

“WITH NOBLE AND SUMPTUOUS ARCHITECTURE”
THE TRIUMPHAL FAÇADE OF THE LISBON INQUISITION
PALACE ON THE OCCASION OF THE DOUBLE ROYAL
MATRIMONIES OF 1785*

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The matrimonial bonds formed by the royal houses of Portugal and Spain in April and June of 1785 promoted the union between D. João de Bragança and D. Carlota Joaquina de Borbón and D. Mariana Victoria de Bragança and D. Gabriel de Borbón. The Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition was the epicenter of the festivities promoted by the diplomat sent on behalf of the Spanish Crown, the VI Count of Fernán Núñez. The façade structure, conceived for the second festivities, revealed imagery representing the power of its promoter, according to the project and execution of Timothée Lécussan Verdier and Matthieu Doret.

The proposed approach is based on the historical context of the festive events leading to the construction of a monumental exterior architectural structure juxtaposed to the building of the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition. After characterizing the architectural structure and analyzing the iconographic program of the ephemeral façade, we intend to justify the attribution of the names of the two main artists involved in its construction and proceed with the identification of possible models of artistic influence.

Key words: 1785 Royal Iberian weddings; Extraordinary Spanish Embassy; VI Count of Fernán Núñez; Celebratory ephemeral architectures; Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition.

“CON ARQUITECTURA NOBLE Y SUNTUOSA”
LA FACHADA TRIUNFAL DEL PALACIO DE LA INQUISICIÓN DE LISBOA CON MOTIVO DE LOS
DOBLES MATRIMONIOS REALES DE 1785

Los lazos matrimoniales formados por las casas reales de Portugal y España en abril y junio de 1785 promovieron la unión entre D. João de Bragança y D. Carlota Joaquina de Borbón y D. Mariana Victoria de Bragança y D. Gabriel de Borbón. El Palacio de la Inquisición de Lisboa fue el epicentro de los festejos promovidos por el diplomático enviado en representación de la Corona española, el VI Conde de Fernán Núñez. La estructura de la fachada, concebida para las segundas festividades, revelaba una imaginaria que representaba el poder de su promotor, según el proyecto y ejecución de Timothée Lécussan Verdier y Matthieu Doret.

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El enfoque propuesto se basa en el contexto histórico de los eventos festivos que conducen a la construcción de una estructura arquitectónica exterior monumental yuxtapuesta al edificio del Palacio de la Inquisición de Lisboa. Tras caracterizar la estructura arquitectónica y analizar el programa iconográfico de la efímera fachada, pretendemos justificar la atribución de los nombres de los dos principales artistas que intervinieron en su construcción y proceder a la identificación de posibles modelos de influencia artística.

Palabras clave: 1785 Bodas Reales Ibéricas; Embajada Extraordinaria de España; VI Conde de Fernán Núñez; Arquitecturas efímeras festivas; Palacio de la Inquisición de Lisboa.

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Double alliance. The Royal Marriages of 1785

In the early 1780s, D. Maria I of Portugal [1734|1777-1816] and Carlos III of Spain [1716-1788] decided to establish new political alliances by promoting matrimonial bonds between the Princes of both Iberian royal houses. With the double marriages, the intention was to strengthen the bonds of “kinship that fortunately exist between the two Royal Families and that they may keep and affirm the friendship, love and good correspondence between Their Majesties and their Successors which are so important to their Monarchies and their Successors, Subjects and Vassals [...]”.²

The matrimonial bonds celebrated in 1785 united the Prince of Beira, D. João de Bragança [1767|1816-1826], with the daughter of the princes of Asturias and granddaughter of the King of Spain, the *Infanta* D. Carlota Joaquina de Borbón [1775-1830], and the Portuguese *Infanta*, D. Mariana Victoria de Bragança [1768-1788], with the son of the King of Spain, the Prince D. Gabriel de Borbón [1752-1788].

The first nuptial contract signed by the diplomatic emissaries was that of D. João and D. Carlota and took place in a ceremony formalized in the *Palacio de Aranjuez*, on May 2, 1784, followed by its ratification at the *Palacio del Pardo*, on March 10, 1785, and at the *Palácio da Ajuda* five days later.³ After that, on April 11, during a ceremony held at the chapel of the Royal Palace at *Praça do Comércio*,⁴ the nuptial contract of D. Gabriel and D. Mariana Victória was formalized, according to the protocol made official in Madrid.⁵ On April 12 the marriage by proxy took place at the *Palácio da Ajuda*.⁶

Nine days later, on April 22, the entourage of the Portuguese *Infanta* left Lisbon for Vila Viçosa, where they remained until May 12.⁷ However, with the arrival of the entourage of the Spanish *Infanta* in Vila Viçosa, on May 8, the ceremony of the second exchange of the princesses in the eighteenth century took place, an official act held at the *Palácio dos Duques de Bragança*,⁸ the

² *Tratado matrimonial para o casamento do infante D. João, filho dos reis de Portugal, com a infanta D. Carlota Joaquina, filha dos príncipes das Astúrias*, 10 March 1785, n.º 8, 1-6, *Ratificação do tratado matrimonial para o casamento do infante D. João, filho dos reis de Portugal, com a infanta D. Carlota Joaquina, filha dos príncipes das Astúrias*, 15 March 1785, n.º 7, 1-6, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT), *Tratados, Casamentos Régios*, cx. 1. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 3.

³ At the time it was a monumental tent erected at the *Ajuda* site, known among the Portuguese as the *Real Barraca*. Ramos, 2007: 52, 144-146, 264-269. Pedreira/Costa, 2006: 32-34. Pereira, 2008: 16-18. *Historia de El-Rei D. João VI*, 1866: 9-10. Herrera, 1787: 6-8.

⁴ During the reign of D. Maria I, the facilities of the City Council and Commerce Board (*Junta de Comércio*) were taken over to accommodate the royal residence between 1780 and 1796. Teixeira, 2012: 239-240.

⁵ Beirão, 1944: 318-319. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XV: 4.

⁶ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XV: 4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa* XVI: 4. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 4. *Suplemento Extraordinário à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 1.

⁷ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXII: 2-4.

⁸ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVI: 4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XIX: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XIX: 3-4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXI: 3-4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 3.

main house of the reigning dynasty in Portugal. D. Mariana Victoria followed to Madrid while D. Carlota Joaquina carried on to Lisbon. Overcoming the obstacles and concluding the preparations,⁹ the Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon made official, on June 9, 1785, the union between D. João and D. Carlota in the palatine chapel of Ajuda.¹⁰

Double party. Official festive celebrations

The official matrimonial consortiums were widely celebrated in the respective courts, in the Iberian capital cities. Lisbon would become the main stage of the celebratory solemnities held in the context of the double marriage celebrations, highlighting the festivities organized around D. João and D. Carlota union.¹¹ For the events, the Portuguese capital was decked out with triumphal monuments and lit up with sets of lighting fixtures placed in the main buildings and fireworks sets spread around the central city spaces.¹²

Among the most affluent events were the private evening parties and public visits to the celebratory triumphal architectures promoted by the extraordinary Spanish diplomatic emissary to the Portuguese Court, the VI Count of Fernán Núñez, D. Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos y Rohan-Chabot [1742-1795].¹³ Assuming the diplomatic office between October 1778 and March 1787,¹⁴ the VI Count of Fernán Núñez was responsible for dealing with the negotiations of the princes' matrimonial contracts and for promoting the festivities to mark the royal weddings in representation of the Spanish monarch, doing so from the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition, which was made available for this purpose on an exceptional basis. In Madrid, the Portuguese counterpart, the III Marquis of Louriçal, D. Henrique de Meneses [1727-1789], also organized festivities at his residence¹⁵ for the same wedding occasions.¹⁶

On the night of April 13, the date of the celebration of the nuptial contract of D. Gabriel and D. Mariana Victoria, the Spanish ambassador organized a banquet for the local nobility, foreign diplomatic ministers, and national high military ranks:¹⁷

O Excellentissimo Embaixador deo nessa mesma noite hum magnifico e sumptuoso festim no Palacio do *Rocio*, cuja iluminação exterior era nobre e majestosa, consistindo em 220 tochas de

⁹ D. João had contracted measles and his recovery forced the union postponement. Fernán Núñez, II, II: 22.

¹⁰ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIII: 4.

¹¹ After the death of D. José [1761-1788] on September 12, 1788 — in the same year that D. Gabriel de Borbón died —, D. João would become the heir of the Portuguese Crown and the regent of the Kingdom on February 22, 1792. Ramos, 2007: 72, 213.

¹² *Ordem para a colocação de luminárias no edifício do Arquivo Real por ocasião do casamento do infante D. João com a infanta D. Carlota Joaquina*, 1 April 1785, n.º 98, *Ordem do Conselho da Fazenda para se cumprir o aviso que declara os dias em que deveriam ser dispostas as luminárias por ocasião do casamento do infante D. João com a infanta D. Carlota Joaquina*, 2 April 1785, n.º 97, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT), Arquivo do Arquivo, Avisos e Ordens, mç. 3. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 4.

¹³ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, V: 4.

¹⁴ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XII: 4. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XIII: 4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XII: 4. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XIV: 4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XV: 4. Fernán Núñez, 1898, I: 8-9, II: 242-245.

¹⁵ The celebrations were also held on two different occasions at his residence located at the end of the *Calle de Hortaleza*. The festivities around the marriage of D. João and D. Carlota, organized on March 27, 1785, took place in the gardens of his palace, in a large pavilion built by the architect Pedro Arenal. The second solemnities were held on July 3, 4, and 5. Pedreira/Costa, 2006: 34-36. *Notícia das Funções, e Festas com que em Madrid se celebrou o Despozório...*, 1785: 5. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XV: 3-4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIX: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIX: 2-3. Herrera, 1787: 28-30. Lamas, 1907, XII: 291-292. Mendonça, 2000: 200-201.

