieces, representing the military contingent of Alfonso V of Portugal ‘The African’ in his conquest of Arcilla and Tanger. These magnificent samples are arguably of the best quality of the period, and considered one of the few series in this century to represent contemporary events. The dimensions are spectacular: each four metres high and eleven long. They were executed with an exceptional technical quality for that time.

The pieces exalted the might and glory of the king as a conqueror and defender of the faith. This ‘chronicle’ of war was idealised and present the medieval style of the period in which they were woven. The tapestries ‘narrate’ the different stages of the military incursion in Northern Africa in 1471. They intended to be a visual chronicle of event.\textsuperscript{61}

Commanding a pre-eminent position in the scene, with his heir Joan (later Joan II of Portugal), the king is presented as a ‘soldier of Christ’ in a ‘crusade’ against the ‘barbarians’. The visual representation is explained in a generous ‘frieze’ running across the top with inscriptions in gothic lettering (Fig.7). This technique, in which the content of the depiction is explained through text was used extensively in the pre-early modern and early modern period. It was used not only in portraits and tapestry but also frequently on the ephemeral structures in festivals.

The origin of the Pastrana series is uncertain; experts believe it was probably woven in Passchier Grenier’s workshop in Tournai, perhaps commissioned by the ruler or someone in his entourage. In this period Alfonso V of Portugal (1432–1481) aspired to the throne of Castile and this may have been part of his propaganda campaign. Unfortunately, until more evidence is found, these are mere speculations. There are a few theories on how these tapestries arrived in Castile: they may have been taken as part of the plunder in the Battle of Toro (1476), in which Alfonso V was defeated by Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, the ‘Catholic Monarchs’. It may also have been a present from King Alfonso V to Cardinal Mendoza for his support of the Portuguese prisoners. Finally, the theory supported by many is that Rui Gomes da Silva, first Duke of Pastrana, gave the tapestry to Philip II.\textsuperscript{62} In any case, and again a mere speculation, Philip II may simply have taken it with him after his residence in

\textsuperscript{60} Checa Cremades, \textit{Tesoros}, pp. 75-77.

\textsuperscript{61} For most recent publication on Pastrana tapestries series see the exhibition catalogue: M.A. Bunes Ibarra, Y. Maes de Wit, D. Rodrigues, \textit{Las Hazañas de un Rey. Tapices Flamencos del siglo XV en la Colegiata de Pastrana} (Madrid, 2010).

\textsuperscript{62} Bunes Ibarra, Maes de Wit, Rodrigues, \textit{Las Hazañas}, pp. 4-5.
Portugal.

The Pastrana tapestry is a relevant model for the Hall of Battles as it is one of the few surviving visual representations of contemporary warfare preceding the sixteenth-century battle genre. However, the Portuguese model has clear differences from the scene depicted in the Halls of Battles. For instance, the techniques on perspective is not as scrupulously executed as those in El Escorial.

In Pastrana’s tapestry the horizon is almost lost in the wide array of characters that compose the scene (Fig.8). With the use of different perspectives, it seems the idea was to highlight the important knights participating in the military incursion rather than to provide a geographically and historically accurate study of events. The tapestry aimed to present a triumphant King Alfonso V and the history expressed in this visual chronicle revolves around the victorious image of the ruler.

In the Hall of Battles, Philip II’s presence is subtly indicated: through the arms in his tent and, as some have argued, also in a figure in one of the panels of the French battles (Fig.2 nos.4-7). This figure does not stand out and neither it nor the arms were placed in an especially prominent position in the fresco. Additionally, the Hall of Battles did not have inscriptions, unlike most of tapestry of that time.

The Pastrana tapestries were of course finished more than a century before the frescoes in El Escorial. However, during the sixteenth century, other rulers were depicted in tapestries and paintings in victorious postures and in prominent locations within battle scenes, such as Charles V’s Tunes tapestries.

In comparison, the depictions in the Hall of Battles have been considered as poor or archaic, puzzling art historians when set alongside the magnificent collections of paintings and modern tapestry that Philip II commissioned and inherited. These collections decorated his palaces. What is, therefore, the function of this distinctive ‘style’ in the Hall of Battles?

4.3.II. The Battle of Pavia Tapestry Series.

Amongst the remaining tapestry collections of the Habsburgs, there are two of a special interest to a study of the Hall of Battles: the Battle of Pavía (1528–1531) and the Tunes series (1548–1554).

The style in the tapestry series devoted to Pavía and the fresco in the Hall of Battles, seem completely alien to one another (Figs. 9-11). The treatment of perspective and geography are entirely different. In the Hall of Battles scenes the horizon is extended in the field of vision to include sections of the battle in the distance (Fig.2).
The spatiality of the Pavía tapestry shows the influence of the Italian Renaissance in its technique and a majestic sensibility similar to that in the Hunt of Maximilian series (Fig.12).64

In the Hall of Battles, the geographical details and the arrangements of the armies were represented as accurately as possible following the instructions of Philip II. These battle scenes in the Hall also corresponded with the ‘official’ written chronicles. Bernard Van Orley’s sophisticated style in Pavia tapestries is perceived in the form of the bodies and facial expressions of the characters. Both ‘personalities’ and people are acutely profiled and naturalistic. Van Orley’s style, however, contrasts sharply with that displayed in the Hall’s frescoes at El Escorial.

Van Orley painted a number of portraits for the imperial family, and in 1518 became the official painter in Margarita of Habsburg’s court in Brussels –she was acting as governor in the Low Countries for Charles V. Van Orley completed the preparatory paintings for the tapestry between 1526 and 1528, and it was woven in William Dermoyen’s workshop in Brussels between 1528 and 1531.65 The cartoons by Van Orley are conserved in the Louvre, while the tapestry itself is housed in the Museo Nazionale de Capidimonte.66

The relevance of this collection to a study of the Hall of Battles is owing not only to the battles themselves, or because they are in the medium tapestry but, more importantly, in spite of the stylistic contrast, because this tapestry series aimed to be a ‘real account of events’ with deliberate pretensions to historical accuracy.

This was an extraordinary step into the visual representation of history. The visual story coincides with what is narrated in the chronicles; therefore, the propaganda was uniform. This is a ‘common denominator’ in the pretended ‘accuracy’ of the display in both the Hall of Battles frescoes and in the sixteenth-century battle tapestry held in the Habsburg collections.

Another attempt to introduce a contemporary battle scene in the medium of tapestry can be seen in the famous Tunies series. Traditionally, tapestry in the Habsburg collections was devoted to religious themes, mythology and mythic battles from antiquity. Thus the incorporation of recent and contemporary victories to the political propaganda was intended to exalt the emperor’s stately image. The results were spectacular.

64 Checa Cremades, Tesoros, p. 128.
65 Ibid. note 41.
66 Ibid, pp. 129.
4.3. III. The Tunes Tapestry Series: Vermeyen, Pannemaker, and Alonso de Santa Cruz.

The Tunes tapestry series commemorated the legendary victory of Charles V in 1535. As mentioned before, they were used for the first time years later during the second wedding of Philip II in 1554. The author of the cartoons for the series was Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, who only completed them in 1553. He was part of the emperor’s entourage during the military incursion, along with the chronicler Alonso de Santa Cruz. Both Vermeyen and Santa Cruz ‘recorded’ the military exploits with drawing and written notes respectively (Fig. 14). This victory was considered to be the one of a Christian Emperor against infidels, and Charles V accordingly designated defender of the faith.

Only ten of the twelve tapestry pieces woven in Willem Pannemaker’s workshop in Brussels survive in the Patrimonio Nacional collections in Madrid. However, many of Vermeyen’s cartoons are still conserved at Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

The pieces combine diverse aspects in the tradition of the Pastrana tapestry, such as the use of epigraphic inscriptions to explain the content. This time the location and number of such inscriptions denotes more sophistication, with the inclusion of more text, some of which intended to point out the exact geographical location and field of vision from which it was sketched. Again, the tapestry aimed for accuracy and precision in its account of events through the inclusion of detailed geographical and topographical features. This was crucial to the sense of perspective used during in this period, indebted to Italian Renaissance techniques. But it seemed that historic accuracy was more important than precise visual representation, for, as Vermeyen himself observed in one of the inscriptions, he overlooked artistic precision for historical and geographical exactitude (Fig. 14).

The prominent position of Charles V has been replaced in a number of paños of the series to have room for the historical event (Fig. 15), although, the emperor was usually represented somewhere in the foreground and therefore close the spectator. This time, however, his figure is not dominating the entire scene, not even in the piece that includes his equestrian portrait, (see Fig. 16). This is revolutionary when compared

67 Checa Cremades, Tesoros, p. 174
68 Ibid., pp. 166-167.
69 Ibid., p. 154.
70 Ibid., p. 154.
71 There are located in the frame of the image: on the top, the bottom and on both sides.
72 Checa Cremades, Tesoros, p. 153-179.
to other allegories and representations of Charles V’s military defeats and triumphant image. On the other hand, it does not mean this piece changed trends in artistic propaganda in the emperor’s court. It would simply be another way in the development of the imperial image of Charles V.

Detail of the battles in the series is remarkable and like that in the depictions in El Escorial (see especially Fig. 15). The later frescoes in the Hall never incorporated a first line of personages in the foreground, with the traditional forced perspective enlarging the figures of the main characters and therefore imposing their presence and superiority in the scene. On the contrary, the battles depicted most accurately the momentum ‘captured’ in the different stages of the incursion. The ‘instances’ or ‘stages’ depicted in the action on the Higueruela wall, and the perfectly differing scenes in the French battles, were more concerned with topography, geography, and ‘true events’. The visual content of the Hall was to deploy exactitude: in other words, the ‘objectivity’ of the historical narration was considered paramount.

4.4. ‘The Victories of Charles V’: Martin van Heemskerk and Giulio Clovio.

Giulio Clovio’s versions of the victories of Charles V painted in vellum are based on Martin van Heemskerk’s drawings and were engraved by Coornhert in 1556. The victories of Charles V attributed to Clovio were possibly completed in the 1560s. The British Library catalogue dated them between 1550 and 1575. However, the first date of 1550 must have been based on style, as these depictions were delivered after Heemskerk’s drawings; the paintings therefore can be dated at the earliest only after 1555.

The depictions this time revolved around the majestic figure of the Emperor Charles V. In this image (Fig. 17) the Turkish enemy is shown being slaughtered and survivors chased outside the boundaries of Vienna. The emperor is presented in the midst of the action; in extraordinarily idealised armour, riding his horse over the corpses of defeated Turks.

73 W. Stirling-Maxwell, The Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles de Fifth Designed by Martin Heemskerk (Edinburgh, 1870), p. 21
74 BL. Manuscript Department, (Hispanic) Add.33733. Triunfos de Carlos V. Obra Romana de hacia 1550-75 it was property of Philip II. The painting on vellum was rebounded once the collection was united again. There are some handwritten notes that explained the provenance. Most of the paintings were acquired separately and it is presumed it was plundered from El Escorial Library at the time of the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. All these details were published in C. Malfatti, Las Más Famosas Victorias de Carlos V (Barcelona, 1962), p. II. The recent publication F. Pizarro Gómez, Los Triunfos de Carlos V. Giulio Clovio (Madrid, 2009) is a good compilation of the data published to date on this attribution and the themes of the series including the few publications on the topic.
In the background the scene is similar to those historic battle scenes already examined, in which the action was reported as it was recorded by both the chroniclers and by the painters who accompanied the emperor’s entourage. The background section of this depiction is one of the key links to the Hall of Battles frescoes. A clear resemblance in the farthest secondary scene can be seen in the focus on the military tactics and movement of the troops, and the point of perspective is also similar. This piece was apparently commissioned by Philip II and became part of his private collection. 75 The aim was to glorify Charles V and at the same time, display the battle in the form of a ‘visual chronicle’. This balance was certainly complex to achieve. Not all of the illustrations in the collection contained battles in the background.

A painting of the union of military forces under the Schmalkaldic League is another good model through which to examine this double-layered propaganda, as it showcases both the Invictus Caesar and the ‘real actions’ of the troops in the background(Fig.18). History and Fame, that is, events and idealisation, were combined in one of the most extraordinary pieces of Renaissance book illumination in sixteenth century.

In this painting there are three actions represented in three scenes. Firstly, in the foreground, Charles V is shown addressing some of his soldiers. Then, on the left hand side, the meeting between the Count of Buren and Charles V is represented. Finally, in the background there is a detailed ‘visual’ memorandum of the squadrons, artillery, and the city. Again the contrasting idealised depiction of the ruler is put together with a precise ‘visual record’.

An interesting aspect of this series is that they were copies, as with the tapestries mentioned earlier. They were all based on previous cartoons. In the case of Clovio’s illustrations, these were originally in shades of grey. The artists in the Hall of Battles had to accomplish a similar task with specific requirements that demanded a copy of the original but did not allow any artistic licence to the artist.

In the visual depictions of war, idealisation of the characters was frequent. This artistic licence often included anachronisms, such as imitation of ancient Roman attire. In these two details of the Higueruela battle and Clovio’s painting (Fig.19) this artistic ‘freedom’ is visible, particularly in the different stylistic approaches adopted. In Clovio’s, the bodies of the characters in the first line of vision have profiled bodylines. This is easily perceptible in their clothing, acting more as a layer of skin.

75 Or at least that is what the writers on the topic have argued in the past, see earlier discussion.
In the Higueruela scene the two soldiers have detailed depictions of their busts but in a much more subtle manner compared to Clovio’s version. The colours used in both examples are eminently vibrant.

4.5. Philip II on the Art of Writing & the Recording of History.

The tradition of ‘recording’ the actions and heroic achievements of the ruler, in the Habsburg dynasty, (res gestae), was first used by prince Philip – under the auspices of his father – when his tutor, Calvete de Estrella, was appointed to chronicle the famous tour of the prince in Europe (1547-1549). Thereafter, however, Philip avoided this kind of ‘biographical’ narration. Porreño and Cabrera de Córdoba, have argued that Philip wanted to elude adulators, and may also have considered the promotion of a ruler’s achievements as vanity, which was considered a cardinal sin.

