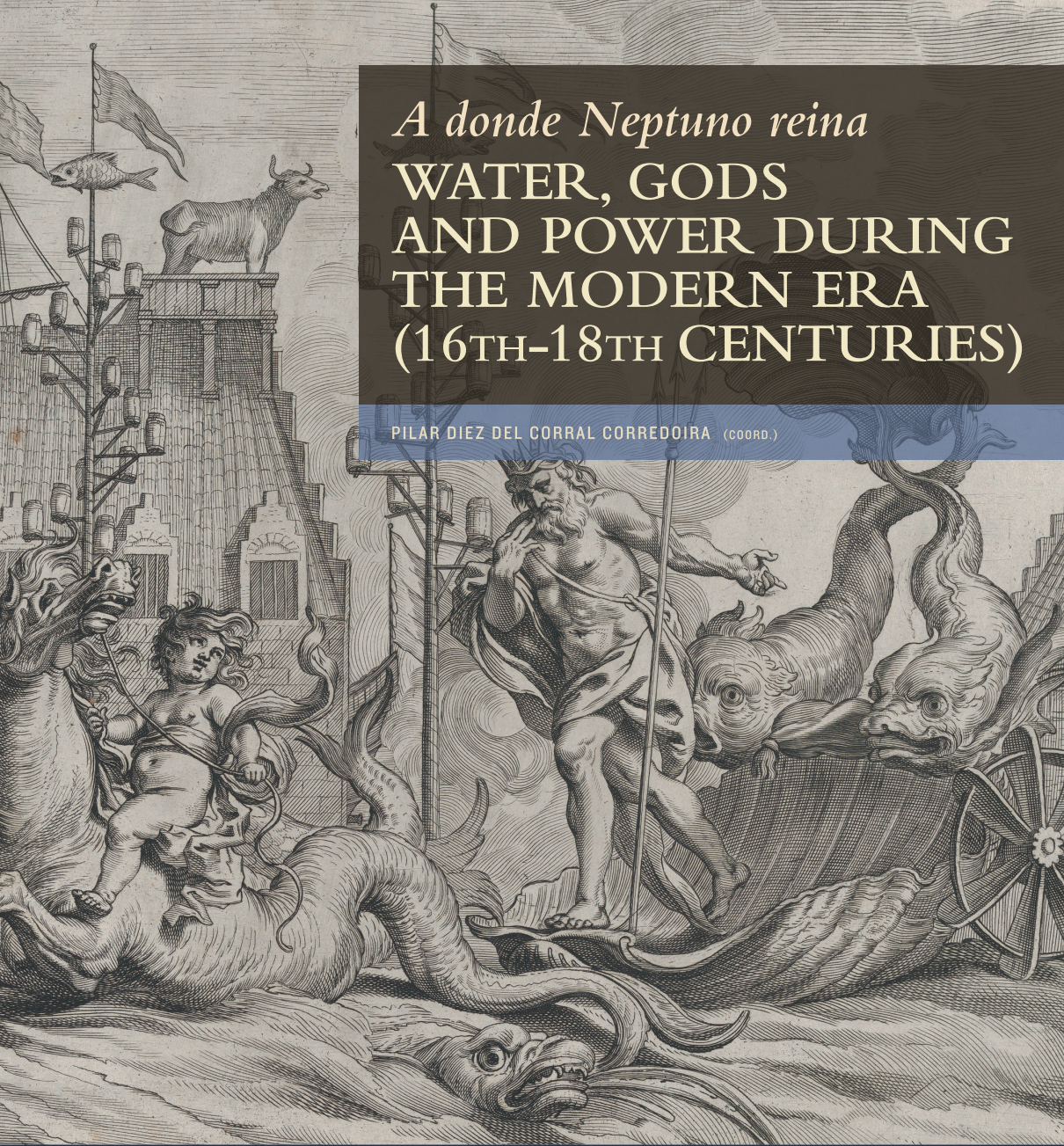


A donde Neptuno reina
**WATER, GODS
AND POWER DURING
THE MODERN ERA
(16TH-18TH CENTURIES)**

PILAR DIEZ DEL CORRAL CORREDOIRA (COORD.)



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TÍTULO

A donde Neptuno reina: Water, Gods and Power during the Modern Era (16th-18th Centuries)

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Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira

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Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da
Universidade NOVA de Lisboa | Universidade dos Açores
Av. de Berna, 26-C | 1069-061 Lisboa | Portugal
cham@fcsch.unl.pt | www.cham.fcsch.unl.pt

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Introduction

From Primeval Water to Coin. Oceans, water and men of the Modern Period**

From time immemorial the element of water has been associated with power. Whether water has been considered the origin of life, a transcendental purifying resource, or an untamable element, men have tried, not always successfully, to control water in its multiple forms. The act of subduing the seas, rivers and other water sources suggests that people who perform these attempts at control create a symbolic link between water and power.

In Greek mythology two traditions regulate the multiform aquatic element; one is the vision of Hesiod, and the other is that of Homer. In his *Theogony* (133-135) Hesiod speaks of Pontus, who was conceived solely by Gaia (earth) and is described as “fruitless sea”, characterized by his “raging swell”. In contrast, “deep-swirling” Oceanus is the product of the amorous union between Gaia and Uranus.

In Hesiodic cosmology Oceanus does not yet have a specific geographical association, which he would have later with the Atlantic and Indian oceans, but is, rather, a cosmic presence. Pontus, on the other hand, being an “internal sea” (the Mediterranean) has geographical significance; Oceanus is the boundary of the world, an immense river

* Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6728-5205>. *E-mail*: diezdelcorral@geo.uned.es.

** This multilingual volume is the result of a selection of presentations that were part of the III International CHAM Conference (www.chamconference.org/2017) in Lisbon in 2017 dedicated to “Oceans and Shores”, as well as some chapters by guest authors, with the objective of creating a work with certain thematic coherence despite the amplitude of the subject matter being addressed. As the editor of the book I wish to thank the committee of the Conference for their enthusiastic support of the idea, and also CHAM (NOVA FCSH-UA) for receiving the book proposal and for the funding they generously granted me to pursue publication.

god who surrounds the world and is in an eternal flow (Rudhardt 1971, 27). Oceanus is also the husband of Tethys, and with her he produces the Oceanids, three thousand daughters who are goddesses of springs, lakes and ponds. His sons, the Potamoi, are the gods of rivers and streams. One of the Oceanids, Doris, who embodies fertility and abundance of waters, marries Nereus, son of Pontus, and conceives the Nereids. Nereus dwells in the depths of the sea, and his daughters are nymphs normally associated with the Mediterranean, specifically the Aegean Sea, and are mothers of mythical generations of gods and heroes.

Homer (*Il.* XIV, 200-201) describes another tradition in which the primordial couple are Oceanus and Tethys, who create the Oceanids and all the rest of the aquatic divinities. The couple constitutes the origin of life, and thus is invoked in the Orphic Hymns (Hymns 83 and 22) (Rudhardt 1971, 46).

The personification of Oceanus in Classical Antiquity is of two complementary natures. First, it is a cosmic principle in perpetual movement, and second, it is a powerful god-river, deep and impetuous, and somewhat frightful (Rudhardt 1971, 56). It is not surprising that in the oldest poems of humanity, the waters are portrayed as a punishment to mankind. A deluge that ravished the Earth appears already in the famous Epic of Gilgamesh (22nd century B.C), and in the epic poem of Altra-Hasis (17th century B.C.) which conception later appears in the Judeo-Christian tradition of the Bible¹.

The duality of Oceanus is translated visually in ancient art, but it is especially understood as being the encircling boundary of the known world. That is how Homer portrays this duality in the famous *ekphrasis* of Achilles' shield (*Iliad*, XVIII, 483-608), so that when he imagines the world he sees it surrounded by a great circular river, composed of all the waters of the Mediterranean Sea². There is an abundance of images relating to the cosmogonic value of Oceanus. For example, there are the mascarons, which according to Santoro-Bianchi (1988) first appear in the Roman Imperial period, and which derived from river images such as Achelous, and perhaps Tibur. To the positive ethos of fecundity, typical in the representations of rivers and of the ubiquitous sea *thiasos*, which would inhabit the imagination of Western art, that idea of *limes* or *terminus* of human existence would be added.

Roman imperial iconography gives a political interpretation to the idea of Oceanus as the boundary of the world (Santoro-Bianchi 1988). Oceanus as the frontier of the Empire appears early on in Julius Caesar who, in celebrating his victory over the Gauls, commissions a golden statue of Oceanus as a prisoner (*Florus, Epit.*, IV, 2). Latin literature of the Imperial period exploited that interpretation to glorify Roman territorial conquests (Paulian 1975, 56). The term "*ultra Oceanum*" was coined, which allowed

1 Walter Burkert (1992, 88-91) associates Greek cosmogony with Acadian, Sumerian and Babylonian myths.

2 The ancients regarded the Atlantic and the Indian oceans as exterior seas, and associated them to the god Oceanus (Rudhardt 1971, 80-82).

attention to be drawn to rulers like Alexander the Great, whose conquests extended the known world. Because Hispania is largely bordered by the ocean, that country was considered the end of the known world. Further evidence of the emphasis on oceanic influence was the motto *ad oceanum* worn by the troops stationed in Gades (Cadiz). Also significant are Hadrianic coins (ca. 119 C.E.) bearing the figure of Hercules and the image of Oceanus on a ship's prow (Paulian 1975, 122).

The emperors of the 2nd and 3rd centuries used Oceanus as a *topos* of imperial ideology, and that image of the sea as a last bastion conquered by the Roman troops has iconographic consequences, i.e. mascarons of the god are frequently found in mosaics, often with a frightening aspect, which implies cosmic divinity being dominated by Roman power.

From the carefree *thiasus*, to various personifications of Poseidon and Neptune, and the menacing image of Oceanus, Classical Antiquity produces many representations in Greek pottery, *ronde-bosse* sculpture, sarcophagi, and Roman mosaics, which survive in various forms into the Middle Ages, e.g. the relief sculpture that decorates the façades of cathedrals and churches as well as illuminated manuscripts that proliferate in the libraries of monasteries.

With the dawning of the Renaissance mythological themes begin to abandon secondary and marginal spaces. For example, river allegories will have a golden age since they will not only reproduce classical sculptures, but some of the actual Roman ones will also be re-purposed and given new meanings. Such is the case of the famous Marforio statue or the sculptures of rivers that decorate the Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome, which were adapted to new ways of thinking and undergo additions and reforms.

Along with the visual arts, water as a natural element also becomes an important factor in city life. Katherine Rinne states with eloquence that “water was coin in Late Renaissance Rome”. The great Church-sponsored projects of the Acqua Vergine (1560-1570), Acqua Felice (1585-1587) and Acqua Paola (1607-1612) to ensure the water supply in Rome, and reorganize and improve previous aqueducts, converting water into the true coin of its inhabitants. The management and distribution of public and private water is a measure of power, and in this case, of the pontiffs, who do not hesitate to use it to favor their followers. However, they also have an interest in providing a service to the community. To a degree this is the origin of the hygiene practices of the 18th century, and it enables us to understand a more pragmatic side of the value of water in the modern period.

Along with supplying water for use in daily life, water is a motif in great works of urban decoration, such as the famous fountains that adorn not only Rome, but all modern cities. It is also an essential element in festivities and celebrations, and in the gardens and villas of the powerful. Water as a recreational element has an important role in the Modern Period and is symbolic of the munificence of the person who offers it. Equally important is its role in maritime conquests – in the geographic expansion initiated by the Portuguese and culminating in the Spanish discovery of America and the entire epic

of the conquest of the New World. All this has repercussions in cartography, military practices, as well as literary imagination. Again, the idea of dominance and control of the oceans returns to the visual imagination, similar in a way to the ideas of Imperial Rome.

This book is intended to broaden the understanding of the connection between water and power through a series of case studies, which without being exhaustive, will provide information on the great versatility of this subject. This volume is organized in three thematic parts. The first part, with the title “Iconography and Politics”, deals with the use of aquatic iconography and the recreational use of water as an instrument of power.

In the first chapter Liana de Girolami Cheney examines, from an iconographic perspective, the pictorial program of the *Sala degli Elementi* in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence commissioned by Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici (1537-1569). The frescoes by Giorgio Vasari and Cristophoro Gherardi, represent the four elements. The author focuses on the study of “The birth of Venus” and on the special emphasis placed on the personification of the Duke as Neptune, as well as the association of the bounty of the sea with the prosperity of Florence under the Medicis. Neptune’s rule over the sea is a clear metaphor for the flourishing Tuscan republic.

Christopher Kreutchen, in the second chapter, approaches water as the main ornamental feature in the gardens of the Hellbrunn palace in Austria. Conceived as an Italianate villa, the palace belonged to the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, Markus Sitticus, and was built between 1612 and 1615. It is a north-of-the-Alps version of an Italian garden with water works and fanciful fountains, evocative of a happy Arcadia. The author sees the construction of this interesting work of hydraulic engineering as a manifestation of the Prince-Archbishop’s ambition to have his name survive the continuous changes of power in the Holy Roman Empire.

The first part of this book closes with the contribution of Mar García Arenas, based on a print by André Basset (1765) depicting an epic Franco-Spanish naval victory that never took place. The author analyzes the use of the print as a form of political propaganda by French Secretary of State, War and Navy, the Duke of Choiseul, to exalt the patriotism of the French people and to validate the Third Pacte de Famille with Spain. This interesting case study takes us back to the instrumental use of images, a true modern naumachia that paradoxically contrasts with the outcome of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) of which that imaginary battle was a part, in which France lost its overseas possessions and its fleet was practically destroyed.

The second part of this volume is entitled “Beyond the Western”, and encompasses three studies that explore the concept and the control of water from America to the Philippines. From a literary perspective, Fernando Morato considers a poetic version of the Atlantic expanse. He focuses his thinking on some poems from XVII and XVIII centuries that he considers to be the symbolic space to address in depth the subject of the ocean in the Portuguese literary imagination. In reference to the Atlantic Ocean he uses

the theoretical framework of the Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin to characterize the ocean as a new space which replaces the Indian Ocean, and which embodies the new reality of the Portuguese Empire in the dawn of its American adventure.

Looking at America from the perspective of urban and social planning, Marjolaine Carles analyzes the crucial importance of managing water supply in the city of Vila Rica in Brazil. This city was the captaincy general of the mining region of Minas Gerais and presents a remarkable model for understanding the interests of the *metropolis* (mother country) as opposed to those of the local inhabitants. The author describes how the control and management of water shaped social and urban landscapes in the new American reality.

In the last chapter of this section Diego Sola directs his attention to the other side of the globe and examines the impact of the conquest of the Philippines and the Spanish empire's first direct contact with China. His study, from a historical perspective, is based on the cartography produced in that period, particularly regarding the South China Sea, as well as ethnographic and missionary publications mostly produced by members of the religious orders. Here, more than ever, we see the idea of the sea as being the confines of the Spanish Empire, similar, in a way, to the *limes* of Roman Antiquity. The Spanish king, in this case, is the lord of the oceans who has reached the end of the world.

The book's third and final part deals with "Celebrations and Music" and compiles studies from an artistic, musicological, and even of marine biology points of view. The first chapter is the result of the symbiosis of history and biology and offers a unique reading of the wedding celebration of the Infanta Beatriz in Lisbon in 1521. Carla Alferes Pinto and Cristina Brito consider the betrothal of the young Portuguese princess to Charles III of Savoy based on the play by Gil Vicente *Cortes de Júpiter*. In this satire human behavior is likened to that of certain marine species, and the conception of a court of the river Tagus is presented combining both mythology and actual nature. The daughter of king Manuel I leaves Lisbon accompanied by a marine *thiasos* that is described with exceptional zoological knowledge, and which represents symbolically the power of Portugal under the Avis dynasty.

Based on *repraesentatio maiestatis*, Filipa Araujo analyzes the tradition of 17th century Portuguese Baroque celebrations. The author traces the use and importance of marine iconography in ephemeral decorations, and how Spanish and Portuguese tradition fused during the Iberian Union (1580-1640) to create a repertoire of images that would be the source of inspiration for the Braganza dynasty. In this chapter she selects the most relevant festive manifestations and assesses the impact of trans-oceanic conquests on ephemeral iconography, as well as its more poetic facet, in descriptions of the celebrations that circulated in the European courts.

In the last chapter of the volume Diana Andrea Blichmann examines, from the point of view of historical musicology, the role of Neptune as a recurring character in Baroque opera. To this effect she analyzes Rome and Venice, where that god's presence

was particularly notable compared to other operatic capitals. The author provides a specific geographical interpretation of the importance of Neptune and the aquatic themes in each of the cities, taking into account the special individual characteristics of both Roman and Venetian opera styles.

Berlin, 1st September 2018

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I C O N O G R A P H Y
A N D P O L I T I C S

LIANA DE GIROLAMI CHENEY*

Giorgio Vasari's Neptune as Cosimo I de' Medici: The Element of Water as a Political Symbol

Quum subito Triton ore recondit aquam

[After the rain the mouth of a Triton hides the water]

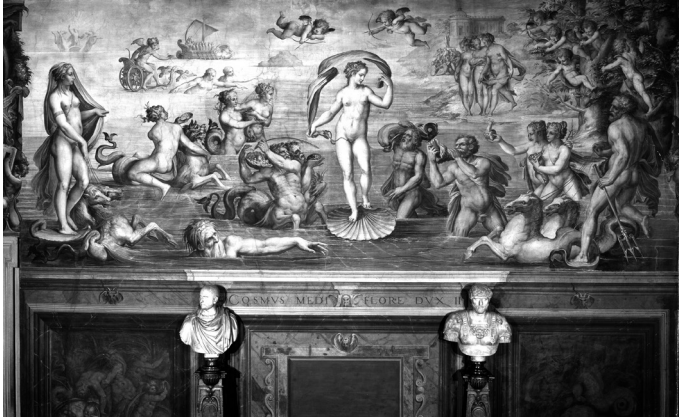
Sextus Propertius, *Elegies*, 32, 111, b.2

Symbolic allusions about water are complex in sixteenth-century Florentine art. They include aspects of the physical and metaphysical realms. Aspects of the physical realm are associated with natural components and flow of the element water. The River Arno, for example, was the Florentines' main water supply and the bodies of water from the Ligurian Sea and the Tyrrhenian Sea delivered water and provided navigation Tuscan Archipelago inhabitants. At the metaphysical level, the signification is associated with artistic inventions and political renewals. The latter is the topic of this essay, focusing on Giorgio Vasari's *Birth of Venus* or *The Element of Water* (1555) in the *Sala degli Elementi* of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (**fig. 1**).

In Florentine art during the governance of Cosimo I de' Medici (1537–1569), representations of water were employed as a physical manifestation of a metaphysical realm. Artists under the tutelage of the Medicean patronage further explored metaphorically the visual connections between the physical power of water and the political power of the Medicean regime (Else 2013; Cheney 2009). These types of representations included two forms of imagery: one is a personification of water through the mythological aquatic

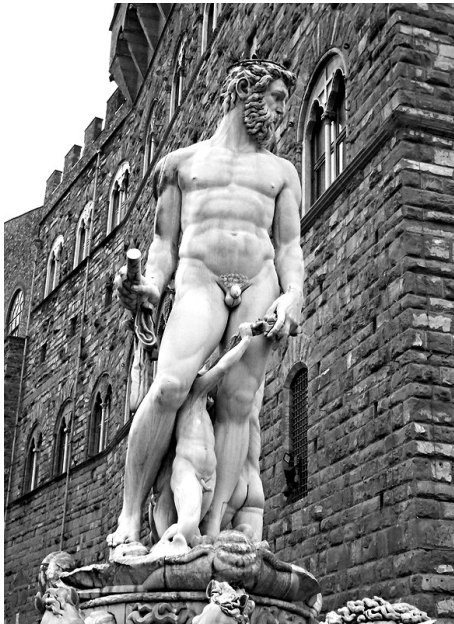
* University of Massachusetts, USA.

E-mail: liana_cheney@uml.edu.



1 Giorgio Vasari and Cristofano Gherardi. *Birth of Venus* or *Element of Water*, 1555.
Sala degli Elementi, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giorgio_Vasari_-_The_birth_of_Venus_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg. Public domain. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



2 Bartolomeo Ammannati, *Fountain of Neptune*, 1563-1565.
Piazza della Signoria and Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.

Url: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/70125105@N06/26011582885>
Public domain. Source: Flickr.

or sea gods (Neptune, Oceanus, Palaemon, Proteus) and sea goddesses (Amphitrite, Thetis, Venus). The second type of imagery focused on the portrayal of the Medicean ruler, Cosimo I, as a personification of a sea god such as Neptune. Artists employed the duke's physiognomy for the facial features of the sea god, thus identifying Cosimo I with Neptune, as seen in Vasari's *Birth of Venus* or *The Element of Water*, where Neptune is portrayed with the duke's face. This is similar to Bartolomeo Ammannati's *Neptune Fountain* (1567) (fig. 2), a sculpted fountain adjacent to the Palazzo Vecchio where the facial features of the marble statue of Neptune also resemble those of Cosimo I. In turn, both artists were inspired by the numerous portraits by Agnolo Bronzino depicting Cosimo I, e.g., *Duke Cosimo I de' Medici* (1545) at the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (compare figs. 1 and 3). Ammannati, a collaborator with Vasari at Villa Giulia in Rome, completed the sculpted fountain ten years after Vasari's painting, assimilating his emblematic interpretation of Cosimo I de' Medici as Neptune (Else 2003, 225–268; Ferretti 2011; Cheney 2009, 2014).

This essay consists of two parts. The first part deals with the Medicean commission for Vasari's *Birth of Venus*, an emblematic metaphor for the element of water as an aquatic symbol of power, while the second part focuses on the Medicean personification of power as depicted in a detail in this painting with the figure of Neptune, God of the Sea and Water, as Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany.

In 1555, Cristofano Gherardi collaborated with Vasari in designing and painting a mythological and cosmological theme in the *Sala degli Elementi*, an apartment belonging to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio (Allegrì and Cecchi 1980, 63–73; Muccini 1997, 52–56; Orlandi 1977, 142–146)¹. The *Sala degli Elementi* is dedicated to the four elements (air, earth, fire, and water), which in Antiquity were considered to be at the origin of the world or cosmos (Jones 2016). These are depicted in the ceiling with oils and in the walls in fresco. In a Venetian-like sunken ceiling the element of Air is personified: *Saturn Mutilating Heaven*. Surrounding this scene of Saturn (Chronos) castrating Uranus (Heaven) are the Chariots of the Sun and the Moon and the images of Day and Night. In the corners of the ceiling are depicted the virtues of Peace, Mercurial Justice, Fame, and Truth. On the walls of the chamber, there are personifications of the elements of Earth, Fire, and Water. The frescoes on the left-hand wall relate to the element of Earth: in the center of the scene, the first fruits of the Earth are offered to Saturn. On the adjacent wall, a scene above the fireplace relates to the element of Fire with the depiction of *Vulcan's Forge*. On the wall adjacent to that, the element of Water is symbolized by *The Birth of Venus*. On the window wall, large niches contain simulated painted sculptures of Mercury and Pluto, which thematically connect with the wall decoration of the elements and the pantheon of the gods in the ceiling.

1 This short essay will not address scholars' debates and interpretations about Vasari's assistants, such as Marco da Faenza and Giovanni Stradano.

The iconography of the program for this *sala* is such that the ceiling's depictions relate to the *istorie* [narrative scenes or history paintings] in the walls, and in turn, the *istorie* of the walls relate to each other, forming not only a *camera picta* [illusionistic painted room] but also a *camera intellecta* [an emblematic and intellectual room] (Cheney 2009, 2; 2014, 3). The most significant primary source for decoding the meaning of the imagery of the *Birth of Venus* is found in Vasari's own writings, *I Ragionamenti*, edited and published after Vasari's death in 1574 by the Florentine literati Vincenzo Borghini, Cosimo Bartoli, and Vasari's nephew, also called Giorgio Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi; Draper 1973, 106–110; Tinagli 2001; Veen 2014; Passignat 2007, 2009, 2014).

The *istoria* in the *Birth of Venus* unveils the meaning of the cosmic event in the following manner. In the center of the wall is the mythological legend of the birth of Venus, created by Saturn castrating Uranus. In the ceiling, just above the birth, the Moon Goddess Diana in her chariot inaugurates the event with her celestial passage. She also controls the fluctuation and movement of the water tides in the sea through the phases of the moon (Green 2012, 116–118). Other celebratory virtues such as *Mercurial Justice* and *Fame* frame the celestial event. The lateral oval cartouches framing the central *istoria* of *The Birth of Venus* depict in an *all'antica* stories mode about the love between Venus and Adonis and the Worshiping of Venus. These are Venus's undertakings after her birth. Below the central wall, in the *dado* [basement block] of the wall's lower section and inside the rectangular format, there are also *all'antica* designs depicting marine battles between centaurs and sea creatures. Below the central scene of the painting, a dedicatory Latin inscription, *Cosimo Medi, Flor. Dux*, on the lintel of the fireplace acknowledges the Medicean patronage.

In Vasari's painting, the celebrated functions and richness of the River Arno, the Ligurian Sea and Tyrrhenian Sea for the Florentine population regarding transportation and water supply are mythologized through a classical *istoria* about the aquatic events surrounding the birth of Venus. The imagery in the *Birth of Venus* or *The Element of Water* (vid. fig. 1) reveals a multifaceted symbolism of water focusing only on the sea and not a river, since the theme is related to classical mythology. The water allusions are associated with two types of aquatic richness: the marine divinities; and their offerings as fruits of the sea (*frutti di mare*). The divine reign of the sea is composed of sea gods and sea goddesses, nereids, sea nymphs, seahorses, sea monsters, and tritons, who provide as gifts corals, pearls, conchs, shells as well as dolphins, lobsters, snails, and other types of fish in celebration of a beautiful new *frutto di mare*: Venus, the newborn sea goddess (Draper 1973, 106–110).

In the composition depicting the *Birth of Venus* or the personification of Water, Vasari further conflated two mythological sagas associated with water: one is the birth of Venus; the other is the governance of the sea by Neptune, God of the Sea and also of Freshwater, and by Thetis, Goddess of the Sea. In the painting, Neptune, son of Saturn, partakes of a sea ceremony in honor of Venus's birth. The sea festivity is to celebrate Saturn's action, which resulted in the creation of a beautiful *frutto di mare*: Venus. Vasari

depicted a sea ceremony where all the sea creatures rejoice at Venus's impromptu arrival. They express their joy with multiple sea offerings of *frutti di mare*.

The mythological *istoria* unfolds in a panoramic view. On a luminous summer morning, the beautiful sea goddess Venus arises from the waves on a scallop shell. Inhabitants of the sea welcome her with natural delicacies and precious gifts from the sea (*frutti di mare*). Guarded by flying cupids with bows and arrows, Venus navigates toward her sacred island of Cyprus. At the seashore, Three Graces eagerly await her arrival. Accompanying the sea entourage for the reception of the new advent are Neptune, Oceanus, and Thetis. The enthusiasm for this extraordinary event is not only shown at the seashore by the sea creatures but also on land by the cupids. A cluster of robust trees shows cupids climbing up through the myrtle branches to see the event. They are also making crowns of myrtle with tree branches and flowers and throwing them toward the sea as a welcoming gesture toward the new deity. In *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari elaborated on the description of the scene.

Prince: The more one looks, the more there is to see. I really like those cupids shooting arrows at the gods! I like even better the myrtle trees filled with putti who compete in gathering flowers and making garlands, and then toss them to the nymphs or to the sea. (Vasari-Milanesi 109)²

In the *Birth of Venus*, Vasari depicted an early morning sunrise during the spring-time at sea, where an unusual event is occurring. The deities and sea creatures surface from the depths of the sea to experience at the shore the triumphal entrance of Venus (Aphrodite), a sea goddess born from heavenly white foam. The over-tonality of the fresco painting is composed with variations of blue colors and tints referring to the natural colorations of the Ligurian Sea and the Tyrrhenian Sea. The overall luminosity with gradations of atmospheric light effects suggests the time of daybreak. In the distance, emerging from the sky in a reddish golden light, appears Aurora (Goddess of Dawn) riding her chariot pulled by two horses, inaugurating the new day with the special event. Also on the horizon, the ship of Argus can be seen sailing in calm blue waters, while Amor hurriedly rides the chariot pulled by white doves to traverse toward Venus in order to transport her to Cyprus. On the left of the painting, in the middle ground, several aquatic female deities are depicted: Galatea riding on a seahorse, next to her are Pistro (Pherosa, a nereid) and Leucothea (Goddess Mater Matuta or White Goddess of the Ionian Sea) embracing with joy at the event. Behind them, two nereids swim swiftly to observe the event closely. In the extreme left corner of the painting, the majestic Thetis, Queen of the Sea, enters the scene with great flair, on a scallop shell pulled by seahorses.

In the background of the right side of the painting, the island of Cyprus is in view. At the shore, the Three Graces, crowned with myrtle, Venus's sacred plant, are carrying

2 Author's translation.

her attributes: a mirror, to reflect Venus's beauty and light; a purple mantle, acknowledging her role as a deity; and a cithara, a musical instrument for love songs. In the far distance, uphill, the temple of Paphos reminds the viewer of Venus's sanctuary.

In the foreground, Venus, a beautiful nude figure in *contrapposto* stance, rides on a large scallop shell while holding a win-blown veil. She is surrounded by male sea-gods: Glaucus, Proteus, Palaemon, and Triton, who carry precious gifts from the sea. Near them, two more nereids approach Venus with sea gifts of snails, corals, and pearls. Behind them at the shore, on a cluster of trees, playful cupids are composing crowns of laurel and flowers: a few are scattering the flowers, preparing the path for Venus; while others in joyous excitement are flying around Venus, throwing darts of love. On the extreme left side of the painting, the sea god Neptune makes his dramatic entrance riding two valiant seahorses and carrying his attribute, the trident, made of silver and gold. His purple mantel honors his royal status. In the center of the foreground, Oceanus, Terror of Sea, sea deity and ruler of all types of water elements, surfaces and majestically signals to all present the arrival of Venus. Not by accident, Vasari paralleled Oceanus's rule and power at sea with Cosimo's political power in Florence, as depicted by the placement of Oceanus with his arm extended horizontally, parallel to the picture plane and to the mantle of the fireplace, where the abbreviated name of Cosimo Duke of Florence is inscribed in large letters: *Cosimo Medi, Flor. Dux*.

Vasari captured the power of water through the depiction of an immense scenic view of the sea, the rainbow coloration, and light effects while populating the surface of the sea with mythological personages. They are associated with the formation of the sea, its natural components, and its fruitfulness. At a physical level, Vasari has invented a theatrical stage using the sea as a *platea*, an open, common area where, through water, people interact. They are transported and receive benefits from residing in the sea. At the metaphysical level, the sea becomes a metaphor for conviviality and peaceful gathering of an important event – in this instance the birth of a deity, but abstractly the birth of a new state, Tuscany. Vasari here alluded to the new Medicean regime of peace and future prosperity under the hegemony of Cosimo I.

Vasari's *invenzione* in this *camera intellecta* on the symbolism of water through Venus's birth conflates with several astral notions associated with alchemy (Maresca 2017, 37–61; 2012, 67–83) as well as planetary, mythological, and emblematic references to the patron, Cosimo I, as Saturn (Earth God and Capricorn as earth zodiac sign), Neptune (Water God), and *patria pater* of Florence. The symbolism reveals several levels of conceits associated not only with the political role of Cosimo I de' Medici as Duke of Florence, then of Siena, and ultimately of Tuscany but also with the signification of his name: Cosimo as cosmos (Muccini 1997, 57; Rosen 2004; Cassirer 1961; Veen 2006). Thus these conceits are metaphors for the duke's persona as a cosmic ruler (Rousseau 1983, 124; Cox-Rearick 1984).

The many levels of symbolism are connected with literary writings as well as *all'antica* imagery. Both manifestations reveal Vasari's manner of – as well as sixteenth-century

Italians' taste for – combining mythology with artistic and emblematic conceits in the pursuit of glorifying political power as well as aggrandizing artistic invention and virtuosity. The sixteenth-century emblematic sources also drew from and integrated in their literary constructions and poetical allusions mythological accounts that were available in printed books such as Boccaccio's *Geneologia de gli Dei* composed in 1360 (Florence: Anton Francesco Doni, 1547; Solomon 2011), Natali Conti's *Mythologiae* (Venice: Aldine Press, 1551; Mulryan 2006), Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's *De deis gentium* (Basel: J. Oporin, 1548/1567), and Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini delli Dei degl' Antichi* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556). These manuals were compilations of medieval mythographies, hieroglyphs, and numismatic sources³. They also served as commonplace books for sixteenth-century humanists and artists – a kind of figurative encyclopedia or dictionary-album for easy consultation when time was lacking for reading the primary texts in their entirety or when familiarity with them was lacking. These manuals became so well known to sixteenth-century artists and literati that humanists copied information directly from them without feeling the need to credit their sources (Sez nec 1961/1963, 296).

Throughout the Italian sixteenth-century, secular paintings were often guided by the instructions of humanists who assembled, assimilated, and adapted subjects from classical mythology into complex and allusive schemes as indicated. For example, Cosimo Bartoli, a literato and advisor to Cosimo I, dedicated his book on *I Ragionamenti accademici* to the duke (Bartoli 1567). Alobrando Cerratini received a commission from the duke to translate into the Tuscan language Vergil's *Aeneid*, where in Book IV Anchises prophesized the reigns under the sign of Saturn in Latium and Tuscany (Etruscan land) under a Cosmo (Veen 2006, 31). Moreover, Vincenzo Borghini, a Benedictine monk, art collector, philologist and also a close friend of Vasari, assisted him in the thematic formation of the *Sala degli Elementi* (Scroza 2003; Williams 2014). Borghini encouraged Vasari's emblematic, symbolic, and mythical visualization of Cosimo I's political power through numerous aspects of natural elements and phenomena. Namely, as cosmos, the duke was eulogized and deified as Apollo, the Sun God, who ruled the universe. As Saturn, the God of Agriculture who ruled the natural growth on Earth (Tuscany) and whose earth zodiac sign was Capricorn – the sea goat – Cosimo I acquired this as his birth sign to emulate the Roman Emperor Augustus (Crum 1989). As Vulcan, the God of Forges who ruled the combustive formations on Earth, Cosimo I's foundries in the Palazzo Vecchio were evoked. And as Neptune, the God of the Sea who ruled over freshwater and the sea navigation and naval battles, Cosimo I's naval victories were associated with Neptune's benevolent forces (Veen 2006, 31).

3 See Sez nec 1961/1963 for a study of the manuals available in the sixteenth century in Italy and for a specific account of the sources that Vincenzo Cartari drew upon in his book, particularly from Pausanias, Apuleius, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella. Sez nec also pointed out how Giorgio Vasari read and used Cartari.

In his writing, *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari identified all the creatures of the sea, explaining their aquatic role and significance in the painting (Draper 1973, 106–11; Gianni 2011, 26–28)⁴. His description about the symbolism of water in the *Sala degli Elementi* assists in identifying the sea imagery in the wall fresco painting. Vasari began the dialogue with recalling the death of his artistic friend and collaborator Cristofano Gherardi, known as Il Doceno, and the conversation concludes with a thanksgiving for an enjoyable day. The text begins with Vasari lamenting his artistic mate:

Giorgio (Giorgio Vasari): These were painted by our Doceno dal Borgo. He excelled in this profession through his deed. He deserves to be thought of as a living [artist] by the world, since whoever knew him realized that death stole him from this work too soon.

Prince (Duke of Florence): May God forgive [bless] him. His death is surely a loss. Now let's view this wall where Venus stands with a multitude of figures. I don't think that I have ever seen a more charming or better composed story. What is it about? (Draper 1973, 107)

Prince: Thanks to you, this is turning out to be a very pleasant day for me, because by hearing about and seeing these things, which are so lifelike and real, I can almost feel them in my hand. So much time would be needed to consider every detail but now proceed (if it is not tedious for you). (Draper 1973, 107–08)

In *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari as a painter responds to the questions posed by his patron, the Medici prince. In one passage referring to the *Element of Water*, for example, the dialogue commences in this manner:

Prince: What is this painting about?

Giorgio: I shall explain, Your Excellency. After the genitals of Father Heaven (Uranus) fell into the sea, Venus was born. She stands on a seashell and holds in both hands a veil that, blown by the wind, forms a circle over her head. About her is the Sea in all its pomp, with all the sea gods and goddesses who present her. (Draper 1973, 107)

In the depiction of Venus, Vasari continued to appropriate from the visual classical and Renaissance traditions in representing the nude female body as well as the scallop shell; namely, from antique marble sculptures or copies, e.g., Praxiteles' *Aphrodite* (IV BCE, Vatican Museum, Rome), the *Medici Venus* (I BCE, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), the *Capitoline Venus* (II BCE, Capitoline Museum, Rome), and from Renaissance paintings, e.g., Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (1485) at the Galleria degli Uffizi (Burroughs 2018), as well as Titian's *Venus Anadyomene* (1520) at the Scottish National Gallery (Edinburgh).

Vasari was particularly inspired by the visual tradition of sixteenth-century emblematic and mythographic illustrated books; namely, Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini degli Dei Antichi* (1987, 272–273). In the *Birth of Venus*, Vasari's image of the nude figure of Venus in classical *contrapposto* stance, riding on a scallop shell and holding a windblown veil,

⁴ In reference to the content of Vasari's *I Ragionamenti*, I am citing the translation of Draper 1973, while consulting with Vasari's text and other scholars' studies on the subject, in particular Gianni 2011.



3 Vincenzo Cartari, *Galatea, Imagini...* (Venice: Tomassini Press, 1647, facsimile edition Genoa: Nuova Stile Regina, 1987), 131.
 Url: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/126377022@N07/14746657085>
 Source: Flickr.



4 Agnolo Bronzino, *Cosimo I de' Medici in Armour*, 1545. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.
 Url: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Agnolo_Bronzino_-_Cosimo_I_de%27_Medici_in_armour_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg
 Public domain. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

derives from Cartari's depiction of Galatea (**fig. 3**), the Goddess of the White Sea Foam (compare figs. 1 and 3)⁵.

In *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari's dialogue is designed to explaining the iconography of the imagery. Hence, ingeniously, the Prince asks questions and the cultivated artist responds by giving an erudite explanation about the scene. For example, the Prince asks: "Who is the [old] man with the trident driving two sea horses?" and Vasari replies: "That is Neptune, God of the Sea, who is lost in wonder and motionless at seeing so beautiful a goddess rise from the waves" (Draper 1973, 107).

In the painting, Vasari placed Neptune entering the scene from the right side of the picture (vid. fig. 1). The sea god is depicted with a classical nude body reminiscent of Michelangelo's nude figures, e.g., the marble relief of the *Battle of the Centaurs* (1492 in Casa Buonarroti in Florence) and with the facial features of Cosimo I as seen in Bronzino's *Portrait of Duke Cosimo I* at the Uffizi (**fig. 4**). Neptune energetically rides

5 Cartari 1987, 131, explained that Galatea's name means "pure white" (*bianchezza*), similar to the white color of sea foam, and also noted that Hesiod referred to Galatea as having a "face of milky-white and white tresses".

to the seahorses greeting the entrance of Venus. Around him are aquatic creatures announcing the appearance of Venus by blowing their conch and providing treasures from the sea such as dolphins, snails, pearls, and corals.

From his classical education and his collaboration with the Florentine classicists and humanists Bartoli and Borghini, Vasari was familiar with classical mythology. In Roman mythology, Neptune was the son of Saturn, God of the Cosmos and Time, and of Ops, Mother Earth. In Latin, Neptune's name means "moist substance," associating him with water as well as "nuptus" or "nuptiae," meaning a "marriage of Heaven and Earth"⁶. Not by accident, Vasari depicted Neptune next to a type of myrtle tree, an attribute of "conjugal fidelity" (Hall 1974, 219) and "sacred to Neptune as the power of the waters" (Cooper 1978, 110)⁷. In classical and Renaissance art, Neptune is usually depicted as a mature bearded man, holding a trident while riding a chariot pulled by seahorses and surrounded by creatures of the sea, similar to Vasari's portrayal in the fresco of *Birth of Venus* and in a beautiful drawing by him of *Jupiter and Neptune* (1557, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig, Germany) (Härb 2015, 61, 384) (fig. 5). In his *Imagini*, Cartari noted that Neptune's trident is symbolic of the types of water in the cosmos: "salty like the sea; fresh or sweet water like the rivers; and bitter like those in the deep lakes" (Cartari 1987, 129). Vasari appropriated Cartari's descriptive attributes about Neptune's trident. He depicted an elaborate trident within a shimmering silver pitch-fork associated with water's reflections as well as evoking the traditional reference to the roots of things. Hence the three prongs of the fork also imply the essence of nature; namely, birth, life, death, mind, body, spirit, and past, present, future (Biedermann 1994, 354).

In *I Ragionamenti* the fictitious dialogue continues, commenting on other aquatic personages. For example, the Prince inquires "[Who is] The nude female standing opposite Neptune?" Vasari responds that it is Thetis (Draper 1973, 107). In the left side of the painting, balancing the entrance of Neptune at the opposite end, Thetis enters on a scallop shell and riding two seahorses. Her name means "sea-fed" or "sea-born," as Venus's birth (Ovid, *Meta.* II. 404; Homer, *Il.* xx. 207). Her beautiful nude figure is partially covered by a windblown golden veil held together by a strap decorated with pearls that match the pearls in her hairdo (vid. fig. 1). According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Homer's *Iliad*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Thetis was not only the supreme sea goddess but also the leader of the Nereids. In addition, Thetis's role as the Mother Sea Goddess secured her a special place in the sea in honoring and receiving Venus at her birth; hence her prominent

6 See Marcus Terrentius Varro, *De lingua latina*, V.72: "Neptunus, quod mare terras obnubuit ut nubes caelum, ab nuptu, id est opertione, ut antiqui, a quo nuptiae, nuptus dictus" [Neptune, because the sea veils the lands as the clouds veil the sky, gets his name from *nuptus* 'veiling,' that is, *opertio* 'covering,' as the ancients said; from which *nuptiae* 'wedding,' *nuptus* 'wedlock' are derived." English translation is from Kent 1938, 69.

7 Myrtle was also Venus's sacred plant because of the aroma and the purple flowers. In describing the painting, Vasari refers to many passages in which the color purple is used, e.g., the flowers in the myrtle tree and the veil worn by one of the Tree Graces. Unfortunately, today we are unable to see these colors.



5 Giorgio Vasari, *Jupiter and Neptune*, 1557.
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig
(No. 234 verso).
Photo credit: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum,
Braunschweig, Germany.



6 Vincenzo Cartari, *Neptune and Amphitrite*,
Imagini... (Venice: Tomassini Press, 1647, facsimile
edition Genoa: Nuova Stile Regina, 1987), 135.
Url: [https://www.flickr.com/photos/
internetarchivebookimages/14723660406/](https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14723660406/).
Source: Flickr.

appearance on the opposite side of Neptune. Although he appropriated Thetis's imagery from Cartari's *Imagini* (fig. 6) (compare figs. 1 and 6), Vasari also depicted visual similarities between Venus and Thetis, e.g., the treatment of their beautiful nude bodies, their classical *contrapposto* stances, elaborate coiffures of blond stresses ornamented with gems or flowers, windblown veils as sailing props, and both riding on a large scallop shell for their aquatic and dramatic appearance at the scene. But Vasari also indicated differences in their appearance, as in the treatment of their hairdos. Thetis is crowned with pearls as the Queen of the Sea, while Venus is decorated with Spring flowers as the Goddess of Spring. Another difference is the goddesses' handling their veils – a royal veil versus a sail veil – differentiating their actions and roles. Venus, riding on a scallop shell, billows the veil to form a sailing veil to gain assistance from the wind to quickly surface across the waves. Thetis, in contrast, uses the veil to show her royal status: the veil partially covers her head and envelops her nude body as an ancient Roman goddess

– similar to the veiled Roman Goddess of Peace in the relief of the Ara Pacis Augustae (I BCE) in Rome. Thus Thetis's appearance and presence at sea is as Queen of the Sea, while Venus's arrival at sea through a divine birth (from Uranus's testicles) makes her a precious gift of the sea and a product of the sky and the sea.

In the painting, Vasari staged the birth of Venus by framing on either side of the picture frame Thetis and Neptune arriving separately at the amazing event while riding their seahorses. But conforming to the classical literary tradition, Vasari placed Thetis close to Oceanus her husband (vid. fig. 1). Although familiar with classical and visual mythological traditions, Vasari interpreted and transformed some of the events in order to fit his own *istoria* in the *Birth of Venus*, hence taking artistic license to emphasize his artistic creativity and the merits of his finished work. For example, in classical mythology, there are discrepancies about the actual wife of Neptune. According to Greek mythology it is Amphitrite (Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1:2.7, in Hard 1997; Frazer 1921) but according to Roman legend, it is Salacia (Varro, *De lingua latina*, V.72: "Salacia Neptuni ab salo" [Salacia, wife of Neptune], in Kent 1938, 69). In the imagery of mosaics, emblems, sarcophagi, mosaic, and Cinquecento art, Neptune is usually accompanied by Amphitrite; see, for example, Benvenuto Cellini's saltshaker of 1560 for Francis I, king of France, portraying the gods of the sea, Neptune and Amphitrite (Cartari 1987, 135) (vid. fig. 6). Vasari's cognizance of Cartari was established in Sez nec's writings (1961, 300–323). Amphitrite, who gifted salt to humans, is a metaphor for the sea (Ovid, *Meta.* I.14)⁸. She is driving seahorses, navigating through and parading around in the deep sea with fabulous creatures such as tritons and nereids. But Vasari invented his own conceit in pairing Neptune with Thetis (Goddess of Sea-Water and Oceanus's wife) rather than with his wife, Amphitrite. Still visually, Vasari appropriated Cartari's imagery of Amphitrite for the depiction of Thetis, showing her riding on a scallop shell pulled by seahorses like her counterpart Neptune (compare figs. 1 and 6).

In the iconography of the *Birth of Venus*, Vasari demonstrated his classical erudition from his schooling as well as his familiarity with the humanistic tradition of consulting emblematic and mythographic sources; namely, his encounter with Andrea Alciato in Bologna, in 1538. When Vasari was decorating the refectory of San Michele in Bosco, Alciato, while teaching jurisprudence at the University of Bologna, wrote a Latin poem honoring Vasari's artistic accomplishments. The poem was inscribed on a plaque at the refectory's entrance (Cheney 2011, 142). Thus the writings and images of Alciato and Cartari were compelling sources for Vasari.

To visualize Venus's impromptu appearance and a good omen for the aquatic world, for example, Vasari borrowed Alciato's Emblem 133 from his *Diverse Imprese*

8 See Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3:13.5; and Cartari 1987, 135, representing Neptune and Amphitrite together riding on a scallop shell pulled by sea horses. Elsewhere (1987, 138) Cartari referred to Thetis as an old and sage woman married to Oceanus and Goddess of all Sea-Gods of Rivers, Bodies of Waters, and Nymphs usually riding on a chariot pulled by whales.



7 Andrea Alciato, *Opportunity or Good Fortune*, Emblem 133. *Diverse Imprese* (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551), 119. Photo credit: Permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

(Alciato 1551, 119). The emblem's motto is about Good Fortune or Opportunity (*Nella Occasione*) (fig. 7). Alciato's image (*pictura*) shows a wide-open sea where a nude woman in *contrapposto* stance, carrying a windblown veil, navigates through the waves while standing on a wheel. In the depiction of Venus, Vasari has appropriated Alciato's image but substituted the wheel with a scallop shell (compare Figs. 1 and 7). But most of all, Vasari assimilated from Alciato the emblematic conceit of a positive omen and of seizing good opportunities. For Vasari, the conceit of the birth of Venus and her navigation through water becomes associated with the birth of a new state in Florence under the guidance of Cosimo I. Using the land and sea platform for the vicissitudes of battles among the Florentines, Pisans, and Siennese, Vasari transformed them into an imaginary benevolent *platea* with bodies of water that connects with Tuscan terrain (Ligurian Sea and Tyrrhenian Sea). Historically, Cosimo I's political astuteness, determination, and persistence transformed a battleground into a peaceful and a prosperous estate for the Florentines (Masters 1998; Pitkin 1984). Vasari continued to visually dramatize this type of Medicean glorification in another *sala* of the Palazzo Vecchio, the *Salone dei Cinquecento* (1563–1570). Cosimo I's successful military strategies were depicted, showing the Florentines defending and protecting Florence and the Florentines from the neighboring city enemies of Pisa and Siena (Allegri and Cecchi 235–55).

In *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari also provided explanations of other sea figures in the painting, always seeking inspiration for the imagery in emblematic sources, especially Alciato.

Giorgio: The ones with their heads covered with weeds playing the maritime instruments are the Tritons. Proteus, shepherd of the sea, who is part horse and part fish, presents her [Venus] with a shell full of pearls and coral. It is Glaucus you see offering her a dolphin. And likewise, the blue-eyed sea god Palaemon brings coral and a lobster to her. (Draper 1973, 108)

Alciato was fascinated with the triton Proteus, creating a unique emblem (Emblem 183) with a Latin motto, *Antiquissima quaeque commentitia* [Whatever is most ancient is a fabrication or The oldest things are all invented]. The epigram of the emblem explains that the triton Proteus is a prophetic old man (*halios gerón*). He was the first man of the sea, who avoided capture by camouflaging himself in various roles. Proteus sometimes appears on earth like a shepherd or as a man riding in a chariot drawn by Hippocampi. Other times he appears as a sea monster composed of a fish-tailed horse or a marine centaur. Like Thetis, Proteus transforms himself into many forms: “having the body of a man, or of a beast” (Daily 1985, vol. 1, Emblem 183). Alciato is making reference to the personification of power and magic as well as to inventive tactics needed to protect and defend oneself (fig. 8). Proteus’s constant morphosis is also associated with Venus, who was born from the foam of the sea and transformed into a beautiful woman (Alciato 1550)⁹.



8 Andrea Alciato, *Proteus*, Emblem 183.

Diverse Imprese (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551)

Photo credit: Permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

9 Proteus’s name in Greek, *protistos*, means “the very first.” The epigram indicates this allusion, as Alciato noted (*Emblemata*, Emblem 183): “I (Proteus) offer symbols of antiquity and the very first times, concerning which ever everyone dreams up.”

This magical power of change recalls Thetis's transformative abilities (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 240, 44, in Evelyn-White 1904). Thetis as Queen of the Sea, she was able to magically transform, giving refuge and saving her friends in the sea – e.g., Dionysus (Bacchus), Hephaestus (Vulcan), and her son Achilles – from Jupiter's fury and his allies. Vasari introduces a subtle invention and analogy among Proteus, Thetis, and Cosimo I by emphasizing Cosimo's transformation from a ruler of an area, Florence, to a duke of a region Tuscany, as well as a change from city-town of Florence into a Tuscan duchy.

Vasari's image showed Proteus navigating with Glaucus in order to welcome the arrival of Venus while offering gifts of pearls, corals, and a lobster. In the painting, Vasari portrayed Glaucus next to Proteus. Glaucus offers a dolphin to Venus. Vasari or Borghini confused the mythological story of Glaucus with Palaemon. In classical literature it is Palaemon who is associated with a dolphin. But Vasari depicted an old triton carrying a dolphin as a gift to Venus's birth and identified him as Glaucus (Draper 1973, 108). According to the classical tradition (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 240, 5–8, in Evelyn-White 1904; Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.17, in Grant 1960), in order to conquer Amphitrite's love, Neptune sent a dolphin, her favorite sea creature, to entertain her. Victorious in this chore, the dolphin is rewarded by Neptune through the Olympian gods, who grant his request to be transformed into the constellation of Delphinus. In the painting, however, Vasari has substituted Amphitrite for Thetis, and Neptune's gift of a dolphin for Amphitrite is now given to Venus.

In classical and emblematic myths, Glaucus was a mortal fisherman who changed into a triton with a serpentine fishtail and a pair of equine forelegs after eating a magical herb (Cartari 1987, 130). In the *Imagini*, Cartari represented Glaucus (**fig. 9**) holding a



9 Vincenzo Cartari, *Glaucus. Imagini...* (Venice: Tomassini Press, 1647, facsimile edition Genoa: Nuova Stile Regina, 1987), 130.
 Url: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14746366052/>.
 Source: Flickr.

laurel-like branch, and although familiar with Cartari's representation, Vasari selected to portray Glaucus holding in his right hand a large seashell filled with precious presents from the sea. And with his left hand Glaucus holds a long green plant, referring to his aquatic metamorphosis (compare Figs. 1 and 9): "He [Glaucus] that ate the ever-living, imperishable grass" (Aeschylus, *Frag.* 13 on the lost play of *Glaucus Pontios* recounting the transformations of Glaucus [Sommerstein 2009]). On the other side of Venus, the triton Palaemon offers her a dolphin. Next to him another triton blows a conch-shell horn announcing the arrival of Neptune at the birth event. Like Glaucus, the triton is a marine divinity connected with the story of the Argonauts, which is seen in the background of the painting (Draper 1973, 108).

Humorously Vasari depicted next to this triton blowing a conch two beautiful sea nymphs carrying precious gifts from the sea, one of which holds a snail. Hearing the thunderous noise made by this triton, the snail has promptly emerged from the conch and stands erect with pointed tentacles, overwhelmed by the sound. But on a serious note, Vasari alluded to the importance of fame and recognition in his rendering of this triton, as is visualized in Alciato's Emblem 144, with the motto "Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri" [Immortality won through literary pursuits]. Here Alciato praised the triton's energetic efforts to blow the conch to announce the arrival of Neptune, while in Vasari's imagery it refers to the arrival of Venus. Alciato's *pictura* [image] shows a triton beardless, nude to the waist, floating at sea while blowing a conch (**fig. 10**). He is encircled by a snake biting its own tail (*oroboros*). In the epigram, Alciato explained



10 Andrea Alciato, *Triton*, Emblem 144.

Diverse Imprese (Lyons: Macé Bonhomme for Guillaume Rouille, 1551), 130

Photo credit: Permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

the triton's blowing action as an allusion to announcing fame: "The fame of men of outstanding intellect and their noble achievements. The encircled snake because of the circular shape alludes to the cosmos as well as to eternity (Knott and Manning 1996, 144, Emblem 144). Vasari continued to appropriate Alciato's conceits paralleling the arrival of Neptune at the cosmic event of the birth of Venus with Cosimo I's successful actions in achieving glory and fame, thus creating a benevolent governmental transformation throughout Florence (Allegrì and Cecchi 1980).

In the fictive dialogue of *I Ragionamenti*, Vasari identified more aquatic figures in the scene, e.g., the beautiful Galatea as a sea nymph (Cartari 1987, 131).

Prince asks: Who is the goddess with her back?

Giorgio responds: "She is Galatea. Near her is Pistro [Pherosa, a nereid], a very beautiful maiden, although a monster from the waist down. Leuchotea is embraced by Pistro [Pherosa]. These Amphitrides offer shells, snail shells and mother of pearl to Venus. Further back are the Nereids, who are swimming to watch all the sea gods and goddesses. The other woman who rises up on the sea in the rose chariot drawn by two horses is Dawn [Aurora]. (Draper 1973, 107–108, Cartari 1987, 131)

Prince: What ship is going by in the distance?

Giorgio: It is the ship Argus. On the shore the three Graces are waiting for Venus. They all wear crowns of vermilion, pink and white roses, and one has plectrum, one a purple garment, and the third a mirror. On the water in the distance is the chariot of Venus, made ready by Amor and pulled by four white doves, which is coming to take Venus away. (Draper 1973, 109)

Prince: Now tell me what temple is that in the distance and who are those virgins and other people standing waiting and watching on the shore?

Giorgio: These are the people of Cyprus waiting for the Goddess. The temple is the very rich and beautiful one at Paphos. (Draper 1973, 109)

Prince: The only one left for you to explain is that large, rather disheveled figure, stretching out his arm in the front of the story. His head, which is all he raises above the waves, is soaked with sea weeds and moss and no doubt has the odor of herbs. (Draper 1973, 109)

Giorgio: My lord, he is the Terror of the Sea. (Draper 1973, 110)

The most dramatic and last image to be identified is Oceanus, the Terror of the Sea. "Hearing Triton's noise," Vasari explained: "He [Oceanus] hurried over to see what was happening in the sea, and lifting his arm in sign of quiet, he commands the proud gods of the sea to be still while this goddess is born" (Draper 1973, 110).

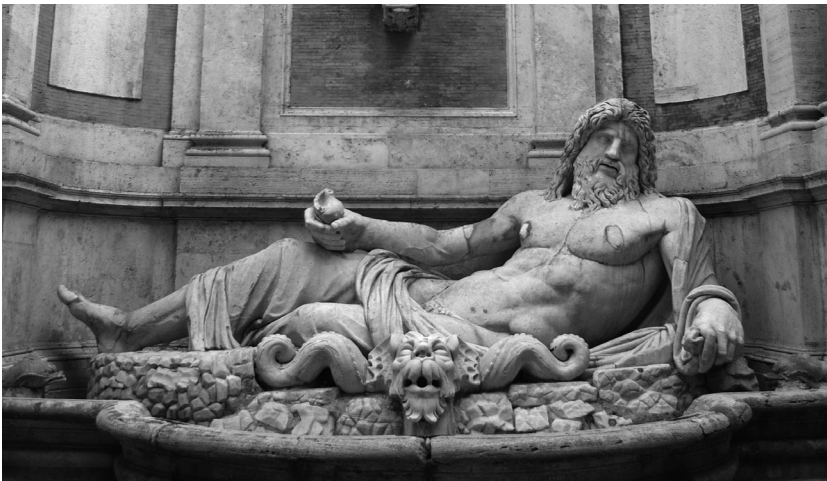
Vasari continued to be inspired by the ancient texts as well as by classical imagery. For Homer (*Il.* 18.14–200), for example, Oceanus is the eldest of the Titans, son of Uranus and Gaia. He married Thetis and fathers all the river gods and the sea nymphs, the Oceanids. In the visual arts, ancient Antioch's mosaics and Roman sculptures honored Oceanus as the River God. For example, the colossal marble statue known as *Marforio* or

Oceanus, of the second century at the Capitoline Museum in Rome (**fig. 11**), represents the River God reclining in a pool of water surrounded by aquatic elements; and the large tondo of a Roman marble relief nicknamed *Bocca della Verità* represents Oceanus. Rita Benini and Massimo Portolani (2017) composed a drawing reconstruction of the *Bocca della Verità* clarifying the worn-out scene on the old marble and indicating that Oceanus's horns are crab claws. His mustache is made of a fish, while two dolphins decorate the lower part of his beard.

Oceanus was a personification of water, and he was said to have unified all the rivers on earth as a symbol of goodness and peace. Vasari paralleled Oceanus's unifying actions with Cosmo I's unification of the territories in Tuscany (Pisa, Siena, and Florence) through battles in order to achieve peace. Another comparison is the metaphorical reference to the ancient Trojan War and the Florentine war with the Sienese (1556–1559).