¹⁶ We presented the first studies about the festivities organized in Madrid during the international congress *Palacios en Alquiler: Patrimonio inmobiliario en el Madrid del Siglo XVIII*, on 2021, November 12, with a presentation entitled: “Escenarios de Himeneo: La residencia madrileña del embajador extraordinario de Portugal, el III marqués de Louriçal, durante las fiestas de los dobles matrimonios reales de 1785”.

¹⁷ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XV: 4.

cêra, e 660 velas em 110 candieiros collocados nos intervallos: a interior em 55 lustres e braços, montando o numero das luzes a 3.510. O numero de Senhoras convidadas foi de 100, e os dos Cavalheiros de 388, entrando varios Officiaes da Tropa, do Posto de Tenente Coronel inclusivamente para sima, e correspondentemente da Marinha: numero a que S. Excellencia se limitou por conformar-se á etiqueta do paiz. Os convidados erão recebidos por differentes classes de criados na escada, guarnecida com muitas luzes, e terminando no tope em hum magnifico pavilhão.¹⁸

The rooms of the residence where the feasts took place were lavishly decorated with sets of ornaments from Spain and France, such as statues, vases, pyramids (or obelisks?), and Greco-Roman scale models with gilded bronze.¹⁹ Among the embellishments and ornaments commissioned by the Spanish emissary, the “allegorical bouquet” made of marble stood out. All were executed by artists linked to the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*.²⁰

Valued at more than 1.000:000 *reales de vellón*, the ornaments displayed multiple sculptural and allegorical elements distributed over several architectural compositions. Among those mentioned were a small temple adorned with sculptural images of Fame and Hymeneus, flanked below by four nymphs holding attributes of love and fertility, and the statue of Farnese Heracles accompanied by allegories alluding to the arts of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Poetry. The figure of Flora flanked by the allegories of the scenic arts of Comedy, Tragedy, Music, and Dance was also acquired. At the top of the composition, the two entrances made up of marble columns were filled with four bronze statues representing the Year Seasons and four others, as Justice, Fortitude, Time, and Prudence.²¹

The festive program included the presentation of the opera *Le nozze di Ercole é de Ebbe*,²² a poetry recitation ordered in Rome, a concert given by the Royal Chapel musicians, and a famous ball that started around 1:00 AM, and was over past 7:00 AM. Transformed into real entertainment spaces, some of the rooms reserved for the Inquisitors General were adapted to house four rooms with game tables, several music chambers — indispensable compartments at the residences that the Spanish diplomat held in Madrid and Lisbon²³ —, and rooms for the ladies and physicians.²⁴

About two months later, on June 15 and 18, the Spanish diplomat reopened the doors of the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition, this time to celebrate the marriage of D. João and D. Carlota Joaquina. On the night of June 15, six days after the wedding, “a brilliant function for the entire Court at the Rocio Palace” was organized, visibly decorated, and illuminated, in front of which a monumental triumphal arch²⁵ was erected. A profuse ornamental set of suitably illuminated rich fabrics,

¹⁸ Translation of the original text: “The Most Excellent Ambassador hosted a magnificent and sumptuous feast that same night at Palácio do *Rocio*, whose exterior lighting was noble and majestic, consisting of 220 wax torches, and 660 candles in 110 lamps placed at intervals: the interior in 55 chandeliers and arms, setting the number of lights to 3.510. The number of ladies invited was 100, and the number of Gentlemen was 388, with several officers from the Troop, including the Lieutenant Colonel [...] and the Navy: a number to which His Excellency was limited due to the kingdom etiquette. Different classes of servants greeted guests on the stairway, furnished with many lights, and ending at the top in a magnificent pavilion”. *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 1, 4.

¹⁹ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 4.

²⁰ They were the marble worker António Rodríguez, the bronzes makers Alberto Chueca and Juan Lopez, the silversmith José Giardoni [1744-1804], the sculptors Julian de San Martin, Manuel Tolsa [1757-1825] and Manuel Álvarez and the painter Vicente Mariani y Todolí [1819]. Vigara Zafra, 2016: 252-253; 2014: 4. Martínez Cuesta, 2003, 125, nt. 161.

²¹ Vigara Zafra, 2016: 252-253; 2014: 4. Apparently, the sculptural figure of Cleopatra was also represented in the composition. Martínez Cuesta, 2003: 125, nt. 161.

²² It was composed by the Portuguese Jerónimo Francisco Lima [1743-1822]. Martínez Cuesta, 2003: 131.

²³ Vigara Zafra, 2022: 429-431.

²⁴ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 4. In the lower palace areas some rooms were reserved for the musician’s meals. Rosal Nadales, 2019: 307.

²⁵ *Suplemento á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 4.



Fig. 1. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), *Noble staircase in the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition, with the triumphal arch erected in the center of Praça do Rossio standing out in the alignment of the main portal*, 1785. Porto: Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa Collection [CGVS], *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa pelo Conde Fernan Nuñez, por ocasião dos casamentos dos príncipes das Asturias e da Beira* (Photo Milton Pacheco).

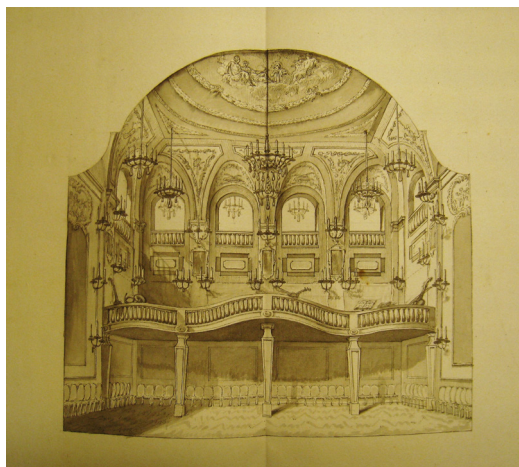


Fig. 2. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), *Main hall ballroom where the tribune was reserved to the orchestra*, 1785. Porto: CGVS, *Álbum de desenhos...*, (Photo Milton Pacheco).

feathers, and laces stood out between the entrance portico — where thirty-six pages were waiting to receive guests — and the room on the upper floor, where the ambassador was waiting [fig. 1²⁶].²⁷

In the rooms adjoining the main hall, where the opera *Il Ritorno di Astrea in terra*²⁸ was performed by the Court’s musicians, and several tables were set up at which approximately five hundred guests would dine.²⁹ The following day, during the afternoon and evening, a large crowd flocked to the square, attracted by the light and pyrotechnic shows, with about thirty thousand visitors, including the Royal Family and the newlyweds who stopped by for “a few minutes to observe the magnificence of the monuments, and the eye-catching lighting”.³⁰ The compositions were to the liking of all those present.

Three days after the first large party, on the night of June 18, a ball was organized at the chamber, where a tribune reserved for the orchestra was erected [fig. 2].³¹ During the event, the entire lighting of the ephemeral façade and arch was repeated.³² For the masked ball, which was attended by nearly nine hundred guests — a greater number than the parties on April 13 and June 15 —, the main hall and the interior gardens of the palace were made available, where an enormous tent was erected, thus evoking the organized festivities that had been offered by the Portuguese ambassador in Madrid:

O jardim do Palacio se illuminou aquella noite com 300 lanternas repartidas na melhor ordem, e com varias tochas de cera na varanda que cahe para a parte exterior. No pavelhão, que se acha no

²⁶ We would like to express our gratitude to Professor Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa for granting permission for the use of the images of the Album of drawings related to the parties organized in Lisbon: *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa pelo Conde Fernan Nuñez, por ocasião dos casamentos dos príncipes das Asturias e da Beira*, 1785, Collection Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa [CGVS].

²⁷ *Supplemento Extraordinario à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 2-3.

²⁸ It was performed under the guidance of the Spanish composer José Palomino [1755-1810]. Palomino (1785).

²⁹ *Supplemento Extraordinario à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 2-3.

³⁰ *Supplemento Extraordinario à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 3.

³¹ Rosal Nadales, 2019: 307.

³² *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 4.

fundo do jardim, se poz hum coro de musica d’instrumentos de vento, tocados por Professores de maior credito. Perto delle estava huma barraca de campanha com todo o genero de bebidas, e varias mezas, donde se subministravão fiambres e outros manjares. O jardim, ainda que de curto recinto, servio de grande desafogo aos concurrentes, e excitava a idéa d’huma engraçada festa campestre.³³

Outside Lisbon, all over the mainland, there were still numerous public festivities related to both royal weddings, namely in the cities of Coimbra,³⁴ Porto,³⁵ Portalegre³⁶ e Guarda,³⁷ and the villages of Tavira,³⁸ Gouveia,³⁹ Torres Novas,⁴⁰ Valença do Minho,⁴¹ Viana do Minho,⁴² Torre de Moncorvo,⁴³ Barcelos,⁴⁴ Alter do Chão⁴⁵ and Vila Real.⁴⁶ The royal unions were also celebrated throughout 1786 in some African and American territorial domains of the Portuguese Empire.⁴⁷

Double façade. The ephemeral monument in the Inquisition Palace

After the arrival at the end of January 1785, the Spanish diplomat took up official residence in the building made available by the XIII Duchess of Alba, María del Pilar Teresa Cayetana de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo [1762-1802].⁴⁸ Most likely occupied right after his first coming to Portugal, the residence did not have adequate accommodations or a good urban location. It was situated nearby the *Convento do Senhor Jesus da Boa Morte*, in a neighborhood identified in 1758 as being the city limit.⁴⁹ First, he pointed out that the building was inadequate for the organization of diplomatic representation events and the holding of social receptions; and then that it was too distant from the nexus where the main festivities would be organized, at *Praça do Comércio*, closer to the Royal Palace.⁵⁰

³³ Translation of the original text: “The Palace garden was lit up that night with 300 lanterns distributed in the best order, and with several wax torches on the veranda that falls to the outside. In the pavilion, which is at the end of the garden, there was a chorus of music from wind instruments, played by the most highly praised Professors. Next to it was a field tent with all kinds of drinks, and several tables, with ham and other delicacies. The garden, albeit a short space, was a great respite for the participants, and incited the idea of a funny country party”. *Suplemento Extraordinario à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 3-4.

