

POLITICS AND PIETY AT THE ROYAL SITES OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

# HABSBURG WORLDS

VOLUME 5

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Politics and Piety at the Royal  
Sites of the Spanish Monarchy  
in the Seventeenth Century

*Edited by*

JOSÉ ELOY HORTAL MUÑOZ

BREPOLS

Cover illustration: Jacob Jordaens, *Portrait of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia as a Nun*, c. 1635. American Private Collection, Courtesy of Agnews Gallery, London.



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# GERDA HENKEL STIFTUNG

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D/2021/0095/47  
ISBN 978-2-503-59159-9  
E-ISBN 978-2-503-59160-5  
DOI 10.1484/M.HW-EB.5.121611

ISSN 2565-8476  
E-ISSN 2565-9545

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

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## List of Abbreviations

ACA:	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona (Spain)
AEA:	Archives de l'État d'Anderlecht, Brussels (Belgium)
	AEB: Archives Ecclesiastiques du Brabant
AGI:	Archivo General de Indias, Seville (Spain)
AGP:	Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid (Spain)
	RC: Real Capilla
AGS:	Archivo General de Simancas, Valladolid (Spain)
	SP: Secretarías Provinciales
AHN:	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (Spain)
ARV:	Archivo del Reino de Valencia (Spain)
	Bailia: Bailía. Deliberaciones patrimoniales
	RC: Real Cancillería
ASC:	Archivio di Stato di Cagliari (Italy)
ASV:	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Rome (Italy)
BNE:	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (Spain)
CODOIN:	<i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España</i> , 112 vols, 1842-95
RAH:	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (Spain)
<i>Notitia:</i>	<i>Regiae et imperialis capellae collegiatae Sancti Petri sacri et regii palatii Panormitani notitia: Opus posthumum cum supplemento et additionis D. Antonini Mongitore, sacre theologiae doctoris et presbyteri panormitani. Editio novissima, magis nitida et mendis purgata, Lugduni Batavorum, Sumptibus Petri Vander Aa, Bibliopolæ, et typographi Academiæ atque Civitatis (1723)</i>



## Glossary

*CATHOLIC MONARCHY*: The Spanish Monarchy has passed into history with this sobriquet, indicating that its identity and *raison d'être* were based on religious confession (Catholicism). In reality, the notion of 'Catholic Monarchy' was primarily a political construct, and not (only) a confessional one, and the term was not applied to the Spanish Monarchy throughout the Early Modern period, but only during the seventeenth century.

*MONARCHIA UNIVERSALIS*: This political idea, which indicated that the Holy Roman Empire would be the last Monarchy in history, as well as the biggest and most powerful in the world, originated in the Middle Ages. In Early Modern times, however, the Spanish Monarchy was organized around the old idea of the *Monarchia Universalis*, although it was applied in a very different way from the traditional concept. The Spanish Monarchy did not present itself as an Empire but saw itself as a 'universal kingdom' that was actually capable of becoming one. This idea took shape during the regency of Ferdinand 'the Catholic' and the early years of the reign of his grandson, Charles V, and was the result of the confluence of various ideological currents. All these currents consisted, in essence, of subordinating the power of the pontiff to the political interests of the Spanish king and were bound up with the Christian religion and medieval political organization (Christendom).

*FORTY HOURS' DEVOTION*: This spiritual devotion originated in the practice of the *Quarantore* ('Forty Hours'), which started to be celebrated in Milan in 1526, when the inhabitants of the Lombard capital discovered that Charles V's troops were going to stop in that city on their way to Rome, an advance that ended in the *Sacco* ('Sack of Rome') in 1527. The inhabitants of Milan allayed their fears by praying continuously for a total of forty hours before the Holy Sacrament in a succession of churches during Holy Week. Those Forty Hours were in remembrance of the time that elapsed between the death and resurrection of Christ.

This liturgical practice, which arose in opposition to Charles V and his Spanish Monarchy, was adopted more than a hundred years later by Philip IV, not realizing that it was anti-Spanish in tone and implied spiritual submission to Rome.

*PIETAS AUSTRIACA*: A Christian devotion particular to the House of Austria, or House of Habsburg, which was an amalgam of Marian, hagiographic and theological devotions, including the unwavering defence of Catholic mysteries

such as the Eucharist and the Immaculate Conception. It gave rise to a sacred conception of politics able to confer messianic significance on the members of this dynasty. Its origins can be found in the myth of Duke Rudolf, the founder of the House of Austria, who, when riding in the woods, lent his horse to a priest taking the viaticum to a poor dying man.

**RECONQUEST:** A historiographical construct that represents the eight centuries of war against the infidel between the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula and Moorish troops and kingdoms (711-1492).

**ROYAL CHAPEL:** The Royal Chapel served many purposes in the Early Modern period. In the first place, it was responsible for attending to the liturgical and devotional needs of the king and, by extension, the royal family and those residing at Court, as well as for setting the standards of behaviour to be followed there. The pulpit was undoubtedly the ideal platform from which to influence the royal will or the government of the Monarchy. It was also responsible for spreading the spirituality backed by the Sovereigns to all parts of their kingdoms and overseeing it. Thirdly, the Royal Chapel was one of the palace spaces that constructed the royal image through the rites and ceremonies performed there, serving to display to the kingdom the grandeur of the monarch and the ruling dynasty, as well as their generosity and magnanimity. Finally, it was a space for the integration of the elites, where clientelist networks were formed that helped to reduce the distance between the person of the monarch and the local people, since Chapel personnel had to come from the elites of the kingdoms that were committed to the religious ideology being advocated.

At first, the court chapels were itinerant, like the travelling courts of the monarchs, but when the residence of the various courts became fixed, so too did the chapels, which were set in the heart of the palace. This served to reinforce the two ways in which the concept of Chapel was understood: the department of the Royal Household that attended to the spiritual needs of the monarch and his family, and also the physical space where its primary activity took place, such as the chapels or churches at the primary or secondary Royal Sites, or those in the convents at each Court that were under royal patronage.



## Notes on currency

**Real** [*Real*]: The *real*, literally ‘royal’, was the basic currency unit of the Spanish Monarchy’s monetary system until the nineteenth century. It was first introduced in the reign of Peter I of Castile. Its value was set at four maravedis, with a weight of sixty-seven pieces per silver mark, and a fineness of eleven deniers four grams. A coin of 4.4 grams, which was not, in principle, expected to be minted in multiples, but rather submultiples, was the standard medium of exchange. However, during the Early Modern period, pieces of two and four *reals* were minted and, in particular, pieces of eight *reals*, whose minting dates from 1537, with the creation of the Mint of Mexico. The piece of eight became the standard currency of exchange in Early Modern Europe. Given the weight of the *real*, the piece of eight came to weigh between 27 and 27.5 grams and its fineness was set at 930,555 thousandths, meaning that its fine metal content had to reach 25.5 grams.