Vasari further elucidated on the symbolism of water about this Medicean patron by stating:

This whole interweaving of the elements of Water, it must be realized, pertains to the duke [Cosimo I], who came in anticipation from heaven to the troubled waters of this sea of government and made them tranquil and quiet. He accomplished this difficult task by stilling the spirits of the populace, made so agitated by the winds of passion in their hearts, which were oppressed by their own selfish interests. (Draper 1973, 110)



11 *Oceanus (Marphurius)*, 2nd century CE. Capitoline Museum, Palazzo Nuovo, Rome.
 Url: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Musei_Capitolini_Ocean.JPG.
 Public domain. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Conversant with Cosimo I's interests in botany, herbal medicine, gemology, and alchemy, Vasari made allusions to them in the *Birth of Venus* (Maresca 2017, 11–36; 2012, 87–103). Knowledgeable about the writings of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (before 79 CE) on gems and precious stones (Lefons 2000, 49 and section 62), Vasari incorporated the rich display of aquatic minerals in his interpretation of the gifts or fruits of the sea from the marine gods to Venus on her birthday. Moreover, he associated the symbolism of the *frutti di mare* – the gems of the sea, such as corals and pearls – in the imagery of Venus's birth with medical powers connected with “the fortification of the living spirits” (Biedermann 1994, 76). For example, the pearl is not only associated with the sea as its product (Lefons 2000, 49) but also is connected with the sky because of its luster, luminosity, and shape. Hence its symbolism is coupled with the moon, and not by accident is the Chariot of Diana depicted in the ceiling above the painting of *The Birth of Venus*. Since Antiquity, the moon has been an attribute of the virgin goddess Diana (Ovid, *Meta.* XV.196). This astral and nocturnal attribute is also connected to Venus, whose divine birth makes her the Star of the Sea or *stella maris* (Goodman 2000, 309)¹⁰. Like the pearl, the coral is also considered a precious gem because it is allied with the deity born from the sea: Venus, the Goddess of Love (Filipczak 1997, 117). The coral as *materia prima* forms from the ingredients of the sea, including the foam (thus its colors of white or red), just as Venus herself was born from the sea foam (Cheney 1998, 2–5). Coral, called the “tree of the sea” for its twiggy, vein-like shape, symbolizes the vividness of the marine world because of its red coloration like the outburst of aquatic movements created with the appearance of Venus from the sea (Ovid, *Meta.* IV.706). Vasari depicted several of the nereids with coral branches in their hairdos or holding branches of coral as a special gift for the beautiful goddess. Venus's hairdo is filled with white and red flowers, which are of the same colors of the pearls and corals offered to her by the marine gods.

The multilayer meanings of the symbolism of water as a mysterious sea element allude to its fluid physical nature as well as to its perpetual motion, an abstract signification for boundless and timeless revealed in ancient and Renaissance allegories and personifications. The symbolism of water is associated with the three aspects in the cosmos: a source of life, purification, and regeneration. In the imagery of the *Birth of Venus*, Vasari incorporated these meanings and also considered the Florentine Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic theory about the transformation of forms from descending to ascending mutations, from chaotic disorder to rational order, from substance to metaphysical essence, and from inorganic matter to divine forms (Allen 2008, 66–70; Corrias 2012).

In the fresco wall painting *Birth of Venus*, the realms of water are depicted in an ascending movement, starting from the *dado* (the bottom layer of the wall): the chaotic

10 Goodman notes that the Virgin Mary is like Venus a *stella maris*: “Stella maris ... Stella splendida et matutina est stella omnium fulgentissima, quae ab astrologis dicitur stella Veneris.”

realm of the depth sea where the sea and monstrous battles occur. Ascending to the next level, the human realm is depicted, through the aquatic realm where rivers, seas, and ocean flow, which is revealed in the center of the wall. The vertical movement culminates in the ceiling into a divine realm. In the *dado*, Vasari visualized the formation of chaos or low marine forms with the depiction of aquatic sea battles among sea monsters, probably alluding to the rebellious nature of Cosimo I's enemies as well as to the prolonged battles between the Florentines and the Sienese. Moving upward to the center of the wall, the birth scene of Venus reveals several layers of transformations. The sea monsters and aquatic animals, for example, peacefully coexist; no marine battles are seen among them. On the contrary, these types of aquatic forms provide gifts from the sea such as precious gems, corals, and pearls as well as sea urchins, dolphins, and lobsters for the celebration of the historical event. Another level of positive mutation is the cooperation between the gods and the rulers of the sea – Neptune with Thetis and Oceanus – in welcoming the new goddess, Venus. With her arrival, the sea returns to a peaceful state; the creatures of the sea are now in a celebratory mood in calmer, placid, and blue waters that contrast with the dark and fetid waters created by the monsters in the battle scene at the *dado* level. The inventive transformation and ascension conclude with the perfect mutation: Saturn providing the divine foam (sperm) that joins the sky and the sea with the bliss of a perfect form, Venus. The transformation from organic matter to divine essence is now complete.

The philosophical analogy of the movement of water and its substance also can be applied to political transformation and the emergence of a moral state. Vasari *sotto voce* is commemorating Cosimo I's recent defeat of Siena after a prolonged and problematic war. With this victory Cosimo I conquered the territory of Siena, which later will grant him governance over Tuscany. Thus at one level (the political), the presence of Oceanus (a merger of the seas) and the presence of Neptune (ruler of the sea) at the birth of Venus symbolized metaphorically the new governance of Cosimo I through transformations: conquest, birth (new), and expansion in the formation of the Duchy of Tuscany. The *Birth of Venus* as an element of water personifies the political fluidity in which Cosimo I adroitly expanded the Florentine terra firma into a Tuscan territory in the same manner as Neptune conquered the governance of the sea from his father Saturn. The *frutti di mare* are the fruits of the new political achievements and honors bestowed on Cosimo I by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Thus Vasari visualized in metaphorical personifications the cosmic influences and proclivities of Cosimo I's political reign with physical elements and planetary interventions.

Saturn (also a God of the Sky, an element of Air) and Venus (an element of water) benefit the planet Earth (Cosimo's I residence on Florence). Vasari used their astral movement and flows to create a composition that allows the viewer to follow Cosimo I's destiny as a successful and benevolent ruler of Tuscany. Vasari cryptically expressed this thought by saying:

My intention is not to appear to be trying to draw farfetched meanings about him in order to match the subject matter. For whoever understands, it is sufficient for me to point out only part of my invention since I am not trying to accommodate all the meanings appropriate to these stories ... because never was there a lord [Medici] ... who drove away more human beasts, full of vices, than this prince. And there are many other analogies that I omit in the interest of time. (Drapier 1973, 110)

Thus water (the River Arno, Ligurian Sea, Tyrrhenian Sea) is a natural and physical force that inspires the Florentine artists (Ammannati and Vasari) to create mythological (*Fountain of Neptune* and *Birth of Venus*) and political (Cosimo I de' Medici) allusions with metaphysical significations of good fortune, peace, and prosperity. The benevolent Medicean government is compared with the gentle ripples of water in the river and at the sea, and the flourishing of the region is like the rich contents provided by water and found in the sea. Cosimo I de' Medici has plentifully provided for his beloved Florence and the citizens of Tuscany: a state of order, recognition, and tranquility – a conch of *frutti di mare*.

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CHRISTOPHER KREUTCHEN*

The Ruler of the Waters: The role of Neptune in the episcopal representational strategy of Markus Sittikus in Hellbrunn

Archbishop Markus Sittikus of Hohenems had his leisure palace of Hellbrunn built some 6 kilometers from Salzburg within the space of two years (1613-1615)¹. Despite a lack of building plans or reports, the period of construction can be dated on the basis of invoices and an inscription in the garden. Current research suggests it was designed by the court architect Santino Solari (1576-1646), from Verna at Lake Como. The precise connections and reasons for selecting this man are by and large unknown. His qualification was probably due to the solid reputation enjoyed in Italy by the Comasques, whose name derives from their place of origin (Rüdiger 2010, 547)².

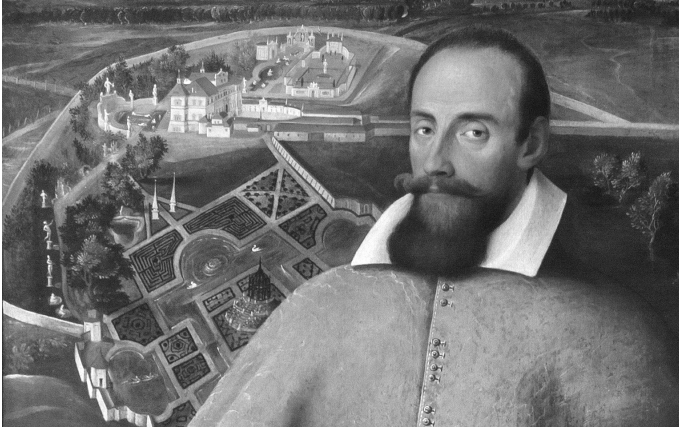
The ensemble, consisting of *villa suburbana* and gardens, has remained in its original condition for the most part to this day. The grounds, divided originally into three separate gardens spaces, comprised a cloister in the southeast – now extinct – with inhabited hermitages; animal enclosures and hunting grounds on Hellbrunn Hill and the western meadows; while the actual leisure gardens were located between the hill and the palace, with water games, labyrinths, grottos and automata. The two life-sized ruler's portraits of Markus Sittikus by the Florentine Servite monk Fra Arsenio Mascagni (ca. 1570-1632), showing the prince-archbishop in front of paintings of his most important building activities, the new construction of the cathedral and Hellbrunn (**fig. 1**), as well as a large copperplate from 1619, which show engravings by Mathäus Merian from his "Topographia Bavariae" around 1644, and by Franz Anton Danreiter from his

* Technische Universität Dortmund, Germany.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4956-9340>. E-mail: christopher.kreutchen@tu-dortmund.de.

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2 On the court architect Santino Solari: Rüdiger 2010 and Wallentin 1994.



1 Detail of Dom Arsenio Mascagni, *Portrait of Archbishop Markus Sittikus of Hohenems*, 1618. Oil on canvas, 235 x 143cm, Salzburg, Hellbrunn. Palace administration of Hellbrunn. Photo credit: Franz Dittelbacher.

“Salzburger Prospekt” in 1727, testify to this state. In particular they stage the garden area of Hellbrunn as an outstanding monument of princely representational culture of the early 17th century. This contemporary appreciation runs counter to the contradictory assessment in the research, which characterises Hellbrunn as the most significant preserved northern Alpine garden of its age, on an equal standing with Italy’s villa complexes, a “Pratolino del Nord” (Rava 1970, 27) and its assessment as a plumper imitation of the exemplary grounds in the south. The claim was that it was precisely the gardens’ lack of importance at the cultural periphery – the absence of conversions or destruction – that secured its continued existence (Schaber 2004, 8-9). Every new examination of the gardens starts with substantial clarification, from previous research, of the circumstances of its creation and an examination of the individual parts of the garden³. However, up to date, there has been no new analysis that argues in a broader cultural context just how ambitious these gardens were conceived, in dialogue with other gardens that were created around the same time. Above all, it may be possible to demonstrate a narrative – previously disputed in the field of research – of the staging of the garden. The following considerations aim to present initial aspects of a more comprehensive study for discussion.

3 Selected literature on the Hellbrunn ensemble: Hajós 2010, where the author addresses the water games at Hellbrunn and sets them in dialogue with the same sources as in this paper, however with a different point of interest; furthermore, Kamp and Kühberger 2016 and Bigler 1996.

The gardens of Markus Sittikus are particularly suited to provide information about the role of water and that of the water god Neptune in representational strategies and their realization in garden art. They are especially suitable – as the remarks below shall demonstrate – for an exemplary analysis.

The outstanding state of preservation of the historical grounds certainly plays an important role. Above all, however, a conspicuously dense staging of water and Neptune can be observed in a princely leisure garden that – although the associated residential city lay directly at a river, the Salzach – had no existential dependency on the element of water. The ecclesiastical principality of Salzburg did not lie at the sea, but rather at a safe distance, in the middle of the continent; the elementary power of the sea presented neither a threat nor a challenge. The prince-bishopric was not a military marine power, it did not depend economically on ocean trade, nor was it possible for the elected regent to inherit and embellish a mythological family narrative and develop it further as legitimisation of his rule for subsequent generations. Nevertheless, from the multitude of gods and mythological figures, the archbishop chose the gods of the deep for his leisure grounds, who arose from legions of tritons and naiads. To date it has escaped researchers just how much this choice reveals about the self-image of Markus Sittikus.

Specifically, Sittikus conceived three recognisably different types and ideas of sea gods in one narrow space. Beyond the realm of mere sculptural garden decoration, the prince developed a programme that he connected with the ‘genius loci’ of the place and which he invigorated with the help of elementary powers. Sittikus also expressed this achievement by using a stone inscription in the garden:

Quos hic amoenos colles / herbosa prata nitidas uides aquas, / Marcus Sitticus / Archip[iscop]us Salisb[urgensis] [et] Princeps / neglecta naturae dona / non absque commiseratione admirans / moenibus cinxit theatris ornauit / é paludoso limo / tot uarios fontes collegit / dilecta posteritati dicauit / MDCXIII. (Inscription on the large exedra in Hellbrunn, 1613)⁴

The prince embedded the inscription plate on the central axis of the palace in the large exedra, which together with the palace façade encompassed the central garden square. Cast in stone, it demonstrated (and continues to do so today) its hydrotechnical power. It was what made the creation of the leisure grounds possible in the first place. Instead of converting the country homes of his predecessors and subjecting himself to convention, he reclaimed land from the Salzburg moorland around Hellbrunn Hill – an island elevation. He then succeeded – according to his own self-assured claim – in cultivating this no-man’s-land into his personal place of leisure. Using hydrotechnical means, the prince-archbishop tamed a wilderness that was deemed to be infectious, due

4 “This lovely hill, here, / this grassy meadow, the clear water that you see, / Markus Sittikus, Archbishop and Prince of Salzburg / has surrounded with walls the neglected gifts of nature, / admiring them not without pity, / has decorated them with theatres, / collected many different sources / on the boggy threshold / and dedicated them to dear posterity / MDCXIII” (Translation by the author).

to its moistness and its insects, and surrounded this space with walls, subjecting the wilderness to his unrestricted authority (Zangheri 1993, 55)⁵. As a prince he recognised the “neglected gifts of nature”, and ascribed them a new order. Such an “aesthetic taming” (Lefevré 1977, 523) of nature is symptomatic of the garden design of the time, but Sittikus opted for the greatest possible challenge with his choice of location for his *villa suburbana*. “É paludoso limo / tot uarios fontes collegit” did not appear to present an obstacle, but rather an added motivation for the choice of this site – or at least a special topos of speaking about this choice.

With the “lovely hill” and the “grassy meadow”, as well as the “sources”, the “clear water” and the “neglected gifts of nature”, the inscription invoked topos with which Markus Sittikus followed a discursive field that stretched back to antiquity. Furthermore, the text also invoked the – equally topical – taming of elementary powers. Another theme that was topical since antiquity was garden design and the technical design of water games. Even in itself, water could be encountered in many different forms: Water can flow, gush, bubble, fall, shoot up, drop, evaporate, ripple, sink, and freeze. It can be hard and soft. It can carry things, and one can sink in it. Due to its immeasurable variety – “varietas” – it became the most exciting building element in creating one’s own Arcadia of – as Sittikus invoked – “lovely hills” and “grassy meadows”, in which “sources” bubbled. For his arcadia, Sittikus used the high spring level, and the resulting numerous springs that pour from the crumbling gravel terrace above Hellbrunn over the resulting edge (Seefeldner 1961, 8-9.) and which previously made the land boggy and unusable, as a reservoir and natural propulsion for his waterworks. He thus transformed the geographical disadvantage into an advantage, since there was no need to draw water by means of channels, as in other gardens. Instead, he literally allowed the well-contoured ‘genius loci’ to flow directly as a natural force into his spatial work of art. While other ensembles, for example the Villa d’Este in Tivoli, had to use up the entire hydropower of the diverted Aniene to operate its fountains and water games, springs arose at various sites in Hellbrunn as an inexhaustible power. Sittikus is likely to have thought this superior to the more famous gardens and parks. In Hellbrunn he presented his guests with a kind of nature that was formed as “natura altra” and which provided – as Gisberti put it around 1670 – “a leisure for the soul without beginning or end” (Schaber and Schrattenecker 1997, 18). A significant part of this leisure also no doubt derived from the knowledge of being in agreement with authors like Cicero, who spoke of: “by our hands, eventually, we almost attempt to create another nature within the natural world”. (Cicero 1989, II, 152).

5 Here and elsewhere I do not assume that Markus Sittikus himself carried out any work or drafted any designs. Alongside Solari the Servite monk Fra Giachino is listed in the invoices as master fountain builder. However it is unclear whether he was also responsible for the development of the garden ensemble, nor is anything more known about this person. For reasons of linguistic simplicity, I conflate architects, artists and craftsmen in the master builder as the decisive entity.

As the picture in Mascagni portrait is presenting, the prince-archbishop had collected the spring water in the eastern water parterre where, motionless in its artificial pool surroundings, it was intended to extend the Hellbrunn “*natura altera*” by its own-mirrored image. Mascagni presents the water parterre at the level of Markus Sitticus’ shoulders. By means of an underground overflow, to this day the pond still feeds the straight canal that runs along the palace, before exiting the gardens in the west and entering the Hellbrunn Stream. A single path ran along the canal, known as the Prince’s Way, which leads through the gardens. To analyse the representational strategy, however, it does not suffice – and this is the methodical thesis presented here – to analyse the design of the gardens alone. Rather, in order to work out the levels of meaning, it should be taken into account that historical observers did not move through the gardens like visitors to a cultural attraction. Instead, they came at the invitation of the lord. Even more: The prince is likely to have accompanied them through his park. He was an indispensable protagonist of the historical reception situation. The prince thus moved – we can assume – with the flow of the tamed waterpower, together with his guests through the gardens, without presenting them with any destination. The angled path system and the surrounding hedges block the views of any end point. Visiting parties had no other access points, deviations or exits. Such a prevention of decision-making options and the enforced following of the water’s course makes Sittikus’ concept of the series of grottos, sculptures and water tricks a matter of specialist interest. In contrast to other gardens, it was not possible to discover the attractions by chance while strolling in the park or to seek them out deliberately. Rather, in Hellbrunn they had to be experienced in their intended interrelation. That is also reflected in the precise illustration in Mascagni’s portraits and in the aforementioned engravings. It was also the prince who activated the attractions and the water games. Part of the point of the water tricks was to aim for a surprise and not reveal their nature prematurely. They required a targeted deployment in an eloquent setting. Without the prince, the garden could not come to life. This garden space, through which the prince had water flow as the overarching, common theme, can be seen as the heart of the ensemble. In this sequence, the prince-bishop installed three different sculptures of water gods. They framed the space and structured the Prince’s Way according to different aspects of water shaping. The structure of the examination is less influenced by systematical criteria but it is conducted accordingly to the order in the garden, the flow of the water imitating the performative experience of the garden space.

Markus Sittikus opened his Prince’s Way with a Neptune in a ‘natural’ grotto, consisting of two water basins (**fig. 2**). The bearded god rode on a dolphin in the upper basin, holding his metal trident in his right hand. His left foot stood on the animal’s muzzle, while his right foot was wrapped in a cloth that fell in folds from his left thigh across his lap and over his dolphin’s side. Like all the sculptures in the garden, the Neptune sculpture was made from marble from Untersberg, a quarry that loomed towards the sky, easily visible from Hellbrunn. Untersberg marble is a limestone, which however could be



2 Salzburg, Hellbrunn (1613-1615), Neptune-grotto at the beginning of the alley of the Elector. Photo credit: author.

worked and polished like marble. In this manner, Sittikus made use of materials from the immediate vicinity and created his “*natura altera*” from the nature of his very own principality. The basin was framed and separated from the surrounding nature by an exedra made from coarsely hewn conglomerate rock.

Sittikus had the dolphin spew water into a large clam, which then spilled over the edge of the shell into the basin. Thus the group of figures appeared to produce from within the water in which it sat, until the basin overflowed. The centre of the basin’s edge is interrupted by another low conglomerate wall, so that the water fell to both sides across the edge into a protruding rectangular basin, which opened up below the ground level of the Prince’s Way. Behind each of the two curtains of water, marble panels with the Salzburg Lion were framed in relief by a mosaic made from black upright river pebbles. Emerging from the panels, ornamental tendrils made from red and blue stones entwined with the black stones. In addition, water poured into the protruding basin from the open throat of a large marble mask with grotesquely distorted proportions. Water flowed from the lower basin beneath the Prince’s Way and into the canal. Since the canal started directly in front of the Neptune grotto, and the other inflows were invisible to observers, Sittikus staged the fountain figure as the ruler of the water and the source of the canal; the leisure gardens of Hellbrunn were fed by an apparently never-dwindling overflow.

To make the emergence of the water plausible, Markus Sittikus had his Neptune exert pressure on the dolphin with one hand and one foot, in order to press the water out of his mount. In this manner he updated the classical motif of hydro technology, which also reflected the physical principles of a mechanism in an artistic form; wrung-out

towels, inflated frogs, etc. This idea was supported, for example, by the handed-down observations of Pliny's "historia naturalis", according to which dolphins were able to blow water out of their noses. Book knowledge of the natural sciences was enriched by oral reports or one's own visual findings, and could be activated in such a grotto figure. If one reverses the causation, the sprouting forth of the water testifies to the fact that the stone sculptures could in fact exert pressure: one could imagine them to be alive. Rather than merely appearing on a pedestal, offered for observation as a collector's piece and relating only to itself, the sculpture became the embodiment of Neptune, who had an impact on his surroundings. The scene was extended, to a certain extent, in that the "natura altera" was animated.

By shaping the water, the prince opened up Neptune's grotto to his guests as a place of adventure that stimulated not only the sense of sight, but all other senses too. All around Neptune's grotto, the element of water changed the temperature, in that it noticeably cooled the atmosphere and generated a sensitive climactic sphere that was perceived on the skin, particularly when it had been heated by the sun. Furthermore, water stimulated the olfactory sense, just as one tends to smell a lake in the forest before seeing it. Sittikus was also able to evoke his idea of the water god among his guests by means of the sense of hearing, which is impossible to shut off. With the water and the manner in which it overflowed, fell and formed shapes, etc. he created noises that formed a sound space around the grotto. The deliberate use of sound as a parameter of spatial design can be seen in other gardens of the time. We can therefore assume a certain sensitization to the connections between sounds and shapes of water. Even before the guests saw the grotto, it called to them with the sound of irregular sloshing and murmuring, and may therefore have evoked different expectations about the origin than a monotonous babbling or a gentle rustling. It is conceivable that such a sensitised perception on the part of the guests transferred the character of the sound to the sculpture and expanded the idea of the god of the elementary force of water with such impressions. Sittikus created grotto spaces that could not be observed from the outside only, but which had to be experienced, and which appeared to awaken his idea of an arcadia suggestively in his garden.

The prince-bishop also demonstrated his erudition and cultural dexterity with the roughly-hewn conglomerate rocks, which took up the paragons between nature and art, updating them in his gardens in the antique topos of the 'vivi saxi'. Accordingly, stone was by no means dead, but rather appeared to grow out of the water. A grotto was characterised as being "endowed with the life of nature" (Plumpe 1943, 1). From 'suo ingenio' nature created grotto spaces that were populated with gods by ancient poets such as Virgil and Ovid, as mythical places. Thus the grotto became a passage between reality and the mythical arcadia. Principle builders like Markus Sittikus set themselves the challenge in their gardens – one may exaggerate here, also against the background of contemporary art theory – of realising the literary topoi of antiquity in a new interpretation, and transferring a naturally grown grotto – 'petrified' nature – into an architectural

form (Symmes 1999, 11); a form of expression that provoked knowledgeable discussion about the visual and linguistic differences between nature and art. As such, the grotto was an “elusive art form” (Plumpe 1943, 7) and during the 16th century became the most important building element in garden design.

Like other sculptures in Hellbrunn, Neptune was based on a rediscovered ancient sculpture that was erected in another park. These models were radically reworked for the Hellbrunn context, and staged differently. Knowledgeable guests will have recognised in the form of the Hellbrunn Neptune the antique sculpture of Aesculapius from the Pratolino gardens, and would have discussed Sittikus’ changes and adaptation. In its reinterpretation as the Hellbrunn Neptune, the Aesculapius figure got a dolphin as a mount, a trident, and in general received a more solid shape. Such adjustments allowed Markus Sittikus to present himself as a knowledgeable and worldly prince who was familiar with the gardens of other princes and cultural centres. Sittikus did not merely appropriate the ancients as collector’s items. He cited, indeed paraphrased the models in such a manner that erudite visitors could recognise them, that the cultural narrative shone through, and yet was also enriched with its own, Salzburg narrative. In this way the healing effect of Aesculapius and of the spring in general could be emphasised as one aspect of the Neptune grotto. It allowed the established natural space to be understood by means of its aesthetic reception, and expanded in its narrative quality with figures. The sculptures stimulated various occasions for discussion and linked the different gardens together.

Such a ‘living’ pictorial space, which addressed the prior knowledge brought by the visitor, evoked the playfulness of other gardens, and compelled discussion on antique models in their current exhibitiv contexts, had to be understood as an intended occasion for dialogue. As already established by Michael Baxandall in the context of 15th century painting, the viewing of a work was not considered to be a passive process, either in the conception or the reception. The art collections from the period around 1600 were also staged as spaces for dialogue (Welzel 1997, 503-504). Thus the prince is likely to have also presupposed such an active interaction of his guests with his garden art. Just like the painter, the prince, when laying out his garden, can also “rely on the beholder [...] to recognise the theme” and thus also the underlying mythological stories “promptly enough for him to accent, vary and adjust it in rather advanced ways.” (Baxandall 1988, 62). Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, for example, were “codes from which the fantasy of the knowledgeable [could] create his own story” (Ovid, 1992, 407-408). The narratives, so rich in images, established a common educational canon, with which each potential guest would have learned Latin. This prince could draw on this as a larger “common denominator” (Baxandall 1988, 67) of skills and cultural knowledge in the conception of his “*natura altera*”, and also the respective individual preferences and habits that could enrich discourse. With the first figure of Neptune, we can assume that Sittikus “left traces of this kind of analysis [and] thus [provided] his audience with clues, which they were very much in a position to grasp” and for which they were willing to

invest “energy and interest; in other words, [they] would not have made the effort to come so far if [they] did not enjoy the exercise to a certain degree.” (Baxandall 1988, 137-139). It was not merely as personifications of water that the sea gods, naiads and tritons brought, in Gisberti’s words: “a leisure for the soul without beginning or end” (Schaber and Schrattecker 1997, 18). The entertainment value of the gardens lay in its function as an intersection of learned culture, from which society was invited to narrate the Hellbrunn arcadia itself and to develop it in conversations between the sculptures on show. Every visit became a narrative version of its own, even for the prince:

‘non est hortamine longo
 nunc< ait >utendum: vires effundite vestras;
 sic opus est. Aperite domos ac mole remota
 fluminibus vestris totas inmittite habenas.’
 iusserat; hi redeunt ac fontibus oras relaxant
 et defrenato volvuntur in aequora cursu.
 Ipse tridente suo terram percussit, at illa
 intremuit motuque vias patefecit aquarum. (Ovid 1992, I, 277-285)⁶

In the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid introduces Neptune for the first time with the initiation of the violent force of the great flood. The gods decided – according to Ovid – to destroy civilisation in the Age of Iron, to wash away all avarice and raw violence from the world. Zeus asked his brother to unleash the force of water. Consequently, the latter summoned all of the water gods and ordered them to open the “fountains’ mouths”. It is conceivable that learned guests in Hellbrunn recited the relevant verse in front of the Neptune grotto and discussed their idea of Neptune, other versions, presentations and viewing habits. They opened up a discursive space on which the Hellbrunn Neptune stood as an immutable reference point for the discussion, even more: incited the discussions in a particular manner by means of implicit contradictions: The proffered figure of Neptune does not, namely, refer illustratively to the described character of the earth-shaker. Rather, the calm and serene appearance and the steady spewing forth of the water contrasts with the effervescence of natural force. Therefore, while a ‘classical’ iconographical analysis must do without a reference to the cited verses by Ovid, in the methodical approach suggested here, the contemporary resonance space should be characterised. When walking through the park the prince and his guests invoked their knowledge of Ovid – and of ancient mythology in general, as well as of other gardens – and placed their experiences in Hellbrunn in this discourse, comparing, discussing, even more: they were supposed to admire and be astonished. And thus while the water god

6 “Exert all your strength. That is what is needed. Throw open your doors, drain the dams, and loose the reins of all your streams!’ Those are his commands. The rivers return and uncurb their fountains’ mouths, and race an unbridled course to the sea. himself strikes the ground with his trident, so that it trembles, and with that blow opens up channels for the waters. [...]. And now the land and sea are not distinct, all is the sea, the sea without a shore.” (Ovid 1989, I, 277-285).

displayed his ruler's insignia, the trident, to the observer, this was done so without any appearance of threat. But they also turned to the marble mask that appeared to be based on the "fountains' mouths" of Ovid's verses. In its size and prominence more than mere fountain decoration, it picked up an aspect of the narrative and upheld the strength of the doomsday scenario through the god. Comparing the visual impression in the mythological narrative strains, the following verses – and the historical visitors may well have discussed this too – would appear to capture that which was displayed:

nec mare iras manet, positoque tricuspide telo
 mulcet aquas rector pelagi supraque profundum
 extantem atque umeros innato murice tectum
 caerulum Tritona vocat [...] sonanti
 inspirare iubet fluctusque et flumina signo
 iam revocare dato [...]
 contigit et cecinit iussos inflata receptus,
 omnibus audita est telluris et aequoris undis,
 et, quibus est undis audita, coercuit omnes. (Ovid 1992, I, 328-343)⁷

If one had this verse in one's head, the grotto would have made current the personified power dictated by the element due to Neptune, the dolphin and the mask; it alluded with all of the familiar cultural variances that were introduced into the spatial work of art, the garden. Then the various tritons, blowing into their conches and emitting water into the basin, were contextualised and expanded the contexts of each individual sculpture. Thus a narrative version based on Ovid might be: As long as the tritons blow into their horns, the waters of Hellbrunn will remain calm and peaceful in their basins and courses. Yet they not only calmed the waters, but also broke through the surface of the water and kept it moving. The unleashed power could therefore be controlled by noise – through the soundwaves. The soundscape in the park assured visitors that the natural powers have been appeased, and they would only have to worry when the 'tone' changed again. Even before the prince activated the first water tricks, the guests knew of the reputation of the Hellbrunn gardens, or were aware of installations in other gardens of the day.

Ultimately – as suggested by the gardens – the mythological god allowed the elementary force to spout forth unchecked, so that the shells overflowed to his feet, the water flowed into the basin, which also overflowed, so that it flowed gushingly over the

7 "It was no longer an angry sea, since the king of the oceans putting aside his three-pronged spear calmed the waves, and called sea-dark Triton, showing from the depths his shoulders thick with shells, to blow into his echoing conch and give the rivers and streams the signal to return. [...] He lifted the hollow shell that coils from its base in broad spirals, that shell that filled with his breath in mid-ocean makes the eastern and the western shores sound. [...] it was heard by all the waters on earth and in the ocean, and all the waters hearing it were checked. Now the sea has shorelines, the brimming rivers keep to their channels, the floods subside, and hills appear. Earth rises, the soil increasing as the water ebbs, and finally the trees show their naked tops, the slime still clinging to their leaves." (Ovid 1989, I, 328-343).

edge, into the canal, and by these means into the gardens of Hellbrunn. From that point on, the water was the constant companion of the visitors.

Now lost to posterity, but described by Markus Sittikus' chronicler Stainhauser, an Amphitrite grotto was added to the Neptune grotto. As Neptune's wife, she completed the couple that ruled over the force of water, and introduced an abundance of her own mythological narratives to the gardens. She is introduced by Ovid as the elemental force in the creation of the world, when everything was still chaos:

[...] nec brachia longo
marginē terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite [...]. (Ovid 1992, I, 13f)⁸

Thus Amphitrite, and with her, water, were a primeval mythological power that represented not only the origin of the world, but also a power to vitalise things, to move or to transform them. Therefore, right at the start of the Prince's Way, the archbishop confronted his guests with the combined strength of the sea gods, started discourses, and awakened their expectations and attitudes towards the control and the shaping of water.

Prince-Bishop Markus Sittikus placed a second Neptune at the centre of the gardens. Sittikus' "natura altera" extended right into the palace architecture: At the basement level a grotto opens up to visitors, rising across two storeys and traversed by a barrel vault (fig. 3).

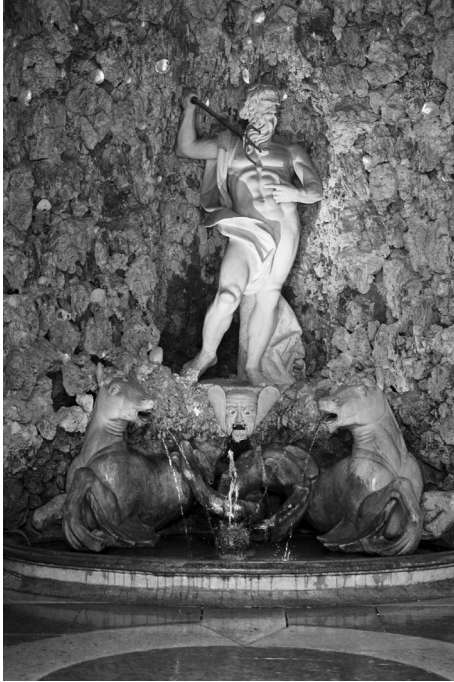


3 Salzburg, Hellbrunn (1613-1615), Neptune-grotto inside the palace.
Photo credit: author.

8 “[...] or watery Amphitrite stretching out her arms along the vast shores of the world.” (Ovid 1989, I, 13-14).

It was incredibly richly decorated, and combined valuable building materials such as marble with pebbles and tufa, without forming an aesthetic hierarchy. All of the materials were compiled in an extraordinary manner with great craftsmanship. Above the surrounding ledge, the barrel vault was elaborately decorated. In the middle, a circular fresco imagined a view through an oculus, which on the other side of the breach was surrounded by a balustrade. Unexpectedly, the guests did not view the opposite storey, but instead a sky, from which a winged Victoria with a laurel wreath appeared to float. Around this fresco, inlaid upright pebbles formed a blue background, which was structured by bands of tufa in equally sized areas. Elaborate ornaments of shells and coloured stucco elements were applied. In the process, Sittikus transformed natural elements, such as shells, into construction materials, which he arranged in such a manner that their original forms were barely discernible. While the shells maintained their white mother-of-pearl shine, their manner of overlapping and arrangement dissolved them into completely new forms (Grewenig 1984, 508). And yet no natural materials were mixed with artificial ones; rather, the possibilities of each element were exploited to the full. Structured by bands of red marble, the sidewalls of the grotto were clad with light marble. The large portal was flanked by two naiads in light marble, standing in two round-arched alcoves lined with red marble. Both wore long dresses and stood with one foot on the head of a dolphin. The right-hand naiad held her dolphin by its fin, and her opposite number raised a shell to her breast. The first attempted to keep hold of her dress, which has slipped across her shoulder. Both were artistically coiffed and wore different shell decorations in their hair. This décor was not made of real shells and snails, but was carved skilfully from the marble, imitating nature. Neither of the naiads looked towards the person entering, but instead turned their faces towards a gigantic round-arched alcove at the end of the grotto, which was clad completely in tufa and completed on the uppermost side by light-colored stucco shells. There, the oversized God of the Deep arose (**fig. 4**). With his weight on his left leg, the right leg raised slightly to gain momentum, his muscles tensed, he appeared ready to hurl the trident he was holding above his shoulder. At his feet, his two large hippocampi reared up in a semi-circular basin. Their fishtails entwined, they beat the outflowing water with their fins. With their powerful necks bent and their heads facing each other, the mythical water-horses each spewed water pranks into the basin.

Marble medallions were inserted as half reliefs beside the alcove, depicting to the left of Neptune the Salzburg Lion, to the right the Hohenems ibex. On two medallions on the exterior walls, the Salzburg Lion and the Hohenems ibex were united, forming the new coat of arms of the reigning prince-bishop. In this manner, Markus Sittikus superimposed the Palace of the Deep, where even the air became noticeably moister and fresher for visitors, with his own leisure palace. Even though Neptune's palace appeared to be separated from the actual palace due to the height of the grotto and the picturesque perspective, it actually formed its foundations. Sittikus' regency was not restricted to



4 Salzburg, Hellbrunn (1613-1615), Neptune-fountain in the grotto under the palace.
Photo credit: author.

Salzburg; with his heraldic animal the man from Hohenems inserted himself into the mythological genealogy of the god. He became the master of the water. Furthermore, the Salzburg Lion situated the Palace of the Deep in Salzburg and in the period of the rule of Markus Sittikus. The concrete leisure palace and the mythological arcadia are interwoven here intriguingly; reality and pleasurable imagination alternated incessantly.

To the left and right of the fountain, two low passages in the sidewalls led to other grottos in the basement level of the palace. The passages lay in an area of light tufa and were distinguished by surroundings of light marble. Of particular note is the attention to detail in the design, which extended to the sides of the passages. These were foreshortened, giving the illusionary impression of deeper passages and more solid walls. Two cherubs in half relief were installed above each of the passages. In keeping with the concept of the space, they had fish bodies and held a dolphin between them by his fin and his open mouth.

In this grotto it can be assumed that visitors compared the first Neptune they encountered with this second one and set the staging of each against the other. In contrast to other gardens of the period, it was not simply “another” Neptune in a group of sculptures, but thanks to their narrative sequence in the park the Hellbrunn Neptunes

reacted to each other. They were created as discourse stimulators for the guests by means of comparison, recognition and the activation of previously conducted discussions. Where the first sculpture of the god emphasized his power over the elements as propulsion for the gardens, Neptune there is nevertheless at rest and demonstrates only the trident as an insignia of his power. He did not seem to present any danger, and while the earth-shaking, quick-tempered and irascible aspects of his mythological narratives could be recited in conversation, they were not realized concretely in the spatial artwork consisting of sculpture, nature and water. Rather, the first natural grotto captured the elemental force in the calm before the storm.

The Neptune in his imposing hall of the palace was staged very differently: soaring, impelling his hippocampi, he is preparing to throw his trident. In the area in front of the grotto, a large water staircase with different drop heights had been laid out, along with two hills of boulders with water fanfares (which no longer exist), so that the roar and the rush of the water penetrated through the large portal and into the grotto, echoed against the marble walls, and filled the vault with noise. In this manner, the second Neptune grotto was dramaturgically charged to a much greater degree with its action, space and dynamism. Here, the power and strength over the force of nature was demonstrated, and at the same time the ‘tone’ of the water was transformed from gentle ripples to a loud roar.

Where in the first grotto, a marble mask at the foot of the god spewed water motionlessly, the one at the foot of the god in the second grotto was animated. It rolled its large green eyes incessantly with the monotony of an automaton, opened its mouth wide, spat water at viewers and stuck out its tongue scornfully. The gesture, monotony and creaking of the grotesque face appeared to make a mockery of the watching visitors. In such a moment, either Markus Sittikus or one of his guests might have recalled a verse by Ovid and recited:

[...] *genus mortale sub undis
perdere et ex omni nimbo demittere caelo.
Protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris
Et quaecumque fugant inductas flamina nubes,
emittitque Notum: madidis Notus evolat alis,
fronte sedent nebulae, rorant pennaque sinusque;
utque manu late pendentia nubila pressit,
fit fragor: hinc densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi.* (Ovid 1992, I, 260-269)⁹

9 “[...] resolved on a different punishment, to send down rain from the whole sky and drown humanity beneath the waves. Straight away he shut up the north winds in Aeolus’s caves, with the gales that disperse the gathering clouds, and let loose the south wind, he who flies with dripping wings, his terrible aspect shrouded in pitch-black darkness. His beard is heavy with rain, water streams from his grey hair, mists wreath his forehead, and his feathers and the folds of his robes distil the dew. When he crushes the hanging clouds in his outstretched hand there is a crash, and the dense vapours pour down rain from heaven.” (Ovid 1989, I, 260-269).

This is when the prince might have activated the water prank from the shadows of the portal. Sharp, hissing jets of water shot out of hidden nozzles in the floor and walls. The guests could do nothing but recoil, they squealed, jumped, became hectic, and just when they thought it couldn't get any worse, the prince-bishop activated another mechanism to open the floodgates of heaven, letting a downpour of water to fall from the vault and onto the group (fig. 5), intensifying the shock and the reaction of the guests. Surprised, they will have attempted to flee the grotto and the water. This was a courtly entertainment that can be dated to the early 15th century in Hesdin (Franke 1997, 135-138) and which is also documented in pictures, such as the woodcut based on Peter Paul Rubens' *Garden of Love*, widely distributed to the courts of the early modern period (Franke 2004, 52-56). In Hellbrunn, however, this tradition was outdone when the courtly society was suddenly blocked from exiting into the sunshine by a grid of hard, silver water. The thundering of the waterworks, the sharp hissing of the water pranks, the splashing of the rain was embellished – we can assume, also for Markus Sittikus' time, since these are reflex reactions – by the shrieks and the squeals of the people, who tried to get to safety. The hullabaloo grew to become a crescendo of chaos, which was amplified even further by the echo in the grotto, producing a doomsday scenario. The only exit routes were the two passages on each side of Neptune. The group is likely to have stormed towards them and shoved through them. Markus Sittikus was able to block the way back with rods of water. Shocked and confused, the group was separated in other grottos, and there was no way out. The only possibility was straight ahead. Only when it suited the prince did he halt the water.



5 Salzburg, Hellbrunn (1613-1615), waterjokes from the vault of the Neptune-grotto. Photo credit: author.

The reconstruction of such a scenario, also for the early modern period, assumes that, despite the cultural imprint of meanings given to a situation, reflex reactions are controlled neuronally and are thus a part of human nature¹⁰.

Cold jets of water on the skin are perceived as attacks and instinctively trigger mostly uncontrolled protective reactions such as cramping, shrieking or jumping. How this knowledge is treated, however, differs historically and is culturally shaped¹¹.

In Hellbrunn the prince-bishop availed of observable behavior in order to integrate them into the mechanisms of his water games, to force affects, and to set not only automata but also people in motion. Such a type of presentation was likely to have been only one variation of a visit, and could be restaged repeatedly by the prince with other groups. Especially in Italian gardens, fountains, and in particular water pranks, became an experience, something refreshing on hot summer days, and ranged, depending on the attitude of the constructor, from harmless games to almost outrageous teasing¹². The guests of the time accepted the invitation knowing, indeed expecting to be surprised and entertained by such an attraction. Each prince acted as a dramaturg, arranging nature, technology and art in his *villa suburbana* to create his own individual arcadia, where such surprises awaited for the purpose of amusement. The concept of gardens retreated further and further away from the arcadian ideal of “iucunditas, salubritas, amoenitas, venustas” and developed into places in which visitors wanted to be astonished and amazed (Gothein 1926, 270). Astonishment and amazement are the basic prerequisites, drawing on Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, for understanding the world by experiencing greatness (Franke 1997, 139). Therefore, these elements had to be arranged innovatively and uniquely.

In Hellbrunn, the prince appealed to people’s automatic driving forces and showcased them directly. He appeared as the Lord of Hellbrunn, who “himself determined the rules of the game with full vigor” (Uerscheln 2008, 211). In his grottos, not only were the elements of art and nature animated (Schweizer 2008, 22), but the people themselves were also involved in this game. For a brief moment, the guests’ self-determination was suspended by the prince-bishop, and he directed them like figures on planned paths, driven by the power of the water. To do so, for just a moment he outsmarted the guests’

10 Comparable scenarios from different villa complexes of today’s Europe can be verified. See Franke 2003 for the intended physical and emotional participation up to the overpowering of the guests in the grottoes. The sensuous appeal of water is illustrated by an anecdote of Pope Innocent III., who felt ten years younger after the inspection of a fountain by Bernini because he was startled by the thundering water. The Pope described the boisterousness, the adrenalin pushing into the veins, the tightening muscles and that he felt alert; see Symmers 1999, 140. See Marshall 2017 for the sensuous appeal of water.

11 The dramatic employment of affects and reflex behavior is verified by the practice of theatre of the 17th century. For example, in 1638 Bernini let dams crash and the water flooded the auditorium for an end of the world scenario. The first rows did not only become wet but the spectators tried get themselves to safety. At another point the scenery was put on fire in order to create the horror of an inferno; see Nelle 2006.

12 The usage of ink as part of entertainment, which meant the destruction of valuable clothing, is verified at Merveilles in Hesdin; see Franke 2004.

comprehension, which would have risen above the sphere of his deception. Otherwise, their comprehension would have prevented their true enjoyment (Wind 1984, 71). Only by experiencing such uninhibited ecstasy could the soul be liberated and the natural limitations of intelligence are overcome (Wind 1984, 78). According to one anecdote, Pope Innocence III was shocked by a sudden downpour of water during a visit to a Bernini fountain into feeling ten years younger. Pope Innocence describes the high spirits experienced when the adrenalin enters the veins and energy shoots into the muscles and one feels wide awake (Symmes 1999, 137).

The element of water – as we have seen – had the power not only to move objects mechanically, but it also created a holistic aura that claimed all of the senses. Then as now, the impact of a sudden jet of water on naked skin caused a direct tension in people, a holding of breath, an accelerated pulse, shock, a sound of amazement and an automatic movement, whether jumping, ducking, turning away or running, before the head can make a judgement. Getting wet circumvented the head's reason and one's self-control and elicited an emotional reaction from the body. The senses were sharpened and the body felt as if it were waiting for the next ambush. The "ratio" needed a moment to master the chaos experienced by the body and to regain control of momentum (Franke 1997, 139). In Hellbrunn all of the water appeared to flow together from the central exedra and burst into the palace.

After the experience of the force of nature in Neptune's palace, a third sea god completed the water ensemble and also the leisure gardens of Hellbrunn (**fig. 6**). To the northwest of the palace there were three pools, comprising two square basins framing a



6 Salzburg, Hellbrunn (1613-1615), fountain of reclining watergod, Acheloo.
Photo credit: author.

large elliptical one. The bearded figure sat on a cloth at the edge of the last basin. With his right hand he leaned on a large upended urn, and with his left hand he held a small dolphin between his legs. This is not another Neptune, but probably Achelous, who lost a horn in a battle with Hercules and who since then hid this gap with a crown of reeds in his hair. In contrast to the other two appearances by Neptune, Achelous' calmness transferred to the water. As the basins were broad and flat, the water barely flowed. Like a mirrored surface, the water was motionless in front of the god. The water from his urn and from his dolphin, and the fine streams flowing from the two conch-blowing tritons, rippled the surface only slightly and lost their strength in the width of the basins, so that the garden, the sky and the palace were reflected in sharp contours on the water's surface. This area opened up and its tranquillity invited the visitor to spend some time at the stone panel to the rear of Achelous. Only when walking towards the palace could one notice that a low water step suggested a direction of waterflow to the central gardens and via a water staircase down to the foundations of Hellbrunn Palace.

For his princely representation, Markus Sittikus acknowledged and appropriated the "*neglecta naturae dona / non absque commiseratione admirans*". By his hand he shaped it into his leisure gardens in accordance with an ancient topic: He was the prince who tamed the wildness of nature and transformed it into an arcadia. Guests gained access only by invitation, in order to experience the diversions of the prince's arcadia in his presence. Remarkably for such a location with no connection with the sea, Sittikus' focus was on water and Neptune. In his "*natura altera*" his leisure palace was based on the sensual staging of Neptune's Palace, which thanks to the prince-bishop's coat of arms was also declared to be Sittikus' palace. There the waters of Hellbrunn appeared to overflow, which he controlled in his role as Neptune, the Ruler of the Waters. With "*tot varios fontes collegit*", he transferred the dangers of the unusable boggy land into the propulsive power – indeed, the 'narrative flow' – of his arcadia. Under his regency, the water became an elementary component of his arcadia. Not only visually, but for all sensory stimuli, Sittikus' "*natura altera*" could be experienced by smell and in climactic spheres and soundscapes. By means of water games and such staging along the lines of the reinterpreted ancients, Markus Sittikus integrated himself into the cultural discourse with other gardens of his day. He did not simply imitate them for the sake of it, but rather quoted them, related their individual attractions with each other, and entered them in his Hellbrunn dramaturgy along the course of the water – he even aimed to outdo them: Sittikus showed himself to be an erudite sovereign, who established for his guests and himself a discursive space between antique heritage, the natural sciences, hydro technology and cultural narratives. Not only were the locations and the objects a cause for discussion, rather the prince exploited for his leisure the cultural "common denominator" (Baxandall 1988, 67) of his visitors and their individual experiences and attitudes.

In Hellbrunn, Prince-Bishop Markus Sittikus was a divine engineer, who created the stone water gods and tritons, controlled the uncontrollable element of water, and

managed to animate inanimate things, as well as his guests. In this intellectual game, Neptune and the water gods were the joins between reality and Sittikus' witty "natura altera". Markus Sittikus' representation was based on the shaping of the force of nature, emerging forth in his leisure gardens as an ever-bubbling spring, flowing together in his regency and invigorating his arcadia as an ingenious place of discourse. This place was conceived not only for the duration of his rule, but with the intention: "dedicated them to dear posterity".

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MAR GARCÍA ARENAS*

Un Tajo conquistado por la Casa de Borbón. Guerra y propaganda política francesa sobre la Guerra de los Siete Años**

En 1765 salieron del taller parisino de André Basset una serie de grabados alusivos a combates librados durante la Guerra de los Siete Años, en concreto el asedio de Dresde de 1760 y una batalla de la campaña de Portugal de 1762. Resulta llamativa la elección de los temas pues Francia perdió la mayor parte de sus posesiones coloniales y su marina quedó prácticamente destruida en esta guerra. Ni siquiera la firma del III Pacto de Familia con España en 1761 pudo salvar la situación y la ofensiva hispano-francesa sobre Portugal se saldó con un fracaso que acabó en la firma de la paz en 1763, que supuso la consagración de la hegemonía mundial y marítima de Inglaterra.

Nuestro interés parte de una estampa (**fig. 1**), titulada *Vue perspective de la Bataille Remportée par les Troupes Espagnoles et Françaises aux ordres de Mr. le Comte d'Aranda sur les Portugais après laquelle le Comte d'Aranda s'est emparé de la Place de Salvatierra ainsi que du Chateau de Segura sur le Tage ou il a laissé une partie de ses troupes. Cette ville a capitulé le seize Septembre 1762* (Marchena 2009, 71)¹. Se trata de una “Vues d'optique” que salió del taller de los Basset, una familia asentada a principios del siglo XVIII en la calle Saint-Jacques, cerca de Notre Dame, entre el Sena y la Sorbona, que fue el centro del

* Universidad de Alicante, Spain.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2141-5876>. E-mail: mar.garcia@ua.es.

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1 Juan Marchena Fernández localizó una copia en la Biblioteca Nacional de España, BNE, Inv. 34958, desde aquí le agradezco sus indicaciones y consejos sobre los enfrentamientos del reinado de Carlos III contra Portugal. El ejemplar que presentamos es el que se encuentra en los fondos de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France: A Paris chez Basset rue S. Jacques à Ste Geneviève [ca 1765], Date d'édition 1765, BNE, *département Estampes et photographie*, LI-72 (5)-FOL (28 x 42 cm.), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41454316>.



1 *Vue perspective de la Bataille Remportée par les Troupes Espagnoles et Françaises aux ordres de Mr. le Comte d'Aranda sur les Portugais après laquelle le Comte d'Aranda s'est emparé de la Place de Salvatierra ainsi que du Chateau de Segura sur le Tage ou il a laissé une partie de ses troupes. Cette ville a capitulé le seize Septembre 1762. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (5)-FOL. Fuente: <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414745332>.*

barrio de librerías, impresores, grabadores, marchantes de arte y artesanos relacionados de diversas maneras con el arte de la impresión desde finales del siglo XVII hasta finales del XIX. La dinastía Basset se convirtió en una de las más importantes productoras de imágenes, acorde con los numerosos negocios de la calle Sant Jacques, que representaban una parte importante de la producción de grabados franceses de alta difusión de la época, tanto desde un punto de vista cuantitativo como cualitativo. La pieza que nos ocupa se enmarca en la moda de las “Vues d’optique” (vistas ópticas) y está firmada por André Basset, cuya fama está vinculada a la producción y la gran difusión de este tipo de imágenes en perspectiva, que produjo en grandes cantidades en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII.

La vista óptica es un tipo técnica aplicada a las artes gráficas habitual entre el primer cuarto del siglo XVIII y la primera mitad del siglo XIX. Se trata de grabados, fundamentalmente en plancha de cobre, hechos para ser vistos a través de una “caja óptica” que constaba de un espejo inclinado y una gran lente, para poder ver las estampas. Se deriva del uso de la perspectiva, a veces un tanto forzada, para presentar un paisaje con la ilusión espacial enfatizada por el uso de unas lentes de visión binocular, que magnifica la imagen y le da al espectador una impresión de mayor profundidad. Todo ello está vinculado al enorme desarrollo de la investigación en la óptica (Aressy *et al.* 2014, 16). Los Basset fueron los impresores más representativos de este tipo de imágenes y aunque poco

se sabe de la producción de los primeros años del siglo XVIII, el gran salto cuantitativo se debió a André Basset, también conocido por el joven, cuya actividad se concentra entre 1750 y 1785. Durante más de ciento cincuenta años, la producción de la familia Basset fue enorme y extremadamente variada, salieron de sus prensas imágenes de santos, hojas cómicas y satíricas, escenas de juegos, imágenes de las novelas en boga y placas de moda, escenas de batallas, retratos de hombres y mujeres famosos hasta llegar a las llamadas “Vues d’optique” o vistas ópticas (Kaldenbach 1985). Las “vues d’optique” de Basset eran principalmente vistas de ciudades caracterizadas por sus colores azules, rosados y verdes fuertes, era una especialidad que en Francia solo se podía encontrar en la capital y en 1775 Basset se convirtió en el único editor parisino de este producto, tras la compra de las matrices de cobre para las vistas ópticas que pertenecían a los editores Daumont y La Chaussé (Milán 2008).

El grabado de la campaña de Portugal de 1762 parece ser una obra que responde a unas directrices especiales, lejos de las habituales vistas ópticas urbanas, y que merece una atención más detenida, pues según la datación de la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia consta que la obra se produjo en 1765, una vez terminada la Guerra de los Siete Años. En la escena se representa en primer plano una carga de la caballería hispano-francesa, con escuadrones de infantería desplegados en el fondo. En el segundo plano se desenvuelve un no menos virulento ataque naval en aguas del Tajo sobre un bastión con fortaleza. En la información que aparece en el grabado dice representar la toma de Salvaterra do Extremoz y del Castelo do Segura bajo las órdenes del conde de Aranda, frente al enemigo anglo-portugués el 16 de septiembre de 1762. Sin embargo, la ubicación es incorrecta, ya que tanto Salvaterra como Castelo do Segura eran localidades muy cercanas, ambas con fortificaciones situadas en el interior de Portugal, cerca de la frontera con España y bañadas por el río Erjas o Eljas (en portugués, río Erges) un afluente del margen derecho del río Tajo. A todo ello hay que añadir, gracias a las informaciones publicadas por la *Gaceta de Madrid* y el *Mercurio Histórico y Político*, que ambas plazas fueron tomadas por un destacamento dirigido por el Teniente General D. Carlos de la Riva Agüero. En concreto, la de Salvaterra fue evacuada por su propia guarnición al mando del gobernador Juan Palla de Almeyda, que capituló “por no favorecerles la fortuna y no por falta de valor”², con la condición de no tomar las armas en seis meses contra las tropas de su Majestad Católica y sus aliados, los franceses.³ Las informaciones que aparecen en la *Gazette de France* son aún más breves, pues solo hablan de la toma de ambas localidades y de la capitulación de Salvaterra, y tienen como referencia las noticias proporcionadas por su homónima española⁴.

2 Según los términos de la Capitulación en la *Gaceta de Madrid*. Cf. *Gaceta de Madrid*, nº 39, Madrid, 28 de septiembre de 1762, pp. 327-328.

3 Cf. *Gazeta de Madrid*, nº 38, Madrid, 21 de septiembre de 1762, pp. 319-320. El mismo contenido de los dos números de la *Gazeta* podemos encontrarlo en el *Mercurio Histórico y Político*, septiembre de 1762, pp. 101-104.

4 Cf. *Gazette de France*, nº 81, 8 de octubre de 1762, Madrid, 21 de septiembre de 1762, p. 380.

Cabría preguntarse qué es lo que motivó la confusión en la ubicación y en sus protagonistas por parte de Basset. Aunque bien podría ser un error involuntario, fruto de una falta de información veraz a la hora de la publicación del grabado, o bien de una licencia artística. Además, conviene también resaltar en este punto que Basset representaba la batalla como una épica naumaquia, que poco tiene que ver con el paisaje real donde se habrían desarrollado los hechos (fig. 2). No solo el artista convierte en un espectacular combate un enfrentamiento que acabó con capitulación sin resistencia previa del enemigo, sino que la eleva de nivel, al pasar de un pequeño afluente al mismo Tajo, dotando al momento de tintes grandiosos en los que magníficas naves hispano-francesas surcan las aguas para hacerse con la inexpugnable fortaleza y complementar la ofensiva terrestre que se desarrolla en primer plano. Este lenguaje icónico será, a tenor de lo que realmente sucedió, una verdadera paradoja visual.



2 Rio Erjas, Eljas o Erges a su paso por Salvaterra do Extremo. Fuente: <http://salvaturcinegetica.blogspot.com/2011/08/paisagens-de-salvaterra-do-extremo.html> [Consultado el 28 de agosto de 2018]

Siguiendo la tesis de Edmond Dziembowski, el declive de la propaganda patriótica gubernamental durante los últimos meses de la Guerra de los Siete Años reveló la ausencia de una estrategia a largo plazo. En el año clave de 1765, sin embargo, se produjo un aumento repentino de un sentimiento nacional auspiciado, entre otros factores, por la exitosísima representación teatral el 12 de marzo del *Siège de Calaix*, de Pierre Buirette de Belloy, que azuzó un patriotismo exacerbado que se apoderó de toda Francia (Dziembowski 1998, 445). Este movimiento fue instrumentalizado y, en parte, orquestado por el duque Choiseul, el político más poderoso del gobierno de Luis XV, que lo

canalizará en varios medios para controlar la opinión pública y amoldarla a su programa político como veremos.

El hecho que del taller de Basset salieran varios grabados alusivos a la Guerra de los Siete Años y a la firma de la Paz de París, nos sugiere que quizás debió recibir encargos específicos procedentes de funcionarios adscritos a la Secretaría de Estado, poniendo su arte al servicio del poder. A falta de pruebas más específicas que vinculen la producción de Basset a las altas esferas gubernamentales, sus estampas relativas a la Guerra de los Siete Años en 1765 estarían en sintonía con el fervor patriota vigente en la sociedad francesa, confluyendo en todo caso con el ideario político.

Por tanto, nuestra hipótesis de partida, a falta de pruebas más concretas, es considerar a estos grabados como instrumentos propagandísticos en consonancia con la idea principal de la política del Secretario de Estado, Marina y Guerra que era lograr recuperar el control de la opinión pública con el objetivo de preparar a la sociedad francesa para un inminente enfrentamiento con el enemigo inglés que favoreciera la aceptación a su política de reconstrucción militar y naval en torno a un renacer patriótico. Para entender el poder que representaba una imagen y su uso para fines políticos (Burke, 2001) tendremos que hacer una somera recopilación del desarrollo de la Guerra de los Siete Años y de la evolución de la propaganda política francesa.

