

CORTE PALAU DE REY. THE REAL PALACE OF VALENCIA IN THE MEDIEVAL EPOCH

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ABSTRACT

The Real palace (“palau del Real”) of Valencia was demolished in 1810 by order of the local authorities facing the menace of the French imperial army, but it had been until then one of the major historical buildings, comparable with other royal residences in capital cities of the Crown of Aragon. Archaeological evidence, historical plans and views and, above all, abundant although scattered documentary sources allow us to retrace the main steps of its history, building and uses in the context of gothic architecture and to compare it with some other courts established in the Crown of Aragon and in Western Europe in 14th and 15th centuries. During this period, the Real was the scene of magnificence and an ensemble of apartments ready to entertain the royal family and their guests.

KEY WORDS

Architecture, Power, Monarchy, Urban History, Art History.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Architectura, Potentia, Regia potestas, Urbana historia, Artium historia.

When James I conquered the city of Valencia, he rejected the Muslim kings' citadel as his seat, although the centres of power of the Christian new city were centred around it, including the episcopal palace, the cathedral and the first seat of the municipal government, and chose the "almunia" or recreational estate that the Muslim kings of the Taifa had built on the other side of the river outside the walled city as his temporary residence¹. This decision can be compared to those taken by the king and his predecessors when taking possession of other old Islamic capitals such as Lleida, Saragossa or Tortosa. In all these cases, they adapted a residence separated from the urban centre as a palace for the Christian monarchs who ruled over these cities from then on. In the case of Valencia, as well as symbolic reasons (the building had been the scene of the negotiations that led to the Muslim surrender in 1238, and the transfer of the main seat of power marked a new epoch), the situation of the Real had practical advantages, such as the visual dominion of the recently conquered city from the north bank of the Turia, the good defensive position, the availability of terrain for future extensions and reforms and, especially, the kitchen gardens and gardens that had converted this sector into a pleasant and comfortable landscape for a royal residence. The place was less the site for a palace than an extension of fertile and well watered terrain, that gave it the name of The Real that is still remembered, with its fine views of the walled city, the river's floodplain and the sea in the distance².

It is probable that rebuilding was rather modest at first and did not go beyond the establishment of a chapel, and adapting rooms and spaces for the most pressing residential and representative functions. In other words, the change of use was only relative compared with the Islamic "almunia" and subject to the frequency and duration of the stays by the monarchs and their families in the city and the urge to show the majesty of the monarch in his own place. When Alfonso X the Wise stopped in Valencia on his way to the council of Lyon, only the Castilian monarch could stay in the Real, while his direct family and most of his retinue were lodged in other houses in the city³. However, the works did not take long and Peter III the Great carried out works of a certain importance in the decade of 1280, under the supervision of the Valencian Jew, Vives aben Vives, for the stay of his wife Constance of Sicily. His successor Alfonso III, the Benign, wanted to see everything ready for

1. This article is part of the research project *Arquitectura en construcción en el ámbito valenciano de la Edad Media y Moderna* (HUM 2004-5445/ARTE) financed with FEDER funds and starts from a study of the documentation, mainly from the Archivo del Reino de Valencia, about the building work together with research shared with Dr. Luis Arciniega, who I wish to thank for his contributions, although any errors and omissions are the authors exclusive responsibility. A resume of the work carried out together can be read in the work coordinated by Dr. Josep Vicent Boira. *El Palacio Real de Valencia. Los planos de Manuel Cavallero (1802)*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 2006: 83-90.

2. The confusion between the adjective "real" applied to the residence of the monarchs and the noun "Real", derived from the Arab *rahal*, has lasted to the present, but the historical sources, beginning with the *Llibre del Repartiment* and the chronicle of James I, leave no room for doubts: the palace and its surroundings were called *del Real*. See the presentation by Roque Chabás from the 1767 manuscript, in Teixidor, José. *Antigüedades de Valencia*, Roque Chabás dir. Valencia: El Archivo, 1895: I, 437-439.

3. Rubió Balaguer, Jordi. *Vida española en época gótica*. Barcelona: Abadía de Montserrat, 1985 (2nd ed.): 83.



his arrival in the city in 1286 and two years later pressed the “Baile general” (crown representative), Bernat Guillem Català, to finish the new works on the Real⁴. Peter the Great had stipulated that the court would move from one palace to another over the year in each of his kingdoms and during his absence a man of confidence would have custody of the residence⁵. By then, the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon had an itinerant court that accompanied them wherever their presence was needed and which required adequate residences available in all the capitals of their states: the Almudaina in Majorca, the Zudas of Huesca and Lleida, the Aljafería in Saragossa, the Royal Palace in Barcelona, the castle of the King in Tarragona among others⁶. As well as its position close to the urban centre, the Real of Valencia shared with some of these the imprint of Islamic tradition in its rooms and decoration, even after the Christian conquest, given that Mudejar craftsmen worked on the Valencian Real from the end of the 13th century. Each of the palaces also had to respond to the specific identity of the territory where the power of the monarch was seated and, in consequence, the Real could also reflect how the crown understood its relations with the “cap i casal del Regne de València” (head and council of the kingdom of Valencia).

In spite of everything, the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon took some time to define their image of power through the architecture of their palaces. In a long process that covered almost all the 14th century, the way of distributing, using and decorating these surroundings changed in line with the growing complexity of the court ceremonial, the growth of the retinues and trains that accompanied the monarchs and the desire to emulate other royal houses in their sense of magnificence. As the Valencian, Saint Vicent Ferrer would say in one of his sermons, “cort i palau de rei, requer gran casa” (court and palace of king, these require a great house) and Francesc Eiximenis commented how the liberality reached magnificence ordering the building of “notables cases e notablement ordenades, axí en hedificis com en gran regiment, e en reebre persones nobles altament. E notes ací alguns grans doctors que lo príncep magnífich principalmente deu attendre a la obra que attén a fer, que sia alta e bella e noble e feta excel·lentment, que no a la pecunia quate serà e que deu aver sobre ella gran estudi, pus que sap y és bastant e poderós”⁷. The houses that were really the royal apartments owed a great deal to the attention of the

4. Ortiz, José Mariano. *Descubrimientos de las leyes palatinas y derechos que tiene Vuestra Majestad como Rey de Aragón en vuestro Palace Real de Valencia*. Madrid: Imprenta Andrés de Sotos, 1782; Fullana, Lluís. “El Palau del Real”. *Cultura Valenciana*, 1 (1926): 2-5.

5. Fullana, Lluís. “El Palau”...: 5.

6. Español Bertran, Francesca. *Els escenaris del rei. Art i monarquia a la Corona d’Aragó*. Manresa: Angle, 2001, deals with all the royal residences; Adroer i Tasis, Anna Maria. *Palaus reials de Catalunya*. Barcelona: edicions 62, 2003, illustrates the case of the palaces in Catalonia and Roussillon.

7. “...notable houses and notably arranged, as well as buildings like a great regiment, and in receiving highly nobles persons. And note here some great doctors who the magnificent prince must mainly attend to the work that is awaiting, that it be high and beautiful and excellently done, that not to the coin that will be and there must be a great study of it, as is known and is enough and powerful” (Ferrer, Vicent. *Sermons*, vol. III, LXV, cited by Español Bertran, Francesca. *Els escenaris del rei*...: 9; Eiximenis, Francesc. *Dotzè llibre del Crestià. Segona part*, ed. Curt Wittlin et alii. Girona: Col·legi Universitari de Girona-Diputació de Girona, 1986: I, 440).



queens and, in general the mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of the successive occupants of the throne, and their names are linked to it as, or more, closely than those of the men in the history of the Real in Valencia.

It seems that James II was very involved in the renovation of the royal residences of the Crown of Aragon, given that under him all these factors began to operate in function of the circumstances of his kingdom and his particular political programme: the wedding with the French queen Blanca of Anjou, his Sicilian experience before succeeding his brother Alfonso in 1291 and the attempts to distinguish the royal house of Aragon from the French monarchy and also from the exclusive kingdom of Majorca can be adduced as the keys for understanding his idea of royal majesty and the role of art and architecture in this⁸. During his reign, and especially between 1302 and 1321, the Real of Valencia was immersed in a process of works that has left its mark in the documentation of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon through the appointment of royal officials to supervise them, the interest in the reform of the old Islamic building and the preparations for lodging the king or members of his family during their stays in Valencia⁹. It can be deduced from reading the registers that most of the areas must have been covered by wooden roofs, but the master mason Guillem Vendrell in 1302 and the workers, among whom there were Muslims, also used brick, stone, colours and gold leaf for the decoration. Albeit only by the name that indicates its principal function, we know of the existence of a council chamber (*domo ordinata ad consilium*), stairs, porches, the wine cellar, baths and a chapel that was decorated with stained glass windows in 1317. The documentation from that time distinguishes two kitchen gardens, one situated in front of the palace, in the plain of the Real, and another inside the building (*intrus ipsum Regalem*), and which would with time receive more care¹⁰.

The control of the works in the residence and its gardens was under royal officials, who had to ensure that everything was prepared for the monarchs and their retinue. At first, as the monarch's representative in the capital of the kingdom, the "Baile general" of Valencia was responsible for this, but a custodian was soon designated for the Real together with an *operarius* or clerk of works to deal specifically with these tasks, with an annual salary and a post that tended to be handed down from father to son, if the king thought it appropriate. This post was generally filled by men of trust of the monarch such as Berenguer de Sant Joan and his sons Pere Martí and Bertomeu¹¹. From wherever he was, the king ordered the "Baile" or the custodian of the Real to prepare everything for the arrival of the court in Valencia, given that as well as architectural work, they had to clean and prepare the residence that would soon fill up with all the furniture and the household furnishings that the retinue brought. This was done for the royal visit of James II in 1303, also by order of his first wife, Blanca of Anjou, between 1307 and 1309, or for the preparation

8. Español Bertran, Francesca. *El gòtic català*. Manresa: Angle, 2002: 59-64.

9. Fullana, Lluís. "El palau"...: 38-40; Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernesto. "Nuevos datos inéditos sobre el palacio del 'Real' de Valencia". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, XXI (1945): 165-174.

10. Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernesto. "Nuevos datos...": 167-174.

11. Fullana, Lluís. "El palau"...: 38-40.



of the royal wedding with Mary of Cyprus in 1315. During his stays, the monarch received visitors and diplomatic missions in the reception rooms of the palace. These included the envoys of Phillip IV (the Fair) of France with the order to dissolve the military Order of the Temple in 1307 or the ambassador of Cyprus to arrange the marriage with Marie de Lusignan in 1314¹². Anyone who passed through the palace should take with them the memory of the majesty of the monarch and the surroundings, highlighted by wall hangings, tiled floors and polychrome and golden wooden ceilings, as well as the display of objects designed for exhibition on these occasions. What they saw was intended to be compared with what they knew from their places of origin or with the expectations of a new enterprise. Thus, an Aragonese noble of the Híjar lineage stated in his will of 1318 that the stained glass of his funerary chapel in Saragossa should be made “a la forma de la capiella del Real de Valencia” (in the style of the chapel of the Real in Valencia), that were at the same time the work of the same Berenguer of Palau who had installed them in the Zuda of Lleida¹³.

