

# European Courts in a Globalized World

1400-1700

07 - 08 November 2013

Palácio Fronteira, Lisbon, Portugal

*Court Residences*  
*as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval*  
*and Early Modern Europe 1400 - 1700*

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## ***France in the Ottoman world: living at the French embassy during the seventeenth century***

RONAN BOUTTIER

[Université Paris-Sorbonne, France]

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At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the French ambassador in Constantinople, Jean Louis d'Usson de Bonnac, decided to rebuilt the old embassy, the first western permanent diplomatic representation in the capital of the Ottoman empire, established by François I<sup>er</sup>. In order to program the reconstruction, the ambassador called for a French architect to produce panoramic views, plans and elevations which compose a very complete graphic record of this atypical complex building completely destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century. By crossing these records with information from the embassy's archives and from the French Chamber of Commerce, one discovers a very surprising building, built in the Turkish manner, set between Ottoman traditional interiors and French modern palaces, combining for example a French apartment suite with a room for the divan. Based on this material, this paper proposes to question how the French king was represented abroad? How did his ambassadors deal with local constraints in the construction of the embassy and in the setting of the ceremonial?

***The Remédios Palace and the role of the Purveyor of the Armadas:  
luxury and everyday objects from the overseas empire***

ISABEL SOARES DE ALBERGARIA  
CHAM, Universidade dos Açores, Portugal

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The Remédios Palace is located in the Corpo Santo neighbourhood, overlooking the downtown area of Angra, on the island of Terceira (Azores). It was built during the first decade of the seventeenth century, by order of Manuel do Canto e Castro, member of the powerful and influential dynasty of the Purveyors of the Armadas and Vessels from India. From the start, the Remédios Palace was an important locus of power, concentrated on the Canto lordships, which were directly involved in providing logistic support to the armadas coming from the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and became a kind of unofficial showcase for the wealth accumulated through the lucrative commerce with the East and the routes to the Americas.

The present study is based on the documentation of the Canto e Castro registry which is today preserved in the Ponta Delgada Library and Archive. It also draws from the work done by various researchers who have studied the Purveyor of the Armadas, as well as on the available monographs about the legacy of the Canto e Castro family, which controlled the office of the Purveyor from 1527 to its extinction in 1818.

This paper focuses on the contents of the Remédios Palace, in the light of the exotic decorative style that resulted from commercial connections with extra-European circuits. At the same time, it examines the role of Terceira's Purveyors of the Armadas in disseminating these luxury and everyday items, both within the archipelago and beyond, by waylaying merchandise and re-exporting it through commercial agents from other nations.

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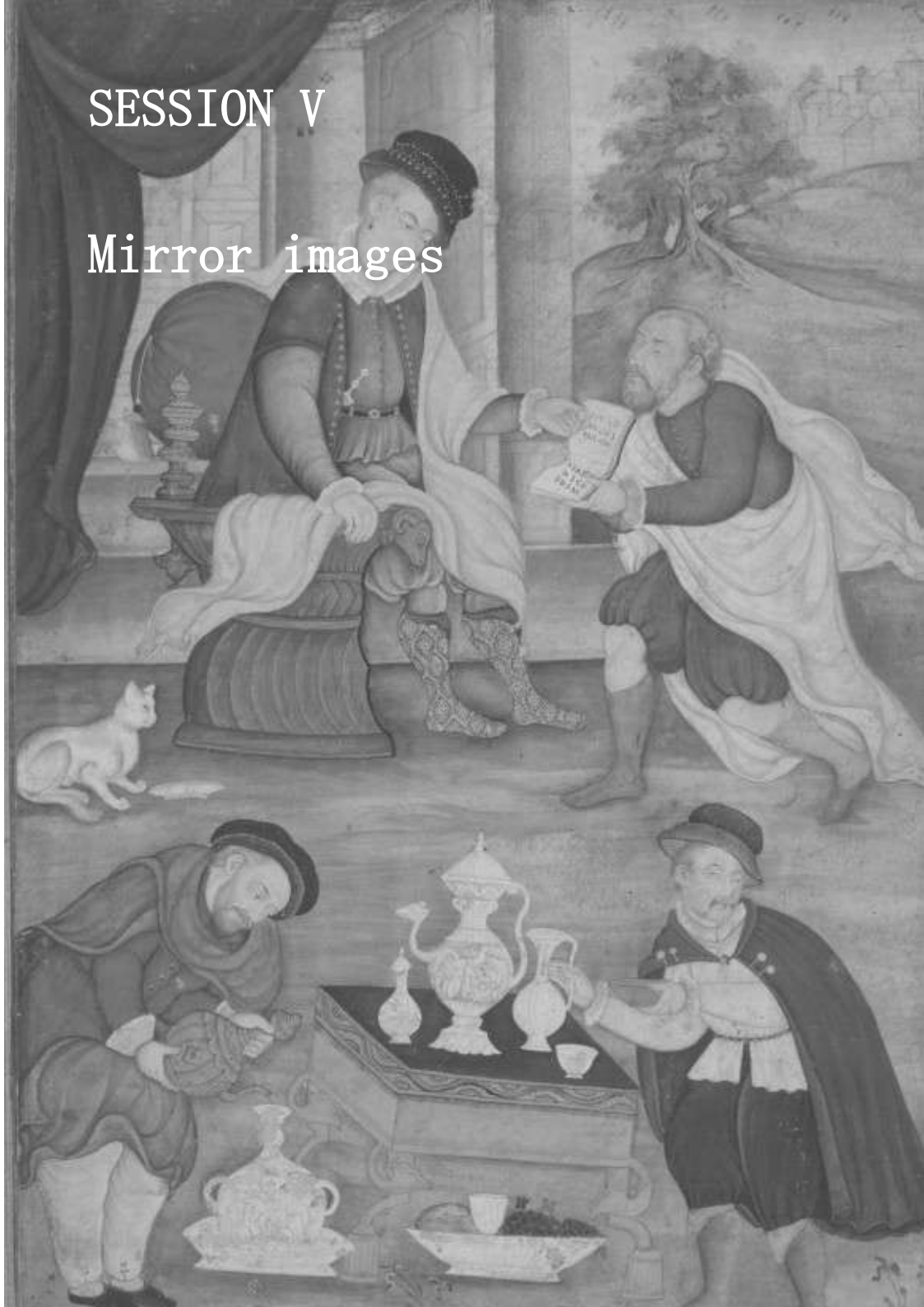
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## ***The 'Exalted Throne' of the Ottomans at Buda's royal palace***