La Guerra de los Siete Años (1756-1763)

La Guerra de los Siete Años es considerada actualmente por una parte de la historiografía como el primer enfrentamiento a escala mundial por sus implicaciones tanto en Europa, América, Asia y, en menor medida, África. Las posesiones ultramarinas de las potencias en conflicto pasaron de convertirse en teatro de operaciones a objetos de disputa, este cambio de estrategia superaba las bases del equilibrio establecidas en Utrecht y supuso un cambio geopolítico nuevo (Smith, 2012; Schumann y Schweizer 2012; Danley y Speelman, 2012; Dziembowski, 2015; Serna, Gainot and Godfroy, 2016). Aunque otros historiadores (Bérenger y Meyer, 1993) consideran que no era tanto una guerra mundial como la yuxtaposición de dos conflictos paralelos: por una parte, el austro-prusiano en Europa central con su propio ritmo, y por otra, el franco-británico, de dimensiones planetarias, que interfería con el anterior y obligaba a Francia a luchar en dos frentes en beneficio de su principal adversario, Gran Bretaña (Melón 2016, 196-197). No obstante, las hostilidades entre Francia y Gran Bretaña se habían iniciado en los lejanos territorios de la América septentrional, escenario de un largo conflicto fronterizo latente que se sumó a una agresiva política inglesa de hostigamiento y captura sobre naves francesas hasta la declaración oficial de guerra de Versalles contra Inglaterra, en enero de 1756 (Fowler 2005 y Nester 2014).

Pero la Guerra de los Siete Años tuvo también otro conflicto paralelo no menos virulento, una guerra propagandística de gran intensidad entre ambas partes. En esta ocasión nos centraremos en la publicística francesa, cuyos vehículos de difusión fueron

muy variados y de iniciativa tanto oficial como privada. El ataque contra Inglaterra no solo se transmitía a través de los medios clásicos de difusión como panfletos, tratadística, sátiras, obras de teatro, poemas y canciones, sino que también aparecieron “armas” nuevas como novelas o juegos (Dziembowski 1998, 59-62). También la iconografía, que abarca varias manifestaciones artísticas como pintura histórica, retratos, grabados, aguafuertes, caricaturas, o medallas, ha centrado el interés de los investigadores por ser un género popular que sirve para tomar el pulso a la sociedad del momento y muestra inequívocamente la reacción a la situación militar, diplomática y política del conflicto. El objetivo último será debilitar al adversario también por esos medios, pero el contenido variará en función del desarrollo del conflicto y los intereses políticos coyunturales, por lo que nos encontraremos asuntos que van desde la glorificación y la calumnia, hasta el apaciguamiento y la implacabilidad (Dupuy 2016, 72-81). Estos vaivenes en la caracterización y ataques al enemigo, en este caso al inglés, también se aprecian en la propaganda escrita francesa que irá evolucionando en función de la suerte de las armas.

En los prolegómenos del conflicto, los franceses consideraban a Inglaterra su rival ancestral con un poder de rango inferior, por lo que sus avances en las colonias y sus incursiones corsarias fueron contestados en la propaganda con un tono de violencia acorde a despertar el sentimiento anglofóbico entre los franceses. Para la producción de estos textos el gabinete de Versalles contaba tanto con publicistas oficiales como con otros escritores, denominados “plumas subalternas” (Dziembowski 1998, 62-86). A nivel propagandístico, los reveses militares marcaron el fracaso de la estrategia que pretendía denigrar a Inglaterra partiendo de la idea de una debilidad militar y moral del enemigo. Las contundentes victorias inglesas anulaban por un lado, las invectivas contra la tiranía y los crímenes del pueblo inglés y por otro, el ataque a su economía farisaica y a sus ministros irresponsables (Dziembowski 1998, 177-178).

Asimismo se produjeron cambios decisivos a nivel gubernamental en 1758: Étienne-François, conde de Stainville y después duque de Choiseul, se hacía cargo de la Secretaría de Estado y de los Asuntos Exteriores; en 1761, en enero, tras la muerte del mariscal Belle-Isle, asumía los asuntos de Guerra y en octubre, la Secretaría de Marina. Ante esta concentración de poder, Choiseul se convertía en el principal ministro, pese a que transfirió los Asuntos Exteriores a su primo, Choiseul-Praslin, a excepción de los asuntos con España, dada la prioridad que dará a la alianza con la otra rama de la Casa Borbón. A partir de entonces, el principal objetivo de la política del duque de Choiseul, “anglofobo impenitente”, será devolver a Francia el rango y el esplendor previo a las derrotas. En consecuencia era imprescindible el control de la opinión pública y patrocinó una publicación que mantendría el espíritu antibritánico y elevase la moral del pueblo francés para continuar el conflicto. Bajo estas premisas vio la luz en 1760 la revista los *Papiers Anglais* de los editores Edme-Jacques Genet y Charles Palissot, que se comprometieron a publicar todas las semanas en ambos idiomas, inglés y francés. Una de las estrategias era buscar los escritos más denigrantes e insultantes hacia Francia de los publicistas y

artículos de periódicos ingleses. El objetivo era provocar en sus lectores una profunda aversión al enemigo y, por ende, hacer sus victorias inaceptables. No obstante, su éxito será relativo ya que, tan solo después de tres números, el contenido experimenta un cambio radical debido a las protestas de los suscriptores, que no apoyaron el tono burdo de los extractos de periódicos en inglés. A partir del mes de marzo de 1760 la publicación cambió su título a *L'Etat actuel et politique de Anglaterre ou Journal britannique*, esta segunda fórmula, más neutral, tampoco contó con la aceptación del público y en noviembre la revista cambia de nuevo su título, *Gazzetes et Papiers anglais*, y retomaba su estrategia original. Cada entrega contenía su parte de noticias generales, incluidas noticias literarias e información política. En esta fase, Palissot y Genet se encargaban de eliminar los pasajes más insultantes y mantener solo los más presentables hacia los franceses. Pese a los nuevos cambios, tampoco este procedimiento fue del gusto del público y puso en evidencia la dificultad de los editores para encontrar una fórmula acorde a la sensibilidad de sus lectores en un momento de desilusión. El discurso anglofóbico empezaba a transformarse hacia un tono más moderado donde se eliminan los insultos hacia el adversario y se enfatizaba la nobleza del celo patriótico de los franceses (Dziembowski 1998, 178-182).

El III Pacto de Familia y la Campaña de Portugal 1762

El revulsivo a las derrotas militares para Choiseul fue buscar el apoyo en la corte de Madrid. La monarquía hispánica mantuvo, durante el reinado de Fernando VI, una posición neutral. No obstante, la toma de Québec en 1759 suponía la desarticulación del imperio colonial francés en América del Norte. La pérdida de Canadá implicaba también una radical alteración del equilibrio franco-británico en las Indias Occidentales. Este equilibrio era considerado por la monarquía española, y personalmente por el nuevo monarca Carlos III, el supuesto sobre el que descansaba la seguridad del imperio colonial americano (Jover 1990, 100). Para Francia, la situación militar y económica era insostenible y solo había una manera de compensarla mediante la intervención armada de España. Ésta traería consigo un refresco de fuerzas y un aliciente moral, aunque también implicaba riesgos, derivados de la vastísima zona de operaciones a defender, pero era considerada la única opción una vez perdida la esperanza del triunfo, al menos se trataba de asegurar una paz favorable (Atard 1945, 109).

El Tercer Pacto de Familia firmado el 15 de agosto de 1761 fue fruto de la confluencia de intereses de las dos ramas de la casa de Borbón ante el común enemigo inglés. Constituía un tratado defensivo y ofensivo, de carácter permanente, donde ambos signatarios se comprometían a no firmar la paz por separado y a compensarse mutuamente de las pérdidas en caso de conflicto armado. Pese a que fue omitida la idea de presionar al gabinete lisboeta para que abandonase su neutralidad y se adhiriese a la liga contra Inglaterra, esto no significó que se desechara dicha posibilidad, pues a Choiseul le parecía una opción “admirable” (Atard 1945, 128-136), pues el rechazo previsible de Portugal

a la alianza antibritánica proporcionaría el deseado pretexto para la guerra (Azevedo 1990, 190).

Una vez que el acuerdo borbónico se hizo público en diciembre de 1761, las consecuencias no se hicieron esperar: Inglaterra declaró la guerra a Carlos III y tras el rechazo de Lisboa al ultimátum borbónico de adhesión, el ejército hispano-francés comenzaba la invasión de Portugal en mayo de 1762. Mientras los efectivos militares se iban preparando desde finales de 1761, desde la Secretaria de Estado de Ricardo Wall se desplegó todo un dispositivo propagandístico oficial para predisponer a la opinión pública hacia la confrontación, después de más de una década de paz, y justificar ideológicamente las agresiones hacia una potencia neutral. Los medios fueron los tradicionales: los panfletos y la prensa oficial y muchos de los argumentos procedían de la propaganda francesa (Téllez 2006).

La campaña de 1762, conocida por la historiografía portuguesa con el nombre de la “guerra fantástica”, en la fase final de la Guerra de los Siete Años, se desarrolló entre mayo y noviembre de 1762 sin haberse librado ni una sola batalla a campo abierto y menos un combate naval como se representa en el grabado de Basset con el que empezamos este trabajo (vid. fig. 1). La invasión de Portugal va a seguir el modelo de guerra fronteriza de los conflictos ibéricos precedentes, basado en incursiones de menor escala, ataques por sorpresa, saqueos y destrucción de cosechas y robos de ganado, por lo tanto fue un conflicto singular y desconcertante para los militares franceses acostumbrados a las intervenciones propias de las guerras europeas de grandes batallas y de asedios (Melón 2015, 161-162).

La ofensiva borbónica conformada por unos 42.000 efectivos al mando del marqués de Sarria, incluidos los 12.000 franceses al mando del príncipe de Beauvais, se inició por el norte, por Zamora y Galicia. Tras los éxitos iniciales, la resistencia de los pobladores y la escarpada orografía detuvieron el avance hacia Oporto. Este revés obligó a replugar las tropas y replantear la ofensiva: el grueso de las tropas, con el auxilio francés, se dirigiría hacia Lisboa por el curso medio del Tajo, penetrando a través de Salamanca hacia las Beiras. La segunda fuerza se dirigiría y concentraría en Valencia de Alcántara para acometer la invasión por el sur, por Extremadura hacia el Alentejo portugués. Esta segunda fase se inició de forma favorable para las tropas borbónicas, tras la toma de fortaleza de Almeida el 25 de agosto de 1762, después de un sitio de más de 15 días y tras producirse el relevo del marqués de Sarria por el Conde de Aranda. A continuación se aseguró el territorio circundante y se ocuparon varias fortalezas que, o estaban en malas condiciones y poco guarnecidas, o bien fueron abandonadas o rendidas sin oposición a los borbónicos, como Alfaiates, Castelo Rodrigo, Penamacor, Monsanto, Salvaterra do Extremo, Castillo del Segura y Castelobranco. Pese a esos primeros éxitos, el repliegue de las tropas supuso un retraso que eliminó la ventaja del factor sorpresa pues dio tiempo a la incorporación de los auxilios ingleses y a la reorganización del ejército portugués al mando del general prusiano Schumper-La Lippe, que pese a su inferioridad numérica,

supo sacar ventaja del conocimiento del terreno y del ímpetu de la resistencia de los paisanos portugueses y detuvo el avance borbónico en Vila Velha de Rondão que tuvo que retirarse a Castelobranco, en el curso medio del Tajo, en octubre de 1762. A finales de agosto un ataque sorpresa anglo-portugués había tomado las guarniciones de Valencia de Alcantara y desbaratado los planes de invasión por el sur. El ejército borbónico se vio sorprendido durante su retirada a Castelobranco, por unas incesantes lluvias torrenciales que agudizaron las epidemias entre unas tropas debilitadas por la falta de víveres y mermadas por la desertión. No hubo ocasión de replantearse nuevas estrategias, además ya se sabía que La Habana y Manila habían caído en manos inglesas, pues en noviembre llegaron las noticias de la firma de los preliminares de la paz, por lo que las monarquías ibéricas firmaron un armisticio hasta que se resolviera diplomáticamente las negociaciones de paz (García Arenas y Mas Galvañ, 2018).

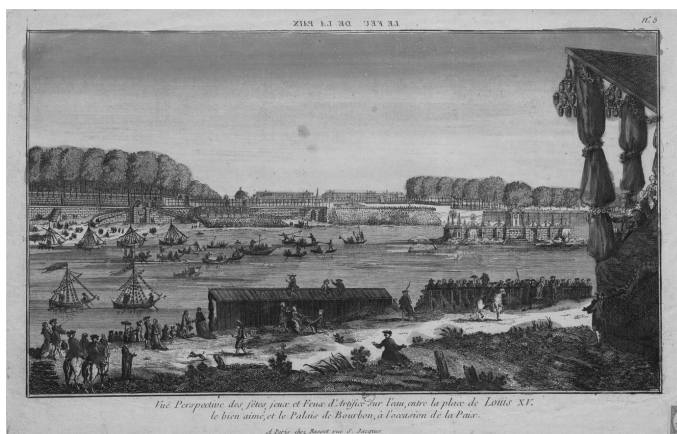
La Paz de París de 1763

El Tratado de Paz firmado en París en marzo de 1763 fue considerado por el académico Carles Pinot Duclos como una “paix humiliante qui vient determiner une guerre hon-teuse” (Dziembowski 1998, 349), mientras que para el Secretario español Ricardo Wall “una guerra desgraciada es imposible que produzca una paz ventajosa” (Barrio 1988, 15). Unos testimonios que sirven para apreciar el sentimiento de desolación, humillación y desgracia que cundía a ambos lados de los pirineos. Entre las diversas cláusulas, Francia perdió ante Inglaterra: Canadá y las posesiones en Asia y África, con excepciones de algunos enclaves e islas, aunque mantuvo la posesión de las islas caribeñas de la Martinica, Guadalupe, Santo Domingo, Granada, San Vicente y Tobago; y compensó con la Luisiana a España por la pérdida de la Florida, que además recuperó Manila y la Habana. En definitiva, se consagraba el poderío inglés mientras que Francia quedaba despojaba de su imperio ultramarino.

Para evitar malas críticas y que la población olvidase los sinsabores de la derrota, el duque de Choiseul puso en marcha la máquina propagandística con el objetivo de celebrar el fin de las hostilidades y la reconciliación con el enemigo. Una de las estrategias fue encargar al dramaturgo Favart una obra que celebrase la paz, al tiempo que dejase en buen lugar la política llevada a cabo por Francia durante la guerra y borrarse cualquier referencia a la superioridad de los ingleses en el campo de batalla. La pieza *L'Anglais à Bòrdeaux* se representó el 14 de marzo de 1763 en la *Comédie Française* de París (Dziembowski 1998, 184). Paralelamente, desde los talleres de los más importantes grabadores parisinos aparecieron numerosas estampas que conforman todo un programa de propaganda visual, alusivas a la paz de París. La gran mayoría procedían del taller de Basset⁵, como su *Vue perspective des fêtes, jeux et feux d'artifice sur l'eau, entre*

5 *Vue perspective de la Salle des Festins de Versailles en réjouissance de la Paix en 1763*. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-201 (105)-FOL. <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41445953d;Vue>

la Place de Louis XV, le bien aimé, et le Palais de Bourbon, à l'occasion de la Paix (fig. 3)⁶. Sin embargo, los grabados de Basset no fueron los únicos también Mondhare y Chereau dejaron muestras de la cantidad y variedad de temas festejando la reconciliación⁷. Con la visión de estas imágenes parece que se transmite la idea de maquillar la realidad y convertir la paz-derrota en una victoria a celebrar por el pueblo francés. En este sentido, podríamos considerar un primer indicio de la posible conexión del grabador André Basset con las esferas gubernamentales, a tenor del cambio operado en la estrategia propagandística de la Secretaria de Estado a partir de 1763 (Conlin 2014).



3 *Vue perspective des fêtes, jeux et feux d'artifice sur l'eau, entre la Place de Louis XV, le bien aimé, et le Palais de Bourbon, à l'occasion de la Paix.* BNF, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (2)-FOL. Fuente: <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414358606>.

de la marche cérémoniale observée pour la publication de la paix, en arrivant à l'Hôtel de ville de Paris, N° 57 ; BNF, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (2)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414358606>; *Vue de l'ordre et de la marche des cérémonies qui doivent être observées le jour de la publication de la Paix à la Place de Louis XV*, Date d'édition: 1763, BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-201 (105)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb410884020>; *Vue geometrale de l'illumination faite au sujet de la Paix*, Date d'édition: 1763, BNF, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (2)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414358606>

- 6 BNF, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (2)-FOL. <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414358606>.
 7 *Décoration du feu d'artifice et de l'illumination de la place de Louis XV, à l'occasion de la paix, et la dédicace de la statue équestre du Roy le 22 juin 1763*, (Paris: Mondhare, rue S. Jacques à l'hotel Saumur), BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-201 (105)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41507990f> y *Vue geometrale de l'illumination faite au sujet de la Paix* : [estampe], Chereau rue St Jacques au Cocq [Paris, ca 1763], BNF, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (2)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb414371257>.

El contexto político y la propaganda política borbónica tras la Paz de París

Aunque geopolíticamente la Paz de París consagraba la hegemonía inglesa, Choiseul meditaba que, en un plazo de cinco años, se iniciarían nuevamente las hostilidades (Ozkanam 1990, 827), por lo tanto el ministro era plenamente consciente del esfuerzo que debía hacer Francia para recuperar su rango de primera potencia. Su estrategia se basará en cuatro puntos: la reconstrucción de la armada, la adquisición de Córcega, la reorganización del ejército y un notable esfuerzo propagandístico para el control de la opinión pública (Dziembowski 1998, 264).

El año de 1765 será una fecha clave en la agenda política de Choiseul en relación con Inglaterra, considerando que es el enemigo declarado de Francia, y que la Paz de París era una mera tregua, por lo que el próximo conflicto estallaría tarde o temprano. Las sospechas de que el conflicto podía ser inminente se agudizaban por varios factores.

En primer lugar, a nivel interno, en 1765 se detectaron las primeras alusiones a los “malos franceses”, en referencia a aquellos que admiraban el sistema político británico, y que se convirtieron en un peligro para la monarquía, una corriente vinculada con la llamada “anglomanía”. Se trataba de una ola de entusiasmo por la cultura inglesa, cuyos seguidores pertenecían en su mayoría a la élite francesa, que coincidió con el final de la Guerra de los Siete Años, reforzada por la reanudación de las relaciones entre los dos Estados, con la autorización de los súbditos de Luis XV a cruzar el Canal, lo que ayudó a la desaparición de ciertos prejuicios contra el inglés (Dziembowski 1998, 199-208).

En segundo lugar, a mediados de 1765 se intensifican los rumores de la vuelta de William Pitt al frente del gobierno inglés, en función de las reorganizaciones que se habían producido en el Gabinete de Londres. Choiseul consideraba al futuro conde de Chatam su némesis política. Pitt el viejo había liderado el partido Whig de corte belicista durante los primeros años del conflicto, se hizo cargo de los Asuntos Exteriores y de la Guerra, con el cargo de Secretario de Estado del Departamento del Sur, durante el reinado de Jorge II. Sin embargo, con el nuevo rey Jorge III, Pitt fue obligado a dimitir en 1761 cuando el rey y el gobierno rechazaron su consejo de atacar a España ante los primeros indicios de la existencia de una alianza franco-española (Barreto 2006, 33). En consecuencia, Choiseul estaba convencido de que si Pitt volvía a dirigir las operaciones del ministerio británico, el conflicto sería inminente, y uno de los primeros ataques del político inglés sería intentar por todos los medios destruir el III Pacto de familia (Dziembowski 1998, 281).

Otra prueba más para Choiseul de que el enfrentamiento estaba próximo era que había aprovechar los indicios de que las Trece Colonias no tardarían en querer separarse de Londres y ante los primeros efectos negativos que desató en América la Ley del Timbre o Stamp Act de 1765, el Secretario envió un espía, el barón de Kalb para que le mantuviera informado de lo que acontecía al otro lado del

Atlántico⁸. La correspondencia entre Choiseul y su agente, entre 1765 y 1767, confirmaba el convencimiento del político acerca de una próxima independencia de las colonias americanas de la monarquía británica (Dziembowski 1998, 259).

Ante estas pruebas, para Choiseul la confrontación con el enemigo inglés era inmediato y había que empezar a tomar las prevenciones militares necesarias: así durante el verano de 1765 se desplazó personalmente a la base militar de Dunquerque para realizar una inspección, que según un oficial no estaba planificada, lo que permite apreciar el grado de urgencia de la situación (Dziembowski 1998, 281-282). Este apremio se confirma cuando Choiseul, en correspondencia con el Secretario de Estado español, marqués de Grimaldi, amigo personal y francófono, que había firmado el pacto borbónico durante su etapa de embajador en París (Ozanam 1989, 224), decidieron comisionar a un militar francés como espía en Portugal en 1765.

La misión de Charles François du Perier du Mouriez, el futuro General Dumouriez, sería estudiar la campaña de 1762 y buscar las razones que desembocaron en el fracaso mediante una observación *in situ* de la geografía y estado militar de la corona portuguesa y diseñar un plan de invasión eficaz. Este cometido era importante, pues en un hipotético conflicto con Inglaterra, Portugal sería el flanco más débil para atacar a los intereses británicos, a la par que menos costoso para las fuerzas borbónicas. Si bien este planteamiento no era nuevo, su puesta en práctica debía ser revisada y replanteada, ya que el precedente del desastre en la guerra de 1762 debía servir de escarmiento, por lo que la ofensiva contra Portugal debía planificarse minuciosamente, sin dejar nada a la improvisación (García Arenas 2004 y 2005).

En cuanto a la reconstrucción de la armada, Choiseul contaba ya con los nuevos barcos construidos a raíz de la oleada de donaciones voluntarias iniciadas a finales de 1761. Los llamados dones de los barcos al rey fue una estrategia de Choiseul cuando solicitó al arzobispo de Narbona, presidente de los Estados del Languedoc, que pidiese a la población una contribución voluntaria para sufragar la construcción de un buque de guerra para la marina. El político pidió al prelado que presentara la oferta como una iniciativa personal para dar a entender que el gobierno no estaba implicado. La respuesta fue inmediata y entusiasta que, difundida por los canales oficiales de la *Gazette de France*, provocó un sentimiento de fervor patriótico y una avalancha de donaciones voluntarias por todo el reino. En seis meses se recaudó lo suficiente para la construcción de 16 naves, 2 se construyeron en 1762, y el resto en diferentes astilleros entre 1763 y 1766. Un experimento que dado los buenos resultados podría volver a repetirse en circunstancias propicias (Dziembowski 1998, 458-470).

8 Un impuesto directo y específico que requería que la mayoría de los materiales impresos debían publicarse en papel sellado y producido en Londres, timbrados con un sello fiscal. El objetivo recaudatorio era sufragar parte de los gastos del ejército movilizad en suelo americano y de paso controlar la prensa.

Por último, pero no menos importante, Choiseul era consciente de la importancia de preparar a la población para un inminente conflicto. En este sentido era necesario poner en marcha un programa propagandístico eficaz y el ministro parece que dominaba el arte de explotar en su beneficio las ideas más interesantes emitidas por colegas y colaboradores. En la nueva estrategia de reconquista ideológica tuvieron un papel destacado Jacob-Nicolas Moreau y Antoine-Léonard Bertin (Dziembowski 1998, 444). Estos teóricos y publicistas estuvieron muy influidos por los efectos que provocó la obra del abad Coyer, que apareció a finales de 1754, *Dissertation sur le vieux mot de Patrie*. La tesis del autor giraba en torno de que Francia, frente a Inglaterra, había perdido todo significado patriótico pero Coyer aportaba las soluciones para poner fin a esa situación y recuperar la antigua palabra, o sea, la patria. Las disertaciones son todo un catálogo de reflexiones sobre los medios para desarrollar y propagar el patriotismo. Coyer abogaba por una transformación de las formas de celebración patriótica, tanto en el dominio social como en la expresión artística. Así, el poeta, el dramaturgo, el pintor o el escultor, movidos por el celo patriótico, debían producir obras útiles para el reino que ayudaran a hacer renacer el patriotismo en Francia (Dziembowski 1998, 376-380).

Por tanto, en 1763 cristaliza la idea en los teóricos franceses de que la única explicación plausible del asombroso éxito de Inglaterra radicaba en el patriotismo británico, cuya existencia había sido negada con vehemencia en los primeros años de la guerra por la propaganda anglófoba francesa (Dziembowski 1998, 289). En consecuencia, se debía estimular el patriotismo francés para relanzar la grandeza del reino y para ello servirá cualquier instrumento de difusión, incluidos los medios artísticos, como las obras teatrales, poemas, esculturas, pinturas, y obviamente también tendría su espacio los grabados.

El duque de Choiseul estaba convencido que era necesario incentivar el patriotismo en los franceses a través de la propaganda política oficial, que hasta ese momento había sido fomentada de una manera discreta y casi marginal, y los ejemplos más exaltados procedían siempre de iniciativas privadas, pues el absolutismo monárquico trató siempre de canalizar y controlar lo más estrictamente estos sentimientos (Dziembowski 1998, 173). El cambio de tendencia obedeció a la situación política interna y externa, a la mutación en el pensamiento de los publicistas galos y porque el ministro aprovechará el estallido inesperado de patriotismo que despertó en el reino la representación del *Siège de Calaix*, que ensalzaba la valentía francesa mantenida contra el enemigo inglés durante la Guerra de los Cien Años (Connors 2014). Pierre-Laurent De Belloy estrenó la tragedia en la *Comédie-François* de París el 13 de febrero de 1765, con un apabullante éxito de crítica y público, hasta el punto que consiguió que la obra se representase en Versalles ante el rey y su Corte el 21 de febrero. El duque de Choiseul también cayó rendido ante el sentimiento evocador de la obra y solicitó al autor que trabajase a su servicio en un repertorio similar. A la espera de nuevas obras que ensalzasen el patriotismo, Choiseul conseguirá que el rey patrocine varias representaciones en la capital, a la que asistirán de forma gratuita mujeres y hombres de todos los estamentos sociales. El éxito de la obra

se repitió en casi todos los rincones del reino, con representaciones gratuitas sufragadas por las autoridades. De hecho el 7 de julio de 1765, la tragedia se estrenó en Santo Domingo, días después de que el gobernador distribuyese de forma gratuita a la población una copia impresa del texto de la obra, convirtiéndose el *Siège de Calaix* en la primera obra de literatura impresa en la América francesa (Dziembowski 1998, 472-486).

No obstante, había que seguir manteniendo el fervor patriótico desatado por la tragedia de Belloy y ya sabemos que el autor necesitaba tiempo para componer piezas del estilo, por tanto sería lógico que Choiseul y sus colaboradores pensasen en otros instrumentos como una forma de propagar el patriotismo e infundir a la población sentimientos belicistas para prepararlos de cara a ese inminente choque armado con los ingleses. Si bien los miembros de la Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture podían realizar obras artísticas que cumplieran con los objetivos gubernamentales, las creaciones a este nivel implicaban una inversión de tiempo considerable y los productos resultantes serían costosos y por tanto solo accesibles para las élites, un reducido porcentaje de la sociedad francesa. En este aspecto, hay que tener en cuenta las ventajas que suponía la impresión de grabados, por su poca inversión, tanto en costes como en tiempo, y su alta difusión, debido a su producción en serie y con un precio más asequible que podía ser adquirido por una mayor masa social. Por tanto, esta producción visual adquirió una importante función de movilización de las mentalidades y un eficaz instrumento de propaganda política y bélica (Matilla 2008, 248).

En este punto es cuando se nos plantea verosímil la hipótesis de que desde la Secretaría de Estado se hicieran encargos específicos al taller de Basset tanto en 1763 para conmemorar la paz de París como en 1765 sobre la Guerra de los Siete Años: el asedio de Dresde de 1760 y la batalla de la Campaña de Portugal de 1762 (vid. fig. 1)⁹. Estos dos ejemplos pueden ilustrar además la manipulación de la realidad para amoldarla a unos fines determinados y convertir a una obra artística, en este caso los grabados, en instrumentos de propaganda política.

En este sentido, debemos mencionar una carta del entonces Secretario de Guerra, mariscal de Belle-Isle, dirigida a Choiseul, fechada el 16 de septiembre de 1758, donde le aconsejaba que sería necesario seguir la estrategia practicada por Federico II de Prusia, conocido por el arte de falsificar los hechos, pues era un experto en suprimir todo lo negativo y exagerar sus éxitos (Dziembowski 1998, 444-445). Para enfatizar esa idea de mostrar las derrotas de los enemigos cumpliría su objetivo el grabado relativo al sitio de Dresde, ocurrido en julio de 1760, que fue uno de los grandes fracasos de Federico II, pues la estela de destrucción en la ciudad y sus alrededores fomentó la mala reputación del rey prusiano en Europa, que fue objeto de muchas críticas (Dull 2005, 182) y sátiras (Pedrosa 2017, 176-177).

9 *Vue perspective du siège de la Ville de Dresde*, (Paris: Basset rue St. Jacques a Se. Genevieve [ca 1765]), BNE, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (6)-FOL, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41474850g>.

En cuanto a magnificar las victorias francesas, aún a costa de manipular los acontecimientos históricos, se encuadraría el segundo grabado relativo a la campaña de Portugal de 1762 (vid. fig. 1). En nuestra opinión, las informaciones que transmitía la plasmación de esa grandiosa victoria épica naval y terrestre de las tropas borbónicas para los contemporáneos trascendían más allá de la exaltación del patriotismo y del fomento de la belicosidad ante el inglés. Además de esos objetivos, el grabado presentaba a Francia como una gran potencia naval, capaz de eclipsar al poder enemigo si se invertían los esfuerzos necesarios, esta premisa era fundamental para la recuperación y fortalecimiento de la armada y preparaba el terreno en el caso de que el ministro tuviera que recurrir a la estrategia de las donaciones voluntarias que llevó a cabo con tanto éxito en 1761. Pero lo más importante es que este grabado ponía en valor la importancia diplomática y militar que suponía el III Pacto de Familia entre las dos ramas de la Casa de Borbón para la Secretaria de Estado. A este respecto, Choiseul había puesto todos sus esfuerzos en conseguir la alianza con la monarquía hispánica, de hecho llegó a afirmar que el acuerdo borbónico era “plus intéressante mille fois pour la France que la colonie du Canada” (Dziembowski 1998, 255). Incluso en su memorial al rey de 1765 el Secretario señalaba que Francia perdió la guerra por las erróneas decisiones diplomáticas tomadas durante los primeros meses del conflicto, en relación al tratado con la casa de Habsburgo, y que cuando llegó a la Secretaria de Estado de los Asuntos Extranjeros intentó imponer algo de coherencia en una política desastrosa reorientando la alianza hacia Madrid (Dziembowski 1998, 222-223). En consecuencia, el grabado de Basset (vid. fig. 1) mostraba a los franceses que los aliados naturales y necesarios para enfrentarse a los ingleses y ganarles, tanto en el frente marítimo como terrestre, eran los ejércitos de Su Majestad Católica. Una alianza que se mantuvo vigente tras la Paz de 1763.

Conclusión

Nuestro trabajo es una muestra más del uso de las obras de arte como un instrumento al servicio del poder. En este caso, consideramos que hay algunos indicios que nos permiten apuntar a que bajo el ministerio del duque de Choiseul, a partir de 1763, se fraguó un programa iconográfico con fines propagandísticos, basado en un arte menor pero de gran efectividad para llegar a amplios sectores de la sociedad, como eran los grabados sobre la Guerra de los Siete Años y la Paz de París. Los objetivos que se pretendían alcanzar eran ensalzar el patriotismo entre el pueblo francés, defender la alianza diplomática y militar con la monarquía hispánica y preparar a la población para un inminente enfrentamiento con el secular enemigo inglés.

De todos modos, en el caso de que no hubiera habido ninguna conexión oficial entre el taller de Basset y la Secretaria de Estado, el hecho de que se escogieran estas escenas puede confirmar también esa efervescencia patriótica que se manifestó entre la sociedad francesa a partir de 1765. En este sentido, los talleres de imaginería aumentarían su producción de representaciones que hicieran alusión a temas bélicos, sobre todo

aquellos en los que se recordasen las victorias francesas y las derrotas de sus enemigos, aumentando las ventas al tiempo que cubrían el gusto y la demanda social del momento.

Si bien Choiseul quedó apartado del poder en 1770, sus esfuerzos no fueron infructuosos: por un lado se mantuvo el deseo de venganza contra Inglaterra y se continuó con la reconstrucción de una fuerza militar y naval viable. Por otro, tampoco decayó el espíritu patriótico entre la población. En consecuencia, la esperada revancha del III Pacto de Familia contra Inglaterra llegó con ocasión del inicio de la Guerra de la Independencia de las 13 colonias contra Inglaterra en 1774. Un conflicto heredero de la Guerra de los Siete Años, donde toda una generación de súbditos franceses logró finalmente su venganza en 1783 con el Tratado de Versalles que puso fin a las humillaciones de la derrota de 1763.

En esta coyuntura, la celebración del triunfo borbónico consagrado en la nueva paz también fue plasmado en numerosos grabados¹⁰, e incluso hubo una nueva ocasión para recordar el éxito del ejército franco-español sobre sus enemigos en la campaña de Portugal de 1762, donde se volvía a retratar la misma batalla objeto de este trabajo, donde de nuevo no habrá ninguna verosimilitud con el episodio de la toma de Salvaterra. No obstante, el escenario de un grandiosa batalla naval y terrestre es sustituido por la representación de un combate terrestre (Marchena 2009, 71)¹¹.

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- 10 Représentation du superbe feu d'artifice tiré devant l'hotel de ville de Paris le 14 décembre 1783 en réjouissance de la publication de la paix entre sa Majesté très chrétienne et sa Majesté britannique. Éditeur [s.n.].BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (114), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41508782h>. Superbe feu d'artifice ordonné par MM.rs les prévôts des marchands et échevins de la ville de Paris tiré place de l'hotel de ville le dimanche 14 décembre 1783. A Paris, chez Crépy rue S. Jacques à S. Pierre près la rue de la Parcheminerie. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (114), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41508783v>. Fête du peuple de Paris à l'occasion de la paix conclue entre leurs majestés les Rois de France et d'Angleterre, donné à la nouvelle Halle aux bleds. A Paris, chez Crépy rue S. Jacques à S. Pierre près la rue de la Parcheminerie. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (114), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb410893217>. Temple de la paix. Éditeur [s.n.]. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-201 (170)-FT 4 [Hennin, 9929, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41445987q>. Pièce emblématique sur l'Indépendance de l'Amérique : Un coq, un lion, un serpent et un léopard, avec cette légende : Omne animal post coitum triste praeter Gallum. Éditeur [s.n.]. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE FOL-QB-201 (114), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb410893217>. Estampe allégorique en l'honneur du traité de Versailles. A Paris chez Basset rue S. Jacques au coin de la rue des Mathurins à S.c Geneviève. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-370 (7)-FT 4. Vue perspective d'un Feu d'Artifice tiré devant l'Hôtel de Ville pour la Publication de la Paix à Paris. A Paris chez Jacques Chereau rue Saint Jacques au dessus de la Fontaine Saint Séverin N° 257. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-370 (7)-FT 4, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb38793011x>. Feuille d'éventail représentant la proclamation de la Paix signée à Versailles, faite à son de trompe sur la Place Maubert ; sept hérauts d'armes vêtus de la cotte violette semée de fleurs de lys accompagnent six huissiers en robe rouge et noire, tous à cheval. Spectateurs de toutes classes, de tous âges et de tous costumes. BNF, département Estampes et photographie, RESERVE QB-370 (7)-FT 4, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb38793011x>.
- 11 *Bataille gagnée par l'Armée Espagnol aux ordres de Mr le Comte d'Aranda sur les Portugais, et la prise de la Ville de Salvacerra le 16 Septembre 1762*. El profesor Juan Marchena ha identificado una copia en la Biblioteca Nacional de España: BNE, Inv. 34958. Aunque también hay un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, sección Iconografía, E. 1364 V, <http://purl.pt/4982>. Se trata un grabado procedente de los talleres parisinos de Mondhare et Jean, de la calle St. Jean de Beauvais, con una datación posterior, entre 1784 y 1792.

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B E Y O N D T H E W E S T E R N

FERNANDO MORATO*

Mar Portuguez: O oceano Atlântico como palco para a dominação portuguesa das Américas

Introdução

Neste capítulo vou analisar alguns textos poéticos luso-brasileiros do período pré-moderno com a intenção de identificar o modo como eles representam o espaço atlântico. A hipótese que norteia minha análise é a de que a construção de um espaço simbólico na poesia do império português realiza uma mudança equivalente à observada na política imperial, que gradativamente substituiu o oceano Índico pelo Atlântico como centro gravitacional da economia e do poder portugueses. Desdobrando esta hipótese, tenho a convicção de que a criação desse espaço simbólico não é apenas uma questão literária, independente da realidade empírica das disputas materiais que se davam ao redor desse espaço, mas é também constitutiva de uma compreensão do mundo e, em última instância, uma intervenção ativa no cenário político luso-brasileiro.

Como referência teórica, trabalho com algumas ideias do crítico e filósofo russo Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). Apesar de ter permanecido obscura por muitos anos, devido a circunstâncias políticas da antiga União Soviética, a obra de Bakhtin tornou-se mais visível e influente no Ocidente a partir dos anos 1960. Seus estudos a respeito de Dostoiévski e Rabelais exerceram grande influência na crítica brasileira dos anos 1980-90, sobretudo através da incorporação de conceitos como os de “polifonia” e “carnavalização”. Vou valer-me, entretanto, de outra importante faceta de Bakhtin, a de filósofo da linguagem. Para ele, a linguagem tem um aspecto fundamentalmente contextual, que se realiza através do “enunciado”, uma entidade que não descreve ou

* The Ohio State University, USA.
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7292-354X>. E-mail: limaemorato.1@buckeyemail.osu.edu

copia a realidade, mas sim a *constrói* refratando-a e combinando-a com os elementos linguísticos:

O enunciado nunca é simples reflexo ou expressão de algo que lhe preexistisse, fora dele, dado e pronto. O enunciado sempre cria algo que, antes dele, nunca existia, algo novo e irreproduzível, algo que está sempre relacionado com um valor (a verdade, o bem, a beleza, etc.). Entretanto, qualquer coisa criada se cria sempre a partir de uma coisa que é dada (a língua, o fenômeno observado na realidade, o sentimento vivido, o próprio sujeito, o que é já concluído de sua visão de mundo, etc.). O dado se transfigura em criado. (Bakhtin 1992, 248)

Neste sentido, estou buscando flagrar o processo de construção e legitimação de uma realidade, a saber, o espaço atlântico, através da literatura, na certeza de que essa invenção literária tem repercussões importantes na política imperial portuguesa. Trata-se de uma abordagem original, porque a obra de Bakhtin, no que tange aos estudos literários, tem sido mais frequentemente usada como fonte de outros conceitos – nomeadamente os já mencionados “polifonia” e “carnavalização” –, muitas vezes aplicados de maneira mecânica a realidades muito diferentes das que os geraram, o que, de certa forma, contradiz a natureza “eventual” – no sentido de ser um evento único – da linguagem:

La repetición de muchos *topoi* bajtinianos se revierte en su contrario [...]. Esto es válido para todos los conceptos bajtinianos, al punto de sugerir una regla: cualquiera de ellos que posea un contenido de alteridad se transforma en su negativo al ser vehiculado de manera abstracta – independientemente de la intención original de su autor, incluso si sirve a propósitos tan loables como la divulgación y la aplicación de un pensamiento en principio progresista. Es ese mecanismo el que requiere ser investigado en sus características y efectos generales; antes de eso, con todo, algunas palabras respecto de la adecuación de la multiplicidad al contexto brasileño son necesarias. (Durão 2009, 33-34)

Na contramão dessa prática, o que pretendo fazer é tirar proveito das intuições teóricas do filósofo russo para extrair consequências mais ricas de processos que estão latentes na própria dinâmica da linguagem, conforme a concebe sua teoria. Isso posto, vou tentar fazer uma leitura de certos textos poéticos, procurando identificar uma possível linha de coerência que dialoga com a realidade empírica de maneira não necessariamente unívoca.

São muitos os trabalhos que fazem exercícios semelhantes aos que me proponho, analisando a fortuna das representações de novos espaços ocupados pelo expansionismo europeu. Um livro já clássico é *Visão do Paraíso* (1959), de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, no qual o historiador procura flagrar a maneira como certas representações imaginárias da Idade Média persistem no século XVI e dão forma às representações das novidades oferecidas pela América. Mais recentemente, em *A América Alegorizada* (2014), Carla Mary S. Oliveira faz o inventário da continuidade das representações alegóricas da América ao longo dos séculos XVI-XVIII. Ocorre, entretanto, que esses trabalhos

1) lidam mais diretamente com a representação da América, referindo o Atlântico quase sempre lateralmente, 2) centram-se majoritariamente nas representações visuais e, quando se dedicam a textos verbais, restringem-se na maioria dos casos a discursos históricos ou relatos de viagens, deixando em segundo plano os gêneros poéticos.

Neste breve estudo, vou dar atenção a textos poéticos do período clássico, que nem sempre têm sido analisados como criadores de representações sociais porque são considerados “de invenção”, ou seja, ficções que lidariam de maneira muito livre com a realidade empírica do mundo.

Essa ideia não se sustenta, uma vez que compreendemos os diferentes protocolos de escrita e de leitura que orientavam as práticas letradas dos séculos chamados pré-modernos. Desde o século XIX, a partir da hegemonia da sensibilidade romântica, o texto poético é entendido como portador de uma verdade particular, de uma expressão subjetiva da realidade que passa por aquilo que Immanuel Kant chamou de “atividade desinteressada”. Já a dinâmica através da qual funcionam os textos pré-modernos é bem diferente e não apenas ignora a expressão desinteressada, uma vez que todos os textos cumprem funções retóricas muito claras, como não conhece a ideia de originalidade tal qual é adotada desde o Romantismo. Todos os textos eram de alguma maneira subordinados a regras de retórica mais ou menos rígidas cujo conhecimento é fundamental para a compreensão dos efeitos que se dispunham a causar. Um dos processos mais importantes da maneira como os escritores clássicos lidam retoricamente com seus textos, e que vai ser fundamental para minha análise, é o que recebe o nome de *inventio*. É assim que a teoria retórica chama a um dos passos iniciais da elaboração escrita, qual seja, a seleção dentre o acervo que a tradição coloca à disposição do escritor, daqueles assuntos e imagens que são os mais pertinentes para causar os efeitos que se pretendem no auditório:

A inventio não é compreendida como um processo de criação (como em certas teorias poéticas dos tempos modernos), mas sim como um encontrar por meio da recordação (análoga à concepção platônica do saber): os pensamentos, aptos para o discurso, já existem, no subconsciente ou na semi-consciência do orador, como copia rerum, e só precisam de ser despertados por uma hábil técnica mnemônica e mantidos, o mais possível, conscientes por meio de uma exercitação permanente. (Lausberg 1993, 91)

Este é um ponto central para minha análise, porque o que procuro demonstrar é justamente como a imagem e a função do espaço atlântico passaram por uma reformulação ao longo dos séculos XVII e XVIII e, a partir dessa reformulação, criaram um universo de referências luso-brasileiro que desempenha usos muito particulares no Império. Teoria clássica e intuições bakhtinianas se sobrepõem aqui porque, ainda que a ideia de *inventio* pressuponha certa estabilidade de repertório, ela é necessariamente geradora de um evento linguístico único, através do qual esse acervo imagético se realiza e perpetua. Em outras palavras, o que tenho em vista é flagrar a criação de uma imagética sistemática que só pode ser reconhecida em objetos individuais. Uma vez que esse universo de

referências é parte ativa da escrita de qualquer texto, sobretudo aqueles que exerceriam funções em cerimônias públicas e celebrações de autoridades, como frequentemente acontecia com a poesia clássica, a obra literária passa a desempenhar um papel formador de consciência para o público leitor/ouvinte.

Lidando com a autoridade

Ao falarmos de imagens que a tradição coloca à disposição dos autores, é preciso não esquecer que elas são sempre legitimadas pelos escritores e obras que são considerados como autoridades. Autores como Virgílio, Horácio e Ovídio, reconhecidos em toda a Europa como tal, forneceram, através da *Eneida*, das *Odes* e das *Metamorfoses*, respectivamente, imagens que foram inúmeras vezes recicladas por poetas das mais diversas nações. Dentro da língua portuguesa, a referência de maior autoridade é sem dúvida *Os Lusíadas* (1572) de Luís de Camões. Entretanto, é significativo notar a quase ausência dos espaços atlântico e americano nessa epopeia quinhentista. A famosa descrição do mundo que ocorre no canto X, quando a ninfa Tétis descortina a Vasco da Gama a “Máquina do Mundo”, e procede a uma descrição minuciosa do mundo conhecido, ocupa 61 estrofes, das quais uma é dedicada à Europa (92), sete são dedicadas à África (92-99), quarenta à Ásia (100-39) e apenas duas à América¹:

Mas cá onde mais se alarga, ali tereis
 Parte também, co pau vermelho nota;
 De Santa Cruz o nome lhe poreis;
 Descobri-la-á a primeira vossa frota.
 Ao longo desta costa, que tereis,
 Irá buscando a parte mais remota
 O Magalhães, no feito, com verdade,
 Português, porém não na lealdade.

Dês que passar a via mais que meia
 Que ao Antártico Pólo vai da Linha,
 Dũa estatura quási giganteia
 Homens verá, da terra ali vizinha;
 E mais avante o Estreito que se arreja
 Co nome dele agora, o qual caminha
 Pera outro mar e terra que fica onde
 Com suas frias asas o Austro a esconde.
 (Camões 1963, X – 140-141, 260)

1 Apesar da aparente desatenção à Europa e à África, é importante não esquecer a longa descrição da primeira no início do Canto III, quando Vasco da Gama inicia sua narração ao rei de Melinde e as constantes notas descritivas que acompanham todo o trajeto da frota portuguesa ao longo da narrativa. A América, entretanto, não é palco de nenhum dos acontecimentos do poema.

Aqui encontramos apenas a referência à descoberta dos territórios portugueses na América, ao pau-brasil e à lenda dos homens gigantes da Terra do Fogo. Nenhuma outra menção é feita nem à América, nem ao oceano Atlântico – exceto no que tange à costa africana – no poema de Camões. O que se reconhece então é um espaço virtualmente em branco, ao qual não existem nem imagens nem fatos poéticos associados, muito diferente do que acontece com Europa, África e Ásia.

Podemos dizer, então, que o século XVI não lega aos escritores dos Seiscentos e dos Setecentos uma autoridade claramente definida para os assuntos americano e atlântico na poesia de língua portuguesa. Essa autoridade tem que ser gradativamente construída através dos textos que sucedem a *Os Lusíadas*. Evidentemente que existem as diversas referências que se espalham por tratados geográficos, cartas e narrações de naufrágios, mas estes textos ocupam um lugar diferente na hierarquia rígida que norteia as “belas letras”, responsáveis pela celebração e legitimação de poderes estabelecidos ou por estabelecer.

Se, por um lado, a tradição estabelecida por *Os Lusíadas* deixa apenas um grande vazio no que diz respeito à América e ao Atlântico, é interessante lembrar de uma outra referência que constitui autoridade tão relevante quanto a de Camões para a poesia de língua portuguesa: Antônio Ferreira (1528-1569). Nos *Poemas Lusitanos* (1598), encontramos algumas menções não especificamente ao Atlântico, mas ao “oceano”. Na oitava écloga, chamada “Flóris”, o sujeito lírico diz:

Lá onde o claro Tejo a praia lava
Rica das brancas conchas do Oriente,
Já seus cabelos n'água o sol molhava,

Quando seguindo Amor, fugindo a gente,
D'hum alto, que o mar longe descobria
Té onde o Tejo perde sua corrente,

Lidia cos olhos, triste, em vão seguia,
Quanto a vista alcançava, a Nao ligeira,
Que co seu Floris desaparecia.

Como se fosse aquela a derradeira
Vista de Floris, Lídia assi chorosa
O chamava em voz alta na ribeira.
(Ferreira 2000, 199-200, vv. 1-12)

É possível reconhecer nesses dois poemas atitudes opostas ou talvez complementares. Enquanto Camões vê no mar o espaço por definição da aventura e da superação dos limites humanos, Antônio Ferreira se refere a ele, seguindo a tradição que vem desde os trovadores, como o espaço do perigo e da incerteza. Tudo que o mar pode oferecer a Flóris são ameaças que aterrorizam Lídia. Entretanto, em *Os Lusíadas*, a aventura e a

superação restringem-se ao Oriente. Os “mares nunca dantes navegados” não incluem, como se viu, o Atlântico, assim como “as terras que [os barões] foram devastando” não incluem a América, ainda que em 1572 já houvesse eventos históricos suficientes para ocupar pelo menos algumas estrofes da narrativa. Consequentemente, o que a tradição oferece enquanto autoridade para ser objeto da *inventio* é pouco mais que uma enorme *tabula rasa* que vai ser preenchida nos séculos seguintes de diversas maneiras. As opções que preencherão esse vazio são determinantes.

A criação da tradição

Um primeiro passo da “ocupação poética” da América e do Atlântico em língua portuguesa se dá com o poema *Prosopopeia* (1601), de Bento Teixeira (1561-1600). Trata-se de uma emulação da epopeia camonianiana, escrita com a mesma oitava rima e as mesmas referências mitológicas para realizar uma tarefa bem menos ambiciosa, o elogio da família Albuquerque, donatária da capitania de Pernambuco. Ainda que as dimensões do poema de Bento Teixeira sejam consideravelmente menores que as do de Camões, a forma e a estrutura exercem uma função determinante na sua significação para o público leitor da época: o reconhecimento delas insere *Prosopopeia* em uma linhagem inequívoca de carácter épico. O poema se inicia com a protocolar introdução épica, dividida em proposição, invocação e dedicatória, e logo narra brevemente uma cena. Após descrever a geografia da região da costa da cidade de Recife, o narrador relata que a corte dos deuses marinhos aparece nos recifes que a ladeiam; é aí que todos escutam a canção profética de Proteu a respeito dos feitos futuros da família Albuquerque. Até onde consigo rastrear, esta é a primeira referência a estes espaços na poesia luso-brasileira², e é significativo observar que as figuras que o ocupam são as mesmas que, não apenas em *Os Lusíadas*, mas em toda a tradição clássica, são responsáveis pelas imagens de dominação do espaço marítimo. A referência a Camões é explícita:

Do mar cortando a prateada veia,
 Vinha Tritão em cola duplicada
 Não lhe vi na cabeça casca posta
 (Como Camões descreve) de lagosta.
 (Teixeira 2008, 126, Est. X)

O que se observa no poema de Bento Teixeira, então, é um duplo movimento. Em primeiro lugar, há um deslocamento geográfico da corte dos deuses marinhos. Restrita ao Mediterrâneo na poesia clássica e transplantada para o oceano Índico em *Os Lusíadas* – no episódio em que Baco vai procurar Netuno em seu templo para pedir sua intervenção contra a ousadia dos portugueses –, em *Prosopopéia* ela está reunida no Atlântico.

2 É efetivamente anterior o *De gestis Mendi de Saa*, do padre José de Anchieta, impresso em Coimbra em 1563, mas, uma vez que está escrito em latim, ocupa um lugar diferente na economia letrada do século XVI.

Em segundo lugar, localizada neste novo ambiente, ela volta-se para a América, no sentido de que o motivo de sua reunião é olhar para o novo continente e para a história que lhe está reservada. Estabelece-se assim uma colaboração, uma vez que o novo espaço está sendo cenário para a expansão dos limites europeus.

É para essas pequenas mudanças que deve voltar-se nossa atenção. Como explica Horácio na sua *Epistula ad Pisones*, mais conhecida como *Arte poética*, as personagens podem ser novas ou já conhecidas, e estas são as reguladas pela tradição. Neste segundo caso, devem seguir as convenções estabelecidas pelas autoridades:

[...] seguir debes a corrente fama
 [...]

 Se acaso torna à Scena o honrado Achilles,
 Seja irado, incançavel, surdo a rogos,
 Desprezador das leis, e que a justiça
 Toda espere das armas. Inflexível,
 Feroz seja Medea, Ino chorosa,
 Seja pérfido Ixion, Ino errante,
 E das fúrias Orestes agitado.
 (Horácio 1758, 59-61, vv. 186-194)

Entretanto, na tradição clássica, a imitação não pode ser integral; ela deve servir de base para a criação de novas realidades literárias, como sintetiza de maneira exemplar Correia Garção na sua *Dissertação Terceira* sobre a imitação, proferida na Arcádia Lusitana em 1757:

Os poetas devem ser imitados nas fábulas, nas imagens, nos pensamentos, no estilo; mas quem imita deve fazer seu o que imita. Se imito a fábula, devo conservar a acção, ou alma da fábula; mas devo variar de forma os episódios que pareça outra nova e minha. Se imito as pinturas, não devo no meu poema introduzir um Polifemo, mas do painel deste gigante posso tirar as cores para um Adamastor. Se imito o estilo, não devo servir-me das palavras dos Antigos, mas achar na linguagem portuguesa termos equivalentes, enérgicos e majestosos, sem torcer as frases, nem adoptar barbarismos.
 Olhando para a prática dos Latinos e bons Modernos, achamos religiosamente guardados estes preceitos. Assim imita Virgílio a Homero na sua *Eneida*; assim imita a Teócrito na sua *Bucólica*. Assim imitou Camões a Virgílio; António Ferreira a Horácio; Sófocles a Teócrito; Bion a Mosco. Todos conhecem o original que achou Ovídio em Eurípides para formar a soberba pintura do carro de Faetonte, dos conselhos com que o pai encaminhou a resolução do filho, do cuidado com que se assusta, e da paternal misericórdia com que pranteia a desgraça do atrevido do mancebo.
 (Garção 1980, 135)

Estes eram princípios adotados pelos autores dos séculos XVI a XVIII. Em outras palavras, existe sempre uma margem de liberdade observada por poetas do período clássico que é exatamente onde ocorre a expansão dos limites do acervo de referências da autoridade estabelecida. É neste espaço que Bento Teixeira está trabalhando ao mudar a

localização da corte de Netuno para a costa de Pernambuco. Desta maneira, o espaço que Camões e Antônio Ferreira deixavam vazio passa a ter um sentido dentro do universo de referências compartilhado pelos novos poetas. Atlântico e América adquirem “cidadania poética” porque exercem uma função na dinâmica das imagens que a tradição oferece aos poetas.

O que creio que se pode reconhecer aqui é um primeiro passo de um processo simbólico que Vanda Anastácio considera que foi deixado de lado pelos historiadores que se dedicaram à história do Atlântico:

L'océan Atlantique perçu 'comme un pont, plutôt que comme une barrière' entre les territoires et les peuples qui le longent : le propos, qui est stimulante invitation à une relecture du passé commun entre l'Europe, l'Amérique et l'Afrique, connaît différentes déclinaisons, au gré des contributions de ceux qui acceptent le pari qu'il implique. Le *pont* est certes une métaphore des 'connexions' qui depuis les débuts de l'âge moderne se sont établies de façon systématique entre ces peuples et territoires. Mais nous pouvons également le hisser au rang d'outil méthodologique, ou plutôt à la catégorie de principe capable d'alimenter des démarches méthodologiques qui, malgré leur diversité, ont en commun un double objectif : tenir compte de la complexité des interactions entre les peuples des deux rives de l'océan et, surtout, attirer l'attention sur l'interdépendance inévitable de leurs pratiques culturelles, à la suite de la traversée effective et régulière de l'Atlantique. (Anastácio 2012, 12)

A “ocupação do Atlântico” se dá, não apenas pelo constante cruzar de pessoas mas, em *Prosopopeia*, através do cruzamento feito pelos próprios deuses. A ponte que o comércio português está estabelecendo legitima-se através de um outro deslocamento que pode servir de modelo para outros escritores, uma vez que passa a incorporar o universo de referências letradas. O elogio à família Albuquerque coloca as divindades mitológicas em direta relação com a administração colonial.

É importante notar também a importância das coisas que ocorrem no espaço do Atlântico, segundo a ficção criada por *Prosopopéia*: mais do que o lugar de feitos heroicos – esses se passam na terra –, ele é o espaço onde se vislumbra e se conta o futuro. A narração de feitos ainda por vir é uma estratégia típica das epopeias clássicas, que usualmente colocam na boca de divindades os eventos que ainda não se deram nem se darão no tempo diegético vivido pelos personagens, mas que, na verdade, são já passados em relação ao momento da escrita do texto. Assim não apenas se completa o ciclo da menção de todos os acontecimentos relevantes da narrativa oficial, mas também se dá legitimação adicional a esses acontecimentos, já que eles são validados pelas figuras que, no protocolo de leitura da época, têm dignidade e autoridade superior aos demais personagens. Isto é bastante significativo, porque esses acontecimentos são geralmente os mais recentes, cronologicamente falando, ou seja, são quase sempre os mais controversos e os que menos se podem beneficiar da legitimação dada pela tradição já estabelecida.

As novidades introduzidas por *Prosopopéia* no alvorecer do século XVII são, então: 1) incorporação da América e do Atlântico aos espaços poéticos da língua portuguesa;

2) ocupação desses espaços pelas figuras da mitologia, entendidas como fundamentais para a dignidade de obras de estilo elevado; 3) identificação do Atlântico como espaço privilegiado para a profecia e, portanto, para a legitimação de ações que ainda seriam objeto de disputa ou controvérsia.

Visitas ao Templo de Netuno

O processo simbólico flagrado em *Prosopopéia* aprofunda-se em certos textos poéticos do século XVIII. Alguns deles são bastante conhecidos, outros não tiveram tanta atenção da crítica, mas todos são igualmente ambiciosos e tiveram visibilidade em cerimônias públicas, ou seja, integraram os aparatos de poder da corte e do Império portugueses. Em um dos poucos poemas que temos de D. Francisco Xavier de Meneses (1673-1743), quarto conde da Ericeira, uma das personagens históricas mais importantes da primeira metade do setecentos – embora permaneça não completamente estudado –, vemos uma cena muito parecida à descrita por Bento Teixeira. Trata-se do epitalâmio “O templo de Netuno”, impresso em 1738 em homenagem ao casamento de Joana Perpétua de Bragança e Luís José de Castro Noronha Ataíde e Sousa, quarto marquês de Cascais. O epitalâmio é um gênero bem diferente da narrativa épica, mas ocupa uma posição de igual destaque na dinâmica simbólica da legitimação de poder. Da mesma maneira que Bento Teixeira legitima o poder dos Albuquerque, o conde da Ericeira legitima o status de D. Joana de Bragança e Luís José de Noronha na hierarquia da corte. Membros da mais alta nobreza portuguesa, os noivos são celebrados em uma cena mitológica muito semelhante à de *Prosopopéia*: emerge do Tejo o templo do deus Netuno, onde está reunida a corte marinha para homenagear os nubentes. Aí, como também aconteceu em *Prosopopéia*, a estirpe dos noivos é relembrada e os seus sucessos potenciais são indicados, conforme o decoro conveniente ao gênero. Ainda que “O Templo de Netuno” seja um poema que se afasta muito da nossa sensibilidade poética pós-romântica, sobretudo pelo excesso quase virtuosístico de referências mitológicas, há nele, entretanto, um aspecto muito importante a ressaltar. Tendo em mente que um dos traços mais importantes no processo de *inventio*, como já relembrado anteriormente, é a seleção adequada de modelos e a inserção neles de aspectos novos que descubram outras possibilidades e possam servir, por sua vez, de modelos para escritores futuros, é importante lembrar que a escolha da imagem do templo de Netuno tem na tradição portuguesa um modelo mais que autorizado – uma vez mais, *Os Lusíadas*. A novidade introduzida pelo conde da Ericeira, entretanto, é a localização desse templo. Enquanto na epopeia camoniana, celebração da conquista do Oriente, a corte marinha tem sua sede no oceano Índico, em pleno século XVIII a mudança que havia sido iniciada por Bento Teixeira completa-se quando todo o templo é trazido para a foz do Tejo. Em *Prosopopeia* a corte do mar se reunia ao lado da América, em “O Templo de Netuno” toda a sede material do império marinho muda. O espaço que, em *Os Lusíadas*, serve para confirmar o poder dos portugueses, já que foi “ocupado” pelos aventureiros que não sucumbem à força do deus dos

mares, no poema do conde da Ericeira está mais acessível. Simbolicamente, não é mais necessário dar toda a volta à África para encarar Netuno – ele está domesticamente instalado às margens do Tejo, e à beira do Atlântico.