King Peter IV, the Ceremonious, often stayed in the Real and promoted a new stage of reforms and reconstruction during his long reign (1336-1387), although he had to face economic difficulties and the damage caused during the war with Castile. The *Ordinacions de cort* drawn up in 1344, following the model of the Palatine Laws of Majorca and the uses established in the Crown of Aragon since the end of the 13th century, defined the ceremonial of the Aragonese monarchs in the following centuries and this must be seen as part of a project to organise the administration and the duties of the royal house, as well as the pomp, and the ceremonial and architectural setting that should accompany the monarch¹⁴.

Between 1342 and 1345, Peter IV ordered Bernat Bertó to acquire various batches of columns of specific sizes, with bases, fleur-de-lis capitals and “taules” to be sent from Girona to Valencia, where Berenguer of Codinachs and Queen Mary of Navarre used them in “la obra del Real nostre” (the works on our Real); he ordered

12. Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernesto. “Nuevos datos”...: 169-174.

13. Barcelona, Martín de. “La cultura catalana durant el regnat de Jaume II”. *Estudis franciscans*, 92 (1991): 394 documents the intervention by Berenguer de Palau; Español Bertran, Francesca. “El castillo real de Lleida en época medieval”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 26 (1996): 437-485, especially page 483 (imitation of the stained glass window in the chapel of the Real in a funeral chapel of the Híjars in the convent of Santo Domingo in Saragossa).

14. Jaume III de Mallorca. *Lleis palatines*, ed. Llorenç Pérez Martínez, Gabriel Llopart, Marcel Durliat, Miquel Pasqual. Palma de Mallorca: Olañeta, 1991, 2 volumes; Bofarull i Mascaró, Próspero. “Gobierno y Casa Real de los Monarcas de Aragón”, *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia (Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón)*. Barcelona: Establecimiento litográfico y tipográfico de Eusebio Monfort, 1850: vol. V, is the historical edition, but professor Francisco M. Gimeno Blay is preparing another modern critical version to appear soon under the auspices of the University of Valencia; meanwhile the study. *Le leggi palatine di Pietro IV d'Aragona*, ed. Olivetta Schena. Cagliari: CNR-Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici, 1983 is still valid; Carreras Candi, Francesc. “Ordenanzas para la Casa y Corte de los Reyes de Aragón (siglos XIII y XIV)”. *Cultura Española*, 2 (1906): 327-338; for the precedents in the Aragonese court, see Carreras Candi, Francesc. “Redreç de la Reyala Casa: ordenaments de Pere lo Gran e Anfós lo Liberal”. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, IX (1909): 97-108; Jordán de Urriés y Azara, José. “Las ordinaciones de la corte aragonesa en los siglos XIII y XIV”. *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, VII (1913-1914): 220-229, 284-292.



marbles to be brought from Roussillon and the Cerdanya for the work on the chapel in 1347¹⁵. The former case was a series production that was used in other royal residences of the Crown of Aragon while in the second, the coloured marbles from the eastern Pyrenees were chosen for their polished finish and chromatic qualities¹⁶. In May 1345, the monarch paid Ponç de Teixidor, the person in charge of the works, to travel to Perpignan to receive the appropriate orders¹⁷. The columns must have been destined for some of the rooms in the palace, although most attention was dedicated to the chapel, whose notable ceremonial function as a place of worship was shown in the *Ordinacions de cort*. In the times of the Ceremonious, and imitating the residences in Majorca and Perpignan as well as the Aljafería of Saragossa, the Real of Valencia had two chapels with different dedications that were divided, like the apartments of the palace, between the house of the king and that of the queen. This is shown by the inventory of the goods of Queen Mary of Navarre, drawn up in Valencia in 1348, months after her death in the Real: the deceased's belongings were in the "arnès de la cuyna de la senyora reyna" (in the queen's kitchen set), her saddles in the "arnès del ofici del cavalleriz" (her stable equipment); the "arnès del rebost" (pantry set) and that of the "botelleria" contained jewels of great symbolic and material value, such as crowns or diadems, luxurious fabrics and three oratorical images, among other objects; there was also mention of the "ornaments de les capelles" that made up the liturgical furnishings, in which the books stood out¹⁸.

In 1346, Peter IV founded new chaplaincies and benefices in the chapel of the Real of Valencia: five priests were added to the royal chaplain that had existed since James I's times, thus equalling the endowment (also increased) of the royal chapels in Saragossa and Barcelona. In her will, his wife Leonor of Sicily ordered three more benefices to be established in the chapel of the Real of Valencia (two priests and a scholar), with which it would have overtaken the endowment of clergy of the other palatine chapels of the Crown of Aragon at that time¹⁹. As in other residences of

15. Note by Olivier Poisson in Zaragoza Catalán, Arturo. "Arquitecturas del gótico mediterráneo", *Una arquitectura gótica mediterránea*, Eduard Mira, Arturo Zaragoza, dirs. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2003: I, 159.

16. Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1921: II, 75 (doc. LXXIV) for the news from February and May, 1345; Rius Serra, José. "Més documents sobre la cultura catalana medieval". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 13 (1928): 165 (documents LXII and LXIII) contain two sets of six and eleven columns ordered in June and July 1342. This and other similar purchases for royal residences in other cities in Español Bertran, Francesca. "Los materiales prefabricados gerundenses de aplicación arquitectónica (siglos XIII-XV)", *L'artista-artesà medieval a la Corona d'Aragó*, Francesc Fité, Joaquín Yarza, eds. Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida-Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1999: 93-94.

17. Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana...*: II, 75.

18. Idoate, Florencio. "Inventario de los bienes de la Reina Doña María, esposa de Pedro IV, Rey de Aragón". *Príncipe de Viana*, VIII (1947): 417-435.

19. Teixidor, José. *Antigüedades de Valencia (1767)...*: I, 87; Ortiz, José Mariano. *Descubrimientos de las leyes palatinas...*; Rohfleisch, Günther. "Der Aufbau der Pfalzkapelle zu Valencia durch Peter IV", *Homenaje a Johannes Vincke*. Madrid: CSIC - Goerres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft, 1962-1963: I, 185-192; Vincke, Johannes. "El derecho de patronato de la Corona de Aragón en el Reino de Valencia", *Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1980: I, 837-849.



the Crown of Aragon, the monarch wanted to give this chapel an altarpiece painted by Ramón Destorrens, also commissioned to finish the one that Ferrer Bassa had begun for the chapel of Santa Ana in the Almudaina palace in Majorca²⁰. In 1349, another painter, Ferrer Querol, from Valencia, was named *pictor maior operis nostri Regalis civitatis*, a post that carried some privileges, and had to be recognised by the master of works of the Real²¹. In 1362, for the chapels of the king and queen, Peter the Ceremonious requested the services of Guillem de la Via, "magister de vedrieres", with his utensils and tools²². Apart from altarpieces, the pictorial decoration must also have included the colouring of the wood ceilings and perhaps mural series with chivalrous themes, such as the history of Jofré in the Aljafería, or the evocation of the heroic deeds of the dynasty, such as the paintings in the Tinell in the royal palace in Barcelona.

The show and pomp was shaken one Sunday in April 1348, when the palace was practically assaulted by a multitude of supporters of the Unió "no contrastant que les portes del nostre reial se tancassen contra aquella furor" (without checking that the doors of our Real were closed against that fury). As he explains in his *Crònica*, the king himself had to face them after more than a score had passed the doors of the palace searching for the king's Roussillonese counsellors "qui els eren fort odiosos" (who were deeply hated). Peter IV was in "la cambra del dit reial sobre el portal" (so-called royal chamber above the gate) and after having left the queen in the company of two of his trusted men, he went "al cap de l'escala de la gran entrada del dit reial" (to the head of the stairs of the great entrance to the Real), and, with a mace, faced the rioters while he descended shouting "Oh traïdors, a nós, a nós!" Thus he soothed the rage of his vassals, who cheered him, although that same night a multitude with musicians and dancers "vengueren al reial en pujaren dessús, e, a la final, que nós e la reina haguem a ballar"²³.

The beginning of hostilities with Castile, in what would become known as the war of the two Peters, between the Ceremonious and the Castilian king, Peter I, showed up the weak defensive position of the Real and the whole city. Thus, in 1356 measures were adopted to build a new walled enclosure and it was also meant to include the Plain of the Real, but the municipal authorities preferred to begin with the moat and walls of Valencia, postponing the construction of the defences

20. Verrié, Frederic-Pau. "Una obra documentada de Ramón Destorrens". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VI (1948): 340, doc. III; Madurell Marimón, José María. "El pintor Lluís Borrassà: su vida, su tiempo, sus seguidores y sus obras". *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, VIII (1950): 12, doc. 4.

21. Sanchis Sivera, José. "Pintores medievales en Valencia". *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 1928: 3-64, specially 17-18; now with a revised transcription in Company, Ximo; Aliaga, Joan; Tolosa, Lluïsa; Framis, Maité. *Documents de la pintura valenciana medieval i moderna I (1230-1400)*. València: Universitat de València, 2005: 212, doc. 200.

22. Madurell i Marimon, José María. "Documents culturals medievals (1307-1485)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, XXXVIII (1979-1982): 311, doc. 16: *cum omnibus eius exarciis et apparatusis*.

23. "... came to the Real and came upstairs, and, in the end, We and the Queen had to dance", Pere III el Cerimoniós. "Crònica", ed. Ferran Soldevila, *Les quatre grans cròniques*. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: 1102-1103.



of the Real various times, as the city “era molt opressa per les grans càrrechs que li convenia sostenir e per les obres de les murs i valls de la dita ciutat”.²⁴ After truces, the war once more fell on Valencia in 1362 and the following spring the city was besieged by the Castilian troops until Peter I raised the siege on the 10th of June, not without having previously occupied, sacked and burnt the Real, unprotected on the north bank of the Turia. By then the palace was, in the words of the historian Jerónimo Zurita, “una de las más principales casas reales que los reyes tenían en aquellos tiempos, que se llamaba El Real; de donde el rey de Castilla mandó llevar al alcázar a Sevilla unas muy hermosas columnas de jaspe que allí había”²⁵. Although the extent of the damage is not known, the narrative sources indicate that only one tower survived, from which the King ordered the standard captured from the Castilians when he freed Valencia from the siege to be flown, and the Ceremonious had to reside in the episcopal palace in 1364²⁶. The reconstruction was delayed for some time and was preceded by the monarch order’s prohibiting the construction of buildings of a certain height around the city, with exception of the towers of the Real²⁷. In 1371, Peter IV, still using the Cambra Major of the episcopal house, appealed to the Valencian municipal Council to contribute to paying for the works with the argument that the new residence would encourage the monarchs to spend more time in the city and that with them, a large number of courtesans and officials would arrive, along with foreigners attracted by celebrations, such as the tournament announced between an English knight and a French knight. The municipal assembly rejected the petition, urging the monarch to address himself to other cities that had helped the Castilians to burn down the palace, but some months later, it contributed to financing the works on the Queen’s palace in Barcelona²⁸. It is probable that in these years what later sources would call the “Real nou” was being built, that is, the

24. “...very oppressed by the great loads that had to be borne and for the works on the walls and moats of the mentioned city”, Archivo Municipal de Valencia. Manual de Consells, A-13, f. 49r (second hand), 15 January 1359, despite the favourable agreement adopted in the month of September 1356 to Project the monarch’s residence better. See Cárcel Ortí, M^a. Milagros; Trenchs Odena, José. “El Consell de Valencia: disposiciones urbanísticas (siglo XIV)”, *La ciudad hispánica de los siglos XI al XVI*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985: II [En la España Medieval, VII (1985)], 1481-1545: specially 1507.

