AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL PALACE OF QUELUZ

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1 ABSTRACT
The National Palace of Queluz is often described as the Versailles of Portugal, a comparison that would seem fitting due to its stately rococo architecture, French-inspired gardens designed by Jean-Baptiste Robillon, and later role as the primary royal residence. But this comparison is misguided as the landscape and palace bear only a superficial resemblance to Le Nôtre’s masterpiece. Instead, at Queluz we find Moorish, Dutch, and vernacular Portuguese influences beneath the more domineering baroque and formal French motifs.

Spatial and viewshed analyses of the gardens reveal a complex spatial arrangement that contrasts with baroque principles. This departure can be explained by considering the social uses of the gardens. Additional analysis is leveled at Robillon, who was neither an architect nor landscape designer, and demonstrates how his background as a jeweler may have impacted the development of the garden plan. Through understanding the socio-cultural and historic background of Queluz, it becomes clear that rather than being a flawed baroque design, the gardens are a unique hybrid of baroque and Portuguese vernacular.

1.1 Keywords
garden history, Portuguese gardens, baroque, spatial organization
2 BACKGROUND

Located seven miles northwest of Lisbon, what would eventually become the royal estate at Queluz (see Figure 1) was little more than a small rural hunting lodge and agricultural lands until it was granted in 1742 to Dom Pedro, who would eventually rule Portugal as King Pedro III (Ferro, 1997, p.13). It was under the watchful eye of Dom Pedro, who was keenly interested in both architecture and botany, that Queluz was transformed from a modest lodge to one of the last great rococo palaces to be built in Europe. Although Portugal had long since passed the height of its power, Queluz was still the beneficiary of a far-flung empire that provided the financial means and inspiration for much of the work undertaken at the palace.

![Figure 5. The Palace of Queluz, located in Queluz, Portugal. Image source: Bing Maps, used under Fair Use Law](image)

The palace was decorated in an opulent manner with precious gold, wood, stone, and fabrics brought from the most exotic places of the empire. Enormous numbers of plants were imported from plant nurseries in the Netherlands and from tropical Brazil (Attlee, 2008, p.155; Delaforce, 2004, p.37).

The first designer to work at Queluz was Mateus Vicente de Oliveira, who was noted for his work in the baroque and rococo styles on several prominent churches in Portugal (Borges, 2003, p.619). Oliveira oversaw the construction of approximately half the palace building, but it was under the nearly thirty-year tenure of French goldsmith and architect Jean-Baptiste Robillion that the remainder of the palace, inner facades, and gardens were laid out and constructed (Ferro, 1997, p.17-20).

Especially during the period of Dom Pedro’s control of the estate, the palace remained a relatively care-free and private place. The design of the gardens reflect the private social purpose for which the palace was originally constructed (Rodrigues, 2013, p.17). Shortly after construction began, Queluz would become the seat of royal power when the Palace of Ajuda was destroyed by fire in 1794 (Abecasis, 2009, p.11). This shift in role to become the primary royal palace led to later comparisons of the gardens to other royal baroque palaces. However, it is incorrect to view the gardens in this manner. Baroque gardens are spatially constructed around concepts of power and projection. The building is sited along a main axis that either appears to continue to the horizon, or is made to project the viewer into the surrounding landscape,
and connect the greater landscape to the overall composition of the garden. There are many major axes that cross, or in other ways interact, with the main axis to create a complex web of geometry on the landscape. The display of power was pervasive, portrayed through the control of natural elements. Water featured prominently in the baroque garden, carefully controlled in canals and ornate fountains. This control extended to the vegetation, and plants were arranged in carefully groomed parterres and allées (Rogers, 2001, p.211).

By contrast, Queluz was designed with privacy and social intimacy in mind, and was influenced by Dutch and Moorish ideas. It bears a superficial resemblance to the baroque style; possessed of parterres, axes, patte d'oie, plentiful fountains, and mythical-themed statuary. With ornate flourishes applied to seemingly every surface, a visitor to the gardens would readily compare them to those of other baroque palaces. However, when a spatial analysis of the gardens is conducted, it becomes apparent that Queluz is an extraordinary departure from the principles of the baroque garden, and the true structural and spatial framework was the social needs of Dom Pedro and his family.