However, there were exceptions. A pseudo ‘biographical’ and ‘heroic’ writing style was used for both the festival chronicles and Philip’s journey to Portugal, such as the account by Velazquez Salmantino. Guerreiro also adopted this characteristic tone in his description of the 1581 entry aiming to express in detail the king’s role in the pageant.

In general, Philip II prohibited biographical works but promoted works of history, within certain limits:

As for history, I have talked with his Majesty as well as his ministers, and in this no one can fault me. His Majesty understands that I should not write this history on the basis of letters from soldiers, nor from what is talked about in the town squares, but solely on the basis of approved and authenticated sources.  

The difficulties some historians encountered in accessing archival information in the Simancas archive are widely known. Access to the information in the Simancas archive was highly filtered: only with previous explicit approval by the king could subjects gain access to the documentation kept within the walls of the medieval fortress. The text quoted above is an extract from a letter from Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo Zurita in which the writer complained about the inaccessibility to information he required to do his work.

---


78 Kagan, Clío, p. 103.
Philip II refused to sanction biographies or works of history that attempted to introduce information which was considered personal. Significantly, one of the principal aims in promoting the development of the archive in Simancas was the importance the papers conserved therein would have later on. It seems the ruler was unwilling to open his ‘secrets’ and those of his Castilian empire, keeping them well sheltered within the walls of his archival fortress. Páez de Castro’s letter reveals not only Philip II’s opinion on historical writing but also his definition of ‘authenticated sources’. So how did Philip define ‘approved and authenticated sources’?

Páez de Castro dedicated an interesting essay entitled ‘On the Utility of Assembling a Good Library’ to Philip in 1556. In this text, the author discussed the project for a building, preferably to be constructed in Valladolid, with three chambers. The first would be decorated with portraits of distinguished scholars and function as a library. The second room was a cabinet of curiosities with maps, views of cities alongside natural wonders, and other collectables. This chamber would be decorated with portraits of explorers and conquerors, such as, Columbus and Cortés. The last chamber, and the most ‘secret’, was the archive housing the state papers, treaties, royal testaments, etc. This would also be the place to conserve ‘the commentaries that your ancestors wrote about themselves as well as those that Your Majesty will eventually write’.

The project as Páez de Castro imagined it never came to pass, but may have been a source of inspiration. Philip II created such a library in El Escorial. The chamber was indeed decorated; however, not with famous contemporary scholars as suggested by Páez de Castro but with philosophers and scholars from antiquity, along with allegories, muses, and virtues. The archive remained in the Simancas fortress and was enlarged and modernised. The portraits planned for the archive were the genealogy of the kings of Castile up to Philip II. These were to be painted by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, although again, the project was never realised. As noted in chapter two, there is

---

79 For an introduction to these projected biographical works see Kagan, Clio, pp. 94-104.
81 Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial (RBME) 55-VII-26 Memoria a Felipe II sobre la Utilidad de Juntar una Buena Biblioteca, Juan Páez de Castro. Copy of 1749 from the original in 1556. There is a facsimile version of this report: G. Santon, Memoria a Felipe II sobre la Utilidad de Juntar una Buena Biblioteca: Descubierta en la Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo por Blas Antonio Nasarre (Valladolid, 2003).
82 Ibid., p. 90. This gallery was similar to the galleries of illustrious men.
83 Ibid., p. 102.
84 Páez de Castro, Memoria, p. 110.
85 On the Library at El Escorial see for example Checa Cremades, Felipe II, pp. 378-401.
a sketch that remains for the series of portraits in the Simancas archive showing a figure in ancient Roman style.\textsuperscript{86}

Philip II never wrote any ‘memoirs’ in the style of Julius Caesar’s on the Gallic wars, but he was certainly interested in history and its possibilities. Páez de Castro had been one of Charles V’s chroniclers and his interest in a ‘biographical’ style of history suited the agenda of the emperor’s entourage.

Philip, however, had a different vision for what a work of history should be, as demonstrated in the explanation by Páez de Castro. Philip II included a specific requirement regarding history writing in the Instructions for the Governance of Simancas Archive, issued in 1588. One of the instructions was for the archivists to compile a summary of important events on a yearly basis, with the archival collections supporting the veracity of what was written. All this data had to be fully referenced; in other words, the description of an event had to correspond with an ‘authenticated’ document on which the ‘shelfmark’ or archival reference was included. This was to facilitate the necessary retrieval of the information. The most important events to record in this compilation were the military victories of the realm.\textsuperscript{87}

Seen in this light, Philip II’s requirement was very ‘modern’. In essence, he outlined the principal basis for historical referencing that would become common only centuries later. Considering the accuracy that Philip demanded of historical writing as an ‘objective science’, it seems that his interest in including ‘referencing’ was a way of verifying that the writings were reliable. Therefore, the summary of important events compiled in the Simancas archive was ‘truthful’ and following generations would be able to assess that it was accurate.

In other words, history now would be ‘judged’ on what ‘really’ happened, albeit an account of events as filtered through the king’s eyes. Philip II aimed to distinguish ‘veracity’ from ‘legend’ in the works of history. Therefore, his reluctance to have Páez de Castro work for him even after their conversation seems logical. In the end, Castro supported the traditional heroic style promoted during Charles V’s reign. Military victories were among the most important events recorded in the summary compiled by the king’s archivists; this is another aspect to consider in relation to the fresco cycle at the Hall.

\textsuperscript{86} This type of galleries with portraits envisioned by Páez de Castro and the planned genealogy of the Kings of Castile in Simancas were reminiscent of the galleries of illustrious men, as was discussed in chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{87} This was examined at length on chapter 2.

The depictions in the Hall of Battles in El Escorial are very different from those seen previously in other media, such as the tapestries in the Habsburg collection and Clavio’s illustrations. Only background scenes in some of them bear any resemblance to the frescoes in the Hall, such as Pannemaker’s ‘visual chronicle’ of the siege of Tunes in 1535, and details in the backgrounds of some of Clavio’s paintings based on Heemskerk’s initial drawings.

The written accounts of the battle of La Higueruela tell a similar story to the visual representation on the wall in El Escorial. The correspondence between the written and visual accounts is remarkable, which may indicate that the visual chronicle was based upon the written version.

Surviving representations of battles in the fourteenth and fifteenth century in Castile and Aragon are scant. The works of Jean Froissart in the fourteenth century are some of the most important visual sources for battles of that period in Europe. Froissart wrote a series of famous chronicles of wars in Scotland, England, France and Castile; many of these included beautiful illuminated representations. The ‘heroic’ medieval technique is applied in the illumination of the battle between Portuguese and Castilian forces that consolidated Joan I of Portugal’s authority in his realm (Fig. 20). The depictions conform with the chivalrous tradition and style of the period. The action is emphasised by a relatively flat perspective and the ‘rigid’ postures of the figures. The Castilian king is trying desperately to fight while Joan I is presented on the right, with serene position, displaying his authority. Although the drawing represents a battle in the Iberian peninsula, the chronicle was French and most of the illuminators who worked on it were Dutch.

The Castle of Calatravos in Alcañiz (Teruel, Aragon) conserves one of the very few gothic fresco-secco examples in Iberia of pictures of battles (Fig. 21). There are

88 The contemporary chronicles were printed in facsimile publications in E. Perez de Guzmán, ‘Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo,’ in Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla, vol. 68. (Madrid, 1953), pp. 497-498 and P. Carrillo de Huete, P. Crónica del Halconero de Juan II, (Madrid 1946) 106-107. See also note 18.
89 The Bibliothèque Nationale de France conserves some of the Chronicles by Froissart and some of the illuminations: J. Froissart Chroniques de France, dAngleterre, dEscoce, dEspaigne, de Bretagne, de Gascongne, de Flandres et lieux circumvoisins, 4 tomes, Paris, Antoine Verard, [ca. 1498]. See also P. Ainsworth, ‘Contemporary and ‘eyewitness’ history, ‘ in D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, Historiography in the Middle Ages (Leiden, 2003), pp. 249-276.
90 C. Allmand, ‘The Reporting of War in the Middle Ages,’ in D. Dunn, War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 17-33.
91 For some publications concerning the castle and the decorative programme see: J. Caruana Gomez de Barreda, ‘El Castillo de Alcañiz en Teruel,’ Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, vol. 13,
many other mural paintings with religious themes conserved in Aragon and northern parts of Old Castile, but the war or battle genre is more sparse. The castle had fresco decorations both inside and out, which indicates that the decorative programme may have had a didactic and propaganda purpose. The décor was not solely devoted to matters of war but had an extensive religious emphasis with scenes of court life, including the famous minstrel now conserved in the town council premises.\(^{92}\)

The whole programme was completed between 1290-1375.\(^{93}\) The depiction of the architecture is along the same lines as those used in the Cantigas de Santa María (1221–1284). However, the formations in the battle action are not as rigid as those framed in the Cantigas manuscript (see Fig.6). The frescoes in Alcañiz were completed before the illumination in Froissart’s chronicles. Both styles have obvious discrepancies, most evident in the treatment of the space and details of the costumes. Regarding the latter, the vanished colours in the frescoes obviously increased the difference, as do the details of the armour.

In general, the battles depicted in Alcañiz are more abstract. The lines of the soldiers are less detailed; overall, the drawing technique is simplistic. Moreover, the spatial configuration of the composition in the illustrations is different in terms of the action depicted. In Alcañiz the cavalry covers the whole ‘frame’ in which the scene is painted. This technique of compressing the line of the horizon to include more military action was similar to that used in the Pastrana tapestry. However, given the time difference between the tapestry and the fresco-secco, a sharp contrast in the forms of bodies and faces of the soldiers is evident, which, as expected, are more naturalistic in the tapestry than the paintings (Fig.8). The religious emphasis in Alcañiz is clear, with the remainder of the decorative programme focussing on the crusade. This was a sacred war, a ‘crusade’ which, in the Iberian peninsula, would endure for centuries.

Froissart’s style was perpetuated in Jean de Wavrin’s version of the same battle in late fifteenth century (Fig.22).\(^{94}\) The lines of the drawing are a little softer, and the perspective is more developed, with the inclusion of a view of the horizon. The violent action of the knights is portrayed with equal vigour, by forcing the natural body

---

\(^{93}\) Ibid., p. 40.
postures. These representations, however, are quite distinct from the Higueruela scene at El Escorial in which the technique is far more naturalistic.

Wavrin painted the scene long after the battle occurred, so he may have used Froissart’s work as a model. The drawing have evolved somewhat compared to Froissart’s illumination, but in general terms the chivalrous ideals are still there as is the distinctive medieval style. A critical aspect of both Froissart and Wavrin illuminations is that their representation are battles between Christian rulers. Therefore, a different kind of respect and ‘humanity’ is evident in the way the vanquished are depicted. However, in depictions of the ‘crusade’ in which the defeated were ‘infidels’ of the Muslim frontier, the treatment of their faces and expressions was intended to indicate the ‘moral inferiority’ of their religion.95

The sacred connotations of the crusade against the kingdom of Granada are also reflected in the fifteenth-century bas-reliefs decorating the seats of the choir in the Cathedral of Toledo (Fig.23). These twenty sculpted seats were commissioned by Cardinal Pedro González de Mendoza and executed by Master Rodrigo in 1489.96 These are unique examples of the battle iconography genre and present a very specific type of composition dictated primordially as in other examples already discussed, by the frame in which they were constrained.

In this case, the idealisation of the fortifications perpetuates the influence of the traditional typology of illuminated manuscripts. However, there is refinement in the profiles of the horses, and an attempt at perspective through the change in size of the soldiers to show distances, although it is still quite basic (see Fig. 23- right). The fifty-four carvings aimed to ‘record’ different scenes in the war with Granada and the victories of the Christian forces. They were set within a clear historical and ‘didactic’ programme. In spite of the spatial constraints, and the efforts at perspective, the knights entering the walled cities and castles are deliberately greater in size, with the intention of emphasising the role of the Christians in battles. Therefore, notwithstanding stylistic differences, the objective was similar to that in Pastrana; showcasing Christian heroes in battle. The frame in which the scenes are represented was important not only for the style deployed but also the fact that they intended to be a visual chronicle of ‘reconquest’ in which numerous battles occurred.97

---

95 Other representations of the crusade against Islam in the Iberian peninsula include the Daroca panels which an explicit religious emphasis see A. Bustamante García, ‘Hechos’, pp. 104-108.
96 Ibid., p. 104.
97 Bustamante García, ‘Hechos’, p. 106.
composition thereby had to be different to that used in Higueruela, as this only depicted one battle in a large *sarga*.

Juan de Borgoña’s mural painting of 1514 representing Cisneros in Oran’s campaign\(^{100}\) deploys a style closer to the tradition of the French chronicles than those in the Iberian peninsula (Fig. 24). However, as discussed, the illuminations in these earlier chronicles were either depicted by Flemish artists or highly influenced by their methods.\(^{101}\) Borgoña was originally from the Duchy of Burgundy. In Borgoña’s panels the style has evolved, and the forms of the bodies and the expression on the faces are softened and more naturalistic than in the earlier examples. These depictions present more complex sub-scenes. Additionally, the major role played by Cisneros was intended to exalt the idea of a Christian ruler crusading against Islam.

However, among these battle representations, including those executed during the fifteenth century, there are few similarities with the battle of La Higueruela fresco in the Hall of Battles. In fact, the only resemblance is in some models of sixteenth-century tapestry and paintings which included a background overview of the battle. Only these background scenes in the Tunes tapestry series, along with some of Clovio’s painted vellums, establish a link with the visual narration in the Higueruela scene and the rest of the frescoes in the Hall.

As mentioned, the fresco of the battle in La Higueruela (1431) in El Escorial, has been attributed to Dello Delli, a Florentine painter in the service of Juan II of Castile between 1433 to 1446.\(^{102}\) The surviving fifteenth-century frescoes of warfare in the Italian peninsula are also limited, although there are other representations, too. A good example is Paolo Uccello’s ‘Battle of San Romano’ (c. 1438-1440) conserved at the National Gallery in London (Fig. 25).\(^{103}\) This was part of a set of three paintings which represent the battle between Siena and Florence in 1432.\(^{104}\) The battle, which happened only a year after Higueruela, presents the action in a completely different manner. The action is emphasised in the central figure, Niccolò da Mauruzi da Tolentino, who, as a leader of the triumphant forces, is placed in a prominent position. Not only does the prominence of the commander of the forces contrast with the battle of La Higueruela in El Escorial, but so too does the treatment of the colliding troops and the landscape. Uccello’s linear perspective ensured the focus was given to the first line of the depiction. The geographical and topographical aspects of Higueruela are more

\(^{100}\) Ibid., p. 110.
\(^{102}\) Sáenz de Miera, ‘Reflejos,’ p. 115.
\(^{104}\) The other two paintings are in the Louvre, and the Uffizi.
advanced, while the facial expressions, with the emotion that can be perceived in the eyes of the combatants, are more studied in Uccello’s paintings.