25. “...one of the most important royal houses that the monarchs had in those times, which was called El Real; from where the king of Castile ordered some very beautiful columns of jasper that were to be taken to the Alcázar in Seville”, Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas (of the text finished in 1580). Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1978, book IX, chapter 45: IV, 462.

26. Archivo Municipal de Valencia, Manual de Consells, A-14, f. 1r (fifth hand), 12 May 1364. The “Jurats” swore their post on the day of Whitsun in the episcopal palace, where King Peter IV, the Ceremonious, was then residing temporarily. The news about the standard raised on the only tower left standing can be read in, for example, Samper, Hipólito. *Montesa Ilustrada*. Valencia: Jerónimo Vilagrassa, 1669: II, 479, n. 797.

27. Alanyà, Luis. *Aureum Opus*. Valencia: 1515, f. 139, col. 3, Royal privilege of Peter II cited by Ortiz, José Mariano. *Descubrimientos de las leyes palatinas...*

28. Archivo Municipal de Valencia, Manual de Consells, A-15, f. 171, 21 March 1371, cited by Cárcel Ortí, Trenchs Odena. “El Consell de Valencia...”: 1511; help for the works on the Queen’s palace in A-16, f. 93v, 24 June 1372.

rectangular area situated further west, around two patios, as part of a fairly large reconstruction programme.

In the end, the royal treasury had to cover the costs, which partly explains the slow pace of the works: in 1369 the channel that watered the gardens was lined with stone and lime, and in 1376 the monarch entrusted the master builder Bernat Boix *opus regalis nostri regii civitatis predictae, ac ipsum regale cum ortis et aliis suis pertinentiis universis*, with the right to be called “maestro mayor” (official architect) of these works, as his predecessors in the post had been, especially the late master Vidal Auger, with the same salary and rights. The king’s officials and the heirs of master Auger had to recognise him as “maestro mayor” of the Real and hand over the keys to the palace²⁹. The monarchs of the Crown of Aragon had followed this practice of honouring the master builders who had taken care of the works in other residences with the title of custodian, although in Valencia the post of custodian of the Real was later usually separated from that of the master of the palace works. Bernat Boix was one of the most famous master builders in the city at that time and had also been designated “maestro mayor” of municipal works a few months before; in 1388 he was still *magister et custos hospicio regalis*³⁰. In 1382, the head of works at the palace was Joan Franch, who held the other prestigious post in Valencia, that of “maestro mayor” of the cathedral, and among the masons that accompanied him was Pere Balaguer, future builder of the Serranos gate. As well as the masonry work in walls, towers, doors and windows, part of the work must have been brickwork and of certain interest³¹. It is known that Peter IV ordered Faraig, the master of works from his palace of the Aljafería, to come and “un dels millors mestres que y sien” to see that “nós havem començat de fer obrar lo Real de València e havem trobada una obra de guix e de rejola fort profitosa, fot espegada e de poch messió”, understood how it was done and made it in Saragossa³². In the same city, the painter Pedro Bernat was

29. Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana...*: II, 180, doc. CXCIII.

30. Serra Desfilis, Amadeo. “El fasto del palacio inacabado. La Casa de la Ciudad de Valencia en los siglos XIV y XV”, *Historia de la ciudad III: Arquitectura y transformación urbana en la ciudad de Valencia*, Francisco Taberner, ed. Valencia: ICARO-Colegio Territorial de arquitectos-Ayuntamiento de Valencia-Universitat de València, 2004: 73-99, about his role as master of the works on walls and moats in Valencia and the Casa de la Ciudad. About his continuity in the post until 1388, see Borja, Helios. “Animals exòtics al Palau Reial de València”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, LXXVIII (2002): 76.

31. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11604, year 1382, cited by Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. “El Real de Valencia en sus imágenes arquitectónicas”. *Reales Sitios*, 158 (2003): 33-47. About de Joan Franch see Sanchis Sivera, José. “Maestros de obras y lapicidas en la Edad Media”; *Archivo de Arte valenciano*, 11 (1925): 26-28 and for his relations with Pere Balaguer, documented in the works on the Real, see Miquel Juan, Matilde; Serra Desfilis, Amadeo. “Pere Balaguer y la arquitectura valenciana entre los siglos XIV y XV”, *Historia de la ciudad IV: Memoria urbana*, Francisco Taberner, dir. Valencia: ICARO-Colegio Territorial de arquitectos-Ayuntamiento de Valencia-Universitat de València, 2005: 89-111.

32. “being one of the best masters [to see that] we had begun to work on the Real de Valencia and we found a very useful piece in plaster and tile, it was fast and of little cost”, Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana...*: II, 255-257, document 265, interpreted as an unambiguous allusion to a tiled vault by Aragaus, Philippe. *Brique et architecture dans l'Espagne médiévale (XIIe-XVe siècle)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2003: 97-98 and Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, Mercedes. “Las bóvedas tabicadas en la arquitectura valenciana durante los siglos XIV, XV y XVI”, *Una arquitectura gòtica mediterrànea*, Eduard



also commissioned to make a new altarpiece dedicated to Our Lady of the Angels. This image would become the incumbent of one of the royal chapels from then on while the other remained dedicated to Saint Catalina martyr³³.

Thus, in Peter IV's times, the palace underwent important modifications, as even a wide reconstruction, that shaped it as a notable royal residence in line with a generic model of use and distribution of space well-known in the Crown of Aragon: arranged around one or more patios were the king's and queen's chambers, bedrooms and the chapels distributed on various floors. The noble floor was reached by an open staircase that went up to the arched galleries on the upper floor. It is probable that the chamber over the entrance was one of the main ones, as can be understood in the tale of the *Chronicle* of the Ceremonious and that the access from outside, flanked by two towers recognisable in the historical plans of the building³⁴, at the sides of the door under the Chamber of the Angels, opened through a vestibule on to the patio with the principal staircase. On the ground floor, there was a "casa baixa", next to the main doorway of the Real, where the king could pronounce sentences³⁵. As well as the rooms mainly for residential use by the house of the king and that of the queen ("recambres, retrets"), one or various rooms were for reception and scenarios for the manifestation of the royal power ("palaus, sales"). There were reception rooms where the monarch offered banquets, received the city authorities and foreign ambassadors and displayed his magnificence, then called Cambra de Paraments (chamber of the hangings), Cambra dels Timbres (Chamber of the Seals), Cambra Blanca (White Chamber) or par excellence "palau", but the reception of less numerous retinues and the meetings of the royal council took in antechambers and neighbouring rooms to the great hall that acted in turn as between these areas and the semi-private apartments. The names of the main rooms coincided with those used in other palaces of the Crown of Aragon and their use must have been similar. In the great European palaces of that time, one of the towers often housed a representation chamber for certain ceremonies and this type of space can be recognised, by its form and function, in the floors raised from 1371 in the main tower—known as the Troubadour Tower—in the Aljafería of Saragossa and in the so-called Cambra dels Àngels (Chamber of the Angels) in

Mira, Arturo Zaragoza, dirs. València: Subsecretaria de Promoció Cultural de la Generalitat de València, 2003: II, 141.

33. Ortiz, José Mariano. *Descubrimientos de las leyes palatinas...*

34. About the surveying and the figurative images of the Real de Valencia, see Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. "El Real de Valencia en sus...": 33-47; Arciniega García, Luis. "Construcciones, usos y visiones del palacio del Real de Valencia bajo los Austrias". *Ars longa*, 14-15 (2005-2006): 129-179, especially 144-145 for the dating of the oldest plans (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, manuscript 18.225, f. 313) in 1560; Boira, Josep Vicent, dir. *El Palacio Real. Los planos de Manuel Cavallero (1802)*. Valencia: Ajuntament de Valencia, 2006 with special emphasis on the fullest plans and shortly before the demolition of the building, drawn by the engineer Manuel Cavallero in 1802.

35. Pere III el Cerimoniós. "Crònica"...: 1109: "E ans de la festa de Nadal cinc dies, donam-los la sentència en los nostre real, en la casa baixa, prés lo portal major".



the Real of Valencia³⁶. This denomination could refer to pictorial decoration³⁷ or sculptured pieces, such as the three wood angels with arms and heraldic elements of the dynasty cited in the Valencian documentation³⁸. In Valencia, as in the Aljafería in Saragossa, there was a "casa dels marbres" (house of marbles) and the excavations found pieces of this material from the Islamic era that were probably reused in the work on the ground floor of the Real in times of Peter IV, if not earlier³⁹. Other rooms mentioned in the documentation and the inventories in more than one palace are the Cambra dels Timbres, the Cambra Blanca, both known in Perpignan, Barcelona and Lleida, and the Cambra de Paraments, one of the main rooms and in Valencia must be identified with the one also called the "gran sala del Real"⁴⁰. The figurative decoration probably also gave its name to places such as the one of the "papagayos" (parrots) or the one of the "garces" (magpies)⁴¹. The Cambra de Paraments of the royal palace of Barcelona, known as "Tinell" from the name of the furniture that was used to display the monarch's luxury tableware, has reached our days through its restoration, but the same denomination was applied to other spaces in Perpignan, Valencia, Majorca or Saragossa and to one of the large rooms in European palaces such as the papal palace in Avignon or the royal palace of the Cité in Paris⁴².

In the Real was also the seat of the Audience from 1361 and the "Maestre Racional", commissioned with supervising the accounts of the royal possessions, occupied some chambers that eventually became an archive when the person in this

36. For the spatial and functional organisation of the buildings, including the residential tower, the apartment and the representation rooms, see Albrecht, Uwe. *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter*. München-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995: 79-130.

37. Although it seems improbable that it was inspired by the chapel of Saint Michael in the papal palace in Avignon, as has sometimes been thought. See Español Bertran, Francesca. "Ecos artísticos aviñoneses en la Corona de Aragón: la capilla de los Ángeles del Palacio Papal", *El Mediterráneo y el Arte Español. Actas del XI Congreso del Comité Español de Historia del Arte*. Valencia, 1996. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997: 58-68. The pictorial ornamentation was renewed at the end of the 16th century to a design by the royal architect Francisco de Mora, see Arciniega García, Luis. "Construcciones, usos y visiones del palacio"....: 149.

38. Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media". *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, X (1924): 20.

39. Algarra, Víctor; Lerma, Josep Vicent; Pascual, Pepa; Ribera, Albert; Sañaver Juan V. "Las excavaciones arqueológicas en el Palace Real", *El Palacio Real. Los planos de Manuel Cavallero (1802)*, Josep Vicent Boira, dir. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2006: 33-46, especially: 35-40.

40. Called so in municipal documentation in 1407. Archivo Municipal de Valencia, Manuals de Consells, A-23, f. 183v. The same source alludes shortly after to the election of the muhtasib "dins la Cambra dels Paraments" of the Real on 27th September 1407 (f. 246v).