**Maravedi** [*Maravedí*]: In Spain and the Indies, the standard unit of account was the maravedi. In the Indies, throughout the viceregal period, a *peso de ocho* (‘piece of eight’) was 272 maravedis and a *peso ensayado* (‘assayed piece’) 450 maravedis. Eight *reales* made one *peso de ocho*; each *real* thus contained thirty-four maravedis.

**Ducat** [*Ducado*]: One ducat was equivalent to 375 maravedis in Castile.

**Valencian or Barcelona pound** [*Libra valenciana*, or *Libra barcelonesa*]: This was a local unit of currency equivalent to the *real* in both kingdoms and contained 327 grams of silver.

**Valencian or Barcelona real** [*Real valenciano*, or *Real barcelonés*]: 1 *real* = 23 deniers [*dinero*] and 1 sou [*sueldo*] = 12 sous; therefore, 1 *real* = 1.92 sous.

**Sicilian scudo** [*Scudo siciliano*]: The silver *scudo*, which was worth twelve *tari*, was the main currency used in Sicily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1620, it was the equivalent of ten silver Spanish *reals*.

**Neapolitan ducats** [*Ducato napolitano*]: These were almost equivalent in value to the Sicilian *scudi*, although the equivalence between the two currencies dates from 1639.

**Peruvian assayed pesos** [*Pesos ensayados peruanos*]: These were worth thirteen *reals* and eight maravedis, in other words, 450 maravedis in total. To avoid tampering with the quantity of silver that this currency should contain, it was decided to engrave the legal standard of fineness and weight on each coin. For this reason, they came to be called assayed pesos.



Jacob Jordaens, *Portrait of the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia as a Nun*, c. 1635. American Private Collection, Courtesy of Agnews Gallery, London.

## Acknowledgements

The origin of this collective book was the workshop, *Spanish Royal Geographies in Early Modern Europe and America: Re-thinking the Royal Sites / Geographies of Habsburg Politics and Religion*, held at the University of York on 4th-5th May 2017. Directed by Professors Cordula Van Wyhe and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, this international meeting involved the collaboration of the Department of History of Art and CREMS (Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies) at the University of York, the Rey Juan Carlos University, Madrid (URJC), and IULCE (University Institute 'La Corte en Europa') of the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM).

This volume has been funded as part of the projects 'Del Patrimonio Dinástico al Patrimonio Nacional: los Sitios Reales' (HAR2015-68946-C3-3-P); 'Protection, production and environmental change: the roots of Modern Environmentalism in the Iberian Peninsula (16th-18th centuries)' (AZ 60/V/19); 'Las raíces materiales e inmateriales del conservacionismo ambiental de la Península Ibérica (SIGLOS XV-XIX)' (V-790); and 'Madrid, Sociedad y Patrimonio: pasado y turismo cultural' (H2019/HUM-5898).

## The Presiding Religious Influence of an Absent King

*Philip II as King of Portugal (1580-98), Royal Palaces, Convents and Monasteries\**

It is well known that Philip II was regarded by many of his contemporaries as a pious king who persecuted heretics and enemies of the Holy See, a kind of a ‘defender of the afflicted Christianity’;<sup>1</sup> at a time of confessionalisation, when Catholicism in Europe was threatened by both Protestants and Muslim Ottomans.

Since 1580 considerable evidence exists of the importance Philip II paid to religious affairs and to the clergy particularly in the context of the integration of the Portuguese realm into the powerful Spanish Monarchy. Portugal was the last kingdom to be integrated in the conglomerate of kingdoms and territories ruled by the Spanish Habsburgs. With very similar languages, cultural background, religious convictions and landscapes, the borders between Portugal and Castile in the Iberian Peninsula dated back from the twelfth century, but they were overall a political frontier. Though, especially due to the Portuguese overseas empire – with possessions in Asia, Africa and South America – its trading routes, the excellence of the Lisbon harbour and its privileged location in the Atlantic coast, Portugal was very attractive for the Habsburg building of a ‘Universal Kingdom’ (*Monarchia Universalis*), as Martínez Millán defined it on this volume.

From his own convictions and for spiritual reasons, Philip II considered Catholicism of crucial importance. Further, for pragmatic political purposes he needed the support of high-ranking Portuguese clerics to reinforce his qualification as a potential candidate for the vacant crown subsequent to the death in January 1580 of his Portuguese uncle King Henry (1578-80). In 1581, trying to justify the union of the kingdoms of Castile and Portugal, one of his Portuguese supporters said the Iberian union was the result of ‘God’s will’.<sup>2</sup>

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\* My thanks to Cordula van Wyhe for her work on the English revision of the original manuscript.

- 1 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005), pp. 11 and 31.
- 2 Pedro Cardim, *Portugal unido y separado. Felipe II, la unión de territorios y el debate sobre la condición política del Reino de Portugal* (Valladolid: Ediciones Universidad, 2014), pp. 97-100.

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*Politics and Piety at the Royal Sites of the Spanish Monarchy in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, *Habsburg Worlds* 5 (Turnhout, 2021), pp. 227-242.



## The Beginning of the Journey: the Attraction of the Clergy

Philip II moved to the border of Portugal, to Badajoz, in March 1580 and his troops invaded the neighbouring kingdom in July. Some members of the Spanish Council of State accompanied him along with Mateo Vázquez and the Dominican Diego de Chaves who was the King's confessor. Both were important figures in these years when the 'Castilian party' assumed an important role in the King's court.<sup>3</sup>

He started his journey to Portugal, towards Elvas, in December 1580. At the outset he was escorted by some Portuguese clerics, examples being Jorge de Ataíde (former Bishop of Viseu and then his head chaplain) and Gaspar do Casal (Bishop of Coimbra).<sup>4</sup> The former soon joined the Philippine faction and became a trustworthy agent of the Spanish crown until the end of his life (d. 1611).<sup>5</sup> In Elvas, the King's entourage was welcomed by the local bishop António Mendes de Carvalho, himself dressed pontifically, who had waited for the King in front of the Cathedral.<sup>6</sup> There, Philip II knelt and was sprinkled with holy water by the head chaplain Jorge de Ataíde, while all the clergy sang a *Te Deum laudamus*. After the King entered the cathedral in front of the main altar, he was blessed by the Bishop and he then prayed.<sup>7</sup> These were gestures that deliberately echoed local traditions and simultaneously showed the monarch to the public – and all in a significant sacred environment. These were scenes that demonstrated a perfect harmony with the entire community – and all the more important because of it.