3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES
This research examines the spatial structure of the gardens of the Palace of Queluz and compares it with contemporary palatial baroque gardens in Europe. It is tempting to view Queluz as a poor application of baroque design principles. This conclusion, however, ignores the historic social function of the palace, the character of the garden’s designer, Jean-Baptiste Robillion, and the strong vernacular style on the Iberian Peninsula that predated the popularity of the baroque. In the interplay of these three factors, a design narrative emerges that accounts for the noticeable departures from baroque archetypes, and demonstrates that the majority of these departures were undertaken as conscious decisions. It is only through an understanding of this design narrative that we are able to appreciate Queluz as a unique synthesis of ideas and a rationalization of competing principles within the design.

4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Comparatively little research has been published on the Palace of Queluz, and what research has been done has focused primarily on the architecture, finishings, and furnishings of the palace. Pires’ (1924) two-volume work is still considered to be the seminal work on the history of palace, yet only a single chapter, largely descriptive in nature, is spent on the gardens. Others, namely Ferro (1997) and Alfonso and Delaforce (1988) have given the gardens more consideration. Both of these works provide a wealth of information on the individual elements and spaces of the garden, but fail to thoroughly analyze their overall composition. Most modern textbooks give Queluz, and Portuguese gardens in general, little coverage. Newton (1971), Pregill and Volkman (1993), and Mann (1993) all fail to mention Portuguese gardens in their entirety. Only Jellicoe and Jellicoe (1995) and Rogers (2001) distinguish the Portuguese design style as being distinctly separate, the result of the infusion the historic Moorish style with those of France and Italy. This lack of exposure to Portuguese gardens has laid a foundation for misunderstanding and improper comparisons to other contemporary styles, most notably the baroque, and led to descriptions of Portuguese gardens as “backward-looking” (Rogers, 2001, p.211). Such a dismissive attitude towards Portuguese gardens may be explained by the fact that they don’t fit our accepted schema for formal gardens in Europe at this time.

5 METHODS
As the primary concern of this research is the spatial arrangement of the gardens, the different data collection and analysis methods were selected to provide a robust and multi-faceted understanding of the spatial arrangement of the site and the surrounding landscape. The initial impetus of this research emerged from a visit to Queluz in 2011, and observations, photos, and measurements were collected at that time. Further analysis of the spatial organization of the site was carried out using reproductions of the original plans for the gardens and aerial imagery available through Google Maps. An analysis of the viewsheds surrounding Queluz and a selection of other baroque gardens was performed in GIS using elevation data available from the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM). Contemporary accounts of the gardens and secondary sources were also referred to where pertinent to elucidate the cultural and social role of the palace and its spaces, as well as the character of Robillion.
4 PRESENTATION OF DATA

The differences between Queluz and accepted baroque principles first become apparent when examining the location of the palace and its orientation on the site. The palace is located in a small shallow valley, running generally east to west. Its location in the middle of the valley proffered it no views to the nearby sea, but did offer the potential of utilizing several distinguishable hills as focal points outside the formal grounds of the palace. The use of distant objects and vistas as focal points through which to project the viewer and seemingly expand the garden was a technique commonly used by baroque designers (Baridon, 1998, p.9-10). Yet at Queluz, no such alignments exist and, in contrast, the garden and axes were instead laid out in a manner that reinforced the insular character of the estate. Figure 2 illustrates the prominent axes of the gardens, with the primary axis denoted in purple. Note how none of the prominent axes are aligned to any significant visible landmarks, but instead are aligned to points of lower elevation. The effect of the location and alignment of the main axis becomes more pronounced when a viewshed analysis along the main axis is compared to those of the main axes of Schönbrunn, Eszterháza (see Figure 3). The view along the main axis of Queluz is dramatically shorter than those in the other gardens. This is a result of the palace being sited in the valley floor with the main axis orientated towards a nearby slope. The alignment of the axes, combined with the wall surrounding the garden, effectively removes the outside landscape. Instead, the boundaries of the garden are reinforced, clearly circumscribing the limits of the gardens and creating a walled paradise that owes its heritage to the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula.
Turning to the internal spatial arrangement of the gardens, the contrast between Queluz and other contemporary baroque landscapes becomes even more pronounced. Figure 4 illustrates the differences in the basic spatial arrangements between the contemporary traditional baroque estates of Schönbrunn and Eszterháza, and the palace of Queluz. Schönbrunn and Eszterháza demonstrate strong axial arrangement along a very pronounced linear form, strong cross-axes, and consistent geometries, all carried out on a grand scale that blurs the border between the estate and the surrounding landscape. In these two landscapes, landforms and objects are combined with these axes to create bold projections of power and wealth, and to create a dramatic stage in which the theatrics of the garden play out. The spaces around the palaces typically contained parterre gardens or open courtyards in order to ensure that the palace sat prominently visible in the landscape. The palace itself was the pinnacle of the main axis, unfolding in perfect symmetry as if to place a final stamp of control on the landscape. These were estates designed to present a face of power, to send a message of prestige that only one possessed of a tremendous amount of wealth could do.