41. Rubió Balaguer, Jordi. *Vida española en época gótica...*: 89-91.

42. Albrecht, Uwe. *Der Adelssitz im Mittelalter...*: 120-127. The typical distribution of the French royal residences at the end of the 14th century was the "chambre du roi-chambre de retrait-chambre à parer" (with direct access from a large ceremonial staircase), two "salles" and two "chambres". See Whiteley, Mary. "Royal and Ducal Palaces in France in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Interior, ceremony and function", *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures à la fin du Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, Jean Guillaume, dir. Paris: Picard, 1994: 49-52; about Avignon, Schimmelpfennig, Bernhard. "Ad maiorem pape gloriam. Les fonctions des pieces dans le palais des Papes d'Avignon", *Architecture et vie sociale. L'organisation intérieure des grandes demeures...*: 25-46.



post was a Valencian, as happened from 1340 to 1408 with a parenthesis of fifteen years⁴³. The municipal administration tried to help to put the archive of the "Maestre Racional" into order with cupboards and shelves in 1392⁴⁴. Other spaces served more prosaic purposes, but still connected to the life of the court, such as store-rooms, larders and stables.

Ornamental plants and species chosen for the recreation of the king and his relatives were grown in the gardens that had surrounded the old Islamic "almunia". However, these also reflected the authority of the monarch over the natural world, especially if they housed rare animals, which had been associated since early times with the monarchic power, such as lions and peacocks, that Peter the Ceremonious considered "abelliments de grans cases i plaers de senyors"⁴⁵.

Around 1398, fray Anselm Turmeda imagined in his *Cobles de la divisió del Regne de Mallorca* a "palau molt alt murat, de torres environat" (a very high walled palace surrounded by towers), because the palaces tended to retain something of the military aspect of the castles, in particular the towers although their usefulness for defence was arguable⁴⁶. The towers were surely by then one of the best-defined features of the image of the building that would last for centuries from the city, the bank of the Turia and the Llano of the Real. On special occasions, this served as a place for jousts, tournaments and celebrations in honour of the power of the prince, as happened on the royal entrance of John I in November 1392 or as a meeting place, as was determined for the funeral honours of Peter IV in 1387⁴⁷. In the interior, the materials and its polychromatic finish gave an added value to some rooms with a relatively simple structure: tiled floors, wooden roofs, wall paintings on profane themes and hangings. Although close to the walled enclosure, its peripheral position was considered ideal by authors such as Francesc Eiximenis on drawing up the theoretical model of "quina forma deu tener la ciutat bella i ben

43. The Maestre Racional of the royal court who were also citizens of Valencia were Domènec de Claramunt (1337-1340), Joan Fernández Munyoc (1340-1348), Berenguer de Codinachs (1348-1375) and Pere d'Artés (1390-1408). Cruselles, Enrique. *El Maestre Racional de Valencia*. Valencia: Sindicatura de Comptes-Alfons el Magnànim, 1989: 29.

44. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. *Valencia en la época de Juan I*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1974: 166.

45. Rubió Balaguer, Jordi. *Vida española en época gótica...*: 112-126; news about the custody of these animals in palaces in the Crown of Aragon has been recompiled by various authors, including Adroer i Tasis, Anna Maria. "Animals exòtics als palaus reials de Barcelona". *Medievalia*, 8 (1988): 9-22; "La possessió de lleons, símbol de poder", *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, (Jaca, 20-25 de setiembre de 1993)*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1996: 1/2, 257-268; Blasco Martínez, Antonio. "La casa de fieras de la Aljafería de Zaragoza y los judíos", *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón...*: 1/2, 291-318; Borja, Helies. "Animals exòtics...": 73-78.

46. Rubió Balaguer, Jordi. *Vida española en época gótica...*: 71. For allusions to other residences in the Crown of Aragon in the times of Peter IV, see the studies by Madurell Marimón, José María. "Pere el Cerimoniós i les obres públiques". *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis*, XI (1935): 371-394; Adroer Tasis, Anna Maria. *El palau reial major de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1979; Sobradíel, Pedro I. *La arquitectura de la Aljafería. Estudio histórico documental*. Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 1998; Durliat, Marcel. *L'art en el Regne de Mallorca*. Palma de Mallorca: Moll, 1989: 143-216; Español Bertran, Francesca. "El castillo real de Lleida en época medieval"...: 452 and, in general, Español Bertran, Francesca. *Els escenaris del rei...*: 9-24.

47. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. *Valencia en ...*: 98-99, 118.



edificada". According to this Franciscan friar, "en lo costat de la ciutat déu star lo palau del príncep ben fort i alt, qui haja exida defora lo mur: axí que tota vegada puxa metre dins la ciutat companya o lan puxa traer"⁴⁸; in Valencia, the city with its walls, the bridge of the Temple, the Rambla de Predicadores in the actual Plaza of Tetuán and the Real made up a well-defined urban layout. The height of the towers and the solidity of the walls took on a symbolic value to represent royal power while military relief for the city was guaranteed or from there, to the palace across the bridge over the Turia.

The penury of the royal coffers and the visits of the monarchs to the palace continued to set the pace of the interventions, that hardly appears in the documentation known until now: if in 1392 John I given his family's upcoming journey to Valencia, ordered the "Maestre Racional" Pere d'Artés to carry out very necessary works in the Real, he had to be warned that he hardly had enough funds to cover the cost, by lo that he requested economic assistance from the "Jurats" (councillors) and "prohombres" (worthies) of Castellón de la Plana and ordered the Maestre Racional and the Bailies of Sagunto and Castellón to invest all the income in the works in the palace⁴⁹. Not by chance do sources from the time emphasise that John I had "molt gran aparell de casa" in the Valencian Real. As result, work was done on the king's wardrobe and in the queen's kitchen among other minor jobs under the supervision of Ramón Palau, "sotsobrer" of the king⁵⁰. In 1393, the works affected the stairs under construction and it appears that master Arnau Torres participated in these⁵¹. Given that the stays in Valencia by John I and Prince Martin, his brother and heir, became more frequent, as his father had predicted when demanding the help of the municipal exchequer, the works often appeared in the archive registers without the place or purpose of the works carried out being exactly known, although the details of the sum of the expenses and the administrative dispositions adopted do appear. The princes were general procurators of the kingdom and acted as such, sometimes from the Real of Valencia, although they had not risen to the throne. In 1391, Prince Martin arrived from the Real after receiving the warning about the attack on the Jewish quarter. Anyway, the interest of Martin I the Humane when he acted as king was centred on one of the chapels in the palace, as was to be expected given his devout character that

48. "beside the city there should be the strong high palace of the prince, that has been built outwith the walls: thus at all times a company can be put inside the city or can be taken out", Eiximenis, Francesc. *Lo crestià (selecció)*, ed. Albert Hauf. Barcelona: edicions 62-la Caixa, 1994: 188-189.

49. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Curiae, register 1949, f. 52v, cited by Girona Llagostera, Daniel. "Itinerari del rei En Joan I". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, XIII (1931): 144, 146.

50. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9157.

51. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Patrimonio, Mestre Racional, register 393, f. 139 500 florins were paid to Francesc Alguecer, guard of the Real de Valencia to spend on work on a staircase that "el dit senyor rey fa fer en lo dit Reyat" in May 1393; Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Bailía General, parchment n° 221, invoice for 184 shillings and 10 coins to Arnau Torres, master of works, for the labour and material employed in the works in the Real (30th December 1393).



won him the nickname of "l'Eclesiàstic"⁵². In 1402 some works — "certes obres"— that cost 105 gold florins had been carried out and it is easy to link this to the presence of the monarch in Valencia⁵³; the following year, the "Baile general" of the kingdom, Nicolau Pujades, requested the help of the municipal Council to pay for the wood needed "a obs de obrar en la seu Real", a contribution that was denied⁵⁴. In 1405, the king authorised Pere d'Artés to occupy the Cambra dels Àngels and the other parts of the palace that faced the sea, an allusion to one chamber in particular and to the views that could be enjoyed from the palace, at a time when there were hardly any obstacles between the plain of the Real and the coast⁵⁵. In 1406, the doorway of the chapel was renewed: the stonemasons worked the stone and two carpenters made the frames of wood, installed by a master builder⁵⁶. In the interior the works were carried out in brick, plaster, wood and stone and did not finished until 1410, but the king also wished the worship in it to be solemn and in 1409, the painter Antoni Guerau, who would become "pintor de casa del senyor rei" (painter of the house of our lord, the king), was paid to do a new altarpiece for the altar mayor, with wooden doors by Guionet Despont⁵⁷. A reason for this work was that king Martin brought an image of Christ crucified from Sicily, before which he used to pray from a rostrum set up in the interior of the chapel⁵⁸. These interventions were part of the programme of extension and remodelling of many other royal residences, in partly frustrated by the scarcity of economic resources and the brevity of this monarch's reign. His penchant for gilded and polychromed wood roofs and his personal devotion to certain relics and images certainly was linked to the reforms of the palace and specifically with the chapel, but on occasions the documentation does not allow the exact place where the royal workers were employed to be known.

The instauration of the new Trastámara dynasty inaugurated another stage in the history of the Real of Valencia, not only owing to the ever more frequent and lengthier stays of the members of the royal house, but principally because of the extension and reform works undertaken by Alfonso V the Magnanimous and his wife, Mary of Castile, who often stayed in the palace, where they had married in 1416. The king was interested in continuing to support Valencia as an emerging

52. Miquel Juan, Matilde. "Martín I y la aparición del gótico internacional en Valencia". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33 (2003): 781-814.

53. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Tesorería del rey Martín, register 409, f. 99, the amounts were paid to the "obrer del Royal de la ciutat de València", Domingo de Calars. Information provided by Dr. Matilde Miquel Juan.

54. Archivo Municipal de Valencia, Manual de Consells, A- 22, f. 270r: the request was for 300 "fusts, ço és .L. tirans e CL carretades e C doblers de milloria".

55. Girona i Llagostera, Daniel. "Itinerari del rey en Martí, 1403-1410". *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V (1913-1914): 578.

56. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9203, f. 15-16 and 20 cited by Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. "El Real de Valencia en sus imágenes arquitectónicas"...: 34.

57. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9203, f. 22.

58. Ortiz, José Mariano. *Descubrimientos de las leyes palatinas ...*; Zacarés, José María. "El Palacio Real". *El Fénix*, 5, 19 and 26 October 1845.



financial centre for the Crown of Aragon to finance his military campaigns in the peninsula during the war with Castile, and in Italy for the conquest of Naples⁵⁹. It was precisely from those years of that more abundant documentation has been preserved about the constructive and functional aspects of the various rooms. In 1422, the administration registers for the works already distinguished between the "Real vell" and the "nou", the latter organised around a patio, wider and more regular than the former, where the building effort would be concentrated in those years, although the new had very probably been built in the times of Peter IV, the Ceremonious⁶⁰.

Although the works were staggered over time, during almost the whole reign of these monarchs (1416-1458), an effort was made to keep the apartments of the king and the queen in, along with their service annexes (such as the kitchens and the stables) well maintained and clean and adjust the distribution of the main places to their style of life, especially for Queen Mary, who spent more time in this residence and died there. The foundation of the Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia in 1419 also required space to keep the registers of the Cortes, the Maestre Racional, the Audience and the royal Chancellery and was probably on the ground floor of the main patio. On the other hand, new places of representation were prepared for the political programme of exaltation of royal power in and from the city of Valencia conceived by Alfonso the Magnanimous before the final conquest of Naples in 1442. At the same time work was done on the extension and in the embellishment of the gardens, which became more important elements in the landscaped area later known as the Llano del Real and the left bank of the Turia.