³⁴ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVI: 1-4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 3-4.

³⁵ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXII: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIII: 3. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVIII: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVIII: 2-4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*: 4.

³⁶ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVII: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVII: 3-4.

³⁷ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIX: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XL: 3-4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLIX: 2-4.

³⁸ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXII: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIII: 3-4.

³⁹ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIX: 3-4.

⁴⁰ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIV: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIV: 4.

⁴¹ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 2-4.

⁴² *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVII: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVII: 3-4.

⁴³ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIX: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIX: 2-4.

⁴⁴ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLIV: 4. *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLIV: 4.

⁴⁵ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLV: 4. *Segundo suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLV: 4.

⁴⁶ *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, L: 3-4.

⁴⁷ Ferreira-Alves, 2004: 99. Pereira, 2008: 39.

⁴⁸ Vígara Zafra, 2016: 244.

⁴⁹ Rossa, 1998: 56-58. In this neighbourhood, there was a street named *Senhor Jesus da Boa Morte*, where most probably the aforementioned houses were located. Even more curious is the proximity of the Duchess of Alba’s houses to the *Palácio das Necessidades* — often made available to welcome foreign princes —, the houses of her Portuguese counterpart, the Marquis of Lourical, and the existence in this area of a public address called “Travessa do Embaixador”. Santana, [1976]: 38-39.

⁵⁰ Based on the letter dated from 15 March 1779, the ambassador residence had “un jardin en casa que me divierte” and would be located approximately three kilometers from *Praça do Comércio* and *Praça do Rossio*. In fact, the diplomat

The celebrations offered in honor of the princes, therefore, a matter of State, should be prepared as an extension of diplomatic formalities and, above all, as a manifestation of the political and economic power of the Spanish Crown in the city of the Portuguese Court. As revealed in the letter sent on May 30, 1785, to the Count of Floridablanca, D. José Moñino y Redondo [1728-1808], one of the ministers of Carlos III involved in the double royal weddings, the Count of Fernán Núñez intended to overcome the prepared provisions by the council of Lisbon at the request of the Crown:

como la Corte ha dispuesto fuegos de artificio, y el palacio del Rocio se halla muy en el centro de la ciudad; he preferido hacer una iluminacion vistosa en su fachada y plaza donde está situado. Lo vistoso del espectáculo, su duracion toda la noche, el ningun peligro para la multitud de espectadores, y la variedad del objeto, que tambien evita cotexto y comparacion con las publicas demostraciones de la Corte.⁵¹

The stage for the festivities promoted by the Spanish diplomat in April and June 1785 was the Palace of the Inquisition, the seat of the General Council of the Holy Office, and the district tribunal of the Lisbon Inquisition since the sixteenth century [fig. 3]. At the ambassador's request, the Portuguese Queen made available the Inquisitor General's residential chambers⁵² [fig. 4] on 6 March 1785.⁵³ Although the post of the grand-inquisitor was vacant, the inquisitorial institution continued to be active, but at no time the palace ownership and usufruct by the inquisitors was mentioned.⁵⁴

Built following the plans drawn up by the Slovak Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Mardel [1695-1763] after the earthquake of November 1, 1755, the new Inquisition Palace was reborn among the ruins of the former *Paço dos Estaus*, a building conceived in the fifteenth-century to house the diplomatic delegations heading for the Kingdom and occupied in the sixteenth-century by the King D. João III [1502|1521-1557].

Even during its occupation by the royal family, many diplomatic proceedings were celebrated there, such as the formalization of the nuptial contract between the *Infanta* D. Maria Manuela of Portugal [1527-1545] and the Prince Felipe of Spain, the future D. Filipe I of Portugal [1527|1580-1598], the monarch responsible for the unification of the Iberian kingdoms under a single crown in 1581.⁵⁵

Conceived according to visual rhetoric and imbued with a representative discourse of power, the monumental architectural façade juxtaposed to the Palace of the Inquisition was built to serve in the course of official functions within the framework of the festivities in honor of the marriage of D. João and D. Carlota Joaquina.

mentioned the difficulty of circulating in the city: "las distancias en que despues del terremoto se hallan unos barrios de otros, dificulta el trato". Fernán Núñez, 1898, I: 8-9, II: 245-249.

⁵¹ Translation of the original text: "[...] as the Court has arranged fireworks and the Palacio del Rocio is very much in the city centre; I preferred to make a lighting show on its facade and square where it is located. The splendour of the display, its duration all night, the safety to the crowd of spectators, and its variety, also avoid the context and comparison with the public demonstrations of the Court". Vigara Zafra, 2016: 250. While describing the triumphal arch erected in Rossio, the Portuguese artist Volkmar Machado himself asserted that the monumental architectural structure "did not serve as a public entrance; it was just a way of affirming the ambassador Fernan Nuñez, arousing great curiosity to the population and the kings themselves". Braga, 2021, I: 737.

⁵² *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 1.

⁵³ Rosal Nadales, 2019: 307.

⁵⁴ According to Martínez Cuesta [1962-1999], who at a given moment confuses the location of the palace provided by the Portuguese Queen to the Spanish diplomat, asserts that the rooms reserved for the inquisitors-general were in a lamentable state of disrepair. However, a superficial cleaning was enough to make them habitable! As for the lack of furniture mentioned, it is most likely that after the death of grand-inquisitor D. João Cosme da Cunha [1715|1770-1783] the family removed it. Martínez Cuesta, 2003: 130.

⁵⁵ Regarding the historic origins of the building and the Inquisition occupation see Pacheco, 2016: 313-351; 2020: 51-71.

Fig. 3. Carlos Mardel, *Main façade of the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition built between 1770 and 1774, 1760-1763*. Lisbon: Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes (ANBA DES 587 — institutional photo).

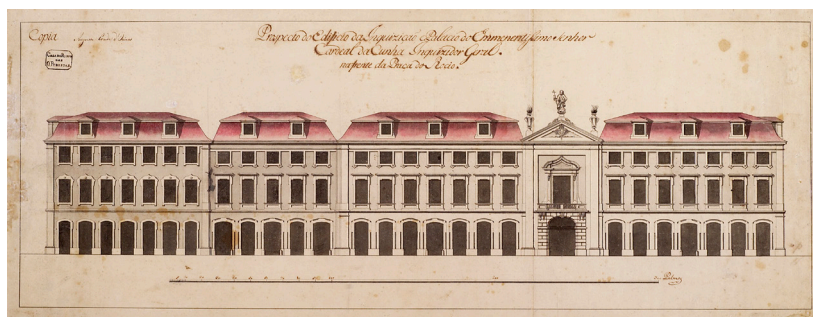
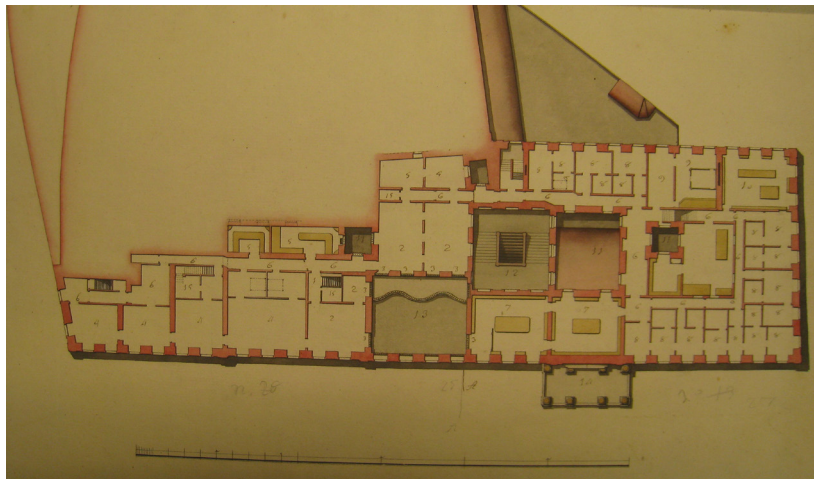


Fig. 4. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), *Plan of the main floor of the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition with the identification of the rooms where the main festive events took place and their respective accesses: noble staircase n.º 12 (Fig. 1) and the ballroom n.º 13 (Fig. 2)*, 1785. Porto: CGVS, *Álbum de desenhos...*, (Photo Milton Pacheco).



The architectural structure juxtaposed to the inquisitorial building, jointly planned with the triumphal arch erected on the limits of *Praça do Rossio*, thus served as a monumental commemorative scenographic frame intended to ennoble the temporary residence of the Spanish diplomat that should be observed in three different moments.

The first and main event took place on June 9, the date of the celebration of the prince's wedding, from which the diplomatic envoy's entourage departed. The second was associated with the solemn procession of the Royal Family organized the following day, on the evening of June 10, in which the urban itinerary established between *Palácio da Ajuda* and *Palácio da Praça do Comércio* — planned in such a way so that the newlyweds could witness “magnificent fireworks that were set up there in the form of a garden with a building of good architecture at its back, decorated with emblematic figures, which, after the variety of marvels presented in the garden, was all lit up”.⁵⁶ A third and final moment, although spread over two different days, was related to the feasts offered to Lisbon's high society on the nights of June 15 and 18, in which the greatest splendor was achieved due to the installed lighting system.⁵⁷

In order to properly analyse the monumental and ephemeral celebratory façade, it is essential to consult the *Relação das festividades com que o Excellentissimo Conde de Fernan Nuñez, Embaixador Extraordinario de S. M. Catholica, celebrou novamente nesta cidade nos dias 15 e 18 de Junho os felices Desposorios dos Senhores Infantes de Portugal e Hespanha*, published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* on June 24, 1785,⁵⁸ and the drawing of *Vista del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa e*

⁵⁶ *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 4.