Peter Paret, has examined how the battle scenes in Uccello’s panels accurately represented not only the events but also the attire and military formation of the time. In the end, all these examples had historical pretensions. However, the narrative they used was completely different.

Uccello was responsible for the only known portrait known of Dello Delli. The attribution of the sarga to Delli is based on the period (1433 - 1445) he was working for King Juan II of Castile. The most famous surviving works of Delli in Castile are of a religious nature; for example, the fresco decorations of the apse in the old Cathedral of Salamanca (Fig. 26). A team led by Delli, including his brothers and assistants, accomplished this religious programme reminiscent in style to other contemporary artists.

Although it is not the aim of this study to make any attribution, stylistically, the fresco of the battle of La Higueruela (1431) in El Escorial has a closer relationship to some other Italian models rather than the work of Delli. These include the battle frescoes in the Castle of Malpaga, especially the battle of Ricardina (also known as Molinella), which occurred in 1467, and has been attributed to Girolamo ‘Il Romanino’ (Figs. 27-29). The commission of this fresco is dated to the sixteenth century, around 1467, while the facial expression s, with the emotion that can be perceived in the eyes of the combatants, are more studied in Uccello’s paintings.

---

108 Ibid, p. 288. The major issue for research on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frescoes of warfare is the small number of pieces that have survived. One of the fifteenth-century Italian fresco decorations devoted to contemporary battles were those of Villa Poggioreale in Naples. This villa was celebrated for being a Serlian architectural type, and it also housed one of the finest known examples of fifteenth-century battle paintings, see F. Zecchino, ‘La Villa di Poggioreale, Residenza degli Aragonesi a Napoli,’ *Delpinoa* vol. 44 (2002) pp. 3-16. F. Milizia, *The Lives of Celebrated Architects, Ancient and Modern […]* vol. 1, (London, 1826) pp. 190-191.
110 Attributions of Dello Delli’s works in Castile are highly disputed among scholars. See for instance an interesting discussion regarding reliable sources and the work of Delli and his brothers in Castile in C. C. Bambach, ‘The Delli Brothers: Three Florentine Artists in Fifteenth-century Spain,’ *Apollo*, vol. 161 no. 517 (2005), pp. 75-83. Here the author does not mention Higueruela at all, while possible attribution to Dello Delli was only based on the period he worked for Juan II of Castile. Significantly, Delli received a knighthood during his time in Castile, and was much appreciated by the Castilian monarch, which may justify his involvement in the commission of the depiction of Higueruela, although these are mere speculations. In my view, however, depictions of the battle of La Higueruela and the fresco decoration of the apse in the Old Cathedral of Salamanca contrast sharply in terms of style. The issue as it stands it that the Italian contemporary examples on warfare representation have a different aesthetic forms, and techniques than those deployed in La Higueruela.

There is a closer stylistic relationship here to the Higueruela scene (Fig.28).

Hale, in his monumental work on the iconography of warfare representation, has compared the German and Italian traditions. He discerned clear differences in the depiction of soldiers and other details. However, the differences regarding the broader depictions of battles were not sharp. Fifteenth-century German images showed a similar rigidity in forms, which was more marked when the perspective was not from a higher angle (sometimes bird’s eye view perspective). Among the examples to which a link can be drawn with the frescoes in the Hall of Battles are Maximilian I’s triumphs by Georg Lemberger (c.1512). The key aspect is perspective. The battlefield is depicted using a mixed technique which combines a view from a higher angle, as in some cityscapes, and a frieze-like representation in the colliding troops at the forefront of the picture. The bird’s-eye view was used with great emphasis in the scenes of St. Quentin; but even the fresco of La Higueruela, despite being very long, employed a higher angle to showcase the simultaneous actions in the battlefield. The fresco cycle at the Hall also combined both perspective techniques to showcase diverse actions in the sub-scenes. Nevertheless, these depictions at the Hall are more advanced in terms of both perspective and naturalism in the representation of the action.

Other sixteenth-century peninsular examples are the frescoes (c. 1538) of the Tunes campaign in Albares, Guadalajara, which has an inscription that reads ‘Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Mondejar’. Luis accompanied Charles V in this campaign. The overall technique in these mural paintings, however, is more abstract and very archaic.

Another magnificent sixteenth-century example of warfare representation is the Saxony Wars (1547) in the palace of Oriz, comprising six battle scenes (Fig.30). These were also completed by the mid sixteenth-century and are therefore contemporary to other representations of the Tunes campaign. However, in this representation the action is gathered and put on the forefront and display a stronger rigidity in the figures.

---

112 Ibid., p. 21.
113 Additionally, as seen before, some sub-scenes in sixteenth-century tapestries and other depictions such as Clavio’s vellums are reminiscent to the style deployed on the frescoes at the Hall. However, from the fifteenth-century works seen so far there is little which could be compared to the fresco cycle in El Escorial.
114 Hale, Artists, p. 137.
115 Ibid., pp. 182-183.
117 F. J. Sánchez Cantón, Las Pinturas de Óriz y la Guerra de Sajonia (Pamplona, 1944).
A number of frescoes in the building known as Estufa de la Alhambra showcase a similar style to that in the Hall of Battles, such as the panoramic view of the scene from a higher angle, attention to the topographical and geographical aspects, and claims to be a ‘truthful’ account of events (Figs.31-32).\(^{118}\)

The sixteenth century frescoes in the Palace of el Viso were highly influential.\(^{119}\) These included battle scenes, which were also very detailed in terms of geography (Fig.33). Here the narrative also intended to be a visual record of war, employing a similar high-angle of perspective. The decoration in the palace has a Italian grandeur with a heroic programme intended to glorify the Marquis.\(^{120}\)

Both the examples of warfare representation shown at El Viso and the Estufa are closer to the fresco cycle at the Hall than the depictions discussed earlier (Figs.1-2). The perspective technique and emphasis on the precision of the topography, geography, and the narration of the event, are marked in these three examples.

These models derive to a great extent from techniques used in the depiction of cityscapes. Drawings of cities aimed to be ‘accurate’, and this concern with precision was also transmitted to the recording of the battlefield, such as the works developed by Wyngaerde and Rodrigo de Holanda on cities and battles for Philip II.

Another important series of frescoes to consider are the early seventeenth century frescoes of Tavarone depicting the Portuguese campaign of 1580, in the Palazzo Spinola alla Pellicería in Genoa.\(^{121}\) The technique used is similar to that in the Hall of Battles, mostly those deployed in the French and Portuguese battle scenes. However, this time, as seen in previous examples of court representations of victorious battles, in the foreground the prominent figure of the commander is shown leading his entourage in to battle.

The warfare depictions in Iberia discussed seem to share similar characteristics with other European models. This is particularly evident in the sixteenth century. There is not yet an exhaustive study that compares representations of warfare in the European context in this period, except perhaps for Hale’s work, which focuses only on Italy and Germany, with a shorter introduction to Flemish art. Additionally, in spite

\(^{118}\) For a complete study see R. López Torrijos, ‘Las Pinturas de la Torre de la Estufa o del Peinador,’ Carlos V y la Alhambra (Granada, 2000), pp. 107-129. For an analysis on the geographical accuracy of the frescoes see, M. Lillo Carpio, ‘Consideraciones sobre el Realismo Geográfico de las Pinturas sobre la Conquista de Tunez Existentes and la Casa Real Vieja de la Alhambra,’ Papeles de Geografía vol. 28 (1998), pp. 55-75.


\(^{121}\) Klieman, Gesta Dipinte, pp. 148-149.
of some essays cited previously, there is not a comprehensive study on battle representation in Iberia in this period. Both investigations are beyond the scope of this chapter. Furthermore, this outline of battle depictions in Castile and Aragon does not claim to be a comprehensive study; rather it merely attempts to reveal the artistic context contemporary with the execution of La Higueruela sarga. In this sense, the only style which can be compared to that deployed in the Higueruela fresco dates from the beginning of sixteenth century onwards, in both Italian and Iberian peninsular examples. With this in mind, does the fact that the fresco was copied in the sixteenth century have any influence of its artistic representation?

4.7. Representations of Juan II’s Campaign against the Kingdom of Granada: Battles of La Higueruela and Jimena (1431).

As discussed, there are no surviving fifteenth-century representations of battles using a mode of representation similar to that in the long fresco in the Hall of Battles. Surviving Castilian and Aragonese examples display a different aesthetic, and it seems the same happened elsewhere in Europe. The issue, as stressed before, also lies in the few remaining models for the period. Until now there were no known surviving paintings or copies of battles from the period of Juan II other than these. However, there is a little known series of drawings claiming to be copies of medieval mural paintings which decorated the palace of the Corregidor and other public buildings in Jerez de la Frontera. One of these drawings represents the siege of the Jimena and its castle that took place months before the battle of La Higueruela in 1431. Marshal Pedro García Herrera commanded this expedition at the beginning of March that year. The victory was decisive for the subsequent defeat of the Kingdom of Granada at La Higueruela in July 1431. Juan II of Castile had sent Marshal Pedro García Herrera to fight along the frontier of Jerez only a year before.123

The drawing of the siege of Jimena (Fig. 35) represents the type of battle depicted from a high-angle view similar to that in the chamber in El Escorial. The drawing is executed in ink on laid paper 310 x 436 mm. It was later pasted to another sheet of paper, with an inscription that read: ‘Nº 4º Toma de Gimena y su castillo por los xerezanos y el mariscal Pedro García Herrera’. On the paper added in the restoration there is a note informing us that this was a copy of a mural painting in the city council house (i.e., Casas Capitulares). The words inserted in the drawing point to important landmarks or leading characters in the campaign: ‘river and gorge of Ximena, town of

Ximena, Mountain range of Ximena, Standard and People of Jerez, Castle and Siege of Ximena by the [people] of Jerez and the Marshal Herrera, Alcalá Ganules’.

A comparison of both images (Fig.35) show some very apparent similarities. For instance, the soldiers in the squadrons hold the lances resting on their right shoulder. In the paintings on French and Portuguese campaign at the Hall, the squadrons hold the lances perfectly aligned while the soldiers hold them straight (see Fig.2). The artists depicted these in a compact manner, giving the impression the lances formed perfect quadrangular packs. The depiction of Higueruela is evidently superior in many aspects to the Jimena drawing. For example, the horses include alternative postures and movements which are only tentatively profiled in the drawing. However, those horses in movement, either trotting or galloping, are closer to those drafted in the siege of Jimena. The profile of the figures is more advanced in the Higueruela scene, as are many other details. The drawing of the siege of Jimena was, in the end, preparatory for a painting.

In spite of these differences, both images have a similar approach to the way the battle is represented, such as topographical details and the higher angle chosen to show the battlefield. Both were copies of originals. In the case of Jimena, the drawing has no date although the paper used was only circulated in the Iberian peninsula at the end of the seventeenth century or after. Therefore, it was copied at least a century after Higueruela.

The series of drawings of which the siege of Jimena forms part, intended to exalt the role of the knights and people of Jerez in the ‘reconquest’ battles during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The collection conserves a further eight drawings representing battles such as Gigonzá (1371) and Arcila (1509), (see Figs.36-37).

Bartolomé Gutiérrez, a local historian, suggested that these battles were painted in the form of frescoes in a number of public buildings in the city during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of these frescoes were displayed on the exterior of the buildings, as was the case with the Castle of Calatravos in Almuñiz. The mural paintings seem to have deteriorated significantly, with one of them being restored in situ in 1676. It seems that shortly after this, the drawings were commissioned, so the deteriorated battles in the mural paintings could be copied in oil on canvas afterwards.

---

124 BMCJ R. 27210.
125 Clavijo Provencio, Puerto Castrillón, ‘Notas,’ pp. 266-269.
I commissioned these drawings in case there was an opportunity to paint them [on canvas] for my sons, or for them to commission these paintings, as there cannot be better delight than in the exploits of their grandparents, relatives and compatriots, so they could keep them in the Hall in Francos street, or in [the house] in front of the Alcázar [...] \[128\]

The name of the person who commissioned the drawings is unknown. The only information known about them is what is written on the same paper. There is no information regarding their original provenance or how they reached the collections in the library.

These drawings were believed to be ‘good’ copies of medieval mural illustrations, even if the style was rather sketchy. However, archaeological evidence shows a different side to the story. The written accounts of the siege of Jimena can be traced in two known sources: the Crónica de Don Juan II, and the manuscript known as Libro del Alcázar de Jerez. \[129\] Both chronicles mostly coincide, with the exception of small details. Moreover, the accounts are remarkably similar to the drawing (see Fig. 33):

> On the 10th of March, Don Pedro departed from Jerez with three hundred armed men and horsemen, and two hundred and fifty peons. The following day, on Monday, at nightfall, fifty horsemen and one hundred peons approached Jimena, leaving the horses half a mile away, so they could not be heard [...] the night was very dark and windy. Close to the castle wall, the Christians heard the sentinel saying he had heard sounds of people, so [the Christians] had to lie on the ground [hidden] for over half an hour. [...] Fortunately, in this time the flags were changed, at this moment the attackers took advantage and reached the wall, and [then] laid a ladder between two towers. The first ones to step up were the soldiers, [they] were discovered and fought with the moors until they locked [the moors] in the homenaje tower [...] the fortress was defeated and the Marshal could enter it [victorious] at the dawn of the 12th. This same day the Christians went to fight the town, defeating it too. [...] \[130\]

Although there is attention to topographical and geographical details in the drawing, this is intended to separate scenes rather than accurately illustrate the natural site. The location of the river and other topographical and architectural details in the drawing are fictional. This depiction was made long after the battle, and is recreated on the basis of the written record. The author of the illustration knew there was a river, a castle, and a walled city, but the arrangement of these do not correspond to how the Muslim Xemina (i.e., Jimena) was at the time. Significantly, the anonymous artist included the circular tower which was only erected at the beginning of the sixteenth

---

129 The Libro del Alcázar is a manuscript from sixteenth century which narrates important episodes in the city of Jerez since its Christian conquest. They were also published in M. Ferrador, El Libro del Alcázar: Memorias Antiguas de Jerez de la Frontera Ahora Impresas por Primera Vez (Jerez, 1939).
century,\textsuperscript{131} instead of portraying the castle as it was at the time of the battle. The composition of the drawing as it stands could only have been completed in the first third of the sixteenth century, at the earliest.\textsuperscript{132}

Seen from this perspective, one may wonder, when was the mural painting completed? Local historians have argued that these paintings were executed in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. If correct, then the copyist in the drawing reinterpreted the scenes and ‘modernised’ them. Alternatively, if the copyist was respectful to the style and content, then the fresco of the siege of Jimena was painted around or after 1530.