Mesmo nome e mesmo processo se reconhecem anos mais tarde em um texto do poeta brasileiro Manuel Inácio da Silva Alvarenga (1749-1814). Assinando suas obras como Alcindo Palmireno, ele imprimiu em 1777 um “idílio” na Regia Officina Typographica, que geralmente é lido apenas na chave autobiográfica e nacionalista³. Efetivamente, na ficção criada pelo poema, descreve-se a viagem do eu lírico que deixa o amigo Termindo Sipílio (Basílio da Gama) em Lisboa para voltar ao “pátrio ninho”, ou seja, o Brasil. Usualmente a crítica restringe-se a este aspecto e deixa de lado o que a mim parece mais importante: o fato de que, ao passar pela costa da África, revela-se ao eu lírico o templo do deus marinho, onde a musa Clio faz um longo discurso. Se bem lido, esse discurso recoloca o poema em outro registro, porque ele é nitidamente um epitalâmio, já que a musa canta “em alto, nupcial, festivo metro” (v. 57, Alvarenga 2005, 51).

As referências são um pouco mais sutis de serem reconhecidas aqui porque o casamento em questão é o de D. José, príncipe da Beira, e sua tia, Maria Francisca Benedita, patrocinado pelo marquês de Pombal em janeiro daquele ano (1777) e tido como um movimento político arriscado. A morte do rei D. José I era iminente e a herdeira, futura D. Maria I, era nitidamente desfavorável a Pombal. Aparentemente o ministro realizou nesse casamento um esforço de passar por cima de Maria para que a Coroa chegasse diretamente ao príncipe, que já vinha sendo educado por homens de confiança de Pombal como o frei Manuel do Cenáculo⁴.

As semelhanças entre os poemas, que são dos poucos que abertamente tematizam esse espaço e, portanto, trabalham com a construção da autoridade pertinente para a representação do Atlântico, me parecem notáveis. Na economia da poesia clássica a corte marítima não é mobilizada com tanta frequência, e o fato de ela aparecer para celebrar dois matrimônios da altíssima nobreza tem implicações claras. Num contexto de redefinição do Império português, direcionar simbolicamente a ênfase de poemas celebrativos para a América ou para a Ásia é uma escolha mais que meramente poética. Dois anos antes da publicação de “O templo de Netuno”, Silva Alvarenga havia participado das festividades da inauguração da estátua equestre de D. José I na praça do Comércio, publicando e recitando alguns poemas, dentre os quais a epístola “Ao sempre Augusto e Fidelíssimo Rei de Portugal Dom José I”, na qual descreve as conquistas marítimas recentes da seguinte maneira:

O Pirata Africano, que a Lua traz na frente,
Deseja, e firma a Paz co’a Lusitana Gente.

3 Ainda não existe um trabalho abrangente de fôlego a respeito da obra poética de Silva Alvarenga, mas uma mostra exemplar da leitura nacionalista que se faz de sua poesia encontra-se em Martins (1976).

4 Mais informações sobre esse movimento em Monteiro (2006, 258-260).

Ao Bárbaro enamoram tão raras maravilhas,
 Que das Vossas Virtudes são as ilustres filhas.
 As Líbicas campanhas sem susto, nem receio
 A Abundância derramam, abrindo o vasto seio.
 Já não geme Netuno co' peso das rapinas,
 Netuno, que se alegra ao tremular das Quinas.
 (Alvarenga 2005, 35-36, vv. 61-67)

O elogio ao rei constitui-se ao redor da “pacificação” dos mares, ou seja, da ocupação pelo Império de espaços que estavam em disputa. A imagem com que culmina esse processo é exatamente a da alegria de Netuno frente às quinas portuguesas. É no mesmo espaço “pacificado” que surge o templo para celebrar o casamento do herdeiro ao trono. Interessante notar aqui que, uma vez que o matrimônio era controverso, mais do que a simples menção à presença dos deuses, abre-se também espaço para o discurso profético que legitima a união, possivelmente proveitosa para o marquês, que corria riscos frente à mudança de ventos sinalizada pela iminente morte de D. José I.

Não é apenas o mundo clássico que se apropria simbolicamente do espaço atlântico. É possível observar esse processo em um poema de caráter assumidamente religioso – mas não menos político –, como é o caso do *Caramuru* (1781), do frei José de Santa Rita Durão (1722-1784). Ainda que emulando modelos semelhantes aos dos outros poemas, nomeadamente *Os Lusíadas* de Camões, Durão insere seu poema ideologicamente em outro extremo do espectro político, alinhando-se com a restauração de influência da Igreja promovida pela chamada Viradeira, o nome dado à “revolução” que sucedeu a queda do marquês de Pombal e a aclamação da rainha D. Maria I. Afinal, uma das características da literatura chamada clássica é justamente, como vimos acima, certo apagamento das fronteiras entre o “contemporâneo” e o “intemporal”. Na narrativa dos feitos de Diogo Álvares Correia, fundador mitológico de Salvador, segue-se o protocolo épico clássico de inserir subnarrativas feitas por personagens para ajudar a construir o quadro completo dos acontecimentos relevantes. O que chama a atenção aqui são os locais em que essas narrativas se dão, que nunca são neutros em textos tão assumidamente políticos. No Canto VI, Diogo relata ao rei Henrique e à rainha Catarina de França a história do descobrimento do Brasil e faz uma enorme descrição da fauna e da flora brasileiras no Canto VII. É nos cantos VIII e IX, durante o retorno do casal à Bahia, que Paraguaçu, inspirada pela “Majestade Trina” (Durão 2008, 573, VIII, 13, v. 6), entra em transe e narra o futuro da província. Assim como em *Prosopopéia* e nos dois *Templos*, o Atlântico é o espaço escolhido pelos poetas luso-brasileiros para localizar a profecia, convertendo-se em espaço de possibilidades mais que de história. Não é ocioso lembrar que estamos falando de textos poéticos, destinados a funções muito particulares na economia intelectual do Antigo Regime português. Eles são usados para celebrações oficiais, para cerimônias e, sobretudo, para dar forma verbal a certas construções simbólicas e

ideológicas através da configuração de autoridades que serão acessadas por futuros poetas no processo da *inventio*.

Para além do Atlântico empírico

Esta leitura que estou avançando contempla dois aspectos teóricos. Por um lado, como já foi largamente mencionado, a construção desse universo simbólico de possibilidades para o espaço atlântico se insere no conjunto de práticas letradas regidas por princípios retóricos que se regulam através da tradição reconhecida pelos séculos XVI-XVIII como legítima. Por outro, muitos desses movimentos funcionam igualmente bem dentro do sistema teorizado, ainda que de maneira errática, por Mikhail Bakhtin. É a colaboração desses dois aspectos, que permite uma compreensão de certa função da poesia na construção do Império português no Atlântico, que eu considero um traço relevante e original de minha leitura.

São dois os aspectos das ideias bakhtinianas que me interessam primordialmente para esta reflexão a respeito dos usos das imagens do Atlântico dentro da poesia luso-brasileira pré-moderna. Um primeiro aspecto é a ideia de que a linguagem não deve ser compreendida como uma atividade que reproduz a realidade de maneira direta. Ao contrário, uma das principais características da linguagem, de acordo com Bakhtin, é justamente refratar a realidade exterior. Aí reside uma das mais importantes atividades que são realizadas durante atos de comunicação, como se depreende da sua concepção de “enunciado”. Relembrando o que foi mencionado acima, o enunciado sempre parte de algo preexistente ao mesmo tempo que lhe acrescenta novos traços. “O *dado* se transfigura em *criado*” (Bakhtin 1992, 248)⁵.

À diferença dos conceitos bakhtinianos já exaustivamente utilizados, como “polifonia” ou “carnavalização”, ao falar de enunciado não estamos lidando com resultados de análises de fenômenos específicos – nomeadamente os romances de Dostoiévski e Rabelais –, mas sim com princípios fundamentais de funcionamento do fenômeno linguístico. Isso nos leva, não à aplicação de um conceito, senão ao desenvolvimento das consequências teóricas e práticas desses “princípios fundadores”. Os enunciados – que são as unidades significativas únicas e irrepetíveis, as quais Bakhtin privilegia em detrimento das unidades tradicionais da gramática, as sentenças – são na verdade amálgamas de elementos verbais e não verbais que, acima de qualquer coisa, criam novas realidades no mundo. Muito mais do que reproduzir o já *dado*, a atividade linguística amplia a realidade ao criar esse “algo novo”. Ela é um espaço dinâmico no qual realidade empírica e realidade simbólica misturam-se. Porém, como o próprio Bakhtin insiste em reconhecer, essa criação não acontece *ex nihilo*, o que nos conduz à segunda ideia bakhtiniana que vai ser útil à análise dos textos em questão: o Dialogismo.

5 Grifos meus.

Dialogismo é um termo que não foi definido de maneira completa nas reflexões do filósofo russo. Em parte isso é devido à natureza fragmentária e incompleta de muitos de seus escritos, que frequentemente permaneceram como rascunhos inacabados até serem publicados postumamente. Por isso várias das ideias seminais de Bakhtin apresentam aspectos que se complementam de texto em texto, sem nunca serem completamente sintetizadas em uma “versão final”. De todos modos, é ainda possível vislumbrar um contorno mais ou menos preciso para muitos conceitos, como é o caso do dialogismo. Antes de mais nada, o dialogismo é um *processo* que se define através de relações de elementos materiais encontráveis em um diálogo individual. Não se trata, entretanto, de restringir a ideia de diálogo à interação entre dois únicos enunciadores, mas sim de expandi-la para relações entre entidades mais alargadas. Como sintetiza Carlos Alberto Faraco:

As relações dialógicas são, portanto, relações entre índices sociais de valor – que, como vimos, constituem, no conceitual do Círculo de Bakhtin, parte inerente de todo enunciado, entendido não mais como unidade da língua, mas como unidade de *interação social*; não como um complexo de relações entre palavras, mas como um complexo de relações entre *pessoas socialmente organizadas*. [...] Por outro lado, relações dialógicas são também possíveis entre estilos de língua, dialetos sociais, e assim por diante, desde que eles sejam percebidos como proposições semânticas, como *cosmovisões de linguagem* de certo tipo, isto é, como algo não mais estritamente posto no interior da investigação linguística. (Faraco 2009, 66-67)⁶

Aí estão dados que nos são bastante úteis. As palavras e as imagens, organizadas em enunciados e em dialetos sociais, disputam e confrontam maneiras de referir-se à realidade exterior e, assim, incorporá-la na dinâmica simbólica pré-estabelecida da tradição. Os gêneros da poesia celebrativa e épica onde ocorrem as imagens do Atlântico são um exemplo dessa dinâmica, uma vez que desempenham uma função muito clara de legitimação de certos poderes. Trata-se de visões de mundo elaboradas por certos grupos sociais que se realizam através de enunciados. Ao realizarem-se, essas visões criam a própria realidade, muito mais que exclusivamente representá-la. No caso que me preocupou aqui, o desse espaço “vazio” que era o do Atlântico, a ocupação por imagens e atos que apontam para a tradição clássica e a representação de futuros possíveis, cria uma rede de significados que indiscutivelmente serve a interesses de certos grupos patrocinadores de cultura e de poesia. A maneira como se preenche essa “tábua rasa” no sistema simbólico da tradição cria possibilidades alternativas de ação política para um império que ao longo dos séculos XVII-XVIII enfrenta cada vez mais dificuldades em manter a hegemonia no Oriente⁷.

Esta prática, da mesma maneira que se dá no conflito entre visões de mundo, se constitui internamente através de reapropriações e reelaborações de conteúdos preexistentes

6 Grifos meus.

7 Para mais informações sobre as crises envolvendo o domínio Português na Índia e China, consultar Rego (1970).

aos falantes, que dão forma e densidade à realidade empírica. Daí a importância fundamental de conhecer os “acervos de imagens” disponíveis aos escritores.

O criador de uma obra literária (de um romance) cria um produto verbal que é único (um enunciado). Porém ele o cria com enunciados heterogêneos, com enunciados do outro, a bem dizer. E até o discurso direto do autor é, conscientemente, preenchido de palavras do outro. O *dizer indireto*, a relação com sua própria língua concebida como uma das línguas possíveis (e não como se sua língua fosse a única língua incondicionalmente possível. (Bakhtin 1992, 343)

É aqui que é possível estabelecer uma relação de coincidência entre os princípios teóricos dos poetas cujas obras analisamos e as ideias bakhtinianas de que nos valemos. Se houve um grupo de escritores que teve a clareza deste princípio elaborado por Bakhtin foi justamente aquele que hoje identificamos com a Tradição Clássica retoricamente regrada, que manteve relativa unidade de valores e práticas entre os séculos XVI e XVIII. A própria ideia de *inventio*, acima mencionada, é um reconhecimento aberto da importância das palavras de outros na configuração dos enunciados de um autor. Certamente que a prática desenvolvida pela poesia retoricamente concebida se esforça em diminuir um aspecto que para Bakhtin é sobremaneira importante: a dimensão conflituosa das vozes que estão disputando hegemonia dentro de um mesmo enunciado. Aquilo que Faraco especificou como “estilos de língua e dialetos sociais”, é exatamente o que a Tradição Clássica procura superar através do regramento rigoroso de estilos. Neste sentido, seu esforço dirige-se rumo à unificação de estilos e não à pluralidade, se dirige rumo ao monológico e não ao dialógico, justamente porque colaboram com a institucionalização de um Império:

Quando observamos os preceitos aplicados à sua [da poesia] composição, ela se evidencia como poesia regrada pelos preceitos da *Retórica* aristotélica e das versões latinas de Aristóteles. Principalmente os da *Arte Poética* de Horácio, retomados por preceptistas franceses, italianos, espanhóis e portugueses dos séculos XVII e XVIII, como Boileau, Muratori, Gravina, Luzán, Verney e Cândido Lusitano, com que produz o efeito verossímil e decoroso adequado aos estilos dos gêneros poéticos que imita em termos horacianos de *utile et dulci*. (Hansen 2006, 505)

Não é, entretanto, algo que me preocupe primordialmente por agora. Este aspecto da cultura clássica pode ser objeto de reflexões posteriores. Por ora, o importante é o reconhecimento de como esta dinâmica se dá no âmbito da poesia luso-brasileira do seiscentos e do setecentos e como ela traz para o centro de certas preocupações um espaço que cada vez mais exerce um papel central na política e na economia do Império português.

Ao mar correspondem certas imagens na cultura de língua portuguesa e, mesmo que elas tenham raízes profundas nas letras medievais, certa codificação culminou no século XVI, sintetizando-se tanto em *Os Lusíadas* quanto nos *Poemas Lusitanos*. Estas eram as autoridades estabelecidas com as quais poetas posteriores necessariamente

dialogaram. Mesmo que não haja referência direta a Camões e António Ferreira, suas figuras – e aquelas que eles criaram – estão em potência, latentes, no universo de referências utilizado pelos escritores de língua portuguesa. Como explicou Bakhtin:

Dois enunciados, separados um do outro no espaço e no tempo e que nada sabem um do outro, revelam-se em relação dialógica mediante uma confrontação de sentido (ainda que seja algo insignificante em comum no tema, no ponto de vista, etc.). (Bakhtin 1992, 354)

É neste sentido que a transferência de uma imagem tão importante para a tradição como a do templo do deus marinho, por exemplo, pode ocupar uma função central na dinâmica intelectual do Império português. Se efetivamente há ou não uma controvérsia a respeito de para onde o Império deve dirigir sua atenção, se para o Oriente se para o Ocidente, isto já está de certa maneira dado na própria configuração do universo de referências disponíveis para os poetas que tinham certa projeção nos círculos nobres. Estamos, portanto, diante de uma dinâmica que transborda de assuntos que na aparência restringem-se ao universo letrado e, na verdade, projetam-se profundamente sobre as práticas políticas que decidiram os rumos do Império.

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MARJOLAINE CARLES*

« Étancher la soif d'or ! Étancher la soif d'eau ! » Eaux et pouvoirs dans la Capitainerie des Minas Gerais (XVIII^e siècle, Brésil)

Au XVIII^e siècle, l'Amérique portugaise, tout particulièrement la région minière du centre-sud (Brésil), était au centre des intérêts métropolitains. L'or, richesse tant attendue, avait été à l'origine de la création des premières villes minières (*vilas mineiras*) à partir de 1711 et, ensuite, de la Capitainerie des Minas Gerais (1720). Dès cette époque, il faut mettre en perspective les enjeux de l'eau dans les contextes miniers et urbains pour en saisir les multiples facettes : politiques, économiques, environnementales, sociales et culturelles.

À partir des premières découvertes officielles d'or dans les rivières (Rio das Velhas, Ribeiro do Carmo) en 1693, les zones de gisement (*lavras*) furent à l'origine de la création d'espaces économiques extrêmement attractifs et fort lucratifs pour le trésor royal, sous le règne de Dom João V, dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Dès lors, l'impôt fut prélevé sur l'or (*quinto*). Non sans difficulté, les autorités métropolitaines appliquèrent, au cours de cette période, d'autres systèmes de fiscalité dont la capitation (*capitação*) qui fut prélevée par tête d'esclave.

Très tôt, les centres urbains se développèrent et accueillirent une population très hétérogène (individus blancs et de couleur, libres et esclaves). Parmi les premières villes minières, Vila Rica (actuelle Ouro Preto) connut une incroyable phase d'essor au cours des premières décennies du XVIII^e siècle, si bien qu'elle devint en 1720, le lieu de résidence du gouverneur de la capitainerie des Minas Gerais. Cette dernière devint le centre de gravité économique du Brésil. Ces terres regorgeaient de richesses incommensurables, d'or, de diamants et de pierres précieuses.

* Université des Antilles, France.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4329-2296>. E-mail: marjolaine.carles@univ-antilles.fr.

En raison de son poids politique et symbolique dans le cadre impérial portugais au XVIII^e siècle, la ville minière de Vila Rica représente un excellent observatoire pour examiner le contrôle de l'eau tant dans le cadre de l'industrie minière que dans le centre urbain. Car, dans ce monde en construction, l'eau, indispensable, était utilisée en grandes quantités dans les zones de gisement aurifère. L'eau était aussi essentielle à toutes les autres activités (domestiques, agro-pastorales, marchandes, urbaines) qui se développaient. À partir de la première moitié du siècle, les fontaines qui furent construites par la municipalité favorisèrent la multiplication des usages publics et privés de l'eau dans le centre urbain.

Des premières découvertes officielles d'or alluvionnaire (1693) à la dernière fontaine publique construite dans la ville minière¹ (1806) –année qui précéda de peu le transfert de la Cour portugaise à Rio de Janeiro– notre période d'étude est essentielle pour comprendre l'évolution des enjeux de gestion de l'eau. L'eau dans les villes minières brésiliennes au XVIII^e siècle était une préoccupation majeure pour la monarchie, pour les autorités locales et pour la population, mêlant des intérêts communs et des intérêts particuliers. Dans cet article, on se demandera en quoi les enquêtes sur la gestion de l'eau révèlent le rôle des pouvoirs dans la région des mines brésiliennes. Deux premiers axes distinguent les usages de l'eau dans les mines et dans la ville, afin de dégager, en troisième axe, les enjeux dont relevait la gestion des eaux.

L'eau dans les mines

Sur les flancs de la chaîne de montagne du Espinhaço, particulièrement dans la zone appelée Serra Ouro Preto, était concentrée une incroyable quantité de filons aurifères : les gisements primaires dans la roche et les gisements secondaires (*cascalho*) emportés par l'eau sous forme d'alluvions dans les rivières ou retenus dans des cavités sous-terraines naturellement creusées par la rotation de l'eau et les matières rocheuses qu'elle entraînait.

Dans les zones de gisement aurifère (situées dans les lits des rivières, à flanc de vallée ou dans les mines), les usages de l'eau évoluèrent en fonction de différents facteurs et ce, jusqu'à l'épuisement des gisements primaires dans les années 1760. Premier facteur, l'accès à l'eau en quantité suffisante pour les usagers. Second facteur, la nature des gisements aurifères selon qu'il s'agissait de gisements de type primaire ou secondaire. Troisième facteur, les techniques plus ou moins perfectionnées requises pour l'extraction de l'or et le traitement des pépites. Enfin, quatrième facteur, la concurrence et les inégalités entre mineurs qui s'accrurent avec l'arrivée de nouveaux migrants.

Activité saisonnière, l'extraction minière était menée à bien pendant la période sèche, d'avril à août, lorsque le niveau des cours d'eau était au plus bas. Toutefois, certaines méthodes de lavage ou de traitement de l'or se pratiquaient pendant la saison des pluies de manière à exploiter avantageusement les caractéristiques hydrogéologiques de la région.

1 Fontaine des *Águas Férreas* (Eaux Ferrugineuses).

Les recherches dans les montagnes ne tardèrent pas à être développées alors que l'exploitation du *cascalho* continuait et s'intensifiaient après son épuisement dans les années 1710.

Le *Regimento que se há de guardar nas minas dos Cataguases, e em outras quaisquer do distrito destas capitánias de ouro de lavagem* fut la première réglementation, élaborée par Artur de Sá e Menezes, alors gouverneur de la capitainerie de Rio de Janeiro, en collaboration avec les principaux découvreurs Paulistes en 1700. Puis, une version plus aboutie de ce texte fut promulguée en 1702, le *Regimento da Superintendência e dos Guardas-mores das Minas*. Ce texte qui fut complété et amélioré, tout au long du XVIII^e siècle, réglementait la gestion de l'eau dans les mines.

Ainsi, les travaux qui nécessitaient les usages de l'eau dans les zones d'exploitation minière étaient appelés « *serviços de águas* ». Cette notion apparaît dans les livres des terres et des eaux minérales (*livros das terras e águas minerais*) postérieurement au complément du règlement minier en 1720.

Puisque diverses méthodes d'exploitation coexistaient dans les zones d'exploration minière, trois *serviços de água* peuvent être distingués (Carles 2013 ; Carles 2016, Part. 2).

1. Le *serviço de rio* consistait à dévier un cours d'eau afin d'exploiter au mieux son lit où étaient concentrés les dépôts d'or alluvionnaire.
2. Le *serviço de água* requérait l'usage de la force hydraulique. D'une part, des systèmes hydrauliques de décrochement des couches stériles par gravitation de l'eau. Ces activités sont attestées dès la première décennie du XVIII^e siècle. D'autre part, l'eau était aussi utilisée comme force motrice des moulins pour le concassage des pépites (*engenho-de-pilões*).
3. Le *serviço de água* servait encore à trier et à laver les pépites. Ces diverses activités de traitement de l'or plus ou moins élaborées étaient adaptées à la nature des gisements : techniques d'orpaillage rudimentaires, usages d'infrastructures hydrauliques qui permirent d'amener l'eau jusqu'aux zones d'excavation de forme circulaire ou quadrangulaire (*catas*), systèmes d'adduction d'eau à flux continu ou discontinu, constitué de canaux (*canais*) et *mundeús* (**fig. 1** et **fig. 2**). Ce dernier terme renvoie à une superposition d'infrastructures de formes circulaires ou quadrangulaires, adossées à flanc ou en bas des montagnes, qui servait au traitement de la boue aurifère accumulée lors de l'activité minière par décantation et séparation avec les autres particules puis lavage.

À partir 1702, le *regimento* fit l'objet de précisions et de plusieurs modifications concernant la gestion des terres et de l'eau (Leme 1954, 144-151 ; Holanda 1973, 267-269)².

2 La métropole consciente du décalage des textes de loi en vigueur préconisa, au moyen de nouvelles règles, une amélioration de la législation antérieure. Le décret royal (*carta régia*) du 15 août 1603 et le *regimento* du 8 août 1618 n'étaient pas adaptés aux conditions d'exploitation des gisements aurifères dans la colonie portugaise à l'aube du XVIII^e siècle. *Carta Régia* (15 août 1603), AHU-MASP, cx. 1 doc. 2.



1 Mundeú circulaire du morro das passagens entre Ouro Preto et Mariana.
Photo credit: M. Carles, 2012.



2 Ouverture de décantation d'un mundeú circulaire du morro das passagens entre
Ouro Preto et Mariana. Photo credit: M. Carles, 2012.

Trente-deux articles traitaient de la répartition des terrains aurifères parallèlement au système de prélèvement de l'impôt sur l'or, le quinto (Sánchez Gómez 1989 ; Silva 2005 ; Costa 2013). La dimension des aires légalement délimitées variait en fonction du nombre d'esclaves en activité lors de l'exploration des minerais. En somme, la nouvelle composante de la législation des mines garantissait la préservation des intérêts de la Couronne, lesquels relevaient principalement du domaine de la fiscalité. De même, le *regimento* assurait l'établissement de l'ordre et le renforcement de l'autorité métropolitaine sur le territoire des mines avec la création de nouvelles juridictions : *superintendência* et *guardamoria*. Officier auxiliaire du surintendant (*superintendente*), le *guarda-mor* des terres et des eaux minérales, était responsable de la distribution des terrains aurifères (*datas minerais*). Les clauses du *regimento* de 1702 étaient adaptées à l'extraction minière d'alluvion. Par conséquent, le partage des *datas* prenait seulement en considération la répartition des terres en bord de rivière, sur les lieux où les Paulistes avaient découvert les premiers gisements aurifères.

Très tôt, les explorations se développèrent à flanc et dans les montagnes, où les usages des eaux déviées impliquaient un processus de maîtrise d'un élément naturel, même pendant les périodes de pluie, à cause des risques d'inondations. Sa maîtrise par déviation, acheminement et stockage puis son instrumentalisation en tant que « service » sont des étapes qui contribuèrent à la prise de contrôle progressive du patrimoine hydrique de la région par les nouveaux colons. Un premier réseau hydraulique – système d'adduction de longues distances (*canais, rego*), citernes (*tanques*), moulins (*engenhos*), roues (*rosários*), système de traitement de la boue aurifère (*mundeuís*) – fut mis en place et permit la distinction entre les terres exploitées par les entrepreneurs qui utilisaient le *serviço das águas* et les terres domaniales, communes, qui n'étaient la propriété de personne. Dès lors, les mineurs, également usagers des eaux et propriétaires fonciers, participèrent activement au processus de territorialisation de la région minière. À partir de la promulgation de la *provisão das águas* (1720), les *serviços das águas minerais* furent ainsi attribués par les *guardasmores* aux mineurs (individuellement ou par groupes) en termes de concessions de terres et d'eaux (*datas de terras e águas minerais*) et ce, en fonction du nombre d'esclaves en activité par portion de terres (Carles 2016, 158-196).

Dans ce contexte compétitif entre mineurs, de nouvelles formes de gestion collective de l'eau apparurent, avec les sociétés de mineurs (Andrade 2013, 382-413), dans un monde où les relations sociales étaient fondées sur les accords à l'amiable, sur le crédit et les dettes (Santos 2006, 491-498 ; Pereira et Borges 2010, 105-129). Le crédit sur les « *serviços de mineração* » était une pratique courante au sein de l'économie minière où la circulation de capitaux était officiellement réduite à partir de 1719 avec l'interdiction de circulation de l'or en poudre. Le crédit représentait un moyen d'acquisition de biens (terre, esclave) et de l'utilisation de l'eau même pour les individus de condition modeste. Cette opération consistait à mettre des associés/travailleurs subalternes, affranchis ou sur la voie de l'affranchissement (Andrade 2006, 315), à disposition des terres et/ou les *serviços das águas*. Ceux-ci s'engageaient à récompenser le créancier à la mesure des

bénéfices aurifères réalisés. En cas de pénurie, le *serviço das águas* devenait probablement plus cher, ce qui entraînait sa commercialisation à des prix exorbitants comme le relate la *provisão das águas*. Les travailleurs qui bénéficiaient de portions de terres et d'eau du propriétaire devaient le rétribuer en lui versant un pourcentage de l'or extrait (Carles 2016, 177-184).

Les liens d'amitié et de clientélisme au sein de la société minière représentaient une dimension importante du partage de l'eau. Certains Paulistes eurent même recours aux nouveaux investisseurs (puissants hommes d'affaire qui cumulaient souvent plusieurs activités avec l'exploitation minière) afin de maintenir en activité leurs exploitations grâce aux *serviços* et de garantir un meilleur rendement de cette entreprise (Andrade 2008, 293). Avec les accords à l'amiable, le système des sociétés et de crédit sur les *serviços* s'implantait dans le contexte des grandes exploitations des *Minas Gerais*. Les mariages entre filles de riches Paulistes avec des commerçants originaires du Portugal, courants, renforçaient le patrimoine économique des premiers découvreurs par les liens familiaux, créant des « dynasties » de grands propriétaires qui gardaient un monopole sur l'activité minière (Andrade 2008, 276-277).

Ainsi, des systèmes génériques ou singuliers de gestion, individuel ou collectif, se développaient et s'adaptaient aux particularismes locaux en fonction du rendement de chaque exploitant. Aux termes de la *provisão das águas*, la répartition effective des eaux minérales entre chercheurs faisait que tous pratiquent leur mode d'exploration tout en étant imposables. Dès lors, les autorités métropolitaines cherchèrent à systématiser le prélèvement du *quinto* quelles que fussent les méthodes des mineurs. Cependant, le caractère original des sociétés et des formes de servitudes ainsi que du crédit sur les *serviços de mineração* (terres, eaux, main-d'œuvre) propres au contexte des mines brésiliennes tendaient à soumettre les chercheurs plus modestes aux grands exploitants, véritables gestionnaires de la ressource malgré la nouvelle réglementation.

Par ailleurs, au cours du *serviço*, l'eau devint une force de production de même que la main-d'œuvre en majorité servile. Citons l'exemple du chapelet à caisson incliné qui, pour fonctionner, requérait la force d'au moins 50 esclaves, soit l'équivalent de la force de rotation d'une machine hydraulique (Ferrand 1894, 30). Vers 1760, le *serviço de mineração* d'une zone d'exploitation située dans la paroisse de Sumidouro réunissait 130 esclaves pour l'utilisation d'une machine hydraulique (*rosário*) (Andrade et Resende 2013, 399). Dès lors, la ressource représentait avec les esclaves un capital essentiel pour obtenir davantage de profits sur la production en or. Cette triade eau/esclaves/or au sein des rouages de la production minière rythma, dès les découvertes d'or alluvionnaire, les étapes d'élaboration des réglementations établies sur le territoire de la future capitainerie des *Minas Gerais*. Puisque l'or avait une valeur intrinsèque par nature et une valeur stable à l'échelle internationale, les usages de l'eau dans les mines relevaient d'enjeux considérables au-delà de la région minière pour la Couronne portugaise. Ce phénomène de capitalisation de l'eau est spécifique au contexte minier (Carles 2016, Part. II).

L'eau dans la ville

Au même moment, dans le centre urbain qui se développait, l'eau passa au premier plan, dès le premier quart du XVIII^e siècle. Financés par les recettes publiques, la construction, l'entretien et les réparations des systèmes d'adduction et de distribution de l'eau à Vila Rica relevaient, le plus souvent, de la responsabilité municipale, selon le modèle métropolitain de gestion des eaux urbaines (Carles 2016). Le territoire soumis au contrôle municipal comprenait : le patrimoine foncier municipal (*rossio*) et les terres en périphérie du centre urbain qui lui étaient rattachées (*termo*) (Carles 2014, 18-30 ; Carles 2016, Part. II ; Carles 2016). Au moins vingt-trois fontaines, 7 *fontes* et 16 *chafarizes*, furent construites grâce aux fonds publics au cours du XVIII^e siècle et au début du siècle suivant, sur le territoire du noyau urbain de Vila Rica. Ce dernier englobait deux paroisses, anciens établissements stables de dimension variable (*arraiais*), celui de l'église du Pilar (Ouro Preto) et celui de l'église d'Antônio Dias. Dans le lexique des fontaines portugaises de l'espace colonial, les *chafarizes* et les *fontes* se distinguent de la grande diversité des points de distribution d'eau potable en ville en fonction des usages plus ou moins polluants : bouche ou sortie d'eau (*bica*), bassin (*tanque*), bassin pour les lavandières (*tanque das lavadeiras/lavradoras, lavatório*), abreuvoir (*bebedouros*). Dans la capitainerie des Minas Gerais, un *chafariz* désigne une fontaine publique murale dotée d'une dimension esthétique.

Les investissements municipaux pour la gestion de l'eau furent à la mesure de l'opulence économique de la ville et des ambitions politiques locales. Il faut noter que le coût de la construction des fontaines était bien plus élevé aux *Minas Gerais* qu'en métropole (Oliveira 2011, 3-60). En ce sens, le conseil municipal de Vila Rica fit des dépenses démesurées pour cette entreprise. Le *chafariz ao pé da ponte* de Antônio Dias (Carvalho 1950, 149) construit en huit mois et dont le plan avait été réalisé par le maître-d'œuvre royal Manoel Francisco Lisboa, fut terminé le 11 décembre 1758 (fig. 3). Le coût de ce *chafariz* qui s'élevait à 1 160 000 *réis* (payé en deux versements) représenta, comme celui du *chafariz da Praça*, une des sommes les plus importantes dépensées à Vila Rica pour la construction d'une fontaine. Pour donner une échelle de grandeur, la valeur d'un homme esclave âgé de 15 à 40 ans fort et en bonne santé, marchandise onéreuse très précieuse dans les *Minas Gerais*, était d'environ 275 mille *réis* en 1745 (Bergard 1999, 164-165). Le coût de construction du *chafariz* de la place équivalait donc à environ six esclaves de cette qualité.

La somme totale des dépenses faites à Mariana (cité épiscopale voisine) pour la construction du réseau hydraulique entre 1745 et 1800 (7:907\$049 *réis*, soit 7 millions (*contos*) neuf cent sept mille et quarante-neuf *réis*) – période durant laquelle huit fontaines furent élevées (Tedeschi 2011, 127-134, 157) – était l'équivalent de 5 fois le coût de construction de la seule fontaine de la place à Vila Rica. Sans tenir compte du coût de l'élévation des fontaines à Rio de Janeiro, les dépenses pour la construction de l'aqueduc *da Carioca*, qui dura cinquante années, furent de 600 000 *cruzados*

(Corrêa Magalhães 1935, 16, 17), soit 288:000\$000 *réis*, presque l'équivalent de l'ensemble des recettes municipales à Vila Rica entre 1726 et 1760 (312:960\$260 *réis*) (Silva 2007, 46).

Entre 1740 et 1760, Vila Rica consacra 12:376\$566 *réis* à l'ensemble des travaux hydrauliques. Les dépenses pour l'ensemble des œuvres publiques, comprenant les résidences et palais, les ponts, les fontaines, le pavement des rues, atteignirent plus de 45% de la valeur des recettes municipales en 1741, 1744, 1745, 1755 et 1758 (Silva 2007, 58-59). Au cours de cette période, les valeurs de prélèvement de l'impôt sur la production en or (le *quinto*) furent les plus importantes. Ainsi, les fontaines les plus belles et les plus coûteuses furent construites alors que la population urbaine atteignait un maximum de près de 15 000 âmes (Carles 2016, Chap.2).

À cette époque, l'efficacité des infrastructures hydrauliques et leur aspect symbolique dans les villes de l'Amérique portugaise présentaient des similitudes avec les formes de représentation de l'architecture publique de l'eau en métropole, au moment où le programme titanique des *Águas Livres* était lancé à Lisbonne. Au cours du siècle des Lumières, les villes européennes se conformèrent avec la même ferveur au besoin de modernisation et d'amplification de l'hydraulique publique afin de remédier aux problèmes générés par la poussée démographique et l'augmentation des besoins en eau. De fait, dans les années 1730, l'élan de perfectionnement des techniques de ravitaillement en eau et la dimension esthétique des ouvrages architecturaux se propagèrent bien au-delà de l'Atlantique jusque dans l'intérieur des terres de l'Amérique portugaise. L'histoire de l'eau dans les villes minières révèle ce phénomène de transfert du modèle métropolitain de gestion des eaux urbaines (Carles 2016, Chap.2).

À la fois utile et symbolique, la fontaine distribue l'eau potable à la population et incarne la volonté des autorités d'offrir ce bénéfice au public. Véritables supports d'apparat du programme des eaux urbaines, les fontaines servirent à vanter la maîtrise de la ressource par les autorités municipales. Dès lors, ce triomphe doit être analysé de 1715 (construction de la canalisation du palais du gouverneur) à 1806. Il renvoie à la réputation que la ville minière souhaitait diffuser et maintenir sous forme d'idéal. Ainsi, la fontaine est un objet, un lieu et un instrument politique.

La plupart des fontaines implantées sur les axes principaux, où se trouvaient les *passos* (stations du chemin de croix), bornait également les itinéraires des processions lors des nombreuses fêtes religieuses à Vila Rica. La fontaine du *Passo de Antônio Dias* fait front à ce dernier (vid. fig. 3). Le *chafariz de Ouro Preto*, tout comme la chapelle *Senhor do Bonfim* (Seigneur de la Bonne Fin), se trouve sur la voie qui reliait l'Église de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos (Notre Dame du Rosaire des Hommes Noirs) à l'église mère du Pilar. Chaque année, l'itinéraire de la procession du *Corpus Christi* (Fête de Dieu) avait lieu dans l'une des deux paroisses, Pilar et Antônio Dias. À Diamantina, le principal *chafariz* était situé sur le Largo do Rosário (square du Rosaire), proche de la chapelle de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos, où se déroulait tous les ans, en plus des



3 Chafariz do Passo de Antônio Dias, 1752.
Photo credit: M. Carles, 2010.



4 Chafariz de São José ou dos Contos, José Domingues Veiga, à Vila Rica, 1745.
Photo credit: M. Carles, 2010.

fêtes du calendrier liturgique, la fête de couronnement du roi Congo (*festa de coroação de rei Congo*) (Silva 2008, 151-152).

À Vila Rica, les fontaines furent élevées d'après le modèle des frontispices des édifices religieux. Ce modèle de façade affichait une certaine sobriété architecturale qui, cependant, n'exclut pas l'existence de détails sculptés (Carles 2016, 110-114). L'architecture des fontaines ne relevait pas d'un programme iconographique mais elle possédait une dimension esthétique et montrait les qualités des eaux municipales qui se devaient d'être pérennes (en abondance), salubres (pures) et gratuites (pour tous). Trois exemples de fontaines construites au XVIII^e siècle incarnent bien cette double fonction. Les *Chafarizes de São José* (fig. 4), *do passo de Antônio Dias* (vid. fig. 3) et *do Ouro Preto* sont ornements de motifs hybrides (mêlant motifs végétaux, créatures animales, marines et fantastiques) et sont flanqués d'une épigramme sur la partie du couronnement de l'élévation.

FONTAINES	INSCRIPTIONS
<i>Chafariz de São José ou dos Contos (1744)</i>	« Is quae portatum cole gens pleno ore senatum secure ut sitis nam facit ille sitis. 1760 » (Rodrigues 1990, 52) Trad. : « Vous qui êtes assoiffés et qui buvez de cette eau, louez le sénat [les membres du conseil municipal], car c'est lui qui étanche votre soif »
<i>Chafariz do Passo de Antonio Dias (1752)</i>	« Gens quanta bibat tot in annos gv regnos aqua suppeditur. 1752 » (Rodrigues 1990, 54) Trad. : « Que boive autant de monde qu'il est possible pendant les années innombrables où l'eau sera fournie en abondance »
<i>Chafariz de Ouro Preto ou da Glória (1752)</i>	« O senado da Câmara vela por nós, ama a abundancia, constroi tanques d'água corrente, mata a sede » (Alencar 1987) Trad. : « Le <i>Senado da Câmara</i> [les membres du conseil municipal] veille sur nous, aime l'abondance, construit des bassins d'eau courante, étanche la soif »

Les installations hydrauliques à Vila Rica furent remarquables à l'échelle de la capitainerie et de la colonie, compte-tenu du nombre et de la qualité sociale de ses habitants dont la majorité était encore, dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, composée d'afro-descendants. Ceci questionne la portée du discours rhétorique des fontaines. Pourquoi s'adresser avec des épigrammes à une population – dont « l'érudition en latin » était toute relative d'après le voyageur anglais Richard Francis Burton au XIX^e siècle (Bandeira s.d., 40) – et dont la plus grande partie était de couleur et probablement en grande partie analphabète ? Il semble que cela ait davantage relevé d'une pratique antique héritée des paradigmes européens d'hydraulique publique transplantée dans l'espace colonial. En effet, la référence aux modèles métropolitains représentait un schéma de glorification reproduit à l'échelle locale dans la ville minière.

En outre, la fontaine est un lieu où les activités périodiques et fixes se déroulaient à proximité et dynamisaient l'économie locale. La politique des eaux du domaine public, avec notamment l'implantation des fontaines dans le noyau urbain, représentait un enjeu fondamental pour les habitants et pour la ville du point de vue spatial tout comme du point de vue économique. Le liquide ne facilitait pas seulement la production agro-pastorale ; sa présence en ville était très favorable au développement d'activités urbaines telles que l'artisanat. Les fontaines représentaient donc des centres de polarisation socio-économique de premier plan grâce aux échanges et aux contacts entre divers usagers. La qualité du service, préservée grâce aux interventions d'agents auxiliaires de la municipalité, devait aussi favoriser les activités qui rythmaient l'économie locale.

Les années 1730 sont d'ailleurs révélatrices de la multiplication des points de distribution d'eau potable dans le maillage urbain, lorsque les mesures prises par la municipalité de Vila Rica ont cherché à faciliter le ravitaillement de la population et à stimuler le petit commerce. Au-delà de la volonté municipale de limiter les phases d'inflation et d'éviter les périodes de pénurie en denrées alimentaires, l'objectif consistait en un meilleur contrôle de l'étalonnage des poids et mesures et du prix des marchandises, en maintenant des valeurs raisonnables.

Ainsi, l'élévation de fontaines dans le centre urbain était un indice du dynamisme économique urbain, différent selon les quartiers. Comme les points de distribution d'eau potable étaient implantés dans les zones de polarisation socio-économique de premier plan, le choix stratégique de l'emplacement des belles fontaines publiques impliquait une importante valorisation spatiale des places, des rues, de quartiers, de faubourgs (Carles 2016, 278-310).

La fontaine est un lieu de rencontre pour les usagers. Des hommes, des femmes, des enfants, des individus libres, affranchis et esclaves, blancs, métis et noirs s'y réunissaient. Parmi les usagers quotidiens des fontaines publiques, la main-d'œuvre servile ou affranchie servait de porteurs d'eau (*aguadeiros*). Cette profession était, semble-t-il, rémunérée dans d'autres villes coloniales et métropolitaines à la même époque (Carles 2016, 283-286).

Dans le centre-ville de Vila Rica ainsi que dans les quartiers périphériques, où l'activité minière était encore développée au début du XIX^e siècle, les points d'eau représentaient plutôt un univers de femmes avec une majorité d'afro-descendantes (libres et esclaves). D'après les sources consultées et en fonction du profil de la population de la paroisse *Antônio Dias*, qui était la zone urbaine la plus alimentée en eau potable, les dix fontaines publiques qui fonctionnaient dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle devaient être dans la journée un haut lieu de rencontre des femmes (Carles 2016, *PhD diss.*, 283-310). La place d'*Antônio Dias* était alimentée par la fontaine à quatre bouches du même nom, la plus grande de Vila Rica, monumentalisée en 1758 (fig. 5) et localisée au bout du pont d'*Antônio Dias*, c'est-à-dire sur l'axe principal qui traversait le centre urbain, à la limite entre le quartier haut de *Padre Faria* et celui appelé des Paulistes.

Les réglementations dictées dans les *posturas* concernent les métiers féminins liés à l'usage de l'eau, entre autres les nombreuses lavandières de couleur. Les corvées de lavage semblent avoir été réservées, aux Noires et aux Mulâtres. Les décrets municipaux de Vila Rica ne stipulent pas d'horaires de travail pour les lavandières, qui pouvaient aussi assurer la fonction de blanchisseuse à une époque où la propreté du corps était reflétée par la blancheur des vêtements (Vigarelo 1985, 60). Ces activités requéraient une certaine force physique et prenaient souvent la journée.

Dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, les fontaines publiques de Vila Rica se trouvaient ainsi dans les quartiers d'activités marchandes et artisanales, où la population féminine se concentrait pendant la journée. C'était le cas dans la paroisse d'*Antônio Dias*,



5 Chafariz da Praça de Antônio Dias ou de Marília de Dircéu, Manoel Francisco Lisboa auteur du risco, à Vila Rica, 1758. Photo credit: M. Carles, 2010.

où de nombreux négociants et des célibataires commerçants métisses (Campos 2007, 48-50) y résidaient et la prostitution y était courante. On remarquera qu'une grande majorité des plaintes des habitants d'*Antônio Dias* au sujet de l'insécurité et du manque d'eau qui avaient été enregistrées par la *câmara*, concernait le *Alto da Cruz* et *Padre Faria* (Carles 2016, 259-262). Ensuite, les nouvelles implantations de fontaines en ville sont situées surtout dans les nouveaux quartiers : *Cabeças* (*chafarizes das cabeças*, 1769, et de la rue du Moulin (*Mohaji*), 1799) et *Taquaral* (*chafarizes de Taquaral*, 1794, et *das Águas Ferreas*, 1806). Elles sont autant de preuves des besoins grandissant en eau potable des habitants et de la précarité de certains d'entre eux à Vila Rica. L'évêque de Mariana, choqué par l'extrême pauvreté de la population minière, fléau qui n'épargna aucune couche de la société, quels que fussent le genre et la couleur des individus (Figueiredo 1993, 84-85)³, remarque que c'étaient surtout les Noirs, affranchis et libres, qui naissaient dans la misère (Souza 1990, 144).

3 Les enfants sont absents dans l'ensemble des sources que nous avons consultées pourtant ils étaient présents dans les rues, fort misérables. Ils représentaient probablement une partie importante des usagers des fontaines. Il était même du ressort de la municipalité de Vila Rica de leur trouver des parents adoptifs moyennant un salaire de 24 octaves d'or par an.

La fontaine est également un lieu d'interdits. Dans un souci d'hygiène publique, pour préserver la qualité de l'eau des fontaines et la sécurité, la municipalité imposait des règles aux usagers.

L'attention portée à la salubrité de l'eau des fontaines était apparue dès les années 1730 d'après les Livres des *posturas*. Les normes juridiques rédigées étaient applicables sur l'ensemble du territoire de la ville minière. Une réglementation d'usage des fontaines, proclamée en 1738 et rappelée tout au long du XVIII^e siècle par le biais d'édits, interdisait à tous les usagers d'y laver quoi que ce fût sous peine d'une amende de deux octaves d'or⁴. Selon la délibération municipale du 19 mars 1741, les individus surpris en train de laver quelque chose dans les fontaines seraient incarcérés et devraient payer une taxe de six octaves d'or⁵. Le règlement de 1738 fut à nouveau dicté dans les livres des *posturas* en 1761. L'activité des lavandières et le lavage par quiconque de tout type de « choses immondes », matières polluantes, dans les fontaines étaient ainsi réglementés et interdits en ville, tout comme la circulation des porcs⁶.

Par ailleurs, les interdits aux fontaines tendaient à limiter l'insécurité dans l'espace public (Carles 2016, Chap. 7). Les activités qui s'étaient développées grâce aux fontaines publiques dans la ville minière ainsi que celles liées à l'administration et à la surveillance du service public favorisaient les rencontres autant que les disputes entre les usagers. La fontaine publique était donc un lieu de sociabilité et de discorde. Les altercations entre usagers des fontaines des villes minières brésiliennes survenaient surtout aux heures diurnes de fonctionnement des activités urbaines. Aux heures considérées comme les plus dangereuses, où l'on craignait les évasions et les révoltes d'esclaves, les milices parcouraient la ville minière (Anastasia 1998; Anastasia 2005).

Les autorités civiles redoutaient que les fontaines devinssent des lieux de complots ou d'organisation d'évasion d'esclaves, puisqu'il s'agissait de lieux quotidiens de rassemblement de la population noire. À une époque où la formation de camps d'esclaves fugitifs (*quilombos*) se produisait régulièrement, la population de colons portugais, minoritaire face au nombre d'afro-descendants, craignait les révoltes d'esclaves. C'est pourquoi les règlements et les agents de surveillance auxiliaires de la municipalité et militaires surveillaient l'espace public sous l'autorité du gouverneur. La peur inspirée aux colons par ces lieux propices à l'organisation de fugues ou de rébellion impliqua même des modifications de disposition spatiale : les étals de ventes étaient de plus en plus installés vers l'extérieur des marchés afin de réduire l'espace de cohabitation à l'intérieur (Figueiredo 2004, 169).

Les fontaines étaient, de fait, l'objet de réglementation. Dans un ban municipal publié en août 1768 (Cintra 1967, 65), il fut même interdit aux Noirs de jouer dans les

4 APM-CMOP, cód. 10 (1er mars 1738), f. 17v.

5 APM-CMOP, cód. 42 (19 mars 1741), f. 25.

6 APM-CMOP, cód. 99 (21 janvier 1775), f. 235v.

fontaines de São João del Rei, sous peine d'être fouettés. Cette interdiction permettait de limiter la concentration d'individus de couleur et de mauvaise réputation dans les endroits phares du centre urbain. Ce genre de règlement n'était pas propre au monde colonial. Dans la Rome baroque, les jeux de cartes et autres étaient également interdits près des fontaines ornementales au cœur des espaces urbains les plus prestigieux (Wenworth Rinne 2010, 156).

L'insécurité près de la fontaine de la paroisse *Antônio Dias* de Vila Rica ne cessait d'inquiéter les habitants de *Vira Saia* et du *Piçarão* (sur le chemin de *Padre Faria*). Ces derniers adressèrent alors une réclamation à la municipalité pour signaler des troubles survenus en 1757. Selon leur témoignage, de violentes escarmouches entre les habitants de *Padre Faria* causèrent même la mort de plusieurs personnes. Quelques mois plus tard, la construction d'une nouvelle fontaine représentait d'une certaine manière une solution pour éviter les querelles, car elle augmentait la capacité du réseau hydraulique quartier par quartier. Certaines zones, dont celle proche du quartier de *Padre Faria*, étaient mal ravitaillées en eau par le service public de la ville. C'est probablement une des raisons pour lesquelles les habitants de ce quartier allaient puiser de l'eau dans un quartier proche. De plus, les Noirs de *Padre Faria* étaient probablement poussés à chercher l'eau à la fontaine d'*Antônio Dias* car son accès était d'autant plus facile que leur quartier comportait des dénivelés incroyablement abrupts. Depuis la place d'*Antônio Dias*, on prendra l'exemple de la rue en direction de l'ancienne église du Rosário (aujourd'hui l'église de Santa Efigênia). Les usagers des fontaines optaient probablement pour le chemin le plus commode, en contournant les collines.

D'après les plaintes enregistrées dans les livres des querelles (*livro de querelas*) de Vila Rica, des rixes entre femmes, des viols et des meurtres avaient lieu aux points de distribution d'eau dans les quartiers en périphérie du centre urbain. Le profil social des habitants dans ces quartiers était parfois très hétérogène : Noirs, Métis, Blancs parmi lesquels des Portugais très modestes (Carles 2016, 290-292).

La municipalité ne semblait ni en mesure d'assurer la construction d'un réseau hydraulique étendu payé par les dépenses publiques, ni capable d'imposer des règles de sécurité entre usagers des points d'eau dans les zones plus éloignées du centre urbain. C'est seulement en cas de litige et si les plaignants le souhaitaient que l'affaire était amenée en justice après l'accord d'un juge. Les agents de surveillance en activité dans les quartiers d'*Antônio Dias* et d'*Ouro Preto* ne l'étaient pas dans les zones d'habitation pauvres et plus tardives, à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et au début du XIX^e siècle. Par conséquent, le domaine territorial qui bénéficiait de l'intervention municipale relative au programme des eaux publiques semble avoir été limité au noyau urbain. Il ne couvrait pas les périphéries du chef-lieu Vila Rica.

Enfin, La fontaine est un instrument politique. À partir des années 1730, la *Câmara* municipale améliora le service public de distribution d'eau potable en ville. L'architecture des fontaines publiques incarnait cet acte civilisateur comme une image de propagande. La fontaine, objet utile et beau, véhiculait une image de commodité et d'ostentation de la ville minière coloniale. Ce message promouvait donc les qualités des eaux (pérennes, salubres, gratuites) d'une ville devenue digne du statut urbain.

Il faut souligner que, d'un côté, le nombre de fontaines par habitant était important à Vila Rica comparativement à d'autres villes de la région minière et de la colonie. D'un autre côté, la quantité d'eau distribuée par les fontaines de Vila Rica était parfois bien inférieure à celle des bouches de certaines fontaines monumentales, coloniales (Rio de Janeiro, Mariana par exemple) et métropolitaines (Lisbonne, Porto). À la fin du XVIII^e siècle, le nombre de fontaines à Rio de Janeiro était inférieur à la multitude de points de distribution d'eau à Vila Rica. Cependant, la fontaine da Carioca était équipée à elle seule de vingt-et-une bouches ! Par conséquent, le rôle des porteurs d'eau était essentiel pour distribuer les barils d'eau dans la capitale de la colonie. L'importance du débit total des fontaines publiques de Vila Rica est donc à nuancer.

Les fontaines avec leurs épigrammes étaient des *locoi* dans l'espace public. Les revendications d'une certaine autonomie politique et d'une population « vertueuse » digne de cette politique des eaux pérennes, salubres et gratuites relevaient d'ambitions politiques et d'enjeux économiques qui dépassaient certainement l'échelle locale. Ainsi, le langage manifesté par l'architecture des fontaines le corrélait avec un monde des tropiques urbanisé, civilisé selon les codes européens, tout en restant très original. La présence des fontaines marqua, avec des signes de reconnaissances culturels et d'empreintes d'appropriation du territoire par les Portugais, une des villes les plus importantes de la capitainerie au rayonnement économique considérable à l'échelle de la colonie. L'érection des fontaines fut une étape fondamentale de matérialisation de l'espace public en imposant la présence visible des pouvoirs éditaires au moyen des inscriptions qui faisaient leur éloge. En somme, le pouvoir municipal était glorifié comme autorité civilisatrice.

Parmi les protagonistes présents dans les inscriptions (les autorités civiles et la population), le monarque est totalement absent. Si dans d'autres centres urbains miniers la couronne est quasi omniprésente dans la partie supérieure pyramidale du couronnement des fontaines – *chafariz da Praça do Carmo* à São João del Rei, 1746, *chafariz de São José das Botas* à São José (aujourd'hui Tiradentes), 1749 –, les images ostentatoires du pouvoir de João V et celles de José I n'occupent aucune place représentative au sein du théâtre hydraulique à Vila Rica. En revanche, la promotion de l'image de la municipalité est bien façonnée selon les modes de rhétorique politico-théologique des fontaines dans les villes métropolitaines. Ainsi, les eaux offertes par la municipalité devenaient un don qui se dotait d'une dimension sacralisée, d'autant que les inscriptions des fontaines à Vila Rica renvoient à la tradition biblique des « eaux vives » : « Que celui qui a soif vienne. Que celui qui veut de l'eau de la vie la reçoive gratuitement » (*Apocalypse*, XXII, 17). Les

eaux maîtrisées se distinguent aussi des eaux dévastatrices et indomptables, symboles de mort dans les textes bibliques.

Ces épigrammes ne sont pas sans rappeler l'épisode de la Samaritaine, dans lequel le liquide symbolise l'eau vive qui renvoie au corps martyrisé du Christ et, par extension, au sang qu'il a versé (*Évangile selon St Jean*, IV, 13-15). Le moment où le fidèle boit de cette eau est une étape de rénovation des forces physiques et spirituelles qui marque la fin des douleurs et symbolise simultanément la résurrection d'une nouvelle vie. En effet, trois caractéristiques sont attribuées à l'eau vive dans la symbolique chrétienne : la source de vie, le moyen de purification de l'âme et du corps, le centre de régénérescence qui permet de se racheter du péché. Comme Dieu, source de vie qui étanche la soif de ses fidèles, la municipalité étanche la soif de la population qui se voit donc vouée à « louer le sénat ». Le terme « louer » manifeste une forme d'oraison qui renforce la dimension sacrée du service public.

La configuration du corps urbain des villes coloniales selon le principe de *decoro* fut inhérente à la dynamique de colonisation. Cette tendance à intégrer des *locoi* dans le maillage urbain se manifesta à travers la politique d'implantation des fontaines et par la reprise de la rhétorique du *belo eficaz*, l'art beau et utile à la fois. Le *decoro* servit également à entretenir l'emphase du programme de persuasion du Baroque tardif dans l'Amérique portugaise (Hansen 2001, 180-189 ; Bastos 2007, 27-54 ; Bastos 2013, 2014). Ces images furent à l'origine de la création d'une bonne réputation des autorités locales qui offraient l'eau potable à la population de la ville minière.

Les enjeux des eaux

Comprendre les enjeux des eaux, tout au long de la période étudiée et à différentes échelles, c'est saisir l'évolution des enjeux d'usages et d'appropriation du liquide. Dans un contexte de territorialisation du *sertão* brésilien, il importe de comprendre quelles étaient les normes de partage des eaux et quels agents locaux participaient à leur élaboration et étaient chargés de leur institutionnalisation.

L'eau existait en abondance dans la région minière mais elle était mal répartie. Car, si un individu ou un groupe faisait un usage privé de l'eau, c'était au détriment d'autres individus. Comme différents usages rendaient le partage complexe, la lutte pour l'eau augmenta dans les mines dès les premières décennies du XVIII^e siècle et jusque dans les années 1760, avec l'épuisement des filons aurifères faciles d'accès dans la roche.

Les premières lois définies par le *regimento* concernaient les modes d'appropriation, d'usage puis de partage des terres en bord de rives et des rivières chargées en or (Antonil 2007, 232). Pour limiter les conflits et les désordres causés par les découvertes minières dans les rivières puis dans les aires de gisements à flanc et au sommet des montagnes, le *regimento* réglementaient le partage des eaux et stipulaient les fonctions de l'institution qui en était responsable : la *guardamoria*.

Si les explorations dans les rivières aurifères et diamantifères étaient autorisées, elles étaient étroitement réglementées par les autorités métropolitaines. Des agents locaux

appliquaient ces normes mieux précisées depuis 1702, et redéfinies en 1734, dans la délimitation de la zone de gisements diamantifères de la Capitainerie des Minas Gerais (*Demarcação Diamantina*) (Fonseca 2003, 183-184).