⁵⁷ *Supplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 2-3.

⁵⁸ *Supplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

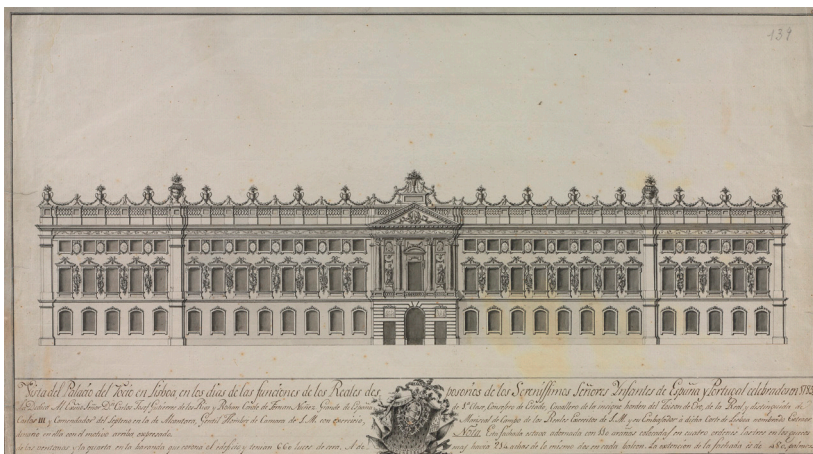


Fig. 5. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), *Vista del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, en los días de las funciones de los Reales desposorios de los Serenísimos Señores Infantes de España y Portugal celebrados en 1785*, 1785. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE Dib/18/1/7848 — institutional photo).

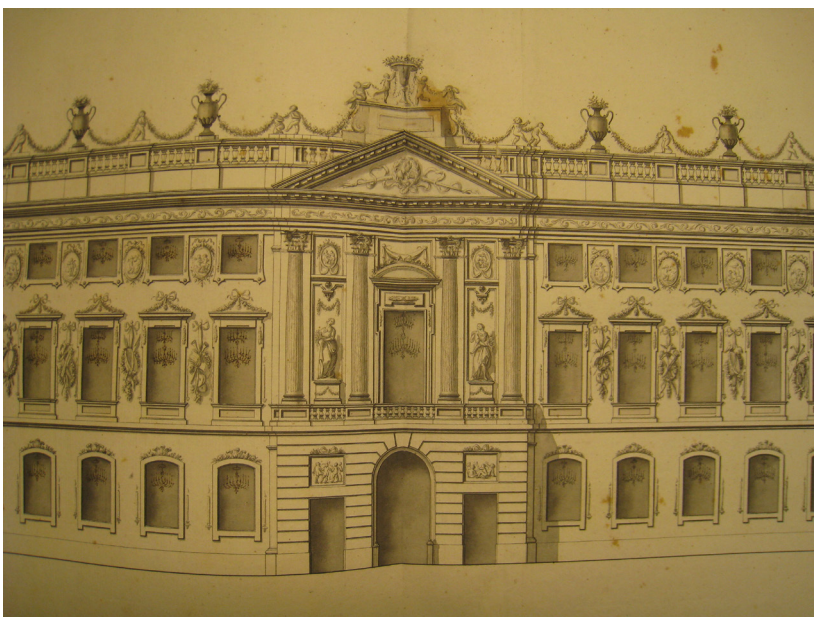


Fig. 6. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), *Detail of the central section of the façade*, 1785. Porto: CGVS, *Álbum de desenhos...*, (Photo Milton Pacheco).

a *Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa* [fig. 5].⁵⁹ The corroboration of these sources allows us to understand the materialization of the façade juxtaposedly erected to the inquisitorial building, defining the urban implantation, tracing the architectural layout in conjunction with the buildings, knowing the material composition, listing the ornamental elements, and decoding part of the symbolic-allegorical program.

According to the two drawings sources, the façade had an extension that varied between 105.60 meters⁶⁰ and 99.88 meters,⁶¹ with a difference of 5.72 meters according to the available information. Considering the divergence regarding the extension of the architectural structure, it appears that the first measure presented is closer to the material composition of the inquisitorial

⁵⁹ *Álbum de desenhos*, 1785, CGVS. *Vista del Palacio del Rocio*, 1785, BNE.

⁶⁰ *Vista del Palacio del Rocio*, 1785, BNE.

⁶¹ “*Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, y del Arco de Triunfo, y Piramides elevadas en el centro de la Plaza de este Nombre el año de 1785*”, *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas*, 1785 [CGVS].



Fig. 7. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing), Detail of the peristyle decoration: the Abundance allegorical figures; burning torches and putti playing, 1785. Porto: CGVS, *Álbum de desenhos...*, (Photo Milton Pacheco).

magnificent Peristyle was built with eight columns of Corinthian order” [figs. 6 y 7].⁶² It is also worth noting the discrepancy between the number of openings represented in the design of the ephemeral façade [figs. 5 y 6], not only with those on the second-floor plan but also with those on the elevation of the inquisitorial palace [fig. 3], a situation that suggests that the structure erected for the festivities had not been executed in a precise and rigorous way about, to, with o concerning the existing building as the drawings suggest.

Regardless of the partial or complete *disguise* of the inquisitorial palace’s main façade, the ephemeral structure was echeloned over four floors and arranged as to apparently maintain most of the original openings, distributed over the four internal floors of the building. The ephemeral fa-

building, since it extended outside the area corresponding to the plaza “which has 900 spans of length, and 450 spans, with a minor difference, of width”.⁶²

The monumental architectural façade apparently reached a total height of 22 meters, making it much lower than the triumphal arch, with an elevation of 32.12/34 meters,⁶³ but approaching the two obelisks, with 18.48 meters.⁶⁴ And if the dimensions shown are in fact correct, the structure was taller than the balcony built in 1777 for the royal acclamation ceremony of D. Maria I.⁶⁵

Along with the differences raised around the real dimensions of the ephemeral architectural façade, the careful analysis of the second-floor plan [fig. 4] and the design of the noble staircase [fig. 1], in which we can see the small detail of the representation of the triumphal arch erected in the *Rossio* within the precise framing of the entrance portico, raises enormous doubts as to the physical correspondence of the central portico of the ephemeral structure [figs. 5 y 6] with the main portal of the inquisitorial building.

The text *Relação das festividades* mentions the existence of “a portico, which was next to the main door”, and on which “an elegant and

⁶² *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1-2.

⁶³ There is also no consensus about the triumphal arch height. While in the drawing *Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio in Lisbon* and the personal documents of the Spanish diplomat both mention a height of 146 spans, the *Relação das festividades* indicates 147 spans. “Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, y del Arco de Triunfo, y Piramides elevadas en el centro de la Plaza de este Nombre el año de 1785”, *Álbum de desenhos*, 1785, CGVS. Vigarza Zafra, 2016: 251-252. *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

⁶⁴ Within the centuries-old tradition of the main festivities promoted by and/or for the Iberian Crowns, the diplomat planned the construction of an ephemeral monumental complex in front of the palace. In the center of the *Praça do Rossio*, a triumphal arch and two obelisks were built: the “Arch consists of a Corinthian structure with twelve columns” (with 147 spans high), having in the center a pedestal with the allegorical sculpture of Fame in bronze color (with 18 spans high). 8,568 lights illuminated the entire set. As far as the text of the *Relação das festividades* makes it possible to assert, the arch and the obelisks were profusely decorated with elements alluding to the monarchs, the nuptial princes, and their promoter, the Count of Fernán Núñez. *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1-2.

⁶⁵ The ephemeral balcony for D. Maria I acclamation was 101.86 meters long, 9.9 meters deep, and 13.42 meters high. *Auto do Levantamento*, 1780: 5-7.

⁶⁶ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

çade, with its accentuated horizontality, was designed to create a uniform and regular architectural setting, from the lower floor to the upper roof, in opposition to the original material configuration of the inquisitorial building.

Four large pilasters marked the verticality of the façade, two at the top and two between the fifth and sixth, and the twentieth and twenty-first windows, and an imposing axial portico, organized into two sections, the entrance, on the ground floor, and that of the balcony, corresponding to the second and third floors. The main access, apparently opened in line with the axial entrance of the inquisitorial palace, was tripartite. In an architectural body of rusticated elements, there were three openings: the central one with a larger dimension, with a perfect round arch; and the two smaller sides, with a rectangular opening and surmounted by a blind frame — thus forming a clear Serlian composition — on which were inscribed two figurative panels representing children playing. It is not possible to assert the theme illustrated, but it is most likely associated with nuptial symbology, and to identify the material composition, being, most likely, two paintings.

Corresponding to the second and third floors, there was a peristyle with eight Corinthian columns,⁶⁷ juxtaposed in two rows, between which, in the center, a wide span with a curved pediment opened, which allowed access to the balustrade balcony. Laterally, resting on two plinths, there were two allegorical sculptures alluding to Abundance, displaying its most characteristic attributes, a cornucopia, in the right figure, and a bunch of flowers, in the left.⁶⁸

The façade was completed with a triangular pediment decorated in the tympanum with two long torches surrounded by lacework, uniting the flames inside a laurel wreath, in a clear allusion to the princes' union [fig. 7]. Unfortunately, the existing descriptive relationships and the architectural drawings available do not allow decoding the entirety of the "*Adornos de la fachada*",⁶⁹ the "statues, medallions, trophies, and emblems with their own allusions", contrary to the elements arranged in the triumphal arch and the two obelisks.⁷⁰ In these, the lineage representation and the legitimizing evocation of both Iberian Royal Houses where the brides and grooms came from were explored.

