

Studies in Heritage Glazed Ceramics

The majolica azulejo heritage
of *Quinta da Bacalhôa*



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PREFACE

Studies in Heritage Glazed Ceramics was forcefully interrupted for almost two years due to the COVID-19 crisis, but returns with its third number, the first of a special series of four volumes dedicated to the renaissance majolica azulejo heritage of *Palácio e Quinta da Bacalhôa* in Azeitão, Portugal.

The azulejos of Bacalhôa have a legendary status in the studies of renaissance majolica in the Iberian Peninsula in general, because of their extraordinary variety and quality and the fact that its most mythical panel, representing the biblical episode of *Susanna and the Elders*, is dated "1565" – a chronology hardly compatible with the then-recent production of azulejos in Portugal. Several hypotheses were advanced over the years to cope with this seemingly impossibility, almost always involving Flemish potters immigrated to the Peninsula.

Another problem stems from the assortment of patterned tiles, often depicting variations in the design or the quality of the workmanship only explainable by the involvement of, not one, but several workshops... But what could those workshops be? Who were the potters and painters behind such artistic achievement? What is the approximate chronology of the different (non-dated) panels and linings with patterned tiles? And most of all: how does the unrivalled treasure of renaissance tiles of Bacalhôa fit within the history of the diffusion of the majolica technology and its firm establishment in Spain and Portugal, where azulejos developed to become a cultural trait still flourishing today?

Following the studies in the early production of majolica azulejos in Portugal, published in the first two numbers of this journal, a multidisciplinary research team was formed to try and reply (within the bounds of the possible) to those questions, as well as to shed light on a number of other perplexing details related to the surviving panels. The research lasted for two years and the results will be published in a dedicated special series. This first volume includes four articles which deal with the basic issues and establish the basis for the detailed study of the panels and patterned tiles that will follow. Four more articles will be published in the second volume, in January 2022, and the last eight articles will be published in the third and fourth volumes within the following 12 months.

The scientific production stands on several pillars, one of them the peer-reviewers of the authors' papers, whose names are often unknown but whose importance in the final output is singular. The editors wish to heartily thank the reviewers for this number: Professor Nuno Senos of *Instituto de História da Arte* of *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, Doctor Alexandre Nobre Pais, Director of *Museu Nacional do Azulejo* and Doctor António dos Santos Silva of *Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil* (LNEC) who have graciously accepted the hardship of the revisions.

LNEC thus presents this third number of its journal dedicated to azulejos and other glazed ceramics with a set of articles resulting from the cooperation of the tools of Humanities and Natural Sciences aiming to support in solid foundations the study and understanding of one of today's most prized cultural heritages of Portugal.

The Editors

EDITORS

João Manuel Mimoso (LNEC), Alexandre Nobre Pais (MNAz), José Delgado Rodrigues (LNEC) & Sílvia R. M. Pereira (HERCULES & LNEC)

SCOPE

Studies in Heritage Glazed Ceramics is dedicated to the results of scientific studies in the field with a particular emphasis on analytical results, conservation issues and historical studies and very specially to multidisciplinary research in the domain.

The contents will include:

- Archaeometry studies, namely the application of analytic methods to the identification of materials and the establishment of technologies, provenance or the setting of chronologies;
- The artistic and historical context of productions, materials and evolving technologies, as well as the origin, preparation and trade routes of pigments and other raw materials;
- Decay of glazed ceramics, techniques and materials for conservation;
- Other innovative research results in the field.

The *Palácio e Quinta da Bacalhôa* and its majolica tiles

Alfonso Pleguezuelo, João Manuel Mimoso, Álvaro Silva, Ana Cláudia Sousa

ABSTRACT

This essay provides an overview of the architecture of the Bacalhôa Palace and estate, and of some of its ceramic panels and linings. The estate comprises a varied range of tiles but the research project encompassing the present study focuses exclusively on the 16th century majolica type. Consequently, this article will make only sporadic or indirect references to Hispano-Moresque tiles.

The project also included iconographic interpretations of certain significant azulejo panels and patterned tiles but these will be dealt with in future papers specifically dedicated to those particular parts of the majolica tile linings, rather than as an integral aspect of the present study. Accordingly, this essay only includes iconographic details of groups of tiles that will not be examined in subsequent articles. This applies to the tiles of the Lake Wall and in the Vineyard Chapels.

RESUMO

O artigo dá uma visão geral da história e da arquitetura do Palácio e Quinta da Bacalhôa, focando alguns dos seus painéis e revestimentos azulejares. A propriedade possui uma gama variada de azulejos de diversas épocas e estilos, mas o projeto de investigação que inclui o presente estudo centra-se exclusivamente nos azulejos de faiança do século XVI. Consequentemente, o artigo fará apenas referências esporádicas, ou indiretas, aos azulejos hispano-mouriscos que constituem também uma parte muito relevante do património azulejar da Bacalhôa.

O projeto também incluiu interpretações iconográficas dos painéis figurativos e dos azulejos de padrão mais representativos, mas os resultados desses estudos serão divulgados em artigos futuros especificamente a eles dedicados. Consequentemente, este ensaio inclui apenas detalhes iconográficos de grupos de azulejos que não serão tratados em artigos subsequentes. Isto aplica-se aos azulejos da parede do lago e das pequenas capelas existentes no muro da vinha.

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KEYWORDS: Palace of Bacalhôa; Brás de Albuquerque; Renaissance majolica; Azulejos

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Article translated from the Spanish by Judith Wilcock.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Bacalhôa country estate is not the only major monument in Portugal with an obscure history but it is a particularly regrettable case because it represents an essential work in the Renaissance art of this country [1].¹ This importance is derived both from the architecture and the tiles that adorn it, undoubtedly two brilliant expressions of Portuguese artistic talent.

In relation to the authenticity of the tiles examined in this project, it must be noted that the estate has undergone successive damage and repairs since the 16th century and has been looted on several occasions throughout its history. Furthermore, in the 20th century it was radically remodelled. As a result, many of the ceramic elements at the monument have unfortunately been lost, but the majolica azulejos mentioned in this article have been analysed and the results have confirmed that they were produced in the 16th century and could, in general, be systematized in a small number of classes according to their provenance [2]. The coherence of these results and, often, the singularity of the tiles in terms of patterns, technology used and chemical composition [2; 3], as well as the confirmed presence of the most representative panels when Joaquim Rasteiro researched the estate before 1895 [1] offers added assurance as to their originality.² The analyses have also clearly identified 17th century and later tiles in the estate, but these have not been addressed by the present research.

In relation to the restorations, fortunately the local Museum - *Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa* - holds documentation about the main architectural interventions carried out, most of them between the late 1930s and early 1940s. This documentation confirms that those works, like the more recent ones, exercised great respect towards the tile panels and linings. There is no space or occasion in this publication to describe those works, but although we have identified cases where certain tiles have been integrated in restorations or were presumably moved at an unknown date from one place to another within the estate, again the coherence with the descriptions by Joaquim Rasteiro and the 1898 illustrations by A. Blanc [1] offers assurance that the panels still applied and the linings that he mentioned were not altered by those relatively recent interventions.

The historical and artistic facts that will be described in this article, as well as in the ones that will foreseeably be published shortly, have several protagonists, some more indisputable than others. Among the indisputable ones is the estate itself, which holds enormous appeal from the architectural point of view but has a somewhat confusing history due to the lack of documentary information. The second protagonist we can be certain about is one of the owners of the estate, Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque (1500-1581), whom we believe to have promoted the Renaissance works and renovations of

1 In the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, the monument was known as the *Quinta do Paraíso*, and also as the *Quinta de Vila Freixe de Azeitão*, in the latter case named after the village located nearby, by the church of São Simão [1, p. 16]. However, in this article we will use the name by which it has been popularly known since the 17th century: *Quinta da Bacalhôa*, or Bacalhôa country estate, derived from the nickname “o Bacalhau” (“codfish” in English) that was given to Jerónimo Manuel de Noronha, husband of Maria de Mendonça e Albuquerque and owner of the estate between 1609 and 1620 [1, p. 58]

2 Furthermore, it is relevant to note that tiles of similar composition applied on to walls have until now only been found at the church of *Nossa Senhora da Graça* in Lisbon [4 and results to be published] and these are very likely also related to Bacalhôa through a common patron: Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque, as will be discussed below.

the monument and its majolica tile panels. Less certain is our knowledge about the artists behind the architecture and the tiles, who have hitherto remained anonymous but, especially in case of some of those responsible for the tiles, may now start to see the light. Two figures, both Flemish by birth although naturalised, respectively, in Spain and Portugal, have begun to emerge as possible authors of the design and execution of this vast collection of tiles: Juan Flores (Jan Floris) and João de Góis (Hans Goos) [2; 4].

In this first article we will attempt to describe the architecture of the estate and offer a few biographical details about Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque. However, the personality of the two ceramic artists will be addressed in subsequent papers in relation to the groups of tiles attributed to them, and we will therefore only mention their names in this first general essay about the estate. Future articles will define the various groups of tiles that have been identified according to the technical characteristics that have come to light following the analyses carried out.

In general, the tiles in the palace and around the estate present an apparent homogeneity to visitors. However, this supposed unity conceals an enormous variety when we consider the diverse factors that have contributed to the final appearance of the tiles. From a technical perspective, we could mention the origin of the clays that form the biscuits, the composition of the glazes that cover them, or the firing procedures to which they were subjected [2]. If we examine their artistic execution, in the case of the figurative panels we might wonder about the author of the design, the painter who executed them, the message which the chosen themes were meant to convey, or the relationship that exists between the tiles in Bacalhôa and other groups of Portuguese and Spanish tiles from the same period. In the case of the patterned tiles, we might also ask ourselves who designed the motifs and who manufactured the tiles and painted them, or whether the novelty we perceive in these designs influenced the subsequent production of tiles in Portugal.

We have divided the numerous tiles that clad the estate into groups defined by their production technology [2; 5] and the stylistic particularities of their execution. Subsequent papers dedicated to this important monument will offer detailed discussion of these groups of tiles or their most significant representatives.

In relation to the architecture that provides the support for the tiles, of the three essential types of information that usually shed light on the construction history of a building – archaeological, documentary and material – in this case we only have evidence of the latter which, despite certain losses, is fortunately reasonably well preserved in the palace and the other buildings that form part of the estate. With respect to the first channel of investigation, no systematic excavations of the subsoil or explorations of the walls have ever been carried out for scientific purposes. In terms of documentary information, only one author – Joaquim Rasteiro, at the end of the 19th century – consulted the old written records about the history of the estate and its owners [1]. Although now obsolete in terms of certain aspects where advances have occurred since its publication, his excellent book still provides us today with the most complete vision available about this monument and we will therefore refer to it repeatedly in this essay. Even so, it is evident from reading his account that when the author examined the private archive, owned at the time by Luís da Costa de Sousa de Macedo (1816–1896), Third Count of Mesquitela, he found numerous documents about the successive owners of the estate but no specific mention whatsoever about its construction or the architects who designed it, or about who made and painted

the tiles.³ In view of the absence of these two types of evidence, the author had to limit his research to a visual inspection of the monument and compared it with the general information about art history that was available at the time, which was considerably less than our knowledge today.

Since Rasteiro, successive authors who have attempted to gain an appreciation of how these constructions have evolved over time have followed that same method. That will also be our aim and approach on this occasion, as we set out to offer a new synthesis based on opinions by earlier authors whom we will mention, as well as on our personal observations. The hypotheses and conclusions of this article will focus on the architectural aspects and, albeit briefly, on the groups of tiles that clad these spaces, some of which will be discussed more specifically in future papers.

Apart from the experts who have shown a specific interest in the tiles, and who will be mentioned later on, the authors who have discussed the architecture have put forward different hypotheses about its construction history. While none of them has undertaken a global analysis of the monument, some have made useful suggestions that we will cite in relation to our own analysis.

Like Rasteiro and other authors before us, we can only continue to formulate questions to the monument due to the difficulty on this occasion of consulting again the written records belonging to a private archive. However, despite these unavoidable limitations, we have been able to analyse aspects such as the plans of the entire monument, the building elements that display stylistic hallmarks, and the dates and inscriptions engraved in various parts of the estate and palace. The data gathered about these three aspects will be discussed as integral parts of the three main building stages we can distinguish in this charming architectural complex and in its ceramic panels.

2. THE KING'S HUNTING PAVILION

Our analysis of the palace floor plan reveals that the two wings, arranged as an L-shape, are aligned with the walls of a pre-existing Gothic building [6]. The only remaining parts of this much older construction are two rooms with ribbed vault ceilings, resting on walls that are considerably thicker than those of the rest of the complex. All the previous authors consider this medieval structure to be the oldest part of the estate, and they all believe that it was built either in the days of King John I of Portugal (1357–1433) or in those of Prince João (1400–1442), his fourth son, born to Philippa of Lancaster (1360–1415). The date of the construction of this tower can be established as the beginning of the 15th century. In 1427, the king authorised Álvaro Annes, his barber, to cede his ownership rights over Bacalhôa to Prince João [1, p. 13]. When the prince passed away in 1442, the property would have passed to his daughter Dona Brites, Duchess of Viseu and Beja (1430–1506) [1, p. 14].

The only remaining parts of this construction are probably the walls because the ribbed vaults appear to have been renovated since they do not have the typically Gothic pointed shape. Much more recent works uncovered the keystone decorated with a large Gothic

3 Despite the minimal success of that first consultation, it would be useful to have the opportunity to examine those same records again but from a different historiographic perspective that may shed new light. It would be equally useful to perform searches in other archives that undoubtedly make reference to this important monument and its prominent owner.

flower that is now displayed in this space and is thought to have belonged to the old vault. The original paving of the ground floor of this medieval construction, located at a depth of approximately 2.5 meters, was discovered during works commissioned by Thomas Scoville. The Berardo family purchased Bacalhôa in the year 2000 and four years later replaced the protective barrier around the excavated area with the glass we see today (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Vaulted rooms of the 15th century tower (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

This part of the monument would almost certainly have been surrounded by smaller constructions that have not survived. In the 14th and 15th centuries, noble residences often adopted the form of a fortified tower, especially those located in rural areas or on royal hunting grounds, as this district was at the time. It is probably no coincidence that during the days of King John I one of the residents of this building was João Vicente, head hunter of the forests of Azeitão [1, p. 49]. Among the ceramics discovered during some of the works carried out at the palace in the late 1930s was a tile produced in Manises (Valencia), which probably represents a fragment of the original paving now lost (Figure 2). Considering the motifs that decorate this tile, the pavement to which it could correspond would date from the early years of the fifteenth century.⁴

⁴ Personal communication by Jaume Coll, director of the Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Decorativas, González Martí, in Valencia.



Figure 2. 15th century tile by the workshops of Manises (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

3. THE MANUELINE ESTATE

3.1. A controversial date

In our opinion, the next stage is the most important one as regards the general layout of the estate and the main buildings, and yet it has received the least appreciation, having been associated or confused by certain authors with the subsequent Renaissance renovation. Consequently, the date of this stage has aroused the most controversy. Until the end of the 19th century, the construction of the estate and palace was traditionally dated to the period when it was owned by Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque, namely between 1528 and 1581.⁵ The argument that probably justified this hypothesis was the stone plaque on the old entrance gate, which mentioned Brás and the date 1554. According to this theory, the entire complex dated from the mid-16th century, whereas we clearly differentiate two construction phases in its architectural evolution, coinciding with two of the three phases of ceramic panels. In contrast with this hypothesis, Rasteiro suggested that Albuquerque would have limited his actions to adding tile panels to the parts that were built during the days of Dona Brites, Infanta of Portugal, who owned the estate between 1442 and 1506. This second date also failed to clearly differentiate possible construction phases, and in fact the author inverted the previous operation and dated the Renaissance parts of the architecture to a much earlier period. In his opinion, the rich duchess, as a member of the Portuguese royal family and through the mediation of her son-in-law King John II (1455–1495), commissioned the Italian artist Andrea Contucci, more popularly known as Andrea Sansovino (1460–1529), to build or renovate everything we see today. If that

⁵ Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque (1500–1581) was the natural son of Afonso de Albuquerque (1452–1515) “The Great”, governor of India. When Afonso died, King Manuel I (1469–1521) gave Brás permission to take his father’s name and thereafter he was known as Afonso de Albuquerque. To avoid confusion, in this article we use the double name composed of his original one and that of his father.

theory were true, the Bacalhôa estate would have been the first Renaissance monument in the Iberian Peninsula. However, hardly any subsequent authors have given credence to this attractive but dubious hypothesis founded on a somewhat fragile documentary source: a text by Giorgio Vasari (1515-1575) open to ambiguous interpretation.⁶ Even so, many authors do agree with Rasteiro's conception of the complex as the product of the mind of a single architect, although some of them admit that it comprises elements of Portuguese architecture as well as Italian forms. In any case, neither Rasteiro nor any subsequent authors have ever provided a plausible explanation for this supposed and rather bizarre syncretic style, which is especially unlikely in an Italian architect.

Despite this ambiguity, we believe that, in its entirety, the estate represents a global project of which sufficient distinguishing traits have survived to be able to situate it in the reign of King Manuel I (1469–1521), which began in 1495 and ended in 1521. We base this provisional theory on formal arguments as well as on a written testimony.

The most obvious formal element is the architectural style of the towers that have been preserved in different parts of the monument. The written testimony is provided by Rasteiro himself, who was able to observe traces of the pre-Renaissance structure, many of which – although not all – are nowadays concealed. However, it would be too risky to suggest a specific date for the construction of the estate within the time span of Manueline art since this lasted a very long time, during which the estate had three owners: Dona Brites, *Infanta* of Portugal, Brites de Lara and, lastly, Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque.

The sixty-four years between 1442 and 1506 when Dona Brites owned Bacalhôa and enjoyed a very comfortable financial situation as the wife of one of the richest noblemen in Portugal, Infante D. Fernando (1433–1470), Duke of Beja and Viseu and Constable of Portugal, are two factors that have led many authors to believe that this noble lady commissioned major works at her country estate. However, plausible as it may be, we do not have any definitive testimonies to confirm this theory. If she really did promote these works, the stylistic features suggest that they were probably initiated in the latter part of this period.⁷

The estate may also have been created after Dona Brites passed away, when the property passed to her great-granddaughter, Brites de Lara (1502–?). This noble lady owned the estate between 1506 and 1528; in other words, for a period of twenty-two years that coincides precisely with the golden age of this Portuguese architectural style.

6 The paragraph in Giorgio Vasari's seminal work *Vite dei piu eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architetti* (Edizione Giuntina, Volume II, Florence 1568, pp. 116-117) refers to a construction by Sansovino commissioned by the king of Portugal, although the monarch's name is not specified. He writes: "lavoró per quel re molte opere di scultura ed architettura e particolarmente un bellissimo palazzo con quattro torri...." (worked on many works of sculpture and architecture for the king, in particular a beautiful palace with four towers...). It had already been suggested that the palace might be the Castle of Alvito, although that building has five towers [7]. Rasteiro was inclined to think that it might also refer to Bacalhôa, even though it only has three towers [1, p. 10]. However, neither author took the trouble to check whether Sansovino's approach to design bore any relation to what we see at Alvito or at Bacalhôa. We must consider, as well, that it is possible that Rasteiro confused the sculptor Andrea Sansovino (1460-1529) with his disciple, sculptor and architect, Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570).

7 Rasteiro's text is more ambiguous in terms of the stylistic classification of the overall monument, which he simply describes as "sui generis", although he does say very categorically that: "nothing has of the Manueline style since it had not yet been created" (nada tem do estylo manuelino que ainda não era creado), idea which we consider to be at least debatable [1, p. 9].