Philip II stayed in Elvas until late February where he received visits from the Archbishop of Évora (Teotónio de Bragança) and the Bishops of Coimbra (Gaspar do Casal), Portalegre (André de Noronha) and Leiria (António Pinheiro).<sup>8</sup> The favourable behaviour of the Archbishop was particularly

3 José Martínez Millán and Carlos J. de Morales, *Felipe II (1527-1598). La configuración de la monarquía hispana* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998), p. 205.

4 Isidro Velázquez, *La entrada que en el reino de Portugal hizo la SCRm de Dom Phillipe, invictissimo rey de las Españas, segundo deste nombre, primero de Portugal assi como su real presencia, como con el exercito de su felice campo* (Madrid: Manuel de Lyra, 1583), fol. 69v.

5 On Jorge de Ataíde loyalty to Philip II see José Pedro Paiva, 'Bishops and politics: The Portuguese episcopacy during the dynastic crisis of 1580', *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 4:2 (2006). As soon as 1580, a papal brief authorized Jorge de Ataíde to judge all the ecclesiastics (regulars and seculars) that took the side of Anthony of Portugal, the prior of Crato, who was the main opponent to Philip II in the Portuguese crown succession, see Félix Labrador Arroyo, *La casa real portuguesa de Felipe II y Felipe III: la articulacion del reino a través de la integracion de las elites de poder (1580-1621)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2009), p. 65.

6 This bishop helped the border towns of Campo Maior and Elvas to surrender to Philip II, even without fighting, see José Maria de Queirós Veloso, *O interregno dos governadores e o breve reinado de D. António* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1953), pp. 159-60.

7 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 71r-71v.

8 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 72v.

significant since he came from Catherine of Bragança's family, another contender to the Portuguese crown that by that time had conceded to the King of the Spanish Monarchy. Casal died some months after this visit, so he did not have time to be rewarded by the new King. Yet Noronha was promoted soon afterwards to the Castilian diocese of Plasencia (September 1581),<sup>9</sup> and António Pinheiro was immediately charged, together with Cristóbal de Moura, with the responsibility of ensuring that the *mercês* [favours] would be shown to those Portuguese who were loyal to the new dynasty.<sup>10</sup> Pinheiro also played a central role in the general assembly, congregating the three different social estates (nobility, clergy and the third estate, in Portugal named as *Cortes*). This was held at Tomar some months later when Philip II was legitimized as King of Portugal.<sup>11</sup> The new monarchy tried to control the episcopacy by favouring those clerics and the various families that supported and served him in the succession process.<sup>12</sup>

It should be noted that prior to 1580, Portuguese bishops were not a united group promoting Philip II's candidacy. During the dynastic crisis and despite never strongly opposing Philip II (that is, except for John of Portugal, the Bishop of Guarda, a supporter of Anthony, the Prior of Crato) they were also not enthusiastic supporters of the Spanish King. They only changed their position after difficult negotiations, undertaken by Cristóbal de Moura and Pedro Girón, Duke of Osuna, who assured them that the Castilian monarch would preserve all the privileges that the Portuguese Church had enjoyed before 1580. According to Fernando Bouza, this episcopate position underwent a transformation between late 1578 and 1581.<sup>13</sup>

In practical terms, the Portuguese episcopate did not have a unique and consensual position. Different bishops played different roles and at different times. The trend was that the number of prelates who supported Philip II increased, despite the fact that until May/June 1579 the majority were on Catherine of Bragança's side. Their priorities were the following: the preservation of Catholicism in Portugal; the maintenance of the privileges of the Portuguese Church and clergy; the awareness that it was impossible to resist the power of Philip II and the necessity of avoiding a war.<sup>14</sup> But despite any misgivings, after the King assumed the Crown in Tomar, in April 1581, the episcopate did not oppose him. On the contrary, the relationship between

9 ASV, Archivio Concistoriale, Acta Camerarii, vol. 11, fol. 311r.

10 Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I*, p. 159.

11 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 90r.

12 José Pedro Paiva, *Os bispos de Portugal e do império (1495-1777)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006), pp. 359-62.

13 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal en la Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640): Felipe II, las Cortes de Tomar y la génesis del Portugal católico* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, PhD dissertation, 1987), II, pp. 558-69 and 579-90.

14 José Pedro Paiva, 'Bishops and politics'.

the new monarch and the prelates became one of cooperation and in time Philip II received from them both local help and strong support.<sup>15</sup>

The majority of the lower-ranking clergy however did not follow the bishops' supportive stance. In general, they were recruited from non-noble classes and they instinctively opposed any solution where a foreign king would wear the Portuguese crown. Most of them tended to adhere to Anthony, the Prior of Crato.<sup>16</sup> Amongst the regular clergy there were also strong opponents among Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines, or Regular Canons of Saint Augustine (in Portugal usually referred as *Crúzios*). An important faction of Jesuits, for instance, supported the side of Catherine of Bragança.<sup>17</sup> This compelled Philip II, as early as 1579, to write to the General of the Company of Jesus appealing to him to keep the Jesuits outside the dispute.<sup>18</sup>

Between 1580-82, many regular preachers from very different religious orders used their pulpits to attack Philip II. In Lisbon, one of them during a sermon preached that anyone who died defending Portugal from the usurping Spanish King would go 'directly to heaven'.<sup>19</sup> Some bishops however tried to suppress these attacks. For example, in December 1579, António Pinheiro, Bishop of Leiria, ensured that he would punish a friar who in Santarém had preached 'shamelessly' against Philip II.<sup>20</sup> Moreover the Archbishop of Braga, the Dominican Bartholomeu dos Mártires, preaching a sermon in May 1580, forbade any political references that could give rise to 'scandals'.<sup>21</sup>

As Federico Palomo elaborated, it was this contentious context that explains Philip II's care in 'reforming' some of these religious orders after he succeeded to the Portuguese crown. At the *Crúzios* of Coimbra for instance, he promoted the change of leadership by convening a general chapter of the order so that he could put one of his own supporters in charge, namely Friar Pedro de Assunção, as visitor and general vicar. To reform the Benedictines in 1588 he appointed two visitors from the convent of Valladolid, Álvaro de Salazar and Sebastián de Villoslada. In the case of the Dominicans, he used to his own advantage the experience and loyalty of the famous Luis de Granada, who had lived in Portugal since 1550.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, amongst the Lisbon Dominicans he profited from the residence of his own confessor,

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15 Federico Palomo, 'Para el sosiego y quietud del reino. En torno a Felipe II y el poder eclesiástico en el Portugal de finales del siglo XVI', *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, LXIV/1, 216 (2004), 63-94 (p. 78).