The very presence of the two sculptural figures associated with the allegorical virtue of Abundance suggests the prosperity and affluence of both Crowns, with the possibility of continuing with the descendants of the Royal Houses and reaping many more bounties through the alliances forged through the matrimonies.

At the top of the façade, above the cyma, a balcony with balusters was positioned, interspersed with plinths, on which flowered urns and wreaths held by boys were alternately placed. The sixteen flowers urns flanked a larger vase overflowing with flowers,⁷¹ sitting on a rectangular plinth in the center. Between the urns and the central vase emerged twenty-two figures of naked children — the *putti* similarly present in the front triumphal arch — holding multiple wreaths.⁷²

On the façade's third segment, surmounted by a continuous frieze decorated with plant elements, twenty-two oval medallions were placed between the twenty-six quadrangular windows that were similar to the original ones of the inquisitorial building to which were added two other medallions arranged on top of the central portico. The detailed analysis of the drawing allows us to identify the representation of *putti* compositions displaying different attitudes, actions, and

⁶⁷ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

⁶⁸ Pereira, 2000: 203. In handwritten notes by Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, a contemporary artist who personally saw the façade, the allegorical figures represented in the portico are identified as Flora and Diana (Braga, 2021, I: 738). Although the bunch of flowers is the attribute par excellence of the deity Flora, the cornucopia is certainly not Diana's, so this information must be taken into account with careful pondering.

⁶⁹ *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa pelo Conde Fernan Nuñez, por ocasião dos casamentos dos príncipes das Astúrias e da Beira*, 1785, CGVS.

⁷⁰ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 2.

⁷¹ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

⁷² *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1-2.

gestures, although with sequential repetition, most likely, containing a message alluding to the marriage bond, which João Castel-Branco Pereira [1947] understands to be allegories to Love.⁷³

The decorative program also involved the ornamentation of the neoclassical windows of the noble floor, located on the second story where the celebrations took place, with garlands held by lacework on lintels of the windows, hanging between these trophies composed of musical instruments, weapons, garlands, and other elements. The ground floor windows were also decorated with plant ornaments at the top.

The ephemeral structure was also equipped with a complex exterior lighting system responsible for the “inexplicable beautiful view that the Palace, Arch, and Obelisks created, after being illuminated, on the nights of June 15th and 18th”. On the façade, 110 lighting devices were arranged, with 660 lights, distributed over the various floors, to which an additional 214⁷⁴ were added, although we were only able to count 156. For the interior, the sources indicate the existence of 2700 lights, with 3878 pieces of individual waxworks, clearly inferior to the light set placed in April⁷⁵ and to the one placed in the set of the triumphal arch in Rossio in June.⁷⁶ Most likely, the lighting structures designed for the April festivities were reused for the following June, as were the sets of ornaments in the interior halls.⁷⁷

According to the testimony of the anonymous author of the *Relação das festividades*, the Spanish ambassador was “offering spectators a Palace so magnificent and sumptuous, that it made everyone wish that it was built in this way”.⁷⁸ Although not knowing the constitution of the materials applied, it is possible that the execution of the decorative motifs of the parietal surfaces was close to those of the triumphal arch erected in the space opposite the façade, an architectural structure imitating stone marble.⁷⁹

With a complex technical composition and a complete material arrangement, the architectural elements of the ephemeral façade reveal an artistic language imbued with the aesthetic values of neoclassicism, to the liking of the commissioner himself.⁸⁰ The central portico, the pilasters, the windows, and the upper balustrade are unmistakable, although the external decorative adornments reveal the deep-rooted presence of the Rococo decorative models, existent in the multiple sets of lacework, wreaths, and festoons.

For the design of the ephemeral façade, it is likely that the hired artists, under the direct supervision and demand of the diplomat, sought to know and study similar structures, namely architectural scenarios built for official ceremonies promoted by the Portuguese monarchy. Among the various possible examples, and chronologically close, the balcony built on the east flank of *Praça do Comércio* for the acclamation ceremony of D. Maria I on 13 May 1777 is particularly relevant.⁸¹ Although the structural design is completely different from the plan drawn up for the façade of the inquisitorial building, the sketch drawn by the architect Mateus Vicente de Oliveira [1706-1785] reveals some architectural components and similar decorative elements.

Regardless of the physical scale, material composition and artistic disposition, the spread of these architectural structures with a scenographic matrix in Portugal in the second half of the eighteenth century can be substantiated. The archetype of ephemeral celebratory façades was also reproduced during the festivities promoted on the occasion of the double marriages of 1785

⁷³ Pereira, 2000: 203.

⁷⁴ *Vista del Palacio del Rocio*, 1785, BNE.

⁷⁵ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XVII: 1, 4. Vigara Zafra, 2016: 251.

⁷⁶ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 2.

⁷⁷ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 3.

⁷⁸ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

⁷⁹ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1-2.

⁸⁰ Vigara Zafra, 2015: 121.

⁸¹ The permissions for the image reproduction weren't granted. To visualize the drawing of the triumphal balcony erected for the acclamation ceremony of Queen D. Maria I on May 13, 1777 (drawing executed by Joaquim Carneiro da Silva (1778) over the project of Mateus Vicente de Oliveira (1777?)), go to the webpage: [https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aclama%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_Maria_I_de_Portugal#/media/Ficheiro:Varanda_da_Aclama%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_D._Maria_I_\(1778\)_Joaquim_Carneiro_da_Silva_\(Museu_Nacional_dos_Coches\).png](https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aclama%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_Maria_I_de_Portugal#/media/Ficheiro:Varanda_da_Aclama%C3%A7%C3%A3o_de_D._Maria_I_(1778)_Joaquim_Carneiro_da_Silva_(Museu_Nacional_dos_Coches).png)

outside Lisbon,⁸² namely in Portalegre,⁸³ Valença do Minho⁸⁴ and Torre de Moncorvo.⁸⁵ Similar structures also seemed to have been built in Madrid during the July festivities.⁸⁶ The first conclusions obtained from the study still in progress, dedicated to these same festivities that took place outside the capital city, allow us to assert that the architectures erected in these cities and towns were smaller and with less ornamental artifice when compared to those promoted by the Spanish diplomat.

Despite the multiplicity of possible models to be reproduced from ephemeral architectures, namely the one that was built in Lisbon in 1777, everything points to the fact that the project of the ephemeral façade erected in 1785 incorporated architectural structures and ornamental elements existing in the palace matrix buildings existing in geography associated with some of the concerning personalities, inside and outside Portugal. Notwithstanding the exercise fragility, mainly due to the lack of documentary evidence, a restricted list of buildings allows us to recognize architectural, sculptural, and decorative components similar to those introduced in the ephemeral façade.

The first case concerns the *Palazzo di Caserta*, the royal summer residence built in the vicinity of Naples precisely by the King of Spain Carlos III, the grandfather of D. Carlota Joaquina, when he occupied the thrones of Naples and Sicily.⁸⁷ In our point of view, the design of the "*spazioso Eccelso Palazzo di Caserta*"⁸⁸ designed in 1752 by the Italian architect Luigi Vanvitelli [1700-1773] — involved in the conception of the chapel of Saint John the Baptist for the *Igreja de São Roque* in Lisbon⁸⁹ —, seems to have served as a model of inspiration for the general composition of the structure erected.

The analysis of the drawings reproduced by Carlo Nolli [1710-1785] for the *Dichiarazione dei Disegni del Reale Palazzo di Caserta* [fig. 8] allows the identification of the main elements that may have been readapted to the material sections and physical scales of the ephemeral façade structure.

Among them are the axial portico, composed of a triangular pediment resting on four Corinthian columns, a balcony on the main floor and a false Serlian window with three openings, in a rusticated device, on the ground floor; the long balustrade at the top, successively interspersed with plinths; the pilasters, arranged at the ends of the façade; and, as far as it was possible to ascertain, in some details of the window stonework.

Previously in the drawings of Robert de Cotte [1656-1735], executed in 1714 for *Place Bellecour* in Lyon [fig. 9],⁹⁰ there are also some similarities in the general configuration of the façades of some of the buildings that delimited the city square with those of the Lisbon façade. In one of the drawings, it is possible to find correspondence with the distribution of floors, the positioning of the exact number and composition of the windows, and, above all, the central portico, equipped with three openings in a rusticated wall, the balcony divided by Corinthian columns (although six instead of four) that support the triangular pediment.⁹¹

⁸² *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXIV: 4.

⁸³ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVII: 3-4.

⁸⁴ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 2-3.

⁸⁵ *Segundo Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXIX: 2-3.

⁸⁶ On the urban itinerary through which the triumphal parade of the Portuguese *infanta* passed, some nobility residences, such as the Count of Teja and the Marquis of Cogolludo houses, were adorned with ephemeral architectural structures. Martínez Cuesta, 2003, 147.

⁸⁷ Carlos III of Spain was Duke of Parma and Piacenza, between 1731 and 1735, King of Naples and King of Sicily, between 1735 and 1759, the year in which he was acclaimed monarch of Spain after the death of his brother, Fernando VI. Fernán Núñez, 1898, I, I: 34-35, II: 145-147.

⁸⁸ Vanvitelli, 1756: 1, V. The copy used for the verification is in the Bibliotheca Hertziana, in Rome.

⁸⁹ Pimentel 2013: 24-25.

⁹⁰ The main plan seems to have clearly influenced Legendre drawings for the Rheims Royal Square building.

⁹¹ The drawing of the building designed by De Cotte for the south flank of *Place Bellecour* reveals the solution of a balustrade on the top, also used in the ephemeral façade erected in 1785. Robert de Cotte (project), *Place Bellecour: élévation des deux bouts de la place* in Lyon, France, 1714, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Projets d'aménagement de la Place Bellecour à Lyon* (Des18Cotte).