Rappelons-le, la conséquence directe du partage concurrentiel des eaux déviées et utilisées en tant que *serviço*, fut l'enrichissement des plus puissants entrepreneurs qui en faisaient un usage au détriment des autres mineurs. Nombre de ces derniers étaient contraints d'abandonner leurs *lavrás* ou d'acheter le « service de l'eau » à des prix exorbitants. Les exploitants qui géraient les ressources hydriques détenaient ainsi le véritable pouvoir. Avec le développement désordonné d'explorations dans les montagnes entre Vila Rica et Vila do Carmo (future Mariana), les conflits d'usage pour la ressource naturelle s'envenimèrent au fur et à mesure que les déséquilibres de répartition causés par le partage concurrentiel de l'eau s'accroissaient. Dans ce contexte de litiges une règle fut dictée par ordre royal le 24 février 1720 (*provisão das águas*) (*Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro* I 4, 692-694)⁸, quelques mois avant la création de la capitainerie des *Minas Gerais* qui devint alors indépendante de celle de São Paulo le 12 septembre 1720.

Afin de combattre les abus, de limiter les inégalités, de contenir le pouvoir des puissants entrepreneurs (également propriétaires des terres, des eaux et des esclaves), la promulgation de l'*aditamento ao regimento* était combinée à la mise en place de la *capitação* en 1736. En effaçant l'or des mécanismes de la fiscalité, la Couronne recentrait ses intérêts sur une richesse sociale essentielle : les esclaves. Dès lors, le coût d'usage des eaux minérales mises au profit de la production en or se trouvait fixé à partir du nombre d'esclaves requis pour faire fonctionner les machines hydrauliques ou pour trier les pépites. La valeur économique de l'eau (facteur de production) relevait donc du prix du travail servile. Les propriétaires d'engins hydrauliques (entrepreneurs ou sociétés de mineurs) qui fonctionnaient grâce à la force servile, seraient très touchés par cet impôt les années de faible productivité en or (Carles 2016, Part. II).

Les autorités qui intervenaient dans les conflits d'intérêts de gestion de l'eau dépendaient des protagonistes impliqués. Il arrivait que la Couronne fût l'arbitre en dernier recours. Le problème central relevait de l'appropriation de l'eau en fonction des usages.

L'instrumentalisation du droit impliquée dans la gestion des ressources hydriques (maîtrise technique, usages, partage) présupposait alors une conciliation entre intérêts « publics » et intérêts « privés ». Ainsi, un droit des eaux ou des droits de l'eau se sont constitués en fonction de l'évolution des enjeux socio-économiques d'usages des eaux domaniales. Parmi l'éventail des régimes juridiques des eaux dans la capitainerie des *Minas Gerais*, on distingue d'une part des rivières chargées en minerais précieux, « rivières aurifères » (*ribeiras auríferas* 1702), « rivières diamantifères » (*ribeiras diamantíferas* 1734) et d'autre part, des concessions d'eaux réparties entre mineurs pour qu'ils pussent mener à bien les travaux d'exploration, « eaux minérales » (*águas minerais*)

8 Provisão du 24 février 1720. 1896.

ou « eaux aurifères » (*águas auríferas* 1720) (Carles 2013 ; Carles 2016). En ville, les eaux que nous appelons « eaux publiques » ou « eaux municipales » étaient sous la dépendance des autorités municipales qui s’y référaient simplement par le terme *água*, par exemple dans les actes du conseil municipal (*termos de vereações*) ou dans les termes d’adjudication de construction du réseau hydraulique (*termos de arrematação*) (Carles 2016, Chap. 3).

Dans le temps et dans l’espace, les compétences des juridictions risquaient fort de se chevaucher en divers points lors de résolution de conflits d’appropriation, d’usage et de partage des eaux. La délimitation des aires de compétence des juridictions dans la région des mines en phase de territorialisation était en effet mal définie. Les sources manuscrites témoignent des rivalités entre les juridictions des eaux dans les *Minas Gerais* et relatent les décisions métropolitaines en guise de résolution de conflits. Elles se trouvent dans les Archives Historiques d’Outremer à Lisbonne (*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*). En réalité, les affaires qui remontaient jusqu’en métropole et qui nécessitaient une consultation du roi avec l’organe politique responsable de l’espace colonial étaient transmises au *Conselho Ultramarino* depuis 1642 et au *Secretaria da Marinha e do Ultramar* à partir de 1736. La périodisation des documents qui font foi de ces échanges (*consultas* du *Conselho* et documents rédigés par la *Secretária*) représente un instrument d’analyse sur l’évolution de la législation et celles des institutions. Elle permet de saisir les réactions métropolitaines par rapport aux chevauchements des juridictions, à travers les décisions prises concernant les normes de gestion de l’eau (Carles 2016, 185-214).

Malgré les réglementations dictées et complétées depuis 1702, quatre problèmes demeuraient sans solution :

- le contournement de la législation par les mineurs ;
- les dysfonctionnements institutionnels (chevauchement entre juridictions et fraudes des *guardas-mores*) ;
- le trafic des eaux et des terres (attribution multiple de la même *data de águas* et falsifications des dates des actes de répartition des terres et des eaux) ;
- les difficultés pour maintenir un système de fiscalité efficace (détournement et fraudes).

En dépit de ces obstacles de gouvernance, la Couronne portugaise devait manœuvrer adroitement afin d’améliorer le processus d’exercice du pouvoir monarchique dans la région des mines.

À partir des années 1720, des dénonciations adressées au roi attestent des fraudes des *guardas-mores* et de nombreuses nominations abusives de *guardas-mores substitutos* auxquelles ils avaient procédé. De telles pratiques frauduleuses favorisaient le trafic des eaux et les désordres de répartition des *datas*. De plus, elles amplifiaient les déséquilibres entre mineurs et, du point de vue métropolitain, diminuaient considérablement

l'efficacité des méthodes de recouvrement de l'impôt sur l'activité minière. Ces abus des *guardas-mores* semblent ainsi avoir aggravé les problèmes inhérents à la politique des eaux minérales déjà mentionnés. Pour atténuer ces abus et ces conflits d'intérêts, la *provisão das águas* édicta en 1720 une nouvelle réglementation. Cinq ans plus tard, de nouveaux agents, le *provedor da fazenda real*⁹ et les *ouvidores*, furent délégués auprès des autorités locales pour intervenir dans le processus de gestion des eaux utilisées aux fins de l'activité minière.

Lors de la répartition des terres aurifères, les *guardas-mores* étaient assistés par les *ouvidores* des *comarcas* des *Minas*. Ces derniers avaient connaissance des appels (*apelações*) et griefs (*agravos*) énoncés dans les correspondances des *guardas-mores* sur les conflits liés à l'extraction minière qui étaient adressées au roi. De plus, les *ouvidores* devaient prendre connaissance de tous les conflits, terribles discordes propres aux terrains irrigués pour les activités agro-pastorales (*sesmarias*) et aux eaux, dont le roi devait par la suite être informé. Grâce à ce mécanisme de gouvernance, la Couronne se voyait informée de l'évolution des intérêts socio-économiques de la gestion de l'eau. De fait, l'intervention de nouveaux pouvoirs directement liés à la métropole et indépendants de la sphère d'influence de la *guardamoria* améliora le contrôle sur l'eau, sur l'or et sur les terres. Toutefois, la pluralité des agents du partage provoqua de nouveaux dysfonctionnements institutionnels en particulier les empiètements entre juridictions des terres et des eaux.

Au-delà des obstacles au bon gouvernement causés par les fraudes des *guardas-mores*, la décision royale du 29 novembre 1734¹⁰ chercha à réformer la législation minière pour mieux répartir les domaines de compétences entre juridictions (*ouvidoria* et *guardamoria*). Il est important de rappeler que la juridiction des *superintendentes* et des *guardas-mores* était indépendante des autres sphères du pouvoir au niveau local, même de celles du gouverneur. L'intervention royale était donc nécessaire en cas de réforme de leurs compétences et, parfois même, indispensable pour résoudre les conflits (ce que stipulait déjà l'ordre royal du 2 mai 1703¹¹) comme pour les nominations de *guardas-mores substitutos* (*RAPM I 4, 683*). Les *ouvidores* avaient pour fonction de rendre compte précisément de tout ce qui s'opposait au bon fonctionnement. Le gouverneur fut ainsi chargé de désigner des enquêteurs chargés de proposer un nouveau règlement des *guardas-mores*. Le nouveau texte fut ensuite validé par le roi. C'est ainsi que fut promulgué l'*aditamento ao regimento* en 1736 qui devait, entre autres, éviter les conflits juridictionnels (*RAPM I4, 702-704*)¹².

9 *Carta de Antônio Berquó Del Rio, provedor da Fazenda Real, pedindo cópias de capítulos dos Regimentos das Minas e da Provedoria da Fazenda real relativas a sua jurisdição* (2 mai 1725). AHU-CU-11, cx 6 doc 39.

10 « *Sobre o Regimento do Guardamor das Minas Geraes, e vão todos os papeis e copeas q. se acuzao* », AHU-CU-Consultas de Minas Gerais, Registo de Consultas referentes à Capitania de Minas Gerais (1726-1804), cód.244, 67-68.

11 *Carta real* (2 mai 1703), 1896.

12 *Additamento ao Regimento Mineral* (13 mai 1736).

D'après le *regimento* du 29 septembre 1735, l'introduction du nouveau système de taxation par tête d'esclave dans les zones d'exploitation entraîna des modifications institutionnelles et administratives fondamentales dans les *Minas Gerais*. L'Intendance de l'Or (*Intendência do Ouro*)¹³ fut créée alors que le domaine de compétence du gouverneur s'étendait puisqu'il intervenait en l'occurrence dans la politique des eaux. Martinho de Mendonça de Pina e de Proença fut le premier à en tirer les bénéfices. Cette nouvelle méthode de contrôle des richesses préfigurait une reconversion des intérêts métropolitains, portés non plus à l'or, mais à toutes les personnes qui possédaient des Noirs susceptibles d'être imposables. Mais les individus qui ne possédaient pas d'esclave dans les *Minas Gerais* étaient rares, mis à part les déclassés (*desclassificados*), selon l'expression de Laura de Mello e Souza (Souza 1990), et les exclus du partage, c'est-à-dire les mineurs qui ne possédaient pas d'esclave (Carles 2016, 206-221).

Dès les premières décennies de l'histoire des *Minas Gerais*, la gestion des ressources hydriques représentait un enjeu politique considérable à la fois spatial et économique. Des institutions furent ainsi établies dans la capitainerie afin de garantir l'imposition de l'ordre sur le territoire des mines nouvellement conquises, de faciliter l'établissement d'un système de fiscalité efficace sur les richesses minières et de répartir les « terres minérales » et l'eau entre mineurs. Les nouvelles institutions ne provoquèrent pas nécessairement la disparition de celles qui avaient été antérieurement instituées.

Toutefois, des changements survinrent afin d'améliorer l'équilibre du corps politique liés à une nouvelle répartition des pouvoirs entre les autorités locales. La complexité de la société minière et la multiplicité des acteurs (agents politico-administratifs et nouveaux usagers) impliqués dans la gestion des eaux, particulièrement entre 1720 et 1736, obligèrent à préciser les réglementations et à mieux définir les domaines de compétences des autorités. Ces choix politiques institutionnels annoncèrent d'une certaine manière l'effacement de la juridiction des *guardas-mores* des *Minas Gerais* à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Ainsi, le système de gestion des eaux minérales s'inscrit dans une phase de renforcement du contrôle sur la ressource en accord avec une amélioration de l'organisation institutionnelle qui avait été amorcée avec la création du *regimento* de 1702. Tout convergea, semble-t-il, vers une meilleure gestion des droits d'accès, du partage et des usages de l'eau : du passage de la gestion administrative des eaux utilisées pour l'activité minière par les *guardas-mores* à une multiplicité des pouvoirs, c'est-à-dire à une augmentation de l'intervention des agents locaux.

Après 1736, la métropole n'imposait plus de réforme sur la réglementation du partage des eaux minérales. Le partage et les usages des eaux minérales n'apparaissent plus dans la documentation¹⁴ comme une des préoccupations essentielles liées aux intérêts

13 Cette institution se composait le *Intendente do Ouro*, du *Fiscal da Intendência do Ouro*, du *Tesoureiro da Intendência do Ouro*, du *Meirinho* et de l'*Ajudante de l'escrivão*.

14 Les documents relatifs aux *Minas Gerais* parmi les *consultas* du *Conselho Ultramarino* et les documents produits par la *Secretaria de Marinha e do Ultramar* qui sont conservés dans l'*Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (Lisbonne).

métropolitains tandis que le liquide commençait à occuper une place de premier plan dans la scénographie politique urbaine.

Au cours des années 1730, les eaux laissées vacantes dans les mines d'or épuisées firent l'objet d'appropriation par la municipalité dans le centre urbain. Dès lors, la *câmara* municipale s'affirma comme l'autorité de premier plan responsable de la gestion communautaire des eaux urbaines. La mainmise municipale sur certaines eaux s'intensifia donc dans les années 1730, période durant laquelle le contrôle métropolitain se renforçait considérablement dans la capitainerie des Minas Gerais, alors qu'un climat d'instabilité politique et économique menaçait l'empire (Bethencourt et Chaudhuri 1998, 250-269). Au même moment au Brésil, soulignons-le, les systèmes institutionnels de l'activité minière, de la fiscalité et du partage des eaux minérales avaient été réformés.

D'une part, la municipalité négocia l'acquisition d'eaux privées pour alimenter les fontaines publiques (Carles 2016). L'administration du territoire public et de ses eaux s'accompagnait de l'établissement de normes qui régissaient l'appropriation de l'eau et l'occupation des terres. À travers ce lien, la municipalité tentait de resserrer son contrôle sur les usages de l'eau à caractère privé, en attribuant des *sesmarias* et en accordant des concessions d'eau déviée depuis les canalisations publiques (mesurées en *anel*, *pena*¹⁵, ou *sobras de água*¹⁶) à des individus ou à un collectif. En fonction des intérêts publics et des intérêts privés, la municipalité réglementait les rapports entre l'eau et la terre dans l'espace et dans le temps.

D'autre part, les agents municipaux surveillaient les usagers ; tout en assurant la multiplication d'activités urbaines autour du liquide. Le bon fonctionnement du service des eaux publiques était assuré grâce à l'intervention d'officiers spécialisés, comme les *alcaldes*, officiers de justice ayant des fonctions fiscales, et les *almotacés*, officiers auxiliaires de la municipalité, également inspecteurs des travaux publics. Ceux-ci constituaient, en somme, une sorte de police urbaine de la voirie qui veillait à la conservation des infrastructures hydrauliques afin d'éviter toute souillure de la qualité de l'eau et empêchait la construction de canalisations illicites. Ces agents auxiliaires municipaux examinaient également le système de distribution entre particuliers pour vérifier si les installations hydrauliques étaient conformes aux normes.

Par exemple l'*almotacé* intervint lorsqu'en 1742 les habitants de la rue *Nova* dans le quartier du *Rosário* se répartirent une portion d'eau au moyen d'un canal (*rego*)¹⁷. De même, le 31 juillet 1747 l'*alcaide* appliqua, lors de la construction de canalisations privées, les ordres municipaux pour éviter les déversements d'eaux sales dans la rue *Direita*¹⁸. L'officier de justice ordonnait aux habitants de laver les rues avant la fête du *Corpus Christi* (fête de Dieu). Il avait aussi le pouvoir d'arrêter les réfractaires aux bans

15 1 *anel* = 8 *penas*, <26,5 litres.

16 Eaux superflues ou trop-plein d'un bassin.

17 APM-CMOP, *cód.* 42 (26 septembre 1742), n.º 740.

18 APM-CMOP, *cx.* 20 doc. 26 (31 juillet 1747).

municipaux, lesquels se référaient également aux règlements d'usage des eaux publiques. Par exemple en 1781, Caetano da Costa Rodrigues fut incarcéré par l'*alcaide* du fait du retard pris pour la réparation d'une canalisation de la fontaine publique de la place *São José* dont il avait été chargé par la municipalité un an auparavant¹⁹.

Il semble qu'il ait été du ressort de l'*almotacé* d'interférer dans le partage après demande par pétition (*petição*) comme au sujet de la source d'eau de Valerio Simões. En effet, les habitants s'adressèrent à la municipalité, d'après les actes de réunion du conseil municipal du 18 janvier 1764²⁰. De la même manière, l'*almotacé* fut chargé par la *câmara* le 12 février 1791 de mettre en place des mesures contre les dommages causés par les travaux de João Bernardes Moreira sur l'écoulement d'une canalisation d'eau publique de trois *palmas*²¹. Les *almotacés* responsables de l'étalonnage des poids et mesures cumulaient des compétences d'agent de mesure en dehors des rondes de vigillances qu'ils effectuaient dans les quartiers qui leur étaient attribués.

En somme, ces agents d'inspection veillaient à l'application des décrets municipaux. D'après les documents (*documentos avulsos* et les *livros de requerimentos e petições*), les interventions des *alcaldes* et des *almotaceis* devinrent de plus en plus nombreuses et récurrentes dans le dernier quart du XVIII^e siècle. Cela pourrait s'expliquer par une augmentation des délits, l'apparition de nouveaux quartiers et une meilleure institutionnalisation de la gestion de l'eau sur le territoire municipal.

L'institutionnalisation de la gestion consistait entre autres à éviter la réduction du débit des fontaines publiques et donc à combattre toutes sortes d'obstacles qui empêchaient le service public comme l'incompétence technique des constructeurs ou les catastrophes naturelles. Le capitaine José da Silveira Gomes, alors nommé *almotaçé*, avait mis en place pendant l'année 1736 des mesures pour éviter les inondations venues de la montagne *São José* qui détérioraient les rues et les maisons du quartier en contrebas²². Le *procurador*, João Rodrigues de Souza, signala les problèmes qui survinrent lors de l'acheminement de l'eau dans la rue *Vira Saia* le 5 décembre 1798. Des éboulements causèrent des dommages sur les maisons mitoyennes de la source²³. Les bans condamnaient toutes les activités destructrices des aménagements publics, telles que les travaux d'orpailleurs. Les dégâts causés sur la chaussée ralentissaient l'écoulement des eaux pendant les averses, provoquant des inondations, ainsi que le stipulaient les actes des réunions de la chambre municipale le 21 janvier 1775²⁴.

À Vila Rica, les interdictions municipales de dévier l'eau potable des fontaines sont fréquentes tout au long du XVIII^e siècle et elles s'intensifièrent dans la seconde moitié

19 APM-CMOP, *cód.* 107 (10 mars 1781), f. 52v.

20 APM-CMOP, *cód.* 81 (18 janvier 1764), f. 52v.

21 APM-CMOP, *cód.* 81 (12 février 1761), f. 113.

22 APM-CMOP, *documentos avulsos*, cx. 9 doc. 39 (1736?).

23 APM-CMOP, *documentos avulsos*, cx. 71 doc. 57 (5 décembre 1798).

24 APM-CMOP, *cód.* 99, (21 janvier 1775), f. 235v.

du siècle, lorsque l'eau ne coulait plus dans les fontaines. Tout comme en métropole, des portions d'eau concédées étaient déviées à partir des points de distribution d'eau publique disséminés dans la ville : fontaines, canalisations, *caixas de água* (citernes, bassins), etc. Les négociations entre des particuliers et la municipalité de Vila Rica liées à l'acquisition de portions d'eau se caractérisaient par des achats de droit d'accès et de droit d'usage. Les bénéficiaires s'engageaient à restituer l'eau concédée en cas de pénurie. Celui-ci jouissait d'un usage individuel des eaux mais devait respecter cette règle imposée par la municipalité. Les demandes de concessions se banalisèrent pendant le dernier quart du XVIII^e siècle (Carles 2016, 259-270). Ces transactions augmentaient les recettes municipales qui, par la suite, étaient en principe réinvesties dans le domaine public (Carles 2016). Le contrôle municipal autorisait donc le caractère privé de certaines eaux urbaines, mais se resserrait sur les usages et sur les usagers qui devaient respecter les règles communautaires.

Si l'on revient sur les inscriptions, leur discours légitimait les bienfaits du conseil municipal qui offrait à tout le monde l'eau en abondance et étanchait la soif. Pourtant, certains faubourgs comme ceux du *Alto da Cruz*, *Padre Faria*, *Morro*, *Bom Sucesso*, *Pau doce* et *Passa-Dez* n'étaient pas bien équipés. Ils étaient quelquefois même totalement dénués de fontaines payées par les recettes publiques. Par ailleurs, le service de sécurisation et de pérennité des eaux municipales était limité au centre urbain en fonction des usages et des usagers. Ceux qui avaient les moyens financiers d'acheter des concessions de portion d'eaux particulières étaient privilégiés. L'attribution de concessions d'eau, qui remettait en question la dimension gratuite, pour tous, des eaux, était paradoxale du point de vue d'une logique du bien commun. Ainsi donc, le service des eaux publiques n'était en réalité pas offert à tous les habitants.

Cette politique de l'eau à Vila Rica avait été développée durant une phase d'établissement d'un nouvel ordre politique et économique au cœur du processus de colonisation. Les conseillers municipaux tentèrent de résoudre les problèmes de gestion : d'un point de vue logistique, en améliorant la capacité de l'hydraulique publique, grâce à l'agrandissement des bassins et à l'augmentation du nombre des fontaines ; et, d'un point de vue juridique, en précisant les caractéristiques de pluralité et de flexibilité du régime des eaux municipales en fonction de cas particuliers. Dès le premier quart du XVIII^e siècle, les autorités locales déployèrent une mainmise étroite sur les intérêts socio-économiques d'appropriation du liquide ainsi que sur leurs usages dans la ville. La municipalité se réservait pourtant une part des eaux urbaines par le biais des concessions privées. Par conséquent, les conflits liés au partage et les périodes de pénurie offraient encore des opportunités d'intervention pour la municipalité, et permettaient de renforcer sa puissance en ville.

Il est clair que la réputation de pureté et de gratuité des eaux municipales incarnée par le discours rhétorique de l'architecture de l'eau n'était pas en adéquation avec l'efficacité réelle du service public, même dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. L'accès à la ressource n'était gratuit que pour certains usages communs légitimés par la municipalité

dans le *rossio*. Aussi, la pérennité était-elle toute relative car le partage était concurrentiel et seuls les bénéficiaires des concessions de canalisation privée jouissaient de ce privilège. Toutefois, la réputation des eaux publiques que la municipalité souhaitait mettre en avant était bien celle d'eaux aux vertus universelles de pérennité, de gratuité et de pureté. Dans la troisième décennie du XVIII^e siècle, la municipalité devint maîtresse d'une partie des eaux urbaines et elle revendiquait fièrement, tout particulièrement entre 1740 et 1760, cette nouvelle fonction sociale et politique. La gestion des eaux sous la responsabilité administrative du conseil municipal assurait au groupe dirigeant une domination politique fondée sur la satisfaction des besoins de la population, du moins celle de certains usagers (Carles 2016, Part. III).

Quelle que fût la nature des gisements exploités, les techniques d'extraction nécessitaient de grandes quantités d'eau et une main-d'œuvre servile nombreuse pour *étancher la soif de l'or* au Brésil, durant le XVIII^e siècle.

Véritable éloge de la *Câmara* municipale et de ses eaux cristallines, les fontaines publiques servaient à *étancher la soif* de la population de Vila Rica, dès le premier quart du XVIII^e siècle. Cet acte civilisateur rompait, semble-t-il, avec la mauvaise réputation des cités minières et de leurs habitants que le Jésuite Antonil décrit dans son œuvre *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e Minas* (1693-1709) (Antonil 2001, 310-311). La théâtralisation du noyau urbain au moyen de fontaines répondait aux principes politico-religieux de la monarchie portugaise et, également, à une nouvelle dynamique économique urbaine dans l'espace colonial. Selon ce concept, l'art baroque, beau et utile à la fois (*belo eficaz*), fut mis au service du pouvoir municipal. Vila Rica devint, fort probablement, l'un des centres urbains les mieux desservis en eau potable de toute l'Amérique ibérique, si l'on tient compte du nombre et de la qualité sociale de ses habitants, encore caractérisés par une majorité d'afro-descendants dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle. Le débit et la beauté des fontaines publiques étaient toutefois relatifs par rapport aux infrastructures hydrauliques dans les grandes villes coloniales et métropolitaines.

La coexistence des divers usages complexifia le partage concurrentiel de l'eau, si bien que le nouveau centre urbain devint un terrain propice aux conflits d'intérêts pour l'appropriation de la ressource. Ainsi, les périodes de manque du liquide représentèrent pour les agents du partage, qui intervenaient à différentes échelles, des opportunités de renforcement de leurs pouvoirs. Au fil de la législation qui se faisait l'écho des conflits d'intérêt tout au long du XVIII^e siècle, des droits des eaux furent dictés parallèlement au processus d'institutionnalisation de la gestion du liquide, dans les mines et dans la ville. Cette mise en place d'une machine administrative de contrôle des eaux et des usagers condamnait certains usages, désormais considérés comme illégaux.

La normalisation de la gestion de l'eau et la diversité des régimes juridiques démontrent l'adoption de cadres institutionnels spécifiques au contexte des villes minières de la capitainerie des *Minas Gerais*. La politique des eaux semble avoir été révélatrice d'une réorientation de l'économie et des intérêts métropolitains en rapport

avec l'évolution de la production de l'or et le développement d'autres secteurs d'activité (agro-pastoral, commercial, artisanal). Divers facteurs conditionnaient la valeur de l'eau. Les quatre premières décennies du XVIII^e siècle furent marquantes quant à l'évolution des enjeux du liquide et aux formes de gouvernance, notamment dans les zones d'exploitation minière. Les règlements sur les terres et ceux concernant la fiscalité étaient en corrélation avec les dates importantes de réglementation de la gestion de l'eau. Par voie de conséquence, l'importance du rapport entre l'eau, la terre et les esclaves semblait être indéniable d'un point de vue économique.

Pour pallier les dysfonctionnements du système institutionnel qui alimentèrent les rivalités entre mineurs et avec les autorités métropolitaines, celles-ci durent manœuvrer adroitement dans leur gestion des conflits locaux relatifs à l'eau. Cet enjeu était central dans la politique des eaux car, en fonction des acteurs locaux, la monarchie devait renforcer son emprise sur les usages de la ressource et faire face à des résistances aux règlements des pouvoirs locaux émergents (dont celui de certains hommes d'affaires puissants). La politique de gestion de l'eau dans les mines privilégia plus une multiplicité d'agents de contrôle des eaux qu'une concentration des compétences du *guarda-mor*.

À la suite du transfert du modèle de gouvernance qui attribua des compétences de gestion des eaux publiques à la municipalité, l'expérience coloniale met bien en valeur le rôle de défenseur des intérêts locaux joué par la municipalité et des habitants de la ville minière. La municipalité devait parfois faire front à d'autres pouvoirs à l'échelle régionale (gouverneur, *ouvidores*, *guardas-mores*), c'est-à-dire à des juridictions qui toutes disposaient de compétences de gestionnaires des eaux. Dès les années 1730, la municipalité de Vila Rica put affirmer, institutionnellement et symboliquement, son pouvoir sur le *rossio* et son *termo*. Toutefois, le service d'eau publique ne recouvrait pas l'ensemble de ce territoire.

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DIEGO SOLA*

“Iberi Imperii finis limes et orbis erit”. China, Spain and the Ocean through propagandist and cartographic representations (16th–18th centuries)**

Introduction and theoretical framework

“The Spanish people is similar to the Hebrew with regard to the fact that both are peoples of God [...]; the Spanish monarchy will continue for many centuries to come and it will be the last” (Salazar 1945, 68). The universalist ambitions of the Iberian monarchies increased rapidly during the 16th century, when Spain and Portugal built their oceanic empires, and so this was reflected on this quotation by the Benedictine friar Juan de Salazar included in his work *Política española*, which dates from 1609. The idea of an expansive frontier, taken to the furthest corner of the continent, would even still remain long after, in 1698. During the final part of the reign of Charles II from the House of Austria, the Augustinian chronicler, Friar Gaspar de San Agustín had his book *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: la temporal por Don Felipe Segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual, por los Religiosos de la Orden de San Agustín* published in Madrid. In his Chronicle, the friar refers to the same idea in the frontispiece of his work: “Iberi Imperii finis limes et orbis erit”. The Iberian empire will be the last frontier and the end of the world. And went on: “Ultima regna, quibus referatur finibus orbis / Dat Deus arbitrio, magne Monarcha tuo / Subditur Hispanis dum totus mundus, Iberi / Imperii finis limes et orbis erit”, which

* Universitat de Barcelona, Spain.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4370-3024>. E-mail: diegosola@ub.edu.

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can be translated into: “By God’s wisdom, your great monarchy was given the final reign, which designates the limits of the earth; so that every world is conquered by the Spanish: the Iberian Empire will be the last frontier and the end of the world” (San Agustín 1698, frontispiece). In order to represent this messianic and universalist statement, the frontispiece of *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* shows Philip II putting on the crown of emperor and leaping on the China Sea together with an army of missionaries and soldiers, accompanied by the prophetic vision of Isaiah, which appears as a motto in the print: “In doctrinis glorificate Deum, in insulis maris nomen Domini Dei Israel: a finibus terrae laudes audivimus gloriam iusti” (“Therefore in the east give glory to the Lord, the God of Israel, in the islands of the sea: from the ends of the earth we hear singing: glory to the righteous one”, Isaiah 24: 15-16, New International Version). Philip II was enthroned, in that representation, as the Neptune of the Pacific.

The work analyses the way the Catholic monarchy, specifically during the Luso-Hispanic union after 1580, represented the China Sea and its imperial confines after the Spanish settled in the Philippine archipelago. Not only does it cover the country’s cartography but also the ethnographic and missionary literature created at the expense of the Catholic King, a documental corpus mainly built by the monarch’s religious agents in his Asian dominions.

As will be explained below, the Spanish monarchy from the second half of the 16th century was a sheer knowledge lab on the Chinese empire and its seas. During the reign of Philip II, the Spanish settled in the Philippines and that was the start of the dynastic union between the Spanish Crown and the Kingdom of Portugal, which dominated several parts of Asia: the frontier of Philip’s Iberian Empire adjoined the frontiers of the “Great Kingdom” of China, as some sources entitled the Celestial Empire ruled by the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). In this context, which boosted the creation of news, connections and cultural products, the monarchy presented itself as an emerging power in the Pacific Ocean and the frontiers of the Chinese empire. Ethnographic works, maps and treaties were created in order to report useful information about the sea, the islands and the continent, whilst, at the same time, the Iberian presence in Asia was intended to be glorified. As will be seen below, some of these representations served the idea of a messianic imperialism that depicted the king as a God-sent Lord of the oceans who was capable of dominating China, the most ancient civilisation, through Christianisation, and following the providential view and target sought by some friars who collaborated with the Catholic King. From the last third of the 16th century and continuing well into the 18th century, these depictions in maps and accounts were the windows through which the Spanish monarchy showed its power and dominion of the oceans. The material that recorded a conquest or some influence in a territory was used with apologetic purposes by the “boundaryless” empire.

The here mentioned material is tackled through the perspective of the so-called “culture of expansion” (See Loureiro 2000 and Barreto 2000). In this conceptual framework, a collection of cultural products is described, which comprises printed works, manuscripts,

letters or accounts that were produced as the European monarchies reached and discovered new lands. The encounter with unknown geographical realities offered new categories to represent the presence of the European Empire. Other ways to explain the world – and to represent it both visually and iconographically – were therefore developed, as well as new interpretation frameworks. All this came together within a double context; on the one hand there was a learned public who was fascinated by the New Worlds and was eager for information whilst, on the other hand, it became necessary for the expansion companies to defend their exclusiveness in a moment of evident and boundless competition among monarchies. The available manuscripts, maps and printed works offered multiple views of a world that had “burst open” or “blown up” at its furthest corner (Chaunu 1959), as they offered a “collection of new knowledge and information of any sort and from any origin, and meant the diffusion of objects, goods, beliefs and ideas” (See Gruzinski 2005, 14).

Historical context and precedents

The early modern period brought the European creation of a global view of the world. Europe not only built an image of the American New World but also an image of Asia as a continent of unlimited wealth and a lush paradise.

It should be taken into consideration that by the late Middle Ages Europe had already created an image of China thanks to Marco Polo, the well-known Venetian merchant who lived in the Far East in the 13th century. Polo (c. 1254-1324) was one of the first Europeans to cross and travel the whole length of the Silk Road (See Larner 2001). Thanks to the description Marco Polo gave the amanuensis Rustichello da Pisa in *Devisement du monde* or *Livre des Merveilles du Monde* (c. 1300), the Europeans had already been able to dream about the wealthiest country in the world. However, even though Marco Polo's remarks on Chinese trade and town planning were certain, his travelogue also included some mythological facts as well, which represented a descriptive framework that coincided with the *mirabilia* that would be expected in the literary genre. For instance, Polo spoke about cynocephaly (half-human/half-dog creatures), as well as the existence of cannibal communities that devoured the elderly. Moreover, Polo usually locates Amazon women in the Eastern world. The book about Marco Polo, who resided in the court of Kublai Khan, portrays a China ruled by the first emperor of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1260-1368), and that image he set up prevailed in the European erudite circles until the successful dissemination of the Jesuit Relations, especially in the 17th century (See Dawson 1970, 32-33). What clearly motivated the warm reception of the book about the Venetian merchant was the exoticism described in it, as it turned the account into a book of wonders at a time when China and the Pacific Ocean were remote horizons where the Europeans still had to arrive and settle in.

During the 16th century, the process of creating an image of China in Europe was totally linked to the companies engaged in exploration and colonization for the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies. The Iberian Crowns were the first to develop their influence

along the Pacific Ocean. The Portuguese, in order to overcome the Ottoman blockade in Western Asia that culminated in the siege of Constantinople in 1453, explored alternative routes to reach the Asian products, particularly the spices. Vasco da Gama (c. 1469-1524), following the African route opened by Bartolomeu Dias (c. 1450-1500), disembarked at Calicut, India, in 1498. After occupying Goa and Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese approached the coasts of the Ming Empire around 1514. Then, they continued to reach the coasts of the China Sea unceasingly from the first decades of the 16th century on and this way they managed to persuade the Chinese emperor to establish a commercial enclave in Macau, near Canton, in the province of Guangdong, in the 1550s. The Portuguese authors were essential for China to be considered a successful topic. Their most remarkable works were *Década da Asia* by João de Barros (the third decade was dedicated to China and was published in Lisbon in 1563) and *Tractado das cousas da China* by the Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz (published in Évora in 1569). Barros (1496-1570), the great Portuguese historian from the 16th century, had never been to Asia, while Cruz had spent some weeks in the city of Guangzhou.

Gaspar da Cruz (1520-1570), set off for the Portuguese State of India in 1548 and he carried out his missionary work in different places such as Goa, Ceylon or Malacca. It was in this last Portuguese enclave where he founded the Dominican convent where he lived until he moved to the Kingdom of Cambodia (1555) to later head for Canton and its bordering province, city he finally managed to visit for some weeks in the winter of 1556. Despite his perseverance, his efforts to establish a mission in China were as fruitless as they had been in Cambodia. Back in Malacca, he also spent some time in Hormuz Island, where he founded a house of Dominicans in that strategic Portuguese location in the Persian Gulf (see a detailed biography of Cruz at Boxer 1953, lviii-lxii). His treatise came out just two weeks after his death, thus, this friar became the first author to ever write a monograph almost entirely on China and have it published in Europe. Cruz' treatise joined a written corpus that was available for common readers and the royal authorities. It is a travelogue written by a keen observer and "an honest traveller forgiven for prejudice" (Mackerras 1989, 25).

At the same time, the Spanish establishment in the Philippines in 1565, during the expedition headed by Miguel López de Legazpi (1505-1572) and Andrés de Urdaneta (1508-1568), fostered the creation of graphic and literary materials on the Chinese empire, as well as on its geography and seas. In Spain, the post of chronicler of the Indies was a magistracy directly linked to the empire's government. According to Richard L. Kagan, the chroniclers who worked for the King of Spain compiled and ordered "the available geographical and historical material related to the New World", since the king wished to "restrict the circulation of any information about the Indies which could threaten the Crown's interests" (Kagan 2010, 232). These geographical and historical works about the New World also included the Far East, which was the last frontier of the Spanish empire. As María M. Portuondo points out, the work undertaken by the Spanish cosmographers was sheer science joined together with a mission that had been

developed to benefit only the monarchy – and not to benefit its creators intellectually: those works on geography and history were totally utilitarian, thus the personal or intellectual aspiration of their authors were secondary (Portuondo 2009, 3-4).

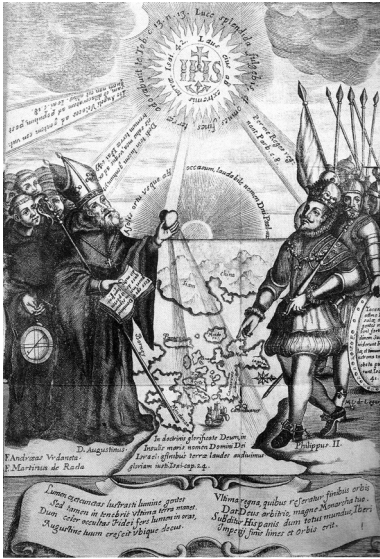
Even though the Crown tried to control confidential information of the Empire’s government, much of it was spread through printed material. Specifically, the propaganda used to glorify the Spanish presence in the Pacific Ocean, the crucial role of missionaries in that part of the world and the world’s atlas aimed at the general public.

Conquest of the Philippine Islands

An evident example of propaganda material containing an expansionist view in the text and the cartography included in it, is the aforementioned 1698 book *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*. Its author, Gaspar de San Agustín (1650-1724), was one of the best-known chroniclers on the Philippine Islands, where he arrived in one century after the beginning of the colonization. There, the Augustine friar “felt the need to pass on and tell the Christian world about the difficulties of his work, what seemed to him a nearly miraculous task” (Meyer 1964, 121). The book is a chronicle on the presence of Augustinian friars in the Philippines and explains their prominent role in evangelising the islands; this is the reason why it was classified as providentialist. Friar Gaspar reminds the reader which the aim of the Augustinians in the Philippines was: to arrive in China, which was, for the Spanish – as well as for the Europeans from that time and Marco Polo’s age – a paradise of silk and porcelain.

Despite the fact that this work focuses almost entirely on the Philippines, China has an incidental importance that can already be noticed in the frontispiece made under the judgement of Friar Gaspar (**fig. 1**). It is a delicate illustration containing not only cartographic information but also noteworthy historical, political and propaganda content.

As it can be seen, Philip II, the king under whom the Philippines were conquered and Manila was founded (1571), is wearing a crown of emperor. Charles I’s successor in the Spanish dominions did not actually take the Imperial Crown, which had been passed on to his uncle, Ferdinand I and then to his cousin Maximilian II. Nevertheless, his status of Lord of several parts of the world made the engraver iconographically highlight the sovereign. The monarch is wearing a suit of armour and is holding a sceptre; behind him there are half a dozen soldiers. He is pointing at the Philippine archipelago but right in front of him, his soldiers and missionaries there are the kingdoms of China and Siam, which are conveniently marked on the map with their respective toponyms. Right in front of the sovereign we can see Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius and Church Father during the 4th and 5th centuries. The Saint is leading his missionaries, who receive the heart of God, Jesus Christ, and the mission ordered by the king, who is God’s hand, to evangelise Asia. The Order of Saint Augustine considered itself the first to reach the Far East and due to its influence in evangelising the Philippine archipelago, also the best prepared to Christianise the Kingdom of the Dragon (See González de Mendoza 1585, Dedication to the reader).



1 Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas: La temporal por las armas del Señor Don Phelipe Segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual por los religiosos del Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín – Fundación y progressos de su Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús* (Madrid, 1698, Imprenta de Manuel Ruiz de Murga).

Url: <http://bibliotecadigital.aecid.es/bibliodig/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=6730>. Public domain. Source: Biblioteca Digital AECID.

In the inscription we can see the previously mentioned quotation by Isaiah the Prophet: *In doctrinis glorificate Deum, in insulis maris nomen Domini Dei Israel: a finibus terrae laudes audivimus gloriam iusti*. Philip II was a king who ruled his empire over a messianic plan: the Catholic Monarchy had to be truly universal and spread the Christian faith to the furthest corners of the world. As Geoffrey Parker points out, “behind his unyielding declaration on the need for the religious principles to prevail over the political plans there was a particular political philosophy that has been described as *messianic imperialism*. At a basic level it meant that [...] Philip believed that he had been directly ordered to keep the catholic faith alive throughout time and place” (Parker 1998, 71). Thus, within this conceptual framework, the inscription in the frontispiece in *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* ends with the statement *Iberi Imperii finis limes et orbis erit* (“the Iberian Empire will be the last frontier and the end of the world”). The Sea of China, strictly controlled by Chinese fleets and officers, was the final destination from where to start the intrusion into the greatest, more populated and richest empire in the world: the Ming Empire. Accordingly, the frontispiece composition, despite belonging to the later 17th century, years after the end of the union between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies (1580-1640), recalls the plan of the Spanish monarchy to build a global and universal catholic monarchy. Therefore, as noted by Pierre-Antoine Fabre, “the Philippines are two ends of the world”, a place where the missionary presence was vital so as to ensure the success of the messianic project built by the Spanish monarchy (Fabre 2008, 86). According to the study by the French hispanist Pierre Chaunu, the Philippines played

an important role in King Philip’s mind map, as they were the key to keep a “continuous structure” of human presence in other territories and became the link between the Far East and the Far West, between the Asian Indies and the American Indies (Chaunu 1960-1966). In other words, the Philippines and the Augustine friars were another piece of the “oceanic strategy” developed by Philip II (Hernández Sánchez-Barba 2004, 99). In this way, the Philippines can also be conceived of as a halfway place which, thanks to its ties with the Southeast of China and Japan – and Luzon with Mexico –, represented an actual centre to establish an economic and cultural meeting point between Europe and Asia, as pointed out by Birgit Tremml-Werne (2015, 15-16).

Origins of the Sino-Spanish geographical and propagandist sources

We must look backwards in time to explain the precedent for these views that combine geographical expansion with political propaganda. The 1570s and 1580s were peak points for the creation of news and material about China and what surrounded it. This turned King Philip II’s court into a prominent producer of these documents. The first monograph on China to be printed in Spain and in Spanish was published in Seville in 1577. The priest Bernardino de Escalante (1537-1605), a very close collaborator of the king (see Casado 1992), published *Discurso de la navegación que los portugueses hacen a los Reinos y Provincias de Oriente, y de la noticia que se tiene de las grandezas del Reino de la China* (discourse of the navigation made by the Portuguese to the kingdoms and provinces of the East, and the existing knowledge of the greatness of the Kingdom of China). Escalante never travelled to China but used Portuguese records for his book, mainly the *Tractado* by the Dominican Friar Gaspar da Cruz. However, as the Augustine Friar Jerónimo Román explains in the review he wrote nearly two decades later (Román 1595, 211), Escalante never hid his sources, among which we could also find João de Barros. Even though this priest spread what he had read in books written by other authors, his work added significant brand new information. An example of it is the first impression of Chinese characters in Europe (Loureiro 2000, 639).

The *Discurso* by Bernardino de Escalante was an authorised and appreciated source in the European erudite circles and it contributed to the creation of a picture of China in the growing cartography at that time. In this way, the Brabantian cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) used passages by Escalante to complete his edition of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1584, which was the first great atlas of early modern history. One should observe the map of the Far East that is included in Ortelius’s atlas and read the information written at the back of the document. This map was, in fact, created by Ludovico Georgio (aka: Luis Jorge Barbuda), a Portuguese cartographer who provided Europe with the first complete map of China and based this thorough piece of work mainly on what Escalante had recorded in his book in 1577 (**fig. 2**). Barbuda writes: “Bernardino de Escalante wrote a particular book about this region in Spanish language”, and then gives a detailed description that includes an itinerary through its cities and a

brief report about the physical appearance of Chinese people and their customs, enriching the information with records by other authors such as Barros, Antonio Pigaffeta (who took part in Magellan-Elcano circumnavigation), Andrés Corsal and, according to the text, the “Jesuit letters”. In it there is also a reproduction of Chinese characters that had been previously included in Escalante’s book.



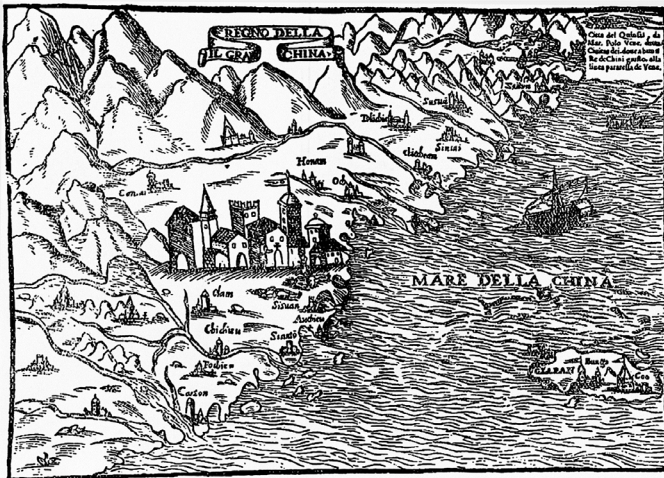
2 Ludovico Georgio (Luis Jorge Barbuda), “Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis nova descriptio”, included in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* de Abraham Ortelius, published in 1584. (Biblioteca Nacional de España). In Diego Sola García, “La formación de un paradigma de Oriente en la Europa moderna: la Historia del Gran Reino de la China de Juan González de Mendoza” (Ph.D. Thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2015), 537.

Nevertheless, the most decisive work for Europe in the 16th century to create a modern image of China, was, undoubtedly, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del Gran Reino de la China* (*History of the most significant facts, rites and customs in the Great Kingdom of China*), published in Rome in 1585. This work was written by the Augustinian friar, Juan González de Mendoza (1545-1618), who had already participated in an unsuccessful embassy sent by Philip II to the Chinese Emperor Wanli (Sola 2018). In 1584 Mendoza visited Rome in order to work as a theologian and counsellor for the cardinal Filippo Spinola (Medina 1897, 67).

There, according to his own words, Pope Gregory XIII found out that Mendoza had some notes on China as a result of his participation in the unsuccessful embassy, and asked the Augustinian Friar to gather all his documents and notes on China so as to publish a

book (González de Mendoza 1585, 1). In this way, *Historia del Gran Reino de la China* was born, a book that later turned into a best-seller of the 16th century: until 1615, when the record of the Jesuit Matteo Ricci on China was released by the Jesuits (the best skilled ones to plan the evangelisation of Asia), more than thirty editions of *Historia del Gran Reino* by Mendoza had already been published (See Sanz 1958, 386–392). The key to this book’s ideological interpretation is its apologetic nature on the Spanish presence in China’s nearby lands. In order to extol the figure of Philip II and his aim to occupy the Philippines – as a first step before the Spanish and the Gospel could arrive in China –, Mendoza wrote about China as if it had been a Spanish discovery: “This great kingdom of China [...], has been discovered [...] by the Spanish inhabitants in the Philippine Islands”. Nevertheless, it was also acknowledged that by then the Portuguese had already been informed about China through their possessions in India (González de Mendoza 1585, 10r).

The book, which was translated into English and French, among other languages, was widely distributed in the main European cities such as London, Paris, Antwerp, Venice and Bologna. Although Mendoza, just like Barros and Escalante, never crossed the Pacific Ocean, he had studied the existing Portuguese and Spanish sources about China to write it. The book was a considerable success: it worked as a chronicle, a miscellany of topics that introduced the Chinese civilisation to the European readers (landscapes, material culture, morals and religion, urban planning, etc.). The first Rome edition (1585) does not include illustrations and it was not until the Bologna edition in 1589 that the editor added a map of China and Japan (fig. 3).



3 Map of China and Japan in *Dell'istoria della China* (Bologna, 1589). The map was included in this edition by the editor, without the author's collaboration. In Carlos Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía*, 1958.

Despite the fact that Abraham Ortelius had imprecisely added the correct map of the Kingdom of Tungning in Barbuda in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1584, the map in the Bologna edition of *History of the great and mighty kingdom of China and the situation thereof* shows a clear cartographic regression, as this map is an undetailed outline based on the geography described in Marco Polo's book from the 13th century. In this map, Formosa Island (Taiwan) does not appear, and, moreover, some coastal cities and provinces in the continent are wrongly located. As one can observe, Japan is clearly placed too southwards and it is impossible to identify the Korean Peninsula. If we compare it to the more precise map by Luis Jorge Barbuda, its poor quality becomes more obvious as it is closer to the mythical Ophir from the Bible and Polo's Cathay than to the China that the Europeans rediscovered in the 16th century.

Despite this, this map of China and its coasts had nothing to do with Juan González de Mendoza, who after publishing an edition of his work, which he considered definitive, in Madrid (1586), he did not take part in any of the later editions and either in its graphic contents. Mendoza's main contribution was conceptual: as a result of his historiographical work, he gave coherence and sense to a great deal of different news, documents and information. In view of the challenge of choosing among very diverse sources which were often contradictory, he opted for the information that best fitted the image of China he wished to transmit, a world based on two pillars: virtue and glory. His chapters are full of references to the vastness of cities, buildings, croplands and the great abundance of all kinds of materials for life. He describes China as a commercial paradise. Regarding virtue, Mendoza writes about a prototype of kingdom and a paradigm of civilised nation in the world. Its leaders were, in his opinion, prudent. A kind of prudence that even surpassed the one of old kingdoms: "undoubtedly, it seems to surpass the prudence of the Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans, about whom so much information has been written. Peoples who, in order to conquer other people's lands, strayed off from their own so much that they did not take an interest in them anymore." (González de Mendoza 1586, 61). However, Mendoza offers his depiction of China within a wider strategy of the stance taken by the Spanish monarchy in the race for the European expansion, and uses his account and the originally sinological description to consolidate the expectations of the Crown and the Augustine missionaries who were at its service (also, he put across a message and an evangelising strategy in the bosom of the Church and the Papacy, as said by Nancy Vogeley (1997, 173)).

Cartographic and ethnographic works produced in Asia

So far, we have described works created in Europe based on information taken from explorers and missionaries who had been directly involved in Asian affairs, or collaborators and chroniclers of the monarchy who compiled diverse sources of information even though they had never travelled to Asia or the imperial dominions. Nevertheless, it is interesting to know about the materials which directly came from China and its

surroundings and therefore contributed to the creation of a modern image of Asia under the patronage of the King of Spain. This is the case of a Chinese map – actually, the first Chinese map – that arrived in Castile in the 16th century. It is called *Ku – Chin hsing – shêng Chih t'u*, what can be translated as *Modern and old topographic map* (fig. 4). It contained information entirely written in Chinese and had been developed directly by Chinese cartographers who then sold the map to the Spanish. The governor of the Philippines, Guido de Lavezaris, sent it to Spain in 1574 through the viceroyalty of Mexico, and the document was secretly guarded by Philip II's Council of the Indies, in the Royal Alcázar of Madrid. The map, created in 1555, was translated from Chinese into Spanish by Chinese interpreters who were supervised by Augustine friars. Nowadays it is kept in the Archive of Indies in Seville and in it we can see a deeply fluvial empire, as its rivers seem to be the main routes for communication. The map's geographical scope is vast and reveals key information such as the representation of the Great Wall (See Smith 2013).



4 Map of China from 1555: *Ku – Chin hsing – shêng Chih t'u* (Archivo
 Url: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/18774>.
 Source: Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES).

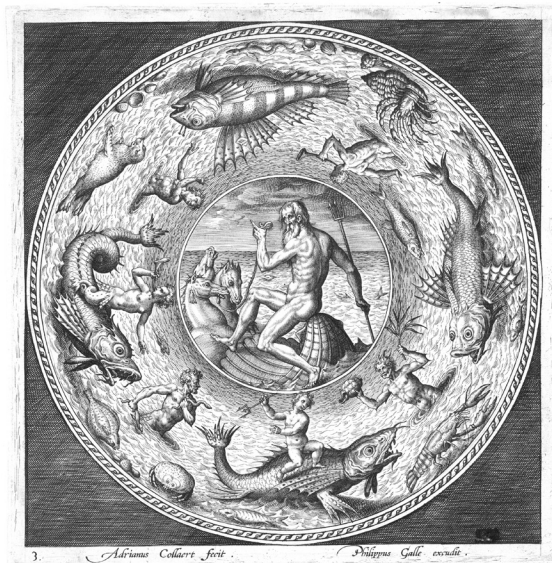
This was not the only document totally produced in Asia that helped to build more in-depth knowledge on that part of the world. The Spanish authorities in the Philippines were interested in offering the King of Spain a luxurious compendium of Philippine and Asian ethnography. The book, actually a codex, had to show, visually and with exhaustive texts, the human and natural reality of an exotic and lush land. This was the aim of the *Boxer Codex*, an indispensable source for the study of the views and conceptualisation about the peoples from the Philippines or from lands close to this country, in the second half of the 16th century. The *Boxer Codex* is an enlightened Philippine manuscript that could be put on a level with *Codex Mendoza* or the *Florentine Codex* of Mexico, works that were conceived as visual and textual compendia on the reality of those peoples for Europe to know about. This document, an ethnographic contribution of great worth and of unbeatable visual richness, was named after Charles R. Boxer (1904-2000), one of the greatest academic authorities of the 20th century for his studies on the Portuguese and Dutch expansion. He purchased the manuscript in 1947 and it can currently be found in Lilly Library at Indiana University (See latest editions and studies by Souza, Turley 2015 and Donoso 2016). According to some research, the codex dates from around 1595 and the illustrations in it were drawn by a Chinese artist who worked with Chinese techniques, paints and paper.

I would like to conclude with a work that symbolically encapsulates the busy creation of news, geographic relations and maps but with an obvious propagandist purpose, lining the oceanic dominions to an imperial Hispanic project of a strong messianic stamp. Among the most comprehensive and useful maps for the sailors from the late modern period who sailed to the Philippines there is the work by the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696-1753), who served as a missionary in the Philippines. Murillo Velarde was a renowned jurist and cartographer who created *Carta Hydrographica and Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas* in 1734. From the geographical map different versions remain and the detail shown here belongs to the edition of 1744 housed in the Archive of Indies (Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos, Filipinas, 299) (**fig. 5**).

This version of Murillo Velarde's *Carta Hydrographica* – then renamed as *Mapa de las Yslas Philipinas hecho por el Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde* – includes a fascinating representation of Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the Navarrese Jesuit saint known as the “Apostle of the Indies”, who evangelised Japan and planned, before he deceased, the Christianisation of China. St. Francis is shown enthroned as Lord of the Seas in the southern Philippine islands, with insignias that could belong to Neptune (**fig. 6**) or with slight variations: the saint is carrying a peculiar trident, similar to Neptune's but with a crucifix on top of it with a banner of the Society of Jesus. This was not a new image and inspiration in Neptune. More precisely, the Sevillian artist Juan de Valdés Leal (1622-1690) elaborated a picture, later engraved, of St. Francis Xavier as “Prince of the Sea” (1681) that would later be included in the hagiography dedicated to the Apostle of the Indies by the Jesuit Lorenzo Ortiz in *El principe del mar San Francisco Xavier* (1682) (See



5 Detail of *Carta Hydrographica y Chorographica de las Yslas Filipinas* made by Pedro Murillo Velarde in 1734, printed in Manila (Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y planos, Filipinas, 299).
Url: <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/7282213>.
Source: Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES)



6 Representation of Neptune in an engraving by Adriaen Collaert (c. 1600). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Url: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/425882>. Public domain.

Tejera Pinilla 2015, 281-282). If Poseidon-Neptune was the god of the Sea, other waters and earthquakes, Saint Francis Xavier was meant to be the Lord of the Pacific Ocean, who brought missionaries to widely spread the name of God and its dominions, under the patronage of the Iberian monarchies. The saint appears sailing the Pacific on two marine horses, just like the Greek and Roman god. Together with Francis Xavier, there are dolphins, which are portrayed as his faithful travelling companions. Moreover, the allegory in the document leaves no room for doubt: Saint Francis Xavier is the “prince of the sea”, just like Neptune was of the seas of antiquity.

As we have learnt from above, missionaries who were under the king’s protection and carried out a mission both religious and political (evangelising the East was one of the biggest political priorities for the Crown) were especially active in the creation of materials and products that represented Asia and showed it as a part of the world inevitably linked to the West. A place that had to be depicted, recognised and studied so as to be included in the Christian sphere and therefore meet the demands of a messianic imperialism that could make possible what Gaspar de San Agustín wrote in 1698: “the Iberian empire will be the last frontier and the end of the world”. China, the Catholic Monarchy and the Ocean played key roles through cartography and literature that became the expression of the Crown’s geopolitical interests. Moreover, the documents previously mentioned also portray a world view and a cultural crossroads between the East and the West in Neptune’s waters.

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CELEBRATIONS
AND MUSIC

CARLA ALFERES PINTO* | CRISTINA BRITO**

Mar, conhecimento empírico e simbólica dos animais marinhos na imagem de poder da Infanta D. Beatriz em *Cortes de Júpiter* de Gil Vicente (1521)***

Manda el rei de Portugal senhor do mar Oceano sua filha natural per conjunção divinal pelo mar Meoterrano.

Quantas festas maginar até cousas invisíveis todas verá polo mar fará os peixes cantar e cousas mais impossíveis.¹

Introdução

No dia 10 de Agosto de 1521 a Infanta D. Beatriz de Avis (1504-1538) zarpava de Belém em direcção ao Mar Mediterrâneo e ao porto de Villefranche-sur-Mer, junto a Nice, e à sua nova vida como duquesa e mulher de Carlos III de Sabóia. A bordo da nau *Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai*, a Infanta seguia numa imponente armada formada por mais de vinte embarcações engalanadas com bandeiras e velas pintadas a carmesim com a cruz de Cristo, comandada por aristocratas e pelos melhores almirantes e capitães do rei. A comitiva real e infantina, o cortejo de barcos de guerra, parada e abastecimento, o aparato heráldico e decorativo exibido pelos pendões, bandeiras, têxteis e tapeçarias, serviam para ilustrar a imagem de poder do rei de Portugal e pai de Beatriz (Pinto 2018b; Pinto 2019).

* CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal.
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9055-9630>. E-mail: capinto@fcs.unl.pt.

** CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Portugal.
ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7895-0784>. E-mail: cbrito@fcs.unl.pt.

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1 *As Cortes de Júpiter* de Gil Vicente (1521).

O domínio sobre os oceanos, os navios, a iconografia ligada à esfera armilar e à cruz de Cristo eram elementos fundamentais da cuidada imagem que D. Manuel I se havia esforçado por compor e difundir por todo o mundo, fosse pela força das armas, fosse pela diligente diplomacia. Entre as competências desta última, surgiam a escolha dos pretendentes e as negociações associadas ao casamento das princesas disponíveis para participar no “mercado das princesas” europeu (Benassar 2009, 43-74), e às quais a imagem paterna se associava, até terem tempo e oportunidade para construir os seus próprios mecanismos de representação.

Ao casamento por procuração, em Abril de 1521, seguiram-se as festividades que recentravam Lisboa no seu papel de capital do reino, após o regresso do rei e da sua corte, ao fim de um afastamento de dois anos provocado pela epidemia de peste. Entre outros acontecimentos, encenou-se na noite de 4 de Agosto uma tragicomédia de Gil Vicente que, destinada a comemorar o enlace da infanta com o duque, colocava o mar no palco cortesão enquanto personagem e símbolo; símbolo de domínio, de conhecimento, de poder.

Neste ensaio, a obra *Cortes de Júpiter* serve de meio para abordar a importância da representação do mar na construção da imagem de poder da Infanta D. Beatriz e para questionar a simbologia associada a animais marinhos, como baleias e tubarões, e a seres marinhos mitológicos, como sereias e tritões, e ainda o seu uso em contexto teatral enquanto metáforas e alegorias. Isto porque a iconografia europeia da época moderna se serve comumente deste tipo de animais ou seres marinhos – sejam eles reais, mitológicos ou imaginários –, tanto em manifestações artísticas como em ilustração de textos de carácter literário e científico, de história natural e religioso, manuscritos ou impressos.