16 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Ensaíos. II Sobre História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Editora Sá da Costa, 1978), pp. 383-84 and João Francisco Marques, *A parenética portuguesa e a dominação filipina* (Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1986), pp. 42-43.

17 Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I*, pp. 117-18.

18 Palomo, 'Para el sosiego', pp. 72-73.

19 Marques, *A parenética portuguesa*, p. 47.

20 AGS, Estado, bundle 405, fols 19r-20r.

21 Marques, *A parenética portuguesa*, p. 323.

22 Palomo, 'Para el sosiego', pp. 72-74.

Diego de Chaves. By 1582 there was a Board convened comprising Chaves, Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce and Antonio de Eraso.<sup>23</sup>

These measures seemed to succeed. Indeed, Philip II's funeral in 1598, held at the Monastery of the Hieronymite Order in Lisbon, was attended by hundreds of regular ordinary members from many different religious orders.<sup>24</sup>

## Royal Palaces, Convents and Dynasty: the Relevance of Ceremonial and Spirituality

To overcome the kind of opposition he was facing, Philip II also mastered the intricate language of ceremonials, where the Royal Sites and convents of Portugal had a great relevance, overlapping with spiritual matters. He was often seen in public, together with high ranking clerics, performing acts that were designed to show him as a pious and Catholic King, always ready to defend the Church and Catholicism. There are many examples that can be quoted. On the 1st March 1581, he started his journey from Elvas to Tomar. On the way, he stopped at several convents and monasteries to hear the mass, as was the case in Campo Maior, a small village close to Elvas, where he visited the local Franciscan monastery.<sup>25</sup> In Portalegre, a city in the province of Alentejo, in the border with Castile, he was welcomed in the Cathedral by the Bishop André de Noronha in whose house he subsequently stayed.<sup>26</sup> This prelate was one of his earliest supporters and some months before, in August 1580, he fervently congratulated the new King on the 'subjection of Lisbon to the service of his Majesty'.<sup>27</sup>

Philip II arrived in Tomar in the middle of March and the *Cortes*, during which he would be acclaimed King of Portugal, started on the 16 April 1581. Once more, the Portuguese episcopate attended. A special role was given to the three Archbishops of the Kingdom to perform during the ritual of the King's solemn oath in the Convent of Christ (the headquarters of the Order of Christ). First, the head chaplain Jorge de Ataíde put a missal and a cross on a special seat in front of Philip II. Then the three Archbishops, Bartholomeu dos Mártires (Braga), Jorge de Almeida (Lisbon) and Teotónio de Bragança (Evora) rose from their places and then knelt in front of the King, presenting him the cross and the missal opened at the Gospels. Then Philip II stood up took off the glove of his right hand and the cap off his head and made the oath. After this, religious ceremonials were held at the main chapel, towards

23 Martínez Millán and De Carlos Morales, *Felipe II*, pp. 206-07.

24 *Relação das exequias d'el Rey Dom Filippe nosso senhor, primeiro deste nome dos reys de Portugal, com alguns sermões que neste reyno se fizeram* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeck, 1600), fol. 8r.

25 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 79v.

26 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 81v.

27 AGS, Estado, bundle 418, letter 152.

which all the bishops moved singing a *Te Deum laudamus*, together with the choir of the Royal Chapel, accompanied by organ music.<sup>28</sup>

The King lived in Tomar for around two months and he was particularly impressed by the Convent of Christ, a foundation that had been significantly improved by his grandfather Manuel I, King of Portugal (r. 1495-1521). Today this is a world heritage site. Under Philip II it became a Royal Site and regained pre-eminence, not only as the place where the monarch of the new dynasty was recognized by the representatives of the Portuguese realm, but also as a symbolic link between Manuel I and Philip II. The decoration of the main room (and in particular its tapestry) followed suggestions made by the King.<sup>29</sup> This was where the oath ceremony was held. The Monarch promoted many other great works in the building and offered valuable gifts to the convent, confirming his munificence by lavishing his funds on religious art.<sup>30</sup> One of these gifts was a splendid gold cross that on its base includes the armorial of the Spanish Monarchy together with the Portuguese coat of arms and the inscription '*Philippus Rex MDLXXXIII*'.<sup>31</sup> He also promoted and sponsored the completion of the great cloister, a new sacristy completed in 1589 and a huge aqueduct. These works were supervised by the Italian architect Filippo Terzi.<sup>32</sup> When Philip II died, João Aranha, Professor of Theology at Coimbra University, praised him in a sermon and, somewhat exaggerating, compared the Convent of Christ to the Monastery of El Escorial.<sup>33</sup> Another preacher, the royal chaplain Francisco Fernandes Galvão, also stressed how the King was always ready to promote the divine cult with his munificence, citing the Escorial and the huge number of gifts he gave to monasteries, convents and churches.<sup>34</sup>

After two months in Tomar, Philip II started on a journey to Lisbon, a town that he could not immediately enter because it was contaminated with plague. On the way he passed through Santarém, where he was received in the first days of June 1581. There, in the context of his solemn entrance into

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28 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 91v. and Antonio de 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 ansi en las cosas de la guerra como despues en la paz antes que bolviesse a Castella siendo capitan general el excelentissimo don Fernandalvarez de Toledo duque de Alba* (Valencia: Casa de la viuda de Pedro de Huete, 1586), fols 100v-102r.

29 Ana Paula Torres Megiani, *O rei ausente. Festa e cultura política nas visitas dos Filipes a Portugal (1581 e 1619)* (Sao Paulo: Alameda, 2004), p. 90.

30 Agustín Bustamente García, 'Noticias sobre Felipe II y las artes', in *Felipe II (1527-1598): Europa y la monarquia católica*, ed. by José Martínez Millán, 4 vols (Madrid: Parteluz, 1998), IV, p. 25.

31 Nuno Vassalo e Silva, 'A cruz de Felipe I', *Oceanos*, 13 (1993), pp. 108-11.

32 The best study for this is Ernesto José Nazaré Alves Jana, *O Convento de Cristo em Tomar e as obras no período Filipino*, 3 vols (unpublished master thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisbon, 1990). See also Miguel Soromenho, *A arquitectura do ciclo filipino* ([s.l.]: Fubu Editores, SA, 2009), p. 36 and Carlos Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina em Portugal* (Lisbon: Edição do Clube do Coleccionador dos Correios, 2005), pp. 120-21.

33 *Relação das exequias*, fol. 61v.