Fig. 8. Luigi Vanvitelli (project and drawing), Carlo Nolli (engraver), *Detail of the project of the Palazzo di Caserta in Naples main façade*, 1752. Luigi Vanvitelli, *Dichiarazione dei Disegni del Reale Palazzo di Caserta alle sacre reali maestà di Carlo Re delle Due Sicilie e di Gerus, Infante di Spagna Duca di Parma e di Piacenza Gran Principe Ereditario di Toscana e di Maria Amalia di Sassonia Regina*, Naples, Nella Regia Stamperia, 1756, [tav. V — pp. XIII-XIV], Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (institutional photo).

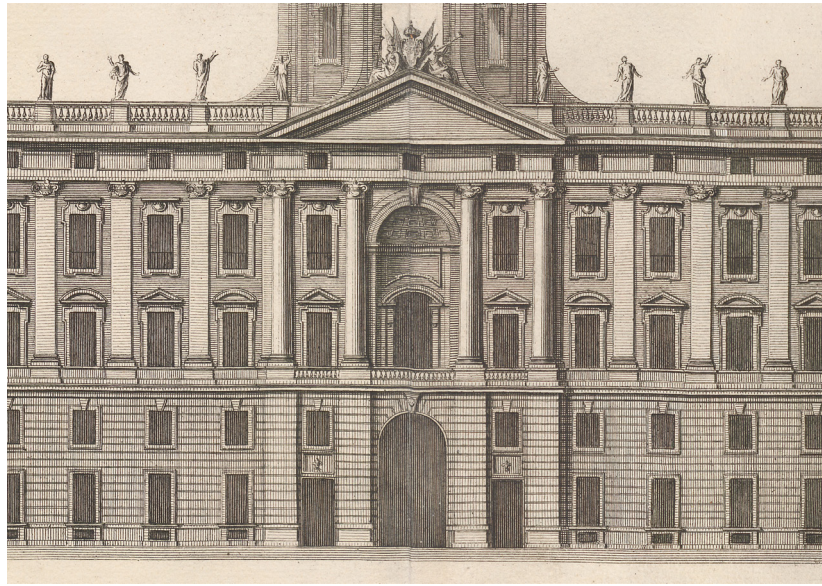
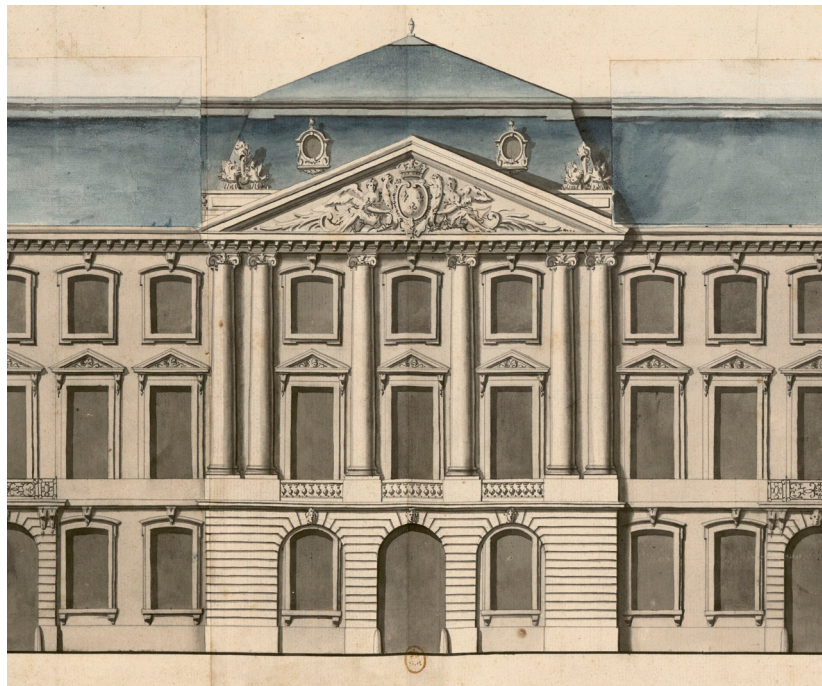
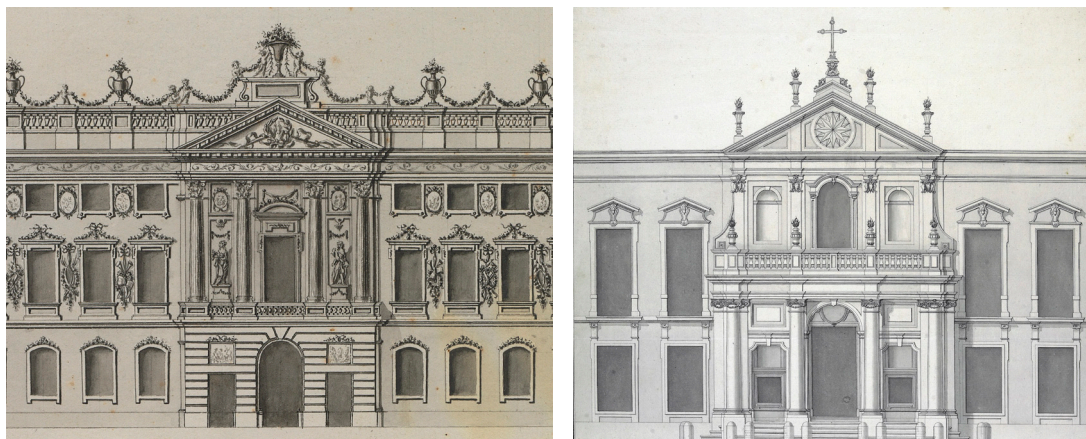


Fig. 9. Robert de Cotte (project), *Detail of the “Place Bellecour: élévation des deux bouts de la place” in Lyon*, 1714. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Projets d’aménagement de la Place Bellecour à Lyon* (BnF Des18Cotte — institutional photo).



Also in the Portuguese territory, we identified a building that may have influenced the design of the ephemeral façade, the *Palácio das Necessidades*, a royal private retreat residence built by D. João V [1689|1706-1750] in the early 1740 decade and which was ceded for diplomatic purposes from the second half of the eighteenth-century onwards. When analyzing the design of the main façade of the *Palácio das Necessidades* chapel [fig. 11], reproduced by the Portuguese architect Caetano Tomás de Sousa [c.1700-c.1770], some similarities can be found in the composition of the central portico erected next to the inquisitorial palace [fig. 10].

There are unmistakable similarities between the Serlian window on the entrance floor, the balcony with a central access span flanked by two niches — occupied in the meantime by two statues



Figs. 10-11. Lécussan Verdier (project), unknown author (drawing)/Caetano Tomás de Sousa (project and drawing), *Details of the porticos of the ephemeral façade juxtaposed to the Inquisition Palace (left) and on the façade of the Palácio das Necessidades chapel (right)*, 1785/1750-1766. Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE Dib/18/1/7848)/Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP d-18-r-0001) (institutional photos).

— and the triangular pediment embedded in the façade instead of being supported by columns on the lower access floor.

As mentioned earlier, this palatial building was very close to the Spanish ambassador’s residence, so the diplomat might have known. Despite the ephemerality of the celebratory construction, the design traced and the structure built under the patronage of the Spanish diplomat may also have contributed to the dissemination of aesthetic models in works of more lasting nature in the following decades, as was seen in other times with many other monuments.⁹² Who knows if the authors of the project for the *Palácio da Ajuda*⁹³ were not influenced at some point by the elements present in the celebratory façade?

Double task. The authorship of architectonic project and structure

The political design of representation and sociability undertaken by the Spanish Crown with the Portuguese Court during the matrimonial festivities included the construction of celebratory architectures designed to serve as a scenario for the multiple feasts offered by the extraordinary ambassador and which, like any other *illusion architecture* “it didn’t last longer than a party”.⁹⁴ Despite the brevity of the festivities, divided into two distinct moments, the erected buildings, themselves subject to the ephemerality of events that were intended to be lasting, conveyed the relationships of royal houses through a symbolic and figurative program.

Intimately related to the official events was the total demonstration of the authority and generosity of its promoter, through the magnificence expressed by the Spanish monarch through the steps taken by the extraordinary ambassador to the Portuguese Court. Inevitably, the success of the festivities held between April and June, with which “quiso solemnizar excepcionalmente y á sua costa el acontecimiento”⁹⁵ — an expense estimated at around 3,661:717 *reales de vellón* —

⁹² Borges, [1986]: 106.

⁹³ The palace had started to be built in 1795, after the fire responsible for the destruction of the Royal Tent in 1794. The first project of Manoel de Caetano de Sousa was changed in 1802 by José da Costa e Silva. Carvalho, 1979: 18-19. Silva, 1999: 53-57. Machado, 1823: 166-170.

⁹⁴ Borges, [1986]: 105.

⁹⁵ Morel-Fatio and Paz y Meliá, 1898, II, II: 344, 346. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXVIII: 4. *Suplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXXVI: 3.

was decisive for the diplomatic promotion and the social ascension of the Count of Fernán Núñez himself within the Spanish Court.⁹⁶

Coming from the Spanish aristocratic elite and integrated into the European diplomatic career, first in Lisbon and then in Paris, not before having been appointed to London, Carlos José Gutiérrez de los Ríos had ample income and adequate material means to present himself as an energetic patron of the arts, an enthusiastic bibliophile and a dedicated philanthropist.⁹⁷ Committed to representing the Spanish sovereign and supplanting his Portuguese counterpart in Madrid, the diplomat programmed the most grandiose celebratory spectacle in Lisbon on the occasion of the double engagement. And, in comparison to the “magnificence, good order and taste of the first celebrations” in April, “the novelty and variety” celebrated in the following June became much more magnificent than the first ones.⁹⁸ In fact, as demonstrated in the text, the latter was therefore the greatest celebrations promoted by the diplomat.⁹⁹

Seeking to circumvent the inevitable ephemerality of the celebrated moments and the built monuments, the diplomat decided to record the main events that took place for future reference. In this sense, the diplomat commissioned the execution of a written list of all the events,¹⁰⁰ the composition of an illustrated album composed of eleven,¹⁰¹ seven plans and eleven elevations¹⁰² alluding to the ephemeral constructions and the itineraries traveled in Lisbon,¹⁰³ the execution of two oil paintings dedicated to the embassy,¹⁰⁴ the minting of a commemorative medal¹⁰⁵ and the printing of the music pieces sung at the parties.¹⁰⁶

The possession of a vast library, with books “sumamente útiles sobre las fiestas barrocas”,¹⁰⁷ the promotion of various architectural campaigns carried out in his residence in Fernán Núñez, Córdoba¹⁰⁸ — precisely during the period of his diplomatic commission in Portugal — and a personal taste for art subjects made the wealthy and traveled ambassador a well-prepared commissioner. For all these reasons, it is to be assumed that he followed all the preparations with particular interest.