At Queluz, the baroque schema is turned upside down and seemingly abandoned. Queluz is not a linear garden; rather it is compact and compartmentalized (see Figure 4). While a main axis is discernable, its dominance is reduced as it must compete with other overlapping and offset axes in both the garden and the architecture. The building itself is not symmetrical, and many of the secondary axes of the garden do not align to the architecture and vice versa. The gardens extend all the way to the palace, further reducing the visual impact of the palace within the landscape. Even the parterre gardens abutting the palace depart from convention, eschewing the form of a verdant tapestry for visual pleasure, but rather taking the form of garden rooms that one might typically expect to find farther from the palace in a typical baroque garden. Queluz is markedly different in scale as well; the palace and landscape are smaller and more intimate than their contemporaries. Instead of utilizing visual tricks to incorporate the outside landscape, a wall surrounds the entire garden, further reinforcing the modest size.

Other abnormalities exist throughout the garden. The patte d’oie extending from the main parterre is considerably wider and squatter than is seen elsewhere, and the interweaving pattern of paths is overly complex. Perhaps the most important section of the garden, the canal and stream, are intimate spaces that bely their importance in the site and are also the most informal portion of the gardens (see Figure 5). The main axis of the garden is both disjointed and abruptly halted by the large free-standing waterfall known as the Grand Cascade, which turns what is traditionally an element of spatial projection into an element of spatial retention.

What explains these sharp departures from baroque conventions? Is it simply a matter that the gardens were poorly designed or cheaply executed? Such a proposition seems unlikely considering the wealth and resources available to Dom Pedro, and can be safely dismissed in light of the exacting detail and workmanship evident throughout the estate. Instead, it would appear that the explanation is threefold. First, the training of the garden’s designer, Jean-Baptiste Robillion, as a goldsmith contributed to the production of a garden designed as a complex series of separate elements. Second, the Moorish-influenced vernacular design style of Portugal was integrated into the landscape, unlike other baroque
landscapes where the vernacular was largely abandoned and suppressed. Furthermore, the spatial character of the garden is heavily influenced by the social role of the palace as primarily a private retreat, and not a public expression of power. Finally, elements of other styles from Europe and the Portuguese empire were integrated into the garden.

Figure 8. The basic spatial arrangements of Queluz (A), Eszterháza (B), and Schönbrunn (C)

THE GOLDSMITH

Frenchman Jean-Baptiste Robillion was responsible for the design of the gardens and much of the palace of Queluz. Robillion trained in Paris as a goldsmith under the famed Frenchman Thomas Germain, one of the most preeminent artisans of his day. After going bankrupt in Paris, Robillion moved to Portugal where he was employed by the Portuguese King as the goldsmith for the royal court. Robillion’s first exposure to Queluz and the work being carried out there was through his work as a goldsmith, intriguingly a profession shared by Queluz’s first architect, Mateus Vicente de Oliveira. Robillion replaced Oliveira after the earthquake of 1755, following which Oliveira left to work on reconstruction efforts in Lisbon (Ferro, 1997, p.18). As a goldsmith, Robillion was trained to work in a small scale and on individual pieces. Although some commissions required continuity, a table set for instance, even in these cases each piece was an individual element to itself. Furthermore, detail and complexity were a trademark of the profession and, having trained under Germain who was particularly noted for his rococo work, Robillion was certain to have had an eye for minute detail.

This research proposes that at Queluz, the tendencies of a goldsmith are expressed in the design of a landscape that can be described as a collection of individual elements with little apparent continuity between them. Yet within each element, great care is paid to detail, especially the finishing artistic
elements of a space such as fountains and statuary. Ironically, Robillion’s ability to pay close attention to the detailed finishings in the garden’s spaces may reinforce the notion that Queluz is a baroque garden, superficially covering the structural inconsistencies between Queluz and other contemporary palaces.