34 *Relação das exequias*, fol. 37v.

town, he paid a special visit to a relic of the miracle of Holy Sacrament. This gesture was interpreted as a symbolic demonstration of his superiority over Anthony, the Prior of Crato, who one year earlier had been acclaimed King of Portugal at exactly the same place.<sup>35</sup> This was all seen as a kind of a miracle/mystery similar to the one represented in the Holy Sacrament, as Philip II became King of Portugal. Though perhaps this interpretation is plausible it is also possible to see his success as a result of his spirituality that was sustained by his deep attraction to relics and their powers. His worship of relics is widely acknowledged as indeed are the huge sums of money he spent buying relics for Royal Sites, churches and even his relatives.<sup>36</sup>

His attraction to relics significantly increased after the Council of Trent (1545-63) and Philip II's example was followed by his courtiers – all of whom made notable impact in Portugal. Juan de Borja, former ambassador of the Spanish Monarchy in Lisbon, joined him in Portugal in 1582, as a member of Empress Mary's (the King's sister's) court. He was involved in the preparation of the Jesuit church of Saint Roch, so that it could become his family pantheon – and to it he offered an amazing collection of 245 relics. At the time the Jesuit confessor of Juan de Borja commented that the relics of his master were no less important than the ones Philip II kept at the Monastery of El Escorial. The reception of these relics gave occasion to great ceremonials as would again be the case for another collection of relics received in 1595 at the Saint Cross Monastery in Coimbra.<sup>37</sup>

This enthusiasm for relics was very significant and intensified the political ties between Castile and Portugal. In 1591, for example, the Archbishop of Evora Teotónio de Bragança received the monarch's support to transfer to Evora Cathedral the relics of Saint Mancio, who was the supposed first bishop of the region. These were relics that had been previously kept at a Castilian monastery.<sup>38</sup>

After Santarém, the King's retinue proceeded towards Lisbon with a stop in Almeirim, a village where the former dynasty of Avis had a small palace. There Philip II prayed at the royal chapel and, in a gesture full of political meaning,

35 Torres Megiani, *O rei ausente*, p. 145.

36 Almudena Pérez de Tudela, 'Algunos regalos diplomáticos devocionales para Felipe II y su familia', in *La Corte en Europa: Política y Religión (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, ed. by José Martínez Millán, Manuel Rivero Rodríguez and Gijs Versteegen, 3 vols (Madrid: Polifemo, 2012), III, 1795-49 (p. 1795 and pp. 1815-28).

37 José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, 'Os recebimentos de relíquias em S. Roque (Lisbon 1588) e em Santa Cruz (Coimbra 1595). Relíquias e espiritualidade. E alguma ideologia', *Via Spiritus-Revista de História da Espiritualidade e do sentimento religioso*, 8 (2001), 95-155 (pp. 122-23). The collection offered by Juan de Borja was particularly highlighted by the Italian Gianbattista Confalonieri, secretary of the papal collector in Portugal Fabio Biondo, in 1593, see *Por terras de Portugal no século XVI. Bartolomé de Villalba y Estaña e Gianbattista Confalonieri* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 2002), p. 186.

38 Palomo, 'Para el sosiego', p. 83.

sprinkled the grave of his antecessor King Henry with holy water – he had been buried in Almeirim the previous year.<sup>39</sup>

Before Lisbon, still mixing devotion with politics, Philip II visited the lands of the family of Jorge de Ataíde, his head chaplain, at Castanheira do Ribatejo, and he heard the mass at the now ruined Franciscan Convent of Saint Anthony.<sup>40</sup> This was also the pantheon of the family of the Earl of Castanheira; the Earl himself, António de Ataíde, was father of the royal chaplain. Here Jorge de Ataíde sponsored magnificent works and it was here where would also be buried in 1611.<sup>41</sup>

While waiting to enter Lisbon, on the 26 June, Philip II visited the Hieronymites Monastery, in Belém. The King's sympathy for the friars of Saint Jerome was fully acknowledged in the important role he gave them at the Escorial.<sup>42</sup> In a letter to his daughters, he explained that he heard the mass at the Monastery, visited it and noticed that it had 'good things,' referring to the precious pieces of religious art and architecture he had seen.<sup>43</sup> In the following years, he offered two lamps of German manufacture to the Monastery, both copies from originals existing in Escorial,<sup>44</sup> and he ordered the construction of an artificial pond in the main cloister.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, on the 29th June 1581, Philip II made his triumphal entrance into Lisbon. Despite claims made by some early seventeenth century histories that give the impression he was received without enthusiasm by the majority of the population,<sup>46</sup> the ritual was magnificent.<sup>47</sup> In the streets travelled by the King's entourage there were panels exhibited depicting the triumph of religion over idolatry,<sup>48</sup> and one of them emphasized that the King ordered the evangelisation of Asia.<sup>49</sup> At the Cathedral's main door several other panels depicted the King as protector of Catholicism. One of these deserves special

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39 Velázquez, *La entrada*, fol. 110v.

40 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas meninas. Portugal na correspondência de D. Filipe I para suas filhas (1581-1583)* (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1999), p. 71.

41 Biblioteca Municipal de Viseu, Leonardo de Sousa, *Memorias historicas e chronologicas dos bispos de Viseu*, 3 vols (1767), II, fol. 410.

42 See Gustavo Sanchez, 'La música en el Escorial y la Orden de San Jerónimo durante el reinado de Felipe II', in Martínez Millán, Rivero Rodríguez and Versteegen, *La Corte en Europa*, I, 165-226 (especially pp. 166-67).

43 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 76.

44 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 76.

45 Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina*, p. 116. The lake was destroyed in the nineteenth century.

46 Pero Roiz Soares, *Memorial*, ed. by M. Lopes de Almeida (Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbricensis, 1952).

47 Laura Fernández González, 'Negotiating terms. King Philip I of Portugal and the ceremonial entry of 1581 into Lisbon', in *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, ed. by Fernando Checa Cremades and Laura Fernández González (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 87-114.

48 Torres Megiani, *O rei ausente*, p. 148.

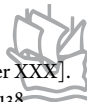
49 Afonso Guerreiro, *Das festas que se fizeram na cidade de Lisbon, na entrada del Rey D. Philippe primeiro de Portugal* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1581), not numbered [fol. 22r.].

attention; in this a Pope is depicted before whom is a king holding a sword; on his feet, lying down, are two men holding hammers with which they are attempting to demolish the Church walls. This symbolises all the heresies. At the bottom of the panel a Latin legend reads: 'Powerful King, the congregation of the perverse heretics is bitten and overturned by the Pope helped by the power of your empire';<sup>50</sup>

Some months later, Philip II, together with his nephew Archduke Albert – who some years later would become Viceroy of Portugal as well as Grand Inquisitor of the Portuguese Inquisition and Prior of Crato (1583-93) – attended an Inquisition Auto-da-fé in Lisbon and he revealed no signs of uneasiness or pity when commenting on what he had seen, especially when referring to some heretics that were burnt at the stake.<sup>51</sup> The Dominican Manuel Coelho in the sermon he preached after the Monarch's death, repeated Philip II's worthy status as a champion of Catholicism and an opponent of heretics.<sup>52</sup>