Regardless of the mismanagement or even the possible participation in the risk of the plans of the ephemeral triumphal monuments — considering that some authors attribute to him the execu-

⁹⁶ This amount, referred by Vígara Zafra, differs from what was presented by D. Bernardino Herrera — 3,694:177 *reales* — and will most likely correspond to all expenses related to the festivities and celebratory architectures promoted in 1785 and which would be paid by the Spanish Crown. Vígara Zafra, 2016: 248-249. Herrera, 1787: 81.

⁹⁷ Fernán Núñez, 1898, I: XV. Díez Fernández, 1997, 15: 144. Vígara Zafra, 2015: 119-137; 2014: 257-274; 2016: 237-260.

⁹⁸ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1. Fernán Núñez, 1898, II, I: 41-42; II, 104-105. Lamas, 1907: 291.

⁹⁹ In opposition to what Cuesta has defended. Martínez Cuesta, 2003: 131.

¹⁰⁰ The work may have been requested to José Caamaño y Gayoso [1717-?], his personal secretary, or to Juan Bautista Muñoz [1745-1799], the *cosmógrafo mayor de Indias* responsible for organizing his library and the author of the encomiastic texts arranged in the triumphal arch and obelisks. Fernán Núñez, 1898, II, II: 22-23, 234, 240. Vígara Zafra, 2016: 242, 244. *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1-2.

¹⁰¹ Som of these drawings could likely have been executed to proceed with the printing of engravings, taking into account that two copies are known, one integrated with the previously mentioned *Álbum de desenhos* (Fig. 6) and another one (Fig. 5) in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Goya, Bellas Artes section (DIB/18/1/7848).

¹⁰² Vígara Zafra, 2016: 254-255.

¹⁰³ We believe that this is in fact the incomplete *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa pelo Conde Fernan Nuñez, por ocasião dos casamentos dos príncipes das Astúrias e da Beira* belonging to the private collection of Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa, which currently includes a plan of downtown Lisbon, a plan and a elevation referring to the triumphal arch, five plans and three elevations of the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition. Perhaps, could the album have been commissioned from one of his direct collaborators, Vicente Mariani y Todolí, painter at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, who participated in the design of the decorative program for the interior of the palace where the festivities took place?

¹⁰⁴ Morel-Fatio and Paz y Meliá, 1898, II, II: 359. Vígara Zafra, 2014: 27.

¹⁰⁵ *Suplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 4. Herrera, 1787: 244-250. Lamas, 1907: 302-305. Triqueiros, 1999: 219.

¹⁰⁶ Morel-Fatio and Paz y Meliá, 1898, II, II: 346.

¹⁰⁷ Díez Fernández: 1997: 142-146. Vígara Zafra, 2014: 13.

¹⁰⁸ Vígara Zafra, 2015: 121-122; 2014: 2, 12. Morel-Fatio and Paz y Meliá, 1898, II, II: 366-367.

tion of the model’s plans¹⁰⁹ — the diplomatic envoy proceeded to hire two artists of French origin responsible for materializing the artistic enterprise destined to serve as a privileged stage for the festivities of June 1785.

The first documentary clue can be found in *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa pelo Conde Fernán Núñez, por ocasião dos casamentos dos príncipes das Astúrias e da Beira*.¹¹⁰ In the description of the drawing titled *Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, y del Arco de Triunfo, y Piramides elevadas en el centro de la Plaza de este Nombre el año de 1785*, it is explicitly mentioned that “El arco, Pirâmides, y adornos de la fachada fueron hechos por M.^[onsieur] Maté de nación Frances”.¹¹¹

Once comparing the caption of the engraving in *Álbum de desenhos* with the documentary data provided by Cyrillo Volkmar Machado [1748-1823] — in his work *Collecção de Memórias, relativas às vidas dos Pintores, e Escultores, Architetos, e Gravadores Portuguezes, e dos Estrangeiros, que estiverão em Portugal*, printed in 1823, and in his handwritten notes, deposited at the Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes, Lisbon —, it is possible to identify that the artist of the French nation referred to is Matthieu Doret.¹¹² Born in Lyon, Matthieu Doret, a “good Stonecutter, and Designer of figures and ornaments, who carved in stone certain finials in the Palace of Alpriate”, was responsible for directing the works campaigns: “He then directed the triumphal arch, and the entire decoration of the Palacio do Rocio for the marriage of His Majesty [D. João VI¹¹³], whose drawings were made by Thimoteo Verdier”.¹¹⁴ Volkmar Machado, serving D. João VI on the Royal Court,¹¹⁵ not only identified the person responsible for carrying out the construction works, but also identified the author of the architectural projects.

Arriving in Portugal around 1780 as an architect-decorator,¹¹⁶ Matthieu Doret collaborated with “Thimoteo Verdier”, father of the painter “Thimoteo Verdier” [1792-?].¹¹⁷ Considering the possibility of actually dealing with the Portuguese-French Timothée Lécussan Verdier [c.1754-1831],¹¹⁸ he is not known to have any other participation in similar architectural projects or undertakings.¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁹ Morel-Fatio and Paz y Meliá, 1898, II, II: 344, 359.

¹¹⁰ “Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, y del Arco de Triunfo, y Piramides elevadas en el centro de la Plaza de este Nombre el año de 1785”, *Álbum de desenhos*, 1785, CGVS.

¹¹¹ “Vista del Adorno exterior del Palacio del Rocio en Lisboa, y del Arco de Triunfo, y Piramides elevadas en el centro de la Plaza de este Nombre el año de 1785”, *Álbum de desenhos*, 1785, CGVS. Volkmar Machado on his personal manuscripts also mention “Mr. Mathe” as the responsible for the Rossio arch execution. Braga, 2021, I: 736.

¹¹² The identification of Matthieu Doret in our presentation held in Burgos in 2018 was meanwhile reinforced by Sofia Braga, in her doctoral thesis defended in 2021, after transcribing two excerpts by Volkmar Machado: “The Rocio Arch made by Doret?” and “Rocio arch plan [drawn] by its passages executed by M.^e Mathe — and taken by me in perspective. 1785”. Pacheco, 2019: 1142-1148. Braga, 2021, I: 737-738, II: 496-497.

¹¹³ At the time of printing Volkmar Machado’s book, in 1823, D. João VI was the monarch of Portugal. Machado, 1823: 131-132, 139. Pamplona, 2000, II: 212, V: 340-341.

¹¹⁴ Verdier and Doret’s connection to the material campaigns of the ephemeral structures built in the Inquisition Palace is mentioned in the entry dedicated to Giuseppe Troni [1739-1810], the Italian painter who came to Portugal precisely in 1785 to execute the portraits of the Royal Family, hired by the Portuguese ambassador in Turin, the Count of Linhares, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. Machado, 1823: 129-132.

¹¹⁵ Taborda, 1815: 236.

¹¹⁶ Costa, 1935: 79. Bénézit, 1961, III: 31.

¹¹⁷ Machado, 1823: 148, 245. Bénézit, 1961, VIII: 517. Pamplona, 2000, V: 340-341.

¹¹⁸ Verdier, son of a French father and Portuguese mother, was born in Lisbon around 1754 and died in Paris in 1831, the city of his exile after being expelled from Portugal in 1809. *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, XXXIV, s.d.: 658. Carvalho, 1921: 11-14. *Carta de Timotheo Lecussan Verdier para o conde de Hoffmanssegg*, 13 August 1793; *Carta de José de Abreu Bacelar Chichorro para Timotheo Lecussan Verdier*, 17 May 1803, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (ANTT), Fundo Conde de Linhares, *Correspondência*, mç. 63. Verdier’s father, Michel Lécusan Verdier, a merchant with close connections to the French embassy in Portugal, already had businesses established at the time of the 1755 earthquake, most likely years earlier, given that his son was born in 1754. Labourdette, 1988: 173, 476, 511, 545.

¹¹⁹ However, it was celebrated during the public session of the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, held on October 18, 1780, when it was presented “a memoir about a new form of vault invented by Timotheo Verdier of which he presented a model”. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, XLIII: 4.

When dealing with the Academy Studies of a Male Nude foundation, established in the palace of Gregório de Barros e Vasconcelos in May 1780,¹²⁰ Volkmar Machado clarified that Lécussan Verdier was a member of this “Sage in Architecture” academy.¹²¹ To this same academy, protected by the Duke of Lafões and the Marquis of Alorna,¹²² Doret would also belong.¹²³ The French merchant and industrialist Jacome Rattón [1736-1820], partner of Verdier at the *Real Fábrica dos Algodões, Lençarias e Meias de Tomar* between 1789 and 1794, mentioned in his memoirs that he was responsible for the factory building renovation, which took place between 1790 and 1793: “who was the only architect [responsible] for all the works; seemingly having abundant knowledge”.¹²⁴

In the great city of Lisbon, the circle of diplomatic elites should have been very limited and had access to the highest personalities of the Kingdom, around which many contemporary artists would inevitably gravitate. During the investigation, we confirmed the existence of personal relationships between some of the actors involved in the ephemeral architectures and the connecting link seems to have been the Duke of Lafões, D. João Carlos Tavares Mascarenhas da Silva [1719-1806], one of the Spanish diplomat “muchos buenos amigos”.¹²⁵ While Lécussan Verdier was a dedicated collaborator of the Duke of Lafões at the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*,¹²⁶ a cultural milieu where he may have established contact with the Count of Fernán Núñez, Matthieu Doret was called to intervene in the summer palace that the same Duke owned in Alpriate,¹²⁷ on the outskirts of Vila Franca de Xira, near Lisbon.