Consider the garden rooms adjacent to the palace: the Hanging Garden and the Malta Garden. Internally, each is well balanced and symmetrical, each is lavishly decorated with fountains, statuary, and clipped hedges. Yet neither room relates particularly well to the other, and to move between the gardens one must travel along an awkward diagonal path. Their axes do not align, nor do individual elements within each space relate to the other. Despite being adjacent to each other and forming the first impression of the gardens from the palace, they are clearly singular elements designed to be spaces distinctly separate from each other.

The main axis of the palace further demonstrates the compartmentalization of the design. While in the Hanging Garden the main axis aligns perfectly with the façade of the building, once the axis crosses into the formal forest it noticeably shifts a couple feet to the northwest. Just as with the Hanging Garden and the Malta Garden, this flaw is explained if the design of both the Hanging Garden and the formal forest are viewed as two separate elements. In the Hanging Garden, the location of the axis is drawn from the main façade of the palace. In the formal forest, instead of simply extending the axis of the Hanging Garden, the location of the central axis is determined by the intersection of a pair of patte d’oie emanating from the southeast and southwest corners of the garden. The southwestern patte d’oie has paths radiating at 30° angles while the southeastern patte d’oie radiates at 20° angles. The choice of these angles enable the bottom path of each patte d’oie to form a straight connection, while the third path of each provides a nearly direct route to the entrance to the Hanging Garden. The axis of the forest is determined by the intersection of the second path on each patte d’oie, at which is placed a large fountain basin, and which results in an offset with the Hanging Garden axis. This decision to locate the axis in this manner creates a balanced and pleasing geometric array of paths and rond points within the forest, but once again this individual balance is achieved to the detriment of the continuity of the overall design, even if minimal.

Robillion’s tendency to focus on the details of individual elements separate from the whole design can also be seen in the architecture, especially the internal façades. Each main façade is remarkable in its own right, but perhaps more remarkable is the significant differences between them. Unlike the uniform façades of other baroque palaces, Queluz enjoys several prominent façades, each with its own unique character. The façade of the throne room is scalloped and clearly rococo, the Façade of Ceremonies is baroque, while a semi-circular balcony and military themes punctuate the façade of the Robillion Pavilion. This visual cacophony of façades is more remarkable considering that all three are simultaneously visible from the Hanging Garden, creating the distinct feeling that the palace is older and was designed in separate stages.

**A GARDEN OF SOCIAL SPACES**

Robillion’s tendency to compartmentalize his design was reinforced by the nature of the palace as a private retreat. Unlike other baroque palaces, which were often constructed as much to project the wealth and power of the owner as to provide a home, at Queluz the creation of a pleasurable home and landscape for Dom Pedro and his family remained an overriding concern throughout the entire construction process. Because Queluz served a significantly different purpose than contemporary baroque palaces of the time, it is not unexpected that the design heavily reflects this. The external projection of power, and the desire to impress that led to the creation of massive axially arranged landscapes elsewhere, had little bearing at Queluz, which was organized around social uses and a desire for privacy. The inward focus of Queluz is evident from the very arrival at the palace, which externally greets guests with markedly modest façades largely devoid of the elegant scrollwork and detailing that characterize the inward facing façades of the palace. Similarly, when approaching the palace through the formal forest, the first gate that greets the visitor is very modest, while the grand Horse Gateway is positioned at the entrance to the Hanging Garden, at the heart of the estate.

Figure 5 illustrates the primary areas of the gardens. The forms of these spaces, and the relationships between the spaces, were driven by their social functions and uses. Returning to the relationship between the Hanging Garden and the Malta Garden, the spatial arrangement of these two gardens become clearer within the social context that they served. Unlike the grand parterres seen elsewhere, these two gardens at Queluz are intended to be experienced from within – they are spaces to be physically interacted with. In fact, while the geometrically-trimmed hedges immediately conjure up
comparisons with parterre gardens, both the Hanging Garden and Malta Garden are based more on the concepts of the internal courtyard than a parterre. These gardens are extensions of the palace itself, literally outdoor rooms intended to be used as such (Guimarães and Carneiro, 1995, p.2). The forms of the gardens are based off of the architectural outline of the palace, and are further connected to the palace through the use of a balustrade extending around both gardens. This architectural extension of the palace to create the rooms results in the creation of two gardens of different sizes and the subsequent misaligned axes, but it fulfills the social role of creating a pair of outdoor rooms closely tied to the palace (see Figure 5).