Philip II paid this visit to the Cathedral not only because it was traditional, but also so that he could express his gratitude to the Lord for the privileges received in becoming King of Portugal.<sup>53</sup> It also enabled him to reinforce the ties with the Portuguese Church, and also to honour some clerics that supported him in the conquest of his new kingdom. The Archbishop Jorge de Almeida welcomed him with a relic of the Holy Cross to kiss, a scene that was performed at the cathedral door, towards which the King moved under a canopy. After he was sprinkled with holy water by the Archbishop, they all entered the Cathedral in procession while a choir formed by a multitude of clerics sang the Latin litany *Elegit Deus et praelegit eum et in tabernaculo suo habitare fecit eum*. Inside the cathedral in front of the main altar, Philip II first prayed and then knelt to receive a blessing from Jorge de Almeida. Afterwards, the Archbishop kissed the King's hand, a gesture followed by all the clerics. Finally, within this religious context some representatives of local political power begged the King to be merciful to all the Portuguese that had previously contested his claim and had instead promoted Anthony, the Prior of Crato. Prudently (and characteristically) the King responded that he would take care of the situation according to what would be possible.<sup>54</sup>

Philip II stayed in Lisbon until February 1583. During these eighteen months there were many signs of his continuous care over religious concerns. These included attention to his own personal religious behaviour, the improvement of religious spaces, especially the Royal Sites, and the distribution of favours and the protection of ecclesiastics. He also sought to fuse politics with religion. Fernando Bouza stressed that in order to build up his image of as pious King,



50 Guerreiro, *Das festas*, not numbered [chapter XXX].

51 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 138.

52 *Relação das exequias*, fol. 12r.

53 Guerreiro, *Das festas*, not numbered [chapter XXVII].

54 Guerreiro, *Das festas*, not numbered [chapter XXXI].



Philip II enjoyed being seen praying in public. Accordingly, it was usual that when moving around a town he stopped to pray publically and often in front of churches.<sup>55</sup>

One of the sites Philip II visited regularly, particularly in the first months after his arrival in Lisbon, was the *Madre de Deus* Convent for Franciscan nuns, founded in 1508 by Queen Leonor, sister of Manuel I. In August 1581 he went there twice, together with his nephew Archduke Albert and Jorge de Ataíde. The King attended the mass in the church, which he considered 'beautiful', and after that he went to another male Franciscan convent located close by where lunch was served.<sup>56</sup>

He was also attracted by processions. In August 1581, he saw two and he commented that, in some details, they were better than those in Spain. One year later, together with his sister the Empress Mary, he was surprised by a huge procession at the parish of Saint Julian and explained that he was given a 'paper' with all 'the unusual things' that gave details regarding the procession, enabling him to understand everything with which he was not familiar.<sup>57</sup>

In October 1581, Philip II travelled to Sintra, a small village c. 30 km North of Lisbon, and visited the Monasteries of *Penhalonga* and *Pena*, founded by Manuel I, both of the order of Saint Jerome. Commenting on the visit to his daughters, he referred to their beautiful fountains, gardens and the significant number of relics they possessed, though they did not have so many saints as the *Madre de Deus* Convent in Lisbon.<sup>58</sup> The King's familiarity with – and devotion to, relics – was truly remarkable, and he favoured that most of them were kept in royal convents and chapels, as the one of the *Paço da Ribeira*.

Indeed, on the 23d October 1581, Philip II wrote a letter to his daughters saying that he was especially happy because the works in the new Royal Chapel were finally ready and he could attend his daily mass there without leaving his Palace.<sup>59</sup> The new Royal Chapel at the *Paço da Ribeira* replaced the former one dedicated to Saint Tome, ordered by Manuel I and was built in a different area.<sup>60</sup>

When he arrived in Portugal, Philip II followed an architectural program which from 1580 was worked on by the architects Juan de Herrera and Filippo Terzi. One of its most iconic achievements was the Royal Palace in Lisbon with its impressive turret rebuilt on the same spot as the former royal palace.<sup>61</sup> Philip II's overriding aim here was to achieve a sense of integral dignity and majesty through these royal constructions.<sup>62</sup> Those that he commissioned in

55 Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I*, p. 207.

56 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 87 and 93.

57 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 94-95 and 161-62.

58 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 98 and 101.

59 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 103.

60 Nuno Senos, *O paço da Ribeira 1501-1581* (Lisbon: Notícias Editorial, 2002), p. 161.

61 Soromenho, *A arquitectura*, p. 11.

62 As Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo. Rey de España*, 4 vols (Madrid: [s. n.], 1876-1877), II, p. 394 and Bustamente García, 'Noticias sobre Felipe II', pp. 25-38, pointed out.

Lisbon certainly followed this pattern. The King preferred the use of stone, because its inherent endurance would moreover keep his memory alive for centuries.

The Royal Chapel, probably the most important of the Royal Sites, was integrated in the complex of the Royal Palace. It has an entrance facing both the Tagus River and a garden. It had tribunes from which the King, without leaving his royal chambers, could attend religious ceremonies.<sup>63</sup>

Its splendour is no surprise given that in 1580 Philip II had been advised that he should give the Royal Chapel the 'order, pomp and dignity' it deserves because the Portuguese appreciated the 'divine cult'. This pomp, apart with the architectonic changes, was linked to the increase of the number and quality of singers, program that was fulfilled.<sup>64</sup> In July 1581, Philip II ordered Hernando de Cabezon, organist at the Royal Chapel in Madrid, to come to Lisbon and in 1582 the royal chaplains celebrated the holy mass three times daily (matins, lauds and vespers).<sup>65</sup> The service was given by a huge number of chaplains; according to the first Regiment of the Portuguese Royal Chapel, determined by Philip II in 1592, there should normally have only been 30 of them, yet Labrador Arroyo identified more than 90 between 1581 and 1598.<sup>66</sup>

The Royal Chapel staff also included the Head Chaplain, Jorge de Ataíde, the Dean, initially Afonso de Castelo Branco (until his promotion to the bishopric of Algarve – after which he was replaced by Manuel de Seabra), and four preachers of the Royal Chapel. Their sermons were primarily of spiritual content, but of course some also had political purposes.<sup>67</sup> One of the preachers was the Dominican Luis de Granada who (despite his great age) is on record as having been particularly appreciated by Philip II for his sermon of March 1582.<sup>68</sup>

The Royal Chapel was a key institution by which the King could not only control the ecclesiastic elite but also promote his favourites.<sup>69</sup> An example of this was the astonishing career of Dean Manuel de Seabra. He was Bishop of Ceuta before 1580 and represented Philip II during the Portuguese dynastic crisis.<sup>70</sup> He organized the transport of the supposed body of King Sebastian who died during the battle of Ksar El Kibir in 1578, leaving the kingdom of Portugal without an heir, and brought it to Lisbon. These important services were rewarded with the appointment as Dean of the Royal Chapel on June 1583. In 1585 Seabra became general commissioner of the Bull of the Crusade and subsequently president of a very important council created to advise the

63 Senos, *O paço da Ribeira*, pp. 160-61.

64 Labrador Arroyo, *La casa real*, I, p. 61.

65 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 84 and 115.