The queen occupied a well-defined sector of the palace around a small patio: that of her apartments, with direct access to the upper chapel, in the so-called new Real, on the west of the complex. In 1414, the painter Bertomeu Avella was paid to paint the arms of the queen on "lo palau de la Senyora Reyna" and two other shields of the monarch and the kingdom of Sicily "en lo portal de fora del Rey" that projected from the main façade⁶¹. The "cambres de la partida de la senyora reyna", as the contemporary documentation denominated them, were in the part of the "rambla", that means facing the old bed of the Turia and the so-called "rambla de predicadors" for its proximity to the convent of Santo Domingo⁶². Near her sister—in-law were the rooms of Princess Leonor, who married King Duarte of Portugal in 1433⁶³. The queen's apartment was reached by a stair from a small patio at the back of the palace, different from the so-called patio of entrance, which was much

59. Ryder, Alan. *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

60. For a different interpretation, that recognises a "Mudéjar phase" in the Works and identifies the "Real vell" with the western part of the palace, see Algarra, Víctor; Lerma, Josep Vicent; Pascual, Pepa; Ribera, Albert; Salavert, Juan V. "Las excavaciones arqueológicas en el Palacio Real"...: 33-46.

61. Sanchis Sivera, José. *Pintores medievales en Valencia*. Barcelona: L'Aveng, 1914: 14-22.

62. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605, conditioning works in this sector of the palace in the autumn of 1423.

63. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9146, f. 7v-8r; register 9158, f. 3r.



wider⁶⁴. These dependencies were linked to the chapel through a gallery or “naya” with stone arcades and covered with wood⁶⁵. The “guardaroba de la senyora reyna” was one of the main pieces and had a window facing the stairs that descended to the gardens⁶⁶. The windows of this apartment were covered with waxed parchments, as was habitual at that time. It included two kitchens⁶⁷, the “guardaroba”, rooms for her maidservants and ladies-in-waiting, and from 1457, a “retret nou”, a kind of private room that was added to the other small rooms of the same type⁶⁸. Another kitchen and more “retrets” were being prepared in 1458, the year of her death, in the part of the palace that looked out “vers els pins sobre la cèquia per servey i gran necessitat de la persona de la dita senyora”⁶⁹. These measures seem to respond to a proposal by Queen Mary to live a more retired life that would let her only use part of the palace extended by then. Evidence for that is that the “Cambra de l’Apartament de la senyora reyna”, that is, the principal room of her residential wing, that linked with the Cambra de Paraments and the chapel was bricked up that year of her death to divide it into four parts for her maids⁷⁰. The inventory of Queen Mary’s goods and chattels drawn up shortly after her death confirm this impression on going over the route of the executors and witnesses in September of 1458: in the Cambra of lady Toda de Centelles, treasurer and “comendataria” of the treasure, had jewels, silverware, relics and images of devotion; then they went on to the Cambra del Retret, where the cloakroom attendant Antonio Alemany confessed to having the crockery and silver that the queen’s maids were keeping in his name. Mary of Castile had passed away in the Cambra del Cap de la Scala, but most of the valuable material goods and of her court life were then in the “guardaroba” and in the chamber of the “appartement”, including books, reliquaries, tapestries, curtains, fabrics, embossed leather, carpets and hangings with various iconography, musical instruments and many other everyday objects, while in the Cambra of les Donzelles, there was mainly clothing and domestic furnishings. The kitchen, the larder and the “museria” were used to store and prepare meals for the queen and

64. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9158, f. 8v.

65. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9136, f. 3, Mateu Leonart figures at the head of the workers.

66. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9136 f. 4r. These works were undertaken by the master builders Francesc Martí and Mateu Leonart and the carpenters Joan Colomer, Pere Romagosa and Miquel Samora with their assistants.

67. The roofs of “cuyna maior de la senyora Reyna” and the “l’altra cuyna” were repaired in 1422. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9133.

68. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9138.

69. “towards the pines over the channel for the service and great need of the person of the mentioned lady”, Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, registers 11609 and 9139.

70. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, registers 9138, 9139 and 9157. The building work was done by Francesc Martí and Guillem Mateu, while the carpentry was undertaken by Pere d’Almangosa and Bernat Ruvio.



her companions. In the stable, Mary of Castile had had at her disposal some mules with their harnesses⁷¹.

The queen's devote character and the conviction of her husband to obtain divine help in his enterprises almost completely explain the interventions in the two chapels of the palace in the two floors of the old and new Real: one dedicated to Saint Catherine in the upper floor, next to the queen's apartment, and one dedicated to Saint Mary of the Angels on the ground floor. The scenario of the worship in any of the two is usually evoked through the miniatures of Alfonso the Magnanimous' Psalter-book of hours in the British Library (sheet 281v), illuminated in Valencia by Leonard Crespi⁷². It shows a ceremony in the royal chapel, with the king and other members of his court attending the service in front of an altarpiece in the form of a trough, but it was really the queen who paid more interest in the liturgy and participated frequently. On the other hand, the chapel was a place for exhibiting the relics belonging to the crown in the solemnities prescribed in the *Ordinacions de cort* by Peter the Ceremonious, and before being deposited in the cathedral of Valencia, the Holy Chalice was in the chapel of the Real palace for some years with other pieces of the monarchs' religious treasure⁷³. In 1421, Queen Mary asked the Pope to raise the chapel of the Royal to the category of parish and urged bishop of Valencia to intercede in favour of her petition just when the gallery of stone arches that connected her apartment with the upper chapel superior was finished⁷⁴; it was also Mary of Castile who presented the relic of the Vera Cruz for public veneration in the chapel and she was attributed by later sources with endowing the lower chapel. But it was for the monarch to project an image of royal piety in this place of worship and representation, as shown by the payments by the treasury. In 1425, an image of Christ crucified was acquired for the chapel of the Royal from the Flemish Martí Bossa for a price of 300 gold florins, two years later an "oratori gran de fusta fet un cert labor" for 1,100 shillings and in the following years, the carpenter Pasqual Thisve took care of the furniture⁷⁵. In 1426, the curtains and the place reserved for the monarch in the chapel were paid for⁷⁶. In 1449, the royal treasury paid the German sculptor Pere Staxar for a stone image that represented the Passion of Christ

71. Toledo Girau, José. *Inventarios del Palacio real a la muerte de doña María, esposa de Alfonso el Magnánimo*. Valencia: Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana, Anejo 7, 1961.

72. Villalba Dávalos, Amparo. *La miniatura valenciana en los siglos XIV y XV*. Valencia: Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1964: 129; García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "El poder visible. Demanda y funciones del arte en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo". *Ars longa*, 7-8 (1996-1997): 33-47, especially: 40-44.

73. Español Bertran, Francesca. *Els escenaris del rei...*: 112-121; Martín Lloris, Catalina. *Las reliquias de la Capilla Real en la Corona de Aragón y el Santo Cáliz de la Catedral de Valencia*. Valencia: Universitat de València, unpublished doctoral thesis, 2004.

74. Fullana, Lluís. "El Palau del Real". *Cultura Valenciana*, V (1930): 236-238.

75. Fullana, Lluís. "El Palau del Real". *Cultura Valenciana*, II (1927): 153-156; the wooden oratory was bought from the Florentine, Moreto de Doni, see García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "La cort d'Alfons el Magnànim i l'univers artístic de la primera meitat del quatre-cents". *Seu Vella. Anuari d'Història i Cultura*, 5 (2001): 13-53, especially 31; for the works by Pasqual Esteve, including the headstock of the bell, the wooden pegs of the vaults, the altar, and a cupboard, see Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media". *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, X (1924): 3-28, particularly 16-17.

76. García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "La cort d'Alfons el Magnànim i l'univers artístic"...: 31.



for the chapel of the king, although it cannot be ruled out that the destination of the piece was to be taken to Naples⁷⁷. In 1458, on his return from Naples Jacomart was commissioned to paint an altarpiece with scenes from the life of saint Catherine and an image of the same saint in the central panel for “la capella que és dalt del palau reial, perquè el que hi havia estava molt vell”⁷⁸. At that time, a new chapel, later called after the Kings, was under construction in the convent of Santo Domingo, on the other bank of the river, that could have housed the remains of Alfonso V and his wife if both of them had not changed their minds later⁷⁹.

However, the biggest and most significant effort for the history of the palace was applied to the reception areas and a new architectural image from 1420, when Bernat Mercader was appointed “guàrdia del Real” with the express task of undertaking reforms and improvements in both the palace and the gardens⁸⁰. In 1437, Alfonso the Magnanimous designated Joan of Bonastre custodian and *suboperarius fabricae Palatii*, posts in which he was confirmed by John II in 1458⁸¹. It must be borne in mind that, as well as the apartments of the king and the queen, the Real housed the chamber of the Audience, from the times of Peter IV, and such special surroundings as the Cambra dels Àngels, a rectangular room of considerable size that served as a link between the patios of the “Real vell” and the “Nou”, with a prominent presence in the principal façade of the building in the form of a tower. In the “Real nou”, a large rectangular reception room projected on the upper floor, next to the upper chapel, that must have been covered with tapestries and hangings and must be identified with the Cambra de Paraments, similar to those in other residences of the monarchs of the Crown of Aragon. There were two patios in the interior of the “Real nou”: the principal one with a great stone staircase that Francesc Baldomar rebuilt in 1441, when it was about to collapse⁸²; and the lesser, called “of the queen” because the rooms of Mary of Castile were distributed around it. Notable reform works were carried out in the “Real vell” from 1420, beginning with the lower chapel, the royal

77. Sanchis Sivera, José. “La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media” ...: 22.

78. “...the chapel that is above the royal palace, because the one that was there was very old”. Framis Montoliu, Maite; Tolosa Robledo, Lluïsa. “Pintors medievals a la cort reial de València”, *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Jaca, 20-25 de septiembre de 1993)*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1996: 115, 431.

79. Tolosa, Lluïsa; Vedreño, M^a. Carmen; Zaragoza, Arturo. *La capella reial d'Alfons el Magnànim de l'antic monestir de predicadors de València*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997, 2 vols.

80. Bernat Mercader was the nephew of Berenguer Mercader, one of the king's men of confidence, and would reach the titles of “cambrer” and “baile general” of the Kingdom of Valencia and undertook diplomatic important missions for the crown. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile general de Valencia Joan Mercader al rey Fernando de Antequera*. Valencia: Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1979: 21-31; López Rodríguez, Carlos. *Nobleza y poder político. El Reino de Valencia (1416-1446)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005.

81. The task also included looking after the animals and the garden. In 1459, John II accepted the petition to rename the post “alcaide” instead of “custodio”. Fullana, Lluís. “El Palau del Real”. *Cultura Valenciana*, IV (1929): 117-119.

82. Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. “El Real de Valencia en sus imágenes arquitectónicas”... 35; Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, Mercedes. “Patios y escaleras de los palacios valencianos en el siglo XV”, *Historia de la ciudad IV: Memoria urbana*, Francisco Taberner, dir. Valencia: ICARO-Ajuntament de València, 2005: 114-141, particularly 119.



apartments and a large room between the towers of the façade that faced the riverbed. In 1423, the carpenter Guillem Just had built on the job a covered corridor with a wooden roof that linked the chamber of the Angels with the neighbouring tower of the old Real, where the apartments of the King were situated in the times of Alfonso V⁸³. The Cambra del Rei with his “lit de paraments” was in the northeast tower of the “Real vell”, with views over the gardens, near the Cambra dels Àngels and linked to it by a gallery or “naya” that vaulted over the entrance arch to the gardens, but the monarch also had a “guardaroba” (cloakroom) with a “tinell” (dresser) to exhibit the luxury crockery, a “lit de repós” and a “recambra” or “estudi”, that must have been the smallest and most reserved rooms⁸⁴. Between the towers of the façade of the old palace there was a large rectangular room, with an elaborate wooden ceiling and four large windows of the type known as “finestres coronelles” or “finestres de corbes”, that is wide rectangular gaps divided by columns with three-lobed decorative arches, like those that can still be seen in the principal façade in various views vistas and the historical plans⁸⁵. New columns made in Girona between 1421 and 1423 were bought for this great room, mostly destined for the windows, but at least four of them (“paredecs”) used to decorate the walls of the room⁸⁶. A stone doorway portal opened onto the salon from the tower nearest to the stables, in the back part of the Real⁸⁷. This salon was prepared for its walls to be covered with hangings such as tapestries, embossed leather, painted or brocaded fabrics, and had wooden benches and a “tinell” that characterised it as a principal space within the palace⁸⁸. Next to it, there was a smaller room “on se té consell secret”, that means where the king met

83. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605, f. 1r: “cobrir la naya e torra qui proceeix de la Cambra dels Àngels a una torra del Reyall vell”. These works were done by Guillem Just, “mestre fuster” and “manobre”. The carpenter Jaume Stopinyà supplied the wood “a obs de cobrir la Cambra de la Torre del Real vell qui és damunt la capella del dit Real e la naya e pasadís que havets feta fer en dita torre e la Cambra dels Àngels del Real del senyor Rey e per cobrir encara la casa que havets feta fer nova en la partida del dita Real vell”. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Bailía General, n° 44, f. 345v, 4 December, 1423.

84. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605, f. 79v.

85. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11606, f. 2r: “certes obres en lo Reyall vell... ço és en cobrir axí de fusta qu’és entre les .ii. torres del dit Reyall vell que respón envers la rambla com encara en acabar de pedra les finestres que són començades de fer en la dita sala e en altres obres necessàries per acabar la dita sala” (1442). Among others, the workers on this task included the carpenters Antoni Adzebro and the master builder Francesc Baldomar on the masonry and Jaume Gallén in the brickwork. The works in this room were finished between 1444 and 1445, Mestre Racional, register 11607, f. 1-93r; Sanchis Sivera, José. “La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media”...: 43-44; Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. “El Real de Valencia en sus imágenes arquitectónicas”...: 35.

86. Guiral Hadziiossif, Jacqueline. *Valencia, puerto mediterráneo en el siglo XV (1410-1525)*. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1989: 413; Español Bertran, Francesca. “Los materiales prefabricados gerundenses”...: 94, 102.

87. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9137, 1453-1454: The stone doorway was worked by Francesc Baldomar and other masons and was fitted with a Flanders oak door cut by Bernat Ruvio and other carpenters.

88. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605, f. 31: in November 1423 “barres” were placed “a la gran sala per empaliar aquella”; the operation was repeated in 1428 “per lo convit que l’infant don Pedro, jernà del senyor Rey feu en la dita sala del Real”. Mestre Racional, register 9134, 25 January, 1428.



the royal Council and a room "appellada dels uxers"⁸⁹. The ushers in arms were in charge of the custody of the king and had to remain in the antechamber of the royal chamber, according to the *Ordinacions de cort* of Peter the Ceremonious. Even at the end of the 18th century it was possible to read a black marble tablet with the inscription "cambra de uxer del senyor Rei" over the entrance to the main gallery of the palace, that in 1795 was decorated with the portraits of viceroys and captain generals who had governed the kingdom and must have served in their time as an antechamber to the royal lodgings⁹⁰. The king endeavoured to acquire rich fabrics and hangings appropriate for lining the walls of these reception rooms, as was the custom in the epoch: in 1424 Alfonso the Magnanimous purchased a piece of satin and three rugs from the merchant Domingo Jaume by 40 gold florins to decorate *aule nostre Regalis Consilii*, that is, the chamber of the Royal Council, and ten years later a document referred to the Flemish tapestries that it was thought to order from master Guillem del Vexell "per a parament del nostre Reyal de València, axí per la gran sala del Tinell com per la Cambra dels Àngells i algunes altres"⁹¹. The pavements were of tiles made in Manises and displayed the badges, mottos and deeds of the Magnanimous, such as the "siti perillós", the open book or millet, as part of a carefully calibrated political and ornamental programme⁹². The decorative sculpture, especially in wood, must have had an important role in the decoration of the interior, with such curious elements as the three wooden angels with the arms and heraldic designs of the dynasty, perhaps intended for the Cambra dels Àngels, the twelve capitals of the great chamber, cut in wood "ab cares de baboyns" to hang the tapestries or the three "bestions" and the polychromed carpentry of the door "de la primera cambra de la quarta torra del dit Reyal vell" (of the first chamber of the fourth tower of the so-called old Real) cut by Martí Llobet in 1432, while the doorway and windows of the same tower had been sculpted in stone years before by Joan Llobet⁹³. The seat of the Audience in 1424 was in the so-called "casa dels marbres", on the ground floor, whose name must have alluded to the decoration with this noble stone or another similar one with a polished finish, that the Ceremonious had used in the Real before the 1363 fire; there was also a ceremonial chair for the King or the person who represented his authority, but there was space left to lodge court servants for one of the silversmiths⁹⁴.

It must be supposed that such settings were accessible for a few, but the four towers built in the corners of the patio of the old dominated the silhouette of the

89. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605: "la casa on se té consell secret, que hix a la gran sala" (f. 80v-81r); "la cambra del senyor Rey après la Cambra dels Àngells y una cambra qui hix a la sala gran appellada d'uxers". (f. 88r-v). The carpenter Jaume Estopinyà made eight benches for the Council chamber in 1435, see Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media". *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, X (1924): 3-29: 11.

90. Ortiz Zaragoza, Mariano. "Lápida del Palacio del Real". *Diario de Valencia*, 8 September 1795.

91. Madurell Marimón, José María. "Documents culturals...": 396 (doc. 118), 397 (doc. 119).

92. Algarra Pardo, Víctor M. "Espacios de poder. Pavimentos cerámicos y escritura en el Real de Valencia en época de Alfonso el Magnánimo", *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón...*: 113, 271-289.

93. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11607, f. 38r; Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media"...: 19-20.

94. García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "El poder visible"...: 45.



façade: the first, where the king's chambers would be situated, was begun in 1420. It was covered with brickwork vaults on different levels linked by a stone staircase and was crowned with battlements and a bell tower in 1424⁹⁵. This one next to the gardens was soon followed the southeast tower in 1427, until by the fourteen-fifties the whole complex had been notably transformed. An idea of the importance given to these four crenellated towers and the one that rose over the *Cambra dels Àngels* can be gathered from 1434, when Joan Bonet was sent to Sicily to meet the king to present the models or "mostres de les quatre torres fetes i obrades en fusta"⁹⁶ and in 1441 the same was done with the tower that had to be built over the *Cambra dels Àngels*⁹⁷. In 1437, a clock was installed "damunt lo terrat del reyal" (above the terrace of the Real) in the wing of the building next to the garden. To decorate the clock house and the bell that rang the hours, 2,000 white tiles and a golden wind-vane with the crests of Aragon and Sicily were bought⁹⁸.

The king concerned himself with the visibility of the palace from the city in the context of renovation of its external aspect by ordering in October 1427 the demolition of a neighbouring kitchen garden "per embelliment del dit Real per tant com empatxave la vista del dit Real" (to embellish the so-called Real as it impeded the view of the Real), which also meant uprooting the trees that were planted there. He also took into account the view from the royal apartments, as the monarch wanted that "tot allò fos plaça tant com era l'enfront de les cambres o partida qui respon vers la dita rambla on posa la senyora Reyna, per çò que lo dit enfront se mostràs pus bell i haguès major vista per mirar lo dit Real"⁹⁹.

In front of the palace, a square; behind it, stud farm, stables and gardens whose extension and care grew at the speed of the reforms of the apartments during the reign of the Magnanimous and Mary of Castile¹⁰⁰. The rear façade of the old Royal had a gallery or "naya", easy to see in the vistas by Manceli (1608) and father Tosca (1704), whose appearance recalled the arcades looking out over gardens or privileged views or "paradisos" that there were in other royal residences of the Crown of

95. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 11605.

96. "samples of the four towers built and made of wood". Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media"...: 21-22. Extended and completed in Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, Mercedes. "Artistas viajeros entre Valencia e Italia. 1450-1550". *Saitabi*, 50 (2000): 151-170.

97. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Real Patrimonio, Libro de cuentas de la Bailía, n° 46, f. 38, cited by Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media"...: 42 and Sánchez Verduch, M^a del Mar. "Maestros de obras en la Valencia gótica: personajes polifacéticos". *Saitabi*, 48 (1998): 278. Jaime Gallén earned 73 shillings for the material and labour.

98. Sanchis Sivera, José. "Relojes públicos en Valencia durante los siglos XIV y XV". *Almanaque Las Provincias*. Valencia: Federico Doménech, 1914: 223-231.

99. "all that place became a square in front of the chambers or part that face the stream where the Queen lives, so that the facade were more beautiful and offered a better view to look at the Real", Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9134, f. 1r-2r cited by García Marsilla, Juan Vicente. "El poder visible"...: 36-37. The same information through another source in Corbín Ferrer, Juan-Luis. *Desde los Jardines del Real a la plaza de Tetuán, su entorno y su historia*. Valencia: Federico Doménech, 1983: 68.

100. The gardens of the Real were famous and the historiography has helped to maintain this memory. See principally Insausti Machinandiarena, Pilar de. *Los jardines del Real de Valencia. Origen y plenitud*. Valencia: Ayuntamiento de Valencia, 1993, especially 29-69.



Aragon, such as the Almudaina in Majorca or the royal palace of Barcelona in the times of Martin I. This gallery could perhaps be linked to some indications of the records of Valencian works of the reign of Alfonso V referring to the reconstruction of the towers of the old Real, especially of the galleries orientated towards the river and the gardens. The documentation names some sectors of these kitchen gardens and the dependences associated with them, such as the “verger mayor” or the “verger dels marbres”¹⁰¹, the lion house, near the royal chapel on the ground floor, and the “corral”, where the livery stables and the royal baths were, undoubtedly supplied with water from the irrigation channel that also watered the gardens and the latrines on the ground floor of the towers of the old “Real”¹⁰². In 1447, it is known that various neighbouring gardens were purchased such as that of the notary Bernat Colomer, the farmer Pere Guimerà and that of the canon Antoni Sanç, that were immediately walled¹⁰³.

The construction and decoration of these surroundings was the result of the collaboration of numerous specialised tradesmen such as carpenters, sculptors, stonemasons, master tilers, painters and locksmiths among others. The list of these was very long and maybe cannot be completed without a more detailed examination of the documentation, but it includes many of the finest artists of the Valencia of Alfonso the Magnanimous such as the “mestres d’obra de vila” Guillem Just, who was master of the royal works, Jaume Gallén, who succeeded him in the post, or Francesc Martí, alias Biulaygua; the masons Francesc Baldomar, Miquel Navarro or Joan Sánchez; sculptors such as Martí and Joan Llobet, carpenters including Jaume Stopinyà or Antoni Adzebro; or master tilers from Manises such as Joan al Murci and Joan Nadal, among a large number of characters —some of them Muslim— who were working on all the tasks necessary to build, condition and decorate the rooms of the palace. This was work that combined techniques and materials (given that the use of stone was limited compared with the abundance of wood or brickwork, with factories for rammed earth and brick) to achieve a hospitable effect up to a point, but especially representative, that was only reached in the covering of floors, ceilings and walls and the movement and the making of furniture where court life so required.