Poderão estes seres, mais do que animais reais que vivem no meio marinho, ser também símbolos de poder, de surpresa, de conhecimento e de crítica? Poderão estar ou ser associados a virtudes ou a pecados humanos? Poderá uma característica anatómica ou comportamental do animal reflectir uma determinada pessoa, uma categoria social, ou ainda certa característica humana? Poderão algumas características facilmente associadas a determinadas espécies marinhas ser efectivamente um espelho das personalidades ou atributos de pessoas ou de um grupo de pessoas? Neste âmbito, interessa-nos abordar alguns temas que têm sido levantados por diversos autores e pela historiografia atual, relacionados com questões históricas e literárias ligadas ao conhecimento e interpretação dos animais do mar na época moderna.

A Infanta D. Beatriz e o casamento com Carlos III de Sabóia

D. Beatriz de Avis nasceu no dia 31 de Dezembro de 1504, no Paço das Alcáçovas no Castelo de S. Jorge em Lisboa, filha do rei D. Manuel I e da rainha D. Maria.

O terceiro filho do rei nascia do sexo feminino, e o facto de a corte estar a cumprir o luto pela morte da sua avó materna, Isabel de Castela, havia cerca de um mês, fez com que o acontecimento fosse relegado para uma discreta referência nas crónicas.

Igualmente, a sua condição de filha segunda do rei fez com que os aspectos da sua infância e adolescência até deixar o paço paterno (faria os dezassete anos já em Sabóia) permanecessem ausentes dos relatos oficiais. A sua biografia foi reconstruída com base no que se sabe sobre a irmã, D. Isabel, sobre a vivência material e cultural das elites no início do século XVI e sobre a formação e funcionamento da casa da rainha (Buescu 2012, 51ss).

A grande exceção a este quadro verifica-se precisamente nos acontecimentos em torno do casamento de Beatriz com Carlos de Sabóia. As crónicas de Damião de Góis (1749, 570-573) e Garcia de Resende (1752, 97v.-102) demoram-se nos acontecimentos, ainda que sejam confusas em muitos aspectos. Não há dúvidas de que, em 1516, o Duque de Sabóia enviou à corte de Lisboa uma embaixada com o objectivo de negociar o matrimónio com a filha do rei D. Manuel, certamente D. Beatriz, uma vez que Carlos era um mero duque e, por isso, não teria pretensões à primogénita (Benassar 2009, 46). A proposta foi rejeitada, mas o Duque não desistiu e enviou mais duas delegações, até que, em 1520, o rei iniciou as conversações que levariam à assinatura dos contratos, à reunião do dote, à definição das comitivas que iam acompanhar e ficar com a Infanta na corte cesalpina e aos acontecimentos do casamento, circunstâncias que têm sido analisadas pela historiografia (Buescu 2012; Merlin 2012; Pinto 2018a).

O mar e a imagem da Infanta D. Beatriz de Avis

As negociações entre os agentes de D. Manuel I e os embaixadores de Carlos III prolongaram-se por meses, o que levou a uma continuada troca de correspondência e, sobretudo, a uma percepção real da vivência cultural e artística da corte portuguesa pelos emissários saboianos.

Fosse pelo prestígio financeiro que lhe advinha do comércio marítimo, fosse pelo bulício da impressionante frente fluvial que a cidade de Lisboa oferecia, a presença crescente e inovadora da água na imagem de D. Manuel I não poderia ter escapado ao olhar e à compreensão dos embaixadores.

O rei servia-se dos oceanos, que as suas frotas sulcavam, para deixar a marca dinástica – sobretudo, a esfera armilar – muito para além das fronteiras europeias; era ao domínio dos mares que ia buscar o poder bélico, financeiro e político que o Velho Continente lhe reconhecia; era nas águas do seu reino que encenava algumas das mais feéricas demonstrações de mestria de construção em madeira, certificando as potencialidades cenográficas do Tejo (e, especificamente, aquando do casamento da Infanta; Pinto 2019). Foi junto a este que mandou construir alguma da mais emblemática arquitectura do seu reinado (a frente ribeirinha de Lisboa, com o Paço, a Casa da Índia, os armazéns e estaleiros e a Igreja da Misericórdia; a ponte, o Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Belém dos frades jerónimos e a Torre em Belém).

Era também pela água que o soberano atendia às necessidades da população lisboeta, sublinhando através do “enlace sinuoso da serpente guardiã das águas [...] a manifestação do domínio régio sobre a água enquanto elemento primordial do bem

comum da grei” (Carvalho 1999, 56), patente nas formas da fonte calcária bicéfala do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga em Lisboa (inv. n.º 644 Esc).

Não é de estranhar que tenha sido através da titulação régia que D. Manuel I melhor resumiu a ubíqua relação do seu reinado com o mar e a água. Ainda que D. Afonso V tenha sido o primeiro a considerar-se senhor “d’Aquém e d’Além Mar em África” a partir da data de conquista das cidades de Arzila e Tânger em 1471, elevando aquele senhorio do Norte de África à condição de reino, e que D. João II lhe tenha acrescentado o senhorio da Guiné, foi com o regresso de Vasco da Gama de Calecute que o título real foi reformulado na sua máxima extensão geográfica. Em 1499, escassos quatro anos depois do início do inesperado reinado, e dois anos após a partida das naus *São Gabriel*, *São Rafael* e *Bérrio* da barra do Tejo, o monarca proclamava-se “Rei de Portugal e dos Algarves, d’Aquém e d’Além-Mar em África, Senhor da Guiné e da Conquista, Navegação e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia”, reforçando a ligação ao mar e às actividades marítimas (navegação e comércio).

Este título, legado ao filho e ao bisneto como futuros reis, resumia a imagem do reino e de D. Manuel I, colando-se também à sua descendência directa, que incluía as filhas, D. Isabel e D. Beatriz.

D. Beatriz, que recebera como era tradição o nome da mãe do rei e duquesa de Viseu e Beja, também ela em tempos governadora do Atlântico (Dávila 2016), foi a primeira a casar-se. Aliás, seria a única a casar-se em vida do rei, uma vez que D. Manuel I morreria abruptamente quatro meses depois da partida de Beatriz, acabando por ser D. João III a finalizar as negociações e a casar D. Isabel com o futuro imperador Carlos V.

Beatriz beneficiou, portanto, da vantagem simbólica de se tratar do primeiro matrimónio de uma filha do poderoso rei D. Manuel I (que ao escolher Sabóia mostrava querer afirmar-se politicamente no xadrez diplomático europeu além-Pirenéus), que não poupou esforços nem despesas para assegurar que esta mantivesse o estatuto real na corte ducal em que se casava (Pinto 2018a; Pinto 2018b).

Assim, por razões de poder e imagem, a armada, que deixou o Atlântico e entrou no Mediterrâneo com a Infanta D. Beatriz a bordo, era imponente – constituída por cerca de 25 navios, comandada pelos melhores aristocratas do reino e mais experientes capitães da Carreira da Índia, capitaneada pela nau *Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai*, provavelmente a maior nau a navegar sob a bandeira dos Avis no século XVI. Construída nos estaleiros em Cochim, era feita em teca e tinha à volta de 800 tonéis, tendo sido lançada ao mar cerca de 1512, ainda sob as ordens de Afonso de Albuquerque. Em 1521 já tinha quase uma década ao serviço da Carreira da Índia, tendo sido então remodelada para acomodar a princesa e a sua comitiva (Barker [2002]; Pinto 2018b), sendo depois escolhida como nau capitânia da armada que conduziu o vice-rei Vasco da Gama à Índia.

Até à chegada a Sabóia e à actuação política, administrativa, financeira e artístico-cultural que levou à paulatina construção da imagem de D. Beatriz como duquesa consorte, a imagem da dinastia era também a imagem da infanta, sintetizada no campo direito do seu escudo em lisonja através das armas da dinastia de Avis.

Casamentos de princesas e concílios de deuses

Na sequência do casamento entre a infanta portuguesa e o duque saboiano, assinado por procuração no Paço da Ribeira no dia 7 de Abril de 1521, D. Manuel I ordenou que se realizasse uma série de festividades na cidade de Lisboa. Estes acontecimentos ficaram registados pela pena de Garcia de Resende (1752) (Pinto 2018b; Pinto 2019).

A certa altura do seu texto, Resende menciona, sem referir a autoria ou o título, que, num dos serões que anteciparam a partida da infanta, entre música, danças e festejos, se assistira à representação de uma “comédia” (Resende 1752, 99v.). Tratava-se de *Cortes de Júpiter* (Camões 2002), escrita e dirigida por Gil Vicente, e representada no domingo 4 de Agosto, perante o rei, a rainha, infantes e demais membros da corte.

Não há conhecimento de que máquinas ou outros dispositivos de ilusão fossem utilizados nas representações na corte manuelina, pelo que a palavra ocupava um papel fulcral na leitura performativa do texto. Na realidade, sabe-se pouco sobre as características de encenação das peças de Vicente e, no cômputo do texto de *Cortes de Júpiter*, há muitas linhas que são reservadas a didascálias. Todavia, havia lugar ao movimento (entradas e saídas das personagens, para além das danças que interrompiam a peça), às diferentes entoações e timbres que os actores imprimiam à sua leitura, às mudanças de postura e expressões que procuravam manter a atenção dos espectadores (Rodrigues 2004, 41-2). Haveria também, ainda que Garcia de Resende não se tenha detido na descrição, um guarda-roupa e algum tipo de cenário e adereços, eficazes e iconograficamente relevantes, destacando-se a figuração da primeira personagem a entrar em cena, a Providência, vestida de princesa e com *espera* (a esfera armilar) e ceptro na mão, objectos recorrentes da iconologia régia de D. Manuel I (Alves 1985; Pereira 1990).

A peça inicia-se de maneira relativamente convencional, com a entrada da Providência (isto é, a virtude teologal que sintetiza a noção da intervenção de Deus no mundo), que ordena a Júpiter que convoque os deuses (Vénus e Marte, que virão acompanhados pelas constelações e astros: Caranguejo [Câncer], Leão [Leo] e Capricórnio; Sol e Lua [Diana]) e os Ventos (quatro: Norte, Sul, Nordeste e Noroeste, em figuras de trombeteiros), subalternizando, deste modo, as personagens mitológicas clássicas. Deus é encarnado em Providência, que, fazendo uso da iconografia manuelina, se coloca ao lado da assembleia reunida em corte (que o texto vai exprimindo representar a união de Portugal no adeus à Infanta), e com isso acalmando e dominando o Mar.

Depois dos deuses e dos Elementos, surgem os membros do séquito da princesa, numa enumeração vertiginosa de grupos sociais e individualidades, todas elas presentes na sala em que decorreu a representação. Quatro vozes vão alternando a caracterização de quem/quais será/serão o quê (fauna, sobretudo peixes), revelando a proximidade ou conhecimento ao “gosto *zoomorfizador* da época e [à] voga das *Metamorfofes* de Ovídio na Península” (Rodrigues 2002, 110).

Golfinhos e sardinhas, baleias e sereias nas *Cortes de Júpiter*

Os tíasos marinhos tinham uma origem remota que pertencia ao imaginário comum das antiguidades grega e romana, sendo retomados por Gil Vicente nas *Cortes* como motivo renascentista (mais que humanista clássico, se não, veja-se o papel submisso de Júpiter frente à autoridade da Providência: “Porque Deos meu deu a mim [Providência]/ que o [Júpiter] fizesse rei do mar” (Camões 2002, versículos 36-7)), em que não estão ausentes quer a visualidade do tema, quer a evocação da celebridade e prosperidade marítima do reinado de D. Manuel I.

Neste sentido, é significativo o número de animais, de diferentes espécies marinhas, que são mencionados na peça festiva de Vicente, reflectindo um conhecimento sobre a grande diversidade ictiológica das costas portuguesas e de outras para além da Europa, nos séculos XV e XVI. Aqui encontramos os mais diversos peixes – robalos e garoupas, barbos, moreias, tubarões e cações, carapaus e bacalhaus, e ainda ruivos, rodovalhos e atuns (Camões 2002, versículos 188-261) –, bem como baleias (Camões 2002, versículos 238, 340 e 506) e outros mamíferos marinhos, ou ainda toda uma panóplia de seres mitológicos híbridos (Camões 2002, versículos 303-20), ou seja, seres que se situam entre o meio terrestre e o marinho ou entre o real e o fantástico. As várias espécies, aqui actores da alegoria, simbolizavam uma das riquezas exploradas em Portugal (Tavares 2009, 639).

Considerando a diversidade de espécies piscícolas mencionadas, verifica-se que estas eram comumente conhecidas, fosse na alimentação, sendo consumidas com regularidade por diferentes grupos sociais, fosse como produtos do mar transformáveis. Destaque-se, no entanto, que, ao contrário das baleias e atuns, estes últimos considerados como um peixe-real (Castro 1966; Brito e Jordão 2014), a maioria da fauna marinha não ia à mesa régia nem aristocrata por ser vista como alimento pouco nobre. Se, por um lado, a minúcia demonstrada e a devida intitulação de diferentes espécies revelam alguns conhecimentos de índole natural sobre estas mesmas espécies marinhas, por outro, atestam a familiaridade ancestral e empírica das comunidades costeiras com o mar e as suas artes. Assim, pode reconhecer-se aqui uma cultura *protonaturalista* de conhecimento empírico das qualidades e características de elementos do mar e do seu enquadramento nos ecossistemas marinhos, a qual se foi aperfeiçoando na Europa desde o início da época moderna.

À medida que diversos autores – humanistas e naturalistas – começam a tentar incorporar nos seus textos novos discursos do mundo natural e de animais tidos por estranhos ou muito diferentes dos conhecidos, dão início à constituição de um corpo documental e de conhecimento simultaneamente mais puro e mais híbrido (Mackenzie 2014). Por um lado, o conhecimento é mais detalhado e apurado e, por outro, ainda se encontra uma clara mistura entre pormenores da vida natural real e de aspectos mitológicos ou imaginários tipicamente associados a determinados animais.

Ao analisarmos *Cortes de Júpiter*, verifica-se serem efectivamente vários os animais marinhos (embora os terrestres também façam parte do séquito) que são usados em contexto literário pelo autor. Alguns dos animais mencionados são claramente utilizados

como um recurso estilístico – que varia entre a metáfora e a alegoria – enriquecedor do texto e potenciador da ideia de poder (e sátira) subjacente. No decorrer da obra, são várias as referências simbólicas e as comparações entre animais marinhos e elementos do cortejo de casamento da infanta, nomeadamente os grandes mamíferos do mar – baleias, golfinhos, leões-marinhos – e todo o tipo de peixes – desde o bacalhau e os imponentes e assustadores tubarões aos cardumes de sardinhas e de carapaus, e às raias.

Encontramos ainda referências a espécies de mares tropicais e exóticas, como os peixes-voadores e os cavalos-marinhos. Estes últimos muito provavelmente, a par de outros autores da época moderna (Cavazzi 1965), referindo-se a hipopótamos. Os restantes são espécies de águas temperadas e que ocorriam (e ocorrem) nas costas europeias. Por fim, verifica-se também a menção a outros animais das águas costeiras e oceânicas da Europa, como sejam as aves marinhas, entre as quais se destacam, aqui, os corvos-marinhos.

Paralelamente, Gil Vicente usa recursos literários clássicos e recorre às tradições e lendas de todo o espaço litoral europeu e mediterrânico, salpicando o seu texto com seres mitológicos e fantásticos como sereias, homens marinhos e sátiros do mar (Peinado 2009; Pedersen 2016).

A grande maioria destes elementos marinhos foi usada de forma metafórica, através de comparações feitas com personagens humanas do séquito régio, tal como nas seguintes passagens: “Juízes e ouvidores/ deles peixes voadores/ e deles peixes cavalos”. Ou ainda, numa outra passagem, em que se compara uma individualidade a uma baleia – não a uma baleia no habitat natural, mas a uma baleia arrojada ou encalhada na praia, evento que não seria incomum nas praias da foz do Tejo: “Sabeis vós quem irá bem/ em figura de balea?/ Gil Vaz da Cunha. Porém/ encalhará em Belém/ e dirá: eis-me na area” (Camões 2002, versículos 209-211 e 237-40).

Em que sentido pode este tipo de características biológicas dos animais funcionar enquanto metáfora para as características de determinadas pessoas ou grupos sociais? Na seguinte passagem “Os cónegos da sé embora/ em figura de toninhas/ irão com esta senhora/ até bem de foz em fora/ por essas ondas marinhas” (Camões 2002, versículos 192-96), Júpiter informa-nos que a infanta sairá na sua viagem devidamente acompanhada por uma comitiva constituída, quer por nobres, quer por membros do clero, que seguem na sua frota luxuosa. Neste caso em particular, é ao cabido da Sé que Vicente se refere, antropomorfizando as toninhas – verdadeiros predadores de topo dos ecossistemas marinhos – e associando-as aos cónegos, elite diocesana responsável pela realização das funções litúrgicas mais solenes na igreja-catedral.

A palavra *toninha* é um dos nomes comuns usados ao longo da história para nomear algumas espécies de golfinhos² com características sociais gregárias, que se deslocam e se

2 Brito (2006) afirma que estes são, segundo Frade (1972, 307), os verdadeiros golfinhos, os golfinhos comuns, pertencentes à espécie *Delphinus delphis*, mas que pelo mesmo nome são popularmente designadas outras espécies de golfinhos, de pequena dimensão, tais como *Phocoena phocoena*, a toninha, hoje chamado boto, e *Tursiops tursio*, o roaz corvineiro, hoje denominado golfinho-roaz e de nome específico *Tursiops truncatus*. Na

alimentam sempre em grupo. Embora surgindo em grupos numerosos, as suas vindas à superfície para respirar apenas deixam vislumbrar a cabeça, a zona dorsal e a barbatana dorsal, o que não permite fazer distinção entre espécies, a qual muitas vezes se baseia na observação cuidada da coloração do corpo e da forma e tamanho da cabeça e do bico (Brito 2006). Refira-se ainda que as toninhas são pequenos cetáceos que se alimentam de peixes pelágicos (de mar aberto), os quais também vivem e se deslocam em cardumes numerosos, como sejam as sardinhas ou os carapaus. Alguns destes aspectos poderão ter servido a Vicente para exercer uma crítica velada aos presbíteros, todos com vestes talares semelhantes, deslocando-se em grupo, com autonomia, hábitos, códigos e práticas reservadas e exclusivas.

Na peça vicentina, segue-se um diálogo entre Vénus, Júpiter, a Lua e o Sol, sendo Vénus quem retoma o assunto das toninhas, ao contrapô-las às sardinhas: “Sairão as regateiras/ em cardume de sardinhas/ nadando muito ligeiras/ desviadas das carreiras/ por nam topar co as toninhas” (Camões 2002, versículos 222-26). As regateiras claramente não se querem cruzar com os cónegos, certamente não mais do que as sardinhas gostariam de se confrontar com grupos de golfinhos em predação. Parece exemplar a maneira como a relação de poder surge devidamente estabelecida entre estes grupos socialmente distintos, uma construção plena de ironia sobre o panorama social do reino que revela igualmente um conhecimento empírico pré-científico comum a esta época.

Por outro lado, as personalidades mais importantes, influentes ou poderosas da corte surgem representadas, não como o animal em si, mas antes viajando nos maiores e mais impressionantes seres fantásticos deste imponente reino marinho – os homens marinhos ou tritões, as sereias, os leões-marinhos e a baleia. Vejamos, nos exemplos seguintes, as personalidades que triunfalmente se deslocam sobre um conjunto de animais do mar: “O precioso cardeal/ irá sobre homens marinhos/ em um carro triunfal/ padre santo natural/ per mui naturais caminhos./ Dom Fernando ifante belo/ fermoso bem assombrado/ irá posto em um castelo/ que será prazer de vê-lo/ sobre sereas armado.// [...] Sobre três liões marinhos/ o ifante dom Anrique/ irá em cama d’arminhos/ brincando com dous anjinhos/ que nam é razão que fique” (Camões 2002, versículos 302-11 e 317-21).

A recitação dos nomes dos membros da corte, do clero, dos ofícios e oficiais do reino, dos vizinhos de Lisboa, transformados em animais marinhos e mitológicos com a função de escoltarem os navios até alto mar, evocava, na véspera da partida da infanta para Sabóia, a imagem de D. Manuel I, as comitivas cortesãs, os desfiles ribeirinhos e as encenações talássicas que haviam ocorrido nos dias que assinalaram os actos e cerimónias oficiais do casamento e despedida de D. Beatriz (Resende 1752; Pinto 2018b; Pinto 2019).

verdade, estes golfinhos aqui mencionados podem ser diferentes espécies de delphinídeos (ordem *Cetacea*, subordem *Odontoceti*) que ocorrem ainda nas águas portuguesas da Península Ibérica e que certamente ocorreriam ainda com maior abundância à época em que a obra é escrita (Brito & Vieira 2010).

E quem governa o mar detém todo o poder. O poder sobre o mar propriamente dito, e sobre as suas águas, e os espaços geográficos que estas banham, mais ainda, sobre tudo o que estas contêm: os seus animais, os seus recursos, os seus produtos, tudo o que as águas férteis dos oceanos providenciam. Aqui se incluem todos os perigos e todos os monstros, imaginários ou reais, que o habitam, assim colocados por artifício de peça cortesã, sob o domínio do senhor dos mares e oceanos, de todas as suas riquezas e possibilidades, de tudo o que no espaço marítimo será possível e impossível, espelhando todo o poder e majestade do rei D. Manuel I e da sua dinastia.

Conhecimento empírico, animais marinhos e interpretação simbólica

A celebração do auspicioso enlace entre as casas de Avis e Sabóia que o texto de Gil Vicente “inventá”, isto é, adorna com artificios (Camões e Machado 2010, 95), é alegórica, e o autor recorre (como mais tarde Luís de Camões) ao começo da *Eneida*, ou a versões traduzidas e antológicas (Rodrigues 2005), como modelo narrativo para a peça festiva que levou à cena no Verão de 1521.

Vicente construiu o seu texto com base em fragmentos de poesia que buscou na tradição popular, na poesia e no cancionero ibéricos, como o vilancete cantado a três vozes entre a Lua, o Sol e Vénus (Camões 2002, versículos 154-61; Pestana 1965; Hart 1972; Rodrigues 2002). Tudo “muito a propósito”, como escreveu Garcia de Resende, já que não por acaso se tratava da filha de D. Manuel, rei de vários mares e conquistas (Rodrigues 2004, 38-9). Repare-se como a personagem convocada para a representação em diálogo com Júpiter é o Mar, ao invés do mais expectável Neptuno, deus romano do mar. A lógica da tradição épica, independentemente do conhecimento que o autor dela tenha, submete-se ao interesse e imagem régios, antropomorfizando a imaterialidade fluida da água através do corpo do actor, mediante a figuração (infelizmente não contada) do mesmo, e sujeitando-o ao convívio cortesão.

A *piscização* do séquito da princesa é, no contexto das representações e elaboração de textos na corte portuguesa, uma inovação absoluta do autor, que não tem merecido a atenção devida. Com efeito, *Cortes de Júpiter* encadeia a herança literária clássica com uma zoologia embrionária, que resulta num testemunho enriquecedor de conhecimento experimentalista. Neste sentido, esta é uma obra única no panorama cultural quinhentista e, do nosso ponto de vista, um exemplo pioneiro e inovador de humanismo e empirismo natural, a potenciar a abertura de novas pistas de trabalho no âmbito da história da História Natural, e ainda da história da alimentação e da gastro-nomia (e.g., Castro 2015).

O tom caricatural e certo do autor e a permissividade crítica consentida em alguns momentos dos textos vicentinos (apenas para concluir com a manutenção da harmonia da sociedade vigente, social e funcionalmente hierarquizada) têm sido salientados por vários autores, pelo que alguns deles haviam já procurado corroborar as personalidades de diferentes actores do texto através das características piscícolas (Braga 1968).

De facto, como se leu, Vicente usou as características dos animais para evidenciar qualidades, vícios, comportamentos humanos, estabelecendo paralelos algo ingénuos, que Luís de Camões retomará anos mais tarde (Osório 1906, 178).

Na senda do autor, a leitura simbólica das representações aquáticas usadas na obra enfatiza a importância diplomático-política do casamento real e dos envolvidos, ao mesmo tempo que desvenda o valor do conhecimento empírico sobre um mundo natural que era partilhado pela corte e em larga medida pela sociedade portuguesa à época. Em *Cortes de Júpiter*, o caminho a percorrer é conhecido, ao contrário da proposta de *Os Lusíadas* (Frade 1972; Brito 2006; Klein 2013), que pretende “cantar” e contar em epopeia os espaços desconhecidos, bem como as terras e mares ainda não cartografados pelos europeus. Com Vicente, sabe-se qual o ponto de partida e o ponto de chegada, pelo que o autor recorre principalmente a animais marinhos de distribuição regional, certamente todos bem conhecidos pelos espectadores, trazidos assim à corte, como o rio fora chamado à cidade e os oceanos navegados e os mares já desvendados, à imagem de D. Manuel I.

A criatividade imaginativa e plástica destes elementos marinhos remete para epopeias de outros tempos. Porém, este momento assiste ao surgir de um discurso, de uma estética, própria do Mar, das baleias (Szabo 2008), das sereias (Peinado 2009) – e de toda a beleza, poder e impacto que estes elementos comunicam –, dos peixes mais miúdos, e da sua representação simbólica. Ao mesmo tempo o mundo líquido e fluido vai-se tornando mais real e palpável, materializável, por exemplo, através do arrojamento e da proximidade de um animal marinho à terra.

É o caso das baleias, referidas neste texto mais de uma vez (Camões 2002, versículos 238, 340 e 506), que, na época medieval e moderna, tal como outras maravilhas marinhas, transcendiam a própria natureza. Poucos autores distinguiram entre o monstruoso e o mundano, pelo que muitas vezes as baleias eram associadas a criaturas sobrenaturais (Szabo 2008, 26); a sua descrição tanto cabia na categoria dos animais marinhos, como na dos monstros ou ainda na dos seres mitológicos. Na verdade, a baleia, mesmo quando reconhecida como elemento do mundo marinho, tinha uma dimensão e uma força que inevitavelmente a colocavam à cabeça do monstruoso, com todo o medo e poder que isso poderia implicar. Nos oceanos e nos mares, a baleia era o grande *peixe*, o que tudo destruía, e por isso o arquétipo do Leviatã (Laist 2017). O papel da baleia nas culturas clássicas medievais e renascentistas europeias está bem determinado, assim como a forma como era usada enquanto elemento do paradoxal: a que cria e a que afunda. Entre o real e o imaginário, a morfologia e as características fisiológicas da baleia propiciavam o espanto e as narrativas fantasistas, como as cantadas por Vicente: “Será bem que desd’o estreito/ vão em cima de baleas/ havendo à tal festa respeito/ cantando todas a eito/ cento e trinta mil sereias” (Camões 2002, versículos 305-509) – assim festivamente celebrando com exagerado tamanho, o dorso do animal, no qual se formavam, na realidade, verdadeiras ilhas que suportavam a vida no mar aberto.

E a fazer par com a baleia, na sua ambiguidade significativa e simbólica, a sereia. As sereias são símbolo do imaginário colectivo que remete para a antiguidade pré-clássica, que a época medieval e os períodos seguintes retomam regularmente atribuindo-lhe novos significados, tanto individual como colectivamente, de maneira contínua e transversal ao tempo e ao espaço. São híbridas no seu aspecto físico – desde a metade-mulher e metade-ave da Antiguidade, até à céltica, medieval e renascentista metade-mulher e metade-peixe –, assim como são híbridas e heterogéneas no seu significado, simbologia e representação no espaço (Peinado 2009).

Encarnam também algumas das características paradoxais do mar, patentes numa eterna contradição entre o perto e o longe, o ir e o ficar, o medo e a esperança, o desconhecimento e a expectativa. Nelas está também o mar físico e biológico representado, porque tudo aquilo que não se conhece, que está oculto, fica muitas vezes por dizer, por contar, por ilustrar, ou é “acabado” com retalhos de conhecimento prévio. A sereia e as suas representações masculinas e duplas – a sereia de cauda dupla ou o par sereia e tritão – surgem assim a povoar não apenas mitos e espaços em branco na cartografia, poesia, literatura, epopeias e teatro, mas também herbários, relatos de viagem e tratados de histórias gerais e naturais das diferentes partes do mundo que, a partir do século XV, se começam a desvendar.

Na realidade, a história natural das sereias – ou seja, o estudo da sua origem e da evolução do conhecimento sobre estes seres (religioso, simbólico ou de carácter naturalista) –, ao contrário da das espécies naturais, não pode ser compreendida apenas através dos métodos científicos (Carrington 1957). Exige, pelo contrário, um olhar múltiplo, abrangente e multidisciplinar.

A representação do mar em Gil Vicente: cortejos áulicos e seres marinhos

A água tem uma universalidade fulgurante na consolidação da imagem de poder de D. Manuel I neste início de século XVI. Por infeliz coincidência, o ano em que Gil Vicente sintetizava de maneira tão eloquente a cultura literária e artística, o empirismo natural e o mar como personagem material da iconologia régia foi também o último da vida do rei.

E se a *piscização* da corte e da cidade constitui um dispositivo teatral novo, usado com grande destreza pelo autor, quer enquanto instrumento de sátira social, quer enquanto ferramenta cénica – uma vez que parte da comicidade da peça se terá ficado a dever ao facto de os cortesãos e cortesãs presentes na representação se ouvirem descritos como criaturas e animais marinhos (Hart 1992, 54; Rodrigues 2004, 38) –, é a personagem do Mar, nas suas múltiplas extensões e significados, que sobressai neste texto, seja pela ausência de repetição em outras peças vicentinas, seja porque é reconhecido e exposto como intérprete que, a par da Providência, se sobrepõe à comodidade da tradição clássica.

E o mar ali revelado remete, a um tempo, para os oceanos Atlântico e Índico que as naus de D. Manuel I atravessavam e, a outro tempo, para o mar Mediterrâneo, onde o rei queria entrar e marcar presença constante (e.g., Tavares 2009, 639; Pinto 2018b; Pinto 2019).

Mares infinitos, plurais de ambientes e de espécies faunísticas, polvilhados por uma biodiversidade e abundância, muitas vezes difíceis de compreender e de explicar pelo olhar e a mente humana, enchem-se então com todo o tipo de seres, reais e fabulosos. Não são apenas sereias, tritões e afins, mas cavalos-marinhos, golfinhos e baleias, peixes-voadores, raias e tubarões, peixes diversos, conchas e búzios, algas, corais e marfins, todos a ocupar um espaço próprio do mundo imaginário mas também da vida mundana. As suas características de seres biológicos reais e bem conhecidos – uns oriundos das costas ocidentais europeias, outros do Mar Mediterrâneo, outros ainda das águas subtropicais e tropicais do Atlântico – são aqui recriadas.

O mar e as suas criaturas, bem como os seus ambientes naturais, comportamentos e hábitos, cores e tamanho e até o seu uso e paladares, aparecem pintados nos rostos e figuras de seres humanos. Ficam plasmados nas histórias, nos contos e nas lendas, nos poemas, nos sermões e nos folhetins (Brito e Costa 2016) dos seus representantes terrenos, senhores e senhoras de um contexto social também ele próprio e difícil de compreender para muitos, também ele estranho, desconhecido, distante e paradoxal.

Seres mitológicos e seres reais confundem-se, normalmente uns com os outros, aqui com seres humanos e as suas qualidades e formas de vida. São verdadeiras metáforas que se vão materializando no quotidiano, à medida que as referências literárias clássicas e o imaginário popular vão sendo substituídos pelo conhecimento científico que se começa a constituir como método na Europa do século XVI.

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FILIPA ARAÚJO*

“Co salgado Neptuno o doce Tejo”. The iconography of water in Portuguese royal festivities (17th century)**

Oceans, seas, rivers and many other water-related motifs are frequent in the iconography of the Ancient World, adopting often the figure of gods, nymphs, monsters and mythological creatures. These symbolic images served perfectly the visual display of natural strength and divine power. In fact, water has always been an inspiring element for poetic imagination, but it also plays an essential role in the very survival of communities, providing routes for transport and trade, besides employment and leisure activities (Shewring 2016, 1). It is therefore not surprising that water elements assumed an eloquent role in allegorical representations of political power, metaphorically associated with monarchies and individual leaders.

It is well known that maritime discoveries had a significant influence on Portuguese artistic expression, with special reference to the Manueline style. And it must not be forgotten that the adventure overseas made Lusitania meet universal Fame and supplied the central theme of its national epopee, which celebrates the powerful people “whom Neptune and Mars dared not disobey” (Camões 2015, I.3)¹. In this context, Camões used water symbolism, in order to glorify political leaders and national heroes, suggesting they were accomplishing divine orders.

* Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal.

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8772-3807>. E-mail: medeiros.filipa@gmail.com.

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1 “Que eu canto o peito ilustre Lusitano / A quem Neptuno e Marte obedeceram” (Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, I.3. 5-6).

The legendary origin of Lisbon was celebrated by poets and chroniclers, claiming that the location was named from Ulysses, who had founded the city after his long journey. It was therefore mentioned as a mythical place, inhabited by fantastical sea creatures and mythological figures². The historical facts reinforced the importance of water to Portuguese nation when the famous Portuguese navigators departed from Belém and therefore River Tagus became the symbol of the heroic discoveries and Lusitanian soul. Besides, the Alfândega (House of Customs) was located close to the river in order to manage the commercial traffic in the Atlantic, Africa and Orient. Additionally, from the 16th century on, the court moved to a palace in the riverside area, which definitely hosted the main stage for official events and royal entries. Lisbon dominated the maritime trade routes and this supremacy was naturally a perfect topic to highlight its power in royal festivals (Fernández González 2014, 414).

According to this perspective, a pertinent question can be raised: how did the victory of human skills over water inspired the representation of power considering the complex Portuguese political reality after 1580³? It was a period full of significant political events, which gave origin to spectacular court festivals, namely the royal entry of Philip II (1619); the royal wedding of Afonso VI (1666); the royal wedding of Peter II (1687) and the funeral ceremonies for Queen Maria Sofia (1699). These happenings were celebrated with huge, spectacular, sumptuous and very expensive public ceremonies, including a vast set of processions, triumphal arches, religious ceremonies, fireworks, waterborne events, vigil fires, dancing and popular shows (bullfighting, canes, competitions, comedies...).

The sumptuous battles in the river Tagus make evident that the iconography of water was related to rulers' propaganda in those circumstances. Waterborne events seem to have been quite popular during the Early Modern period, but there is still much

2 Damião de Góis (1502–1574) in his *Vrbis Olisiponis Descriptio* (1554) emphasized the cosmopolitan character of the city and he clearly mentions that a Triton had been spotted while singing on a beach near Colares, close to the banks of the River Tagus (Ruth 1996, 10–12).

3 After the disappearing of the young King Sebastian (1554–1578) in the battle of Alcázarquivir, leaving no heir, his uncle Henry (1512–1580) was led to the throne, but this short reign did not solve the dynastic crisis in Portugal. In spite of the local efforts to find an alternative sovereign, the Duke of Alba invaded the country and defeated Anthony (1531–1595), Prior of Crato, in the battle of Alcântara. On 16 April 1581, the Courts of Tomar recognized Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) as Philip I of Portugal, giving birth to the period known as the Iberian Union (1580–1640). The new ruler declared that Portugal would be governed by a six-member Portuguese council, maintaining the national courts and respecting all civil, military and ecclesiastical appointments. Besides, Philip I assured that the language, judicial system, coinage and military branches would remain autonomous from Spain. The consciousness of belonging to a common Iberian Culture made easier to accept the new circumstances and seduced a significant part of the Lusitanian nobility. Even so, a messianic cult related with the return of Sebastian (Sebastianism) arose and fed an important current of resistance, which was reinforced during the reign of Philip II (1598–1621), because this monarch did not respect the political conditions set by his father. The conflicts between the two countries became unbearable when Philip III (1605–1665) demanded excessive taxes and military support in order to face Spanish wars. In 1640, Portuguese independence was restored by the Duke of Braganza, later John IV (1604–1656). There is a long list of studies on this matter, among which Bouza Álvarez (2000) and Ramada Curto (2011) must be mentioned.

work to do on this research area, in order to study whether or not the water iconography reached a particular meaning in the context of ephemeral art related with Iberian empires, regarding the fact that both of them conquered and built a New World overseas. Spain proved to be an exception to the widespread practice of waterborne spectacles⁴. Portugal, on the contrary, organized some spectacular festivities on water, and two of them were specifically prepared for the royal entry of Habsburg monarchs, in 1581 and 1619⁵. This was definitely a great challenge taken by the political propaganda of that period.

The ceremonial entry on 29 June 1581 pursued the main purpose of showing the image that the ruler wished to exhibit through artistic display⁶. On the one hand, Philip I (1527-1598) wanted to convey the idea of a just, peace-seeking king. On the other, he needed to intimidate the recently dominated kingdom. Analyzing the festival, Fernández-González (2015, 95) states that "the heroic connotations of the water festival on the Tagus therefore aimed to present the prestigious sea force of Iberia and their domination of the Atlantic, now put to the service of King Philip." Even though the performance of sea battles in contemporaneous festivals was recurrent, the investment on the waterborne parade in that occasion emphasized the Spanish control over Portugal.

Some months after the battle in Alcântara and still recovering from a civil conflict, Lisbon sponsored a festival that the first ruler of the Iberian Union really enjoyed, keeping a painted memory of it in the Alcázar in Madrid. Adapting an official procedure already applied on other circumstances in Spanish territories⁷, the magnificent entry of Philip I into Lisbon (1581) definitely changed the layout of royal celebrations in Portugal. The iconographic programme included symbolic and emblematic devices, following the trend of political propaganda in Renaissance and Baroque festivities through Europe⁸.

The use of logo-iconic compositions in festival ephemeral art was widely spread abroad and triumphal arches had already been introduced in Portuguese celebrations, but the lack of records suggests that the entry of Philip I might have been pivotal to

4 Shewring 2016 presents a great diversity of spectacles and locations, discussing the political, social and cultural reverberations of such events in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe.

5 The River Tagus had already welcomed the ceremonial entries in the occasion of the reception of Queen Eleanor of Habsburg (1498-1558) in 1521. A similar event took place when prince John (1537-1554), the eighth son of King John III (1502-1557), married Joanna of Castile (1535-1573), in 1552. The official accounts however are not explicit about waterborne events, but they briefly mention naval inventions imitating sea creatures. The River Tagus represented the 'soul' of Lisbon and the epicenter of the Portuguese global empire, so it was the perfect aquatic stage for official receptions. See Fernández-González 2015, 89-95.

6 Contemporary accounts were printed in order to divulge the triumphal entry, namely due to Escobar (1583) and Velázquez Salmantino (1581). On this matter, see Alves (1986), Bouza Álvarez (2000), Fernández-González (2015, 87-114) and Megiani (2004).

7 On the manifestations of Spanish culture through Habsburg festivals in the territories of the whole empire see Ruiz (2012) and Checa Cremades (2015).

8 On Renaissance and Baroque festivals, see: Cholman (2015), Jacquot (1956, 1960, 1975), Landwehr (1971), Mínguez (2016), Mulryne and Goldring (2002), Mulryne (2004), Rodríguez Moya (2013), Strong (1984) and Watanabe-O' Kelly and Simon (2000). Consult also *The Renaissance Festival Book project of the British Library* (www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/homepage.html), which brought a relevant contribution in the field.

the dissemination of those devices in Lusitanian court feasts. However, the reception of emblematic models in Portugal can actually be tracked down many years before, thanks to significant evidences. Printed in Lyon, the first systematic commentaries to Alciato's *Emblemata* were written in Coimbra, around 1552, by Sebastian Stockhamer (c. 1530-c. 1590), an university student who accomplished them in answer to the request of a local nobleman, João de Meneses Sottomayor (c. 1500-c. 1550)⁹. As far as the current research has gone, it was impossible to identify traces of the circulation of Stockhamer's edition in Portugal, even though many contemporary authors seemed to be acquainted with Alciato (1492-1550) and emblematic gender¹⁰. These compositions became known within miscellaneous works and *loci communes*, often quoted by Renaissance and Baroque writers.

In 1596, Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo Castelo Branco (16th c.-17th c.) published the first collection of Lusitanian emblems¹¹, although they did not represent the canonical triplex structure, which conveyed a composition with moto, picture and epigram. Besides, contemporaneous theoretical writings suggest a widespread contact with the emblematic gender¹². Putting these concepts into practice, applied *ars emblematica* seems to offer the best representatives of the Portuguese skills in what concerns emblematic production. The study of this area counts on a various set of testimonies and resources, including: printed or manuscript descriptions of Baroque festivities; drawings and engravings illustrating ephemeral art, painted tiles and other pieces of visual arts. Decorated tiles are probably the most significant Portuguese donation to the world art and emblematic models have notably enriched this cultural heritage, as we can easily understand considering the case of Otto van Veen's emblem book¹³. Other examples could be mentioned and this remains a quite unexplored dominium of research.

9 These notes are confined to the first book, but paved the way for the extensive commentaries which would gradually be added in successive French and Flemish editions, such as those published by Plantin (Enenkel 2012, 149-218).

10 On the reception of emblematic models in Portuguese Baroque literature, see, for example, Gomes (2009) and Araújo (2014).

11 Apud *Discurso sobre a Vida, e Morte, de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal, & outras varias Rimas*, f. 93-109.

12 Among them, we have to highlight the manuscript left by Manuel Pires de Almeida, symptomatically entitled *Poetry and Painting or Painting and Poetry* (1633). This treaty discusses the similitudes and connections between the two arts, concluding that they are like twin sisters and look like each other to such an extent that "when someone writes he paints, and when someone paints he writes at the same time" (Muhana 2002, f. 51). The author suggested an interpretation of the motto *ut pictura poesis* through Aristoteles' assumptions, and instead of a comparison between both arts he proposed a mixed approach: *muta poesis, eloquens pictura*. The organization of the book leads to the section dedicated to emblematics, showing how the logo-iconic gender represents the master-piece of the principles there brought forward, because it is a mixed type of artistic composition.

13 Painter, poet, engraver and humanist, Otto van Veen (1556-1629) was the leading artist in Antwerp, until his pupil Rubens returned from Italy. In his later years, Vaenius turned to producing emblem books, notably *Q. Horatii Flacci emblemata* (1607), *Amorum emblemata* and *Amoris divini emblemata*. The first collection only contained Latin texts from classical authors (mainly Horace) with a facing-page showing an allegorical engraving. The different editions granted itself many purposes in a variety of cultures and countries. It circulated widely during 17th and 18th centuries and it was certainly one of the most widespread books of emblems, as it was copied and pirated in France, Spain, Italy and England. Besides the literary reception of the book, these emblems were used as a pictorial-source for decorative arts. There are three main examples of ceramic series

Considering ephemeral art, there is also a very promising universe of applied emblematics to be studied. Over recent years, many accounts and festival books have been lifted from oblivion, shedding a new light on the procedures and resources related to festive court celebrations in the Modern Period. These documents must however be read with some precaution, taking advice from Watanabe-O’ Kelly (2002, 23): “Festival books present the festival already pre-packaged, already interpreted. The iconography is spelled out for us, the political pretensions of the ruler are underlined. The festival itself will vanish, but this interpretation will last as long as books are read. Festival books are therefore not simple records of a festival, but another element in it”¹⁴.

Regarding the use of emblematic compositions in particular, the descriptions make clear that logo-iconic compositions carried an ideological message and had to be easily understandable to the heterogeneous public. Consequently, they often displayed common motifs and repeated the same ideas, using well-known images and short mottoes. Among them, one can select a meaningful *corpus* in order to demonstrate the rhetorical uses of the iconography of water, accordingly to the principles of *repraesentatio maiestatis* that played a crucial role in the context of royal festivals. These devices accomplished therefore the main purposes of the spectacular events: to praise the power of the king, to promote his virtues and to reinforce the connexion between the ruler and his people (Marin 2005).

The legitimation of the royal power became thus a very sensitive issue during the Portuguese 17th century. The Iberian Union prevailed until 1640 and, after the rebellion, the new dynasty of Braganza had to deal with severe international obstacles until King John IV (1604-1656) was recognized as the legal sovereign of the autonomous kingdom of Portugal. Royal festivities played then a very important role in order to establish a connection between the ruler and his people. Due to the political and social circumstances of the selected events, the comparative analysis of the use of water iconography in that context reveals particularly interesting, because it allows to wonder whether or not there are meaningful differences between the emblematic devices dedicated to Habsburg kings and the new dynasty of Braganza.

Previous festivals accounts usually don’t provide details on this matter, but the descriptions of the royal entry hold in 1581 carefully report some logo-iconic

inspired by Van Veen’s emblems: the cloister of the Franciscan convent in São Salvador (Bahia), the panels of Lisbon City Museum and the three panels, decorating a balcony in St. João de Deus’s Convent (Lisbon), painted around 1740, probably by Valentim de Almeida.

14 Festival accounts usually explained the program of the event. In this way, the official version conveyed important information – but not necessarily reliable – about guests, supplies, payments and procedures. It could be printed in a luxurious edition or distributed for free, as a souvenir, in a cheap format, depending on the author, the purpose and the investment involved. Thanks to textual descriptions and visual copies printed on festival books, it has been possible to rescue some devices from loss, demonstrating that religious and political power made an extensive use of emblematic language as an extraordinary rhetorical tool in the Early-Modern Europe festivals. Emblems then became a fundamental medium of political and spiritual propaganda, applied to several ephemeral forms and supports. See McCall Probes and S. Mödersheim (2014).

compositions¹⁵. The German Merchants' Arch, for example, bore a clear celebration of the Habsburg, using one of the most sophisticated ephemeral display in the festival. Velásquez Salmantino (1581, 119-120) describes it as a huge fortress, profusely decorated on all faces. On the façade turned to the sea, which Philip I saw firstly, there was a statue of the King, between Atlas and Neptune, with an inscription evoking the ruler "who extended catholic faith worldwide through land and sea"¹⁶. The maritime God also carried a panegyric text, reinforcing the royal power overseas: "Until now I was the comandant over the Oceans, now I deliver the sceptre up to you, Philip, and from now on there will be no more unpunished corsairs in my waves, neither bloody robberies"¹⁷.

Using this type of logo-iconic compositions, Philip I appeared in Lisbon as the universal ruler of lands and oceans. The layout was not quite original, but the format was attractive and easily understandable to people. So, that rhetoric strategy was successfully repeated in following events.

1. Royal entry of Philip II (1619)

On 29 June 1619, twenty-one years after his coronation, Lisbon could finally see Philip II (1578-1621, Philip III of Spain). The journey was carefully prepared regarding its political meaning, because the ruler knew how important it was to cause an imposing visual impact, in order to be remembered, admired and respected as the sovereign of both Iberian kingdoms. The royal entry involved a huge economical sacrifice, but the capital city of Portugal gave its best to impress and proudly show its value¹⁸. The spectacular event gave origin to many descriptions and Philip II ordered an official record, printed by the royal chronicler, João Baptista Lavanha (1550-1624), entitled *Viagem da Catholica Real Magestade del Rey D. Filipe II N. S. Ao Reyno de Portugal e relação do solene recebimento que nelle se lhe fez* (1622).

Decorating the title page, there is the allegoric representation of the river Tagus, next to the feminine figure of Lisbon (Ulissey), representing the spirit of Portuguese people and history¹⁹. This volume contains engraved illustrations of the magnificent arches raised in 1619, showing how the organizers of the public festival were well acquainted with the principles of the propagandistic strategies. The complex iconographic programme painted Philip II's governing qualities and pious virtues on amazing ephemeral structures. These artistic works embellished the main streets, squares and fountains,

15 These accounts mention the use of triumphal arches in Portuguese royal festivities at least since 1490, when prince Afonso (1475-1491), heir of John II (1455-1495), celebrated his marriage in Évora. On this matter, consult, for example, Pizarro Gómez (1987, 123-146).

16 "Catholicae fidei propagator orbe, mari et terra" (Guerreiro 1581, f. 11).

17 "Hactenus Oceani fueram moderatus habenas,/ Nunc eadem trado sceptra Philippe tibi./ Iam non praedo meis impune uagabitur undis,/ Post hac nec praedas sanguinolentus aget." (Guerreiro 1581, f. 11).

18 This is one of the most famous Iberian festivals and academic bibliography on this event is vast. However, some reference authors must be cited, such as Alves (1986), Benatti (2008), Bouza Álvarez (2000), Fernández-González (2014, 413-450), Kubler (1972, 105-127) and Megiani (2004).

19 On the symbolic meaning of rivers in Baroque literature, see Ferro (2012, 625-659).

following an itinerary which passed through the most important urban points, each of them representing local, religious and political powers: the city chambers, the cathedral and, finally, the royal palace. Arriving in his royal vessel, the monarch could enjoy a spectacular vista, observing the magnificent riverfront square, crowded with public, pageants, carriages and monumental pieces of ephemeral art. Lisbon was then a cosmopolitan trading center and had invested tremendous funds in the royal reception (Kubler 1972, 107). It was the meeting point between West civilization and East luxurious products, which travelled through the seas to reach the final destiny crossing Tagus²⁰.

Philip II landed thus at the Palace Courtyard (Terreiro do Paço) accompanied by a magnificent procession of richly decorated boats representing sea creatures, such as tritons, mermaids, whales, dolphins, seahorses “and other sea monsters ingeniously made” (Lavanha 1622, f. 8). The official account describes the arrival and contains a panoramic engraving of the scene, providing an eloquent image of the impressive spectacle. Close to the Customs House, located on the banks of the river, there was a magnificent portico holding the inscription “To Philip II of Portugal, Africa and Asia, Father of the Ocean”²¹, which clearly evoked the huge maritime empire ruled by the Lord of the two Iberian thrones.

The adventure overseas was actually a recurrent theme along the triumphal parade. The arch raised by the Merchants displayed a representation of the four continents, illustrating the universal power held by Philip II. There were images of mythological sea heroes (Ulysses and Jason) and many Portuguese historical warriors, like Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360-1463)²², besides other national heroes related to the Maritime Discoveries. The inner ceiling of the arch bore an image of the king, in front of whom Mars and Neptune knelt down, offering respectively a sword and the trident, below the motto “Everything obeys you”²³. Placed at the end of the New Street, the arch of the Goldsmiths exhibited the statue of Philip I with a golden sceptre in his left hand and two crowns in the right. Accompanied by Vasco da Gama (1469-1524) and Cristoforo Colombo (1451-1506), the main heroes of Portuguese and Spanish expansion, the father was offering both Iberian kingdoms to his successor. The Latin inscription expressed a valuable advice, suggesting that the loss of one of the thrones would necessarily lead the monarch

20 Lavanha (1622, 8r) describes Lisbon as a “World Condensed”, because of the wealth of their citizens and the concurrence of many nationalities that meet there, but this designation might also serve as an analogy for the interdisciplinary nature of the study of Renaissance and Early Modern festival culture (Checa Cremades 2015, 1).

21 “*PHILIPPO II LV SIT. AFR. ASIAT. OCEANICO PARENTI OPTI.*” (Lavanha 1622, f. 13).

22 The ancestor of the House of Braganza was an outstanding military leader, known also as the Holy Constable. When Ferdinand I (1383) died without an heir, Pereira supported the king’s illegitimate brother João of Aviz, later John I (1357-1433), against the claims of Ferdinand’s daughter Beatriz, married to John I of Castile, who invaded Portugal in January 1384. As commander-in-chief of the army, Nuno defeated the enemies until the final battle of Aljubarrota (1385). Pereira’s daughter married the first Duke of Braganza, Afonso (1377-1461), son of John I. After his wife’s death, Pereira became Friar Nuno de Santa Maria and he was canonized on April 26, 2009.

23 “*TIBI OMNIA CEDVNT*” (Lavanha 1622, 19v).

to ruin: “take these two crowns and remember you must keep both, because your empire will be ruined if you lose one of them”²⁴.

Finally, in the centre of the Palace Courtyard, the arch of the Germans depicted Neptune himself, holding his trident with the moon on the horizon (**fig. 1**). On the opposite side, there was the goddess Cybele with the sun. The inscription below claimed: “It is fair that the sun and the moon serve whom the Sea and Land gods obey”²⁵. According to Lavanha’s interpretation, these emblematic compositions represented Sea and Land, in order to praise Philip II, the powerful Lord of a global empire, from America to India.



1 Detail of the arch of the German Nation. Lavanha. 1622. *Viaje de la Catholica Real Magestad del Rei D. Filipe III N. S. al reino de Portugal*, f. 54v.
Source: <http://purl.pt/23283/4/353780>.

Recalling the layout of 1581, the German arch use the two elements to illustrate the universal Habsburg dominium. In this context, the iconography of water, through the figure of Neptune, evokes the greatest achievement reached by Spanish monarchs, at the same time it could represent Portuguese own deeds. The sophistication of the artefacts deployed in 1619 celebrations, additionally to the inclusion of fantastical sea and mythological creatures in waterborne events, bring to mind the legendary origins of Lisbon (Fernández – González 2015, 92). And it is nonetheless remarkable how ingenious were the logo-iconic compositions, because they allowed (or perhaps fostered) ambivalent readings. Through the emblematic allusions to maritime empire, Portuguese payed homage to Philip II and simultaneously remind him their own strength overseas, suggesting that Iberian Union meant an alliance between two kingdoms, more than a submission. This festival provides therefore a significant example of the use of *ad hoc* emblems, some

24 “ACCIPE DO GEMINAS, PARITER SERVARE MEMENTO CORRIVET IMPERIVM, SI RVAT VNA, TVVM” (Lavanha 1622, 48).

25 “TELLVRI SQVE MARISQVE SIMVL, CVI NVMINA PARENT, LVNAQVE SOLQVE SIMVL, LEX EST FAMVLENTVR” (Lavanha 1622, f. 56v).

of them inspired by printed books that codified Habsburg iconography and internationalized their image (Checa Cremades 2015, 7). Besides, the use of water motifs shows how inventive could be the adaptation of those models to fit a specific context.

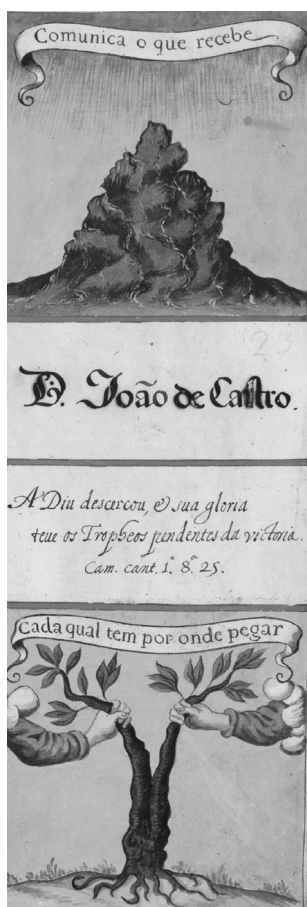
2. Royal wedding of Afonso VI and Maria Francisca Isabel of Savoy (1666)

In the aftermath of the events of 1 December 1640, Lusitanian people acclaimed the Duke of Braganza as King John IV, restoring the Portuguese monarchy and putting an end to sixty years of Habsburg reign. From 1641 to 1668 the two nations fought each other: Spain trying to keep its universal supremacy and Portugal hoping to maintain its independence through political alliances and colonial resources. Queen Luísa de Guzmán (1613-1666) assumed the regency in 1656, but, six years after, the young and rebel prince heir moved her away from the government, in the sequence of a palace coup. Recent historic circumstances taught Portuguese court how important was to assure royal offspring as soon as possible, even if Afonso VI initially showed some resistance to that official duty.

More than a century after the last royal wedding, on 29 August 1666, Lisbon prepared a luxurious festival to welcome the new Queen, Maria Francisca Isabel (1646-1683), from the House of Savoy. There were fantastic ephemeral buildings, triumphal arches and ingenious compositions, in order to create the image of a golden era around the new dynasty, although Afonso VI (1643-1683) was far from being a model of political virtue. The festive programme designed by the Secretary of State António Sousa de Macedo (1606-1682) clearly aimed to disclose the idea of a new period of peace and prosperity, relating it with the figure of the King, according to the strategies of political propaganda within Baroque courts. After the triumphal entries of the two Spanish monarchs, Lisbon finally celebrated the wedding of a Portuguese ruler and the city did not spare money nor efforts to commemorate *urbi et orbe* the restoration of independence, despite the fact that the war against Spain was not yet ended. The union of Afonso VI and Mademoiselle d'Aumale, goddaughter of Louis XIV (1638-1715), marked the first spectacular event of the recently empowered Braganza dynasty and formalised the political alliance between Portugal and France.

The water coloured album entitled *Festas que se fizeram pelo casamento del Rey D. Affonso VI*²⁶ invites the reader to imagine how sumptuous was the spectacular apparatus involved in the ceremonies. Considering the political and propagandistic purposes of the event, it is expected that Portuguese glorious achievements overseas played a distinguished role in the iconographic programme and provided inspiration for several logo-iconic compositions. The arch of the Merchants, for instance, represented many heroes of the maritime expansion, reinforcing the national pride, stimulating the popular support and calling for future success.

26 This is a precious manuscript kept in the library of the Ducal Palace of Vila Viçosa, the seat of the House of Braganza. There is available a facsimile version, edited by Xavier (1996).



2 Emblem on the arch of the Merchants, *Festas que se fizeram pelo casamento del Rey D. Affonso VI*, f. 23.

Manuscrito da Biblioteca do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa.
Photo credit: author.

Focusing on the golden period before the Spanish domination, that magnificent arch located in the New Street (Rua Nova) evoked eight heroic figures of the national history directly related to the conquest of the seas during maritime Discoveries. Each composition combined the name of a famous navigator or governor, such as Vasco da Gama, with a subscription made of selected verses from *The Lusíads*. In the top and in the bottom of each panel, there was the emblematic representation of political virtues. This set obviously paid tribute to national heroes as inspiring models to the sovereign, at the same time it brought to light the glorious Portuguese past, previous to Iberian Union. The festival aimed to delete all the memories of that dark period, emphasizing Lusitanian golden eras. According to the thematic context of maritime victories, some logo-iconic compositions displayed motifs that were related to sea water, like the image of the ship held by two anchors under the motto “Mais firme está sobre duas” (“it is safer over two”). It illustrates the political union between Portugal and France against Spain, their common enemy. On the next panel, water represents divine gifts with the image of rain sent from the sky accompanied by the motto “comunica o que recebe” (“share what you receive”). This composition seems to legitimate the royal mission entrusted to Afonso VI, demonstrating that the ruler had to use the power delegated by Divine Providence for people’s benefit (fig. 2).

Triplex emblematic compositions were also displayed on a series devoted to the Portuguese-French alliance, designed for an unidentified arch. Bearing the lemma *Successio firma*, on top of an image depicting an anchor attached to a caravel docked close to a city, there is an emblem representative of the Queen. It creates a wordplay based on her family name in Portuguese, Saboya (Savoy), phonetically equivalent to the expression “nossa boia” (“our float”). The following poetic stanza, which clearly imitates Camonian style and format in *The Lusíads*, explains the meaning of the

logo-iconic device. It repeats the idea that Maria Francisca Isabel was bringing safety and hope to Portugal, not only because she was connected to Louis XIV, but also because she could give birth to an heir of the throne, ensuring the “stable succession” mentioned by the motto (Xavier 1996, f. 25).