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In September 1526, following the Battle of Mohacs, Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566) entered Buda. Despite the destruction and pillaging, the Royal Palace was spared. This paper discusses the process of symbolic appropriation of the Kingdom of Hungary through the appropriation of the “royal seat”. Not only is the sparing of the royal palace rather illuminating, but also the alternating occupation of royal space. It is not only Süleyman’s presence in these spaces, but his performance of the kingly activities therein which underlines the appropriation process. While in Buda the Sultan went hunting in the King’s grounds, held feasts in the royal palace with music and conversation favoring the participants with gifts, organized festivities in the King’s gardens, celebrated a major religious holiday. Viziers and commanders came to the “exalted throne” and kissed the Sultan’s hand.

Sultan Süleyman’s stay in Buda represents a not-frequently-observed instance of “non-European” temporary occupation of a central European court, deploying the space with the same architectural and ceremonial functions. This can be regarded as a process of appropriation without actual long term possession. Such appropriation was a way of acclaiming kingship in more symbolic terms than imposing his rule on the people. In addition to political, ideological and symbolic aspects of this process, Sultan Süleyman’s courtly activities during his stay at Buda illuminate the functions and meanings associated with royal architecture regardless of dichotomies like East and West/Muslim and Christian.

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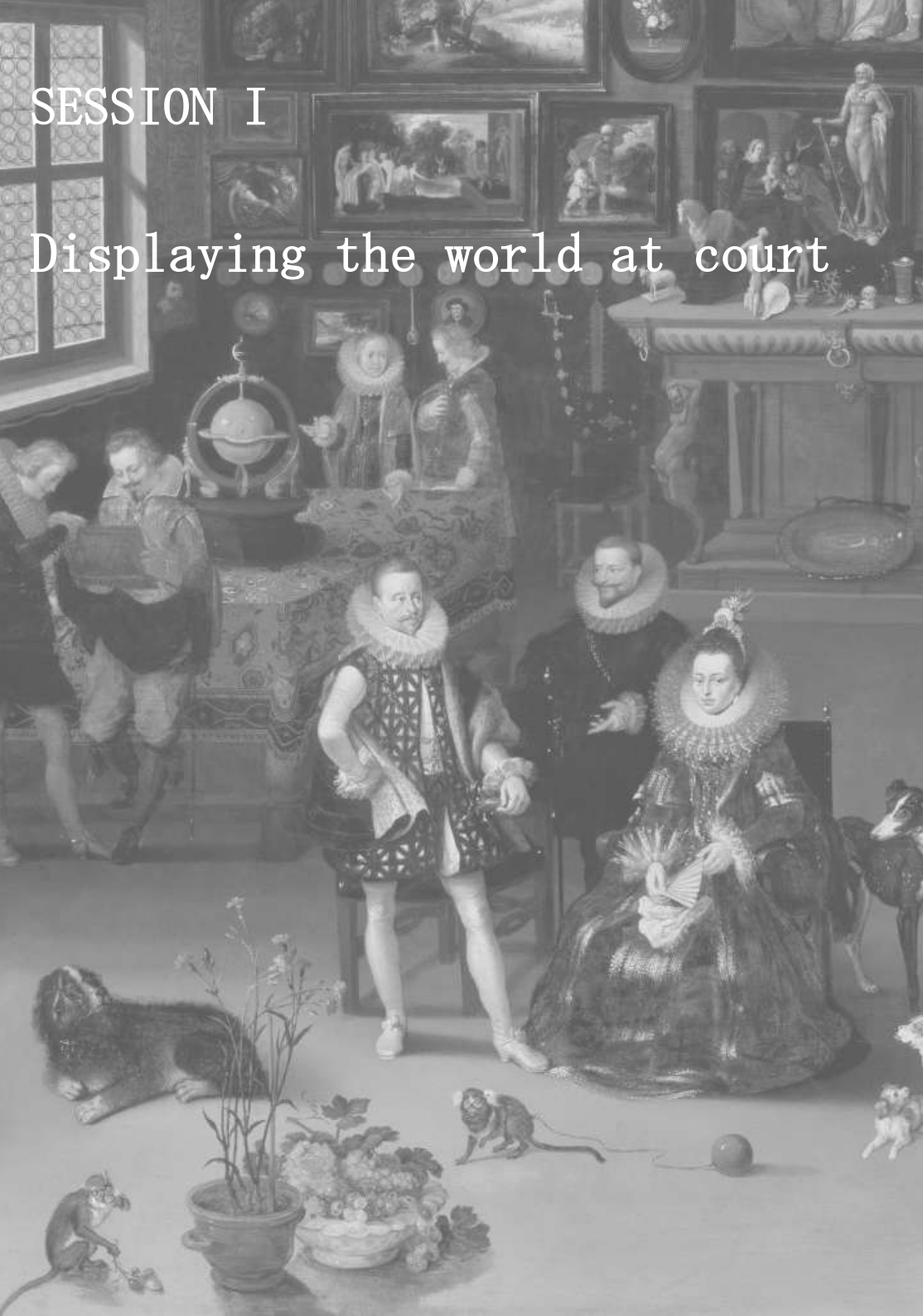
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# SESSION I