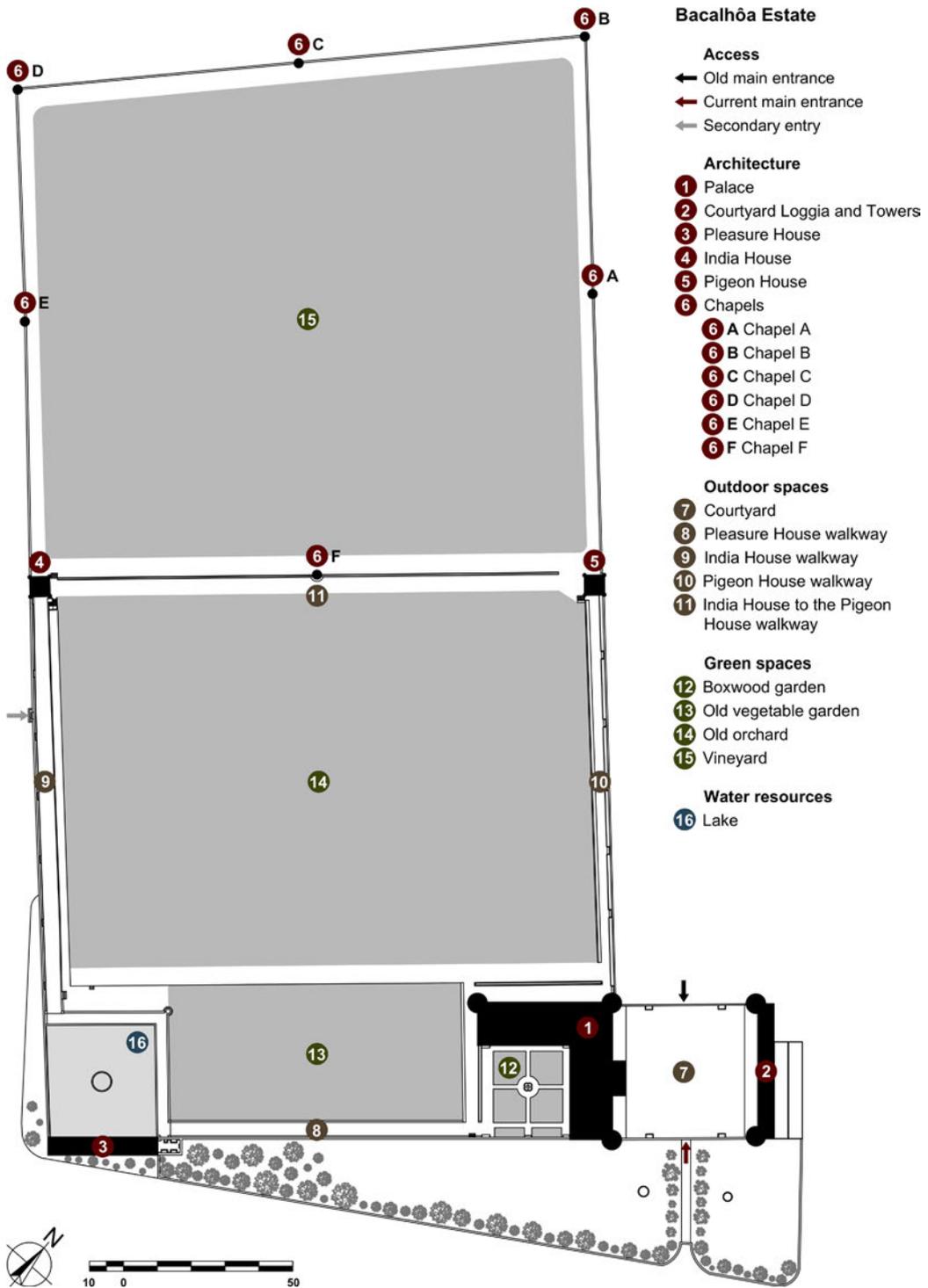


Figure 3. Plan view of the estate and Palace of Bacalhôa (image: Ana Cláudia Sousa © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Lastly, the possibility that it was Brás [Afonso] Albuquerque himself who had the great Manueline monument built after 1528 is somewhat more remote but not entirely out of the question. There are two arguments in favour of this hypothesis. In the first place, the Bacalhôa towers are very similar to the bartizans of the Belém Tower, which was designed and built by Francisco de Arruda (?–1567) between 1514 and 1519, approximately, during the reign of Manuel I [8, p. 162]. In the second place, Albuquerque may also have commissioned him in 1523 to design his Lisbon residence, the *Casa dos Bicos*. As well as the diamond rustication, supposedly proposed by the erudite client recently arrived from Italy, this house contains numerous distinctly Manueline features, although in this case they date from the reign of John III (1521–1557), which indicates that Portuguese architecture did not suddenly change its style on the accession of the new king. [8, p. 168].

But irrespective of the date of these Manueline works, the architectural complex of the palace into which the original Gothic construction was integrated clearly gave the estate its overall coherence and was the result of an ambitious architectural undertaking. As the first step in the operation, the plot had to be demarcated and the highest part of the land levelled to accommodate the main buildings. When the palace was built, the old medieval tower erected on the natural terrain was absorbed into the new construction, but semi-buried, with the result that the levels of the new floors were modified to align them with the new building designed in this second phase.

The layout of the entire complex is organised around almost orthogonal lines. The total area is therefore a near perfect rectangle on a terrain that slopes from south to north, in the direction of the River Tagus, creating the ideal conditions for the waterworks to irrigate the crops. It is divided into three sectors: the east side of the highest sector is given over to the courtyard, palace and garden, while an artificial square lake occupies the west side. An orchard separates the two parts of this first sector. The other two sectors of the estate are planted with crops and preserve the natural gradient of the terrain (Figure 3).

The main entrance to the Manueline estate must have been a portal in the same style – now lost – situated on the north side of the forecourt. This original entrance was preserved but with a Renaissance portal replacing the Manueline structure, and it remained in use until the 20th century when it was closed up and the south gate, formerly the secondary entrance, became the main access to the estate. The stables, wine cellars, kiln and living quarters of the domestic staff were adjacent to the east side of forecourt and also remained in use. The west side was occupied by the main façade of the palace, albeit with a different appearance, and behind it was the original garden with the same area it occupies today. Beyond this ornamental garden were the kitchen garden and the artificial lake for irrigation, and the orchard with its fruit trees on the intermediate terrace. The walls on the lowest level of the estate, which had become a vineyard by the 16th century, incorporated six circular bartizans or small overhanging turrets. All of these elements of the Manueline estate were essentially preserved during the Renaissance renovation, which mainly affected the palace façades and the vineyard bartizans as well as including the construction of new parts that we will name later on.

3.2. The imprint of an artistic style

The description of this major second construction phase as “Manueline” is owing to the presence of certain architectural and also ceramic formal elements which, in our opinion, have never received the importance they deserve. Several stone astrolabes, more

characteristic of constructions from the reign of Manuel I than from the previous period, are dotted around the estate and may be distinguishable from the modern reproductions that accompany them. Likewise, on display in the main courtyard loggia are various stone carvings that could well be elements from the first Manueline palace that were removed during the Renaissance renovation in the mid-16th century (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Part of a column of the Manueline palace (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Lastly, the cylindrical towers that appear here and there throughout the complex provide the basis for the most important argument of all. In the description of the estate dating from 1631, the towers are called *cubelos* and *meios cubelos*, the diminutive form of the medieval Portuguese word *alcube*. The term refers generically to a single-room space with its own roof.⁸ The estate has eleven of these structures: three two-storey *cubelos* belonging to the palace; two single-storey *meios cubelos* flanking the façade of the service areas, situated in the forecourt; six smaller ones inserted into the lower perimeter wall; and two more of the same type, perhaps belonging to the original Bacalhôa complex, which have been integrated into a modern family house situated just south of the estate.⁹ They all have the same circular plan, cylindrical volume and semicircular or segmental roof, decorated with peculiar radial *gomos* or gadroons (Figure 5).

⁸ The term has Islamic roots derived from *al-qubba*, which has Spanish versions in the word *alcoba* and its diminutive *alcobilla* or *alcubilla* (“alcove” in English, but referring to a recess in the wall of a room or garden rather than to the independent single-room space indicated above).

⁹ We have not been able to analyse these two *cubelos* in any detail and we therefore cannot be sure of their association with Bacalhôa, although everything suggests that they date from the same period as the ones on the estate.



Figure 5. North-east cylindrical tower of the Palace (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

Barring the shape of the roof, the construction type to which the eleven Bacalhôa *cubelos* correspond was used in Christian defensive architecture during the Middle Ages to accommodate spiral staircases, form defensive towers to reinforce fortified walls and castles, or create sentry boxes for the soldiers who guarded fortresses. In general, the entire Palace floor plan and turreted perimeter present a very military appearance, suggesting that their author had experience in defensive architecture. The assimilation of this type of construction in a domestic setting like Bacalhôa is easily explained by the fact that country estates such as these were only occupied by their owners in the summer season or on special occasions, and they therefore had to be protected for the rest of the year against possible attacks on both the house and crops.

The most remarkable aspect of these elements is not their cylindrical volume, but rather the expressive formal treatment of the exterior of the dome that covers them, a formula used in military architecture during the reign of Manuel I. Some authors believe it is inspired by Hindu architecture, which the Portuguese discovered after Vasco de Gama (1469-1524) reached India in 1498, although this theory is invalidated by a construction that predates that expedition. Other authors believe the inspiration to be the minaret of the Kutubiyya mosque in Marrakech, which is certainly plausible because the Portuguese architects of the Manueline period often visited Africa on assignments aimed to maintain and defend their Portuguese possessions on that continent. As we mentioned earlier, the similarity between the roofs of the Bacalhôa *cubelos* and those of the Belém Tower suggests that they may have been designed by the same architect who, in this case, could

have been Francisco de Arruda (?–1547); in fact, we know that around this time Arruda visited at least Safi and Azammur [8, p. 164] and it seems that these *cubelos* may have been inspired by the Islamic world. Moreover, the L-shaped floor plan of the palace is somewhat at odds with Roman and Tuscan Renaissance construction types, which usually have a more compact volume; rather, it seems to imitate the specifically models from the late 15th or first half of the 16th century that can be seen in miniatures in books from the late Middle Ages. It therefore seems possible that these constructions were built during that period and were designed by a crown architect who was active during the reign of Manuel I (1495–1521).

Of the ceramic panels from the Manueline estate, numerous Sevillian tiles made with the *cuerda seca* (dry cord) and *arista* (raised ridge) techniques have survived, dating from the late 15th or early 16th centuries (Figure 6). They are not preserved *in situ* but in the storerooms at the Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa after being discovered in the subsoil of the palace and orchards. This suggests that they were deliberately dismantled from the building during major works, which may well have been the following phase of Renaissance renovations.



Figure 6. *Cuerda seca* tiles manufactured in Seville ca. 1500 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

4. BRÁS [AFONSO] DE ALBUQUERQUE AND HIS RENAISSANCE RENOVATIONS

4.1. A humanist patron

One of the crucial reasons for the importance of this architectural complex and its tile panels is the personality and erudition of one of its owners. However, unlike Afonso de Albuquerque the Great (1452–1515), very little is known about his son Brás [Afonso] [9 ; 10 , pp. 371-381; 11; 27, pp. 25-26] (Figure 7). What we do know is that he was born in Alhandra, on the banks of the River Tagus near Lisbon, as a result of his father's liaison with Joana Vicente, an unmarried woman apparently of African (possibly Moroccan) origin. In 1506, when his father had to leave for India, the five-year-old Brás was entrusted to the care of his aunt, Isabel de Albuquerque, who was married to Pedro de Silva, Count of Bastos. On 26 February of that same year, Albuquerque the Great's natural son was legitimised by Manuel I, and the king himself decided that the child

should study the humanities with the monks of the Convent of Santo Elói¹⁰ in Lisbon, a congregation of Secular Canons of St. John the Evangelist (commonly known as Lóios).¹¹ In 1515, shortly before his death, Albuquerque named Brás his rightful heir and asked the king to acknowledge his considerable services to the crown through his son. The king acceded to this request, granting Brás permission not only to use his father's name but to benefit from a sizeable income and significant privileges. These revenues, plus the assets inherited from his father and his aunt Isabel, made Brás a very rich as well as erudite man with great influence in court circles. In 1520 he married Maria de Noronha, daughter of António de Noronha, scrivener of the secret seal to Manuel I and elevated to the status of Count of Linhares by John III in 1525.



Figure 7. 16th century bust presumably of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque by an unknown sculptor. *Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa* (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The year after his marriage, Brás [Afonso] accompanied the Infanta Beatriz of Portugal (1504–1538), the second daughter of Manuel I, on her journey to Italy, where she was to meet her future husband, Charles III of Savoy (1486–1553). An account of that journey,

¹⁰ Convent of Santo Elói de Lisboa: <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=1379727>

¹¹ The convent building was badly damaged by the 1755 earthquake and the canons were temporarily transferred to the Monastery of São Bento de Xabregas (or Enxabregas), the Congregation's house and headquarters located on the outskirts of Lisbon. The Monastery of São Bento de Xabregas (or Enxabregas) is also known as *Convento do Beato António*, or *Casa de São Bento*.

written by García de Resende (1470–1536), was published posthumously in 1545 and refers to the role of captain which the young Albuquerque exercised on the expedition, although there is no mention of his supposed artistic experiences in the cradle of the Renaissance [11, p. 495]. On his return to Lisbon, he was soon enlisted to travel to Seville with Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539), the eldest daughter of Manuel I, who in 1526 married Charles I of Spain and V of the Holy Roman Empire (1500-1558) at the Real Alcázar in that city. The ceremony would probably have taken place before one of the two majolica altarpieces which Niculoso Pisano (?-1529) had painted for the Catholic Monarchs in 1504: namely, the altarpiece in the chapel of Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516), now lost but known thanks to an old description and a few loose tiles [12]. This first contact with the Andalusian city and the chance to see the tile-clad courtyards and rooms at the Alcázar may have further kindled the taste for ceramics that had been stirred initially at the royal palaces in Portugal, especially the one in Sintra.

While in Seville, Pedro de Meneses (1486-?) third Marquis of Vila Real,¹² another member of the Portuguese entourage, informed John III that the young Brás [Afonso] needed to return to Lisbon to take care of certain domestic matters. Speaking very highly of the young knight, including his excellent handwriting, Meneses recommended that Brás [Afonso] should be invited to write the king's letters. The haste in returning to Lisbon may have been motivated by the conclusion of the works at his house on the banks of the Tagus, known today as the *Casa dos Bicos* [13].

Nothing more is known about Albuquerque during the 1520s, or indeed during the 1530s and 40s. By this time he was the owner of the Bacalhôa country estate and may have planned the first renovations. We do know that the year 1534 found him in Lisbon with his brothers-in-law preparing a fleet to assist the besieged city of Safi in Morocco, an expedition ultimately cancelled, and we also know that he lived in Lisbon in the 1540s as the habitual procurer for the *Casa da Misericórdia* charity institution. During this period, he must have spent a significant amount of time at Bacalhôa, supervising the Renaissance renovations to the palace that concluded in 1554.

During these decades he would also have occupied his time studying the royal archives in Lisbon, where he read the letters which his father had written to the king and which enabled him to describe the feats of Albuquerque the Great in the first edition of his *Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque capitão geral & governador da Índia* (Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque, Captain-General and Governor of India) published in Lisbon in 1557 [14, pp. 9 - 10] (Figure 8a).

A remarkable aspect of this first publication is the frontispiece: the title is set within a portal decorated with grotesques, candelabra and military paraphernalia, in keeping with the Early Renaissance taste in the Iberian Peninsula that is reflected in the ornate Hispano-Moresque tiles at his palace, although in contrast to the austere architectural style used in the reconfiguration of the building.

12 D. Pedro de Meneses (1486-?), third Marquis of Vila Real married Dona Brites de Lara, who inherited Bacalhôa in 1506 from her great-grandmother D. Brites, and sold the property to Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque in 1528.



Figure 8. a. - Frontispiece of the first edition of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque’s *Commentarios*, b. - Frontispiece of the second edition © Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, res-429-v; res-430-v.

Not much is known about him after that date, precisely when the renovations of the Bacalhôa gardens and orchards must have continued and when he must have simultaneously been busy revising and expanding the first edition of his book and preparing other writings that he mentions but presumably never published. This second edition, corrected and enlarged, appeared two decades later, in 1576, under the title *Commentarios do grande Afonso Dalboquerque, capitam geral que foy das Indias Orientaes em tempo do muito poderoso Rey dom Manuel o primeiro deste nome. Novamente emendados y acrescentados pelo mesmo auctor conforme às informações mais certas que agora teve*. As well as including more text, the new edition featured a different frontispiece with a more austere design devoid of all ornamentation (Figure 8b).

The details we have of his mature years suggest that he moved in high-ranking circles in Lisbon and had close ties with the institutions of the realm. He was an adviser to John III (1502–1557) and on 12 December 1572 King Sebastian (1554–1578) appointed him president of the senate in Lisbon, a position he used to undertake major improvements in the urban infrastructure [14, p. XXXIX].

Of particular interest are the details which Albuquerque himself provides in his *Commentarios* about the transfer of his father’s mortal remains. After Albuquerque the Great died in Goa on 15 December 1515, he was buried in the city’s chapel of *Nossa Senhora da Serra*, where he remained for nearly half a century [15, p. 214]. Despite express wishes in his codicil for his remains to be sent back to Portugal, and despite the attempts of the executor of his will, Pero Correa, to honour those wishes, both Manuel I and John III repeatedly refused the necessary permission to transfer the body, fearful that such an operation would weaken the Portuguese presence in its Indian possessions. After

the executor died, it was the celebrated figure's son himself who took matters into his hands and managed to secure the long-awaited permission, finally granted by the then queen regent Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), when his own father-in-law, António de Noronha, was viceroy of India. We do not know the exact date of the royal permission, but we do know that Catherine's regency commenced on 11 July 1557. According to Brás [Afonso]: "Some years went by without a result, so that it was necessary to have a bull from the Pope with great excommunications to the inhabitants of Goa if they thwarted the relocation"¹³ [16, p. 249]. Albuquerque tells us that his father's remains were transferred under the decree issued by the regent – i.e. before 1562 when she ceded the position to her brother-in-law Henry I of Portugal (1512–1580). It must therefore have been between 1557 and 1562 that permission was granted and the necessary alterations could commence at the Albuquerque family grave in the convent of *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, in Lisbon. Having overcome these bureaucratic obstacles, the bones of Afonso Albuquerque reached Lisbon on 6 April 1566 and were provisionally deposited in the *Misericórdia* church while the aforementioned alterations were being undertaken at what would supposedly become his final resting place, alongside the mortal remains of other family members. Fulfilling his father's wishes and following the family tradition were therefore clearly the reasons that prompted Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque's renewed commitment to the Augustinian community. This involved the monks accepting a new burial and assuming the obligation to say masses for the salvation of the souls of the deceased patrons of the chapel in exchange for a price agreed by both parties. A month or so later, on 19 May 1566, the remains were carried in a solemn procession from the *Misericórdia* to the church of the convent of *Nossa Senhora de Graça* and placed in the Main Chapel for the celebration of the funerary rites, as the son himself tells us in his *Commentarios*. According to Sales, the catafalque was not only placed in the Main Chapel for the purpose of these rites but because the grave itself was located in this privileged space, although he offers no description of the external appearance: "In the Main Chapel where Brás de Albuquerque, at great expense, had managed for his father's remains to be buried in a special grave ..." [15, p. 217, note 9].¹⁴ This location is confirmed in a document written by Albuquerque himself that records his change of mind following disagreements with the Augustinian community. The document forms part of his will and although it is not dated we can reasonably suppose that he signed it in 1570. He writes as follows: "I determined to take the Main Chapel of *Nossa Senhora da Graça* of the Augustines for his and mine and my wife and daughter's burial".¹⁵

The alterations at the burial site mentioned in the *Commentarios* probably commenced when the transfer permission was granted and the voyage from Goa to Lisbon was organised, although, as we have already mentioned, the works at the grave had not finished when the mortal remains reached Portugal. We do not know the exact nature of these alterations, although they probably included the tile decoration that we can see today in the church's sacristy; according to the detailed analysis that has recently

13 "...passaram-se alguns annos sem o poder acabar, que lhe foi necessario aver uma Bulla do Papa com grandes excomunhões aos moradores de Goa que o não impedissem..."