Contrary to the analysed examples from Habsburg entries, these emblematic devices deal with objective images of water, depicting rain, rivers and seas to represent royal power but also aquatic natural strength. This option seems to suggest that the young couple would be able to control both, leading the new dynasty and Portuguese nation to a period of justice, peace and prosperity. Thanks to divine protection and human skills, Portugal had settled a huge maritime empire, so it is perfectly understandable that, in 1666, the iconographical programme of the festival recalled the Lusitanian conquests overseas. It repeated – perhaps intentionally – the same topic used by Habsburg propaganda, using different logo-iconic elements, which reflected each national heritage. After all, Iberian kingdoms had once divided the whole world and kept fighting each other for the title of “Lord of the biggest empire overseas”.

3. Royal wedding of Peter II and Maria Sofia of Neuburg (1687)

Two years after the ephemeral spectacle previously mentioned, Afonso VI was dethroned by the action of his own brother, who took his kingdom and his wife. But the Queen Maria Francisca could only give birth to one female heir and the new dynasty was therefore in danger. When his wife died, king Peter II was forced to marry soon because the political situation was very sensitive and, consequently, it required an even more sophisticated political festival²⁷.

There are plenty of testimonies describing the event and they make clear the repeated use of water iconography, which is a good signal of its propagandistic relevance²⁸. On 11 August 1687, the German Queen arrived in a luxurious brigantine and the court was expecting her in the marvellous bridge, next to the pier. According to the manuscript account entitled *Descrição da sumptuosa e magnífica ponte, que se fabricou para o desembarque da augustíssima rainha de Portugal D. Maria Sofia Isabel*, there was erected a triumphal arch with four sides, three levels and a dome. The south façade represented the four continents and the east frontage was dedicated to the four elements, each of them with three specific emblems, constituted by motto, picture and epigram.

27 The Queen arrived on 11 August 1687 and the festivities extended to the 25th October. The organization of this propagandistic event aimed to praise the monarch, fostering the international affairs, and celebrate the Portuguese glories. Consequently, the iconographic program often made allusion to the maritime discoveries, using the images of previous kings and verses taken from *The Lusiads* (Borges 1986, 110).

28 Antonio Rodrigues da Costa (1694) published a full description of the arrangements. The well known manuscript *Fênix de Portugal Prodigiosa* offers beautiful drawings of the cars and ephemeral works built for the royal festivities, many of them reproducing sea creatures, Tritons and Neptune (Sider 1997). The Jesuit João dos Reis (1687?) drew an album which shows the fireworks prepared on the occasion and the maritime theme becomes evident once again.

The representation of water bore the inscription “Tell your king that Fortune offered the Queen the power of our ocean and the cruel trident”²⁹. The first emblem presented the motto “fertility of Her Serenity the Queen”³⁰, depicting a group of tritons with shelves above the subscription: “This one will give pearls born from the joyful waves”³¹. Maritime universe with its fantastic creatures appears thus as a symbol of fecundity, which was a very important matter in royal weddings. The second composition held the motto “*Lusitaniae desiderium*” (“Love of Portugal”), showing a woman between a river and the sea, to whom she was leaning forward, as if she wanted to drink its water. The subscribed text was taken from Virgil (*Buc.* V. 47): “She doesn’t want to quench her thirst from the river, she desires and leans forward the sea”³². This is an easily understandable allusion to Portuguese maritime discoveries, using the feminine figure to create an allegorical picture which would also resemble Lisbon or Lusitania, often depicted with Tagus and Atlantic Ocean. The third emblem bore the motto “*Serenissimae Reginae pulchritudo*” (“The beauty of Her Serenity the Queen”), with a picture of a fountain pouring water into a pond, where Narcissus admired his own reflection. Statius clearly inspired the verses below: “In this crystalline water, Narcissus, you can see yourself even better”³³, suggesting that royal image would reflect on the Queen and give prominence to her beauty. In this particular context, water symbolizes Queen’s fertility, love and beauty³⁴.

In the upper part of the same arch, there were fourteen allegoric statues of virtues. Above them, figures of old men hold big jars with water flowing from inside. They represented the main four rivers which cross Portuguese lands: Tagus, Mondego, Douro and Minho, depicted as symbols of beauty, strength, loyalty and wealth (Costa 1694, 162-163)³⁵. A similar allegorical set of the same rivers was displayed on the arch of the Germans (**fig. 3**), according to the album entitled *Copia dos Reaes Aparatos* (1687?, f. 20), drawn by the Jesuit João dos Reis (1639-1691). Next to a luxurious group of six emblems, representing Fame, Happiness, Hope, Wellness, Fortune and Peace (Costa 1694, 258-259), the presence of the four rivers which fertilize Lusitanian soil is clearly an illustration of Portuguese soul and power.

29 “*Haec regi dicite vestro, Haud nobis pelagi imperium, saevumque tridentem, Reginae sed sorte datum*” (Coimbra, f. 90).

30 “*Serenissimae Reginae foecunditas*” (Coimbra, f. 90).

31 “*Gemmarum quidquid felicibus undis, Nascitur, una dabit*” (Coimbra, f. 90). Cf. Tibullus, II, v.15.

32 “*Nequit illa sitim restinguere rivo/ Prona petit Maria*” (Coimbra, f. 90).

33 “*Hic te perspicuum melius, Narcise, videres*” (Coimbra, f. 90).

34 See also Costa 1694, 148-150.

35 Each of these images bore an inscription: Tagus “*Iam fluit unda Tagi multo pretiosior auro/ Cum pretiosa suo est vecta Sophia vado*” (“More precious than plenty of gold, the waves of Tagus flow, when precious Sophie was carried in his water”); Mondego “*Stellifero qui Monda cadit de vertice, plantas/Amne, Sophia, tuas dum petit, astra subit*” (“Mondego, which falls from the starry peak, reaches the sky when desires your plants in the river”); Douro “*Fertur arundineis formosus Duria ripis/ Pulchrior adventu, Pulchra Sophia, tuo est*” (“Douro is said to be pretty thanks to his banks of reeds, and after your arrival, beautiful Sophie, he is even more beautiful”); Minho “*Gurgite qui Minius duo dividit inclyta regna,/ Subiicit imperiis utraque Regna tuis*” (“Minho, who splits the two famous kingdoms in the gulf, places under your rules both kingdoms”).



3 River Tagus and Minius. Detail of arch of the German Nation, João Reis. 1687?.
Copia dos reaes aparatos, f. 20. Source: <http://purl.pt/26151>

Water iconography in this festival included furthermore the image of Neptune, the well-known roman God of the sea. The triumphal arch raised by the English nation, for example, displayed a portrait of Peter II, between Mars, who was offering him a sword, and Neptune, who was giving him his trident as a gift³⁶. On the top, a couple of angels delivered two crowns, holding banners with the inscription: “To the ruler of Earth and Sea, the most powerful in both kingdoms”³⁷. This emblematic composition focuses on the submission of Neptune, using a logo-iconic structure very similar to the ones held in Habsburg royal entries into Lisbon. As already noticed, the arch of the Merchants, in 1619, showed Neptune and Mars paying obeisance to Philip II, exactly as the composition painted in 1687, bearing similar inscriptions and sharing the same purpose of representing royal dominium over large territories, thanks to the maritime discoveries. In fact, the repetition of topics and even the reuse of ephemeral structures was a frequent practice. But the imitation of this iconographical device, which perfectly fit both Iberian monarchs, establishes an intertextual dialogue that emphasizes the equilibrium between them, and the new dynasty of Braganza probably wanted to put that idea on public view.

Analyzing the emblematic figurations of water in the context of these festivities hold in 1687, it becomes clear that they represent royal virtues, Lusitanian identity and maritime power. In this way, they perfectly matched the propagandistic purposes of the iconographic programme, especially designed to praise Peter II and pay tribute to Portuguese glorious history, erasing the phantasm of Iberian Union.

36 According to the manuscript account written by Manuel Nogueira Souza (1687, f. 1-22), King Peter II used a luxurious boat decorated with the image of Neptune and the same God was painted on the arches built by the Flemish nation, the English people and the Carpenters.

37 “*Soli, salique moderatori: Ab utroque magnus*” (Costa 1694, 256).

4. Funeral ceremonies for Queen Maria Sofia (1699)

Twelve years and seven children after, Portugal organized sumptuous funeral ceremonies for the Queen Maria Sofia, who was buried in the precise day of her 33rd birthday. Many cities organized exequies, giving origin to impressive pieces of ephemeral art, such as the mausoleum built by the Congregation of the Oratory in Lisbon, which displayed a very interesting series of emblematic devices (Pereyra 1699)³⁸. Besides, Sebastião de Fonseca e Payva published a poetic account describing the funeral ceremonies hold in the royal convent of Palmela, paying special attention to the mausoleum. It bore eight emblems on its basis, as the author explains in the sonnet placed in the beginning of the *Relaçam* (Payva 1699, 7).

Each logo-iconic composition included a framed *picture*, an extended motto and a variable number of stanzas as *subscriptio*, in the following page. These verses explain the meaning of the related emblem, but it doesn't become clear if they took part in the iconographic programme of the ceremonies or only joined the printed version. Among a heterogeneous series of funeral motifs (such as flowers, the sun, an eagle...), one of the emblems takes the image of a ship in the ocean (**fig. 4**). The long motto advances the metaphor, which is in the basis of the composition: "This one, who had once made the journey with favourable wind, passed away, when she was safer than ever"³⁹.

Considering that Maria Sofia had actually arrived in Lisbon by boat and was received with a luxurious waterborne event, this emblematic device suggests a special meaning. It obviously represents the passage to eternal life, echoing a well-known metaphor of death as a non-return trip, but it also reminds that, coming from the sea, Queen Maria Sofia had brought hope, joy and wealth to Portugal.

How did the iconography of water relate to rulers' propaganda in Portuguese 17th century royal festivals?

The empire overseas and the related supremacy in international trade had a crucial impact on Portuguese social development, political affairs, economic circumstances and urban life in the metropolis. Consequently, the presence of water elements in the iconographical programme of royal festivities is a reflection of the importance of the aquatic element in the representation of political power.

The spectacular use of waterborne events gained particular brightness in the festivals staged in Lisbon for Philip I and his son (Fernández-González 2014, 414). The efficient methods of Habsburg propaganda definitely contributed to improve Portuguese festival culture after 1581, but local artists learned how to implement an iconographical

38 Emblematic devices also played an important role in the context of these magnificent festivities, showing that not only Jesuit colleges were acquainted with *ars emblematica*. It proves furthermore that it was not a language exclusively used by official mechanisms of royal propaganda (Medeiros 2013).

39 "Esta que já fez jornada com vento em popa algum dia, quando mais segura hia, então se viu soçobrada" (Payva 1699, 14).



4 Funeral emblem for Queen Maria Sofia. Paiva. 1699. *Relaçam da magnifica, e sumptuosa pompa fvneral*, f. 14. Source: <http://purl.pt/23283/4/353780>.

programme, which combined local traditions and international models. Such ceremonies, mainly performed in the Palace Courtyard (Terreiro do Paço), showed that the ancestral connection between Lisbon, Tagus and Ocean was not merely geographic. In fact, it was based on the historical heritage, which gave origin to an elaborated logo-icomic language, used in the layout of royal festivities, in order to celebrate Portuguese deeds.

The relevance of water iconography in what concerns the representation of the Portuguese nation is also attested in sponsored arches in European festivals. The *Descriptio publicae gratulationis*, for example, provides a detailed account of the triumphal entry of Prince Ernest in Antwerp and shows how the allegoric images of four main rivers (Ganges, Hydaspes, Tagus and Plata) were depicted in the Lusitanian arch. These figures illustrated the universal impact of the Portuguese empire, then ruled by Philip I. In the top of the structure, there was Neptune holding his trident and showing the armillary sphere symbol of Lusitania on the other hand (*Descriptio* 1595, 76-77).

Similar water motifs were applied in the court festivals hold in Lisbon, as the *corpus* here collected demonstrates. Aquatic iconography included not only rivers, but also maritime symbols (ships, trident, anchors...), heroes of the expansion overseas, Neptune, sea monsters and mythological creatures (Jason, Ulysses). Thus, rivers usually symbolize fertility, character and beauty. Neptune, Tritons and mythological figures with their accompanying symbols represent the natural power of water, which was controlled

by Portuguese people. The allusion to overseas discoveries embodies, furthermore, the glorious history and economical power of the Lusitanian empire. Making use of international models (mainly Spanish) and adapting them to a specific context, Portuguese festival programmes manifest forms of hybridization characteristic of a globalized society. Emblematic compositions related to water provide thus a good example of this technic, because they reflected international codes and reinforced the rhetorical power of royal image.

Following this perspective, Lusitanian royal festivities in the 17th century wisely used the iconography of water in different ceremonies, which aimed to set a place for communication between the ruler and the ruled, at a very sensitive period of dynastic change. Applying well-known motifs and the popular logo-iconic language, in order to empower the image of the King of either side of the sea, “*whom Mars and Neptune dared not disobey*”, the iconographic programmes aimed to foster international alliances and display abroad the idea of a flourishing dynasty. In this way, the rhetoric impact of the festive propagandistic speech could reach a larger public, emphasizing the power of the King who dominated over a huge empire submitted to Lisbon, the city where the “*Salgado Neptuno*” (“salty Neptune”) met the “*doce Tejo*” (“Sweet Tagus”; Camões 2015, IV. 84).

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DIANA ANDREA BLICHMANN*

“Io son de l’acque il Nume”¹: God of the rivers – God of the sea? Neptune in Italian Baroque Stage Performances and Its Different Meaning in Rome and Venice

In the history of opera, the deity Neptune has played an essential role, and this centrality is evident in more than just the well-known *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria* (1640) by Claudio Monteverdi or in the *Idomeneo* (1781) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Bourne 2010, 135-135, 206 and Angermüller 2006). Since the creation of this genre the Sea God was present on the Italian stage (Appendix 1), but rarely has his function and meaning been exhaustively discussed¹. While many religious figures have featured prominently in the arts, generally, a systematic examination of divinities in opera is pending for Neptune. Were there specific centers of opera in which producers made regular use of certain gods? What was the cause of the increased use of divine characters in certain localities? Was there a cultural relationship between the circumstances of a given performance and the representation of particular gods or dependence on specific deities as the subjects of the drama? In which works and where (text or paratext) did they appear? The following contribution will address Neptune, starting from a summary of the Poseidon-Neptune-Myth. It will then focus on the different meanings of Neptune, especially in Rome and Venice. The findings will lead to the conclusion that the earliest uses of the figure, story,

* Researcher, Italy.
E-mail: dianablichman@yahoo.de.

1 Recently, Mitchell Cohen has published a study in which he presents case studies explaining how opera addressed politics and political ideas directly and indirectly. In the chapter “Revealing Ulysses” he analyses the character of Neptune, that “in the Badoar-Monteverdi rendering, puts much stronger stress on the utterly negative consequences of human free will. The gods will be wounded if they do not use their powers and punish as they should. Pity will become weakness” (Cohen 2017, 110).

or 'cult' of Neptune symbolized fertility in Roman performances, while later versions suggest the myth of Venice.

The Dichotomy of Early and Late Versions of Poseidon and Neptune

In Greek mythology, Poseidon, one of the twelve Olympian gods, was the son of Cronus and Rhea. When the world was divided between Poseidon and his brothers by drawing lots, Poseidon received the earth and the ocean, Zeus obtained the heaven, and Hades inherited the underworld. Accordingly, in the early mythology, Poseidon was not merely the God of the Sea. Poseidon's name signifies 'Lord of the Earth' and since he was believed to be the consort of the Goddess of Agriculture, Demeter, Poseidon was also considered the God of the Earth. From storms to floods, from cataclysms to the birth of new rivers, Poseidon was the symbol of the power of nature and those very forces that emerge from both earth and sea. His appearance meant earthquakes or thunderstorms. However, early Greeks also invoked the name of Poseidon to prevent earthquakes (Lauffer 2008, 600-604 and also Bremmer and Bäbler 2012, 1194-1195).

In the later mythology, Poseidon appears exclusively as the ruler of the oceans and the rivers. Poseidon fell in love with Halo and generated six sons and a daughter. He was then married to the nymph Amphitrite, a personification of the surging sea, and, according to Homer, lived with her in a palace built of 'gleaming gold' in the abyss of the Aegean Sea. Therefore, the Greeks prayed to Poseidon for kindness while they were at sea (George 2008, 64). Homer presents Poseidon driving his chariot over the waves, followed by monstrous sea creatures dear to him, by tritons (sea gods) and nereids (a group of sea nymphs), dolphins, and fishes. Poseidon controlled the monsters of the deep, and was also able to restrain winds, cause heavy storms, and smash ships. Conversely, he was also seen as the protector of shipping, calming the sea surface with his hands.

Significantly, Poseidon was also the god of horses, horse breeding, and racing. He also shared the unpredictability of his favorite animal. Together with Medusa, who was the most formidable of the three Gorgons, Poseidon created Pegasus. Poseidon is therefore strongly related to the myth of Bellerofonte (Cerinotti 2003, 94-96 and Desautels 2005, 120, 276, 407). The cult of Poseidon 'hippio' ('equestrian') was also associated with the introduction of horses and chariots from Anatolia to Greece in the early 2nd century B.C. (Burkert 1985, 136-139).

Poseidon's weapon was the trident, which was often compared to lightning. With the trident he churned up calamity on both sea and mainland. His trident could shatter rocks, extract springs from the ground, open new valleys, and destroy the walls of the Greek camp outside Troy. In this context, Poseidon, as a universal god, could become a dangerous and stubborn opponent, empowered with the most frightening abilities found in man and nature. In ancient Greece he was assigned to chaos, considered ill-tempered and vengeful. He embodied the violence of the sea storm and was associated with capriciousness and inexorable brutality.

The Roman name Neptune is derived from the Sanskrit ‘apām nāpat’, which is loosely translated as ‘descendant of the waters’ (Bonnefoy 1992, 138). Initially, he was considered the God of the country waters in the western Roman provinces and associated with freshwater, including lakes, rivers, and springs. In Rome Neptune was worshiped during his own two-day festival, the so-called Neptunalia. This festival was celebrated every year in July (Varro n.d., VI.19), when water was scarcest. Romans celebrated the Neptunalia feast, in order to ask for water in the summer drought. The Neptunalia were dedicated to the conservation of waters. As the ruler of sweet water, he was also connected with fertility.

In 399 B.C. Poseidon was introduced in ancient Rome (Angermüller 2006, 630). The temple built in his honor in 220 B.C. was situated near the Roman Circus Flaminius with a sculptured group of marine deities proving the relevance of the Poseidon cult². This Greek influence plunged Neptune, like Poseidon before him, into the open sea. He became a sea god equated to Poseidon. In Rome, Neptune was firstly the God of the waters, the tide, and everything flowing and streaming, but also the God of the longed-for rain clouds, the sinking springs, the lakes and rivers and only after the god of the sea (Bonnefoy 1992, 138).

A significant difference between the Roman Neptune and the Greek Poseidon is their female partner. Poseidon is married to Amphitrite. Neptune instead had two *paredrae*³, Salacia and Venilia, that appear as nymphs and deities of the circle of Neptune, which are also identified with Venus, the Goddess of love, fertility and prosperity. Salacia and Venilia represent the juxtaposed, overwhelming and calming aspects of water during the high and the low tide; gushing water and still water (Bonnefoy 1992, 138 and Fowler 1911, 483-85). Furthermore, in addition to being the sole female divinity of the sea, Salacia was also worshipped as the Goddess of salt water, an element of survival and commercial exchange in the ancient world⁴.

Neptune on Stage – the General Meaning

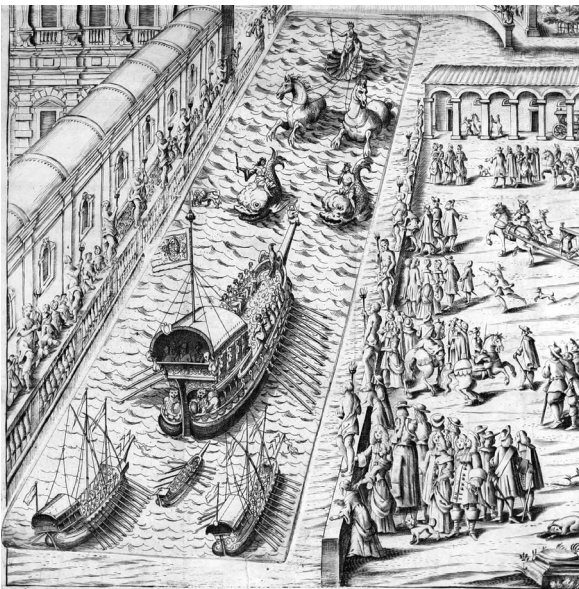
Throughout Art History Neptune is primarily seen as the God of the Sea. He stands with one foot either on a rock, a ship’s bow, or upon a fish. His hand often carries his trident, while his free hand holds a tuna, a dolphin, or is positioned on the hip. Typically, he is portrayed as naked or clothed with a Greek *chiton* gown, or a folded coat over his shoulders (Angermüller 2006, 630). In the history of Italian Baroque opera the different

2 Ball Platner 1929, 360-361. A basilica of Neptune, that rose close to the Pantheon, was built by Marco Vipsanius Agrippa in 25 B.C. to celebrate Neptune’s naval victories. Ibid., 81.

3 A *paredro* is a minor deity whose cult is associated with another deity, generally of greater importance and of opposite sex. A *paredro* embodies various important aspects or powers of this associated god. The term, of Greek origin, means “someone sitting next to it”.

4 In his commentary to the *Aeneid*, Servius writes about Salacia (V 724), stating that she was called Venus Goddess of mercenary women by the ancients: “(Venus) dicitur et Salacia, quae proprie meretricum dea appellata est a veteribus”. He also writes that Salacia and Venilia are the same entity. Ibid., 483.

representations of Neptune are reflected in dramatic texts and opera performances⁵. Neptune is present in operas and on stage in various Italian cities of the Baroque era (Appendix 1) (fig. 1)⁶. It is important to highlight that Neptune's presence is twice as great in the seventeenth century as compared to the eighteenth century. From Hamburg to Palermo and from Lisbon to Saint Petersburg, Neptune was among the key characters in mythological and historical operas. It is also important to note that Neptune – when he is part of historically-based performances – is often banished from the drama and appears in the prologue, in the scenography, or the intermedio; while, Neptune when participating in mythologically-based plots, is an integral part of the drama.



1 Anonymus. Engraving from *La schiavitù fortunata di Nettuno* (Piazzola 1685). Libretto by Francesco Maria Piccioli, music by Domenico Freschi. Url: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/internetarchivebookimages/14579027769>. Source: Flickr.

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- 5 Alazard offers a useful overview of the musical fortunes of Neptune in the previous period (Alazard 2007, 67-88).
- 6 Although the search was exhaustive, it is possible that this listing is not complete. Some of these texts were published with engravings. These of *La schiavitù fortunata di Nettuno* (Piazzola, 1685) (vid. fig. 1) shows Neptune with crown and trident on his shell pulled by two seahorses. The engraving in *La Discordia superata* (Ferrara, 1635, 30-31) shows Amphitrite with her cavaliers, among those Neptune. For *L'Orione* (Milan, 1653) see Daolmi and for *Il favor degli dei* (Parma, 1690) see for example Heller n.d.

Among all the cities mentioned in Appendix 1, Neptune served centrally in stage performances in Venice and in Rome, the city of his mythological origin. Due to his primacy in these two cities, we now focus our attention on Neptune in these two centers of the theatrical arts. The comparison between Rome and Venice is also interesting as the location of the two cities is quite different: one is located inland and on the Tiber River, the other situated on the Adriatic Sea coast. This raises the question of the difference in Neptune’s status in Rome vice Venice and a subsequent study of why and in what way.

Appendix 2 details the most significant examples of Roman and Venetian dramatic literature featuring Neptune, allowing for different observations about his inclusion in Baroque stage performances in Rome and Venice: There is clear evidence that Neptune was more frequent on stage in Venice than in Rome. He was present not only in operatic performances, but also in other dramatic or musical genres published and performed in Rome⁷ and Venice⁸. As Appendix 2 highlights the historical subjects in both cities are far less frequent than mythological subjects.

The second observation is that the appearance of Neptune on stage in the 17th and early 18th centuries can be considered a sensational performative event. His presence is mainly bound to other sea creatures. In particular, he is often accompanied by marine nymphs [Appendix 2, no. 3, 8, and 10]⁹, scaly tritons, and glaucous [3, 11, 12, 14, and 18] or marine monsters [2, 7, 15, and 17]. Sometimes his court of marine beings is not specified, like in performances of *La vittoria nella costanza* (1702) [15] e *Il Dafni* (1705) [16] or in *Totila* (1677) [12], Neptune “who represents the water in a vehicle” (“*figura l’acqua in machina*”) arrives with his followers. Neptune appears on stage almost always with spectacular effects, except when his personage is included in the drama [6, 8, 9, 10].

Neptune’s stage appearance varies. The first, and least common type of Neptune’s character is as the God of the Earth, like in *Hero e Leandro* (1630) [20], where he breaks a bridge, strikes the waters, and creates an island with his trident. The second most common type is Neptune’s appearance on his chariot pulled by tritons and monsters [2, 18¹⁰]

7 For instance, in 1666 Rome Bartolomeo Beverini published the “Poesie” and dedicated it to Cristina of Sweden within a musical concert entitled *Il porto della libertà*. Neptune recites verses in which he describes himself as the numen of the waters, the holder of the scepter, and the creator of the treacherous winds and storms (Beverini 1666, 250-267 and Franchi 1988, 363). In the rhymes by Giovanni Battista Grappelli dedicated to Gregorio Boncompagni, Duke of Sora, was published the cantata *Nettuno e Tritone*. During the occasion of Pope Innocence XII’s trip to the Port of Nettuno near Rome, the author pays homage to the seas of the world, and to the rivers of Lazio (Grappelli 1697, 210-213 and Franchi 1988, 723-724). Together with Alba and Iride, Neptune recites in the May 1706 musical idyll *Le rose dell’Alba* that was presented in the Palace of Tomaso Ruffo for his promotion to Cardinal. The libretto is not known (Franchi 1997, 43-44).

8 In Venice, for the opening night of the 1726 comedy season at San Samuele was represented an introduction to the performances of the comedy troupe (*Introduzione alle recite della truppa de’ comici*). Following the rituals used in Venice since sixteenth century, Adria, seated on a conch shell pulled by two marine monsters, sought her king, Neptune. In 1736 for the same occasion Carlo Goldoni’s *La fondazione di Venezia* elevated and reified the earlier “sea” *topos* of Neptune and Jupiter (Selfridge-Field 2007, 569-570, 573).

9 Here and in the following paragraphs numbers between [] refer to the Appendix 2.

10 For a more detailed discussion of the appearance of Neptune and Minerva in *Telemaco* (Rome, Teatro Capranica 1718) and their significance in the opera of Alessandro Scarlatti see Blichmann 2020 (forthcoming).

or accompanied by marine gods [15]. In *Carlo, re d'Italia* (1682) [14], where seahorses pull the chariot, it is interesting to note that on the water's surface the back of a great orca could be seen, opening its mouth, from which Neptune, Proteus, Glaucus, Tritons, and the personification of Fortune emerge. Neptune's chariot is occasionally substituted with a seashell (similar to fig. 1), alluding to Neptune's connection to Venus/Salacia. Conversely, Neptune, in *Aurora in Atene* (1678) [13], appears together with Venus and Aurora. The two goddesses rise above the seashell of Neptune and depart on the machine of *amoretti*. The assembly of Neptune and his consort, also in the role of (Poseidon's) Amphitrite, was represented in *Il Dafni* (1705) [16]. At the end of the drama, Neptune exits the sea accompanied by Amphitrite and his followers. With its large wagon occupies the perspective part of the scene. On one side arrive Pluto and Proserpina with his court, on the other Cibeles with the terrestrial deities. Jupiter appears in the air with Juno surrounded by his celestial cortege. The last chorus is celebrated by the Deities of the waters, of the earth, of hell, of the sky and expresses the common joy for the honor received by Dafni in being immortal (*Il Dafni*, cf. Appendix 2 no. 16, 21-22.). The most impressive of all descriptions of Neptune contained in the *libretti* was probably that of *L'Andromeda* (1637) [7].

[...] Sparita la tenda si vide la scena tutta mare; con una lontananza così artificiosa d'acque e di scogli, che la naturalezza di quella (ancor che finta) movea dubbio a riguardanti, se veramente fossero in un teatro o in una spiaggia di mare effettiva. [...] Tornò in un momento la scena, di boscareccia, marittima. Comparve Nettuno, e gli uscì Mercurio nella sua mirabil machina all'incontro. Era Nettuno sovra una gran conca d'argento, tirata da quattro cavalli marini. Lo copriva un manto di color cilestre; una gran barba gli scendeva al petto, & una lunga capigliatura inghirlandata d'alga le pendeva alle spalle. La corona era fatta a piramidette, tempestate di perle. Fece questa parte egregiamente il signor Francesco Manelli da Tivoli, autore della musica dell'opera. Uscì dal seno del mare, dalla cintola infuso, Protheo, vestito a squame d'argento; con una gran capigliatura, e barba di color ceruleo. [...] Qui per fine dell'atto si cantò prima di dentro un madrigale a più voci, concertato con istromenti diversi; [...] Uscì 'l mostro marino. Era con sì bello artificio fabbricato quest'animale, che ancorché non vero, pur metteva terrore. [...] (*L'Andromeda*, cf. Appendix 2 no. 7, 5-11)

Neptune was over a large silver sea shell pulled by four sea horses, a light blue mantle covered him. A large beard came down to his chest, and a long wiggling cap of seaweed hung from behind. The crown was made of pyramids, decorated with pearls. A long hair garlanded with algae hung from his shoulders. Francesco Manelli from Tivoli, author of the opera's music, interpreted this part. Then Protheo came out of the sea, dressed in silver fish scales, with long hair and cerulean beard. The sea monster, that came out of the sea was made with such artifice, that even if not true, it was fearsome.

The third depiction is Neptune's attendance in his palace [3, 5]. The stage design of the "Reggia di Nettuno" is linked to thunder, lightning, and a stormy and dark sea (with ships) [5]. In *Filippo, re della Grecia* (1706) [17] this palace with the throne of Neptune is built on a large rock formed of earth and fish scales and is surrounded by the sea, which

rises due to the storm’s surge, covering almost the entire palace. At the end of the storm, Fortune arrives on a dolphin, which is carried to the palace of Neptune. During a brief symphony the sun appears from out of the waves. Neptune, Fortune, and all the deities finally dive into the water to allow the arrival of the ships. In *Caio Marzio* [24] Neptune’s intervention is exclusively a scenographic one, since in the palace of Galatea, the nymph descends on the beach escorted by Neptune and other marine deities. Together with Galatea they dance and celebrate “a triumph”.

The following paragraphs focus on the phenomenon of Neptune in theater representations that can be traced to its presence in the prologue, in the drama, in the *intermedio*, on imaginary level, and on stage. Appendix 2, organized in these five parts, demonstrates that Neptune’s most active presence in Italian performances occurs during the seventeenth century, when he is mainly involved in the drama [6-19] and in the prologue [1-5], but also acting in the *intermedio* [20-21]. It can be said that the scenographic components are exploited not only in *Caio Marzio Coriolano* [24]. The presence of Neptune is intensively displayed on the stage and the scenographic level even within the perimeter of the prologue, the drama, and the *intermedio*.

Often the arrival of Neptune on stage, in agreement with its mythological characterization, meant the calming sea after a storm [8, 14, 17]. Less common was the evocation of heavy winds [3]. In addition to the calming and destructive functions of the Sea God during stage performances, he also served as the arbiter of disputes between the river-personifications [2].

In most examples, the appearance of Neptune is closely linked to the myth of his Greek equivalent. In *Elena* (1659) [10] Neptune announces that “today Theseus will kidnap Elena” and thus refers to the myth of Elena’s kidnapping by the brothers (friends/lovers) Theseus and Pirithous, the latter having persuaded Theseus to kidnap the daughter of Zeus and Leda. In fact, they both sought to marry her and agreed to wager by drawing lots. The wager also included the requirement that the winner would then kidnap another daughter of Zeus to marry the loser. The two managed to capture Elena while she was making sacrifices outside Sparta¹¹.

Although the plot in *La vittoria nella costanza* (1702) [15] will develop the story of Briseide and Criseide with various inventions, the Trojan War, caused by the kidnapping of Helen by Paride, serves as the starting point of the appearance of Neptune. Its short intervention connects him to the myth of the construction of the Trojan walls. In the *Iliad*, the God of the Sea is with the Greeks and on several occasions descends in battle against the Trojan army. To build then the walls of Troy, King Laomedon asked

11 Following this myth Nicolò Minato in the argument announces that the drama represents the kidnapping done by Theseus. Like often happens in opera in 17th century, Neptune introduces a comic part: He invents that Pirithous sees Menelaus in feminine clothes and believing that he was a woman, falls in love with him and abducts him, forgetting that he had promised to not marry, if not with a daughter of Jupiter. *Elena*, 1659, argomento (Appendix 2, 10).

the support of Zeus, who, as punishment, ordered Poseidon and Apollo to help him. In return, Laomedon promised horses as a gift; however, when the wall was complete, Laomedon refused to deliver. Apollo launched a pestilence over the city with his golden bow. Poseidon flooded the countryside, destroying the crops, and unleashed a sea monster that tormented Troy.

La Didone (1656) [8] refers to the *Aeneid* (book I) that begins by presenting the Trojan fleet in the Mediterranean Sea while guided by the hero Aeneas. For seven years the fleet is sailing when Juno observes them. The goddess, at the height of her anger, goes to the protector of the winds, Aeolus. She asks him to unleash a storm, heavily damaging the fleet until Neptune takes notice and rages on the intrusion of others in his domain. Then, driven by respect for the value of Aeneas, he calms the winds and the waters. The fleet thus manages to anchor on the African coast, in Carthage, where, welcomed by Queen Dido, the story of Dido and Aeneas begins (*La Didone*, Appendix 2 no. 10, 3 and Fabris 2013, 41-46). In the opera by Francesco Cavalli, Neptune displays a similar role reproaching and arbitrating the kingdoms of Aeolus and Juno and calming the waters (**fig. 2**).

Other performances include the myth of the misfortunes of Andromeda that began when her mother, Cassiopeia, was acclaimed as the most beautiful of the Nereids. The other offended nereids decided that her vanity had exceeded all limits and asked the God of the Sea to punish her. Neptune sends a terrible monster to raid the coasts of King Cepheus' territory. Shocked by the devastation and committed to find a solution, Cepheus quiets the monster with the sacrifice of the virgin, Andromeda. In *Perseo* [3] two nereids request that Neptune kill Andromeda to atone for her mother's mistake. Neptune promises that he will send a great beast, which will reverberate the poles causing the earth, the heavens, and the abysses to collapse. A similarly happening occurs (scenes I.3-4) in *L'Andromeda* (1637) [7], where Mercury (and Juno) ask Neptune to send his wildest, most ferocious and impious beast.

Neptune's power over the sea is undoubtedly related to the prologue of *Penelope la casta* (1696) [5]. The drama tells the story of Ulysses, King of Ithaca, and the protagonist of the Odyssey. His wife, Penelope, waited twenty years for her husband to return from the Trojan War. Thus, she is considered a symbol of conjugal fidelity. After the ruin of Troy, Ulysses returns to Ithaca in disguise. He opposes the noble youth, who aspire to wed Penelope, killing each of them. In the opera's prologue, Pallas arrives on a wagon surrounded by clouds. She opens the curtain, while thunder is heard. There is lightning and a stormy sea, with the ships of Ulysses shipwrecked in the distance. Pallas turns to Neptune with the request to silence the horrible thunder, to stop the lightning, to suspend the winds, and to calm the waves permitting Ulysses to return home. Neptune assures Pallas that he will make the sea quiet and that the faithful bride will embrace Ulysses on the Ithaca shores. With the aria a due *Il mare in procella* at the end of the prologue the positive conclusion of the drama is anticipated. In this kind of opera, Neptune

Scena 5.^a
Arianna. Aria di Ampe Marino.

Infante e Basso.

Andarai, marinar, non far d'india, non a l'ist' d'io in un giro.

Scena 6.^a

Oh padre! nel tranquillo elemento della quiete calma veni, con me, magli...
come l'aperiti, accendi, così di tuo imperio e di tanto restando...
Pioggia, torna, pioggia, captila' mel' navi della parte di Dio...
Calma, torna, calma, d'ogni mara No! Maro, non s'opra'.

Scena 6.^a

No! dal mio Mondo ammi, e'rami, vimo, non de' cogli, el'effenare...
el' naufragium, e' insieme Caricea ad' rudi' non se' mai gran' d'una...

Sonata in stile di Ampe, Amor, e' Strada'.

Strada' d'ogni... and' d'ogni... vimo, non de' cogli, el'effenare...
come alle... d'ogni gran' d'una... di' d'ogni... e' d'ogni...

2 *La Didone*, Venice 1656 (II.5). Libretto by Giovanni Francesco Busenello, music by Pietro Francesco Cavalli. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Mss. IT.IV.355, f. 61v-62v.



3 Anonymus, Engraving of the Antiporta of *La divisione del mondo* (Venice 1675). Libretto by Giulio Cesare Corradi, music by Giovanni Legrenzi, Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica, Lo. 2680.

has a crucial dramatic function in the prologue calming the sea, enabling the plot and the *lieto fine* of the drama.

Other representations take into account the myth of the division of the world between the sons of Rhea and Saturn to reign over the sky, the sea, and the underworld. The libretto of the *La Divisione del mondo* (1675) [11] is dedicated entirely to this topic and proposes as an *antiporta* – a figured page, usually out of foliation, which precedes the title page – an engraving that represents the brothers Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto (fig. 3).

There is a clear reference to the division of the power over the world in *Hero e Leandro* (1630) [20]: It was “his fate and not his proof”, when the heaven was given to Jupiter, the darkness to Pluto, and the waters in the middle of heaven and underworld to Neptune. The division of the world inspires other dramas, but refers to the four natural elements of fire, water, air, and earth that are represented by their personifications Cybele, Pluto, Neptune, and Etra. In *Medea* (1678) [4], the scene represents the chaos. While Cybele and Pluto invoke a war against the fierce warrior Theseus, Etra, and Neptune defend Theseus, their son and nephew. Jupiter’s arrival placates these “warlike accents” among the elements. Similar to this act of reassuring the elements is the intervention of the personification of Peace *in machina* in *Totila* (1677) [12], which brings serenity between the brothers Jupiter, Pluto, Neptune, and Cybele who conclude the drama with a hymn to the peace.

Analogous to the decrease of Neptune’s presence in European stage performances in the 18th century – among the 96 performances in Appendix 1 after 1700, his personage was present only in 34 – Neptune’s “appearance” in the *dramma per musica* after 1700 also diminishes drastically in Rome and Venice but, it does not completely disappear (Appendix 2, 15-19). Indeed, in both cities,

it can be noted that in the first half of eighteenth-century Neptune has an increasing, imaginary [22, 23] and an exclusively scenographic [24] function. This is probably due to the dramaturgical changes that occurred with the reform of the Academy of Arcadia and the Arcadians' impact on culture in earliest years of the Enlightenment in Italy. The new values of simplicity, purity, and reason were ideals that had been overwhelmed by the manneristic and spectacular features of seventeenth-century poetry. The Arcadian preference for the lyrical aspects of poetry emphasized the qualities of grace, charm, and passion (Smith 2001, 27 and Tcharos 2011, 29-34). The *dramma per musica* with its subjects of Roman history therefore banished all supernatural and unlikely (“*inverosimile*”) elements from the plot. Similarly, operas created after 1700 revolve around the idea of Neptune's figure, as it is the case for example in *Venere placata* (1731) (Appendix 2, 19) or in *La concordia di Pallade e Nettuno nella spiaggia di mare dolce* (Palermo 1707), *Le nozze di Nettuno lequestre con Anfitrite* (Parma 1728), *Scherzo musicale fra Nettuno, Teti e Peleo* (Bamberg 1731) and *Nettuno ed Egle* (Venice 1783, Lisbon 1785) – cf. Appendix 1 – where Neptune is directly named in the opera's title.

The Different Meanings of Neptune in Rome and Venice

Neptune in Italian Baroque dramatic literature and stage productions was characterized differently, referencing both his main capacities and those myths in which he featured. The aforementioned dramatic representation of Neptune in the Italian seaside city of Venice was far more intense and therefore must have been more impactful on the public than in Rome. Here we will investigate the different uses of Neptune in Roman and public Venetian Baroque performances. The author will also include examples to determine Neptune's role and function, considering the historical fact of opera in the seventeenth century, that Roman performances were primarily private offerings, while their Venetian counterparts were mostly in public venues.

1. The Earlier Version of Neptune Symbolizing Fertility in Roman Performances

The text of *Amor pudico* (1614) [6], a “*Festino*” with dances, was printed in the last days of 1613 to be presented in January 1614 for the wedding of Michele Peretti and Anna Maria Cesi. Michele was the son of Fabio Damasceni and Maria Felicita Mignucci Peretti, nephew of Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) on the mother's side. He was therefore a great-grandson of the pontiff and brother of Cardinal Alessandro. Michele married Anna Maria Cesi in a second marriage, from which no children were born. According to the dedication to Cardinal Borghese in the second edition the wedding performance was given in the Palazzo della Cancelleria on February 10, 1614 and repeated three times during the same month (Franchi 1988, 77-78). Neptune is present in this dramatic text and was interpreted by one of the most acclaimed Roman bass and tenor singers of the time, Giovanni Domenico Pugliaschi. From 5 May 1612 he was in the service of the Cardinal's nephew Scipione Borghese and served him for the rest of his life (Wistreich 2016, 628).

In *Amor pudico* with music by Cesare Marotta, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino, and other musicians protected by Cardinal Montalto (Hill 1997, 13, 16, 71), Neptune is rising from the sea in the fifth act of the feast divided into five hours (acts): Neptune, solemnizing in his kingdom the love of the spouses, recalls the Nymphs from the murky bottom of the sea to celebrate this wedding. He appears after that with Venus “who makes the earth happy and the sea merry”¹². In addition to being related to the waves of the water, Neptune refers to the pearls and corals of his kingdom. That of Neptune in *Amor pudico* is an invocation to the wedding celebrations and with his allusion to Venus, Neptune has first of all a function that reconnects him to the Roman myth and indicates his fertility context in Rome.

A similar celebratory function is reserved to Neptune in the maritime fable *Hero e Leandro* (1630) [20] by Francesco Bracciolini (Franchi 1988, 171). According to the dedication, it was represented in the autumn of the year 1627 for the wedding of Taddeo Barberini with Anna Colonna, daughter of Filippo I Colonna and Lucrezia Tomacelli¹³. The marriage was celebrated by the uncle of Taddeo, Maffeo Vincenzo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII on October 24 in Castel Gandolfo (Merola 1964, 180). The myth of Hero and Leandro begins during a festivity in honor of Adonis. The young Leandro falls in love with the virgin Hero, priestess of Aphrodite. The two reside on opposite banks of the Hellespont. To meet the beloved Hero, Leandro crosses the strait of the Dardanelles every night, guided by the light of a lamp enkindled by Hero on the top of the tower where she lives. With the arrival of winter, Leandro obstinately continues his crossings until, during a stormy night, the wind snuffs out the light, leading the young man to drown, disoriented at the mercy of the waves. At dawn, Hero, who had waited in vain for her beloved's arrival, sees Leandro's lifeless body on the beach from her tower. In a spasm of pain, Hero throws herself from the tower into the sea, joining her deceased lover.

As in many iconographic sources these mythological events on the shores of the sea require the personage of Neptune. As can be deduced from the subtitle of the maritime fable, the action takes place in the waters and the arena of the sea. Since the tragedy of *Hero e Leandro* was represented for the Barberini-Colonna-wedding in the prologue Venus and Amor wanted to protect and to connect the people divided by the sea, to create peace, friendship, and love¹⁴. In particular, they aspire to create a bridge in the Hellespont linking this story to the fable of Hero and Leandro. In the second *intermedio*,

12 The “Citerea” in Appendix 2 [6] is to be compared with Venus. The name derives from the island of Citera, located in the Aegean sea, because the legend wanted that Venus was born from the sea foam near the island and here she landed on a shell.

13 The text of the fable represented during the wedding celebrations was printed three years later, as can be understood from the dedication given by Ottavio Ingrassiani “Di Roma li 20. D'Aprile 1630”.

14 “AMOR Ove il corrente mar soggioghi un ponte, / l'avversa gente a conversar comincia / di qua di la: così dall'uso poi / vien l'amicitia. VENERE E questo ponte or come / fondar vuoi tu sopra l'instabilonda? / AMOR Al voler degli Dei forza non manca. / Andianne, o madre, e penserem fra via, / qual sia modo migliore, / a fabbricar su l'Ellesponto il varco, / che sia varco di pace.” *Hero e Leandro* (appendix 2, 20), 12.

which also refers to the Barberini family and the happy government of Urban VIII, Venus reappears, this time together with his nephew Anfione, and, with a festive attitude, they sing together and build a bridge over the Bosphorus¹⁵. Neptune is part of *intermedio* three and five [20]. The third *intermedio* is an excellent portrait of him. Here, Neptune appears as God and ferocious King of the Sea whose scepter is the trident. It is remarkable that he is described as a god who is capable of enriching the arid earth providing fertility to the land. More remarkable still is Neptune’s affirmation that his waters pierce the land and the imperial Alps that dominate the mountains with Neptune’s founts watering the shady valleys. In the last three stanzas of his recitation he refers to his domination over the sailors and finally strikes the bridge built by Venus and Anfione with his trident, so the bridge breaks and falls into the sea. While Neptune here claims his rule over the water, in the fifth *intermedio* he is invoked as the shaker of the Earth. Venus asks Neptune to erect a temple on an isolated beach and on the ruins of the bridge. Neptune instantly makes the island rise by making the earth produce it from the sea¹⁶.

The *Scenario del Ciro* (1659) [2] is the second representation of the 1654 Italian tragedy played during the carnival in the Seminario Romano, which was dedicated to Antonio Barberini. The plot with many fictional elements, flanked the events transmitted by Herodotus on the one side and the Bible on the other (Drogheo 2016, 7). In this first representation there is no intervention of Neptune. In the second representation of 1659 in the palace of Ugo I Boncompagni Ludovisi (1614-1676), IV Duke of Sora, Neptune is present in the prologue in music composed by an unknown musician. Here appear the personifications of the three rivers of Lazio: the Tiber, the Liri, and the Fibreno. These waterways first merge and then divide themselves surrounding the Ducal Palace of Sora, the home of the Duke Boncompagni Ludovisi. The rivers fight one other trying to decide to whether Rome or Lazio will become the beneficiary of the legacy of Astiage, the King of the Medes, who was without an heir. During the competition, the prospect opens and there could be seen the sea from which rises Neptune who, surrounded by sea monsters, scolds them. He comes down from his chariot, calms the rivers, and discovers that Ciro is the rightful heir. He concludes, however, that, since the Romans already joined forces, toga, and name with Lazio, all three rivers will share the glory. It is clear that the appearance of Neptune in 1659 was newly introduced referring to the place where the *Scenario* was represented: the Island of Liri in Sora. The palace of family Boncompagni Ludovisi was located on this island. Neptune, who appears evidently with great scenographic effort during the competition between the three river personifications, was obliging them to make peace and can therefore be suggested as ruler over the rivers.

15 “E così cantando corrono, e si collegano i rotti, e gravi sassi de i monti a fabbricare su l’arco dell’Iride il ponte sopra il Bosforo.” Ibid, 43.

16 An allusion to the Neptune Temple in ancient Rome is given in the stage design of *Telemaco* (1718) (Appendix 2 no. 18).

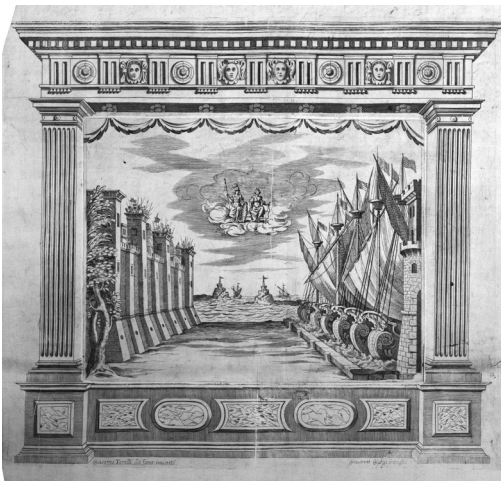
The intervention of Neptune in these Roman representations is outstanding because he is not genuinely represented as the God of the Sea, but rather as God of the earth, rivers and springs. The representation of Neptune in Baroque Rome reconnects to its earlier myth of Neptune, when he initially was the God of the Earth (Greek mythology) and God of the Country and Freshwaters (Roman mythology). Neptune, particularly in the wedding performances, speaks about or appears together with Venus – identified with Neptune’s Roman *paredrae* Salacia and Venilia –, because in the Roman wedding celebrations Neptune is related to this Roman goddess whose functions also involves prosperity and fertility. Not only in the wedding performances Neptune is linked to Venus and fertility. He appears in the second *intermedio* of *La trasformazione di Dafne* (1654) [21] where a loving quarrel between Vulcano on one side and Venus and Mars on the other is solved thanks to Neptune’s intervention. In the final chorus all the characters intone a hymn to the love, the passion, and the pain they can bring. To the mythos of Neptune as God of the Earth belongs the destruction of the bridge and the creation of an island in *Hero e Leandro*. This is an outstanding connotation to Neptune’s role as ruler of the earth, of sweet and superficial waters in non-coastal regions and as god of fertility. The same meaning did not exist in Venice.

2. The Later Version of Neptune Symbolizing the Myth of Venice

In many Venetian operas the myth of the Serenissima Republic (Rosand 2007, 126-131 and Glixon 2003, 45, 57) is presented. Neptune on the Venetian stage was an integral part of this myth, as some relevant examples will prove. *Il Bellerofonte* (1642) e *La prosperita infelice di Giulio Cesare Dittatore* (1656) are the first and probably the most significant operas which give dramatic life to the traditional myth of Venice’s origins, making use of the standard iconography. They are distinguished by the fact that Venetian imagery is incorporated in the text of the dramas and that they represent the Serenissima on stage. The prologue of *Bellerofonte* [1] ends with the emergence from the sea of a “most exquisite and lifelike model Venice [...] which everyone acclaimed as a tour de force: the eye was deceived by the Piazza, with its public buildings imitating life, and it delighted increasingly in the deception, almost forgetting where it actually was, thanks to the fiction”. (Rosand 2007, 134 and Worsthorne 1954, 177) The spectacle was directed by Neptune and joined by Innocenza and Astrea, the goddess of Justice.

“Then, from the right of the sea, arose a car in the form of a golden shell drawn by sea-horses which moved from the right to the center of the stage, turned around and stopped facing the body of the theatre. This car bore Neptune king of the waves, surrounded by this Tritons, excellently played. He was entirely naked except for a beautiful rich blue and gold cloak which covered him in some parts. A tenor from Parma took the part gaining praise and giving wonderful satisfaction to the audience.” (Rosand 2007, 134 and Worsthorne 1954, 177)

The God of the Sea turns with joyful admiration to Astrea, welcomes her and promises to raise on the unstable back of its seawaters a solid palace in her honor¹⁷. Then, with its acclamation “Look how it rises” (“Mira cola, che sorge”) it emerges from the Adriatic waters the beautiful, glorious, and superb image of Venice, the work of Neptune’s power (figs. 4 and 5). Astrea with adoration welcomes the palace of the sea, Venice, which then becomes “her beautiful nest and home, where she will meet the golden age.” Finally with a hymn *a tre* in honor of Venice, Neptune, Innocenza, and Astrea praise the Serenissima that is “admired by the world, wise, rich, noble, and swollen with light”. The Goddess of Justice also appears after the involvement of Neptune, Mercurio, and Proteo (scenes 1.3-4) in *L’Andromeda* (*Andromeda* 1637, 29-32, appendix 2 no. 7 and Worsthorne 1954, 168-169). In Venetian opera and visual arts the personified representation of Venice as the goddess of Justice became a standard *topos*. Justice rose to the first model for the figure of Venetia. Both, *Venetia* and *Justitia*, merged into a single person who assumed canonical status. The ambiguous figure conquered a propaganda position in Venetian politics. Understandably, *Justitia* was the main virtue of the Maritime Republic and as such, it dominated the public frontages of the Doge’s Palace (Blichmann 2012, 451-453).



4 Giacomo Torelli. Stage set for *Bellerofonte*, Venice 1642 (I.1). Libretto by Vincenzo Nolfi, music by Francesco Sacrati, engraving by Giovanni Giorgi. Source: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, 215C032.1, tav. I.

17 The birth of Venice thanks to Neptune is also themed in the prologue of *Argiophe*. Pace concludes the allegorical conflict between her and Guerra and hailing Venice as her ideal resting place: “E con propitia stella / nasce a Nettuno in sen Venetia bella / che con saver, e con valor profondo / sarà donna del mar, gloria del mondo” (Fusconi 1649, 14).



5 Giacomo Torelli. Stage set for *Bellerofonte*, Venice 1642 (I.3).
 Libretto by Vincenzo Nolfi, music by Francesco Saccati, engraving by Giovanni Giorgi.
 Source: Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, 215C032.1, tav. II.

Busenello's *La prosperita infelice di Giulio Cesare Dittarore* [9] also includes Neptune. Busenello aimed to outline the mythical origins of Venice. Together with the personification of Libertà (Liberty), Neptune's role is crucial to the last scene of the opera (Ketterer 2009, 109 and Rosand 2007, 136-138)¹⁸. From Rome, the mistreated Libertà is looking for a safe land. Neptune stops her, explaining that her sojourn will be in a glorious and great city, built on the waves. This supreme and triumphant city, he explains, is called Venice and will make famous the Adriatic shores. Venice is strong, free, and truthful, adding that Venice's three, political signs of the zodiac (*vergine, libra, and leone*) will light up every season¹⁹. Neptune finally foretells that for many centuries Libertà will sing praise and Neptune the cheers of immortal Venice²⁰. At the end of the opera they conclude with a hymn to the Serenissima ("Viva Venetia, viva") and foreshadow that each pen will describe her glories and her history, and that the fate will enchant the crown of his generous lion, symbol of the city.

18 This work was probably written in 1646, but not published until 1656 (Livingstone 1913, 206-208).

19 Venice associated herself with the Virgin Mary *ab initio*, as well as with the virgin goddess Astrea. The scales of justice are a symbol of the Venetian chief virtue and the winged lion is the symbol of Venice's patron, St. Mark (Rosand 1984, 177-197).

20 Liberty is a typical Venetian state mark, which is the collective inward and outward liberty that the Republic was able to preserve until 1797, thanks to its tolerance for alienation and its cosmopolitan openness (Blichmann 2012, 440-443).

Mentioning the crowned lion is an obvious connection to Saint Mark’s holy vision, in which it is foretold that he will come to rest in Venice. Caught in a storm in the Venetian lagoon, Marc finds refuge among its islands and in a dream an angel declares: “Pax tibi Marce Evangelista Meus. Hic requiescat corpus tuum” (Pavanello 1928, 293-324 and Tramontin 1965, 41-73). The crowned lion of St. Marc also appears at the beginning of *La divisione del mondo* (1675) [11] where at the burst of lightning the tent rises. The proscenium was occupied by clouds, which form a lion crowned in the middle and in this all-cloudy scene appeared Jupiter on the eagle, Neptune and Pluto²¹.

Nearly each of these Venetian opera performances linked Neptune to the later myth as God of the Sea and his appearance is nearly always related to the myth of the city. Neptune’s function for the Serenissima Repubblica is also evident from the frequent presentation of Neptune together with Mercury, the God of Commerce, for instance in *Perseo* (1665) [3], *Didone* [8], *La divisione del mondo* (1675) [11] and *Dafni* (1705) [16], where he is precisely mentioned as the “god that keeps the trade”. He is therefore associated with Venice, known as a commercial city with naval dominion and one of the main European powers. At the height of its power, Venice controlled most of the Adriatic coasts, many of the Aegean islands, including Crete, and was among the main commercial forces in the Near East.

Neptune was not solely at the forefront of Venetian operas, he was central to art and architecture, as well. Together with Justice, Liberty, and Mercury, Neptune was an important historical and representative emblem of the Venetian Republic, embodied by the Doge’s Palace, also in visual arts (Rosand 2001, 12, 119, 138, 146, 151, 165). One of the most eminent documents of the association between Neptune and the often called “Solomon Palace” is the map of the city by the Renaissance artist Jacopo de’ Barbari. He drafted an iconic bird’s-eye view of Venice in the last decade of the sixteenth century (fig. 6). This woodcut is unique due to its size as well as the precision detailing the most famous piazzas and sites of Venice (Romanelli, Macchi and Altringer 2002, 112-113). Mercury from above presides over the entire city and sends a strong, positive message about commercial competences: «MERCURIUS PRE CETERIS HUIC FAUSTE EMPORIIS ILLUSTRO» (I, Mercury, shine favorably on this market which surpasses all others). Neptune appears below riding his dolphin through the harbor protecting the area around San Marco, the center of the political power of the city. Neptune’s trident bears another intense affirmation: «AEQUORA TUENS PORTU RESIDEO HIC NEPTUNUS» (I, Neptune, live here keeping the waters in this port calm). In de’ Barbari’s view of Venice, Mercury and Neptune have taken the place of the winged lion and of Justice – probably the more obvious historic symbols of the Serenissima Repubblica – for a precise reason: in an era of geographical discoveries of non-European continents the metaphors introduced by de’

21 “Allo scoppio d’un fulmine s’alza la tenda, e si vede il proscenio occupato da nuvole, quali dopo varii moti formano un LEONE coronato nel mezzo; indi a poco a poco dileguate si scorge la scena tutta nuvolosa con Giove nel mezzo su l’aquila. Nettuno, e Pluto assistiti da numerose Deità di schierate in aria a difesa del cielo contro i Titani rimasti già fulminati su le cime dell’Olimpo.” *La divisione del mondo* (Appendix 2, no. 11), 11.

Barbaro were probably necessary to reinforce the Venetian commerce internationally. The depiction of Venice is underscored by various watercraft throughout the city and also the enlarged Arsenal, a symbol of the city's maritime empire. These details were communicating that the city remained at the forefront of world maritime commerce a model at the dawn of the sixteenth century. The message of the perspective plan is the assurance of security and protection of Venice and its commercial routes towards the Orient.



6 Jacopo de' Barbari, *Venetie MD*, 1500, woodcut from six blocks on six sheets of paper (134x282cm), Venice, Museo Correr, Inv. CLXLIX No. 56.
 Url: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jacopo_de%27_Barbari#/media/File:Jacopo_de'_Barbari_-_Venetie_MD_retouched.png. Public domain. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

In de' Barbaro's view, Neptune protects the area around San Marco and in particular the Doge's Palace. The residence of the chief magistrate, leader and supreme authority of the Serene Republic of Venice (697-1797), in its exterior and its interior, first and foremost its institutional chambers, evokes furthermore the figure of Neptune, together with the God of War, Mars, in order to protect and defend the Serenissima Repubblica of Venice.