## Displaying the world at court



### *Homecoming of the exotic: Oriental rugs at the Vasa courts in Poland-Lithuania (1587-1668)*

TOMASZ GRUSIECKI  
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Persian and Ottoman carpets played an important role within the interior decoration of the royal castles in Cracow and Warsaw. In this paper, I will argue that the Oriental rug had a twofold function in the Vasa dynastic propaganda: these carpets simultaneously signalled the affirmation of the elite pan-European Wunderkammer craze, and embraced the specifically Polish-Lithuanian preoccupation with Oriental visual culture. While the Vasas fully espoused pan-European elite culture, the gentry's cultural identity was built upon the myth of the Oriental origin of the Polish-Lithuanian political nation. Having ostensibly orientalised their material culture, the gentry rejected the pan-European fashion of picture collecting as allegedly unsuitable for a nobleman. With this discursive framework in mind, I will situate the royal palace as an ambiguous space, for in the context of Poland-Lithuania it was both the locus of monarchical splendour and the site of parliament. Based on this unstable signification of the palace's interior, the Oriental rug can be seen both as a sustenance of the pan-European fashion of the Wunderkammer — accordingly understood as an exoticum — as well as the royal endorsement of the gentry's cultural values. In the latter case, the Oriental carpet ceased to be exotic and became indigenised into the discursive framework of the Polish-Lithuanian political nation. Consequently, the Oriental carpet, within the space of the royal castle, lends itself to the narrative of homecoming, rather than simply testifying to the binary distinction between the exotic and the domestic.

***Turcica and Ottoman objects in sixteenth-century collections  
of the German-speaking world***

CHARLOTTE COLDING SMITH  
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This paper explores the collection and recognition of Ottoman objects and those created by European artists and writers describing and depicting the Turk within sixteenth century collections, particular in German speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire. Specifically it contrasts the different collected objects to how they reflected sixteenth century attitudes to the Turk and Ottoman Empire and how these were catalogued and displayed. Furthermore, it investigates their inclusion within the traditions and structure of early collections, libraries and Kunstkammern. The objects considered range from books and prints to decorative arts, costume and weaponry, and are based on the Hapsburg collections in Vienna of Ferdinand II, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, as directly compared to collections in Copenhagen, Dresden, Munich and Wolfenbüttel. Their collection and modes of display reflected the fascination for the Ottoman Empire by Northern European collectors, librarians and cataloguers such as Hugo Blotius, who ordered and listed them. Turcica and associated objects illustrate concerns with Ottoman military might, Islamic infidel, pace of scholarship and learning, in addition to visualizations of the 'Other' through exotic clothes and customs. The ways they were stored and catalogued together with the sixteenth century justification for their collection illuminate contemporary Northern European attitudes. Were they merely collected to provide military intelligence in the defence against the Ottoman Armies and the Sultan, knowledge about an enemy culture, and theological background to the infidel Muslims? Or were these also objects of curiosity and culture about a far away society within an expanding world view, as early ideas of the 'Oriental' and 'Orientalism' were being established?

***"...With news and curiosities for the pleasure of friends...":  
Orazio Roberto Pucci's travel journals discovering the exotic***

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Orazio Roberto Pucci's travel journal (1657-61), which has survived only in manuscript form, shares many common traits both with Michel de Montaigne's Journey to Italy (1580-81) and with the erudite guidebooks produced in the seventeenth century. This account reveals a unique sociological approach to European societies (both at court and in the city) and, at the same time, it is especially rich on references to urban landmarks, artistic collections and material culture. Hitherto unknown to academic audiences, these "Memorie" were written to report on "news and curiosities for the pleasure of friends" wishing to visit Germany, Flanders, Holland, England, Germany, France, Spain and Northern Italy. Member of one of Florence's most prominent families, the author possesses a deep appreciation for and understanding of contemporary artistic avant-gardes, cultural and religious diversities, and technological innovations.

This paper intends to explore the extraordinary interest of Pucci for the court of Philip IV of Spain, of whom he extols the lavishness and liberality. He observed that the nobles in Madrid were very fond of chocolate, but what struck him most there were the Court, the Palace and the collection of "the exotic", including Chinese porcelains, clothing and furniture. It is quite interesting that a Florentine, a Medici courtier, where the exotic phenomenon was not exceptional, analyzed and compared what happened at the Spanish Court and in Europe through his travel.