The main social space of the garden extended along the length of the tile canal (area #5 in Figure 5), which served as both the defining and unifying element of the western side of the estate. A stream, the Ribeira de Jamor, was transformed into an impressive canal under the supervision of a Dutch designer (Dynes, 1968, p.186-7). Decorated with thousands of Portuguese azulejos, or tiles, the canal was the focal point of social life at Queluz. Largely retaining the natural course of the stream, the canal and remaining portions of the stream, create a wandering but linear strip of spaces designed solely around their social function. During the evenings, the royal family would float along the illuminated canal in boats, relishing the cool of the water. Chinese pavilions were constructed over, and adjacent to, the canal, and a game court was positioned along the eastern bank of the stream. A wide promenade was constructed along the entire length, meandering with the stream.

While the canal itself was straight, no attempt was made to undertake large-scale alteration of the existing topography to further extend the canal, or align it better with the palace. Nor was the shape of the palace altered to align it with the canal. Instead, the beautiful Lions’ Staircase was constructed to connect the competing alignments, gracefully moving the visitor from one geometric order to another. Beyond this formal junction between the palace and the canal, little effort appears to have been taken to connect the two.

In fact, the opposite would appear to be the case. Upon entering the promenade heading south from the Lions’ Staircase, the palace quickly disappears from view, screened by hedges and dense
plantings. If Queluz itself was an insular palace, than the social spaces along the canal and the stream would appear to be the most private of all. It was here that the occupants of Queluz sought the greatest seclusion from the cares of court, enjoying a completely private oasis uninterrupted by formal overtones in the landscape.

On the northwest side of the canal lies a roughly square garden, built on the spot of what was most likely the garden of the original house that occupied the site. This would have been filled with citrus and other fruit-producing trees and is laid out in a very Germanic style with its square form and square subsections (Twiss, 1775, p.22). Ironically, though it aligns to little, this garden has the strongest and longest uninterrupted axis in the estate. The width of the walkway and pair of impressive fountains would suggest that it served as another important promenade in the garden despite its relatively far-flung position on the estate.

**A BLEND OF CULTURES**

The third factor that we must consider is the historical context in which the palace was constructed, and the rich design heritage that existed in the region prior to the arrival of the baroque style. Within the design of both the palace and the gardens there is clear evidence that the modifications made to baroque principles were often influenced by Portugal's vernacular style, as well as others. The influence of the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula is most notable in both the arrangement and the use of the spaces. Unlike other baroque palaces that are symmetrical in their footprint, the palace at Queluz has a stepped form, punctuated by internal courtyards, that bear a striking resemblance to the organic structures of the Ibero-Moorish palaces of the Alhambra and the Real Alcázar of Seville. In these two palaces, a series of independent architectural units, almost always formed around a courtyard, are combined in an irregular fashion to create the whole. While this growth happened somewhat organically over time, the focus was not on creating an overarching spatial organization that extended across the entire site, rather the focus was placed on creating cohesion and balance within each individual space.

The use of this approach is seen clearly in the Hanging Garden and the Malta Garden, but it is also exhibited in the other garden spaces. This compartmentalization approach marries well with the approach taken by Robillion that favored the creation of detailed independent spaces over the creation of a purely cohesive whole.

The relation between the canal and the palace was also partially defined by an element with Moorish heritage: a large reservoir for holding water through the summer. The Hanging Garden is built atop this reservoir, the walls of which can be clearly seen from the path to the west of the reservoir (Ferro, 1997, p.22). The palace and upper gardens were laid out so as to be at the same level as the Hanging Garden. As a result the visitor to the garden must pass through a series of grade changes before arriving at the area of the canal, a transition that serves to further separate the canal as a more private social space.