As the drawings in Jerez are devoted to achievements of the locals, they are unlikely to be linked to Juan II’s court. After all, Jerez at that time was ‘the end of the Christian world’. The mere existence of the drawings in Jerez, and the manner in which they were displayed on ‘public’ buildings, raises further questions. Were mural paintings of battles against the ‘moors’ to be found also elsewhere in the Iberian peninsula? It has been argued that there was no a ‘stately’ patronage in fifteenth– and sixteenth-century Castile of the ‘crusade’ against the ‘moors’.\textsuperscript{133} Did towns and cities, pursue these artistic endeavours indepdently?

Both the castle of Alcañiz in Aragon and the famous Villa Poggioireale in Naples had frescoes inside and out, including contemporary battle scenes. These murals, mostly those on the exterior of the building, had commemorative, didactic, as well as propaganda, purposes. How does this relate to the fresco of the battle in Higueruela?

The fresco was also a copy of a medieval representation. Did an artist accompany Juan II to depict the battle, like Vermeyen in Tunes? There is no evidence of this, although two possibilities are feasible. Either there was an artist drafting notes of the battle or the drawing was completed after the written chronicle. The reign of Juan II was marked by civil war, and chroniclers played an important role in crafting the image of the king against his enemies. The chronicles of Juan II’s reign ended up being written by four different historians, and no single version seems reliable.\textsuperscript{135} However, these historians were still part of the ruler’s entourage in court, and

\textsuperscript{131} The archaeological campaigns directed by Miguel Angel Tabales have demonstrated how this structure was built in the beginning of sixteenth century. M.A. Tabales Rodríguez, ‘Programa de Investigaciones Arqueológicas del Castillo de Jimena de la Frontera, Cádiz,’ Almoraima vol. 33 (2006), pp. 9-30.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid. p. 10.

\textsuperscript{133} Bustamante García, ‘Hechos’, p. 112.

\textsuperscript{135} Kagan, Clio, p. 42.
therefore their duty was to witness the events in which the ruler played a prominent role.\textsuperscript{136}

The battle took place in July 1431. So if Dello Delli was the author of the famous sarga, he could only have began it in 1433 or after, once he came to work for the ruler in Castile. Therefore, if he was the artist involved, then he either visually reproduced the scene after the written chronicle, or used someone else’s drawings of the battle. The examples of royal commissions on grand warfare representations are scant. Some of the most important commissions, such as the bas-reliefs in the choir of the Cathedral in Toledo, were sculpted under the Church’s patronage.\textsuperscript{138} This may also be argued for the Cisneros’ panels painted by Juan de Borgoña,\textsuperscript{139} although he was regent at the time.

The battle of La Higueruela deploys a mode of representation with clear historical aspirations, in which representations of grand heroes and commanders, as well as allegories, have been dismissed in favour of the ‘storytelling’. Regarding the style of this fresco, however, there is no other fifteenth-century model to which it can be compared, in the Iberian peninsula or elsewhere. Only from the beginning of the sixteenth century are there some models that have some stylistic links to this fresco.\textsuperscript{140}

There may be two reasons for this. Either the author of the sarga had uniquely advanced skills for the time, and was able to combine naturalistic forms and portray dynamic actions, while maintaining a higher angle of perspective, or the sixteenth century copyists, introduced ‘approved’ modernisations in his version of the copied sarga.

Fabrizio Castelo was paid for the restoration of the sarga in 1582, as noted earlier in the chapter: ‘a [restoration of a] painting of the war of Granada [depicted on] a big canvas, [that he had restored] according to the instruction given to him, […] and painted ‘newly’ what was necessary in it’.\textsuperscript{141} Although the spirit of this renovation was to restore the original, it seems from the evidence at hand, that Castello’s modernisation was not a loyal copy, but rather a combination of new techniques applied to an old warfare scene. In addition, Orazio Cambiaso drew a copy from the original sarga, which it has been suggested was an initial sketch in the same Hall.\textsuperscript{142} These two depictions – the restored sarga and the sketch – played the key role in the

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., p. 42.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., p. 104.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., p. 108.
\textsuperscript{140} In the sixteenth century there is a proliferation of works to compare with such as Malpaga in Italy, some drawings in Germany and more importantly the Iberian examples and courtly artistic commissions seen before, (subheadings 4.3 to 4.6).
\textsuperscript{141} Zarco Cuevas, Pintores Italianos, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{142} Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, ‘La Sala’, p. 196.
final style of the fresco at the Hall. The artists had to fresco the final version of the battle of La Higueruela in line with the strict requirement to deliver a copy loyal to the ‘canvas’ given.143

The key is to discern to what extent the model given for Higueruela had been ‘modernised’. I would suggest that a ‘modernisation’ of the scene to sixteenth-century standards of naturalism is the most likely reason behind the ‘mysterious’ artistic composition displayed in La Higueruela.


In the Hall of Battles at El Escorial, Philip II displayed a visual history of his military victories and that of his lineage as represented in La Higueruela. There are some surviving letters in which the young ruler relayed his thoughts after the victory over France. Once the defeat of St. Quentin was confirmed, Philip II wrote: ‘our Lord with his great kindness has wanted to give me these victories in very few days and in the beginning of my reign, that gives me great honour and reputation.’144 Likewise, Fray José de Sigüenza believed that the victory at Gravelines had proved to Henry II of France that ‘God fought for Spain’s cause, giving many victories to the Emperor Charles V and beginning to favour so openly his son Philip’.145 Sáenz de Miera has demonstrated how at the beginning of Philip’s rule it was considered convenient for the king to be present, even if only in the background.146 This idea changed later in Philip’s reign. By then the king believed that absenting himself from the battlefield was the ‘proper’ position of a ruler for in the case of victory he would still gain glory and fame. On the other hand, in case of loss, his ‘leadership’ had been prominent on the battlefield, then the sense of failure would also be greater.147

The use of battle painting as an historical genre during the sixteenth century is illustrated in the description of Diego Cuelbis in 1599. Cuelbis reported that a great hall in the Alcázar in Madrid had been decorated with a series depicting the victories of Charles V in Germany, along with some images of St. Quentin. These were possibly

144 Kamen, El Enigma, p. 71. Also cited in Sáenz de Miera, ‘Reflejos’, p. 113.
146 J. Sáenz de Miera, De Obra “Insigne” y “Heroica” a “Octava Maravilla del Mundo”: la Fama de el Escorial en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 2001), p. 36.
those of Wyngaerde\textsuperscript{148} painted for Philip and Charles V on that campaign. The Pardo palace was also decorated with important battle depictions for the House of Habsburg, with Vermeyen’s canvases of the War of Saxony by Charles V. The location within the regal residence was also interesting as they were below a series of regal portraits in the main hall, presented as the genealogy of the Kings of Castile.\textsuperscript{149} This was another hall of princely virtue and a clear precedent to the Hall at El Escorial.

During Philip II’s rule, there was only one other room in El Escorial Monastery decorated with this kind of warfare theme. This was the oriental gallery in the summer section of the king’s palace in which the famous large canvases by Luca Cambiaso of the battle of Lepanto were located.\textsuperscript{150} These canvases are still in the monastery but have been shifted from their original setting.

In the nineteenth century a series of canvases of the battle of St. Quentin by Rodrigo de Holanda were deposited here. These canvases formed part of the palace of collection in the palace at Valsain during Philip II’s rule and were possibly those that the artists had used for the scenes in the Hall of Battles.\textsuperscript{151} The monastery also has a series on the wars with Flanders during Philip’s reign, but these apparently arrived as a present after Philip II died.\textsuperscript{152} There were also canvases of the Azores battle as part of the Alcázar of Madrid’s collections: ‘a depiction of the Tercera Island in colourful paper’.\textsuperscript{153}

Cambiaso’s and Holanda’s paintings contained representations of Victory, Fame, and Providence. In the Hall of Battles, during restoration of the frescoes, some allegorical figures were discovered among the grotesques in the ceiling. However, in the ‘visual chronicles of the battle’ on the wall, none of these allegorical images appeared. The inclusion of these allegories in the canvases by Cambiaso and Holanda, reinforce the intended glory attached to such works of art.

No doubt the Hall of Battles intended to echo the imperial glory of the monarch in the way the galleries of princely virtues did. The key to understanding the style of

\textsuperscript{148} Anton Van Wyngaerde was not only a ‘war illustrator’ but he delivered a series of drawings and paintings on the most important cities in his Iberian realms since 1561 for Philip II. As explained before he worked for Philip II since 1557 as a war ‘reporter’. In many cases these drawings and paintings constitute the most and only ‘accurate’ visual account of the period of certain cities. Wyngaerde depicted a view of Madrid that was used in the first chapter of this thesis. His work influenced J. Hoefnagle series for Civitates Orbis Terrarum depicted between 1565 and 1567. See also note García-Frias Checa, ‘Las Series’, pp. 135-170.

\textsuperscript{149} García-Frias Checa, ‘Las Series’, pp. 141.

\textsuperscript{150} García-Frias Checa, ‘Las Series’, pp. 143-144.

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., p. 141.

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., p. 168.

these representations is verified by Philip II’s views on how history should be written and recorded. The artistic technique deployed in this chamber is therefore important for comprehending Philip II’s vision and the ethos behind the visual display.

Kliemann has distinguished three major types of heroic battle scene in Italian fresco painting: a) the painted chronicle; b) biographical fresco cycles, and c) genealogical history paintings. The first two types can be identified in the works of history written during Charles V and Philip II’s reigns. They have been studied by Kagan who refers to them as firstly, *Historia pro Persona*, identified with the history works funded by Charles V, and secondly, *Historia pro Patria*, used during Philip II’s reign. The ‘painted chronicles’ identified by Kliemann in Italian frescoes deploy a style similar to the one used at the Hall of Battles. The major objective of this kind of artistic programme was to narrate the events that occurred in battle, which in the end was the same intention as the written chronicles supported by Philip. On the other hand, the ‘biographical fresco cycles’ may combine the exaltation of the core characters, normally the ruler or commander of the army, with ‘painted chronicles’ style on background sub-scenes, as seen in sixteenth-century depictions such as the Tunes tapestries and Clovio’s depictions of the victories of Charles V. In this sense, both written and visual forms of history recording can be identified in the context of the Castilian monarchy in the sixteenth century. Philip II’s preferred form of visual representation of warfare, at least in the Hall of Battles, was the ‘painted chronicle’ style, which was intended both to glorify the ‘history of the reign’ and to be a precise ‘lecture on history’.

The inclusion of La Higueruela has been much debated in relation the rest of the battles at the Hall. This gallery is one among those known which had an artistic programme of warfare representing some battles in which Philip had been somewhat involved, such as St. Quentin and Portugal. In the end, La Higueruela embodied the long struggle the Christian rulers had with the infidels in Iberia. Long galleries of this kind in Philip’s palaces, at least those seen before, were widely decorated with Charles V’s military defeats.

Under Philip II’s patronage of art there was a sharp focus on the perpetuation of achievements in history, on how the history of his reign was narrated and how the memory of these achievements would endure. These ideas on image–making, and the ‘memory’ of kingship, preoccupied most rulers in the sixteenth century. Philip II opted for a different approach to his father, with the display of military exploits instead of a

---

154 Kliemann, *Heroic Fresco*, pp. 4-8.
‘personalised’ version of the history based on the principles of memoir writing in the style of Julius Caesar. Philip aimed to elevate history to an ‘objective science’ and therefore allowed ‘history’ to show his ‘real’ achievements. This was of course only ‘his’ version of history.

Nonetheless, Philip cared enormously for accuracy in the writing of history, as exemplified is the ‘instructions’ of 1588 given to the archivists in Simancas. One of the major questions regarding the Hall of Battles is the omission of the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Although Cambiaso’s canvases were acquired for the ruler’s collection possibly before the Hall was completed, the decorative programme does appear somewhat incoherent with the inclusion of La Higueruela. It seems understandable that Philip II not only wanted to conserve the painting of the La Higueruela, dating back to the reign of Juan II of Castile, but was also willingly to perpetuate it in fresco in the gallery. The depiction of the battle was not only a magnificent and rare sample from ‘antiquity’ but also a fine piece of visual history. It was depicted (or copied) in the ‘authenticated’ manner that Philip II himself would have demanded from his ‘visual’ chroniclers. An ‘authentic’ visual representation was considered an image in which the ‘narration’ matched the approved written account of the battle.

The battle paintings that ornamented Philip II’s palaces, in general, do not seem to respond to a systematic programme in which all major victories were represented: some of the themes were repeated in both the canvas and the frescoes, such as St. Quentin.158 There was indeed a proliferation of contemporary visual accounts of battles in the style preferred by Charles V most of which were inherited.159 Philip II embraced the historia pro patria concept reflected in these works and perpetuated it through the commissions he gave to Wyngaerde and Holanda.

When the battle of La Higueruela sarga was found, Philip had just been crowned King of Portugal. A few years later, upon his return, he decided to paint the great private hall on the second level of his palace in El Escorial with a copy of this image. In the same place were also portrayed the most salient victories for his empire during his rule. The first victory of St. Quentin was sealed with the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) that gave Philip II control over Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the State of Presidi. In real terms, Philip also controlled Tuscany, Genoa, and other states in northern Italy. His influence was also very considerable in the Vatican, in spite

158 However, a complete compilation of Philip II’s inventories and those of the royal family members during his reign are due to be published, and this may change our notion of these programmes.