***The contribution of Karel van Mander III and  
Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts to the establishment of the Museum  
Regium in Copenhagen (1665)***

JULIETTE RODING  
Leiden University, The Netherlands

In 1665 King Frederik III ordered a building to house his expanding collections. In 1668, Chief Inspector Willum Worm – son of the famous collector Ole Worm – made the first inventory of the new Museum Regium. In the same year the Flemish trompe l’oeil specialist Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts started to make paintings for the small but exquisite ‘perspective room’ of the new museum which was used as the entry for special guests. Here the King is presented as the paramount scientist of his country, who collects and classifies knowledge from all sorts of sources, with the help of his Court Artist.

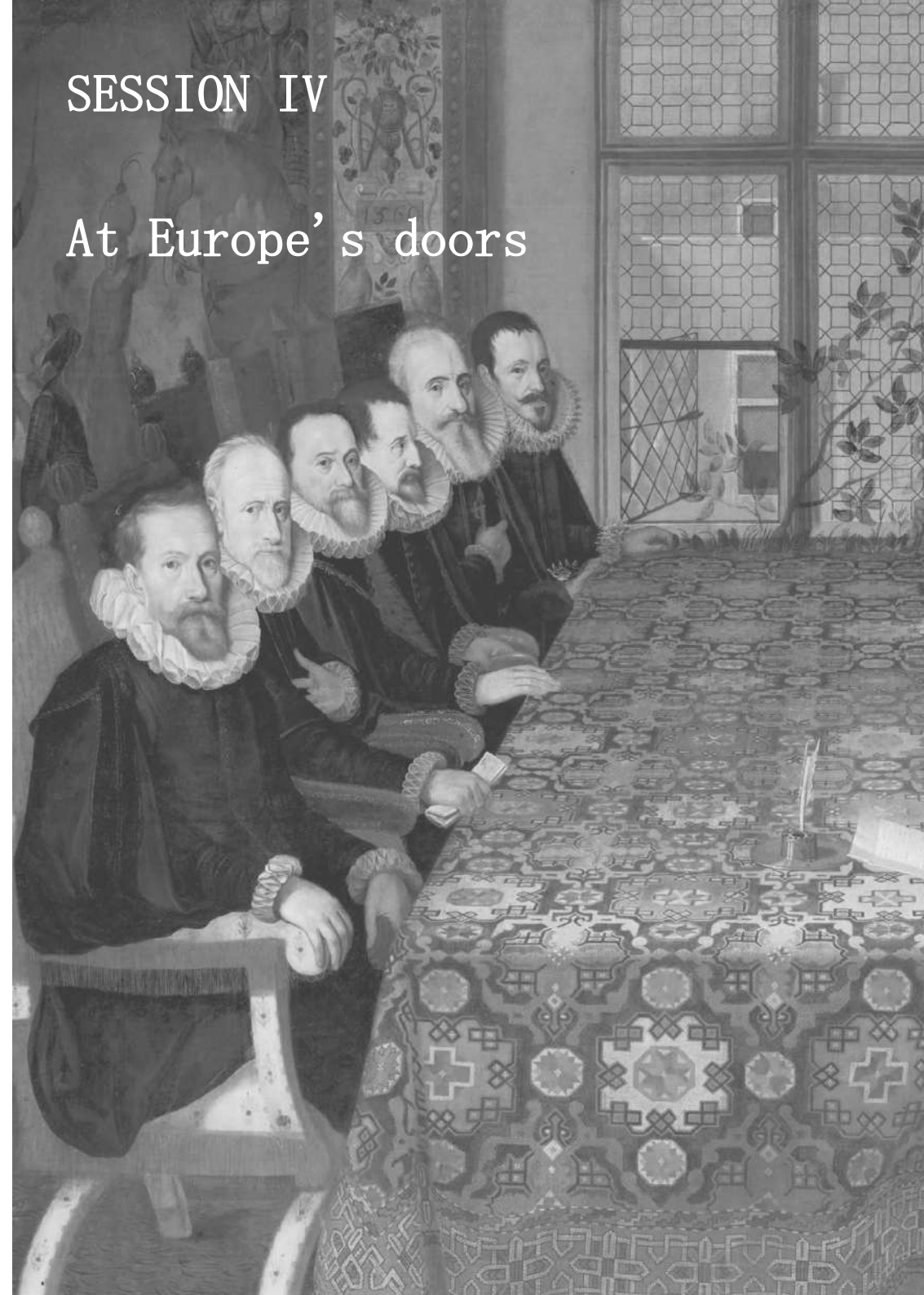
In 1664 an Italian traveler mentioned that he was shown around in the Royal collections by ‘Il custode Karl van Mander’. It was probably Van Mander who invited Gijsbrechts to come to Denmark and who was the inventor of the elaborate programme for the Perspective Room. His name is also connected to another part of the museum, the one with exotic weapons.

In the 1660s Karel van Mander III owned the largest Kunst und Wunderkammer in Copenhagen that contained many ethnographical, botanical and zoological objects from Africa, the East and South America. In 1670 – after the death of Willum Worm – Karel van Mander III became Chief Inspector of the Museum, only to die the same year. In 1672 his collection was auctioned and part of it must have been required by the King.

In the paper I will explore the role of both Karel van Mander III and Cornelis Norbertus Gijsbrechts in the early years of the Danish Museum Regium.

## SESSION IV

### At Europe’s doors





***The archduke and the exotic:  
The collecting ambitions of archduke Ernest of Austria in Brussels***

IVO RABAND

[Institute of Art History, University of Berne, Switzerland]

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My talk focuses on Archduke Ernest of Austria appointed governor of the (Spanish) Netherlands by Philip II in 1593. The aim is to shed new light on the Archduke and his ambitions to position himself within the “Habsburg-Universe”. Questions on hand are why and how he began to install a *kunstkammer* within his palace’s walls?