The compact form of the garden at Queluz, as opposed to the linear forms of contemporary baroque landscapes, is also in keeping with the Moorish style. Typically eschewing long, uninterrupted axes, the Moors preferred gardens of a smaller scale, with interconnected spaces, each defined by their own separate character. This spatial organization is similar to that seen at other Portuguese gardens, such as the Jardim do Paço Episcopal, the Palacio de Fronteira, and the Convento de Cristo as well as the grander Spanish gardens such as the Real Alcázar. Perhaps the most overtly Moorish heritage at Queluz is the garden wall. Derived from the Persian *paridaiza*, Moorish gardens were vibrant paradises contained within a courtyard or garden wall. Both the Spanish and the Portuguese retained the wall as a key element of their garden design, sometimes creating expansive walls that enclosed acres upon acres of garden space. The enclosing of a garden was at odds with baroque principles that sought to create as expansive a landscape as possible, but such an approach fit perfectly within the site program at Queluz to create a personal pleasure ground.

An early plan of the garden done by Robillion was more chaotic, and suggests that an even stronger influence of both Moorish and Dutch ideas may have originally pervaded the thoughts of Robillion and his workers. In a plan from shortly after Robillion was appointed architect of the palace, the central fountain along the main axis in the forest is ringed by a circular path, which is bisected by a series of radiating paths that spread across the area. More complex and with a different form than is seen in contemporary baroque designs, this layout bears a striking resemblance to the geometric tile and plasterwork of Moorish artisans. Other, small garden spaces, fill the areas between the palace and the
stream, and resemble the more intimate geometrical Dutch gardens. Dutch influence is not unexpected, as the Dutchman Gerald Van der Kolk worked with Robillion in implementing the planting plan for the gardens (Ferro, 1997, p.107).

7 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

When the Portuguese royal family left Queluz, they left an impression of a royal palace that was never intended. It was only through the untimely destruction of the other royal palaces in Lisbon that the royal family took up residence at Queluz, a palace ill-equipped for the display of power desired by a European monarchy. Perhaps it is unsurprising that the Englishman William Beckford, upon visiting Queluz, said little about the nature of the garden itself (Beckford, 1834). For someone who had traveled extensively across Europe and seen some of the greatest palaces it had to offer, Queluz must have been underwhelming and disorganized. Others shared this opinion, describing Queluz as worthy of a wealthy individual, but not a royal family (Franco, 2007, p.33). With its intimate scale, insular nature, complex cluster of spaces and seeming lack of coherence, it would have been in sharp contrast to the formal gardens of France, Italy, Bavaria, Austria, and contemporary Spain. Had these been the feelings of Beckford, then he, as have many others, misjudged Queluz by viewing it in the context of other royal baroque palaces.

When Dom Pedro began his building campaign in 1747, he never intended that the estate should become a seat of royal power, but that it would remain his personal sanctuary away from Lisbon. As such, the standard elements of the baroque style were often altered or completely abandoned in pursuit of creating an insular estate designed around the social desires and needs of the family, not the theories of design popular at the time. The gardens that emerged at Queluz are a marriage of deliberate planning and happenstance due to the nature of the man who designed them and their social and historic setting. It would appear that Robillion had a subconscious tendency to focus on spaces as separate units, where the internal arrangement of the spaces is more important than the overall arrangement of the spaces and their interaction with each other. This tendency of Robillion was reinforced at Queluz by the focus on creating spaces around social functions, and not overarching geometric or symmetric spatial rules, as is seen in traditional baroque gardens. Both of these design themes were further reinforced by the traditional Ibero-Moorish vernacular style, which featured an organic arrangement of spaces that served different social purposes or classes within the household, and with the entire garden being enclosed by a wall.

Queluz presents us with a critique of our tendency to group sites and designs into ordered historical movements defined by clearly established principles. While this provides some overall clarity in the historic timeline, it does a disservice to sites, such as Queluz, that do not fit into the historic mold we have created. These sites are criticized for failing to conform to the design canon, and become viewed as abnormalities or simply poor designs. This analysis of Queluz suggests that instead of dismissing these types of sites outright, we should strive to understand more fully the context in which they emerged, and recognize the multifaceted forces that may have influenced the final design. Only after developing a full understanding of the design narrative of a site are we in a position to attempt to pass judgment.

How then, should we view Queluz? It is a hybrid that resists definition, not quite baroque but not quite vernacular. It is not quite a palace, but not quite a private house. If we try to interpret it purely by the ideals of the baroque, then we find it wanting. Similarly, should we compare it to other royal palace it appears too modest for the royal family of this once great empire. Ultimately, as with all aspects of history, only by grasping the context of its creation and function can we appreciate Queluz as a unique synthesis of design and purpose.

8 REFERENCES


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