14 "Na capela-mor onde Brás de Albuquerque, com grande despesa conseguira que ficassem em jazigo especial os ossos de seu pai..."

15 "...determinei tomar pera sepultura de seus ossos e minha e de minha moler e filha a Capella Mayor de *Nossa Senhora da Graça* da Ordem de Sancto Agustinho..." Azeitão Parish Archive, Dossier 5, [no date]. Text extracted from the will of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque. Document transcribed and kindly facilitated by the historian Ruy Ventura.

been conducted, the tiles are signed with the personal monogram of the tile painter João de Góis [4, pp. 47-66]. As suggested in that study, the tiles at *Nossa Senhora da Graça* feature iconographic details that reveal their funerary theme and they may therefore be the remains of the tiles that clad the wall of the Albuquerque funerary chapel. If the tiles that we see today in the sacristy, recomposed, are indeed the ones we suspect, it is reasonable to assume that they would have already been *in situ* when the funerary rites were celebrated following the arrival of the mortal remains in May 1566, the *terminus ante quem* to date them. It is somewhat more difficult to establish the *terminus post quem* date, although it is logical to assume that the commission was probably issued once the royal and papal permissions for the transfer had been granted, between 1557 and 1562, by which time, incidentally, João de Góis was already in Lisbon [17]. News of these permissions may explain the correlations detected in recent analyses [to be published] between some of the tiles at *Nossa Senhora da Graça* and certain tiles at the Bacalhôa estate which, like these latter tiles, may have been made around 1565 or very shortly after that date if, as we suppose, the chapel renovations were completed in 1566.

Although the remains of Albuquerque the Great lay at *Nossa Senhora da Graça* for nearly seventy years, his son's relationship with the convent appears to have been considerably briefer and less reposeful. In the document quoted above, Albuquerque alleges the breach of certain obligations by the Augustinian monks and severs his commitment to the order, stating his decision to install the new family pantheon in the church of São Simão in Azeitão, which he himself had committed to rebuilding from scratch around 1568, publicly assuming this commitment in 1570.

We know from the inscriptions in the sacramental records at São Simão that it was there that his own mortal remains were buried; the same books also record the births, marriages and deaths of the successive owners of his estate and, finally, the arrival of his father's remains in 1635. This detail provided by Sales is confirmed by another text from the 17th century related to the Main Chapel at *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, which reads: "These bones are no longer in this chapel, they were given to D. Jorge Manuel, son of D. Jeronimo Manuel, by nickname o Bacalhau, and it is said that he took them to Azeitão" [15, p. 217, note 9].¹⁶

If, as seems plausible, the tiles of João de Góis originally clad the wall of the place where the remains of Afonso de Albuquerque were laid to rest, it is more than likely that they were dismantled between 26 August 1633 and 22 June 1637. On the first of those dates the Augustinians terminated the contract they had signed seventy years earlier with his son, and on the second date they signed a new contract ceding the patronage rights of the Main Chapel to the heirs of Diogo de Meneses (1553-1635) 1st Count of Ericeira [15, p. 226]. The tiles depicting the Albuquerque coat of arms were probably destroyed, while the ones featuring grotesques may have been reused for purely ornamental purposes to decorate a different space at the convent [4].

Lastly, there is an aspect about the personality of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque that we must not forget: his intense relations with the Spanish court. This may partly explain the presence at Bacalhôa not only of Hispano-Moresque tiles made in Seville, something found in numerous Portuguese buildings, but especially and more exceptionally the

16 "Ja estes ossos não estão nesta capela, entregaronse a D. Jorge Manoel, fº de D. Jeronimo Manoel, o bacalhao de alcunha que dizem os levou pº Azeitão..." Azeitão Parish Archive, Dossier 5, [no date]. Text extracted from the will of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque. Document transcribed and kindly facilitated by the historian Ruy Ventura.

presence of Castilian majolica tiles. The Albuquerque family's ties with Castile dated from the Middle Ages. When writing about his coat of arms and the origin of his surname, Albuquerque mentions his ties with the Portuguese nobility as well as with the noble families of Castile and León, and he maintained that sense of belonging to an Iberian elite until his dying days. According to Rasteiro, Albuquerque may well have met Cristóvão de Moura in Azeitão (ca. 1536–1613), in the years when the latter's sister, Francisca de Távora, wife of Álvaro de Sousa, lived at the nearby Alcube estate [1, p. 51]. We know that during the reign of Philip II, Cristóvão de Moura was not only responsible for the diplomatic relations between Spain and Portugal but a staunch defender of Philip's dynastic rights to the Portuguese throne and his plan to unify the two kingdoms, which had also been the aim of his grandparents, the Catholic Monarchs, in close collaboration with Manuel I. Married to Margarida Corte-Real (1547-1610), Moura had been living at the Spanish court since 1554, although he made frequent journeys to Portugal. Our analysis of Moura's letters to Philip II at the end of the 1570s confirms Rasteiro's suspicions. Thanks to these letters, we know that he met frequently with Albuquerque and that the two joined forces to promote Philip's cause [18, pp. 221, 252, 617, 649]. Moura was a member of the Council of Portugal at the court of Philip II of Spain, and in 1594 Philip appointed him *sumiller de corps* and gave him the title of Count of Castel Rodrigo; Philip III subsequently elevated him to the status of marquis and then viceroy of Portugal. In fact, the Portuguese and Spanish nobility maintained intense contact before and after the union of the two crowns in 1580, just as they had in previous centuries [19, pp. 67-100]. Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque and those who bore his surname after his death, like the Noronhas, Counts of Linhares, and the Meneses, Marquises of Vila Real, all related to his first wife, formed an active part of the wide circle of Portuguese nobles who, united and led by Moura, favoured the dynastic rights of Philip II over those of other candidates. Albuquerque's ties with the Spanish court were maintained by successive owners of his estate until the latter days of Habsburg Portugal. The split between the two kingdoms in 1640 surprised Jorge Manoel de Albuquerque receiving the title of Count of Lavradio from Philip IV of Spain, which obviously, on his return to Portugal, was not confirmed [1, pp. 60-61].

Loureiro has suggested that it would be worthwhile to undertake "a re-analysis of his position as a supporter of Philip II of Spain's claims to the throne of Portugal, which has been seen in a somewhat anachronistic way by Portuguese historiography" [10, p. 15]¹⁷. In fact, the political dimension of this episode is neither inconsequential nor anecdotal in this project. Quite the opposite: it could shed important light on certain parallels between the Bacalhôa architecture and the evolution of this art at the court of Philip II, as well as revealing the reason for the correlations detected in the tiles. It is likely that the fall from grace of Albuquerque's descendants indirectly favoured the conservation of the Bacalhôa estate which might otherwise have been drastically renovated in the Baroque age, like the residences of the Portuguese noble families that supported the rival cause.

4.2. The palace renovation and the evolution of its tiles

As confirmed by the *Casa dos Bicos*, the architects of the early 16th century were bilingual, at least in their artistic language, because they were able to design in the style derived

17 "... uma reanálise à sua posição como apoiante das pretensões de Felipe II de Espanha ao trono de Portugal, que tem sido encarada de forma algo anacrónica pela historiografia portuguesa."

from the Late Gothic as well as in the style that we now call Renaissance.¹⁸ However, the hypothesis that Francisco de Arruda (?–1547) or another, unidentified architect of his generation was able to combine both styles with the fluency we see in this monument is somewhat difficult to defend, not least because the “Roman” style observed in general at the Bacalhôa estate does not belong to the early phase of the Renaissance which in Portugal followed the “Manueline” style, but is a more evolved version of classicism. We can therefore surmise that for the *aggiornamento* that he carried out at his palace in the middle of the century, Albuquerque hired the services of a younger architect than Arruda, fully trained in the mature Roman language. Pedro Flor has associated the works at Bacalhôa with Arruda’s son, Miguel (?–1561), which is a plausible possibility [21, p. 77]. Even so, we should not rule out Diogo de Torralva (1500–1566), Francisco’s son-in-law and successor in his post as head of royal works, especially the ones carried out in the Alentejo region. In fact, Torralva witnessed a certain transition from the Renaissance style to Mannerism, a change that recalls the perceptible differences between the Lisbon Loggia of the Palace, with its more archaic features, and the elements designed for the Courtyard, Boxwood Garden and Pleasure House (Figures 10 and 12). Except for the Lisbon Loggia, the other Renaissance renovations and constructions appear to have been designed in the same language and possibly by a single architect, even though they were carried out in successive stages.

The classicist renovation of the palace architecture was completed in 1554. This is confirmed by the inscription engraved in Roman capitals on the Arrábida breccia plaque that adorns the classicist portal that was carved for the main entrance to the estate. The text offers no doubt about the promoter of the work and its importance: *ALFONSUS ALBUQUERCUS ALFONSI MAGNI INDORUM DEBELLATORIS FILIUS-SUB JOANNES III PORTUGALIAE REGGE CONDIDIT- ANNO MDLIII*, which translates as: *Made by Afonso de Albuquerque, son of Afonso the Great, conqueror of India, during the reign of John III, King of Portugal. Year 1554.*¹⁹

We do not know if Francisco Arruda was responsible for the overall design of the Manueline estate soon after 1528, but Albuquerque probably embarked on the Renaissance renovation after Arruda had passed away, i.e. after 1547. Although the wishes of the erudite owner played a part, the stylistic redefinition of the building clearly reflects the intervention of a new architect. To avoid aesthetic disharmonies with the existing structures, the architect of this renovation had to remove all the Manueline openings from the original façades and replace them with new designs. Their arrangement on the external surfaces would have obeyed a new criterion based on symmetry, uniformity and austerity, deliberately eschewing the asymmetry, variety and decorative exuberance of

18 Other master builders from Southern Portugal or nearby Andalusia were even able to design “*a lo mosaico*” or “*a lo morisco*”, in other words in the language that we now call “*mudéjar*”, an aesthetic closely related to certain Portuguese buildings [20].

19 Inscriptions of this type mentioning the name of the promoter, the date and the highest ruling authority were always engraved in the Renaissance to commemorate the completion of a new building or major renovations to an existing building, in keeping with a deep-rooted Roman tradition dating from antiquity. The location of this particular inscription indicates that at least the works that affected the palace were completed that year. The Latin verb “*condere*” used in the text means “*build*”, “*form*”, “*create*”. It is difficult to explain the use of this word for works in which, as suggested by Rasteiro, the promoter merely added tile panels to the existing structure. Rather, we can infer that this patron promoted the overall renovation of the palace and possibly the buildings scattered around the estate.

the previous period. Rasteiro, who had the opportunity to examine the palace's denuded walls in great detail, bears witness to this transformation. Three paragraphs from his work provide evidence of these signs that were subsequently concealed by render²⁰ [1, p. 20].

Other indications that this was the case are still visible today. For example, on the ground floor of the palace façade that opens onto the Boxwood Garden, the right-hand side of the entrance door is flanked by a large basket-handle arch, made of limestone, which was blocked up during the new configuration of openings. This means that not only the corner towers but a large section of the palace walls we see today must have belonged to a structure that predates the Renaissance renovation. Apart from these items of evidence, we cannot know for sure how much of the second stage of works was reused in this third stage.

The radical modification of the entire palace must have involved removing all the *cuierda seca* and *arista* tiles from the Manueline building. This may well explain why none of those tiles datable to the late 15th or early 16th centuries clad the palace today and are instead located in the museum storerooms after been recovered when the subsoil near the building was disturbed.

Despite the fact that the tiles from the Bacalhôa Palace and estate are not documented or dated, except for a single panel of majolica tiles depicting the biblical episode of Susanna and the Elders, mentioned below, we are working on the assumption that most of the ones made with the *arista* technique that we see in the palace and parts of the gardens are subsequent to the Manueline building and prior to 1554 when the important Renaissance works were finished at the palace. These are the tiles that must have formed the initial panels of the Renaissance renovation of the architecture, completed that year.²¹ All the *arista* tiles from Seville display the patterns of the conventional repertoire we see in many Portuguese and Andalusian monuments.

There are no known majolica tiles of local production in Portugal before 1554, although Juan Flores himself may have arrived in Lisbon around that time as we know from a document of 1555 [22, pp. 102-103] and soon after that year João de Góis arrived there too [17]. We know that Flores had been mentioned in a document of 1551 as absent from Antwerp [23] and we suppose that it is on that date that he arrives in the Iberian Peninsula. We do not know of any works by these artists from such an early date. The first work by Flores that we know of is located in Spain and dates from 1559, when he was already living probably in Plasencia (Cáceres); we cannot be sure of the date of any work by De Góis. The only dated majolica tiles at Bacalhôa bear the year 1565 and are located on the panel of Susanna and the Elders that decorates the central room in the

20 The fall of the render of the northern tower has uncovered a large window with a semicircular lintel, which is completely different from the others and shows that the tower has been restored and modified (*A queda do reboco da torre septentrional descobriu uma janella ampla e de verga semicircular, que destoa completamente das demais e mostra que a torre foi restaurada e soffreu modificação*). He then goes on to say: Below, one can see a door of the same shape, which communicated the tower with the ground floor of the palace (*En baixo divisa-se uma porta de iguaes fôrmas, que communicava a torre com o pavimento terreo do palácio*); and then: Other vestiges appeared attesting changes to the primitive building (*Outros vestígios foram apparecendo indicativos de alterações na primitiva edificação*).

21 We do not know whether the rooms on the ground floor that have bare walls were originally clad with tiles.

Pleasure House. Other tiles that share characteristics with this panel are found elsewhere in the Pleasure House as well as in the Palace, although their installation is more closely associated with others that have similar motifs but different qualities. This suggests that the majolica pattern tiles and panels in the Palace, Pleasure House and India House were made by a team of different potters and probably over a short space of time. We believe that the group of tiles attributable to Juan Flores dates from the years 1564, 1565 and 1566 and some other tiles attributable to his team could date a few years later [3]. The analyses undertaken reveal that the production method employed varied, and in fact we find several types of supports, glazes and firing systems [2], as well as different qualities of artistic execution. However, we are not in a position to determine chronologies of productions with characteristics other than those corresponding to the brief period indicated. Here, we will only differentiate between two groups of tiles according to whether they were made in Portugal or Spain, but we will not assign specific dates.²²

One of the groups comprises tiles imported from Castile, probably from Talavera de la Reina (Toledo), which were only installed on the ground floor of the palace, specifically in the north sector and maybe in the Lisbon Loggia. A second group was installed in the Lower Oratory, in the Boxwood Garden and in the rooms on the *piano nobile*. All the tiles in this second group were made in Portugal, although some of them would have been painted on biscuits imported from Spain. Since the tiles in both groups are mixed haphazardly in these buildings, for greater clarity in their description we will follow a topographical order, specifying the phase and group to which the tiles in each place supposedly correspond.

The ones imported from Seville prior to 1554 belong to two well-known genres in the productions of that city: monochrome, white, green, honey-coloured and blue glazed tiles (Figure 9), and Hispano-Moresque polychrome *arista* and *cuerda seca* tiles.



Figure 9. Bench on the north façade of the palace (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

²² By “made in” we mean the place where they were glazed, painted and fired. The procedure for majolica tiles and the style of their decoration were imported from Flanders, where they had been established by Italian artists. Both João de Góis and Juan Flores were Flemish artists who settled in Portugal and Spain, respectively, and developed their known work there. Genuinely national production of painted majolica would arrive with the generation that followed these pioneers.

We do not know if the installation in the palace of the majolica tiles that interest us here meant that the pre-existing Hispano-Moresque tiles had to be dismantled, as certain signs appear to indicate. If that was the case, it would be logical for the arista tiles displaced in this operation to have been reused in subsequent panels in the gardens and orchards, and that would explain their presence around the rest of the estate where we frequently find them alongside majolica tiles with a different provenance and presumably dating from a later period. This reutilisation is not incompatible with the fact that tiles of this type probably continued to be imported from Seville after 1554, as suggested by the arista tiles decorated with patterns unique to Bacalhôa that reveal certain correlations in their designs with the majolica ones in the pavilions at the estate, presumably installed a decade later.

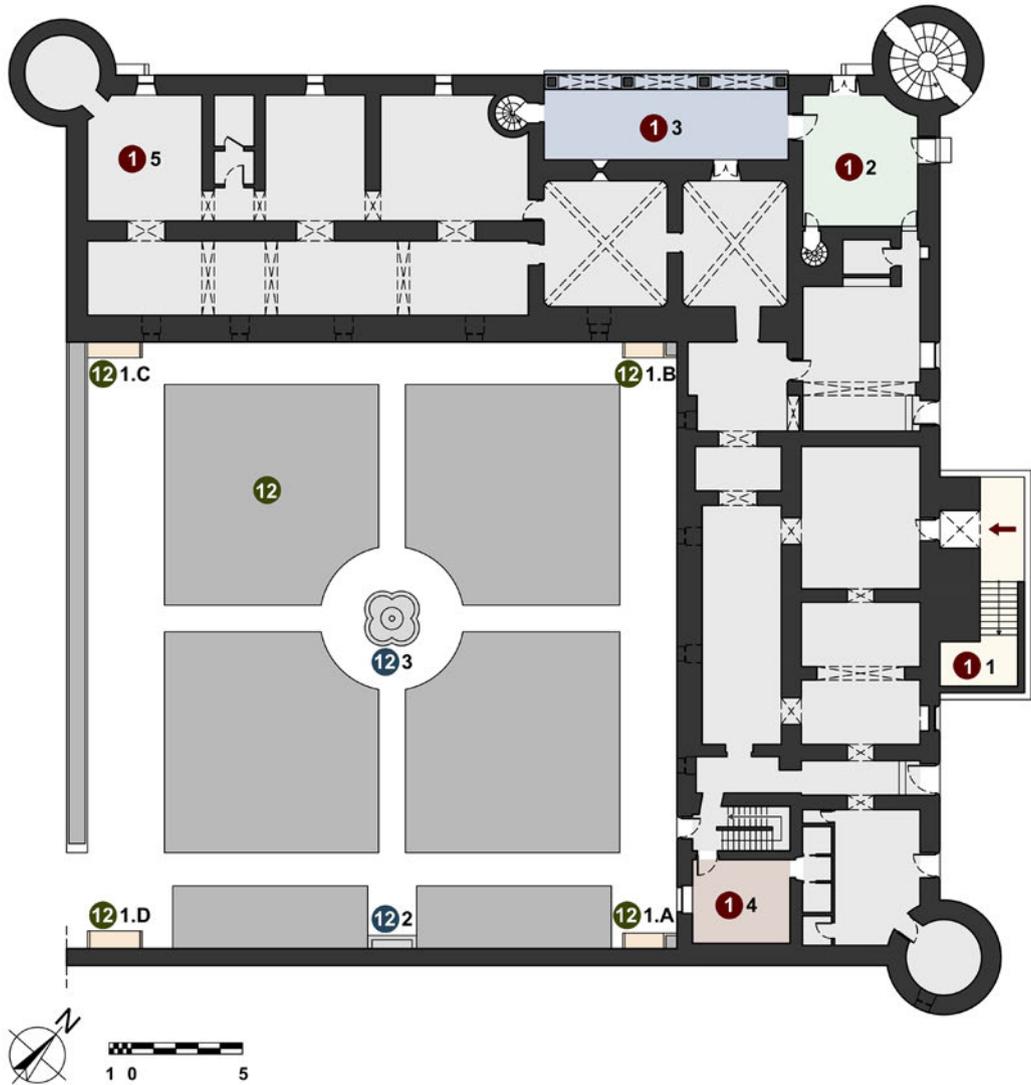
The truth is that the Bacalhôa estate is the Portuguese monument that best documents the transition from the Hispano-Moresque tile to the majolica variety, a phenomenon that occurred simultaneously in Portugal and Spain in the mid-16th century. Of an aesthetic as well as technical nature, this transition was related to broader changes that affected architecture and the other arts. An initial Renaissance, still influenced by the techniques and aesthetics of the Late Middle Ages (Manueline or Early Renaissance architecture with Hispano-Moresque tile panels), gave way to a second Renaissance (classicist architecture covered with majolica tiles). A very early example in Portugal was the renovated palace of Vila Viçosa for which it was necessary to import the tiles from Flanders in 1558. Since the renovations at the Bacalhôa estate took place in the latter years of the first half of the century and early years of the second half, it is expectable that the building should reflect this cultural paradigm shift. In view of the absence of documentation and concrete details confirming how this transition took place, we will attempt here to provide a provisional explanation based on the aesthetic analysis of the tiles and the relevant analytical tests.