66 Labrador Arroyo, *La casa real*, I, pp. 300-03.

67 Labrador Arroyo, *La casa real*, I, pp. 305-06.

68 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 131-32.

69 Labrador Arroyo, *La casa real*, I, pp. 291-92.

70 See a letter he wrote in November 1581 to Philip II (AGS, Estado, bundle 418, not numbered).

King on religious matters named *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*. Finally, in 1593, he was appointed Bishop of Miranda.<sup>71</sup>

Another of Philip II's great concerns was the erection of a Royal Pantheon in Lisbon. In 1582 he imposed special interest rates to finance the works and declared that the burial of kings and princes should take place in the choir and main chapel. The location was the old Monastery of Saint Vincent of the Religious Order of the Canons of Saint Augustine. The existing building date back from the time of the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques (1139-85), who, before the decisive battle against the Muslims (1147), promised that he would build a new church. This reconstruction thus had a strong symbolic meaning. It legitimised the new dynasty, suggesting that Philip II was perpetuating a legacy that dated back to the first King of Portugal.<sup>72</sup> The choice of Saint Vincent was also deliberate for another reason; he had been born in Huesca in the Kingdom of Aragon and was martyred in Valencia by the Roman Emperor Diocletian (284-305). He thus was not only the patron of Lisbon, but also significantly originated from one of the kingdoms that formed the Spanish Monarchy. All without forgetting that Saint Lawrence was from the same city, Huesca, that Vincent; so these two saints linked at the same time the royal pantheons of the Spanish Monarchy (Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial) and Portugal (Monastery of São Vicente de Fora in Lisbon).

The foundation stone of Saint Vincent Church was laid on August 1582 during a ceremony presided over by Archduke Albert – the King himself being ill.<sup>73</sup> Juan de Herrera – architect of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial – executed the architectural drawings though Filippo Terzi was the director of the works until 1597.<sup>74</sup> The building was finally consecrated in 1629. The influences of El Escorial can be readily seen in the façade of the Church of Saint Vincent and this aesthetic can also be recognised in subsequent similar buildings such as in the Monastery of *Desterro* [Exile] in Lisbon and the new Cathedral of Goa in India.

Even in monasteries and churches promoted just by the bishops this Escorial influence is also noticeable. This is the case of the Convent da *Cartuxa* in Evora, ordered by the Archbishop Teotónio de Bragança in 1586,<sup>75</sup> and also in the Church of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, at Leiria, ordered in 1588 by Bishop Pedro de Castilho, one of Philip II's great followers.<sup>76</sup>

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71 José de Castro, *Bragança e Miranda (Bispado)*, 2 vols (Porto: Tipografia Porto Medico, 1946-47), I, p. 273 and Paiva, *Os bispos de Portugal*, p. 376

72 Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina*, pp. 111-12.

73 Soromenho, *A arquitectura*, p. 14.

74 Jorge Segurado, 'Juan de Herrera em Portugal', in *As relações artísticas entre Portugal e Espanha na Época dos Descobrimentos*, ed. by Pedro Dias (Coimbra: Livraria Minerva, 1987), pp. 99-111.

75 Bustamente García, 'Noticias sobre Felipe II', p. 32.

76 Soromenho, *A arquitectura*, p. 69.

Such desires for family pantheons were also indulged by some members of the nobility who also had strong ties with Philip II, as in the case of Cristóbal de Moura. In 1598 he was the patron of the main chapel of the Benedictine Monastery in Lisbon with the intention that it should become his own family pantheon.<sup>77</sup>

One can also see other examples of Philip II's religiosity, most of them developed at the Royal Sites. For example, during Christmas Eve in 1581 he attended the Midnight Mass at the Royal Chapel – a very long liturgy probably full of Christmas carols and lasting until 3 am, as he commented to his daughters.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, he took part in Easter celebrations in 1582 at the Royal Chapel. During the whole week he attended the rituals from his tribune except when the Holy Sacrament was covered and uncovered. On these occasions, in reverence to the sacred body of Christ, he descended to the Royal Chapel. He also registered how impressed he was by the processions of penitents who inflicted lashes on themselves, most of these occurring during daylight and not at night as was usual in Spain. He made particular note of one organized by the distinguished confraternity of the *Misericórdia* [Mercy] of Lisbon, which in Portugal was under the King's protection. This was held at night and included a visit to the Royal Chapel from where the King watched from a window.<sup>79</sup> Finally, the monarch himself joined the procession of the *Corpus Christi* in June 1582. This was the most important procession in Portugal during Early Modern period and in Lisbon the King played his part during the final sequence.<sup>80</sup> He was amazed by the women dancers and singers some of them being slaves.<sup>81</sup>

Philip II also promoted the reform and even new foundations of religious orders as was the case of the Discalced Carmelites. Their first male Portuguese convent was founded in October 1581 and was dedicated to Saint Philip due to the patronage it received from the King, who had very good relations with Jerónimo Gracián, their provincial leader. This religious order was brought to Portugal by six Spanish friars under the direction of Ambrosio Mariano de San Benito, who was also very much appreciated by Philip II.<sup>82</sup> After this initial successful foundation a group of nobles were inspired to establish new houses in different villages, these in particular were instigated by Duarte de

77 Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina*, p. 130.

78 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 113.

79 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, pp. 141-42.

80 A very interesting description of the one celebrated in 1593 could be found in *Por terras de Portugal no século XVI*, pp. 204-06.

81 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 154.

82 Luis Javier Fernández Frontela, 'El Carmelo descalzo del carisma a la institucionalización', in *A reforma teresiana em Portugal, Congresso Internacional* (Marco de Canaveses: Edições Carmelo, 2017), 97-124 (p. 121) and Belchior de Santa Ana, *Chronica de Carmelitas Descalços, particular do reyno de Portugal e provincia de Sam Felipe*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Henrique de Oliveira, 1657), I, p. 125.

Castelo Branco, António de Castro, Earl of Monsanto, or Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro, all loyal supporters of Philip II.<sup>83</sup> Such foundations also had their own political purposes, as they sought to weaken the influence of the supporters of Anthony, the Prior of Crato, among the Carmelite Portuguese branch of the order – who were particularly noticeable in the convent of Lisbon.