Ernest, raised and educated at the Spanish Court, had tight family relations to the Vice Kingdoms of Portugal and Naples, foremost through his brother Archduke Albrecht, his later successor. Ernest’s (exotic) collection can be traced through different sources: letters from Albrecht which arrived with gifts, the “Kassabuch” (account book) written between 1589 and 1595 by his private secretary and the inventory of his belongings drawn up after his death in February 1595. In addition to this there are the Festival Books from his Joyous Entries into Brussels and Antwerp in 1594. Here the Archduke is seen wearing a hat adorned with exotic feathers, accompanied by camels which he brought along all the way from Prague. Also in point is the Triumphal Arch of the merchants of Portugal (where Albrecht was viceroy) depicting the four parts of the world.

The goal of my talk is to show the unknown collection of Ernest of Austria and to ask how and what the Archduke collected. The presentation of his collecting ambitions leads to the question how this interfered directly with his efforts to present himself as a rightful regent within the line of his royal family.

***The exotic in the household of the infanta Dona Beatriz  
(Portugal, fifteenth century)***

MARIA BARRETO DÁVILA

[CHAM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal]

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Throughout the fifteenth century the Portuguese contact with the rest of the world (known and unknown) changed radically. New products, ingredients, objects and animals arrived daily to Lisbon changing tastes and habits. In the 1507’s post mortem inventory of the Infanta Dona Beatriz the presence of these non-European objects is highly visible - objects that begin to reveal themselves during this period, objects that in the near future would become emblematic of new European consumer habits.

Dona Beatriz, mother of the Portuguese king Dom Manuel I and of Queen Dona Leonor, was one of the most important women in Portugal at her time. She assumed the rule of the Dukedom of Viseu and the Atlantic islands after her husband’s death and was personally involved in the Portuguese discoveries, which brought her great wealth, mostly due to sugar plantations in Madeira. Patterns of consumption reflect choices and forms of social and political positioning of individuals, so it is not surprising that, at Dona Beatriz’s household, the atmosphere was of luxury and exoticism, full of novelties from Africa and the newly found East.

In this paper, I will analyze the objects described in the duchess’ post mortem inventory and compare them to the ones enrolled in her trousseau, done sixty years prior. By doing this, I will trace the progression of the presence of non-European objects in her household and understand how the empire changed the Infanta’s patterns of consumption, thus shedding light on the evolution of consumption habits of the Portuguese nobility in the period early voyages.

***Mathijs van Ceulen and the fruits of Brazil - collecting and exhibiting New World objects in Recife and Amsterdam***

RENÉ LOMMEZ GOMES

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil

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Taking into account the decoration of Mathijs van Ceulen's house in Amsterdam in 1631, visitors would probably not consider the prominent merchant as a collector. His residence was sparsely decorated with fifteen artworks, valued at 64 Dutch guilders.

Thirteen years later, when the merchant died, a collection of 84 items, amounting to a value of 566 guilders, was left to his heirs. While his collection increased in extension and value, it also became richer in variety of objects, including items with Brazilian subjects such as a still life with West Indian fruits and two effigies of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, governor of Dutch Brazil.

The accumulation of such collection seems to have been consistent with van Ceulen's life and interests. As Director of the West India Company, he was one of the most influential Dutch traders in Brazil. Indeed, he lived twice in Pernambuco, first as Director of Dutch Brazil (1632-35), and then as member of the High Council of Brazil (1636-40).

Considering that van Ceulen died less than three years after his return to Amsterdam, it is possible to infer that the major changes in his collection occurred during the time that he lived at Earl Johan Maurits' court in Recife. Actually, van Ceulen's collection shared great similarities with those belonging to Johan Maurits himself and his courtiers.

This paper will discuss to what extent the Dutch Brazilian court disseminated practices of collecting and exhibiting New World objects among its members, creating a shared sense of community among them and shaping Mathijs van Ceulen's collection.

***Displaying exotic gifts in sixteenth-century Grand Ducal Florence***

SAMUEL MORRISON GALLACHER

[IMT Institute for Advanced Studies, Lucca, Italy]