4.2.1. Ground floor

It is interesting to note in this respect that in the mid-16th century, Albuquerque developed new artistic preferences more in keeping with the times, initially in architecture but soon after in tiles as well. If, as we suppose, most of the palace had been clad around 1554 with Hispano-Moresque tiles, from middle of the 1560s majolica tiles began to appear in the linings, especially in the grander parts of the building (Figure 10). On the ground floor of the palace two splendid areas denoting the high status of the owners were clad with the new type of tiles: the Coat of Arms Room (Figure 11) and, almost certainly, its natural spatial extension in the Lisbon Loggia (Figure 12).

The tiles in both spaces presumably date from 1564–65, like the ones in the Pleasure House. They were probably designed and, in part, executed by the aforementioned Flemish artist who had come from Castile, known in Spain as Juan Flores (1520/24-1567). This ceramic artist was the master tile painter at the court of Philip II of Spain, and between 1562 and 1567 he lived in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo) by order of the king. A few years ago, the most notable majolica azulejo panels and patterned tiles in Bacalhôa were attributed to him [24]. The Flemish painter must have designed these two patterns (Figures 13 and 14) for the palace, although different qualities are perceived in the execution of the type in Figure 14, suggesting they were executed by at least two different painters.

Fortunately, the tiles in the Coat of Arms Room have been preserved *in situ* and display a simple, elegant and graphically striking *feronnerie* design (Figure 13).



Bacalhôa Palace - Ground floor

Architecture

Access

- ← Main entrance
- 1.1 Main staircase

Hall

- 1.2 Coat of Arms Room

Loggia

- 1.3 Lisbon Loggia

Others

- 1.4 Lower Oratory
- 1.5 Other spaces

Green spaces

- 12 Boxwood Garden
- 12.1 Benches
- 12.1.A Bench 1
- 12.1.B Bench 2
- 12.1.C Bench 3
- 12.1.D Bench 4

Water resources

- 12.2 Water Tank
- 12.3 Fountain

Figure 10. Plan view of the ground floor of the Palace (image: Ana Cláudia Sousa © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 11. The Coat of Arms Room still retains its original ceiling with the Albuquerque arms (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 12. The north façade with the Lisbon Loggia (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

Tiles with a different pattern but a similar date and attribution probably clad the bare walls we see today on the ground floor of the Lisbon Loggia. Numerous examples of this splendid second design (Figure 14) have been preserved, albeit scattered around different places, and they comprise at least two different groups: some of them must have been imported and executed at Flores' workshop, while the other type displays

characteristics that point to a Portuguese origin. These latter tiles imitate the pattern of the previous ones but with different results, probably due to the use of Portuguese clay and execution by a less able painter. Today, tiles with this pattern clad the front of the three drinking troughs in the courtyard that were built in the 20th century in the same design as the original trough, nowadays clad with arista tiles. This same pattern was also used in the claddings for some of the benches and flowerbeds that line the paths leading to the Pleasure House and the India House, four large panels in Rooms 2 of the Pleasure House, a panel in the *Museu Nacional do Azulejo*, another in the *Museu Berardo Estremoz*, and yet another in the *Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa*, all of the tiles originally from the estate.



Figure 13. Patterned tiles applied at the Coat of Arms Room (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Numerous fragments bearing the same pattern are also held in the storerooms of the estate *Museu*. The combined surface area of all of these tiles would be sufficient to cover the three walls in the Lisbon Loggia. That prominent location would be consistent with the complexity and beauty of the pattern of these tiles, nowadays unfortunately scattered around secondary places that contradict the sophistication of their design.



Figure 14. Patterned tiles possibly once cladding the Lisbon Gallery and now scattered (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

It is also highly likely that the allegorical River God panel of the Tagus (Figure 15), nowadays held in the Museu, originally adorned the centre of the main wall in the ground floor of the Lisbon Loggia, coinciding with the axis of symmetry of the central arch. The two most important spaces at the estate – the Lisbon Loggia and the central room in the Pleasure House – would therefore have paid symbolic tribute to the great river. The technical characteristics of the tiles on this allegorical panel also suggest that they were imported from Castile.



Figure 15. River God panel of the Tagus, maybe once applied in the Lisbon Gallery and nowadays, much restored with new tiles, held at the *Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa* (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

On the same ground floor, at the south end of the wing overlooking the Boxwood Garden, is a small space that was also clad with patterned tiles painted in majolica, although probably designed and executed by a different author from the aforementioned tiles. This tiny space still displays a magnificent classical cornice, carved and polished in breccia from the Sierra de Arrábida, which once probably supported a stucco vault or a painted and gilded wooden ceiling, now lost, of a similar quality to the one we still see today in the Coat of Arms Room (Figure 11). The only original tiles still in situ are the ones that clad the jambs and threshold and the ledge of the window through which light enters from the garden (Figure 16). All the other tiles are nowadays scattered around the estate, including on two benches in the Boxwood Garden, but in a sufficient quantity to suggest that many of them came from this space which we are provisionally calling the Palace's Lower Oratory²³.

Adjacent to this supposed oratory is the exit leading to the Boxwood Garden. We do not know what it looked like in the Manueline period, nor do we know the appearance it acquired following the Renaissance renovation. In those days, it would have been more enclosed due to the two palace wings and the two high walls on the west and

²³ The small size of this space and the use of sumptuous Arrábida breccia in its cornice, as well as the need for an oratory independent of the intimate and private one located at the end of the main room on the top floor, allow us to presume that this would be the most suitable place for the oratory that would be used by the rest of the family and possibly by guests.



Figure 16. Window of the Lower Oratory with its original patterned tiles (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection)



Figure 17. Side of a bench in the Boxwood Garden lined with Hispano-Moresque tiles (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

south sides, respectively. Of these, only the south wall is extant today; the other one was demolished, possibly in the 18th century to afford views from the garden of the apple orchard, Pleasure House and lake. The fountain in the middle of the garden, the four brick-paved paths lined with tiles and another four minor paths that formed the crossing would all have existed in 1554. Remains of the paving from these paths are nowadays held in the museum storerooms.

The ceramic claddings in this garden have been renovated on numerous occasions. The only remaining Hispano-Moresque tiles, as well as the aforementioned paving fragments in the storerooms, are thought to be a handful of *arista* tiles that clad the sides of some of the benches (Figure 17) and the side of the *Rape of Europa* panel on the water tank. Since they are found in semi-hidden places, it would appear that these claddings, which probably existed before 1554, were not replaced in 1565 either by the new Portuguese majolica variety that covers the water tank used to irrigate the garden, or by the *enxaquetado* (chequered) tiles that clad the fronts of the three benches.

A panel depicting *The Rape of Europa* surrounded by border tiles with egg-and-dart motifs, decorates the top of the tank. The panel on the front of the tank displays three mascarons, while the edges are protected with egg-and-dart *alizares* (dihedral frame tiles), painted in green, and border tiles with polychrome ironwork motifs (Figure 18). These tiles will be discussed in more detail in another paper.

The Portuguese *enxaquetado* (chequered) tiles that clad the fronts of the three benches may date from as early as 1565 or from a later date, which is certainly possible because, according to what is known today, this type began to spread around 1580. The claddings of the bench seats, made of Portuguese majolica tiles from the Lake Wall and the nearby Lower Oratory, correspond to a more recent renovation, perhaps undertaken during the works in the 20th century (Figure 19).



Figure 18. The water tank in the Boxwood Garden. The *Rape of Europa* in the top panel and three mascarons in the bottom panel (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 19. Boxwood Garden bench (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The sides of the entrance staircase on the main façade of the palace were clad with *arista* tiles. In this case one of the two patterns used is not the traditional Sevillian type but a new design, probably made especially for Bacalhôa, which greatly resembles the pattern of the majolica tiles in the Coat of Arms Room, attributable in their design to Juan Flores. This apparent correlation suggests that the same hand authored the pattern, which dates them to around 1564–65, like the other *arista* tiles unique to Bacalhôa (Figure 20).



Figure 20. *Arista* tiles of an exclusive pattern for Bacalhôa, cladding the sides of the entrance staircase on the main façade of the palace (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

4.2.2. Top floor

The elements that lend a modern appearance to the palace exterior are the new façades, and in particular the doors and windows whose outer edges are decorated with tiles that follow two different criteria. On the façades overlooking the Boxwood Garden, flat blue and white tiles with green *verduquillos* (narrow border pieces), surround the doors and windows. On the north façade, we see this same model on the integrated benches and in the green and white tiles around the ground-floor windows. However, the balconies on the top floor are surrounded by *arista* tiles that belong to one of the other models made especially for Bacalhôa. This suggests that the renovation was carried out around 1565, the date to which we attribute these latter tiles (Figure 21).

During the Manueline period, the main rooms in palaces had large and very ornate geminate windows, like the ones we see at the royal palaces in Évora and Sintra, but during the reign of John III openings became more numerous and rectilinear in design, with a rhythmic distribution along the façade and devoid of ornamentation except for simple, classical moulding.

The openings on the ground floor are doors in the main façade and small rectangular windows on the other façades, providing light and ventilation for the service areas. However, the *piano nobile* has floor-to-ceiling balconies instead of windows, with wrought-iron rails to afford views of the landscape. At the time, these vertical openings were novel features, borrowed from Italian models that reached the Iberian Peninsula along with a new sensibility towards enjoyment of picturesque scenery. The main rooms on this floor have two balconies, whereas all the bedrooms have a single balcony, except

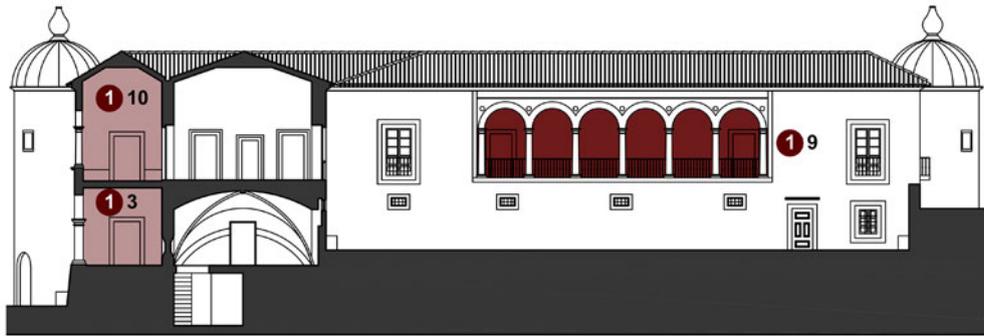
for the one at the corner that has two. All the balconies are distributed evenly across all four façades of the building, lending an exterior uniformity and symmetry that was lacking from most of the palaces built during the previous reign. Furthermore, to enhance the appearance of the two exterior façades, all the balconies were surmounted by a small niche for sculptures, nowadays lost.

The architect of the Renaissance renovation favoured another feature borrowed from Italian models: the *loggia* or colonnaded gallery. The most monumental loggia created at the Bacalhôa estate is the so-called *Lisbon Loggia* on the north façade, facing the old, robust section of the medieval palace (Figure 10). The ground floor of this loggia has three large semi-circular arches resting on square-section Tuscan pillars. It is connected to the Coat of Arms Room, a space for social representation that would have been used not only by the family but by visitors and guests as well. With its handsome vistas and proximity to the kitchens but distance from the private quarters of the palace, this may have been a place to organise receptions and banquets with a small number of guests. Maybe for that purpose, it has an exquisite gilded ceiling decorated with the family coat of arms and a majolica wainscot panel.

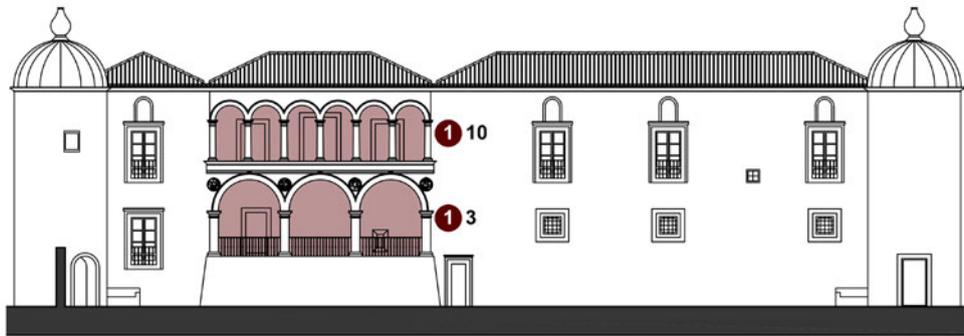
This façade was the only one that could be seen from the outside by anyone approaching the estate, which perhaps explains why it is the only one whose spandrels are decorated with four medallions featuring two male heads and two female ones, carved in the ashlar stones themselves. Two of them have traditionally been identified as portraits of Don Fernando and Dona Brites, while the other two are thought to represent Don Brás and Dona María, although we do not know this for sure because there are no reliable portraits of these figures. Their facial features denote the typical style of the second quarter of the 16th century. The attribution of this loggia and the busts has been discussed by different scholars [8, p. 182; 21, pp. 78-79].



Figure 21. Detail of the north façade of the palace (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Bacalhôa Palace - West façade



Bacalhôa Palace - North façade



Loggias

- 1 3** Lisbon Loggia (Ground floor)
- 1 9** River Gods Loggia (Noble floor)
- 1 10** Lisbon Loggia (Noble floor)

Figure 22 Top: sketch of the west façade with the River Gods Loggia; bottom: north façade with the Lisbon Loggia (image: Ana Cláudia Sousa © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The other two galleries in the palace are very similar themselves but different altogether from the Lisbon Loggia (Figures 12 and 22 bottom). The first one, which the visitor perceives on entering the courtyard, is the long colonnaded loggia opposite the palace façade. The second one opens on to the interior garden and has same orientation, which means that it receives the sun in the afternoon and is more comfortable to use in winter. This second loggia has six slender arches and the walls display a wainscot panel formed by a pattern of polychrome arabesque motifs and five panels depicting river allegories (Figures 22 top and 28). The exit on the south side leads down to the garden, while another door opens on to a small room decorated with the same type of patterned tiles that we see in the Lisbon Loggia. Nowadays, this room is accessed as well from the main bedroom through a door that was opened around 1940. At the north end, leading to the main room, is another symmetrical space with a wainscot panel of enxaquetado tiles.

As we have already mentioned, these two loggias reveal a different language from that

of the Lisbon Loggia lacking figurative ornamentation. In the loggias of the courtyard and the garden, as well as in all the openings on the palace façades, we discern the initial versions of the purist language that prospered in the Iberian Peninsula from the mid-16th century and was particularly ground-breaking in Portugal, a contemporary of the architecture which Juan Bautista of Toledo (1515-1567) and later Juan de Herrera (1530-1597) practised in Castile in the works promoted by Philip II.

The Renaissance architecture that influences the forms at the Bacalhôa estate may be related to the repercussions on Iberian architecture of the treatises that were published in Italy in the 16th century by Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573) and Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). All of these authors followed the trail left by another Italian artist, a pioneer of unornamented classicism: Donato Bramante (1444-1514). Of particular significance in this respect are the works in Rome dating from the end of his life, when he designed San Pietro in Montorio (1502) and the cloister of Santa Maria della Pace (1504). What is striking about these works at the Bacalhôa estate is their early date, because they were built in the first half of the 1550s. We must therefore consider the austere, classicist Bacalhôa architecture as a pioneering experience that preceded the works built a little later in Portugal and described by their first great scholar, George Kubler, as “plain architecture” [25].

Although we have no documentary proof about its initial state, the fragments of windows and colonettes displayed in the courtyard loggia suggest that the Manueline palace had its own *piano nobile*. Modern works have completely altered the spatial distribution of the present-day ground floor of the Bacalhôa Palace, where once separate rooms overlooking the courtyard now form a continuous space conducive to the museum itinerary. This explains why the façade that gives on to the courtyard still has six doors on the ground floor, even though some of them have now been closed off.

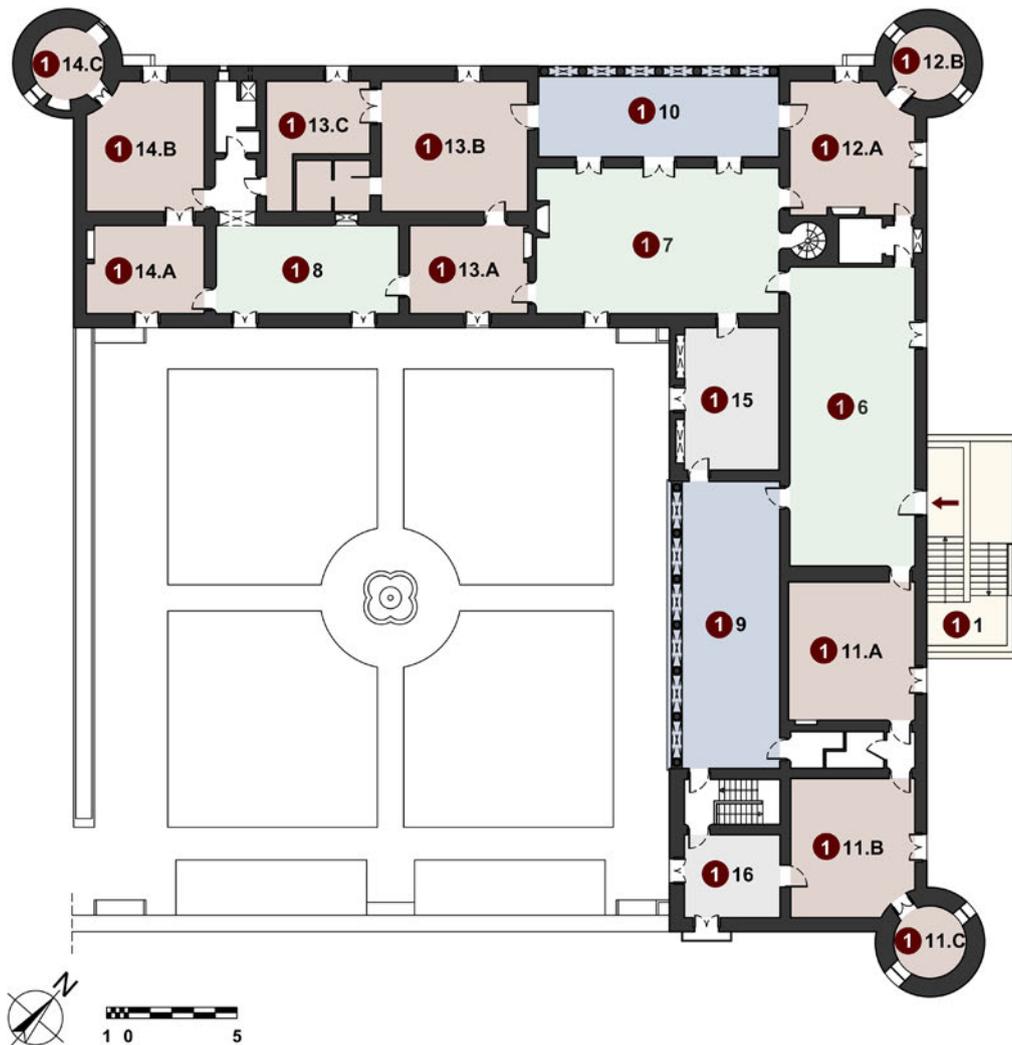
However, unlike the ground-floor alterations, the modern-day layout of the rooms and corridors on the top floor must be very similar, except for a handful of specific details, to the configuration it acquired after the renovation that was completed in 1554. This fact is confirmed by a document from 1631 which mentions a total of eighteen spaces, the same number today if we disregard minor easily identifiable changes. The document mentions five types of spaces [1, p. 62]: main rooms or halls (*salas*),²⁴ antechambers (*antecamaras*), bedchambers (*camaras*),²⁵ retrochambers (*recámaras*)²⁶ and *retretes*.²⁷ (Figure 23).