159 With some well known exceptions, such as the very probable commission to Clovio of Charles V’s triumphs.

245
of the poor relations he had with most of the Popes appointed during his rule. The only realms independent from Philip’s direct or indirect control in the Italian Peninsula were the Dukedom of Savoy and the Republic of Venice. This dominion endured after Philip’s death. In political terms, Portugal in combination with the Castilian and Aragonese dominions, placed Philip II at the head of the first real global empire.

Seen in this light, the selection of battles for the frescoes in El Escorial gallery have some coherence. In the end canvases can be moved and stored, but frescoes, although they can be covered again with further mural paintings, are in principle designed to endure. In the Hall of Battles Philip II paid tribute to his ancestor’s bravery in the crusade against heretics and infidels.

The ideals behind these victories can be identified in general terms: the crusade against heresy represented at La Higueruela; the European supremacy in the multi-layered consequences of the Peace of Cateu-Cambresis, and finally, the Iberian union extending to global dominion. This supremacy also carried great responsibilities, such as the defence and expansion of the faith and the safeguarding of his numerous vassals.

4.9. Philip II’s Triumphant Image upon his Death & the Hall of Battles.

The funerals to mourn Philip II’s death in Florence in 1598 were occasion to exploit visually the biography of the ruler. A series of impressive canvases displayed in S. Lorenzo presented the life of Philip II from his birth in Valladolid in 1527 to the Portuguese union. In this series, the Armada was avoided; but the weddings to his four wives were illustrated, including his marriage to Mary Tudor, which, for a brief period, entitled him to be King of England.

The perception of Philip II in other European realms was very different, where a negative image of the deceased ruler was presented. For example, the chronicler of the French King, Pierre de Mathieu, wrote an elegy concerning the life and death of Philip II that was less than flattering. In the text, Mathieu highlights Philip’s piety.

---

160 On the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) see Parker, Felipe II, pp. 315-317.
161 Biblioteca Nacional del Museo del Prado (BNMP), Cerv/226 V. Pitti, Essequie della Sacra Cattolica Real Maesta del Re di Spagna D. Filippo d’Austria celebrate dal Serenissimo D. Ferdinando Medici […] nella Città di Firenze (Florence, 1598). An exhibition catalogue on the canvases displayed I the funeral and now conserved in the Uffizi Gallery includes with interesting contributions, see M. Bietti, La Morte e la Gloria. Apparati Funebri Medicei per Filippo II di Spagna e Margherita d’Austria. (Florence, 1999).
162 Biblioteca General del Palacio Real, (BGPR) Manuscripts department. Mss. II-1149 P. Mathieu, Elogio a la Vida y La Muerte del Rey Catholico Don Phelipe 2º, (c. 1599), translated and copied in seventeenth century.
and devotion to the Catholic faith. However, he presents the ruler as a religious zealot, making him directly responsible for the death of his primogenital son, the unfortunate Don Carlos. The Portuguese episode was presented as a usurpation of a title to which he had no claim. The Low Countries wars were presented as a consequence of Philip’s unjust decision-making and lack of political ability. The Armada was, in the chronicle’s view, God’s punishment for Philip’s greed.

This chronicle, which only briefly mentions the victory of St. Quentin, presented Philip II in the mode of the black legend. Philip was a ‘dark’, overly-ambitious ruler, a religious fanatic who spent most of the time secluded in his monastery-palace.163

The Florentine version of Philip’s accomplishments was no less biased, as it selected the major achievements of Philip II’s political career, and disregarded its failures. Florence was under the influence of the Spanish power and therefore wished to present itself as an enduring ally of the Spanish.

In the Florentine display, there were a few canvases devoted to Portugal.164 In this funeral the exaltation of the ruler focused on many aspects of his life, including his education and his tour with his father as a young prince. Among his virtues, piety and prudence were emphasised by Vizencio Pitti, as was the ruler’s ‘enlargement’ and defence of the Catholic faith ‘e la suprema conservazione della Religione Cristiana’.165 This included the incorporation and evangelisation of the indigenous population in the New World and the defence of Europe against infidels from the Ottoman Empire.

The victory over France at St. Quentin at the beginning of Philip’s reign is also celebrated. World dominion achieved through the Iberian union under his sole rule was also lauded in the ceremony. The long cenotaph was very interesting as well in relation to the battles included in the Hall: ‘CATHOLICAEC RELIGIONIS PROPVGNATORI’, crusading and religious propagation both through conquest (in America and through the Portuguese union) and ‘reconquest’ (in the case of La Higueruela).

In Castile, the ‘reconquest’ per se was not believed to have been accomplished until Philip III’s definitive expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. Philip II’s ongoing struggle for control over the Mediterranean against the Ottoman Empire was pursued through both war and truce. In addition, with the Alpujarras revolt (1568-1571), the

163 A recent publication on the repercussions of the black legend see: J. Perez, La Leyenda Negra (Gadir, 2009).
164 In the chapter concerning Philip II’s entry into Lisbon in 1581 the canvas devoted to this festival was studied see chapter 3.
‘heretics’ and their potential danger was a source of concern for the Christian population in the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, the safeguarding of good Christian subjects was also considered to be the responsibility of the ruler.

In the funeral in Florence, there was an inscription that read: ‘LVSITANIAM, ET ADIACENTES INSVLAS SUCCESIONE’, pointing out the victory on mainland Portugal and the control over the Azores islands.

Upon Philip’s death in 1598, the question regarding his royal representation in the arts was debated. As Checa Cremades has argued, Philip II’s entourage was preoccupied with a depiction of the ruler that represented the Spanish Monarchy.

The Neapolitan funeral oration honouring Philip II, exalted the dynastic glory of the House of Habsburg. Lineage was one of the key themes of the oration, which presented the genealogy of kings that preceded Philip II. The oration in its traditional arrangement continued with a summary of the major achievements and glories of the ruler; the res gestae. The first attribute to be praised was Philip’s active role as fidei defendor and his interest in the safeguarding of the ‘true’ religion. This was a reference to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The peace with Henry II of France was associated with the victory in St. Quentin, although this time the exaltation of military exploits was substituted for the praise of the Peace of Cateu-Cambresis. The Iberian union was a key theme with the description and glorification of Philip II’s global empire. Comparisons with contemporary rulers also had a place, including the powerful Ottoman emperor. In the oration, Philip II’s empire is described as the most extensive and powerful on earth. The extension of Philip II’s realms strengthened the promulgation of religion: ‘Philippi Maxima Relligio’. The oration finished with the attributes and virtues of the monarch, such as prudence and justice.

The Neapolitan oration was not only printed, but the funeral was also commemorated with a lengthy chronicle describing in detail the ephemeral structures erected to mourn the king’s death. The imperial image of Philip II displayed in the ephemeral structures at the funeral in Naples included allegories which had been associated with the ruler for years; it particularly exalted the global connotations of his

\[166\] Ibid., p. 21.
\[167\] For an introduction to this theme see F. Checa Cremades, ‘Felipe II y la Representación del Poder Real,’ *Anales de Historia del Arte.* Vol. 1. (1989), pp. 121-139.
\[169\] Caesaris, *Oratio* p. 24
\[170\] Ibid. p. 25
\[171\] Ibid. p. 27
\[172\] RBPRM- III-3286, O. Caputti, *La Pompa Funerale in Napoli […] Filippo II di Austria* (Naples, 1599)
imperial dominions through the Iberian union. Inscriptions with allusions to Trezzo’s medal of 1559 with allegories of light and reason associated with Philip II.173 ‘IAM ILLUSTRABIT OMNIA’ (‘Now he shall enlighten all’).174 The propaganda post Iberian union was also explored with the famous sentence ‘NON SUFFICIT ORBIS’,175 coined possibly at the time of the Portuguese coronation. The imperial discourse deployed in the artistic programme at Naples deserves to be studied on its own. But this is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, the themes exposed at the Hall of Battles in El Escorial are explicitly addressed in this chronicle including a direct allusion to the conquest of Granada.176 The defeat of St. Quentin was also displayed in a painting,177 and the battles of the Azores and Tercera islands was glorified with an inscription that read: ‘Britanicus, Gallicisque Navibus Prope Terzeiras Insulas Demersis, et Expugnatis’.178 In short, the funeral in Naples was a celebration of Philip II’s empire.

Filiberto Belcredi wrote the oration in honour of Philip II and it was printed in Pavia in 1598.179 This oration opened with the solar and luminescent aspects that the allegorical representation of Philip II embodied.180 Belcredi had symbolically crowned Philip II as the king of the Indies in the title: ‘Potentissimo Re dell’ Espagna, e dell’ Indie, Filippo II’.181 References to Philip II’s global dominion were exalted along with the promulgation of the faith. The author listed the achievements of the ruler as defender of the faith with the war against Lutherans, noting also how he ‘cleansed’ Spain of the ‘moors’ and expanded his lands in American soil.182 As a biographical outline, the ruler’s virtues were presented through his life, holding up the education of Philip as of the best among contemporary rulers with his studies in philosophy, ethics, arts, and religion, amongst other subjects. His aptitude as a monarch was praised along with an exaltation of the lineage of kings he descended from.183 There were references to the war against the Turks and the celebration of the St. Quentin victory,184 with the monastery of El Escorial glorified: ‘estupenda fabrica […] miracoli del Mondo, quella fabrica, dico dell’Escuriale, fatta con una incredibil magnificenza ad honor di San

173 Also used by Ruscelli in 1566, see Chapter 3.
174 Caputti, La Pompa, p. 13.
175 Ibid., p. 14.
176 Caputti, La Pompa, pp. 39-40.
177 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
178 Ibid., pp. 56-58.
179 RBPRM, R-2_007498, F. Belcredi, Oratione Funebre per lo Catolico e Potentissimo Re delle Espagna, e dell’Indie, Filippo II (Pavia, 1598).
180 Ibid., p. 1. See the traditional association of Philip II’s image with the notion of light in its multiples connotations in chapter 3.
181 Ibid., p. 1.
182 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
183 Ibid., pp. 12-19.
184 Ibid., pp. 21-23.
Lorenzo per la ricordanza de quella Chiesa, che à San Quintino.' 185 As one might expect, there was also an exaltation of the empire embodied in the union with Portugal.186 The narration of the oratione justified even the major failures of Philip II’s career, such the unrest in Flanders, as if he had taken measures but the situation was beyond his control.187

There were many other funerals elsewhere. Some of them have already been explored by scholars. One such was the funeral in Lisbon, in which many aspects of the imperial image of the king – explored in his triumphal entry in the city in 1581 – were displayed again in the enormous catafalque erected in the Monasterio de los Jerónimos. Again, strong emphasis was put on Philip’s role in the crusade, on his piety, and on his Portuguese lineage.188

In Castile and Aragon, many cities commemorated the loss of the ruler. Significantly, the catafalque in Seville was decorated lavishly and featured all the themes that were exalted in the Hall of Battles.189 This was also the case in Madrid, Coruña, Murcia, Zaragoza, Barcelona and Valladolid amongst other places. The life of the monarch thorough his achievements and his faith were glorified in many forms and places within the confines of his empire. The sermon written by Fray Alonso Cabrera in Madrid presented the battle of Lepanto (1571) as a sublime form of divine intervention.190

The catafalque erected in the Cathedral Seville is a good model through which to explore both the image of the ruler and the way the themes in the Hall of Battles were promoted. The inscriptions selected summarised the image promoted in most of the funerals at the time, with some exceptions. The ruler’s virtues and abilities as a responsible leader read as follows: ‘Securitas Publica’ (i.e., public security) achieved by the king’s prudence in government; ‘Aequitas Augusta’ the idea of justice that dominated his realms. ‘Turcis Devictis’, the Turks defeated; and following imperial discourse ‘Omnia Lege Pari’ the same law for all.191

Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica compiled and printed the sermons preached in a number of funerals in Castilian and Aragonese cities in honour of Philip II. These

---

185 Belcredi, Oratione, p. 23.
186 Ibid., p. 32.
187 Ibid., p. 36.
189 F. Gerónimo Collado, Descripción del Túmulo y Relación de las Exequias que hizo la Ciudad de Sevilla en la Muerte del Rey Don Felipe Segundo (Seville, 1869).
190 A. Cabrera, Sermón que Predicó Fray Alonso Cabrera […] en las Honras de […] Felipe Segundo […] que se hizo en la Vila de Madrid (Madrid, 1598), pp.22-23.
sermons exalted the religious aspects of Philip’s ruling ethos as defender of Catholicism and with the model life of a Christian ruler.192

As seen thus far, allusions to the three major identified themes in the Hall of Battles are repeated in the funerals in Europe. The version was modified depending on the realm promoting it and its relationship with the Spanish Monarchy. There were subtleties, however, in the treatment of religion. In some of these ceremonies there was no allusion to the ‘reconquest’ which was an Iberian and Southern Italian issue. Instead, the Spanish struggle with the Islamic world was represented in the wars over the control in the Mediterranean.