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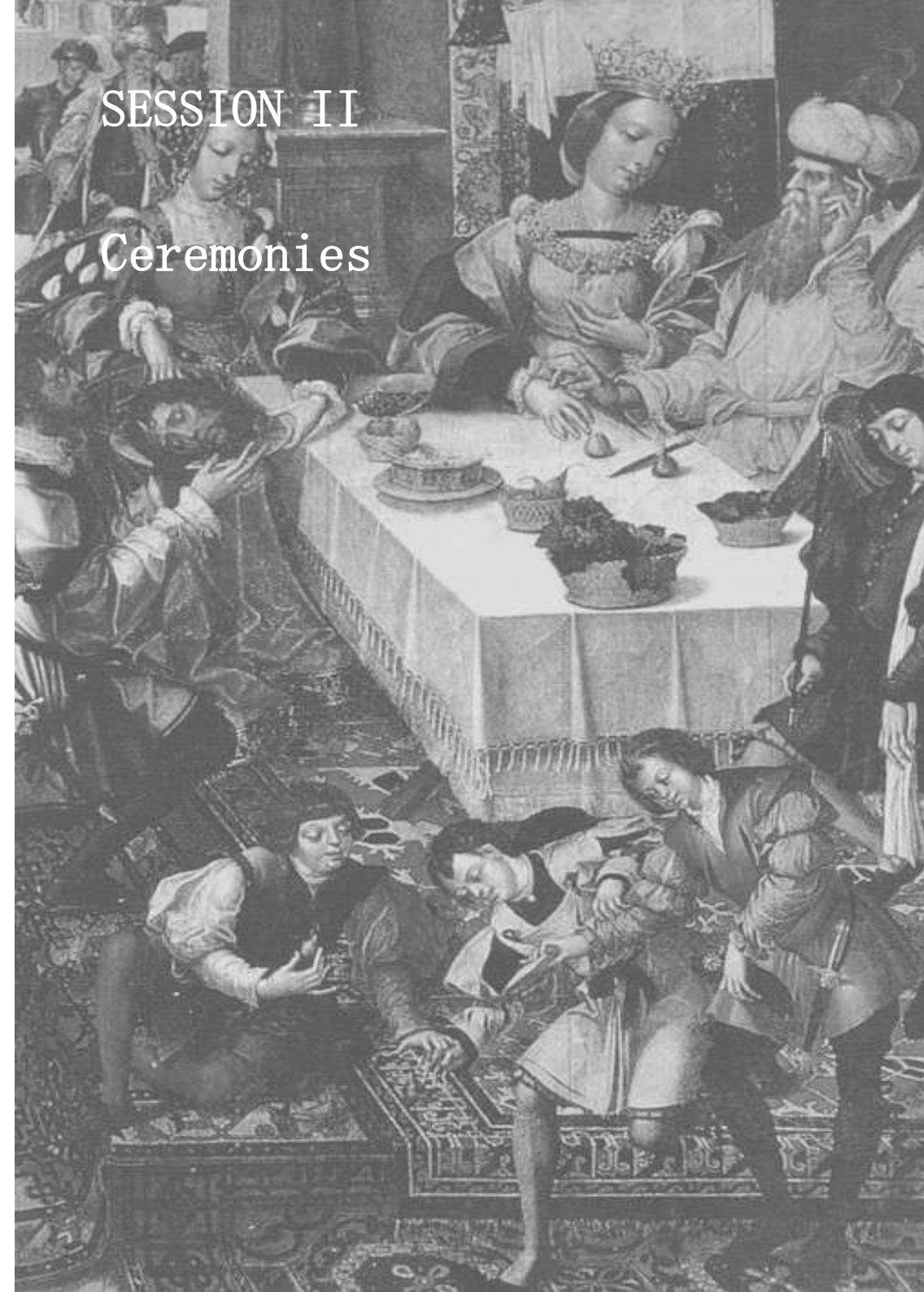
The frequent gifting of exotic animals in the sixteenth century embodies the idea of early modern cultural globalization. As gifts, rare animals represent both courtly fashion and the breadth of global exchange. Their diplomatic value and significance as cultural and artistic symbols is emphasized in their depiction in art, architecture, and statuary. Perhaps the most famous and exotic of diplomatic gifts in the Medici collections was the giraffe of Lorenzo de' Medici 'il Magnifico' (1449–1492) given in 1486 by Sultan al-Ashraf Qaitbay of Egypt (c.1416–1496). While the subject of much scholarly attention, the giraffe has not been fully appreciated as an object (albeit living) imbued with the status of 'diplomatic gift'. In the fifteenth century, the giraffe was included in the backgrounds of two paintings, by Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–1494) between 1486–1490, and by Raffaello Botticini (1477–c.1520) in c.1495, which depict the most significant presentation of gifts in Christian history, those of the Magi to the infant Christ. The giraffe was repeated in the palatial decoration undertaken in the Medici residences of Poggio a Caiano, Prato (c.1520), the Villa Medici di Castello, Firenze (c.1555), and the Palazzo Vecchio, Firenze (1556). Logistically, the possession of an exotic animal was an unparalleled symbol of global status. Artistically, the depiction of the giraffe – Lorenzo's giraffe – became a motif of Medici connections to the wider world, replicated most potently in the cultural displays commissioned of his descendent, Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574).

## Collecting and cross-cultural exchange in the Italian courts

LEAH R. CLARK

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It is well known that collecting became an important practice for Italian elites, and that spaces of collection, such as the *studiolo*, emerged as essential cultural and political spaces, particularly in the courts in the fifteenth century. My paper will examine the intersections between collecting spaces in the Italian courts and the diplomatic and mercantile practices that enabled objects from afar —porcelain, hardstone vases, collectibles—to be viewed, admired, discussed and engaged with, in those collections. However, I am also interested in how particular objects were imitated, translated, and copied across media, and how knowledge and conceptions of other cultures circulated through these translations and migrations. Newly developed trade routes as well as diplomatic embassies in the late fifteenth century allowed for increased contact between Italian states and their Islamic neighbours—Tunis and Turkey in particular—and little attention has been paid to how diverse objects played a crucial role in these relations. The attachment to particular objects, the stories and narratives about these collectibles, the literary and artistic debates emerging from *studiolo* culture, the desire attached to acquisition, and the philosophical, humanist, and theological interest in stones and materials, all gave rise to new modes of engaging with these objects, which shifted from primarily religious functions to more secular ones. This paper will investigate how the material objects in cross-cultural exchanges—porcelain, hardstones, and other collectibles—were not merely stationary objects in princely collections but pointed to the activities taking place within and outside the *studiolo*, acting as material memories of cross-cultural exchanges, mercantile routes, and the pursuit of knowledge.