24 We find very clear definitions about the use of these domestic spaces in the work by Alonso de Covarrubias *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española...*, Madrid, 1611. The simultaneous use in Portuguese and Spanish of the terms indicated and the almost contemporaneous date of this Castilian dictionary makes me suppose that the meanings of such terms would be very similar in both kingdoms [26]. For example, the term “*sala*” (“main room” or “hall”) is defined as the “large space which the lord of the manor uses for negotiations” and “often eats there on public feast days” (26, p. 167).

25 The word “*cámara*” (“chamber”) is defined in the same dictionary as: “...private space, beyond the hall where the Lord sleeps” (26, p. 123).

26 The same dictionary defines “*recámara*” (“bedchamber”) as “...the room that is behind the chamber where the Lord sleeps ... or ... where the waiter keeps his dresses and jewelry” (26, p. 156).

27 The term “*retrete*” (lavatory?) is defined as “the smallest and most private room in the most secluded part of the house” (26, p. 161).



Bacalhôa Palace - Noble floor

Architecture

<u>Access</u>	<u>Lodgings</u>	<u>Offices</u>
← Entrance	1 11 Lodging 1	1 15 Office 1
1 1 Main staircase	1 11.A Chamber	1 16 Office 2
	1 11.B Bedchamber	
	1 11.C Oratory	
<u>Halls</u>	1 12 Lodging 2	
1 6 Entrance hall	1 12.A Bedchamber	
1 7 Main hall	1 12.B Retrete	
1 8 Secondary hall		
<u>Loggias</u>	1 13 Lodging 3	
1 9 River Gods Loggia	1 13.A Chamber	
1 10 Lisbon Loggia	1 13.B Bedchamber	
	1 13.C Retrete	
	1 14 Lodging 4	
	1 14.A Chamber	
	1 14.B Bedchamber	
	1 14.C Retrete	

Figure 23. Plan view of the *piano nobile* of the Palace (image: Ana Cláudia Sousa © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

The bedchambers tend to adopt a square plan, while the halls are rectangular; the *retretes* are here circular, being located in the towers. Unfortunately, none of the original ceilings on this top level have survived and, apart from one space, we are not sure if the other current pavements are those described in 1631 as *enladrilhados* (brick tiles), a term that was often used to refer to fairly elaborate models that sometimes included *olambrillas* (small tiles). The floor plan shows three halls of different sizes and uses, and four bedrooms of varying dimensions.

The tile panels in the rooms on the *piano nobile* correspond to two different designs and places of production. One type comprises Hispano-Moresque glazed or *arista* tiles, made in Seville, which must have been installed during the works that were completed in 1554. A second type corresponds to the majolica tiles that appeared after 1565, made in Portugal.

The two main halls and one of the four smaller ones have wainscot panels of flat glazed tiles that adopt a grid pattern surrounded by *verduguillos* and tiny *olambrillas* positioned obliquely. This was a very popular pattern in Seville during the first half of the 16th century, from which there are examples at the Real Alcázar in that city and at the Alhambra in Granada both sets documented as Sevillian productions made by the Polido family workshop. The tiles in both halls are white, but in the entrance hall the *verduguillos* are green and blue and the *olambrillas* are amber-coloured (Figure 24). By contrast, in the main hall in the north wing and one of the rooms adjacent to the River Gods Loggia the colour palette is more restrained because there are no amber tiles.²⁸ Another two rooms that form part of Lodgings 3 and 4, respectively, have wainscot panels of glazed white and green tiles.

Entrance Hall (1.6)

It may come as some surprise to discover that the rooms of a rich house such as this palace owned by the Albuquerque family should have such simple and relatively low-height wainscot panels like the one we see in the Entrance Hall on the *piano nobile*, but we must remember that the walls in these rooms would have been adorned with large Flemish tapestries depicting different stories and legends, as was customary among the ruling classes in those days.

The *enxaquetado* or chequered wainscot panels in Bacalhôa may well have been the first manifestations of this model that would become so popular after 1580 and would explore other more complex geometries at the beginning of the 17th century.

However, while the tiles in the halls are of this simple variety of Hispano-Moresque glazed tiles, the ones that form the wainscot panels in some of the lodgings (Figure 25) and in the River Gods Loggia (Figure 28) are majolica tiles manufactured in Portugal. A detailed visual analysis produces the impression that some of them have undergone significant alterations, although the photographs that predate the major works carried out in 1937–40 confirm that the distribution we see today already existed before that date. The painted patterned tiles on the wainscot panels therefore coincide with the two most important spaces, indicating that they were greatly valued and almost certainly more expensive. The only space on the top floor that contains several figurative panels, as well as the patterned tiles, is the River Gods Loggia, which is connected to the Master Lodging, the Entrance Hall and the Main Hall.

28 The fireplace in this room is modern and was made during the renovations carried out in 1937–1940.



Figure 24. *Enxaquetado* wainscot at the entrance hall of the *piano nobile* (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Lodging 1 (1.11)

A door on the left-hand side of the Entrance Hall leads to Lodging 1 or the master bedroom, the largest of these spaces and therefore probably used by the *pater familias*. It comprises an ante-chamber, the bedchamber itself and an oratory. The ante-chamber and bedchamber are decorated with two intertwined blue and polychrome arabesque motifs surrounded by a glyph frieze. But while these wainscot panels therefore use only three patterns, they display a disconcerting variety of qualities and colours. Although all the tiles look old, the lack of homogeneity suggests that they may have been restored on several occasions or reapplied from other locations (Figure 25).

The round *retrete* in this main lodging, originally the oratory and now a bathroom since the modifications introduced in the 20th century, does not have a wainscot panel but has preserved the floor tiles, the only ones at the Bacalhôa monument that remain *in situ*.²⁹ They display the Mudéjar tradition with a highly complex star pattern composed of white and blue pieces in two different shades.³⁰ The presence of Portuguese tiles alongside

²⁹ Although these maybe the only extant floor tiles, we have been able to confirm that many other spaces had floor tiles because a considerable number of the pieces nowadays preserved in the museum storerooms have the characteristic signs of wear and tear associated with this use.

³⁰ The results of the analyses carried out on several pieces, showed that some of them are of Portuguese manufacture and others are Sevillian so it is risky at this moment to decide whether it is a Portuguese Mudéjar pavement integrating Sevillian pieces, or a Sevillian pavement integrating Portuguese pieces. Further analyses of more pieces from this set would be necessary in order to establish its origin with greater certainty. In case of being a Portuguese pavement it would be of enormous interest because no other examples of this type are known at the moment.



Figure 25. Wainscot panel of patterned majolica tiles as used in the Lodging 1 (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

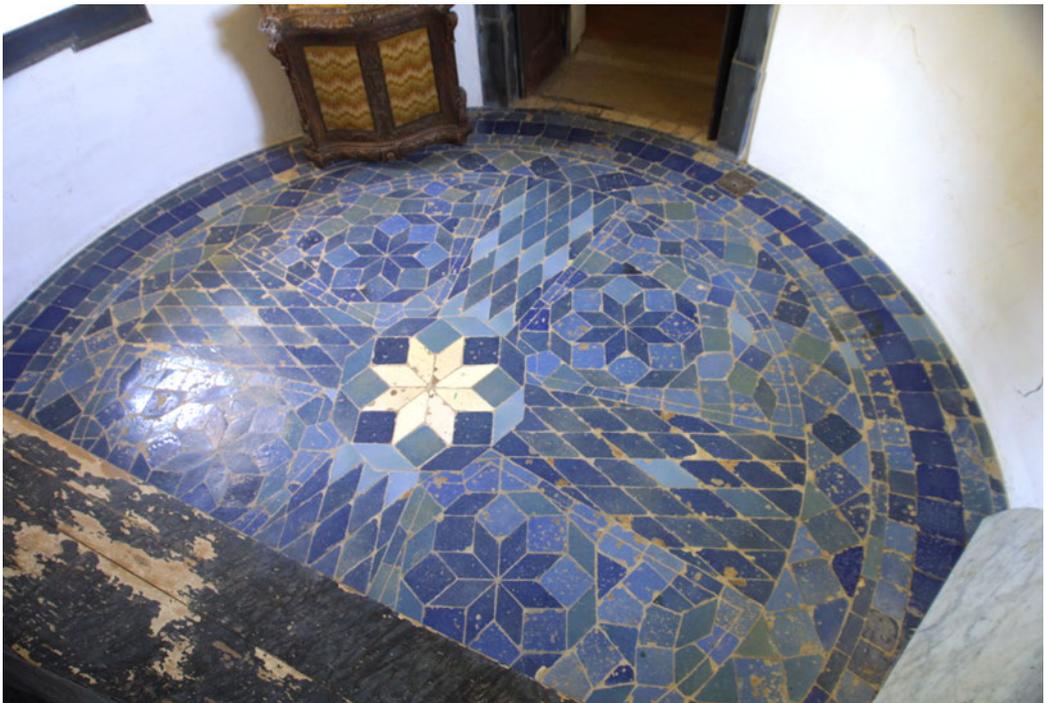


Figure 26. Pavement of the oratory of the Lodging 1 (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

imported ones casts some doubt on the exact time span, but in general they can be dated to the second half of the 16th century (Figure 26).

River Gods Loggia and annexes (1.9; 1.15 and 1.16)

The Lodging 1 was connected in the 16th century by a corridor – today transformed into a bathroom - to the River Gods Loggia (Figure 27). This space is decorated with an attractive majolica wainscot in which the five figurative panels depict River God allegories of the Danube, Mondego, Euphrates, Douro and Nile. Set within cartouches clearly inspired by Flemish designs, they stand out against patterned tiles with arabesque motifs painted in different colours (Figure 28). The majority of the tiles in this loggia, possibly painted by Portuguese artists, will be discussed in greater detail in other articles.

The north and south ends of this loggia used to give on to small rooms. The one at the north end, also connected to the Main Hall and nowadays called the *Estúdio*, is decorated in the same manner as the latter space, with a chequered wainscot panel.

Following modern renovations confirmed by extant plans, the south room (1.16) is accessible from the loggia as it was at the beginning but now it is as well from the Lodging 1.³¹ It has a wainscot panel composed of the same polychrome arabesque motif as the one that surrounds the River God panels.



Figure 27. The west façade with the River Gods Loggia seen from the Boxwood Garden (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

³¹ This room was transformed into a library in the 20th century.

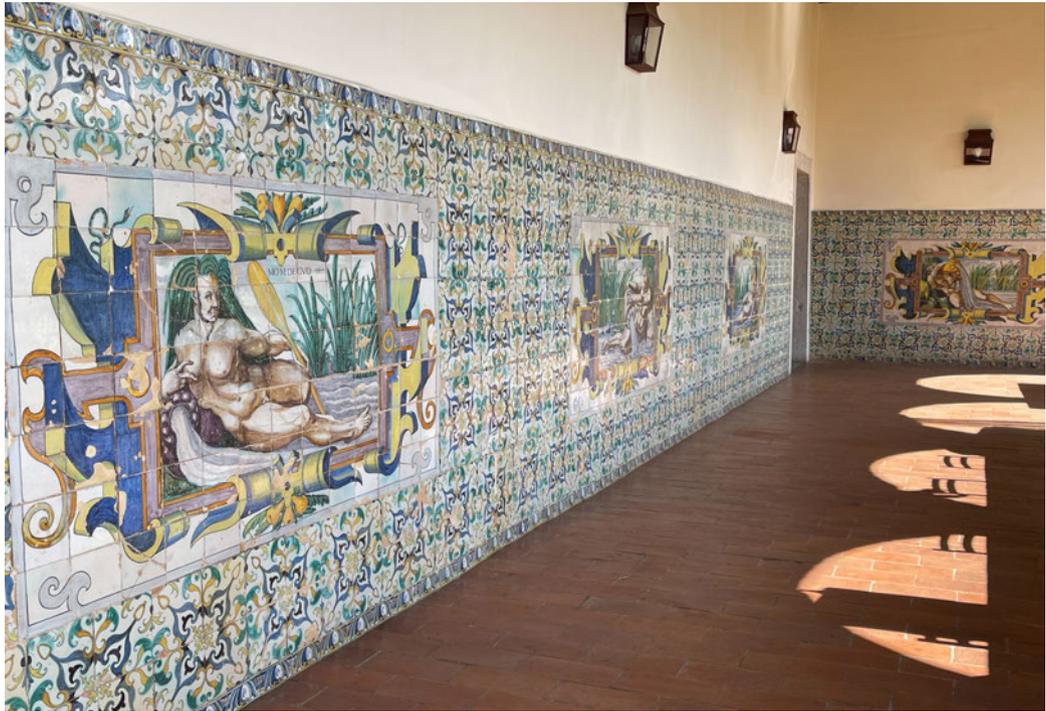


Figure 28. Wainscot panels of the River Gods Loggia (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Lodging 2 (1.12)

On the right-hand side of the Entrance Hall is a door leading to Lodging 2, the smallest of all, which comprises the chamber itself and a kind of round *retrete*. It is situated at the corner where the two palace wings meet. Although it has no tiles today, we may surmise that it did once have them because it is an elegant room that may have been an extension of Lodging 1, particularly since it has an old Renaissance fireplace made of Arrábida breccia. We can even suspect that it was not a bedroom but a small, comfortable and private living room with splendid views of the landscape. In relation to this gap in our knowledge of the tiles at Bacalhôa, it is important to note that in the groups of majolica tiles at the estate we have identified several patterns from fragments whose original location remains a mystery. It is possible that one of them decorated this room if it was not covered with rich fabrics, leathers or tapestries.

Main Hall (1.7)

The right end of the Entrance Hall also provides access to the Main Hall which in turn is connected to the top floor of the Lisbon Loggia. Both this large hall and the loggia still have their original Hispano-Moresque tiles.³² The wainscot panel displays the same composition as the one in the Entrance Hall, but in this case it is organised around white tiles and light blue and green *verduguillos* (Figure 29). By contrast, the loggia, which until recently was exposed to the elements, is decorated with the originals *arista* tiles as

³² The fireplace we see today was built in 1938.

described in the document dated from 1631.



Figure 29. *Enxaquetado* wainscot panel of the main hall (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Lodging 3 (1.13)

A door at the far end of the Main Hall leads to the ante-chamber of the third lodging which has a majolica wainscot panel with the same pattern that we see in the oratory on the ground floor. The adjacent chamber has a simple wainscot panel composed of Hispano-Moresque flat tiles forming a chequered pattern (Figure 30), and there are no tiles in the *retrete*.

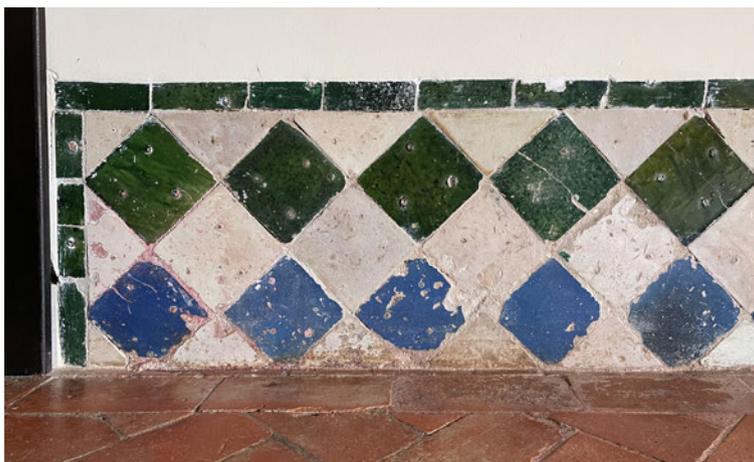


Figure 30. Chequered wainscot panel at the Lodging 3 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Secondary Hall (1.8)

After Lodging 3 we come to a third hall which until 1938 was connected to the ground floor, serving as an intermediate space for the servants who climbed up to the *piano nobile* to attend to the palace residents. During the works carried out at that time, the space was converted into bathrooms on both levels. There were no tiles in the room then and there are none today, although it is still used as a transitional space to the last lodging.

Lodging 4 (1.14)

The ante-chamber has a Hispano-Moresque chequered wainscot panel similar to the one in Lodging 3 (Figure 31). There are no tiles in the bedchamber itself and none in the *retrete* where a large circular stone bath was installed during the works in 1938.



Figure 31. Chequered wainscot panel at the Lodging 4 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

5. PLACES OF PLEASURE AND REMEMBRANCE

In the Palace, the anonymous Renaissance architect was conditioned by earlier structures, but he had no such constraints in some of the other works he carried out in other parts of the estate. On exiting the palace to the north or west, we find constructions that must have been designed *ex novo* by the same classicist architect and executed at the same time as the works at the palace, or very shortly afterwards.

Pleasure House walkway

The path that leads west from the garden is the estate's interior road, built at the highest point because it starts at the palace and ends at the artificial lake, situated at the same height. The walkway affords excellent views of the estate and surrounding landscape, with Lisbon visible in the distance. Only the flowerbeds that line the perimeter wall on the left-hand side still have the original tiles. The ones on the right-hand side were installed during the works carried out in the 20th century. Both the bench and the fronts

of the flowerbeds and their pedestals were clad with flat glazed, *arista* and majolica tiles, although we do not know the exact date in the 16th century when they were installed or whether the majolica ones were laid in more recent renovations. This walk running from the Palace to the Pleasure House had enormous symbolic value because it was decorated with twelve large glazed terracotta medallions composed of laurel wreaths and fruits framing portraits of Roman emperors and other heroes from Antiquity. We have an approximate idea of what these medallions looked like thanks to Rasteiro's literary description published in 1895, as well as the illustrations which the draughtsman A. Blanc made for the book, published in 1898 [1]. By the late 19th century they were already in an advanced state of decay and they have since disappeared. Judging from their descriptions and graphic reproductions, they were probably not Italian works but copies of such works made by artists of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Pleasure House

The Lake

Situated between the end of the Pleasure House walkway and the beginning of the path that leads from there to the India House is the artificial lake, the only element in this part of the estate that predates the Renaissance renovation. For reasons of hydraulic efficiency, this square reservoir is situated on the highest point of the estate, near the São Simão stream that feeds it. In keeping with the Italian *casini* built in Florentine and Roman gardens and orchards, the Bacalhôa estate has its own Pleasure House behind the lake. While still being used for irrigation purposes, the lake therefore became the centrepiece of a recreational area filled with symbolic elements that we will reveal as we examine each part in this and other articles. To build this pavilion, the wall along the south side of the lake had to be demolished and a strip of land beyond it had to be annexed to the estate. All of these elements appear to have been designed by the same architect who renovated the palace. We only need to compare the language used in both constructions to conclude that the same mind conceived them (Figure 32).

The Secret Garden

This pavilion that occupies the entire south side of the lake adopts the form of a large belvedere or summer house with an enfilade of six modules of independent but connecting spaces. On the east side, a small "secret garden" with four flowerbeds adjacent to the walls serves as a natural ante-chamber to the covered spaces inside the pavilion. The flowerbeds in this tiny garden and the wall fragments between them are clad with a tiled frieze featuring different ornamental models. One of these models comprises vases of flowers and fruits flanked by male and female fauns holding garlands (Figure 33).³³

33 In view of their importance, their advanced state of decay and their location outside, the original tiles have been removed and replaced with replicas. The original ones were studied and restored and are now presented in the museum of the estate.