The Inquisition staged grand funerals to mourn the king in New Mexico.193 The catafalque erected in Mexico had a complex composition with mythology and religious allegories related to the king. All contemporary battles and defeats were omitted except for those against the Turks.194 On the other side of the Atlantic, European victories were not as important as other aspects of the ceremony that were designed to reinforce the authority of the absent ruler through the viceroy and the inquisitor. As Padgen argues, ‘ceremonies, meant to suggest a continuity between the viceroy and the Roman consuls’, were intended to reinforce the royal authority.195 The celebration of Philip II’s life and his triumphal image was explored through religion and the representation of bible passages and Roman classical works, such Ovid’s and Pliny’s.196

In short, sermons focused more on religious points in general, and specifically on the virtues of the monarch. On the other hand, allied realms in Europe glorified the military exploits and the leading role of Philip II as a global emperor. Much of the imperial rhetoric deployed during his reign was displayed in the ephemeral structures erected in the cities of his empire. Although many links can be drawn between these diverse commemorations, it seems obvious that there was no single criterion by which the world presented the image of the deceased ruler. In this context, however, most of

192 BNE 2_057997, J. Iñiguez de Lequerica, Sermones Funerales en las Honras del Rey nuestro Señor don Felipe II con el que se Predicó en las de la Serenísima Infanta D. Catalina Duquesa de Savoya (Madrid, 1601).
193 RBPRM-R_004981, D. Ribera Florez, Relación Historiada de las Exequias Funerales […] del Rey D. Philippo II Hechas por el Ribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion desta Nueva España y sus provincias, y yslas Philipinas […] (Mexico, 1600)
194 Ibid., p. 51.
195 In other ceremonials such as the American funerals for Charles V the viceroy impersonated Philip II in the rituals. A. Padgen, Lords of all the World. Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France (c. 1500-c.1800) (New Haven& London, 1995), p. 139.
the accounts in Europe showcased the topics present in the cycle of frescoes at El Escorial’s hall. This did not happen on the other side of the Atlantic; there, it was critical to emphasise the authority of the absent monarch, and for this it was necessary to reinforce the role of those who represented him in the rituals held locally. Nonetheless, the imperial image created in Philip II’s court reverberated in the form of sonnets, inscriptions, songs, and ephemeral structures designed to honour his achievements in life and to echo the glory of his soul. The themes fleshed out in the Hall of Battles were European centred, not only because they happened in Europe, but also because they were important on this side of the ocean. The difference in the contents of funerals and other public ceremonies on each side of the Atlantic seem to persist over subsequent generations, although examining this festival culture within a wider perspective is beyond the focus of this chapter. It seems a priori, that the imperial grammar attached to Philip’s image, explored an alternative discourse at both sides of the Atlantic, emphasising the power of the ruler but also showcasing matters of importance in each location. Finally, although it has been argued that the battles depicted in the Hall were a rather strange selection, the deeper themes they represented were portrayed in Philip II’s funerals around the globe as key topics.

This chapter aimed to ponder a number of questions regarding the imperial notion associated with the Hall of Battles and discern key material themes. The perspective has been to analyse them as works of history, rather than simply as works of art. More importantly, the focus was on how the narrative of history was treated visually.

The study of the diverse images of warfare during Philip II’s reign and also that of his predecessors was relevant to understand the style and objective of the series of frescoes in El Escorial. As seen before, much of this analysis has generated further questions rather than settle matters. This is the case with the style in the fresco of La Higueruela in the Hall whose advanced technique in representing the landscape and the naturalism of the figures raised considerations regarding the accuracy of the sixteenth century copy.

Since the beginning of sixteenth century, at least two different traditions in the depiction of battle in Castile can be traced; sometimes they will be mixed in the composition as in the case of the Tunes Tapestry series. The coexistence of styles was similar to what happened in Italy.197 In Castile these styles could be exemplified by

---

197 As studied in Kliemann, The Heroic, pp. 4-8. In this chapter I have not explored the third type in Kliemann’s classification which is genealogical depiction, although the artistic exploration of Philip II’s lineage has appeared much in this thesis, such as the portraits of king’s planned in the archive in Simancas which evoked the galleries of illustrious men.
frescoes of the Tunes campaign in the *Estufa de la Alhambra* which deployed a technique of ‘painted chronicle’ similar to the Hall of Battles, and the ‘biographical fresco’ style as the one displayed in the series of the Mühlberg battle in Alba de Tormes.\(^{198}\) Additionally, the frescoes in the Hall of Battles have been compared with some of the tapestry collections commissioned by the House of Habsburg which was quite revealing. After considering all this data it is believed Philip II adopted a similar approach to the art of recording history in writing and the visual representation of battles as deployed in the Hall of Battles. Although the remaining examples in the peninsula and elsewhere are sparse, this coetaneous style can be discerned among the visual representations of contemporary battles in the realm.

Ultimately, the intention was to glorify the victories of his empire through an accurate technique of visual representation. The symbolism behind the scenes in the Hall’s frescoes was also portrayed in much of the written propaganda which emerged upon his death. These were also mentioned, even if negatively in counterpropaganda, such as the French chronicler previously examined.

The frescoes in the Hall of Battles promoted a parallel form of battle representation which intended to be a work of history, as were the chronicles of these battles, and therefore its artistic display was secondary to the narration of events.

CONCLUSIONS.

After Your Highness takes under her yoke many barbarian towns and nations with strange tongues, and with the conquering of them, they will need to receive the laws that the conqueror puts on the conquered and with those, our language.¹

In this thesis, the notion of empire during Philip II’s reign has been studied through four major case studies. These embody different forms of the imperial discourse and praxis implemented during his rule. Antonio de Nebrija explained his imperial vision to the Catholic Monarchs in the text quoted above, as well as in his famous statement: ‘Language has always been the companion of empire’.² This is a suitable presentation of the imperial postulates embodied in the first two studies of this thesis. Nebrija was drawing attention to the manner in which the Roman empire had imposed its authority on its vast dominions. Likewise, the Spanish empire under Philip II would emulate ancient Rome in imposing authority and administering the benefits of the empire. This imperial discourse was implemented in the legislative codification of the empire – ‘one law for all’.

The imperial paradigm was reflected in the body of legislation on domestic architecture and urbanism that emerged in Madrid’s court in the first decades of its ‘designation’ as a capital. While the ruler was developing palaces which echoed his power, he and his entourage envisioned an urban fabric which would be the backdrop of this grand urban scenery. In Madrid, housing would be uniform, but grander than in the rest of the empire. Through the analysis of the corpus of legislation produced in the court for American cities, in comparison to that designed specifically for Madrid, a clear imperial urban design for both sides of Atlantic can be discerned. This ideal urbanism was practical and as efficient as expected from an empire under the rule of Spanish Habsburgs and influenced by the classical tradition of ancient Rome. Furthermore, the housing legislation reflected the needs of the monarchy for ceremonials and festivals in which the power of the ruler was performed.

This was the focus of the first chapter of this thesis, in which the ruler’s involvement in the design of his capital has been demonstrated through documentary

¹ A. Nebrija, Gramática de la Lengua Castellana (Salamanca, 1492), p. 13. This text has been cited before many times, see R. Kagan, Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore, 2009), p. 16.
² Ibid., p. 16
evidence. The successive modifications of the regulations on domestic architecture have been an enlightening guide to the intentions of the court in the aesthetic configuration of Madrid. In addition, the description of a standard housing prototype in each of these three norms has been instrumental in the ‘re-creation’ of hypothetical urban sceneries. These hypothetical ‘re-creations’ were based upon the standards laid out in the legislation and also compared to the few houses from the period still standing. Significantly, the few seventeenth-century houses, designed by Francisco de Mora or his team of architects for Valladolid, essentially mimicked the standards envisioned during Philip II’s reign.

The strong links between the American urban expansion and the developments in peninsular Castile have been illustrated here for the first time. This investigation has demonstrated that, in this period, both sides of the Atlantic under Philip’s control already formed part of the ‘same system’. This system, either through the foundation of cities, or the regulation of the society through legislation, formed part of the same line of thought at Philip II’s court.

Research into the important role of the monarch’s entourage in the development of these ideas has to be developed further. Critical noblemen in this enterprise, such as Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, have received very little attention thus far. Learning further about the nature of the Marquis’ professional career at court (among others with a similar profile) is instrumental for an understanding of the transition between the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. Moreover, as court members were appointed for different councils during their careers at Philip’s court, their involvement in certain enterprises for Councils such as the Indies and Castile forces us to reassess the relationship between councils, and their involvement in decision-making on a wider spectrum in Philip’s dominions. The role of these members at court seems to be crucial, and could be a fruitful line of research.

Ultimately, as stated by Nebrija, a way of imposing authority was through law, and legislation was to be uniform in Philip’s world. The configuration of the city was implemented through the same perspective – uniformity. This also affected the network of archives implemented by the Habsburgs in which both peninsular Castile and its imperial domains had equal legislation. This codification and organisation of the empire was sustained through a strong and sophisticated bureaucracy. This bureaucratic ‘state’ created under Philip II is embodied in the royal archive in Simancas.

I have argued that the architectural evolution of the archive at Simancas fortress embodies the history of the realm and the organisation of the empire during the
sixteenth century. Furthermore, through the architecture of the archive, coexisting tendencies in Castile and the evolution of the *Austriaco* style during Philip’s reign may be discerned. The king bureaucratised the administration of his lands as a way to impose his authority over vast and widespread territories. The gradual transformation of fortress into archive mirrored the conversion of the Crown of Castile into an overseas empire. The transatlantic imperial expansion affected the hub of central Castile both in urban legislation and in the way it was administered. Thus the architecture of the Simancas archive, both that which was completed and that which was never realised, is a perfect model with which to see the way the periphery affected the hub of empire, and the way Castile and its monarch viewed themselves respectively as a global empire and ruler.

This investigation has also discovered a vernacular tradition in the European context for construction of treasury-archives in the early sixteenth century. This tradition expressed itself in the first development of the archive in the two *cubicula* adapted in the fortress. There were two major expansions of the archive afterwards. These can be identified with the designs of Juan de Herrera in the 1570s and Francisco de Mora in the 1580s. The two developments transformed the building into the most modern archive in Europe at the time. Indeed, the spaces created by Herrera to keep the vassals’ papers, such as the collections of the councils, including the Indies, had no equivalent at the time. The sober design of the pavilions aimed at balancing light and space through accurate techniques of proportion and, when necessary, ‘artificial’ perspective. The results were impressive.

Francisco de Mora’s new rooms for the king’s papers deploy an evolved *Austriaco* style; the elegance of the chambers was of regal status. Philip’s visit to the archive in 1592 presented the architect with new challenges. The king wished to have his own private access to the archive, and therefore an independent route within the castle was designed solely for his use. This passage was like an ‘architectural maze’ within the building. The king’s requirement for this ‘private’ access links it to the notion of majesty that was sustained during Philip’s reign through distance and a sense of remoteness from the royalty. The ‘gallery of kings’ envisioned in the chamber evoked the ‘galleries of illustrious men’; here the portraits were inspired by the look of ancient Roman emperors. In short, both legislation and artistic representation (i.e., including architectural aspects) planned and deployed in the archive at Simancas castle mirrored notions of kingship, empire, and authority imposed during Philip II’s reign.

In the future, I would like to pursue a comparative study between the spatial configuration of the archive in Simancas and the architectural expansion of the English
and Vatican archives in the seventeenth century. Finally, the notion of the ‘archive as memory of realm’ is another element of my interest that has emanated from my work on this thesis. The richness of this topic, still barely explored, has great potential.

The analysis of the imperial image of the ruler has been traditionally explored through the arts. The last two case studies of this thesis have an emphasis on visual culture.

In the case of the triumphal entry of Philip II into Lisbon in 1581 I have examined three major themes concerning the notion of empire and how it affected the manner in which Philip II was portrayed: artistic triumphal language; the king’s role in the festival; and the duties and responsibilities of the Christian ruler. These demonstrated how the image of the ruler was designed to embody the grandeur of his imperial achievements, and specifically to include in his traditional imagery the connotations of the Iberian union. At the same time, the décor of the rest of the festival fleshed out the tense and complex relationship the king had with his new realm.

In the end, the court’s political discourse regarding Philip’s image as a global ruler, combined with local concerns and interests. These issues were deployed through a highly sophisticated visual etiquette both in the pageant and the artistic programme. This case study has proved to be not only a rich resource for the purpose of this investigation but also a mine of information on Iberian history. Significantly, except for the works cited in the chapter, the magnitude of this topic has been barely explored. I believe that, after the entry into Antwerp in 1549, this entry was possibly the major festival staged for Philip during his reign. In historical terms, the complex political context of the event makes it even more relevant as a contribution to the field.

Many other lines of research emerge from this study. For instance, in this thesis I have been unable to study most of the arches funded by local guilds. In these arches, the citizens of Lisbon deployed an impressive artistic programme intended to reflect not only their traditions and homage to the new ruler but also their demands and fears. These ephemeral displays could be compared with some of the traditional festivals staged in Lisbon prior to Philip’s arrival. Likewise, neither Sebastian I’s court, nor the strong influence Francisco de Holanda’s work had on the arches inside the city fence erected for Philip’s entry in 1581, have been sufficiently studied. The reign of Philip I of Portugal deserves further investigation. For instance, how was configured the court of the ‘exile’ of Antonio Prior de Crato? In the end, Crato had been crowned King of Portugal too. All these questions are worth exploring in the future.

The union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns was of major importance for Philip II, but also transformed the political position of the Iberian empire in Europe.
These, together with other important victories for Philip II, were displayed in the form of frescoes in the Hall of Battles at El Escorial Monastery. This gallery was intended to echo imperial glory through the representation of battles that reflected key themes in the ‘history of the realm’.

Material aspects of the paintings indicate that the frescoes were intended to constitute a work of history, in other words, a visual chronicle of war. Therefore ‘accuracy’ in the narration was more important than artistic magnificence. These painted chronicles married well with Philip’s view on how history should be recorded. This is also reflected in the Instruction of Governance of the Simancas Archive of 1588, in which a compilation of military defeats had to be recorded in an ‘authenticated’ manner.

The investigation of the ways warfare was portrayed in the period has shed new light not only on the style at the Hall but also on the diverse techniques of representation. The initial results suggest that there may have been two coexisting styles of battle representation. In some pieces these two ‘genres’ were combined.

Of additional relevance is the identification of a series of drawings of the Southern Castilian ‘reconquest’, one of which had strong links to La Higueruela fresco at the Hall. Although space constraints in this thesis make it impossible to examine these interesting depictions further, they could the focus of another study.

With the evidence at hand, and thanks to the parallelism established with the drawing of the battle of Jimena, it becomes clear that La Higueruela had been modernised into a sixteenth-century style. This resulted in the enlargement of the figures and the colour, but also possibly improved perspective techniques and naturalism in the composition. This copy maintained key aspects which identified the representation with the use of characteristic elements of fifteenth-century Castilian warfare, such as the arrangement of the troops.

In addition, this chapter compares the ways in which the themes exalted at the Hall were reiterated in the funeral chronicles, sermons, and eulogies written upon the king’s death. The analysis of a range of accounts from both sides of the Atlantic shows that, while these themes were very important in Europe, a different imperial narrative was reflected on American soil. The funerals of Philip II staged in the Americas is a virtually unexplored topic. Furthermore, until now there has been no comparative study on the festival culture from an Atlantic perspective. These could also become new lines of investigation.