## SESSION II

### Ceremonies

## ***“A world picture”: The upside-down world of the New World***

TAMAR CHOLCMAN  
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In 1658 Lima celebrated the birth of Prince Philip Prospero, son of Philip IV of Spain. A ceremonial entry was organized which began with a presentation of the four elements, then the four seasons, and after those the four continents – the three “old” known continents of Africa, Asia and Europe, and the “new” unknown continent of the New World. The chariot of America carried a king sitting on a throne and his subjects: 24 men dressed as parrots. Behind, there followed a second chariot carrying cats. A battle between the two was staged.

This entry demonstrates the transferral of the Triumphal Entry from the Old World to the New World, from the Civilised to the Savage, from the Known to the Unknown. Published in a book, an ekphrasis of the Entry, it is clear that at least some of the traditions and practices of the Old had been transferred to the New. However, it is not clear whether the orthodox intentions of the Triumphal Entry were also transferred.

In this paper I will propose that the image presented in Lima is based on the tradition of the ‘upside down world’, designed to stand as an antithesis of the ordered and civilised Old World. I will propose that the juxtaposing of the “ordered” world with the folly and ridicule of the New World was meant to establish the superiority of the Old over the New, in all aspects of life, especially the Old World Court – king and courtiers. The traditional was brought into the streets of the New World, not to bring the court into the street, the king to the people, but rather to bring the order of the Old into the chaos of the New.

## ***Boundary spaces: the fictional display of extra-European objects in seventeenth-century European palace decoration***

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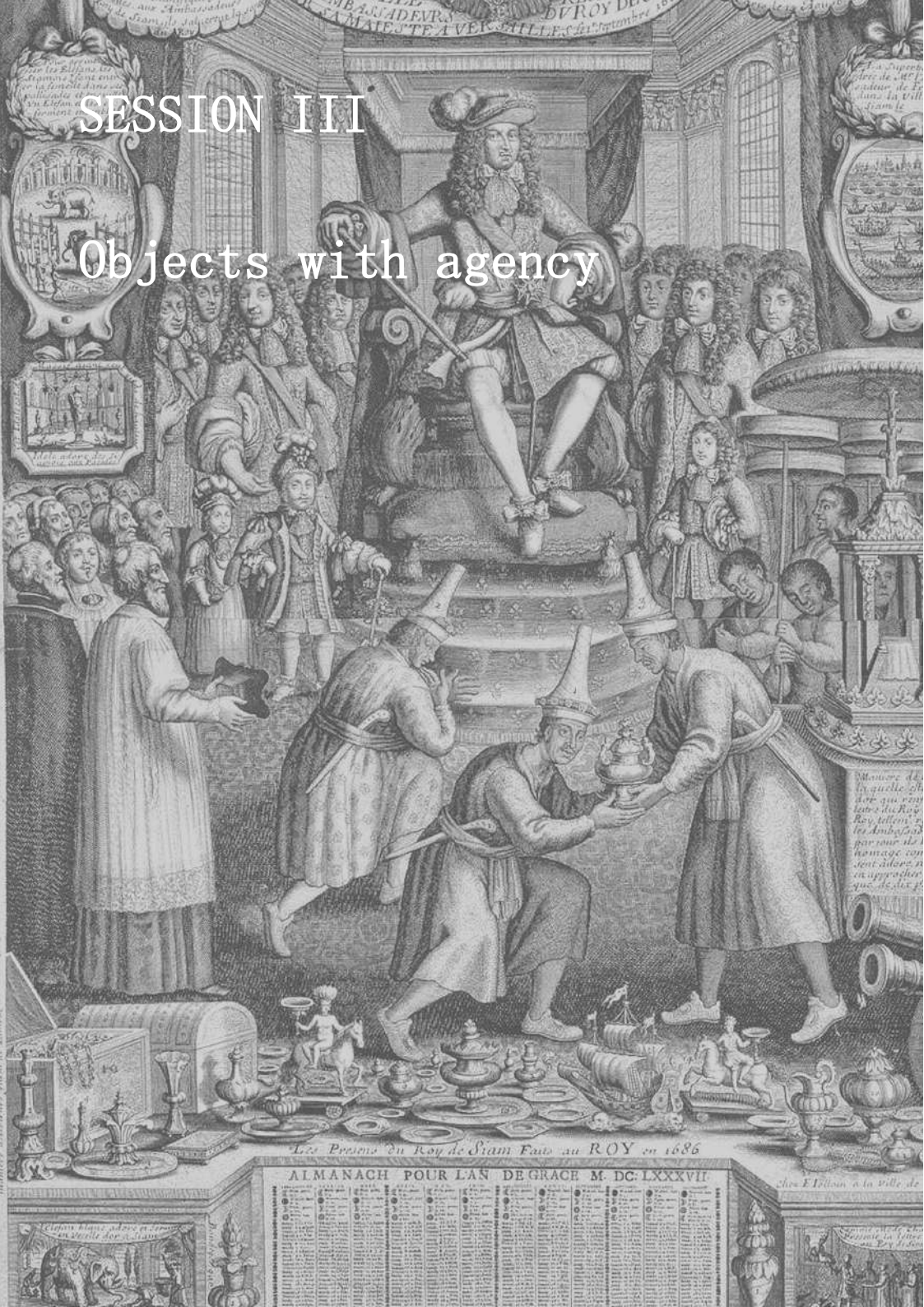
In seventeenth-century European courts, extra-European objects with a specific use or “agency” can be documented. Fostered by the fascination for distant worlds, such use produced “boundary objects” (i.e., objects manufactured in Europe with the integration of an extra-European item), or “boundary spaces” (i.e., spaces created in Europe with the display of extra-European objects).