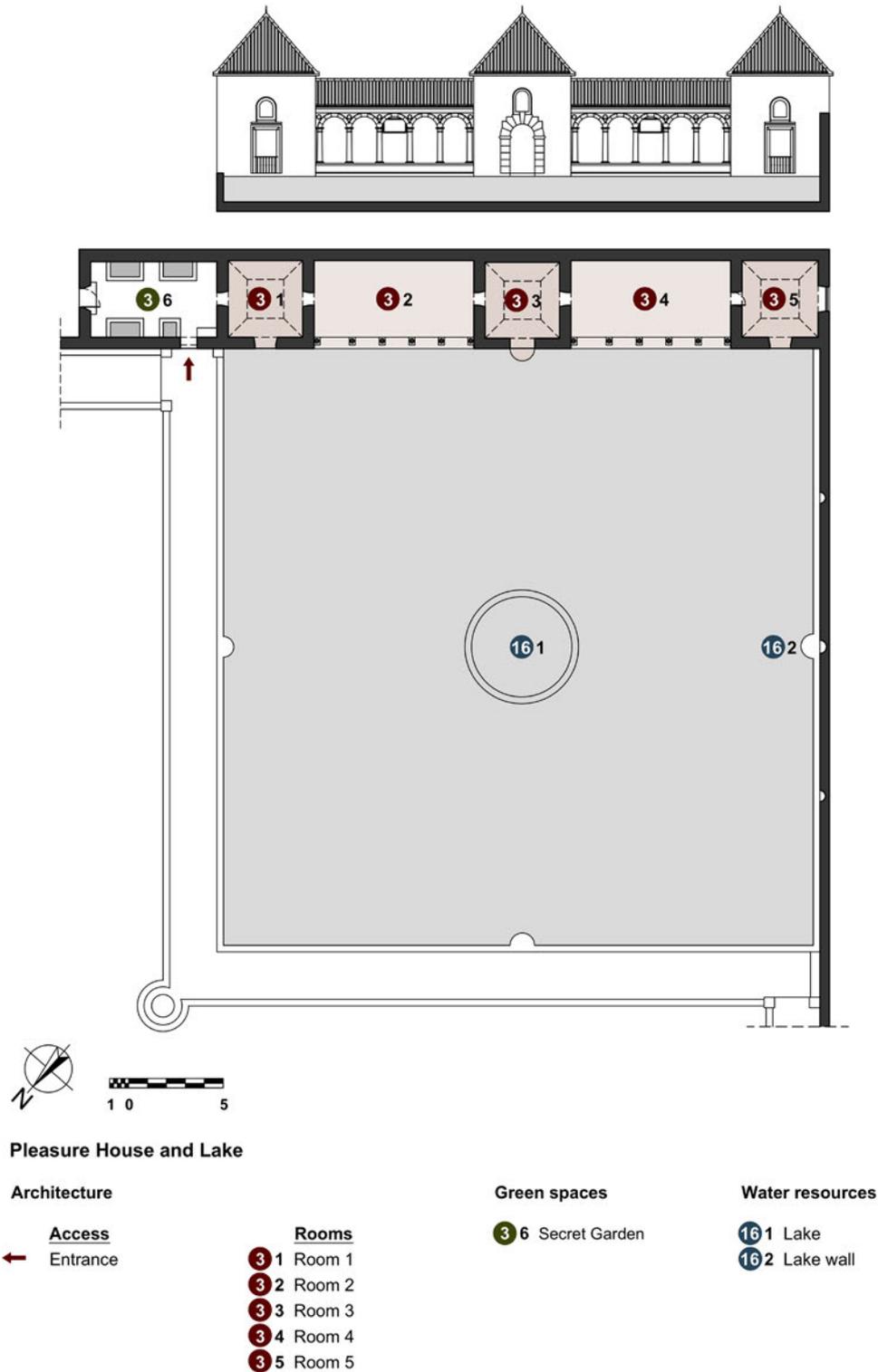


Figure 32. Sketch and plan view of the Pleasure House, lake and lake wall (image: Ana Cláudia Sousa © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 33. Panel with fauns of the Secret Garden after restoration (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Of the twenty-one panels that clad the flowerbeds in the little secret garden, only fragments of nineteen of them have survived to this day. Our analysis of the biscuit and glaze of two of them (arguably the best sketched and painted of the group) reveal a Castilian origin, suggesting that they may have been painted by Juan Flores in Talavera (Toledo), while the remaining have seemingly been manufactured in Portugal.

This garden leads to the pavilion proper, composed of three small square rooms separated by two large halls with colonnaded galleries. All five spaces open on to the lake and surrounding landscape. The three square rooms have balcony openings and the two end ones had wooden doors, today missing, but still have the original wrought-iron rails for protection when leaning out over the lake.³⁴

The opening of the central room was never closed in any way, therefore allowing unimpeded access to the lake for bathing or taking a boat out on the water. For this reason, and unlike the other two openings, it had neither door nor rails. In this central room the floor extends across a semicircular stone platform at the front of the pavilion that jutted out over the water. Three similar platforms are repeated on the other three sides of the lake, creating four easy accesses for bathers. The entrance door to the pavilion and the openings communicating the five rooms had wooden doors that have as well disappeared.

The interiors of all five spaces were originally clad entirely with tiles. The refined ceramic cladding and the delicate painted stucco ceilings, now lost, reveal that these were sophisticated spaces designed to indulge all five senses. It is highly likely that this pavilion was used for banquets accompanied by music, for enjoying the handsome vistas and aroma of the flowers, and for bathing in the lake. Designed specifically for the summer, the building faces north and therefore does not receive the sun's rays, accentuating the cool breeze from the body of water in front of it (Figure 34).

³⁴ The holes for the hinge posts are still visible in the stone threshold. Remains of the iron rods that anchored the door frames to the stone jambs are also visible.



Figure 34. Façade of the Pleasure House with the entrance to the Secret Garden at left and the beginning of the lake wall at right (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Despite the decay caused by the passage of time, the façade displays a delightful equilibrium achieved by simple volumes yet exquisite details. The balconies of the two end rooms are framed by a thick, striking band of moulding and a tiled border. Like the balconies on the two main façades of the palace, they culminate in thin cornices with niches for sculptures, although unfortunately all of these have disappeared except for the one that graced the central niche, a terracotta figurine representing the Monarchy, nowadays on display in the museum.

The only space which Rasteiro refers to with a proper name is situated at the end of the itinerary and is called the *Casa da Penna*, whose meaning we have not been able to confirm. Since it was tucked away, the only one not on the usual itinerary through the estate, it may have housed the owner's library where he read and wrote with the instrument used at the time: the quill ("penna" in Italian, "pena" in Portuguese).

According to the description from 1631, the roofs of the five independent spaces were originally covered with black slates but nowadays they have terracotta tiles. Curiously, black slates also cover the roofs in the panel of *Susanna and The Elders* (Figure 48) and in that case it is even possible to discern the nails traditionally used in Flanders to fix the tiles to the structure and avoid slippage. The choice of this building material is not a trivial matter but a highly revelatory testimony of the fact that its use, as confirmed here, reached Portugal at the same time as Spain. In the Spanish case, it was a custom imported from Flanders to the court of Castile by Philip II after his sojourn in the Netherlands between 1547 and 1551, following the death of his first wife, Maria Manuela of Portugal (1527–1545), daughter of John III and Catherine of Austria. While at the Spanish court this custom endured in the subsequent period and became a symbol of the official architecture of Philip II, the case of Bacalhôa appears to have been an isolated episode which suggests that it may have been the personal desire of the owner, who would certainly have been familiar with the tastes of the Spanish monarch.

Of all the tile panels at the estate, the ones at the Pleasure House are the most sophisticated and comprise three key genres: heraldic panels, narrative panels and patterned tiles. These tiles and their symbolism will be discussed in more detail in dedicated articles and we therefore make only a general reference to them here. It is clear that the person who created the patterns for the majolica tiles, at least the ones in the group we believe to have been designed by Juan Flores for the Pleasure House and the Palace, decided that each space should have its own pattern. Neither are the grotesque motifs that decorate the skirting in the small rooms at the Pleasure House repeated anywhere else. All the spaces are clad with tiles laid obliquely, except for in the skirting. None of the tiles have preserved their original size because in each case the edges were scraped to ensure that at the corners where the walls meet the motifs are divided exactly in half, thus avoiding visual deformations.

Rooms 1 and 5

The walls of Rooms 1 and 5 were clad with two different types of patterned tiles from the ceiling to the skirting that separated them from the floor tiles (Figure 35a and 35b).



Figure 35. Patterned tiles of the Pleasure House. a. - Patterned tiles of room 1; b. - Patterned tiles of room 5 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The skirting in Rooms 1 and 5 represents one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the majolica tiles at Bacalhôa, revealing great variety in their iconography as well as an extraordinary quality of workmanship (Figure 36).

A third similarly attractive skirting, although in a poorer state of repair, was found spread in the property and must have originally decorated a space about which we have no knowledge today. It is now on display in the *Museu do Palácio da Bacalhôa*. The subject matter – imaginative scenes of child figures interacting with terrestrial and marine animals – is highly original (Figure 37).



Figure 36. Details of the Skirting of the Pleasure House. 36a – Detail of the Skirting of the room 1. 36b – Detail of the Skirting of the room 5 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 37. Detail of the skirting slabs recovered in the property (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Rooms 2 and 4

The most remarkable figurative panels of presumed foreign origin were the two coats of arms that decorated Rooms 2 and 4 at the Pleasure House. These two rooms are open at the front and the arms were therefore visible not only from inside but from the lake and the surrounding paths as well. If, as it seems, these shields were painted abroad, their author must have received information about the dimensions and proportions as well the heraldic motifs to include in the arms. Fortunately, one of the two coats of arms has been preserved in its entirety. It is a panel of 5 x 9 tiles with the Albuquerque coat of arms set in the centre. The history and heraldry of his family name, as well as the setting of his genealogy, were two matters that Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque researched extremely thoroughly, as he himself wrote in 1576 in the second edition of his *Commentarios*. In this work, he mentions that he has written another book that was never published and

presumably lost. It dealt with the history of his own name and the origin of the family which, according to him, was directly linked to the nobility not only of Portugal but of Castile-León as well. Albuquerque ("*Alburquerque*" in Castile) was a family name of Spanish origin and its coat of arms was depicted in the castle of the town of the same name (in the province of Badajoz), arms which he himself copied and reproduced in his work.

A chapter of the second edition of the *Commentarios* begins with a paragraph in which he writes:

"... I wrote a long treatise on this line of the Albuquerqueques and their antiquity, and how this name, descending directly from the kings of Portugal and of León and Castile, was generated for the memory of subsequent generations. This I compiled from the Chronicles and Books of Lineage of Portugal and Castile but will not include here more than what is convenient to understand the lineage of this great Afonso de Albuquerque." (16, Livro IV, Cap. L, p. 252; transcribed from the edition of 1774).³⁵

The paragraph is revelatory because it tells us that he devoted his time not only to revising the *Commentarios* for a second edition but also to building his family tree. His genealogy shows that, as was the case with other contemporary nobles and with the Portuguese royal family itself, there was a connection with the Castilian-Leonese nobility, a fact of which he seems to be proud.

The arms depicted on these tile panels must have been decided by the client himself after making his genealogical inquiries and they are different from the one he had reproduced in the shield carved in stone for his palace in Azeitão in 1554. That year, he seemingly decided to use the arms which he had seen, or at least remembered – they are not exactly the same as the stone shields in the old parade ground and on the castle walls in the town of Alburquerque in Extremadura (Figure 38 a)³⁶ – and he seems to have stumbled over the matter. In the shield which he says he has seen in the then Spanish (but once Portuguese) fortress, included in the second edition of his book published in 1576, the bezants of Portugal are completed with castles and lions (Figure 38 b), while in the stone version of a few years earlier the quinas and castles are present but the lions have been replaced by a series of protruding blind rectangles, even though the stone looks as if it has been prepared to carve four motifs that were never executed (Figure 38c). Nowadays, the shield of the Extremadura castle has no lions. But if Albuquerque had doubts or made errors when remembering the original shield seen in the town of his name, he does not seem to have had any when defining the ones that he himself would use, at least after 1557, probably following his genealogical research.

35 "...desta geração dos Alboquerqueques e de sua antiguidade, e como formáram este nome descendendo por linha direita dos Reys de Portugal, de Lião e de Castella, tenho escrito um largo tratado pera memoria dos que deles descenden, que collegi das Chronicas, e libros das linhagens de Portugal, e Castella, não direi aqui más do que covem para se entender brevemente donde descende este grande Afonso Dalbuquerque, e cuio filho foi."

36 On the differences between the two shields preserved from the town of Alburquerque and the reproduction which Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque includes in his *Commentarios*, see also [27].

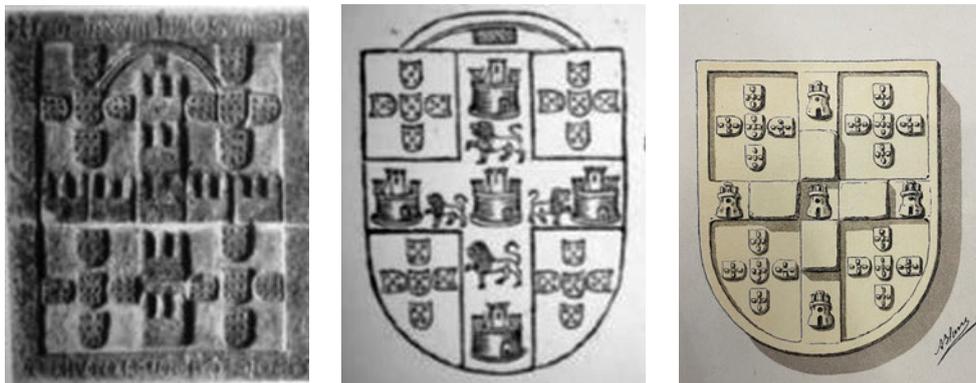


Figure 38 a. - Sketch of the stone shield that once adorned the castle of Albuquerque, now held at the Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz; b. - Sketch of the shield illustrated on a page of the 1576 edition of the *Commentarios*; c. - Reproduction by A. Blanc, in 1898, of the shield carved in stone in 1554 that can still be seen in the Courtyard of Bacalhôa.

The truth is that when his *Commentarios* were published for the first time in 1557, the coat of arms on the frontispiece of the work appeared significantly different from that of 1554. We do not know for sure the reasons for this revision, but it is possible that given the doubts that seem to have arisen to complete the unfinished stone shield, his studies on the origins of his family perhaps allowed him to clarify his ideas and apply the changes that we see in his new coat of arms on the 1557 frontispiece: the *quinas* of Portugal were still present because of the ancestry to King Dinis (1261–1325), natural father of Afonso Sanches, first lord of Albuquerque, and the castles on the border also appear because they belong to the arms of his wife, Teresa Martins, granddaughter of Sancho IV of Castile (1258–1295). However, in this second version, he replaces the lions with the fleurs-de-lis to which he was entitled due to the connection with the French crown through Isabel Telles de Meneses, wife of João Afonso de Albuquerque, son of the aforementioned Afonso Sanches and the first to display as his surname that of his bailiwick [16, p. 254]. Furthermore, the coat of arms represented on the frontispiece of the 1557 edition (Figure 8) is the one which Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque must have supplied to the author of the tile panel around 1564–65 and which would also feature as the arms on the frontispiece of the 1576 second edition of the *Commentarios*.

Although coats of arms tend to adopt a vertical format, in this case the artist followed a frequent composition in Flanders, perhaps with the intention of adapting to the horizontal proportions of the wall of the room in which it would be placed (Figure 39). The cartouche is made up of scrolls and, as was customary in Flanders, it is designed in two different planes. The inner frame containing the arms simulates a flat plate with a golden yellow field from which twelve flower-shaped rivets and two faun mascarons stand out. The outer frame around it, painted in blue, has a highly dynamic profile with cut-outs, perforations and scrolls. The powerful distribution of volumes is accentuated by the shadows projected to the right. This rigorous depiction of shadows is one of the most significant features and tells us that the author had an expert command of perspective, a discipline that was studied to gain access to the status of master in the painters' guild.



Figure 39. The Albuquerque Coat of Arms in room 4 of the Pleasure House with its marginal frame (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 40. Remains of the Noronha Coat of Arms. 40a - Fragments found in the property. 40b - Marks on the back of the tiles (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The motifs at the four corners have an unusual composition, creating the impression of remnants from of a larger design that was cut for some reason and left incomplete. However, we have verified that it is not the case but rather a frequent habit of its author since we see something very similar in the panels in the River Gods Loggia, probably designed (but not painted) by the same artist. The field of the shield is quartered by a cross. The first and fourth quarters show the arms of Portugal as used by the king: five azure shields placed in a cross, each bearing five silver bezants also placed in a cross, a peripheral red border (in this case of a magnificent manganese dark purple) with eight gold castles. The second and third quarters show the arms of France as used by the House of Bourbon: five gold fleurs-de-lis on an azure field.

Unfortunately, the second coat of arms in Room 2 has been removed, broken and discarded, leaving a hollow on the wall it once graced. Of this second heraldic panel, only a few reasonably complete tiles and a number of fragments have been preserved after being recovered by chance during an excavation, suggesting that the fragments of the broken panel were discarded at some point. From the preserved fragments, it can be seen that the cartouche was different from that of the extant shield, although the design would have been very similar in terms of its Flemish style (Figure 40 a).

It is difficult to reconstruct the composition due to the small area recovered, but it would be somewhat different from the Albuquerque coat of arms since one of the tiles reproduces the head of an eagle, which does not appear in the preserved panel. Besides, the yellow background on which the quatrefoil rivets are repeated is not plain but striped with discontinuous lines, a graphic resource which imitates engravings that nuance the gleam of metal and therefore reproduced in the motifs that simulated that material. We see similar patterns in the scroll cartouches designed by Juan Flores in the mid-16th century (Figure 41).

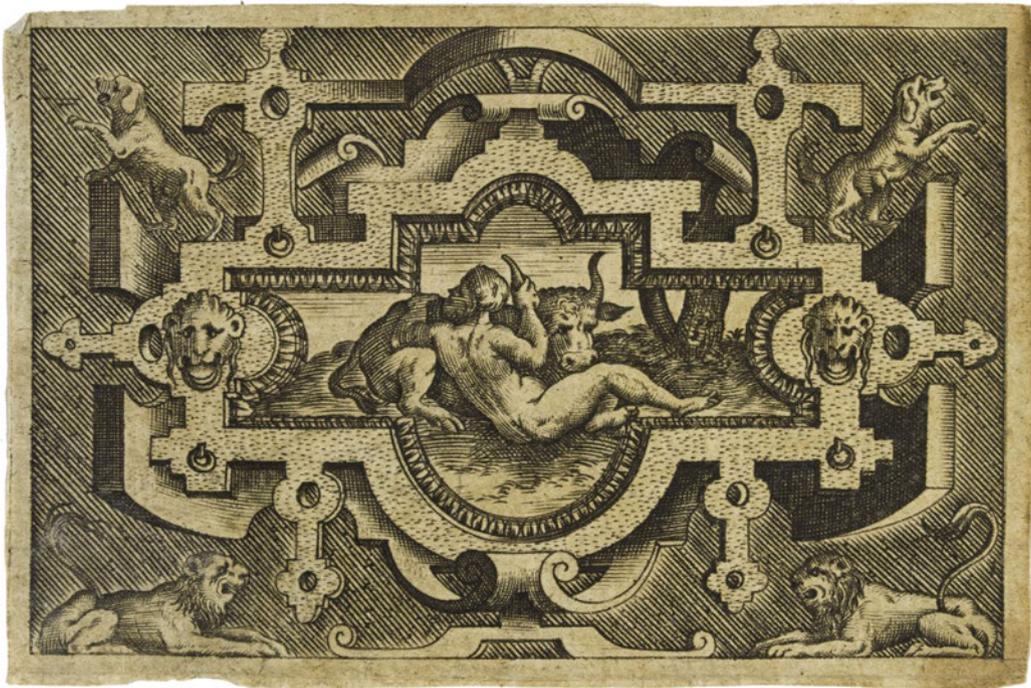


Figure 41. Jacob Floris (after 1524–81), cartouche from *Compertementorum quod vocant multiplex genus...*, Pieter van der Heyden, 1566, Antwerp (image © Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

Of the heraldic shield itself, only one tile fragment can be seen with part of the fourth quarter, but we can still identify it because we know it from other sources. On the fragment, three of the eight gold castles on the red border are easily recognised and the corner of one of the four squares of blue with five bezants that would appear in the centre. It is therefore the arms of Portugal that this shield shared with the previous one and that would occupy the first and fourth quarters. In that same fragment, above the Portuguese arms, the gold border is interrupted by the vairs and counter-vairs of blue

that would surround the arms of the second and third quarters, corresponding to the Enríquez of Castile family, from the House of Trastámara, which included, in addition to this border, a red mantle bearing a gold castle and two facing gold lions. Therefore, this was clearly the heraldry of the Noronha family (Figure 42). Maria de Noronha y Ayala (ca. 1510–?) was Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque's first wife and this was her coat of arms. The two panels therefore depicted the arms of the owners: Albuquerque and Noronha.