In short, a coherent imperial grammar can be discerned in the four case studies examined in this thesis. The first two combined practical methods of imperial control
with a preoccupation with urban aesthetics and décor in the interior of the archive. The last two demonstrated how the image-making of the ruler explored diverse media and styles, all of which were intended to glorify Philip II’s empire.

In this thesis I have used diverse techniques of visual representation to both investigate and present my findings: drawings and 3D technologies. These have been significant in chapter one for the hypothetical re-creation of the housing standards enacted in Madrid between 1565 and 1584. However, the first time I explored these techniques was with the hypothetical re-creation of the triumphal entry of Philip II into Lisbon in 1581. The good results obtained from this first investigation inspired me to use similar forms of visual research in the first chapter.

Thus the main objective of these drawings and 3D re-creations was to be a tool for historical research. The principles applied to this work follow the London Charter for computer-based visualisation of cultural heritage 2.1. (www.londoncharter.org). These can be defined in a number of main principles that should apply to every ‘reconstruction’ and ‘re-creation’ of cultural heritage: stating clearly what kind of work it is, for example whether it is an accurate ‘reconstruction’ derived from a photogrammetric study, or a hypothetical ‘re-creation’ created for a better understanding of an object. In real terms, the critical issue here is to state clearly to what extent the visual representation is based upon solid information, and which parts of it are speculative. By discerning these questions from the beginning it is also possible to decide which software, or other means of representation, is more appropriate for the project. Other important elements the London Charter emphasises are documentation, access, and sustainability.

The term ‘documentation’ here refers to many aspects, most of them inspired by the criteria applied to architectural and urban conservation. Firstly, one key definition of documentation is the reliability of the sources used for the visual reconstructions. This verification is made through traditional historiographical techniques. Secondly, it is also important to document the realisation of the project step by step. In this sense, there will be always some speculation on the ‘re-created’ objects; therefore it is critical to document all this data. For this, the ‘user’ needs to know to what extent the information they are viewing is accurate, and which parts are unknown or speculative.

Access is also one of the principles of the London Charter. Although the main purpose of many projects, such as the re-creations developed for this thesis, is to use these techniques as means for research. It is believed dissemination of the historical findings through diverse media is an important element of any enquiry.
Sustainability refers here to methods to ensure the conservation of the virtual models and digital creations of the project.

In both of the chapters where these technologies were used, these basic principles were strictly followed (within the funding constraints of the project). The visual re-creations developed for the first chapter of this thesis are detailed not only in the main text of the same chapter but also in Figs. 1.13 a-d. The use of these tools for digital humanities was easier to implement, as this project on Madrid’s housing standards was simpler than the work on the festival of 1581 in Lisbon.

2. Re-creating Early Modern Festivals project: Reconstructing Ephemerality and Urban Spaces of the Lisbon entry of 1581.

As acknowledged at the beginning of this thesis, the re-creation of this festival was possible thanks to the generous funding of the Spanish Consulate in Edinburgh and the University of Edinburgh. Part of the investigation on this chapter also formed part of a project entitled: Re-creating Early Modern Festivals (www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com). The scope of the project is described below to contextualise the 3D re-creation produced for this chapter.

The aim of this project is to explore the boundaries of historical research by re-creating a number of sixteenth-century festivals with an interdisciplinary approach, including scholars from diverse disciplines, such as architectural history, music, and history. The study of early modern festivals is challenging: music and drama historians, historians, art and architectural historians, amongst other disciplines, have traditionally been interested in the study of these events. Is it possible to comprehend a multimedia spectacle from the point of view of solely one discipline?

Furthermore, could these celebrations be ‘re-created’ somehow; for example, by interpreting the meaning of the iconography, examining the depictions, or re-creating the music played? What are the limitations of these re-creations?

From this standpoint, the recreation of the Lisbon festival of 1581 aimed to comply with all the requirements of the London Charter outlined above. In this respect, the sources of information were compared with different accounts of the event. Sometimes chroniclers and witnesses had different opinions of what was displayed on the structures. This was examined in chapter three, for example, with the case of the Alfadinga façade on the Maritime Customs buildings.

However, in general, the architectural measurements given in diverse sources were consistent across all accounts. This fact indicates that these measurements may have been copied from one account to the next. Additionally, the detailed measurements also suggest that these were given to authors to be included in their
chronicles. As Guerreiro stated in the beginning of his account, he wanted to produce an illustrated chronicle, and although this seems never to have happened, he would have needed all this data to create accurate illustrations (see further discussion in chapter three).

2.1. Iberia Triumphant: the re-creation of Lisbon on the triumphal entry of Philip II of Spain in 1581.

Concerning the festival of 1581, this is the first time that a scholar has compiled the findings from all the different sources and ‘re-created’ the ephemeral architecture of the festival; the triumphal arches erected for the occasion have been depicted according to the descriptions. This ephemeral architecture has then been superimposed on a scaled plan of the city in which topography and the street network has also been re-created. The sources used for this re-creation are festival booklets and archival material as well as the topographic plan of the city dated 1647. Sources for the residential and religious buildings include diverse views of the city. However, the main objective was to study the ephemeral architecture, and both the housing and other more relevant buildings are profiled merely as a backdrop of the festival display.

The digital reproduction of a view of the city with triumphal arches is still a mere approximation to the original triumphal entry. For instance, the present display has no paintings, people, king, music, etc. In the end, the intention was to create a tool for historical research that also served to present the findings. Therefore, this recreation aims to be an approximation of what it was, rather than claiming to be ‘exactly’ as it may have been. Nevertheless, the project has produced much information that it would have been impossible to achieve without this drawing process. The drawings, for instance, have helped to distinguish the section of the festival that emerged out of the court from the other, erected by the locals. In addition, the inclusion of profiled figures in the two-dimensional elevations presented in chapter three further unveiled the artistic programme associated with the role performed by the king in the pageant, as is discussed in that chapter.

In this respect, the drawings and 3D model have been an essential part of the historical investigation. A visual ‘timeline’ of the evolution of the arches and the rest of the project, from my first sketches to the final results, was exhibited at the Matthew Gallery in Edinburgh during September 2010. An online version of the exhibition is available, showing the graphic material developed for this project: www.recreatingearlymodernfestivals.com/exhibition_laura.htm

This part of the project covers two of the main principles of the London Charter: documentation of the process and access. The exhibition is divided in two parts, the
first showing the evolution of the drawings of the arches and the development of the study of the city. This first part has four sub-sections. In the first, the evolution of the arches’ depictions based upon the descriptions, ‘from sketches to 3D models’. Here the diverse stages in the development of the drawings up to the final three-dimensional version can be seen. The second section displays the 3D re-creations of the arches, as well as scaled plans and elevations. These final versions include the colours, where known (when unknown, a neutral grey colour has been used). The third section explores diverse possibilities in the arches’ colouring: colours mixed with shiny gold and silver to give an idea of the brightly-coloured magnificence of the ephemeral display, in which nothing was understated. The fourth section explores the initial studies on the city: the topography and housing of the Baixa.

The second part of the exhibition is formed by videos that lead the ‘spectator’ through the processional route. These are divided into the four most important sections of the festival, as discussed in the chapter. While the evolution of the visual representation of the arches is included in this online exhibition, there are other specific aspects which have not been included for obvious space constraints.

2.2. The Ephemeral Structures Re-created.

There is a complete description of the measurements of most of the elements of the arch of the German Merchants. These details were given in Portuguese palms which had been metricised for this re-creation. These included height, width, and length, not only of the whole arch but also of each of its three passages. These measurements were also given for the pedestals, columns, obelisks, the size of the niche, and the panels with decorations. All these were reproduced exactly to scale in Fig. 1. This re-creation includes the colour described, which was only that within the niche, for the rest, a neutral grey colour was included. This re-creation was quite easy to accomplish. However, with the location of the obelisks, it was necessary to make a decision, as is recorded that these were located on the corners of the arch, but it is never specified whether on the top or on the ground. The arch of the Germans erected for Philip III presented two obelisks instead of one, on the top of each corner of the arch. Other scholars have presumed that these obelisks in the entry of 1581 were also located on top of the arch. The decision was complex as the narrative of the chroniclers is a little ambiguous. However, my decision to locate the obelisks on the ground derives from a couple of details: the accounts seem to follow an ordered ‘itinerary’ on the description of the arch. This is, they commence at the top and continue to the ground describing all the elements in the arch. These obelisks were described together
with the elements on the ground level. Finally, Guerreiro also mentions that the height of these obelisks reached the height of the whole arch, suggesting that this structure commenced on the ground. Nonetheless, for this investigation an alternative elevation was also delivered, in order to contrast both options (see Fig. 2).

The remaining arches also had descriptions provided, although details of the measurements were not as accurate as in the first section for the pageant itinerary. This seemed to be more a lack of interest in the description from the chroniclers than anything else. This information was not consistent. For example, some structures detailed the measurements of the pedestals and the columns sustaining the arch but did not record the whole height of the arch. In fact, except for pedestals sustaining other elements such as the pillars on Terreiro do Paço, the measurements provided for all pedestals and columns were the same in most of the arches. When the accounts did not record the measurement of a column in an arch, I have used the same measurement employed in the rest of the festival structures. Again except for the arch of the German merchants which was of larger dimensions, the remaining arches oscillated between 2.7m to 3m in length. Therefore, for those arches in which this measurement was not known, the one used was 2.85m. The plans, elevations, and 3D versions of all these arches can be observed in Figs. 3-17. Once the 3D version of the arches was generated in CAD and Sketch-up, these were superimposed in a scaled plan of the city. Most of the structures fitted almost perfectly in the location in which they had been erected. This meant that the known data and estimated measurements were very similar to what they would have been. The existence of a scaled plan of the city dated 1647 made a relatively accurate replica of the street network in metres possible to accomplish.

2.3. Lisbon’s Urban Space in 1581.

Manuel I ‘The Fortunate’ grandfather to Philip II of Spain redeveloped Lisbon’s waterfront at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The main royal square was the Terreiro do Paço, in which the king located the administrative offices governing his empire and his new royal palace, the Paço da Ribeira. The plaza was contiguous to the lower streets of the Baixa, where goods from the African and American overseas dominions as well as those from the Far East and importations from the European realms were sold. This plaza was also the first place where Philip II would set foot in Lisbon for his official reception in 1581. Most of the views of the city of the period reinforce the relevance of the Terreiro do Paço in the Lusitanian capital. This space was emphasised and depicted in diverse styles, and these views and maps were the basis
for the ‘ideal’ recreation of the city for the entry of 1581. The topographical conditions of Lisbon can be appreciated in the visual sources remaining from the sixteenth and seventeenth century. One of the earlier examples during sixteenth century is the bird’s-eye view attributed to Antonio de Holanda and dated after c.1534 (Fig. 18). These images tend to highlight elements of the urban fabric such as the Se cathedral, the castle, the palaces, the city walls, and some gates of the city. In the end all these images would mark the tendencies in Lisbon’s representation including those depictions for Philip III’s entry in 1619. The next image is a detail of Braun’s bird’s-eye views of the city, the first one published in 1598 and still the closest contemporary image remaining of the city Philip II entered in 1581 (see chapter 3 Fig.3.12.). Nonetheless, this bird’s-eye view is inspired by an earlier work also by Braun entitled Olisipo, sive ut pervetustae lapidum indcriptiones habent, Ullysippo, vulgo Lisbona florentissimum Portugalliae emporiv, dated c.1572 (see chapter 3 Fig. 3.13.). This and other earlier versions were repeatedly copied and transformed until the disaster of the mid-eighteenth century. The most relevant difference between the early version by Antonio de Holanda and Braun’s is the inclusion of streets in the view. All these images are highly creative in terms of scales and building detail; contrasting them with diverse descriptions of the city, such as Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio by Damião de Góis (1554), Duarte de Sande’s description of Lisbon (1584), and Francisco de Holanda’s Da Fábrica que Falece la Cidade de Lisboa (1571), among other important accounts with detailed descriptions, is therefore very helpful for the re-creation.¹

In addition to these sources, the plan dated around 1647 is one of the most accurate pieces of data for the early modern urban history of Lisbon (Fig. 19). Indeed, Tinoco’s topographical map of Lisbon of 1647 is scaled in Portuguese palms which when metricised provide an excellent approximation to the streets of Lisbon in the early modern period. The study by Vieria de Silva of 1940 with the superposition of the urban patterns prior to and after the earthquake of 1755 is an excellent source to locate Tinoco’s plan within the current topography of Lisbon.

The combination of these visual and textual sources has been instrumental to understanding Philip II’s entry into Lisbon. The itinerary for the entry of Philip III was the same as that Philip II had on his reception, and so the location of a number of the triumphal arches and ephemeral structures was known, although the festival of 1619 had additional structures erected.

The approximate re-creation of the topography of Lisbon was accomplished by

¹ D. Góis, Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio (Evora, 1554), D. Sande, Dialogo sobre a Missao dos Embaxadores Japoneses à Cúria Romana, 1584 (Macau, 1997), F. Holanda, Da Fábrica que Falece la Cidade de Lisboa (Lisbon, 1571).
drafting a more natural slope from the sections of the city which were transformed by the Marquis of Pombal’s urban transformation. By introducing a softer line to re-create the slope of the hill ascending towards the Cathedral it was possible to re-create the inclination and sense of ascending in the virtual model and also in the videos (see videos on the link cited earlier).


The generation of 2D and 3D re-creations of the ephemeral architecture and the urban spaces of Lisbon was intended to be a useful tool for research. This has proved to be case, as only once these arches were depicted was it possible for me to discern with exactitude how the artistic programme was deployed. The observation of these aspects enabled me to distinguish the sections of the festival designed by court architects from those designed by locals and to examine the festival as whole further. In this respect, the inclusion of figurative outlines of some of the statues was also instrumental for the understanding of the pageant and the role performed by the king.

In terms of access, this work was exhibited in September 2010 and is also included in an online version on the project website. The conservation of the virtual model is the last of the main principles recommended in the London Charter. This model has become my laboratory for urban research, and therefore, it has been transformed slightly to include new data (see, in chapter three, the arch of the Silversmiths with a partial view of Rua Nova dos Mercaderes with the new housing study). Nevertheless, a copy of each version of the model is archived safely.