Of particular relevance mention that, in 1585, the first female convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Lisbon was erected. It was known as the *Albertas*, because of the patronage it received from Archduke Albert, who was going to support as well the same religion when he was appointed as sovereign of the Habsburg Netherlands years after. Two years later, the convent in Lisbon received a very import relic: one of the hands of Theresa of Ávila or Theresa of Jesus.<sup>84</sup>

As well, even after he had left Portugal in 1583, Philip II kept supporting the preservation of existing monasteries, an example being the Dominican one of *Batalha* in the center of Portugal.<sup>85</sup> He still even promoted the foundation of new ones, as in the case of the convent for Franciscans in Coimbra.<sup>86</sup>

On the other hand, before leaving Lisbon, Philip II established further rituals. One was the transfer of the corpses of his two predecessors, Sebastian and Henry, to the Monastery of the Hieronymites monks in Belém.<sup>87</sup> Yet again there were clear political implications in this decision. First, the chapel where the two bodies were to be buried was prepared in 1572 to be pantheon of Manuel I and his sons, by Queen Catherine, sister of Charles V, wife of John III of Portugal, and aunt of Philip II.<sup>88</sup> This gesture ostensibly demonstrated the continuity in the governance of the realm and was to ameliorate any idea of a rupture created by the existence of a new King who had not been born in Portugal. Thus Philip II, especially in the case of Sebastian, wanted to make clear that he was indeed dead and buried, never to return to liberate Portugal from the domain of a foreign king – an idea that fed the so-called Sebastianism.

Philip II left Lisbon on the 11 February 1583. From the preceding November onwards, every Sunday he had paid visits to different convents and monasteries in town as a form of farewell.<sup>89</sup> On 31st January he was present at the ceremony when Archduke Albert took office as Viceroy. Also present were some of the high ranking clerics who would preserve important roles, such as the Archbishop of Lisbon Jorge de Almeida and the Head Chaplain Jorge de

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83 Carlos Margaça Veiga, 'A Ordem dos Carmelitas Descalços: moldagem à realidade portuguesa', in *A reforma teresiana em Portugal*, 127-38 (p. 132).

84 Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina*, p. 89.

85 *Relação das exequias*, fol. 61v.

86 Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I*, p. 30.

87 Bouza Álvarez, *D. Filipe I*, p. 194; Amélia Polónia, *D. Henrique* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005), p. 249.

88 Ana Isabel Buescu, *Na corte dos reis de Portugal. Saberes, ritos e memórias. Estudos sobre o século XVI* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2010), pp. 250-55.

89 Bouza Álvarez, *Cartas para duas infantas*, p. 176.

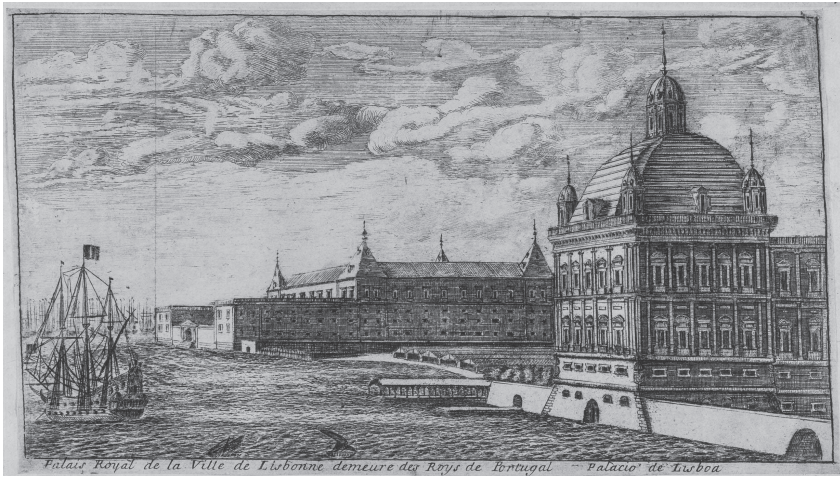
Atáide,<sup>90</sup> or Afonso de Castelo Branco, Bishop of Algarve, who preached at the Lisbon *Cortes*, on January 1583.<sup>91</sup> It was him who had received the corpse of King Sebastian when it reached Algarve a few months earlier.<sup>92</sup> The key positions in the Royal Chapel, bishoprics, councils and tribunals were thereby controlled by loyal followers of the new monarchy. Meanwhile, Archduke Albert was given extended powers including those of visiting churches, reforming religious orders, and punishing any regular clerics who had been loyal to Anthony, the Prior of Crato.<sup>93</sup>

## Epilogue

The time of a realm with an absent King was about to begin. From then on communication with the ecclesiastic elite would be made mainly through written correspondence such as the one sent by Philip II in February 1588 to Afonso Castelo Branco and the Portuguese bishops, ordering them to celebrate masses in the Portuguese cathedrals for protection of the Invincible Fleet.<sup>94</sup>

The shadow of Philip II's spirituality nevertheless remained in Portugal even though he no longer lived there. One of the invisible threads that maintained this spirituality were the permanent important Royal Sites, which connected in some ways with the one in Castile. A good example of this can be seen in the proliferation of paintings of Philip II's preferred saint – Saint Lawrence. One such was acquired in the 1590s by the Jesuit church of Saint Roch in Lisbon. This is by the royal painter Fernando Gomes – of Spanish origin – and depicts Jesus among the martyrs amongst whom is Saint Lawrence and shows the grill on which he was martyred.<sup>95</sup> It is a remarkable trace of the presiding religious influence of the absent King.

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- 90 Francisco Caeiro, *O arquiduque Alberto de Áustria vice-rei e inquisidor-mor de Portugal, cardeal legado do papa, governador e depois soberano dos Países-Baixos, História e Arte* (Lisbon: Edição do autor, 1961), pp. 92-93.
- 91 Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Verbo, 1990), IV, pp. 22-23.
- 92 João Baptista da Silva Lopes, *Memórias para a história eclesiástica do bispado do Algarve* (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisbon, 1848), p. 356.
- 93 Caeiro, *O arquiduque Alberto*, pp. 92-93 and Palomo, 'Para el sosiego', p. 71.
- 94 Palomo, 'Para el sosiego', p. 86.
- 95 Margaça Veiga, *A herança filipina*, pp. 86-87.



**Fig. 8.1.** Louis Meunier, *View of the Royal Palace of Lisbon*. c. 1665-68 stamp. Courtesy of Biblioteca Nacional de España.



**Fig. 8.2.** Church and Convent of Saint Vincent, Lisbon. 2017. Image @ Wikimedia Commons.