Maria was the daughter of the first Count of Linhares, António de Noronha (1464–1551) and a descendant of García de Noronha (1479–1540), who was the nephew of Albuquerque the Great, Brás' father. The Dukes of Odemira were a branch of the Noronha family, while the Marquesses of Vila Real belonged to another branch.



Figure 42. Noronha heraldry. 42a - Tile fragments of the Noronha Coat of arms. 42b - Coat of arms of the Noronha in *Livro do Armeiro-Mór*, 1509, fl. 47v. (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection / www.wikiwand.com/pt/Conde_de_Linhares).

We do not know when and why the panel was destroyed. It may have been removed when Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque, having been widowed, married Catharina de Meneses, perhaps with the intention of replacing the heraldry of his first wife with that of his second, although in that case the new panel would probably have been made and installed before the marriage. The panel may also have been destroyed by order of his second wife Catharina after her husband passed away in 1581. Alternatively, there may have been a political reason for the destruction because the Noronha's were staunch supporters of the aspirations of Philip II of Spain to the Portuguese crown.

The frame tiles that were used around both coats of arms are also part of this set of panels. They are formed by glyph motifs, a continuous succession of arches with strings of pearls around the Albuquerque coat of arms (Figure 39), and a simpler motif in which the pearls have been replaced by straight lines in the lost Noronha coat of arms

(Figure 43), of which the original frame tiles have only been preserved along the top and at the bottom corners. The two vertical sides of the frame are composed with the string of pearls variant as in the extant Albuquerque panel.



Figure 43. At the left bottom corner, the original frame pattern of the Noronha Coat of Arms (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

The two heraldic panels with the Albuquerque and Noronha arms, respectively, would have stood out against the *arista* patterned tiles, perhaps imported from Seville, and although we do not know the author of the design, it was clearly made specifically for this site. For that precise reason it has traditionally been known as the “Bacalhôa pattern”, especially after 1900 when it began to appear in certain historicist Portuguese tiles. An extraordinary, highly decorative pattern, it has certain parallels with Gothic fabrics in which the main effect is concentrated around a star motif with arrow-tip points (Figure 44).



Figure 44. *Arista* azulejos of the so-called “Bacalhôa Pattern” used in rooms 2 and 4 of the Pleasure House (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

The most important motif in the panels for these two rooms is not the only exclusive pattern; the pattern used for the border tiles around the doorways between the

colonnaded rooms and the three smaller rooms is also unique (Figure 45). In this case the extraordinary quality has nothing to do with the Flemish repertoire but is connected to the way in which classical scrolls in the ornamental Renaissance art of the previous period were represented.



Figure 45. *Arista* border tiles framing the doorways in the Pleasure House (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

In addition to the aforementioned *arista* tiles specially made for Rooms 2 and 4, four pairs of majolica tiles with cartouches bearing the names of the four cardinal virtues were commissioned for the doorway lintels (Figure 46).



Figure 46. One of the four cartouches over the doorways of rooms 2 and 4 of the Pleasure House (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

Fortitude, Temperance and Justice were civic virtues upheld by all self-respecting citizens in the classical world. In his work *The Republic*, Plato added Prudence to the previous three virtues, and over time they became the four pillars of Christian morality. It is interesting that the four virtues should appear over the four doors leading to all the spaces in this pleasure house filled with moral teachings. Each of the four Flemish-style cartouches indicates the name of one of the virtues. The inscriptions are executed in Roman capitals.

Another pattern that is exclusive to the Bacalhôa estate was used to form the *arista* tiles that frame the surfaces clad with the Bacalhôa pattern. It reproduces a well-known motif in egg-and-dart friezes inspired by the Ionic order (Figure 47). This motif was never used in Seville for arista tiles, although it was sometimes used in majolica tiles and in Portuguese monuments in the 16th century.



Figure 47. *Arista* tiles with an egg-and-dart pattern used to frame the panels of the Bacalhôa pattern in rooms 2 and 4 of the Pleasure House (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Room 3

Three figurative panels of *Susanna and the Elders* (Figure 48), *The Rape of Hippodamia* (Figure 49) and the allegorical figure of a Tagus River God (Figure 50) adorn the central room, set against a unique pattern, again of a Flemish taste (Figure 51). The pictorial quality of the two narrative scenes is exquisite, probably the hand of Juan Flores, while the design and quality of the Allegory of the River Tagus, as well as the skirting in this room, are somewhat inferior, as we shall explain in more detail in another paper to be published shortly. The well-known pattern of glyph motifs, inspired by the Ionic order and painted on majolica tiles, surrounds the three scenes, which again we can attribute to Flores based on its use in the Coats of Arms (Figures 39, 43, 48 and 49).

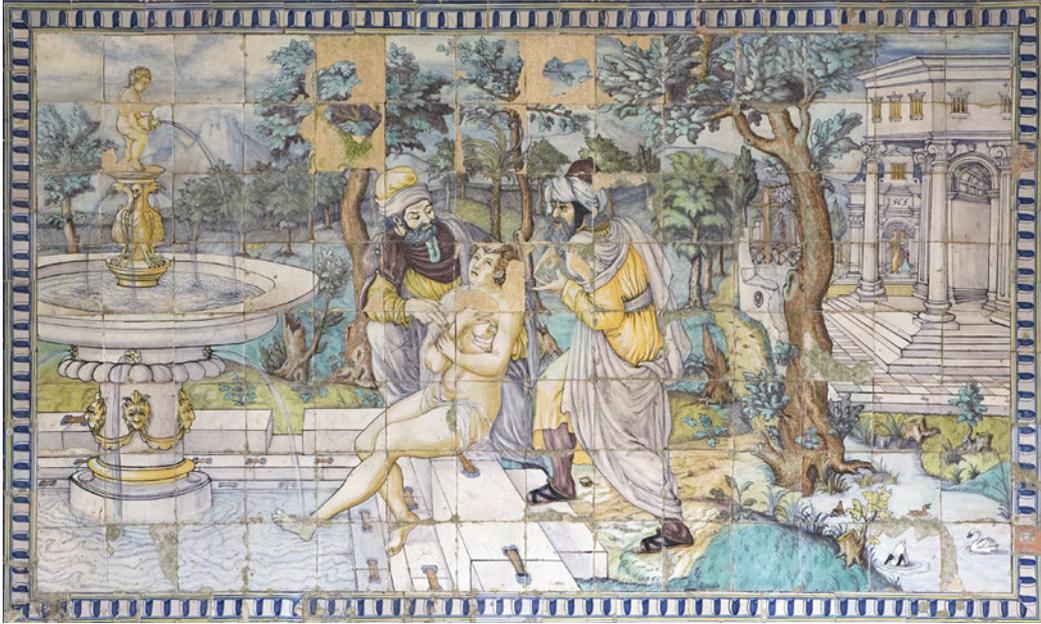


Figure 48. The panel “Susanna and the Elders”, 1565 (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 49. Remains of “The Rape of Hippodamia” (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 50. Remains of the Tagus river-god allegoric panel (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).



Figure 51. Patterned tiles and skirting tiles of Room 3 of the Pleasure House (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

In addition to the majolica tiles that clad the interior of the five rooms in the Pleasure House and its Secret Garden, the façade of the construction displays *arista* tiles with a well-known Sevillian style pattern on the wainscot panel under the arches and majolica tiles are embedded in the door mouldings of Rooms 1 and 5 and around the niches that surmount them. The tiles that surround the doors are distinctly Flemish in their design, while the frames around the niches use the egg-and-dart majolica version painted in blue on white (Figure 52).



Figure 52. Flemish-style border tiles framing the façade doors of the Pleasure House and egg-and-dart frames around the niches (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

Lake Wall

Situated at a right angle to the Pleasure House, a long, high wall runs along the west side of the lake, affording privacy from external onlookers (Figure 53). Since the wall is visible from all angles, it was decorated with great delicacy, although many of the original architectural, sculptural and ceramic elements have been lost with the passage of time and others have been replaced with replicas. The wall has three niches for sculptures and, between them and at each end, it once sported four glazed terracotta medallions that follows della Robbia workshop patterns and disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century. Like the ones on the Pleasure House walkway, they have been replaced with modern designs that bear little resemblance to the original appearance.



Figure 53. The Lake Wall (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

A wainscot panel of Hispano-Moresque *arista* tiles surrounds the entire perimeter of this great mural. The pattern adopted in this case is inspired by the one painted on majolica that decorates Room 1 of the Pleasure House (Figure 35 a), which in turn is the same one that Juan Flores used on his tiles for the church of San Pedro in Garrovillas (Cáceres province), signed and dated in 1559 [3]. This correlation, as well as the one mentioned above related to the pattern used on the majolica tiles in the Coat of Arms Room and for the *arista* tiles on the main staircase in the palace, suggests that Juan Flores, an acclaimed artist and excellent designer of ornamental patterns, could have supplied the designs for these two *arista* models and, maybe, for others in the Pleasure House and two of the ones we see in the palace today.

Curiously, in this case the *arista* tiles probably made in Seville may have followed designs supplied by a Flemish artist active in Talavera de la Reina for a commission undertaken in Portugal. This level of geographical complexity indicates the distinctly inter-territorial nature of the tile phenomenon in the 16th century.

We find the same correlation in the egg-and-dart border tiles used here in their *arista* version around the patterned tiles and also painted on the majolica tiles around the three niches for sculptures at the Pleasure House and on the Lake Wall, as well as in other parts of the estate and palace.

Although the wainscot panel that surrounds the entire perimeter of the wall is made of *arista* tiles, some of them – specifically, the ones more accessible to visitors and bathers – are of the majolica variety, maybe replacements for damaged or lost *arista* pieces. Some other tiles are replacements dating from the 17th century (Figure 54).

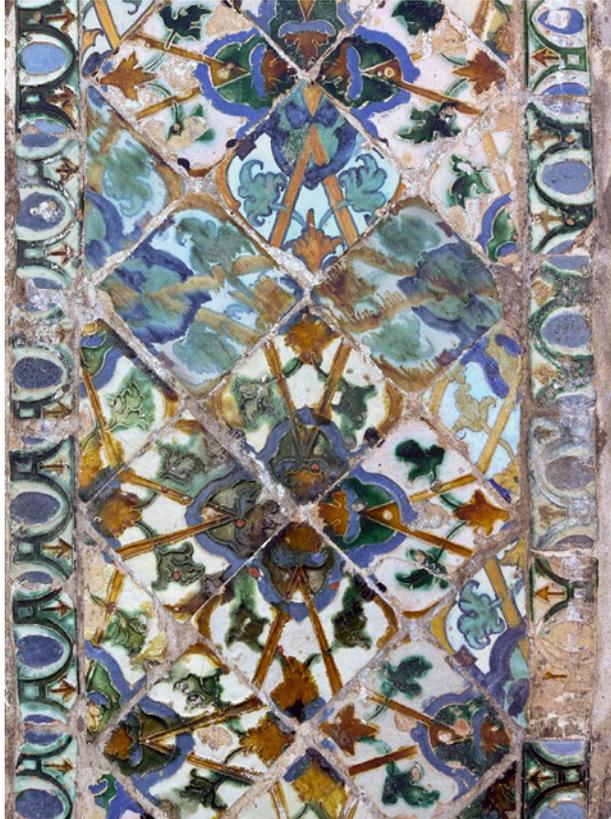


Figure 54. Original *arista* tiles of the Lake Wall, together with majolica additions, many of them defective (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

The tiles on this wall are all ornamental but the sculptures in the three niches and the four glazed terracotta medallions, all now lost, would have been a vehicle for enhancing the symbolism related to the lake and the Pleasure House. Situated at the centre of the wall is a stone carving of unclear reading [1, p. 36]. Water spouts from its mouth and falls into a round fountain bowl that pours into the lake. A niche surmounts this figure and would once have accommodated an allegorical sculpture alluding to the liquid element. Rasteiro, following the 1631 description of the state, refers to a triton, which is logical because in Greek mythology this figure was the god of the sea and the son of another two marine deities: Poseidon and Amphitrite. He is often depicted with fishtails for legs, a corpulent human torso and a face with inflated cheeks as he blows two trumpet conch shells to expel water. We do not know if this link between water and music is related not only to the liquid in the lake but also to the set of musicians which, as in other noble houses, formed part of the domestic service and would have provided entertainment at the Albuquerque family's religious and profane celebrations.

This central niche is flanked by two smaller ones that would have contained their own sculptures. The niches for these sculptures are surrounded like the ones on the Pleasure House façade with a moulding of majolica tiles with the egg-and-dart motif painted in blue on a white background. The iconography of the sculptures that occupied these niches is not known, although it may have been connected to the themes referenced in the Latin inscriptions on the slate plaques that sit above them. The south one reads: *TEMPORA*

LABUNTUR MORE FLUENTIS AQUA, that is, “Time passes as water flows.” It alludes to the inexorable passing of the hours, compared here with the slow but continuous flow of water. It is possible that the niche displayed a sculpture of Chronos, the Greek god of time who, in the Orphic tradition, was the son of Gaia, goddess of the earth, and Hydros, god of the ocean. It would be logical to place it over a body of water fed by a river and used to irrigate the land.

The inscription on the niche at the north end reads: *VIVITE VICTURI MONEO MORS OMNIBUS INSTANT*, which translates as “Live mortals! Take heed for death is imminent.” This second phrase is an incitement to live intensely before death brings an end to life. We do not know what image was placed over this inscription – possibly Venus – but it is clear that the contents of this wall are all inspired by the classical epigraphy that fascinated the humanists and would certainly have been a literary-archaeological genre present in the library of Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque, as was common among other learned persons of his day who collected all kinds of vestigia from the classical world.

The India and Pigeon Houses

As well as the Pleasure House, Albuquerque had two other pavilions built, situated symmetrically at the end of the pathways that run parallel to the perimeter walls, where the apple orchard ended. Between the two pavilions, identical in size and structure, another walkway crossed the land from side to side, separating the orchard from the vineyard located on the lowest part of the property (Figure 55).



Figure 55. The India House (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

These two constructions were probably built at the same time as the Pleasure House because they do not display any features from earlier periods and in both cases the

architectural design is very similar to the one adopted for the three smaller rooms of the pavilion by the lake. Their names are probably the original ones because they are mentioned in the description from 1631. The India House (*Casa da Índia*) clearly takes its name from the fact that, as stated in this document, the interior was decorated with four vistas of: “the four main towns conquered by the great Afonso de Albuquerque, natural father of Afonso de Albuquerque who established this Majorat”³⁷ [1, p. 64]. The tile panels inside the India House display an ironwork pattern (Figure 56) with egg-and-dart border tiles. Both their ornamental structure and the colours used, like the tiles that clad the Pleasure House, were likely designed by Juan Flores, although they were not made by him but by the other Portuguese potters who worked for the estate. In fact, they were probably made at João or Filipe de Góis’ workshops.



Figure 56. Patterned tiles lining the interior of the India House (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

As at the Pleasure House, the door jambs were clad with *arista* tiles that display another of the exclusive designs for Bacalhôa that we mentioned in our description of the Pleasure House. (Figure 57).

This pavilion was clearly a tribute to the owner’s famous father, although we do not think that it was the place, as Rasteiro suggests, where the son wrote his *Commentarios* about the life and feats of his forefather because the first edition was published in Lisbon in 1557, by which time these pavilions had not yet been built or at least the interior had not yet been clad. In any case, it may have been the study where he wrote the second edition, which came out in 1576. However, we can surmise that it was certainly a place where he enjoyed the pleasure of reading, serving as a type of *studiolo* in the Italian Renaissance manner that represented the two activities which humanists frequently conducted in their recreational spaces, in keeping with the old classical motto *Otium Et Litterae*. In this case, part of the walls may have been lined with shelves to hold books from his library, about which we unfortunately have no information.

The flat tiles in alternating colours that clad the flowerbeds on the walkway are also found on the front of this pavilion. As on the walkway leading from the Palace to the Pleasure House, on these flowerbeds majolica tiles are mixed with the *arista* variety, laid here and there in groups of four, the flat glazed tiles probably imported from Andalusia.

³⁷ “as quatro cidades principaes conquistadas pelo grande Affonso de Albuquerque, pae natural de Affonso de Albuquerque instituidor deste Morgado”.

This mixture of different tiles makes it difficult to calculate whether the combination is the result of alterations conducted in the 16th century or whether it is a product of the restorations carried out in the 20th century. Only the analysis of the mortars used to lay the tiles could shed some light on this mystery.



Figure 57. Top of the door to the India House with the tile decoration (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Situated symmetrically with respect to the India House is the pavilion, largely reconstructed in the 20th century remodel, which is referred to in old documents as the Pigeon House (*Casa das Pombas*), a more enigmatic name than the previous one. It was common practice at properties where intensive cultivation was carried out – fruit tree orchards being a case in point – for the owners to enrich the soil with palomino (after the Spanish word *paloma*, meaning pigeon or dove), an organic fertiliser made from pigeon excrement. Let us not forget that pigeons were used at that time as messengers and their young as part of their owners’ diet. However, certain details suggest that this was an unlikely use of the pavilion, at least in the case of the main room. To begin with, it has balconies overlooking the landscape which are not typically found in a *columbarium*, a space that is usually enclosed and accessed by a single door used by the handler, with little holes at the top of the structure for the birds to come and go. Secondly, further doubt

is cast by the 1631 description of the estate, which refers to a jasper buffet in the middle³⁸ [1, p. 64], seeming to indicate that, in that year at least, this was a space where the family took afternoon tea or held private banquets.³⁹ If that supposition is correct, this house may well have had a tile panel, although the neglected state in which it has reached the 20th century means that we cannot know which of the tiles found outside their original context may have clad its walls. A pattern for which we have found only three fragments (Figure 58) may be the most plausible candidate, although our hypothesis is tentative at best. The pattern is very similar in its overall design to the one at the India House, probably designed by Juan Flores.



Figure 58. Pattern of unknown original location that may have been used to clad the *Casa das Pombas* (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

Both pavilions are larger than the small rooms at the Pleasure House because, taking advantage of their location on the slope between the apple orchard and the vineyard, they have two storeys. It seems evident that the architect who designed these two pavilions was the same person who designed the Pleasure House and the Renaissance parts of the Palace. This is suggested by the use of identical designs in all of these spaces: the moulding around the doors and the three balconies, the wrought-iron rails that protect those balconies, the cornice on which the roof eaves rest, etc. The only elements with a certain archaic aura are the cylindrical buttresses that decorate the four corners, probably used to ensure the stability of these pavilions that were built on terrain that not only slopes but has very little consistency as land for cultivation.

The paths that lead to these two pavilions, especially in the case of the India House, are comfortable to walk along and afford pleasant views, so it is easy to imagine the family members taking strolls there.

Like the path connecting the Palace to the Pleasure House and like the Lake Wall, the India House walkway was decorated with glazed terracotta medallions and, between them, stone niches with exquisite classical moulding surrounded by a frame of flat glazed tiles. In their day, these niches must have contained carved busts, although they reached the end of the 19th century as empty containers and we therefore do not know what figures

³⁸ “*um bufete de jaspe no meio.*”

³⁹ A last possibility to explain the name is that the pigeons occupied the ground floor, a smaller space independent from the top floor with a door leading out to the vineyard.

might have been represented here. Neither do we know whether the sculptures were related to the sages and philosophers of antiquity, another group of human archetypes in the humanist thought in which the owner of the estate was so well versed.