I have delivered all the initial drawings for this project as well as the urban views. I am grateful for the help of Andrea Hyslop, Harry Kirkham, and Nick Sharp with the 2D drawings. Harry Kirkham and Nick Sharp generated the 3D model, always under my close supervision. Funding constraints did not allow me to further study the topographical details, or use another kind of software that would provide more realistic virtual environments.

However, I must admit that the results for the purpose of my own investigation are beyond what I expected. The model of Lisbon will serve for my own future research on the festival culture in the Lusitanian capital. Moreover, the use of digital re-creations has become part of my research interest. Through working on this thesis I became interested in how to present data in these digitally-generated works, mostly in distinguishing historically accurate data from speculative one.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRINTED SOURCES & SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS


Almela, J.A., Las Reales Exequias y Doloroso Sentimiento que la muy Noble y muy Leal Ciudad de Murcia hizo en la Muerte del muy Catholico Rey […] Don Philippe de Austria, II […] (Valencia, 1600)

A Treatise Concerning the Succession of Portugal circa 1578-1580. B.L. Mss. Add. 8709

Avila, H., Libro de los Retratos de los Reyes, (Madrid, 1594).

Ayala, D., Memorandum Regarding the Gate of the Archive Including Measurements, from Diego de Ayala to Zayas (August, 1567). AGS Secretaria Leg. 5 (1) fol. 16

Baerland, A.V., Chroniques des Ducs de Brabant (Antwerp, 1600).

Belcredi, F., Oratione Funebre per lo Catolico e Potentissimo Re delle Espagna, e dell Indie, Filippo II (Pavia, 1598).

Benavente, C. Memorial das Cousas Tocantes a Torre do Tombo Biblioteca (c. 1583). Mss 6743 fol. 266-10. Copied in 1600.

Cabrera, A., Sermón que Predicó Fray Alonso Cabrera […] en las Honras de […] Felipe Segundo […] que se hizo en la Vila de Madrid (Madrid, 1589).

Cabrera de Córdoba, L., Filipe Segundo, Rey de España (Madrid, 1619)

Caesaris, I., Oratio in Obitu Philippi II Hispaniarum Regis Catholici (Naples, 1598).

Calvete de Estrella, J., El Felicissimo Viaje del […] Príncipe don Phelippe, Hijo del Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Máximo, Desde España a sus Tierras de la Baxa Alemana: con la Descripción de Todos los Estados de Brabante y Flandes (Antwerp, 1552).

Caputti, O., La Pompa Funerale in Napoli […] Filippo II di Austria (Naples, 1599).


Cicero, M.T., Rhetorica (Paris, 1534).


Conestaggio, G., The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugall to the Crowne of Castill […] (London, 1600).

Covarrubias, S., Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española (Madrid, 1611).
Escobar, A., *Recopilacion de la Felicissima Jornada que la Catholica Real Magestad del Rey don Phelipe nuestro señor hizo en la Conquista del Reyno de Portugal [...]* (Valencia, 1583).

*De Arquitectura* (c. 1550) BNE Mss.9681.


Escolano de Arrieta, P., *Práctica del Consejo Real en el Despacho de los Negocios [...]* vol.2 (Madrid, 1796).

Folchi, A., *Orazione d’Antonio Folchi Sopra le Lodi della Catholica Maesta del Re di Spagnia don Filippo II d’Austria [...]* (Florence, 1599)

Guerreiro, A., *Das Festas que se Fizeram na Cidade de Lisboa, na Entrada de el-rei D. Filippe, Primeiro de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1581).


Habsburg, Philip II King of Spain, *Memorandum Written by Philip II with Instructions for the Developments in Aranjuez* (20 June 1563). B.L. Mss, Add. 28350 no. 17.

Herrera, J., *Sumario y Breve Declaracion de los Diseños y Estampas de la Fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial* (Madrid, 1589).

Herrera y Tordesillas, A., *Cinco Libros de Antonio de Herrera de la Historia de Portugal y Conquista de las Islas de los Açores en los Años 1582 y 1583* (Madrid, 1591).

- *Primera Parte de la Historia General del Mundo [...] del Tiempo del Señor Don Felipe II, el Prudente, Desde el Año de MDLXXX hasta el de MDCX* (Madrid, 1606).

- *Tercera Parte de la Historia General del Mundo [...] del Tiempo del Señor Rey Don Felipe II, el Prudente, Desde el Año de 1585 Hasta el de 1598* (Madrid, 1612).


Iñiguez de Lequerica, J., *Sermones Funerales en las Honras del Rey nuestro Serñor don Felipe II con el que se Predicó en las de la Serenisima Infanta D. Catalina Duquesa de Savoya* (Madrid, 1601).

Lavanha, J.B., *Viage de la Catolica Magestas del Rey Don Felipe III [...] a su Reino de Portugal y Relación del Solemne Recibimiento [...]* (Madrid, 1619).

- *Viage de la Catolica Magestas del Rey Don Felipe III [...] a su Reino de Portugal y Relación del Solemne Recibimiento [...]* (Madrid, 1622).

López de Hoyos, J., *Real Apparato y Sumptuoso Recibimiento con que Madrid [...] Rescibio a la Serenisima Reyna D. Ana de Austria* (Madrid, 1572).

Mathieu, P., *Elogio a la Vida y La Muerte del Rey Catholico Don Phelipe 2º,* (c. 1599), translated and copied in seventeenth century. RBPRM-Mss. II-1149

Nebrija, A., Gramática de la Lengua Castellana (Salamanca, 1492).

Pacioli, L., De Divina Proportione, (Venice, 1509).

Privileges Conceded by the Kings of Portugal: Philip I of Portugal (and II of Spain) regarding rights to commerce to the German and Flemish merchants in Lisbon, 1585, pp. 55-57. Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisboa, Mss. 49/II/46 BA. 730.

Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de Indias Mandadas a Imprimir y Publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Cárlos II (Madrid, 1791)

Ribera Florez, D., Relación Historiada de las Exequias Funerales [...] del Rey D. Philippo II Hechas por el Ribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion desta Nueva España y sus provincias, y yslas Philippinas [...] (Mexico, 1600).


Paez de Castro, P., Memoria a Felipe II sobre la Utilidad de Juntar una buena Biblioteca (c. 1555) RBME, 55-VII-26.

Perret, P., Diseños de toda la Fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escurial, con las declaraciones de las letras, numeros y caracteres de cada uno, (Madrid, 1694).

Perez de Herrera, C., Discurso a la Católica y Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe II nuestro Señor en que se le suplica que, considerando las muchas calidades y grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, se sirva de ver si convendría honrarla, y Adornarla de Muralla, y otras cosas que se proponen, con que Mereciesse ser Corte Perpetua y Assistencia de su gran Monarquía (Madrid, 1597).

- Elogio a las Esclarecidas virtudes [...]del Rey [...] Felipe II [...] y de su Exemplar y Christianissima Muerte [...] (Madrid, 1604).

Pitti, V., Essequie della Sacra Cattolica Real Maesta del Re di Spagna D. Filippo d’Austria celebrate dal Serenissimo D. Ferdinando Medici [...] nella Città di Firenze (Florence, 1598).

Porreño de Mora, B., Dichos y hechos de el Señor Rey Don Phelipe Segundo, el Prudente[...], (Madrid, 1666).

Relación de lo que Pasó en la Honras Fúnebres que Felipe III mandó hacer por su Padre el Rey Felipe II, en San Jerónimo de Madrid, (17 October 1598) BNE, Mss. 18718/78

Ruscelli, G., Le Imprese Illustri, (Venice, 1566).

Sagredo, D., Medidas del Romano (Toledo, 1526).


Serlio, S., Villalpando, F. Tercero y Quarto Libro de Architectura (Toledo, 1552).
The Triumphs of Charles V c. 1550-75. BL. Mss. Add.33733.

Vasconcellos, A.M., *Sucession del Señor Rey Don Filipe Segundo en la Corona de Portugal* (Madrid, 1639).

Velazquez Salmantino, I., *La Entrada que en el Reino de Portugal hizo la S.C.R.M. de Don Philippe, Invistissimo Rey de las Españas, Segundo de este nombre, Primero de Portugal [...]* (Madrid, 1581).


Villalta, D., *De las Statuas Antiguas* (Madrid, 1590).

Ximenez, A., *Descripción del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial*, (Madrid, 1764).

**Publications after 1800**


- *D. Filipe I* (Lisbon, 2005).
- *Felipe II y el Portugal Dos Povos. Imágenes de Esperanza y Revuelta.* (Salamanca, 2011).
- *Cartas de Felipe II a sus Hijas* (Madrid 1998).


- ‘De las Guerras con Francia. Italia y San Quintín,’ *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* vol. 21, (2009), pp. 47-68.


- Historia del Derecho Español en América y del Derecho Indiano (Madrid, 1968)


Carrillo de Huete, P. Crónica del Halconero de Juan II, (Madrid 1946).


Casanova, E. Archivística (Siena, 1928).


Chartier, R., El Libro y sus Poderes (siglos XV-XVIII) (Medellín, 2009).

Checa Cremades, F., (ed.), The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family (Madrid, 2010).

- Tesoros de la Corona de España. Tapices Flamencos en el Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 2010).
- Felipe II. Mecenas de las Artes (Madrid, 1992).
- (ed.) El Real Alcázar de Madrid: Dos Siglos de Arquitectura y Coleccionismo en la Corte de los Reyes de España (Madrid, 1994).
- Tiziano y la Monarquía Hispánica (Madrid, 1994).

- *Pintura y Escultura del Renacimiento en España, 1450-1600* (Madrid, 2005).


Comunidad de Madrid, Dirección General de Patrimonio Cultural (ed.) *Primeras Jornadas sobre Fuentes Documentales para la Historia de Madrid* (Madrid, 1988)


Díaz González, F.J., La Real Junta de Obras y Bosques en la Época de los Austrias (Madrid, 2002).

Dominguez Compañy, F., Ordenanzas Municipales Hispanoamericanas (Madrid, 1982).

Dominguez Ortiz, A., Instituciones y Sociedad en la España de los Austrias (Barcelona, 1985).


Edelmayer, F., Philipp II: Biographie eines Weltmächters (Stuttgart, 2009).


- *La Plaza Mayor y los Orígenes del Madrid Barroco* (Madrid, 2009).


- *Felipe II: el Rey en el Despacho* (Madrid, 2002).


Gachard, L.P., Correspondance de Philippe II sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas pub. d’après les Originaux Conservés dans les Archives Royales de Simancas, Précédée d’une Notice Historique et D’description de ce Célébre Dépôt et d’un Rapport à M. le Ministre de L’intérieur (Brussels, 1848).

- Don Carlos et Philippe II (Brussels, 1863).

- Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur Charles V et Philippe II (Brussels, 1855).

García Ballester, L., Historia de la Ciencia y de la Técnica en la Corona de Castilla vol.1 (Madrid, 2002).


Gerónimo Collado, F., Descripción del Túmulo y Relación de las Exequias que hizo la Ciudad de Sevilla en la Muerte del Rey Don Felipe Segundo (Seville, 1869).


Gutierrez, B., *Continuación de la Historia y Anales […] Ciudad de Xerez de la Frontera, Libro Segundo* (Jerez, 1887).


Head, R.C. (ed), ‘Archival Knowledge Cultures in Europe, 1400–1900,’ *Archival Science* vol. 10 no. 3 (September, 2010).


- *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706* (Middletown, 1972).


*Las Trazas de Juan de Herrera y sus Seguidores*, (Madrid, 2001).


Leon Pinello, A., *Tablas Cronológicas de los Reales Consejos Supremo y de la Cámara de las Indias Occidentales […]* (Madrid, 1892).

Lillo Carpio, M., ‘Consideraciones sobre el Realismo Geográfico de las Pinturas sobre la Conquista de Tunez Existentes and the Casa Real Vieja de la Alhambra,’ *Papeles de Geografía* vol. 28 (1998), pp. 55-75.


- *Francisco de Mora y Juan Gómez de Mora : Cuenca, Foco Renacentista*, (Madrid, 1997).


- *Felipe II y la Transformación del Estado, Historia de España*, vol. 12 (Madrid, 2007).


Marañón, G., Antonio Perez (Madrid, 2006).


Martínez Ruiz, E., Madrid, Felipe II y las Ciudades de la Monarquía. Las Ciudades Capitalidad y Economía (Madrid, 2000).


- *Philip II of Spain, Patron of the Arts* (Dublin, 2004).


Owens, J.B. *By My Absolute Royal Authority: Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the Beginning of the First Global Age* (Rochester, NY, 2005).


- *Felipe II. La Biografía Definitiva* (Madrid, 2010).

- *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars* (Cambridge, 2004).


- *The World is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain* (Waco, 2000).


Perez de Guzmán, E., ‘Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo,’ in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. 68. (Madrid, 1953).


- Los Triunfos de Carlos V. Giulio Clovio (Madrid, 2009).


Poole, S., *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Phillip II* (Oklahoma, 2004).


- History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain (Boston, 1856–1858).


Rodríguez Salgado, M.J., *Felipe II. El Paladín de la Cristiandad y la Paz con el Turco* (Valladolid, 2004).


- De Obra “Insigne” y “Heroica” a “Octava Maravilla del Mundo”: la Fama de el Escorial en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 2001).


Sánchez Cantón, F. J., Las Pinturas de Óriz y la Guerra de Sajonia (Pamplona, 1944).


- La Librería de Juan de Herrera (Madrid, 1941).


Solano, F., Normas y Leyes de la Ciudad Hispanoamericana (1492-1600) (Madrid, 1996).


Stirling-Maxwell, W., The Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles de Fifth designed by Martin Heemskerk, (Edinburgh, 1870).

Stolz, O., Geschichte und Bestände des Staatlichen Archives zu Innsbruck (Vienna, 1938).


Uztarroz, J.F.A., Dormer, D.J., *Progresos de la Historia en Aragón y Vidas de sus Cronistas desde que se Instituyó este Cargo hasta su Extinción*; (Zaragoza, 1878).


Williams, P. *Philip II* (New York, 2001).