In palace decoration, these “boundary spaces” proceeded from fictional display, while at the same time awareness of extra-European objects became sharper as is obvious from the cabinets of curiosities. In fact, the two processes were not in conflict since “boundary spaces” also proceeded from an increasing awareness of extra-European objects and distant worlds. Using such devices, princes sought to endorse the Exotic to legitimise their power *hic et nunc*, following a process comparable to that used with the Antique, but with a much more malleable material still vested with a very special aura.

Drawing our examples from the French, German, Italian or English courts, from the Trianon de Porcelaine of Versailles to the Charlottenburg Porcelain Cabinet, we will see how such devices were constructed: accumulation, pageantry, spectacular, integration, hybridity, manipulation, metonymy, metaphor, imitation, separately or together. In those contexts of power, sensory (*delectare/movere*) and cognitive (*docere*) were strongly connected. And it was precisely the case with the device of fictional displays using extra-European objects, since the process was, in point of fact, politically meaningful.

# SESSION III

## Objects with agency



### ***Celebrating empire: Portuguese possessions at the royal entry of Philip I in Lisbon (1581)***

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After his acclamation in Tomar, Philip I of Portugal, II of Spain, prepared, with the support of the Lisbon city council, a ceremonial entry in the kingdom's capital to proclaim his sovereignty and confirm the loyalty of his Portuguese subjects. A majestic reception was prepared, including the construction of several and ephemeral architectonic structures to receive the royal entourage and to provide amusement to the people. In this royal pageant, the king was presented with several feminine statues representing various Portuguese possessions in the Indian and Atlantic oceans. These statues were sponsored by the richest merchants of Lisbon who expected to see their commercial and economic prerogatives strengthened.

Each of the ten allegorical figures, representing Goa, Cannanore, Cochin, Chaul, Diu, Ceylon, Malacca, Ormuz, Ethiopia and Brazil, held the main products and riches they produced or traded, such as spices, fabrics or gold, all explained through enthusiastic texts. One more statue presented two feminine sculptures holding hands over a globe, representing the alliance of the Eastern and Western Indias under a single crown.

This paper will focus on the analysis of the ephemeral structures and especially the allegorical statues representing the Portuguese possessions then erected in Lisbon. It will also explore the set of ceremonial codes and programs of all these artistic campaigns in the peculiar perspective of the presence of the Habsburg dynasty in Portugal.

***Chinese textiles in Portuguese royal festivals:  
the christening of a princess in Lisbon (1669)***

MARIA JOÃO PACHECO FERREIRA  
CHAM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal

In the spring of 1669, at the royal chapel of Ribeira's palace, the Portuguese royal house commemorated the christening of the first candidate to the throne born after the restoration of the independence of the Portuguese monarchy (1640). This was D. Isabel de Bragança, the only daughter of the future king Peter II and his first wife D. Maria Francisca de Sabóia, princess of Nemours. The royal palace was embellished for this solemn and symbolic occasion, and displayed a magnificent decorative program. Through the minute description from Diego Villega (a Portuguese military who served at the court of Philip IV of Spain) in the laudatory book that he dedicated to the event it becomes possible to join the attendants to the ceremony as they crossed the most important rooms of the palace and envision the scenography conceived for the event, most especially based on exquisite textile furnishings.

Textiles featured prominently in the ceremony and among them some embroidered panels from China, hanging in a focal locus of the celebrations, the dais room. This paper will analyze the contribution of textiles to the construction of a symbolic image of power within the Portuguese Royal House, achieved through the usage of an articulated textile program in which quantity, diversity of typologies, color, and richness combined with iconological programs. Within this decorative discourse, China stood prominently.

***Representing Imperio c. 1700: Allegories of imperial Spain  
in the transition from Habsburg to Bourbon kingship***

JORGE FERNÁNDEZ-SANTOS  
Universitat Jaume I de Castelló, Spain

It is generally accepted that Philip V's arrival in Madrid (1701), as Charles II's successor, dramatically changed the Spanish court. This paper will trace key allegories of imperial Spain (including the Four Continents) in the transitional period from late Habsburg to early Bourbon taste. Special consideration will be given to the extent to which French and Italian models in different media, dating from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, may have influenced the representation of the Spanish monarchy as an imperial power both before and after the dynastic change of 1700. Habsburg iconography and etiquette were subjected to strategic but oftentimes hesitant revisions that betrayed the need to rethink the very notion of imperio. For example, the triumphal entries of Philip V in Madrid (1701) and Naples (1702) show various and at times conflicting models of kingship vying for symbolic primacy. May these be roughly described as "centripetal" and "centrifugal"? Interestingly, the last decade of Charles II's reign had witnessed an unprecedentedly ambitious display of "imperial" allegories that can be rightly interpreted as a *summa habsburgica*. Yet one may also detect an incipient effort to redefine the properly Castilian core of the *monarquía* among the reform-minded cultural élite. Would such a Castilian emphasis entail privileging Castile's American extension at the expense of the traditional Germanic or Burgundian dynastic trappings of the Habsburgs? Were "imperial" claims based upon the American Indies (*emperador de Indias*) invigorated in this transitional context?