Although nothing in the ornamentation of this sector of the estate suggests that it might have been related to the world of devotions, it did serve as the scene of certain rites, no doubt because of its proximity to the church of São Simão. As Rasteiro tells us, every year these paths witnessed the procession of Christ the Saviour, organised by the faithful of Vila Fresca [1]. The cortège entered this space through the gate in the perimeter wall, opposite the church, carried the image, probably on a platform, around the processional route and then left by the same gate, ending back at the church from which they had set out, possibly via one or two streets in the village. If that were the case, it is somewhat surprising that this manifestation of Christian devotion should have taken place beneath the silent gaze of images of key figures of Roman paganism. But this is not the only testament that the Bacalhôa estate offers of the mixture of Christian and pagan values; after all, Christian Humanism was built on classical roots.

6. PLACES FOR DEVOTION

It is something of a paradox that a different pathway, with more Christian symbolism, was not used for the aforementioned procession: namely, the one surrounding the vineyard on the lowest level of the estate. The reason for not choosing it must have been the lack of easy access due to the steep flights of steps adjoining the India and Pigeon Houses. The vineyard perimeter contains six chapels (which we identified from “A” to “F”), lending this pathway a strong religious sense that is absent from the orchard avenues, as well as the ideal infrastructure for an itinerant rite.

The only chapel that deviates from this devotional character and displays an overt connection with the pagan atmosphere of the orchard is the one situated at the axis of the plot and at some distance from the other five chapels integrated into the perimeter wall. The interior of this special chapel and the frame around its entrance are clad with cavernous rocks, simulating the inside of a grotto. Grottoes were popular features in Italian Renaissance gardens, but the relatively small dimensions of the one at Bacalhôa suggest a symbolic presence of the pagan world. Unlike the other chapels, this grotto-like structure has on its vault a small lantern that does not provide overhead light as might be expected because it has its base closed. It is simply a tiny temple that would probably serve as an exhibitor to a small figure visible to anyone who strolled between *Casa da India* and *Casa das Pombas*. On the rear wall is a now empty square niche clad with Hispano-Moresque arista tiles. We do not know if these are the original tiles or if the niche contained a sculpture of a pagan god, possibly Bacchus for his association with the wine that would be obtained from the vines planted in this part of the estate and that also has a Christian symbolism through the Eucharist, where wine is compared with the blood of Christ.

Due to its location, the grotto chapel is included in the perimeter itinerary of the estate where there must once have been a path there that has now disappeared completely. Although this was not the setting chosen for the Saviour procession that Rasteiro describes, it does seem to have been designed as a pedestrian itinerary. There are several signs – some more obvious, others more subtle, due to decay with the passage of time – that point to this being the case.

The consecutive placement of these chapels suggests that the devout visited them as part of a cohesive itinerary, which prompts several hypotheses. It is highly likely that a path with simple rustic paving once ran parallel to the perimeter, as perceived in the handful of remains that have been preserved to this day. The tile-clad benches flanking each chapel offered a resting place to passers-by as they proceeded along the itinerary (Figure 59).

Each chapel also has a skirting with the same type of flat glazed tiles in alternating colours. If we look closely at the top of the perimeter walls, at evenly-spaced intervals we can discern holes that were almost certainly the anchor points for the beams of a pergola that would have been covered with vegetation to protect the devout from the sun's rays as they conducted their itinerary. In fact, at intervals of several metres we can also detect wisterias sprouting from the base of the walls; it is easy to imagine them climbing up a support structure to form a continuous vegetal pergola. We have very little information about the estate's original gardens, but it is highly likely that this area situated some distance from the house would have featured these elements that became very popular in Renaissance gardens and created such pleasant areas for strolling, especially considering the southern climate of the Azeitão district.

The sacred nature of this route is even more evident than in the previous one. All the chapels are accessed by a door with a semi-circular arch, the type usually reserved for sanctified spaces. Each chapel had a wooden door which, like the ones at the Pleasure House, have since been lost but would have protected the statue inside from possible profanations.



Figure 59. Chapel B in the vineyard with the two tile-clad benches (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

In the second place, five of the chapels – all of them except for the “grotto” – contain an altar and, above it, a niche to accommodate the statue of the figure to which the chapel in question was dedicated.

Thirdly, the devotional dedication is also deduced from the inscriptions painted on the tiles that surmount each chapel doorway. In some cases, the tiles remain in situ, albeit broken and largely lacking the glaze; elsewhere, all that remains is the recess that once accommodated them. Fragments of some of the lost ones are preserved in the tile storerooms of the museum.

It is important to note the difficulty of dating these chapels; only a formal analysis will shed light on this aspect. The circular floor plan and gadrooned dome of these small constructions correspond to an aesthetic that recalls the palace *cubelos* which we have associated with the second stage of works. However, the mouldings of both the exterior and interior elements, as well as the tiles of the cartouches over the doorways and the ones that complete the stone moulding around the niches over the altars (Figure 60) are clearly related to the Renaissance phase circa 1565. It is therefore possible that these are Manueline constructions that were redecorated in the 16th century as part of the same stylistic *aggiornamento* that was undertaken at the palace.

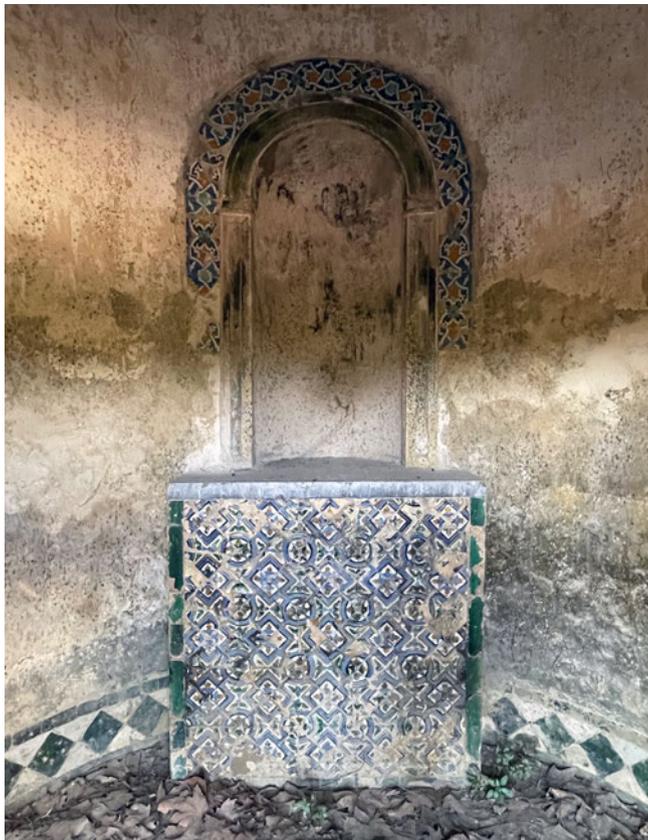


Figure 60. Interior of Chapel B depicting the altar lined with Hispano-Moresque *arista* tiles framed by green *alizares*, the arch of majolica tiles of Portuguese production around the niche and the skirting of the chapel in white and green tiles (image © Associação de Coleções | The Berardo Collection).

One remarkable feature in relation to the chapels is the tile panel on the altar frontals. Of the five frontals in chapels A, B, C, D and E, only one of them (A) is clad with majolica tiles. We believe that the pattern (the same depicted in Figure 12) may correspond to the tiles that we suppose were dismantled from the Lisbon Loggia; here it forms a grid parallel to the paving and the walls (Figure 61). The other four (B, C, D and E) have arista tile panels. In three cases, the tiles are laid obliquely, while the fourth case (E) deviates from this pattern, possibly because it does not easily lend itself to the composition of the Greek cross we see on the front of this altar, which was a widespread custom in the 16th century for Hispano-Moresque tile frontals.



Figure 61. Altar frontal lined with majolica in Chapel A (image © Associação de Colecções | The Berardo Collection).

The edges of the five frontals are protected with green or blue *alizes* of the same apparently Sevillian origin as the tiles that form the skirting (greatly restored and recomposed) and the ones – mainly preserved in their initial state – that clad the benches flanking each chapel. The small gadrooned domes so similar to those in the palace suggests that the architecture of these chapels may correspond to the Manueline; that the *arista* tile panels formed part of the Renaissance programme completed in 1554; and that a decade later the chapels gained their niches surrounded by majolica tiles, this same type also being used for the dedications over the doors. We know from old photographs that some of the chapels were heavily restored during the works in the 20th century, and it is therefore possible that the unique frontal in Chapel A was also renovated at this time.

In view of the loss of the sculptures they once contained, probably made of polychrome terracotta, and of the tiles over the doorways that identified the saint to which each chapel was dedicated, our knowledge today of the devotional value of these original constructions is very limited. Certain hypotheses in the past have suggested that these spaces initially held images of the passion and death of Christ and therefore represented the stations of a Via Crucis, even though the five chapels would have to contain the fourteen images that make up this itinerary or else have them displayed on the walls linking the chapels. Cloisters at monasteries and convents and hospital courtyards often contained Stations of the Cross, and they were commonly found on city walls, on paths leading up to the top of a hill, and even on orchard walls. Spanish tiles and Dutch tiles made in the Early Modern Period for the Iberian Peninsula offer testimonies of this phenomenon. Until a few years ago, there was a Via Crucis in an 18th-century orchard near Ayamonte, now preserved at the *Museo de Huelva*, comprising fourteen tiled panels painted in Rotterdam in 1744 at the workshop of Jan Aalmis [28, p. 255-267]. This interesting case, so close to the border between Andalusia and the Algarve, confirms that the custom of installing Stations of the Cross in farm settings was used at least in the mid-18th century. Incidentally, in that case as well the itinerary followed by the faithful was stone-paved and covered by a vegetal pergola.

It is curious how little interest has been shown in these chapels until now. The 1631 description makes no mention of them whatsoever, merely stating that this lower part of the estate was planted with vines. Neither does Rasteiro appear to assign them the importance which we believe they merit. It may well be that the interest which historians have bestowed on Bacalhôa as an expression of Humanism in Portugal has eclipsed the more spiritual dimension that suffused all cultural manifestations in the 16th century, including Humanism. There is abundant evidence that the pagan and Christian worlds are intertwined here. Silencing one of them means that we perceive only part of a reality that is much more complex than our modern mindset can imagine.

The sacred nature of this part of the estate is nevertheless an extension of the equally spiritual meaning that Albuquerque was keen to impress on his home. Three inscriptions, as well as the one dated 1554 associated with the inauguration of the palace and the two aforementioned pagan ones on the Lake Wall, offer the clearest testimony of this. Installed that same year on the two entrance doors to the palace and on the one leading from the forecourt to the orchard, they are engraved in Roman capitals on plaques of pink Arrábida breccia, indicating their connection with the renovations that Albuquerque promoted. Although they do not include any dates, they do reveal a homogeneity of content that suggests they were installed at that time and by order of the same patron.

The frieze of the palace door that opens on to the courtyard reads: *ECCE ELONGUAVI [fugiens] ET MANSI IN SOLITUDINEM*, that is, "Lo, I have gone far off flying away; and I abode in the wilderness." The biblical phrase is taken from Psalm 54,⁴⁰ verse 8, and bears witness to a very widespread sentiment in the 16th century: retreating from the world to grow closer to God and find the path of spiritual perfection. It is a sentiment that the humanists borrowed from Christianity, which in turn appropriated it from certain Greco-Roman philosophies. Although it was not included on the plaque, Verse 8 was completed with Verse 10 from the same psalm: *QUONIAM VIDI INIQUITATEM ET CONTRADICIONEM IN CIVITATEM*: "For I have seen iniquity and contradiction in the city." The location of this message precisely at the entrance to the palace is a clear

40 Psalm 55 in King James' Bible

expression of the intimate and enclosed character of this residence which, although civic, was intended for religious use. In fact, this verse sometimes appeared on the doors of medieval monasteries to indicate the cloistered nature of the dwellers to anyone who approached and to claim respect for the retreat from the world, for a life given over to meditation far from the city and the temptations to commit sin. This flight from the city was one of the leitmotifs of the common attitude of Renaissance humanists who believed in the need to cast off temporarily the troubles and public responsibilities that came with the political positions they occupied. Perhaps this lifestyle assumed by Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque explains why it has previously been impossible to form a picture of the public life of this elusive person about whom we have so few biographical details [1; 10]. If his father Afonso de Albuquerque was a man of action, an epic figure, his son was quite the opposite, a man of reflection, a more lyrical individual who must have combined his public and political activities with long sojourns at his country estate, immersed in his reading and in the preparation of the literary portrait of the alter ego represented by the powerful figure of his predecessor. Only with such an attitude could he possibly have reconstructed a literary account of his father's feats and published two editions of his *Commentarios*, as well as other investigations that he mentions in passing in his work.

A second inscription can be found on the palace entrance from the Boxwood Garden. It reads: *SATIABOR CUM APPARVERIT GLORIA TUA*, or "I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall appear", taken from Psalm 16, verse 15 of the Latin Vulgate Bible. This profoundly religious second sentence insists once again on the contemplative nature of the life which the estate owner can lead in this secluded place. Curiously, the inscription is situated over the palace entrance leading from the garden, as if to sanctify the domestic space beyond the threshold. If the space accessed to the right after entering through this door was, as we suspect, the lower oratory, the placement of this inscription makes more sense.

Lastly, over the door in the turret leading down from the forecourt to the orchard we read: *DIRIGE D[omi]NE DEUS MEUS IN COSPECTU TUO VIAM MEAM*, that is, "Lead me, Lord, in your righteousness," copied literally from Psalm 5, Verse 8. A sentence often uttered at funerals, in this case the "way" implied may refer not only metaphorically to life in general but materially to the way that commences with the steps down to the path that leads to the chapels near the vineyard at the bottom of the estate.

It is interesting to note the deeply religious sentiment of these three inscriptions which Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque places strategically as greetings to anyone entering the palace from the courtyard and garden, or anyone entering the orchards, three spaces to which he seems to assign special spiritual values in stark contrast to the profane character of the iconographic programme at the Pleasure House by the lake and along the two walkways that lead to it.

With the Pleasure House finished, the two orchard pavilions concluded and the vineyard chapels renovated, the estate must have been considered complete, because it was precisely at this point that Albuquerque and his first wife decided to entail all these properties before a notary, which they did on 27 January 1568 [1, p. 52].

7. A PLACE FOR ALL ETERNITY

Having completed the works at his residence, Albuquerque embarked on his last architectural initiative, this time outside the boundaries of the estate but within his

possessions: the reconstruction of the church of São Simão and the foundation of a hospital next to it. In 1569, as president of the Lisbon Senate, Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque attempted to mitigate the losses caused by the great epidemic that claimed 600 lives a day at its peak and more than 60,000 deaths in total, according to the records. One of the most venerated images at the church of São Simão is precisely Our Lady of Health, placed there under the initiative of Albuquerque himself and to this day still carried in procession. Also from the founder's days, the church still contains images of Saint Simon and John the Baptist, both of them polychrome terracottas and as Flemish in appearance as the image of the sculpture that adorned the Pleasure House. All of these images are anonymous but of great quality.

In 1570 the deed of commitment to build the church and aforementioned charity institution was signed, aimed at providing accommodation for pilgrims and curing the sick of the nearby towns and villages [1, pp. 53-54]. The church that was built next to the hospital dates from that same year and must have replaced a smaller chapel containing Hispano-Moresque tiles, some of which were reused in the sacristy of the new church. In view of his conflicts with the Augustinian monks at the Convent of *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, Brás [Afonso] de Albuquerque decided that the church of São Simão should not only become the new parish for the local faithful but the chapel for the Bacalhôa Palace as well, and it should hold the family's new pantheon. This decision is reflected in his will, which states that henceforth his mortal remains and those of his descendants would be buried there, and the christenings, marriages and funerals of his family members and other parishioners would be held in this place, all celebrated by a chaplain who would always be appointed by the estate owner. In a document from the same year, 1570, which is preserved in the Azeitão parish records and has been generously ceded by Ruy Ventura, Albuquerque lists the faithful who would henceforth be entailed to São Simão and who undertook before the public notary to provide sufficient funds for the maintenance of the chaplain who would celebrate the religious services and attend to the parishioners.⁴¹

Although the tower had to be completely rebuilt after the 1755 earthquake, the nave with its columns and portals displays the classicist features of the late 16th century, corresponding to the last phase of works at the estate and palace. According to Rasteiro, the records show that the church had been completed by 1578 [1, p. 75], although between Albuquerque's death in 1581 and the termination in 1609 of the lawsuit over ownership of the estate, the church and adjacent hospital suffered nearly forty years of decay and neglect [1, p. 58]. Their new owner, Jerónimo Manuel de Noronha, nicknamed "o Bacalhau", lived at the palace from 1609. From 1610, his children were christened at the new church where his wife Maria de Mendonça y Albuquerque would soon be buried after passing away in 1613 [1, p. 60]. Between 1614 and 1618 her husband, now a widower, travelled to India and passed away two years later on his return, also being buried at the family grave in the church.

The property then passed to Jerónimo Manuel's son and heir, Jorge Manuel de Albuquerque, who lived in the palace until 1651 with long periods of absence due to his travels in Africa. During those years, the estate saw the birth of his son, Jerónimo Mauoel, who was christened at São Simão on 31 December 1639. His second son, Francisco Manuel, was born on 20 January 1650 and christened on 5 February, a few months before

41 Azeitão Parish Archive, Dossier 5, [1570.VIII.07] Public deed of undertaking by the parishioners of São Simão. Document transcribed and kindly facilitated by the historian Ruy Ventura.

Jorge Manuel's death and burial at the church on 1 October 1651 [1, p. 61]. His wife and the mother of his two children, Teresa María Coutinho, was the daughter of Francisco de Gama, Fourth Count of Vidigueira and Admiral of the Seas of India. The Bacalhôa estate therefore remained a place of residence for the whole of the first half of the 17th century, during which time the family continued to maintain the palace and the church. The house remained a living and breathing dwelling during this first half of the 17th century, which perhaps explains why a certain João Real, *enladrilhador*⁴², resided and worked at the estate in 1623 [1, p. 31]. Brás [Afonso] Albuquerque had had neither the time nor opportunity to commission the tile panels for the church, which fell many years later to Jorge Manoel de Albuquerque, under whose initiative the bones of the Great Albuquerque were transferred from Lisbon to Azeitão. The tiles in the church display the typical features of their day, which are dated on one of the various hagiographic panels that interrupt the wall surfaces in the nave, clad with patterned tiles. The panel in question represents John the Baptist, and beneath the saint we read: "Judge, clerk and custodians ordered this work to be done. Those who now serve this year 1648."⁴³

Since the church had been completed several decades earlier, we may surmise that the phrase refers to the tiles, probably the last to be installed at the Bacalhôa monument. In this case, they are all clearly of Portuguese origin, although some of the tiles visible in the baptismal chapel and others preserved in the sacristy correspond to the ones at the estate, from where they must have been brought to this church for use in repairs.

Perhaps this episode and the subsequent deaths of Jorge Manuel in 1651 and his wife in 1657 ushered in a new and extended period of decay, not only of the estate owners themselves but of the buildings, as the descriptions from the second half of the 17th century appear to confirm.

Very decadent must have been Bacalhôa at the middle of the 18th century if we give credit to the words that Diogo de Barbosa Machado dedicates to it when writing the brief biography of Brás [Alfonso] Albuquerque of whom he affirms that: "he built in the place of Azeitao a sumptuous Quinta [...] of whose ancient greatness still today some vestiges are preserved" [29, pp. 25-26].⁴⁴

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42 tile-layer

43 "Juiz, escrivão e mordomos mandaram fazer esta obra. Os que agora servem este ano de 1648."

44 "... edificou no lugar de Azeitão [...] huma sumptuosa quinta de cuja grandeza ainda hoje se conservaõ alguns vestígios".

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