The reigns of John II and Ferdinand II the Catholic were more frugal in documentary news for various motives: in first place, it is highly probable that no large-scale works comparable to those by Alfonso V and his wife were done in the Real; but it must also be taken into consideration that the stays by both monarchs in the city, and thus in the palace, became briefer and more sporadic: the guardian of the Royal, Joan of Bonastre, who had occupied this post in times of Alfonso V, took the title of governor from 1459 and until the epoch of the viceroys, Germana of Foix and the Duke of Calabria, no court used the palace as its main residence. Despite this, the improvements and reforms of the dependencies did not stop but continued

101. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9159, f. 6v-7r.

102. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9159, f. 14r-20r.

103. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional, register 9135, f. 1r, 31r; register 11608, f. 1r.



to provide the maximum comfort for the royal guests. Thus in 1459, work was done on the Queen's bath, and the master builder, Jaume Vinader, was sent to Barcelona "per veure hun bany a la de mossen Francés Dezpla, per fer-ne altre semblant en lo dit Real per obs de la Senyora Reyna". María Enríquez, and the following year a copper tap was bought for the boiler of the bath that was then being prepared¹⁰⁴. The carpenters continued supplying furniture for the rooms of the Real in function of the needs. In 1459, Jaume Roig made a new bed for the king "en la sala de les quatre torres" (room of the four towers), various tables and other beds for the visit of the Count of Foix, and in 1465 Miquel Taravall made "dos bastiments de cortinatge, la hú per a la cambra de la sala del dit Reyal, e l'altre per a la cambra de la sala nova"¹⁰⁵. Also around that time, the roof of the great hall built between the towers of the Royal was renewed that was qualified in the documentation as "bosellada e molt bella".¹⁰⁶

An epoch in the history of the Valencian Real gradually came to an end. The monarchs needed other forms to express their grandeur and contemplated the horizon that stretched beyond the sea. Alfonso V the Magnanimous, great reformer of the Valencia palace, established a new court in the Castel Nuovo in Naples, from where he would never return, with its impressive "Sala dei Baroni", and Fernando the Catholic after linking the destiny of the two branches of the Trastámara dynasty, together with his wife Isabel, took charge of an unrivalled set of palaces, the Alhambra of Granada, so the Real became just one more and almost never the first among the residences of the Hispanic monarchy. The legacy of the Aragonese monarchs, real builders of the medieval palace, was admirable but was also somewhat heavy for the new times. However, the esteem for the medieval was maintained in successive reforms of the residence of the viceroys and monarchs in Valencia¹⁰⁷, given that it housed the tradition and legitimacy of a dynasty and was the sounding board of the Crown in a city that still remained the capital of the kingdom for a time.

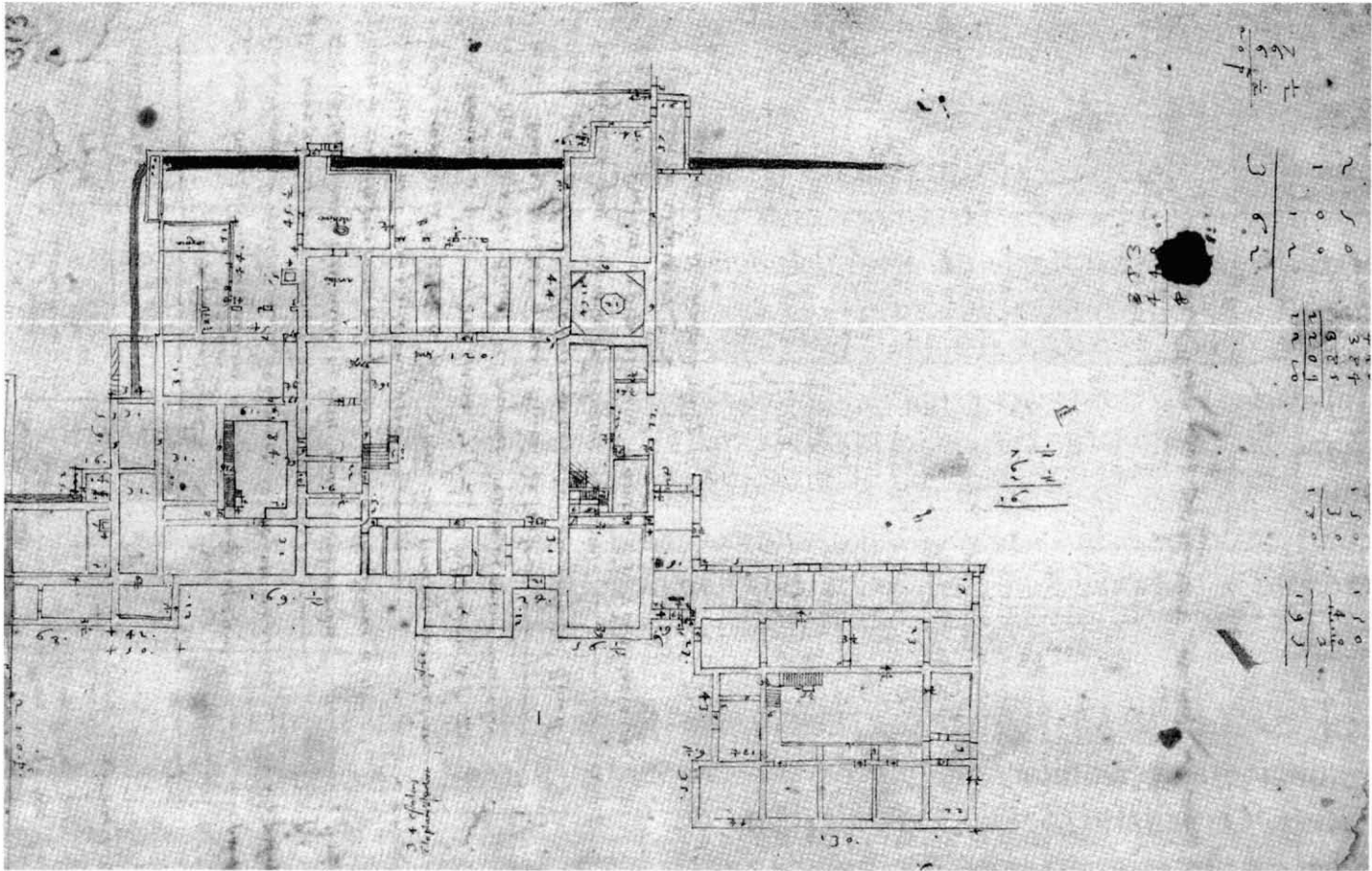
104. "to see a bath at the one of mister Francés Dezpla, to make another similar in the Real for the Queen". Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media"...: 46.

105. "two curtain frames, one for the room called the Royal chamber, and the other for the chamber in the new room". Sanchis Sivera, José. "La escultura valenciana en la Edad Media"...: 24-25.

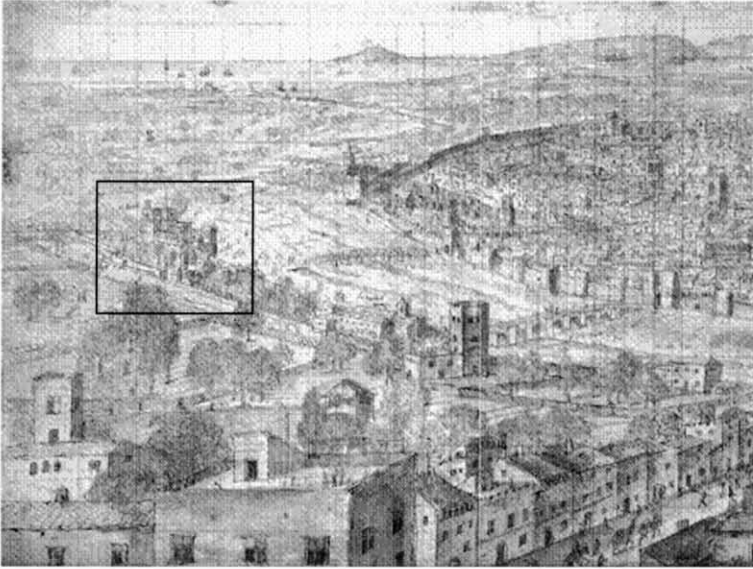
106. Bérchez, Joaquín; Gómez-Ferrer, Mercedes. "El Real de Valencia en sus imágenes arquitectónicas"...: 35.

107. Arciniega García, Luis. "Construcciones, usos y visiones del palacio del Real de Valencia"...: 129-164 for the period of the Austrian monarchs and Arciniega García, Luis. "Construcciones, usos y visiones del Palacio del Real de Valencia bajo los Borbones". *Archivo de Arte Valenciano*, 86 (2005): 21-39 for the last dynasty to occupy it.

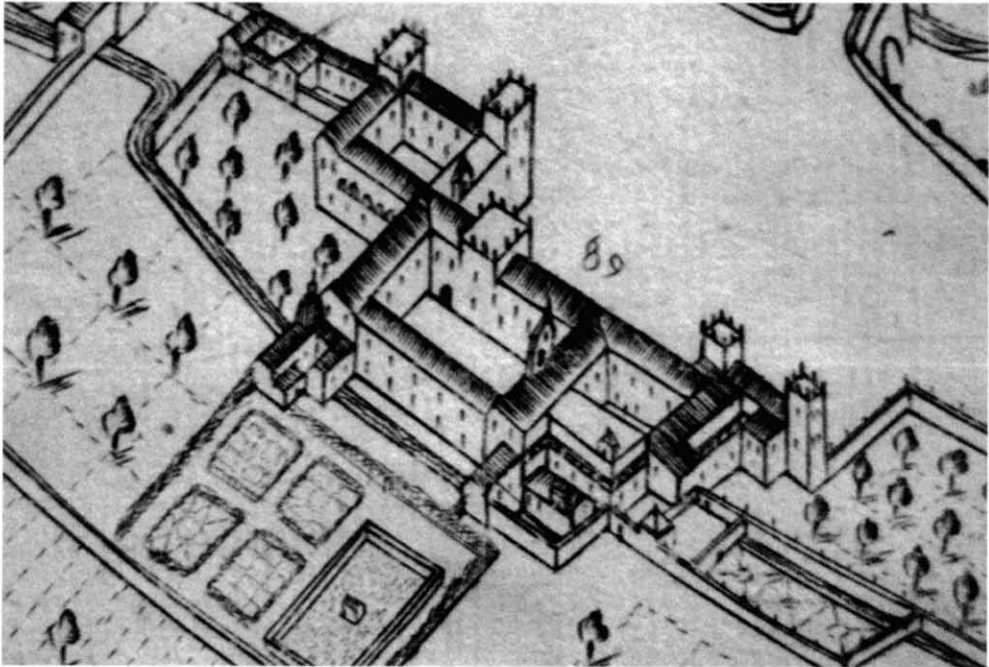




1. PLAN OF THE REAL PALACE OF VALENCIA, 1560. MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL. MANUSCRIPT 18.225, F. 313.