Taking into account the involvement of Lécussan Verdier in the programmatic design and Matthieu Doret in the constructive direction of the campaigns — as well as the hiring of abbot Charles-François Garnier [?-1804], parish priest of the *Church of São Luís dos Franceses*, in Lisbon, for the execution of the commemorative medal dedicated to the nuptials —, it is possible to assess, without any doubt, the French taste of the Count of Fernán Núñez, a nobleman of French descent and education.¹²⁸

Returning to Lisbon from Rome precisely in 1785,¹²⁹ Volkmar Machado left some handwritten notes and some architectural drawings that attest to his direct contact with the celebratory monuments sponsored by the Spanish diplomat. In addition to the drawings and handwritten notes, revealing an eventual request expressed by the ambassador himself or executed with his consent, Volkmar Machado also left a record of the names of the Portuguese artists involved in the ephemeral façade campaign.¹³⁰

Among them were Joaquim António de Macedo [1750-1820], a sculptor trained at the Mafra royal school of sculpture,¹³¹ who was responsible for the execution of the two sculptures on the

¹²⁰ Calado, 1989: 17.

¹²¹ Machado, 1823: 22-25.

¹²² Calado, 1989: 17.

¹²³ Braga, 2021, I: 155, 738.

¹²⁴ Rattón, 1813: 21-22, 44-48, 165-168, 170-171. In fact, Count Atanazy Raczyński [1788-1874], Polish diplomat, asserted that Lécussan Verdier established residence in Tomar for long periods. Raczyński, 1847: 156.

¹²⁵ Vígara Zafra, 2016: 259.

¹²⁶ Lécussan Verdier was a member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences and a corresponding partner of the *Institut de France*. Brunot, 1934, VIII: 34. He seems to have been quite close to the plenipotentiary ambassador and minister of the Overseas and Finance secretariats, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. Costa, 1935: 42-44. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, CLXXXIX: 3.

¹²⁷ Machado, 1823: 131-132.

¹²⁸ Urquizar Herrera/Vígara Zafra, 2014: 259. Fernán Núñez, 1898, I: 2; II, II: 232-236.

¹²⁹ Braga, 2021, I: 70.

¹³⁰ Machado, 1823: 6-9. In 1785, Volkmar Machado executed two preparatory drawings with the “Interior view of the stairs of the Palácio do Inquisidor Geral decorated by order of the Ambassador of Spain”. Braga, 2021, I: 736, 738-739; II: 499. Interestingly, the perspective angle of the two drawings of the interior of the inquisitorial palace coincides with the one created for the *Álbum de desenhos relativos às festas organizadas em Lisboa* (fig. 1), without, however, seeming to have come out of the same artist. Would there have been a contest for the creation of the *Álbum* in which Volkmar Machado participated? This is an unsolved issue that we will return to it shortly within the scope of the study of the triumphal arch.

¹³¹ Machado, 1823: 263.

“Inquisition Palace façade” [fig. 6] — identified by Volkmar Machado as “Flora and Diana”¹³² —; and José Caetano Syriaco [c.1740-c.1800], a painter, who was responsible for the painting program which was notoriously criticized by Volkmar Machado: “[he] conducted the painting, it was a little thing”.¹³³ In addition to these two names, many other artists and officials responsible for the construction works would have been involved, as was the case of Joaquim José Henriques [?-1785], a working official mentioned due to the work accident that killed him after the fall of the triumphal arch in construction.¹³⁴

The beginning of the portentous façade construction is unknown, but, likely that it had already begun by April 1785. This assumption is based on the invitation addressed by the Spanish ambassador to the Count of Barca, D. António de Araújo e Azevedo [1754-1817], to participate in the feast of April 13, 1785. The instructions expressed were very clear, once it was recommended that the access should be made “through the Corner of the Houses of the Duke” of Cadaval, located on the western flank of Rossio.¹³⁵ It reinforces the argument presented, the mention of a portico erected next to what appears to be a secondary and lateral entrance of the inquisitorial building.¹³⁶

All the celebrative monuments had transformed the Rossio plaza into a laborious construction site, where the hired officials — from carpenters, carvers, plasterers to sculptors, painters and gilders, under the watchful eye of the artists responsible for designing the architectonic plans and, certainly, the ambassador himself —, built successive wooden structures, joined with pieces of iron and nailing and then covered with canvas and/or cardboard and paper, over which stucco, plaster and/or wax were applied, then meticulously polychromed and gilded.

The ephemerality of the façade’s structure did not depend only on its exclusive use for the evocation of the celebratory event, which took place in June 1785, as the perishable materials themselves would not allow for greater durability over time. Although the specifications and expenses are unknown, it is still possible to assert that the extension of the monumental façade involved a greater expense compared to the set of arches and obelisks erected in Rossio.

Final considerations

The festive events celebrated in 1785 would be remembered in posterity for its magnificence and grandeur as predicted the anonymous author of the *Relação das festividades com que o Excelentissimo Conde de Fernan Nuñez, Embaixador Extraordinario de S. M. Catholica, celebrou [...]* os felices Desposorios dos Senhores Infantes de Portugal e Hespanha.¹³⁷

¹³² Volkmar Machado also identified Faustino José Rodrigues [1760-1829] as the artist responsible for the execution of the sculpture that crowned the triumphal arch, the allegorical figure of the Fame “very badly” conceived, and apparently counted the number of three dozen large statues — “only large statues there were 30” (Braga, 2021, I: 738-739) — which at the moment we cannot identify, even taking into account the figures of the *putti* inserted at the top of the façade and those described in the respective triumphal arch.

¹³³ Braga, 2021, I: 738-739. Although Caetano Syriaco had some royal commissions, it is said that the *Infante D. João (VI)* refused his work for the royal chapel of the *Palácio of Queluz*. Pamplona, 2000, II: 101.

¹³⁴ *Supplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 4. There is, in fact, the necessity to clarify that it is not possible to guarantee that he participated in the construction of the monumental façade.

¹³⁵ *Convite do conde de Fernán Nuñez, embaixador de Espanha, dirigido ao conde da Barca, António de Araújo de Azevedo*, [April 1785], Arquivo Distrital de Braga, Braga (ADB), Fundo Família Araújo de Azevedo — António de Araújo de Azevedo. This suspicion is supported by a second known invitation that mentions the need to park the coaches on the west flank of the building. Martínez Cuesta, 2003: 125, nt. 162.

¹³⁶ Although more details are unknown — as well as the documentary sources consulted by Martínez Cuesta — everything points out the fact that part of the west facade of the Inquisition building was decorated for the occasion, precisely on the flank where the gardens were and part of the festivities held in April was organized: “Para cubrir la destarlada fachada se había preparado un amplio pórtico consistente en un amplio zaguán”. Considering the grandiose work campaign promoted in the early 1770s, it is difficult to accept the ruined character of the Inquisition building occupied by the Spanish ambassador. Martínez Cuesta, 2003, 130.

¹³⁷ *Supplemento Extraordinario á Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1. Beirão, 1944: 319.

Around the double matrimonies between the Iberian Princes, in April and June 1785, numerous festivities were organized and multiple triumphal constructions were erected that, despite their ephemerality, were perpetuated in the centuries to come. Among the triumphal festive monuments, the colossal façade erected juxtaposed to the Palace of the Lisbon Inquisition, the privileged physical space for holding the commemorative festivities promoted and offered by the Spanish diplomat, the VI Count of Fernán Núñez, stood out.

Based on an emblematic program intended to serve as an ideological instrument for the Iberian monarchies, with special emphasis on the Spanish Royal House represented by the extraordinary diplomatic emissary at the Portuguese Court, the triumphal architectural façade served, albeit ephemerally in those days of June 1785, as a royal scenographic proscenium to the festivities celebrated in the residence that had been made available, exceptionally and temporarily, to commemorate the wedding.

With the help of a renowned group of French and Portuguese artists working in Portugal, the Spanish diplomat materialized a monumental structure, “with noble and sumptuous architecture”,¹³⁸ revealing the influence imposed by the coeval artistic forms and aesthetic formulas.

Although in Portugal the famous popular saying *From Spain, neither good winds blow nor great unions grow* has been perpetuated, precisely about to the marriage contracted between D. João VI and D. Carlota Joaquina,¹³⁹ the festive events and celebratory constructions attest to the contrary. The princes’ union not only made possible a new encounter between the Iberian Kingdoms in Portugal, but also brought together national and foreign artists around the ostentatious ephemeral celebratory architectures under the direct sponsorship of the extraordinary diplomat from Spain.

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¹³⁸ *Supplemento Extraordinario à Gazeta de Lisboa*, XXV: 1.

¹³⁹ The original proverb: “De Hespanha nem bom vento, nem bom casamento”. Pimentel, 1893: 122. On the other hand, in the sixteenth century, the humanist André de Resende, in a letter addressed to Bartolomé de Quevedo in May 1567, stated that the Spaniards had already popularized the interrogative expression: “Can something good come from Portugal?”. Pereira, 1988: 127.

- gust; n.º XXXVI, 1785, 10 September; n.º XXXVII, 1785, 17 September; n.º XXXIX, 1785, 1 October; n.º XL, 1785, 8 October; n.º XLIV, 1785, 5 November; n.º XLV, 1785, 12 November; n.º XLIX, 1785, 10 December.
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