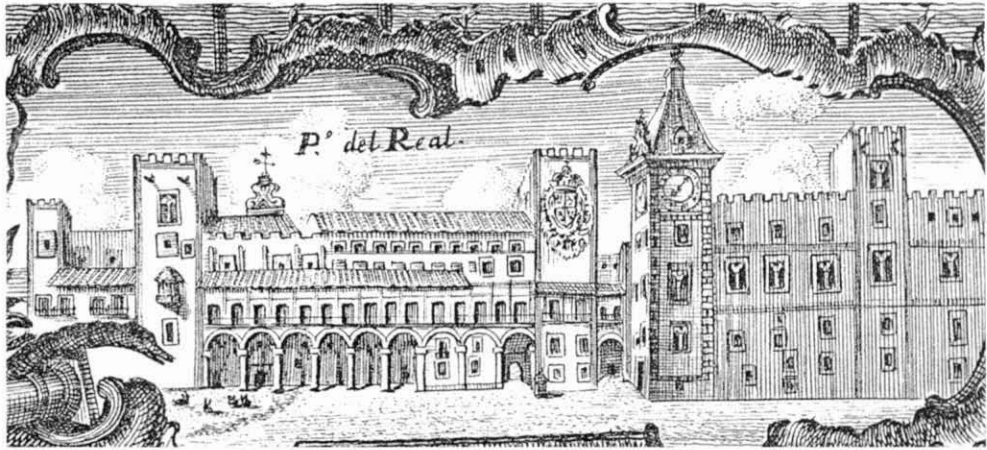


2. DETAIL OF VALENCIA'S VIEW FROM THE NORTH WITH THE REAL PALACE. ANTHONIE VAN DEN WJINGAERDE, 1563. VIENNA, ÖSTERREICHISCHE NATIONALBIBLIOTHEK, COD. MIN. 41, F. 1.

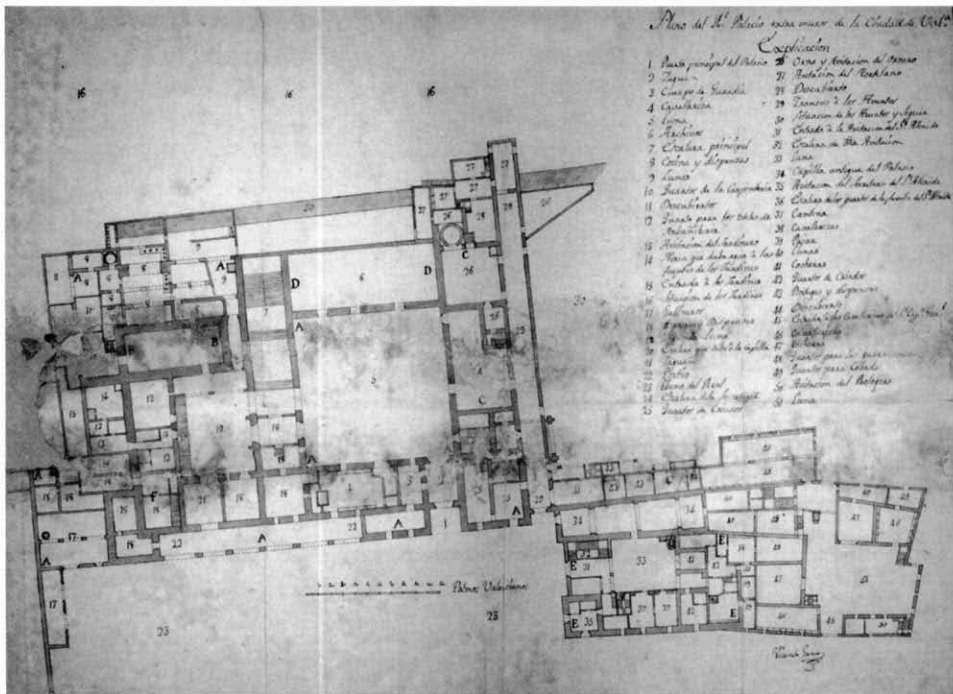


3. DETAIL OF THE AXONOMETRIC PLAN OF VALENCIA, ANTONIO MANCELLI, 1608. VALENCIA, AYUNTAMIENTO.



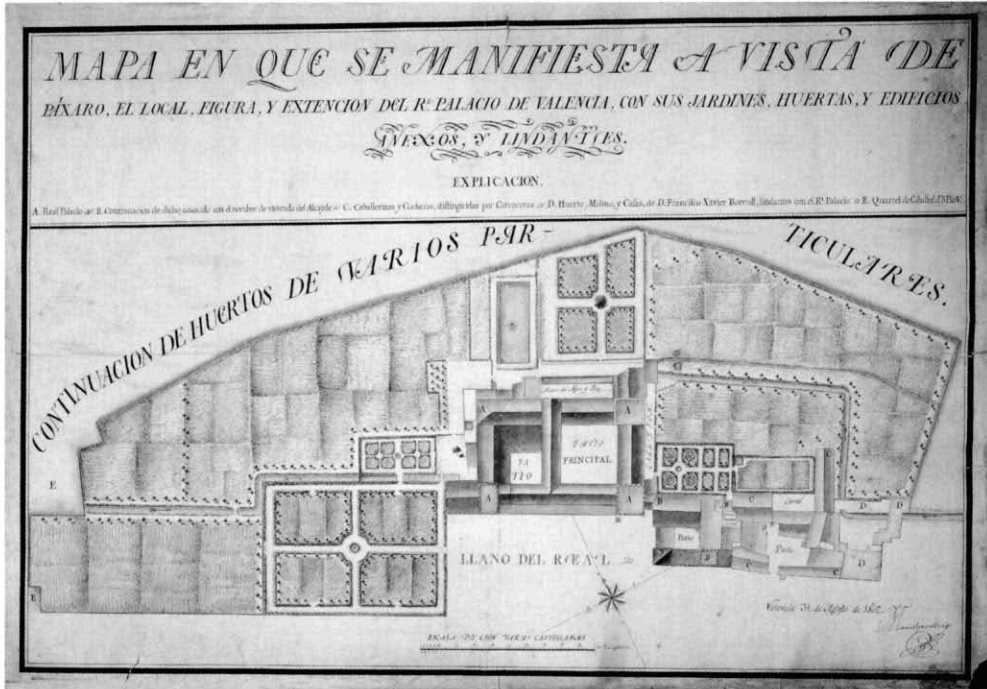


4. DETAIL OF THE REAL PALACE OF VALENCIA IN THE ENGRAVING OF CHARLES OF FRANCE THAT REFLECTS THE NAUMACHIA CELEBRATED IN THE TURIA IN 1755, REPRODUCED IN TOMÁS SERRANO, *FIESTAS SEculares CON QUE LA CORONADA CIUDAD DE VALENCIA CELEBRÓ EL FELIZ CUMPLIMIENTO DEL TERCER SIGLO DE LA CANONIZACIÓN DE S. VICENTE FERRER*. VALENCIA: WIDOW OF JOSEPH DE ORGA, 1762.



5. PLAN OF THE REAL PALACE OF VALENCIA, VICENTE GASCÓ, 1761. VALENCIA, ARCHIVO DEL REINO DE VALENCIA, MAPS AND PLANS, 14.

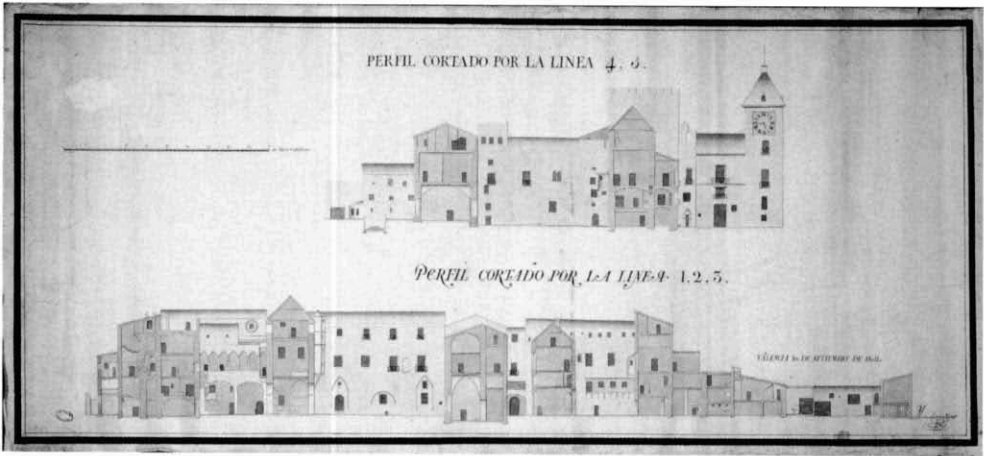




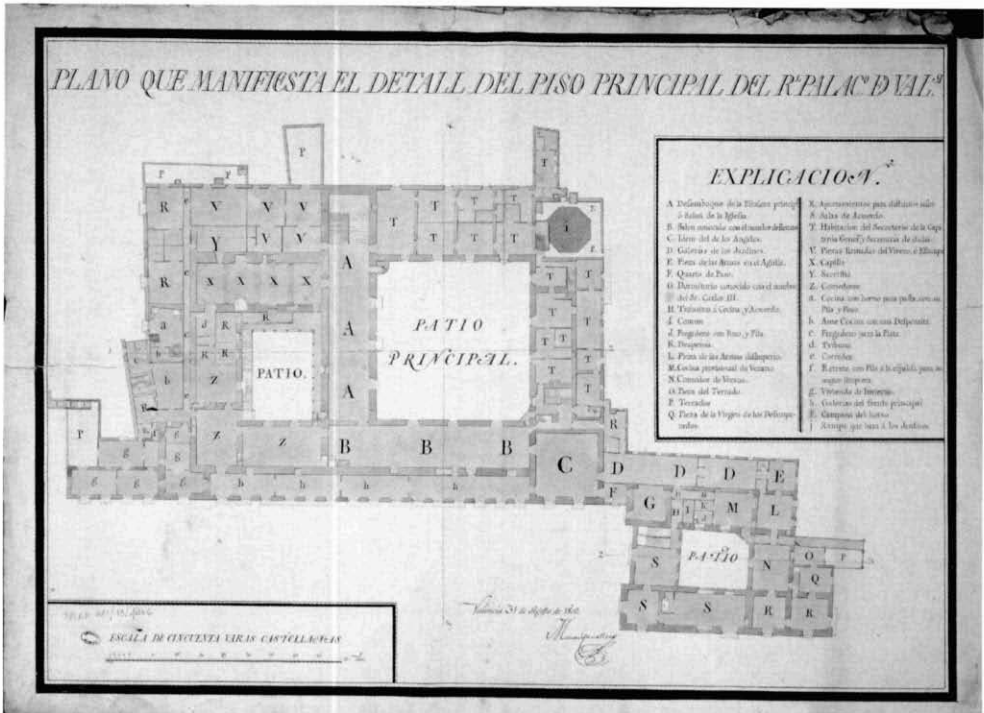
6. PLANS OF THE REAL PALACE OF VALENCIA, MANUEL CAVALLERO, 1802. PARIS, CENTRE HISTORIQUE DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES, FONDS SUCHET, 384 AP/281/15 (1).



7. PARIS, CENTRE HISTORIQUE DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES, FONDS SUCHET, 384 AP/281/15 (2).



8. PARIS, CENTRE HISTORIQUE DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES, FONDS SUCHET, 384 AP/281/15 (3).



9. PARIS, CENTRE HISTORIQUE DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES, FONDS SUCHET, 384 AP/281/15 (6).