Like the city's renowned symbol and many works of art, Neptune featured prominently in Venetian architecture. The courtyard of the Palace is characterized by a ceremonial staircase. It was decided by the Great Council, designed by Antonio Rizzo and built between 1483 and 1491 in coincidence with de' Barbaro's plan. This monumental staircase was the official entrance to the Palace and connected to the inner lodge on the first floor. The most significant event in top of the courtyard staircase was the ceremony of the Doge's coronation. In the 15th century the staircase was decorated with two focal symbolic figures, Mars and Neptune, executed by Jacopo Sansovino. Because of the size of the two huge marble statues (height 305 cm) the new name of the staircase since their erections in 1567 was "Giant's Staircase". The height of the standing figures was enormous on purpose, so to reduce the figure of the Doge at his coronation. The statues were a reminder that the

Doge was equal to other men and punishable. The two standing figures of the God of War and the God of the Sea had another essential purpose, not only as visual art but also in opera performances. Mars and Neptune represent land and sea and therefore the power and dominion of Venice by mainland and by sea²². Neptune was commonly categorized as violent and ill-tempered, representing the uncontrolled nature of the ocean waters, meanwhile Mars’ common characteristics were virility or *virtus* (Broxton Onians 1951, 470-71). As an embodiment of masculine ferocity, Mars is the force that drives wars, but preferably and especially in the Venetian Republic, war that provides a guaranteed peace.

The grouping of Mars and Neptune is recaptured in the interior of the Ducal Palace, precisely in the Council chamber (Sala del collegio) of the second floor, where the Full council organized its meetings of the Savi and the Signoria, the organs of power in the institutional system of Venice (Karbe 1995). The paintings casted into the ceiling and completed between 1575 and 1578 were commissioned to Paolo Veronese. The canvas celebrates the good government of the Serenissima Repubblica: The panels show the Triumph of Faith, the Allegory of Venice with that of Justice and Peace and several other canvas virtues of government. In the first panel (*Mars and Neptune*, oil on canvas, 250x180 cm) the figures of Mars and Neptune can be seen together with the lion in front of the St. Mark’s bell-tower protecting the city. Two winged cherubs carry the enormous symbols of the two gods, a helmet for Mars and a shell for Neptune. The large canvas over the tribune, together with all these depicted metaphors, celebrate the victory of the Christian fleet over the Ottomans during the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. The victory was possible only with the fundamental contribution of Venice. Mars and Neptune in this interior context of the Doge’s palace have both a protective and a defensive function for the city of Venice. The association between Neptune and Venice is present in another painting, placed today in the second floor of the palace, the Four Doors Room, the formal antechamber to the more important rooms. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo’s painting (1756-1758) shows Venice receiving the gifts of the sea from Neptune.

In conclusion, Neptune in Venetian opera performances had a different meaning than in similar operatic pieces in Rome, where the God of the Sea’s character was linked to its earlier myth as the God of terrestrial waterways such as the rivers, inland waters and even of the earth, in general. He was consequently associated with fertility and used notably in wedding celebrations. On the contrary Neptune in Venetian opera dates to its later myth as purely the God of the Sea and is almost always related to Venice herself and embedded in Venetian culture. Although Neptune is also firmly entrenched in the mythology of Rome, it can be argued that his impact in Venice, above all in the seventeenth century, by far surpassed Neptune’s presence in Rome. As was evident in the

22 George Dumézil (1977) re-evaluated first Mars as a ferocious god. On the relation of Mars’ warrior aspect to his agricultural function with respect to the trifunctional hypothesis see Belier 1991, 88-91.

previous pages, Neptune features prominently in Italian Baroque art, in general, and in Roman opera, more specifically. However, the God of the Sea is paramount to the visual and stage arts of Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As concerns operatic performances and the dramatic literature, architecture, and visual arts, the most probable cause of this divergence is the involvement or non-involvement of Neptune in the myth of the foundation of each of these two renowned metropolises, as well as in the geographical placement of these two cities. Since Rome was near the sea but rather considered as an inland city on the river Tiber, and since Venice was the European seaside city *par excellence*, the different characterizations of Neptune as the God of the River in the Roman context or as the God of the Seas in the Venetian context are clear. In the modern era, we can thank the historical legacy of the arts, and specifically the enduring presence of opera, for illuminating the evident similarities and contrasts.

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Appendix 1: Neptune in European Stage Performances in 17th and 18th Century

City	Year	Title	Subject	Presence of Neptune in
Bamberg	1731	<i>Scherzo musicale fra Nettuno, Teti e Peleo</i>	mythological	drama
Bologna	1631	<i>Gli amori di Nettuno</i>	mythological	drama
	1666	<i>Il Ciro</i>	historical	prologue
	1671	<i>Il Ciro</i>	historical	prologue
	1678	<i>Enea fuggitivo</i>	mythological	drama
	1695	<i>La fede trionfante</i>	mythological	drama
	1716	<i>Il pescatore fortunato principe d'Ischia</i>	historical	prologue
Brussels	1728	<i>Componimento drammatico</i>	mythological	drama
Ferrara	1635	<i>Discordia superata</i>	mythological	torneo
	1639	<i>L'Andromeda</i>	mythological	drama
	1651	<i>Esiglio d'amore</i>	mythological	drama
Florence	1637	<i>Le nozze degli dei</i>	mythological	drama
	1661	<i>Ercole in Tebe</i>	mythological	prologue
	1768	<i>Calipso abbandonata</i>	mythological	drama
Genova	1656	<i>Xerse</i>	historical	prologue
Guastalla	1626	<i>Atlante</i>	mythological	intermedio
Hamburg	1746	<i>Ipermestra</i>	mythological	prologue
Hannover	1692	<i>Le rivali concordi ovvero Atalanta</i>	mythological	stage
Holleschau	1735	<i>Venere placata</i>	mythological	drama
Lisbon	1768	<i>Pelope</i>	mythological	drama
	1785	<i>Nettuno ed Egle</i>	mythological	drama
	1787	<i>Alcione</i>	mythological	drama

City	Year	Title	Subject	Presence of Neptune in
Lucca	1654	<i>Il porto della libertà</i>	mythological	drama
	1681	<i>La divisione del mondo</i>	mythological	drama
	1694	<i>Tiberio in Bisanzio</i>	historical	stage
Macerata	1619	<i>La fntione</i>	mythological	intermedio
Mantova	1652	<i>Theti</i>	mythological	drama
	1682	<i>Ottaviano Cesare Augusto</i>	historical	stage
Milan	1653	<i>L'Orione</i>	mythological	drama
	1669	<i>L'Eritrea</i>	mythological	prologue
	1673	<i>Amor tra l'armi overo Corbulone in Armenia</i>	historical	intermedio
	1702	<i>Admeto, re di Tessaglia</i>	mythological	drama
Modena	1728	<i>La vera grandezza</i>	historical	stage
Munich	1688	<i>Trionfo d'Himeneo</i>	mythological	drama
	1722	<i>Adelaide</i>	historical	prologue
	1781	<i>Idomeneo, re di Creta</i>	mythological	stage
Naples	1693	<i>La Eliata overo L'inganno fortunato</i>		prologue
	1650	<i>La Didone</i>	mythological	drama
	1660	<i>La Cloridea</i>	historical	drama
	1681	<i>Gl'equivoci nel sembante</i>	mythological	prologue
	1686	<i>L'Olimpo in Mergellina</i>	mythological	drama
	1705	<i>Serenata a quattro voci</i>	mythological	drama
Padova	1638	<i>L'Ermiona</i>	mythological	drama
Palermo	1707	<i>La concordia di Pallade e Nettuno nella spiaggia di mare dolce</i>	mythological	drama
	1708	<i>Il mare jonio e tirreno</i>	mythological	drama
Paris	1662	<i>Ercole amante</i>	mythological	drama
Parma	1677	<i>Il Giove d'Elide fulminato</i>	mythological	drama
	1690	<i>Il favore degli Dei</i>	mythological	drama

City	Year	Title	Subject	Presence of Neptune in
	1690	<i>La gloria d'amore</i>	mythological	drama
	1728	<i>Le nozze di Nettuno l'equestre con Anfitrite</i>	mythological	drama
	1760	<i>Le feste d'Imeneo</i>	mythological	drama
Perugia	1792	<i>Il ritorno d'Idomeneo in Creta</i>	mythological	drama
Piacenza	1646	<i>Il ratto d'Elena</i>	mythological	drama
	1650	<i>L'Armida</i>	mythological	prologue
	1662	<i>L'Andromeda</i>	mythological	prologue
Piazzola	1685	<i>La schiavitù fortunata di Nettuno</i>	mythological	drama
Pisa	1766	<i>Il trionfo dell'Arno</i>	mythological	drama
Rome	1614	<i>Amor pudico</i>	mythological	drama
	1630	<i>Hero e Leandro</i>	mythological	intermedio
	1653	<i>Argomento dell'Aristeo</i>	mythological	prologue
	1654	<i>La trasformazione di Dafne</i>	mythological	intermedio
	1659	<i>Scenario del Ciro</i>	historical	prologue
	1696	<i>Penelope la casta</i>	mythological	prologue
	1718	<i>Telemaco</i>	mythological	drama
	1734	<i>Componimento drammatico</i>	mythological	drama
Spoleto	1655	<i>La Galatea</i>	mythological	prologue
St. Petersburg	1777	<i>La sorpresa delli Dei</i>	mythological	drama
Stuttgart	1755	<i>Pelope</i>	mythological	drama
	1781	<i>Minerva</i>	mythological	drama
	1782	<i>Le delizie campestre o Ippolito e Aricia</i>	mythological	drama
Turin	1662	<i>Orontea</i>	historical	prologue
Venice	1611	<i>L'ingannata Proserpina</i>	mythological	drama
	1620	<i>La fida ninfa ovvero Il darinello</i>	mythological	prologue
	1637	<i>L'Andromeda</i>	mythological	drama

City	Year	Title	Subject	Presence of Neptune in
	1640	<i>Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria</i>	mythological	drama
	1642	<i>Il Bellerofonte</i>	mythological	prologue
	1656	<i>La prosperità infelice di Giulio Cesare dittatore</i>	historical	drama
	1656	<i>La Didone</i>	mythological	drama
	1659	<i>Elena</i>	mythological	drama
	1665	<i>Perseo</i>	mythological	prologue
	1666	<i>Nettuno e Flora festeggiante</i>	mythological	drama
	1675	<i>La divisione del mondo</i>	mythological	drama
	1677	<i>Totila</i>	historical	drama
	1678	<i>L'Aurora in Atene</i>	mythological	drama
	1678	<i>Medea in Atene</i>	mythological	prologue
	1682	<i>Carlo, re d'Italia</i>	historical	drama
	1702	<i>La vittoria nella costanza</i>	mythological	drama
	1705	<i>Il Dafni</i>	mythological	drama
	1706	<i>Filippo, re della Grecia</i>	historical	drama
	1712	<i>Publio Cornelio Scipione</i>	historical	immaginery
	1731	<i>Venere placata</i>	mythological	drama
	1733	<i>Argenide</i>	mythological	immaginery
	1747	<i>Caio Marzio Coriolano</i>	historical	stage
	1758	<i>Componimento drammatico</i>	mythological	drama
	1783	<i>Nettuno ed Egle</i>	mythological	drama
Vicenza	1614	<i>Il corsaro Arimante</i>	mythological	prologue
Warsaw	1638	<i>Narciso trasformato</i>	mythological	drama
Wolfenbüttel	1688	<i>Medea in Atene</i>	mythological	prologue

Appendix 2. Examples of Neptune in Roman and Venetian Baroque Stage Performances

1. Prologue

[1] *VENICE 1642* IL / BELLEROFONTE / DRAMA MUSICALE / DEL / SIGNOR VINCENZO / NOLFI / Da rappresentarsi nel Teatro / Novissimo di VENETIA / l'Anno 1642. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori, & Privilegio.* / IN VENETIA, MDCXLII. / Apresso Gio. Battista Surian, 18-22. [text: Vincenzo Nolfi, music: Francesco Paolo Sacrati] (I-Bc, libretto 7510, p. 9 at the end: „Scenario. L'Innocenza perseguitata nel mondo e specialmente nella persona di Bellerofonte in Licia invoca alla sua protezione Astrea, che scende. E la consola, appare Nettuno dal mare e entrano tutti e tre nelle lodi di Venezia.”)

PROLOGO.

Innocenza, Astrea, Nettuno.

[...]

ASTREA Soffri [Innocenza], ch'al fin tal ora
 quel cieco sen, che ti disprezza e scaccia
 conosciuta t'adora;
 non gir già, no, da patera raminga,
 contro Bellerofonte empia congiura
 di sfrenato furore
 le sue rovine indarno oggi procura.
 Giove fulminatore,
 che tutto vede dal celeste regno
 non vuol che la sua prole
 oppressa cada al fulgorar d'un sdegno.

INNOCENZA Dunque sotto la fé di sì gran nume
 mi fermerò sicura.

ASTREA Sì, che a tuo pro sarà mio giusto zelo
 indi già, che sbandita
 di te non men stanza non ho più in terra
 rivoleronne al cielo.

NETTUNO O leggiadra donzella
 gemme dell'universo i cui splendori
 involano gl'onori ad ogni stella:
 come lieto or ti miro
 così dopo futuro
 lungo e torbido obbligo nel bel sereno
 di secolo felice
 con invidia dell'etra,
 ove esule or ricoveri
 t'accoglierò lietissimo nel seno.
 Tempo verrà ch'ad onta di natura
 sull'instabil mio dorso
 alzerà stabil reggia altere mura;
 in questo troverai gl'estinti pregi
 qui la tua stanza e qui per te vedransi
 tra 'l salso umor dei flutti
 non le Veneri, no, nascer i regi
 onde con nobil grido
 andrà sulle ali della fama a volo,
 d'Adria temuto e riverito il lido.
 Mira colà che sorge
 opra del mio poter la bella immagine
 gloriosa e superba
 qual nell'idea del fato or si riserba.

ASTREA Questo è dunque il bel nido
 ove io rintraccerò l'età dell'oro?
 O caro albergo e fido,
 tra velami dell'ombre ecco t'adoro.
 Deh, perché dagl'abissi
 dei secoli volanti or non son giunti
 a tante glorie mie gl'anni prefissi,
 ch'or, or vorrei cangiare
 col palazzo del ciel reggia del mare.

NETTUNO Le più ricche maremme
 del mio gran regno ondosio,
 quant'han di prezioso
 vo' che serbin per te coralli e gemme.

ASTREA Qual astro più benigno in ciel fiammeggia
 oprarò che risparmi
 tutti gl’influssi suoi per questa reggia.

INNOCENZA Ed io farò che la virtù destini
 i suoi degni sudori
 ad innaffiar per le tue glorie eterne
 palme vittrici e trionfali allori.

NETTUNO Città sopra qualunque il mondo ammira
 A 3 saggia, ricca e gentile,
 ASTREA son de le tue grandezze un’ombra vile,
 INNOCENZA Sparta, Atene e Stagira
 quindi vedranno i secoli futuri
 correr ai lidi tuoi gonfio di lume
 per tributarti il ciel converso in fiume.

Il fine del prologo.

[2] **ROME 1659** SCENARIO / DEL CIRO / TRAGEDIA / ITALIANA / DA RECITARSI NEL PALAZZO / del Sig. / DUCA DI SORA / NELL’ISOLA. / [marca: drago] / IN ROMA, / Per gl’Eredi del Corbelletti. 1659 / *Con licenza de’ Superiori*, 6. [text: ? music: Felice Tomei]

Prologo in musica Compariscono tre fiumi, il Tevere, Liri e Fibreno celebri fiumi del Lazio, che unendo prima le acque sue e poi con precipitoso divorzio dividendosi, circondano il Palazzo Ducale [di Sora] con la terra dell’isola [Liri]. Or questi, dovendo cadere l’imperio dell’Asia e del Medi per la decrepitezza d’Astiage, re privo di erede, litigano fra loro a chi debba darsi un tanto onore, o al nome romano o al latino. Nel maggior caldo della rissa, s’apre la prospettiva, si vede il mare dove sorge Nettuno che accerchiato da mostri marini gli sgrida; poi scendendo dal suo carro, fatto arbitrio della contesa, udite ambi le parti, l’acquieta, con scoprirli *Ciro* essere il legittimo erede; conchiude però, che dopo non lungo giro d’anni, cadrà l’imperio del mondo nei romani, i quali come già unirono le forze, la toga e il nome con il Lazio; così tutti a tre verranno in parte dell’acquisto e della gloria di esso.

[3] **VENICE 1665** PERSEO / DRAMA PER MUSICA / DI / AURELIO AURELI / Favola Decimaterza. / *Rappresentato in Musica nel Teatro / GRIMANO L'anno 1665.* / DEDICATO / ALL'ILLUST. ET ECCELL. SIGN. / IL SIGNOR / FILIPPO GIULIANO / MAZARINI MANCINI / DUCA DI NIVERS, E DONZIOIS, / Pari di Francia, Cavaliere Commendatore degli Ordini del Rè Christianissimo, Luogotenente de' Gran Moschettieri del Rè, Governatore, e Luogotenente / per S.M. de' su detti Paesi, Governator della Rocella, / Bruage, Isola dei Rè, e Paese d'Aulnis, &c. / [marca: tre fiori] / IN VENETIA, M.DC.LXV. / Per Francesco Nicolini. / *Con Licenza de' Super.* Si vende in Spadaria. [text: Aurelio Aureli music: Mattioli]

PROLOGO.

Reggia di Nettuno.

Nereide prima. Nereide seconda. Nettuno. Coro di ninfe marittime. Coro di tritoni. Giove. Pallade. Mercurio. La Fama. Coro di numi celesti.

NEREIDE PRIMA	Algoso dio del procelloso regno, implacabil furor in petto annido, trassi il lubrico piè su questo lido e dall'acque portai fuoco di sdegno.
NEREIDE SECONDA	Resti Andromeda estinta della madre l'error paghi la figlia.
NETTUNO	Colà dove s'estende l'umido scettro mio nel mar profondo giace gran mostro immondo; al suo vlular tremendo rimbomberanno i poli, e dando fugga agl'astri erranti e fissi farò crollar la terra, il ciel, gl'abissi.
MERCURIO	Al vibrar di questa spada fia ch'Andromeda non cada.
PALLADE	Escano irate pur dai salsi chiostri sfere squamose a funestar le sponde che del mare africano in mezzo all'onde verrà un Apollo a saettar i mostri.

GIOVE
Rettor dell'onde il tuo furor acqueta;
a più sublime meta
l'invitto semideo drizza le piante;
i mostri abatterà, Giove lo vuole.
Anch'io sono nel mar Giove tonante.
Tu Dea volante esploratrice alata
spiega rapide l'ali;
i trionfi di Perseo ormai predici
agl'afflitti mortali:
terga l'Africa il ciglio,
et i pianti placati
respiri pur della tua tromba ai fiati.

NETTUNO
E schernite saran le posse mie!
Voi dell'ondoso mondo
tra i mostri del mio regno
portatemi, o corsieri, in mezzo al fondo.

NEREIDE
PRIMA
Voi glauchi e tritoni
con trombe ritorte
chiamate
 schierate
in seno all'arene
ed orche e balene.

PALLADE
Lacerata l'empia sfera si vedrà.

NEREIDE
SECONDA
Superata
 non sarà
ad onta di Nettun, bensì di Giove.
Alle prove, alle prove, alle prove.

Fine del prologo.

[4] **VENICE 1678** MEDEA / IN ATENE / DRAMA PER MUSICA / Ristampata con nove aggiunte per / il Teatro novissimo in S. Angelo. / L'ANNO M.DC.LXXVIII. / DI AURELIO AURELI / Opera Decima ottava. / CONSACRATO. / All'Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. Sig. / MARCHESE / D. GEROLAMO / FIERENZE GALENTI. / Cavalier della Chiave d'oro di Sua / Maestà Cesarea, Signor di Vi- / tardo, Capitano di Fantaria / Spagnuola ne lo Stato / di Milano, & c. / [vignetta] / IN VENETIA, M.D.C LXXVII. / Per Francesco Nicolini. / Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Priuilegio, 9-10. [text: Aurelio Aureli, music: Antonio Giannettini]

PROLOGO.

LA SCENA

Rappresenta il chaos.

Cibele, Pluto, Nettuno, Etra, rappresentanti i quattro elementi, poi Giove.

CIBELE PLUTO A 2	Guerra, guerra, guerra.
ETRA	Contro il ciel?
NETTUNO	Contro gli dei?
CIBELE	Sveglierò contro le stelle nuovi Enceladi e Tifei.
PLUTO	Io dal sen dei abissi orrendi scaglierò sull'Etra incendi.
NETTUNO	Spegnerà Nettuno il foco.
PLUTO	Contro averno il mar val poco.
NETTUNO	Cresca l'onda.
ETRA	Tuoni il cielo.
PLUTO	Si confonda foco e gelo, mar e terra.
À 4	Guerra, guerra, guerra.
GIOVE	Olà, qual fiero rimbombo di bellicosi accenti turba i cieli e confonde l'armonia delle sfere e gli elementi?

- PLUTO Teseo guerrier feroce,
non sazio ancor di recar morte atroce
ai figli della terra,
scender giurò con Piritoo l'amico.
sulle tartaree soglie
ad involar Proserpina mia moglie.
Or vedi, o gran tonante,
se dal profondo regno
Pluto con giusto sdegno
i cardini del ciel agita e scuote.
- ETRA Giove, Teseo è mio figlio.
- NETTUNO Et a me nipote.
- GIOVE Plachinsi l'ite. Il re sovran che regge
gli orbi rotanti ed al mortal da legge,
sopra le greche arene,
cura n'avrà del gran campion d'Atena;
più non soda tra le stelle
rimbombar voce guerriera.
Al suo centro, alla sua sfera
su placato in un momento
tosto rieda ogni elemento,
e sbandito dal cor l'odio pugnace
si rassereni il ciel reggia di pace.
- NETTUNO Tra perle e coralli
nell'acque m'affondo. [...]

[5] **ROME 1696** PENELOPE / LA CASTA. / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / Da rappresentarsi nel nuovo, e / Famoso Teatro di Tor di Nona dell'Ill.^{mo} Signor / CONTE D'ALIBERT / L'Anno 1696. / DEDICATO / ALLE SIGNORE / DAME. / Si vende in Bottega di Pietro Leone / Libraro in Parione. / In Roma, Pe 'l Buagni. 1696. / *Con licenza de' Superiori*, 7-8. [text: Matteo Noris; music: Giacomo Antonio Perti]

PROLOGO

Pallade sopra un carro circondata di nuvole viene aprendo la tenda. Intanto s'odono tuoni e si vedono lampi e si scopre un mar tempestoso con navi in lontano.

PALLADE Perché tanta dimora?
 In sì nuovo superbo ampio teatro
 di Penelope ancora
 non si comincia a rinnovar la fama?
 Impaziente brama
 mi sollecita all'opra.
 Si scopra ormai, si scopra
 quanto di grande l'occulto agl'occhi altrui
 s'apra il velo che tiene
 la maestà di vaghe scene ascosa
 e vada Ulisse a consolar la sposa.
 Tuoni orribili tacete
 lampi, fulmini cessate,
 venti l'ali suspendete
 onde placide tornate. *Sacchetano i tuoni, cessano i lampi
 ed il mare segue a stare in tempesta.*

Al mio cenno sovrano
 già il lampo si fermò, già tacque il tuono
 e non si placa il mar? Pallade io sono.
 Il tridentato nume
 forse contrario al mio
 così giusto desio
 dell'infido elemento erge le spume?
 Eccomi a te rivolto
 le altre querele mie Nettuno ascolta.

Reggia di Nettuno.

NETTUNO Saggia diva tu mi chiami
 ad udire il tuo lamento
 dimmi pur, che vuoi, che brami
 che di me lagnar ti sento?

PALLADE Nettuno, e deve ancora
 lontano dal tuo regno
 scosso da flutti andar vagando Ulisse?
 E qual astro prefisse,
 così fiera sventura a eroe sì degno,
 ed ancor più con vedovo soggiorno
 dell’amato consorte
 sospirando il ritorno
 pianger dovrà Penelope la casta?
 Basta, Nettuno, basta.

NETTUNO Pallade, e di tant’ira
 contro di me t’accendi?
 Per l’eroe che difendi
 farò che sia tutto tranquillo il mare
 e sull’itache arene
 la fida sposa abbraccerà il suo bene.

NETTUNO E
PALLADE A2 Il mare in procella
 non più si vedrà
 Penelope bella
 d’Ulisse godrà.

2. Drama

[6] **ROME 1614** AMOR PUDICO / FESTINO, E BALLI / DANZATI IN ROMA / NELLE NOZZE / De gl' Illustri.^{mi} & Eccell.^{mi} Sig.^{ri} D. Michele Peretti / Principe di Venafro, e Signora Princesa D. Anna Maria Cesis / *Nel Palazzo della Cancelleria l'Anno 1614.* / Del Sig. Iacomo Cicognini ne l'Accademia de / gli Humoristi di Roma / detto il Confidente. / [marca] / IN VITERBO, / Presso Girolamo Discepolo, M.DC.XIII. / *Con licenza de' Superiori*, 38. [text: Giacomo Cicognini; music: Ippolito Macchiavelli, Cesare Marotta, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino]

Nettuno sorgendo dal mare.

NETTUNO Ninfe per rimirar l'alto stupore
 sorgete ormai da l'arenoso fondo,
 di nuova citerea pudico ardore
 fa la terra felice e il mar giocondo:
 e se nel regno mio festeggia amore,
 seco festeggi ancor l'ondoso mondo.
 Or voi cinte di perle e di coralli
 intrecciate scherzando i lieti balli.

[7] **VENICE 1637** L'ANDROMEDA / Del Signor / BENEDETTO FERRARI. / *Rappresentata in Musica / In Venetia l'Anno 1637.* / Dedicata / ALL'ILLUSTRISSIMO / SIG. MARCO ANTONIO / PISANI. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegi.* / [vignetta: colomba] / IN VENETIA, MDCXXXVII. / Presso Antonio Batiletti, I.3-4, 24-28. [text: Benedetto Ferrari; music: Francesco Mannelli]

SCENA TERZA.

Mercurio, Nettuno.

MERCURIO Padre e signor, dei salsi regni e cupi,
 o dell'algose e liquide contrade
 imperador sovrano; a te mi manda
 la regina dei numi e de le sfere,
 gratia da te desia,
 ch'il suo desire adempia. [...]

- NETTUNO Messaggero gentil di quel bel regno,
ch’ha per mura le stelle e tetto il sole,
Giunon che chiede o vuole?
Brama ch’il mar in colma oggi gareggi
coi zaffiri del cielo?
O desia che turbato
con fremito temuto
lavi ’l volto alle stelle e ’l capo a Pluto?
- MERCURIO Ne placido o turbato il mar desia.
Chiede sol ella, ch’uno
dei mostri, il più feroce, il più tremendo.
Ch’il mar alloggi, indirizzi immantinente
dell’Etiopia agli arenosi liti.
Vuol ch’ad un sasso avvinta
Andromeda regina
spegna col sangue suo sete ferina.
- NETTUNO Non sia voto d’effetto il suo desire;
dispongo come vuole
del salso rege e dell’ondosa mole.
Oggi delle mie belve, la più cruda,
la più feroce ed empia
chiuderà nelle viscere colei,
ch’ella vivente aborre.
si fian dei corpi umani
(per servir à la dea dei sommi chiostri.)
Feretri i scogli e sepolture i mostri.
- MERCURIO Al tuo pronto volere
ben la diva del ciel debito deve. [...]
- NETTUNO Godo che medicina all’Etra sia
l’amaritudin mia;
e che nel mio cruccioso instabil seno
posa ritrovi l’immortal sereno.
- MERCURIO Or tu imponi che tosto
esca ’l mostro dall’umida magione,
ch’io torno in cielo a consolar Giunone.

SCENA QUARTA

Nettuno, Proteo.

NETTUNO A tempo giungi, o Proteo.
 Deità più gradita
 desiar non potea
 chi del salso universo il scettro impugna.
 Oggi, acciò che tu sappi,
 fien gli etiopi mari
 amari ascoltator d'umane strida,
 tragica scena a una bellezza infida.

PROTHEO [...]

Farò quanto t'aggrada;

scieglier un mostro io voglio,

di cui più proprio albergo

fora 'l tartareo fondo,

ch'il molle e salso mondo.

Ha coda d'angue e branche di leone;

sono le fauci sue fauci d'inferno,

spira lo sguardo orror, toscò la bocca;

tranne il folgor di Giove, in pezzi cade

ogni arma che lo tocca.

Gira dovunque ei vuole

le serpentine piante

e terrestre e marittimo e volante.

Questi sol col terrore

può le cittadi rivoltar in nulla,

non ch'il corpo gentil, d'una fanciulla.

NETTUNO Or tu dunque n'andrai,
 e quanto promettesti eseguirai;
 ch'io penetrando i liquidi cristalli
 vado a posar tra perle e tra coralli.

PROTHEO Non sarò lento in ubbidirti, o padre.
 Or all'antro m'invio,
 che le squamose accoglie orride squadre

Fine dell'atto primo.

[8] **VENICE 1656** LA / DIDONE / DI GIO: FRANCESCO / BUSENELLO. / OPERA / RAPPRESENTATA / In Musica nel Teatro di San / Casciano nell'Anno / 1641. / IN VENETIA, MDCLVI. / Appresso Andrea Giuliani. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori, & Privilegio.* / Si vende da Giacomo Batti Libraro in Frezzeria, II.5, 38-39. [text: Giovanni Francesco Busenello; music: Francesco Cavalli]

SCENA QUINTA.

Nettuno, Coro di ninfe marine.

NETTUNO Smoderati insolenti [*a Eolo e Giunone*]
nemi, turbini, venti,
a chi dic'io? Io vi farò! Chi turba
del tranquillo elemento,
della placida calma
senza gl'imperi miei la bella pace?
Perché tanta licenza?
Sgombrate dai miei regni
famiglia violente,
superbi esecutori
di cieco imperio e di volere insano.
Fuggite ormai, fuggite
satelliti mal nati
della plebe de' dei
schiera troppo oltraggiosa a regni miei.
Voi marittime ninfe,
voi dell'ondoso mondo amici numi,
rimovete da scogli e sollevate
le naufraganti e misere carine,
che tarde non fu mai gratie divine.

[9] **VENICE 1656** LA / PROSPERITA' / INFELICE / DI / GIULIO / CESARE / DITTATORE.
 / OPERA MUSICALE / DI GIO: FRANCESCO BUSENELLO. [marca] / IN VENETIA, MDCLVI.
 / Appresso Andrea Giuliani. / Con licenza de' Superiori, & Privilegio. / Si vende da
 Giacomo Batti Libraro in Frezzeria, V.7, 62-64. [text: Giovanni Francesco Busenello;
 music: Francesco Cavalli]

SCENA SETTIMA ET ULTIMA.

Libertà, Nettuno.

LIBERTÀ Verso l'ecclse cime
 dell'olimpo sublime,
 mal trattata da Roma io mi rivolgo,
 perché chiari preveggo i danni miei,
 ne so quando il destin manderà i giorni,
 che in terra ad abitar sicura io torni.

NETTUNO Fermati Libertà,
 tuo soggiorno sarà
 una cittade gloriosa e grande,
 che vergine e invitta
 l'onda per base avrà, per tetto il cielo.
 Quivi tu vedrai
 diviso in mille teste
 l'unico dell'Impero,
 Venetia sarà detta
 questa città suprema e trionfante,
 che renderà famose
 le adriatiche sponde;
 ristretto dei stupori,
 ritratto delle sfere,
 epilogo del mondo,
 ricco empireo dell'arti,
 compendio di natura,
 e del grand'universo abbreviatura.
 Forte, libera, giusta,
 nel zodiaco politico vedrassi
 tre segni illuminar d'ogni stagione,
 la vergine, la libra ed il leone.

LIBERTÀ E quanto mi consoli, o qual decoro
tu m’accredi, o Nettuno,
ma, almen veder potessi
tra gl’esemplari dell’eterne idee,
di città più celeste che terrena
l’abbozzo eccelso e l’immortal figura.

NETTUNO Mira colà, che Giove
di sua divinità nell’ombra estende
una piccola forma
di Venetia felice,
e mira come a prova
le folgoran d’intorno
lampi divini ed ella
di sereno a se stessa
nel suo lucido cerchio
nota il sol d’ozioso e di soverchio.

LIBERTÀ O, beata magione,
ciel terreno a togati semidei,
tu regnerai sull’acque
e sarà del tuo impero,
recinto la natura e ronda il sole.

NETTUNO Libertà, senti, ascolta
fatidico Nettun ciò che predice
di qua a secoli molti,
tu canterai le lodi e io gl’applausi
di Venetia immortal in stil giocondo
nel Teatro Grimani famoso al mondo.

CORO Viva Venetia viva,
ogni penna descriva
del suo nome le glorie,
de’ suoi gesti l’historie,
et il destino ingemmi le coronano
al suo generosissimo leone.

Il fine dell’opera

[10] **VENICE 1659** ELENA. / DRAMA / PER MUSICA / Nel Teatro à S. Cassano, / Per l'Anno 1659. / *All'Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. Sig.* / ANGELO MOROSINI / Procurator di S. Marco. / [vignetta: aquila] / IN VENETIA, MDCLIX. / Appresso Andrea Giuliani. / *Con Licenza de' Sup. e Priv.* / Si vende da Giacomo Batti in Frez., I.1, 1-2 [text: Nicolò Minato; music: Francesco Cavalli]

ATTO I.

SCENA PRIMA.

LITO DEL MARE DI LACONIA.

Nettuno, Teseo, Piritoo, coro di deità cerulee.

TESEO PIRITOO A 2	Scherzi l'onda, brilli il mare. e l'aurette lascivette porgano dolci baci all'acque amare.
CORO	Scherzi l'onda e brilli il mare.
NETTUNO	Lalta prole del tonante oggi Teseo rapirà.
TESEO	Son pur grate a un cor amante, son pur dolci, son pur care le rapine di beltà.
PIRITOO	Il bambin che nudo va, non può dar gioie più rare.
CORO	Son pur dolci, son più care. Scherzi l'onda e brilli il mare.
NETTUNO	Da le sponde d'Athene già sicuri v'ho scotti della Laconia alle bramate arene. Tindaro qui comanda; Tindaro che si crede d'Elena genitor, ne sa che Giove di vago cigno sotto bianche spoglie, del poco accorto secondò la moglie. Or voi che del tonante, in nodo marital germi volete, di questa greca per sì eccelso fine, ite, ladri d'amor, a le rapine. [...]

[11] **VENICE 1675** LA DIVISIONE / DEL MONDO / *Drama per Musica* / Nel Famoso Teatro Vendramino / di S. Salvatore, / DI GIULIO CESARE CORRADI / L'ANNO M.DC.LXXV. / CONSACRATO / All'Heroica Immortal Grandezza / DELLA GENEROSA / NOBILTA' / VENETA. / IN VENETIA, M.DC.LXXV. / Appresso Francesco Nicolini. / *Con licenza de' Superiori e Privilegio*, [Neptune is part of the whole drama]

libretto in: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/libretti/02/Lo02680/>

music in: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525067773/f10.image>

[12] **VENICE 1677** TOTILA / *DRAMA PER MUSICA* / Nel Famosissimo Teatro Grimano / di SS. Gio: e Paolo. / L'ANNO M.DC.LXXVII. / DI MATTEO NORIS. / CONSACRATO / All'Altezza Serenissima / DI / FERDINANDO / CARLO / Duca di Mantova, / Monferrato, &c. / [vignetta: corona] / IN VENETIA, M.DC.LXXVII. / Per Francesco Nicolini. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privilegio*, III.4, 79. [text: Matteo Noris; music: Giovanni Legrenzi]

SCENA IV.

[La scena] *si cambia in marittima.*

Nettuno che figura l'acqua in machina con suoi seguaci.

NETTUNO

Squamosi protei
tritone e glauchi,
dal fondo argente,
su scuotete l'algoso tridente.
Solo in grembo alla procella
sorga Roma oggi più bella.
Che qual Troia un tempo nacque
scoglio a più regni a gran città nell'acque. *Segue l'abbattimento fra le quattro varie squadriglie.*

SCENA V.

La Pace in machina con i quattro elementi.

PACE

Porgeran dei lor cori un solo cor.
Il mondo festeggi
con ciglio seren.
Il riso vivace
dal sen della pace.
Dispieghi 'l suo raggio
con aureo balen.
Spieghi 'l suon fama giuliva.

GIOVE, Viva la pace.
 PLUTO, Viva Roma.
 NETTUNO,
 CIBELE A 4 Viva.

Fine.

[13] **VENICE 1678** L'AURORA / IN ATENE / DRAMA PER MUSICA / Nel Teatro Grimani / di SS. Gio: e Paolo. / L'Anno 1678. / *Del Dottor Frisari.* / DEDICATO / *All'Illustriss. Signor* / ANTONIO / GRIMANI / Figlio dell'Illust. & Ecc. Sig. / GIO: CARLO. / IN VENETIA, M.DC. LXXVIII. / Per Francesco Nicolini. / *Con Lic. De' Super. e Privilegio*, I.19, 24-25, I.20, (55-56). [text: Girolamo Frisari; music: Antonio Giannettini]

SCENA XIX.

Fondo del mare.

Nettuno sopra una conchiglia portata da cavalli marini.

Venere e Aurora sopra il globo d'amoretti.

Venere, Aurora, Nettuno.

VENERE Invitto re che imperi ai salsi argenti
 ascolta dell'Aurora i rei tormenti.

NETTUNO Svela, o bella, il cordoglio,
 non alberga in Nettuno alma di scoglio.

AURORA Cefalo, il sole dei cori
 adoro e ei mi fugge;
 onde tra pianti e duolo nel tuo core
 deh, consola l'afflitto mio sen;
 che se pace non trovo in amore.
 Le tue furie mi diano il seren.

VENERE S'egli col pino alato
 dell'attica Anfitrite il dorso or preme.
 Dell'Aurora animar si può la speme.

NETTUNO Dalla tana ove risiede
 Porti Proteo al trono il piè,
 Se bastante da un cor mercé.

[14] **VENICE 1682** CARLO / RE D'ITALIA, / *DRAMA PER MUSICA* / Da Rappresentarsi nel Famosissimo / Teatro Grimani in S. Gio: / Grisostomo. / L'ANNO M.DC.LXXXII. / DI MATTEO NORIS. / CONSACRATO / ALLA FORTUNA. / IN VENETIA, M.DC.LXXXII. / Per Francesco Nicolini. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori*, I.5-6, 20-22 and III.ultima, 81-82. [text: Matteo Noris; music: Carlo Pallavicino]

SCENA V.

Mare immenso.

Da lontano sopra un delfino comparisce la Fortuna con la vela. [...] Qui a gala dell'acque si vede il dorso di grand'orca. [...] Al concerto di sinfonia marittima l'orca apre la bocca nella quale vengono

SCENA VI.

Nettuno dal fondo sopra d'un carro tirato da cavalli marini, Proteo, Glauco, Tritone, Fortuna.

NETTUNO O Sovrana dei venti,
 regina e dea, dal cui voler han legge
 della terra i monarchi e gl'elementi.
 Qui Nettuno.

PROTEO E Proteo.

DORI E Dori.

GLAUCO E qui Glauco.

TRITONE E qui Tritone.

A 5 Al tuo crin tesson corone.

FORTUNA Vo' che di Carlo ai pini eterna calma
 giuri dell'acque il regno.
 [...]
 Su, dunque all'opra.

NETTUNO Su. *Qui s'odono i segni della battaglia navale con lo sbarco di stromenti
 da fuoco.*
 [...]

SCENA ULTIMA.

Il cielo, il mar e l'inferno. Giove in alto. Plutone. Nettuno, dopo Amore.

GIOVE O re dell'onde e tu che regni in dite
 d'Amor le voci udite.

- AMORE Già per l'italo e l'ibero
più non freme il dio guerriero.
Già bandita Bellona pugnace
trionfa la pace.
E già sciolti i lacci al piè,
oggi Carlo è sposo e re.
- NETTUNO Calma eterna
il mare avrà.
- PLUTO La reggia inferna
non più sue furie scatenerà.
- GIOVE Doni un dì così giocondo
pace alla terra.
- TUTTI E riconcili il mondo. *Ballo in aria, in mar e in terra.*

IL FINE.

[15] **VENICE 1702** LA VITTORIA / Nella Costanza / *Drama per Musica* / Da rappresentarsi nel Teatro / di Sant'Angelo / *L'Anno 1702.* / CONSACRATO / *All'Illustriß. & Excellentiß. Sig.* / D. FILIPPO ANTONIO / SPINOLA COLONNA / Duca del Sesto, Generale della Cavalleria nello Stato di Milano per / S.M.C. &c. / IN VENEZIA / Appresso Marino Rossetti. / In Marzaria, all'Insegna della Pace. / *Con Licenza de' Superiori, e Privil.*, I.14, 25-26. [text: Francesco Passarini; music: Giuseppe Boniventi]

SCENA XIV.

Spiaggia marittima con sontuoso obelisco. Agamennone con Generali e Guardie.

- AGAMENNONE Del gran germe d'Anchise
popolato restò di dite il regno
e del seggio reale
sulla prora fatale
la grand'ombra paterna
andò mendica alle tartaree grotte. *Qui scuote la scena e rovina
l'obelisco.*
- Quali auguri funesti
al mio core predice?
Forse ai fati di Troia

in odio son perché delle mie glorie
 Argo e famosa oltre le vie del sole?
 Ma questa e la mercede
 ch'al valor degl'eroi il ciel concede? *Qui sorge del mare un gran mostro.*
 Che miro, o Dei!
 D'uopo e placar devoti
 le deità con sacrifici e voti. *Comparisce dal mare assiso sopra il suo
 carro Nettuno accompagnato da alcune deità marine.*

NETTUNO Gran tempo fu che le Troiane mura
 fu opra di mia mano e se ne fati.
 Fu che perisce Troia, archi e trofei
 a scorno dei Troiani
 rimirar non potei sui lidi miei. *Ritorna Nettuno a profundarsi nel mare.*

AGAMENNONE Son gli scettri e le corone
 pompe sol di vanità.
 E nel mondo regio soglio
 fermo scoglio
 dove un re pace non ha. *Segue ballo.*

Fine dell'atto primo.

[16] **VENICE 1705** IL / DAFNI / TRAGEDIA / SATIRICA. / Da rappresentarsi in Musica nel
 / Famosissimo Teatro Grima- / no di S. Gio: Gisosto- / mo l'Anno 1705. / IN VENEZIA,
 M.DCCV. / Appresso Marino Rossetti. / In Merceria, all'Insegna della Pace. / Con Licenza
 de' Superiori, e Privilegio, V.6, 81-82. [text: Girolamo Frigimelica-Roberti; music: Carlo
 Francesco Pollarolo]

SCENA VI.

[...] Coro ultimo.

*Esce dal mare Nettuno con Anfritre accompagnato da altre deità marittime e col gran carro
 forma il prospetto della scena occupando quella parte del piano. Da un lato sorge Plutone con
 Proserpina nel loro trono con il suo seguito. Dall'altro vien Cibele con altre divinità terrestri di
 suo accompagnamento. In aria comparisce Giove con Giunone accompagnati dal loro celeste
 corteggio e tutto segue all'invito di Mercurio che vuol far ricevere il figlio Dafni nel numero
 degli dei. Li, Cori suddetti dell'acque, della terra, dell'inferno e del cielo suonano, cantano
 e ballano, or divisi, or uniti. Poscia tutti insieme formano la gran festa per esprimere la
 comune allegrezza sull'onore fatto a Dafni d'esser reso immortale e ricevuto fra gl'altri numi.*

MERCURIO Udito ho i preghi tuoi diletto figlio
e da tutti gli dei
esauditi già vedi i preghi miei
poiché nega alto destino
che al mio Dafni io renda i lumi,
immortal reso e divino
vivrà ormai con gli altri numi.

PLUTO,
NETTUNO,
CIBELE,
GIOVE A 4

Terra, mare, inferno e cielo
già ti vuol nume immortal.
Dafni spoglia l’uman velo
così vuol sorte fatal.

DAFNI

Già mi spoglio l’uman velo,
così vuol sorte fatal,
terra, mare, inferno e cielo
già mi vuol nume immortal.

TUTTO IL
CORO DEI
SUDDETTI

Terra, mare, inferno e cielo
già ti vuol nume immortal.
Dafni spoglia l’uman velo
così vuol sorte fatal.

Fine del quinto atto.

[17] **VENICE 1706** FILIPPO / RE’ DELLA GRECIA / Drama per Musica / Da Recitarsi nell’impareggiabile / Teatro Grimani di S. Gio: / Gisostomo / L’Anno M.DCCVI. / *Dedicato all’Eccellenza del merito* / DELLE DAME / DI VENEZIA. / IN VENEZIA, M.DCCVI. / Appresso Marino Rossetti. / In Merceria, all’Insegna della Pace. / *Con Licenza de’ Superiori, e Privilegio*, I.1, 13-15. [text: Pietro Giorgio Barziza; music: Carlo Francesco Pollarolo]

ATTO PRIMO.

SCENA PRIMA.

Mare tempestoso oscurissimo, nel mezzo del quale sta situato gran scoglio, sopra cui vedesi eretta la reggia di Nettuno con trono nel mezzo, formato di glebe e squame sopra gran mostro marino, a piè del quale e al d’intorno veggonsi varii mostri marini e corteggiato da molte deità marine. Lo scoglio si è circondato dall’acque, le quali per la burrasca tanto s’alzano che coprono di quando in quando quasi tutta la reggia. Vegonsi varii navigli sbandati che travagliano parte dei quali sono di Demetrio che se ne viene da Roma e parte di Filippo che se ne andò ad incontrarlo.

Genti sulla spiaggia ritirate sotto coperti di alga e di canna che attendono lo sbarco dell'incontro di Demetrio e di Filippo. *Voci del popolo sopra la spiaggia.*

NETTUNO

Su, nocchieri a riva, a riva
pria che il mar più incalzi l'onda,
pria che in ciel austro più frema
l'alte prore baccin la sponda.

Nettuno sul Trono.

Sovra salsi, ondosì umori
dove impero ha il dio de mari,
su, s'acchetin le procelle.
E su l'alta, eterea mole
più non turbi, né confonda
la gran faccia oggi del sole,
tempestoso il mar con l'onda. *Va cessando il mare dalla burrasca,
uscendo da quello la Fortuna sopra il dorso d'un delfino che si
porta a galla sull'acque alla reggia di Nettuno.*

FORTUNA

Sovra il liquido elemento,
o squamoso nume e re,
la Fortuna viene a te.
Calma amica vo' che giuri,
ricambiando in bel sereno,
la su l'etra in nemi oscuri. *Breve sinfonia. Dal mare che abbonaccia
vedesi il sole uscire dall'onde, il quale quanto più s'avanza, tanto più va
illuminando la scena.*

NETTUNO

O sovrana dell'onde,
donna che puoi e che sovrasti sola
della terra ai monarchi,
pria che intesa, ubbidita, ecco tua legge. *Qui Nettuno e la Fortuna con le
deità s'attuffano nell'acque e compariscono approdando al lido le navi di
Demetrio e di Filippo [...]*

[18] ROMA 1718 TELEMACO / *Dramma per Musica* / DI / CARLO SIGISMONDO CAPECI / Da rappresentarsi nella Sala dell'Illustris- / simo Signor Federico Capranica / nel Carnevale dell'anno 1718. / DEDICATO / All'Ill.^{mo} & Ecc.^{mo} Signore, / IL SIG. CONTE / DI GALASSO / Ambasciatore Cesareo, e Cat- / tolico in Roma, &c. / Si vendono a Pasquino nella Libreria di Pietro Leone / all'Insegna di S. Gio. di Dio. / In ROMA, nella Stamperia del Bernabò. 1718. / *Con licenza de' Superiori*, I.1, 9-11. [text: Carlo Sigismondo Capeci; music: Alessandro Scarlatti]

ATTO I.

SCENA PRIMA.

Campagna al lido del mare con rovine di fabbriche e alberi diroccati dall'inondazione e con la facciata del Tempio di Nettuno. Nettuno tirato dal suo carro da Tritone e Minerva sopra nuvola parimente nel suo carro.

Nettuno e Minerva.

NETTUNO

Armatevi di spume
ondose mie procelle
per muover guerra al ciel,
che il mio sprezzato nume
assalirà le stelle
con fulmini di gel.

Dunque, fu poco nel litigio antico,
ch'io cedessi a Minerva;
se risvegliando ancora
l'astio crudel delle sopite risse.
Non prendeva, in difesa
di Telemaco e Ulisse,
a rinnovar con me l'alta contesa.
Ma quest'ingrato lido,
che diede al genitore
già ricetta sì fido,
et oggi ancor, darlo presume al figlio,
nelle rovine sue miri se sia
per lui dell'ira mia lieve il periglio.

MINERVA

Del ciel chi non teme
sdegnar la possanza,
in van s'armerà:
Se crede alla speme
di folle arroganza,
ben presto cadrà.

Oh dell'umido regno
 dominator superbo, e che pretende
 contro i seguaci miei, fare il tuo sdegno?

NETTUNO Scuoterò col tridente,
 quest'aborrito suolo;
 dall'Eolia prigionie
 scioglierò i venti e manderolli a volo,
 perché all'itaco ardito
 rompan le antenne e squarcino le vele.

MINERVA E diano al re dei mari
 titolo di tiranno e di crudele.
 Qual colpa o qual errore
 dell'itaco guerrier fu che t'indusse
 ad armare in suo danno il tuo furore?

NETTUNO D'Ilio le mura, opra già mia, distrasse.

MINERVA E Telemaco il figlio, in che ti offese?
 Che fece mai che disse?
 [...]
 Deponi il cieco sdegno
 Nettuno e a me dona
 il figlio e 'l genitore, ambo innocenti,
 e se son rei, le colpe lor perdona,
 che i dei, son dei sol perché son clementi.

NETTUNO Il contumace orgoglio
 di chi mi disprezzò punir mi giova.

MINERVA Oggi vedrai per prova,
 se d'Itaca gl'eroi ti son devoti,
 e quali t'offriran vittime e voti.

NETTUNO Solo così potranno
 disarmar l'ira mia.

MINERVA Per la tremenda
 stigia palude, io così a te lo giuro.

NETTUNO Et io che non lo offenda
 più il mio poter prometto e assicuro.

MINERVA
NETTUNO
A 2

Torni dunque il ciel sereno,
torni in calma questo mar.
Cessi il tuono e il baleno;
ne paventi più tra i venti
il nocchier di naufragar.

[19] **VENICE 1731** VENERE / PLACATA / DRAMMA / PER MUSICA / DA / RAPRESENTARSI / NEL TEATRO / GRIMANI / DI / S. SAMUELE / NELLA FIERA / DELL'ASCENSIONE / DELL' / ASCENSIONE / DELL'ANNO / MDCCXXXI. / 1731 / IN VENEZIA / *Per Carlo Buonarigo / Con Licen. De' Superiori.* [text: Claudio Nicola Stampa, music: Francesco Courcelle] [Neptune is part of the whole drama]

libretto in: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/libretti/01/Lo01322/>

ARGOMENTO. Sorgeva sopra le venete spiagge sacro a Venere magnifico tempio, quale per fiera procella venne dall'onde marine guasto in gran parte e quasi abbattuto; onde contro Nettuno giurando Venere aspra vendetta, fece in modo che l'oppressore s'invaghisce d'Adria, nobilissima ninfa in quell'isole, quale già sacra a Diana per legge inviolabile non poteva congiungersi a qualunque imeneo gli venisse proposto. Nettuno, non potendo possedere gli amori di questa Ninfa, per ultimo rimedio si finge un pastore che a caso scherzo dell'onde siasi salvato su quei lidi, nei quali eravi barbaro costume d'arrestare tutti li forestieri che vi pervenivano ed ogn'anno poi cavatone uno a sorte veniva sacrificato a Cintia per mano della sua sacerdotessa in pena della colpa d'un pastore straniero che impuramente stesa aveva la destra ad una ninfa sacra a Cintia entro il suo tempio stesso.

Come Nettuno sotto nome d'Aminta ricercasse, ma sempre in vano Adria di corrispondenza negli affetti, come dello stesso Aminta s'innamorasse Eurilla, figlia di Montano, sacerdote di Cintia, ed in fine dopo diversi casi ed avvenimenti, come seguissero le nozze di Nettuno con Adria, il tutto si vede disteso nel proseguimento del dramma che prende il principio da Nettuno che sotto abito di pastore si porta sopra le venere spiagge, sperando in tal modo godere degli amori d'Adria &c.

3. Intermedio

[20] **ROME 1630** HERO, E LEANDRO / Favola marittima / DEL BRACCIOLINO / DELL'API.
/ CON INTERMEDI / APPARENTI. / E col Montano Egloga. / All'ill.^{mo}, & Eccell.^{mo} Sig.re
/ IL SIGNOR / D. THEADEO BARBERINI / PRINCIPE DI PALESTRINA / GENERALE DI S.
CHIESA. / [marca: luna] / IN ROMA, / Appresso Guglielmo Facciotti. 1630. / Con licenza
de' Superiori. / Ad istanza d'Ottavio Ingrassiani, pp. 58-59, 72-73. [text: Francesco
Bracciolini; music: ?]

Intermedio Terzo. *Nettuno*

NETTUNO Dio del mare e d'ogni foce
re feroce,
che lo scettro ho nel tridente
e l'angusta arida terra
chiude a serra
mio poter con l'onda argente.
 Quanti augelli e quante belve
aria e selve
nutrir ponno e quanti rei
chiuddon l'ombre ignudi spirti,
fra i lor mirti
vinti son da i pesci miei.
 L'acque mie forano il seno
del terreno;
e sull'Alpi imperiose
dominar le vedi i monti,
rive e fonti
cader poi tra valli ombrose.
Fu sua sorte e non sue prove,
quando a Giove
si prescrisse il premier loco.
Io tra lui nel mezzo sono,
e quel trono
c'ha le tenebre di foco.
 E pur l'uomo al sale ondoso
animoso
osò porre in fronte il piede:
e ponendo all'aquilone,
freno e sprone

su i miei flutti errar si vede.

Io ’l consento e delle navi
su le travi
biancheggiar le vele al vento
già sopporto e con la mano
questo e spiano
sotto ai remi il mar d’argento.

Ma più oltre oggi s’avanza
la baldanza
del feroce umano ingegno;
per calcar d’umido nume
flutti e spume
prende il sasso e lascia il legno.

Stabilisce altero ponte
per mie onte,
e perturba i miei confini:
ma soffrir più non si vuole
tanta mole;
or precipiti e ruini. *E qui percotendo il ponte col tridente, il ponte si rompe e cade nel mare disfatto.*

Intermedio quinto. *Venere, Amore, Nettuno e Anfione*

VENERE

O dell’altro ondeggiar della mia cuna
sommo rettor che al gran ceruleo regno,
molci e sollevi il tempestoso sdegno,
con l’algosa tua fronte or chiara, or bruna.

Già non intorbidò quel ponte altero
l’umida monarchia, ma di Giunone
rupe le respirabil regione:
tu ’l frangi a torto, abbia licenza il vero.

Consenti almen su le rovine accolte
ergersi un tempio in isolato lido
a mio nipote, al figlio mio Cupido
le acque il domineran d’intorno avvolte.

Nettuno

Bastami un cenno vostro, io per voi godo
la diletta Anfitrite, e in fredde vene
senton fuoco amoroso, orche e balene;
stringe i tritoni miei vostr’alto nodo.

Sorge l'isola adunque, il mar produca
 la terra e scopra un improvvisa mole,
 come bramate voi, la fronte al sole,
 e il tempio a vostr'onor sorga e riluca.
E qui percotendo Nettuno le acque col tridente, apparisce l'isola.
 [...]

[21] **ROME 1654** LA TRASFORMATIONE / DI DAFNE / FAVOLA MORALE / CON DUE INTERMEDIJ / Il primo contiene il ratto di Proserpina, / e la sua Coronatione nell'Inferno. Il / secondo rappresenta la cattività nella / rete di Venere, e Marte: Il riso de gli / Dei, e la liberatione di essi. / DEL SIGNOR / PIER FRANCESCO / VALENTINI / ROMANO. / [marca] / In Roma, Per li Mascardi. 1654. / *Con licenza de' Superiori*, 12-14, 43-45 [text: Francesco Valentini; "musica dall'istesso autore", Francesco Valentini]

Argomento del secondo Intermedio. Vulcano dio del foco marito di Venere, il quale per il suo deforme aspetto fu scacciato dal coro degli dei e precipitato giù dal cielo onde per la caduta zoppo ne è rimasto, appare adirato con una reta in spalla e con una catena dicendo che non vuole essere infame tra gli dei e che si vuole vendicare, essendo che la sua Venere adultera contro la legge nunziale innamorata di Marte con esso ivi è solita godere li suoi ingiusti amori, però egli nei diletti amorosi li vuole co la rete involuppare e incatenarli, facendoli suoi prigionieri e per vituperarli, in quel atto lascivo farli vedere al coro degli dei. Tende la rete e si nasconde pregando il cielo sia favorevole a suoi disegni. Marte conforme l'usato viene con Venere facendosi l'un l'altro vezzi amorosi e abbracciandosi per godere al solito i frutti d'amore, sono ambedue nella rete involti e da Vulcano incatenati, il quale chiamando i dei e in particolare Giove, Giunone e Nettuno li quali movendosi a riso, sono da Venere e Marte pregati ad averli pietade. Per intercessione di Nettuno sono da Vulcano levati della rete e liberati dalla servitù e Venere e Marte rendendone gratie si pentono del commesso errore e chiudendosi il cielo con gli dei dentro, Vulcano rimane di fuori di esso e con la sua rete e catena se ne va per la sua strada &c.

Intermedio Secondo.

Vulcano, Venere e Marte e coro degli dei Giove, Giunone e Nettuno.

[...]

VULCANO Giunone, Giove e Nettunno
 e ciascun altro dio
 apparisca e rimiri
 spettacolo nefando al mondo rio.

GIUNONE,
NETTUNO,
GIOVE A 3

Oh che riso, oh che riso,
oh vergogna, oh rossore,
amari frutti del lascivo amore.

VENERE,
MARTE A 2

Oh miseri, oh infelici
abbiateci pietade, oh sommi dei.

NETTUNO

Basta, basta Vulcano
un atto generoso
da te sia dimostrato
ch’usar pietà nel vinto al vincitore
e gloria e sommo onore.

VULCANO

Non posso contraddirti, oh dio del mare
dica Giove e Giunon quel che gli pare.

GIOVE

E cosa da crudele
tenerli in servitude.

GIUNONE

Da te dipenderà la lor salute.

VULCANO

Poi che così vi piace
liberi e sciolti siano, io vi perdono.

VENERE,
MARTE A 2

Noi gratie vi rendiamo eccelsi numi,
e da voi conosciamo
la cara libertade,
et acciò che apparisca
che del commesso errore ci pentiamo
risoni ad una voce.
Ecco i frutti d’amore
passione, pena, danno e disonore.

TUTTI
INSIEME

Ecco i frutti d’amore
passione, pena, danno e disonore.

Fine del secondo intermedio.

4. Imaginery

[22] **VENICE 1733** ARGENIDE / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / Da rappresentarsi nel Teatro S. Angelo / *Nel Carnovale dell'Anno 1733.* / DEDICATO / *All'Illustrissimo Signor* / FRANCESCO ANTONIO RIZZI / Marchese della Piovà Cerreto, Castel / vero, e Cerasetto, &c.&c.&c. / ET / *All'Illustrissimo Signor Marchese* / FABIO FEDRIGO RIZZI / Di Lui Figlio, &c.&c.&c. / IN VENEZIA, MDCCXXXIII. / Presso Marino Rossetti / Libraio in Marzeria. / CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

[23] **VENICE 1712** PUBLIO / CORNELIO / SCIPIONE / DRAMA PER MUSICA / Da rappresentarsi nel Famoso Teatro / Grimani / DI S. GIO: GRISOSTOMO / Nel Carnovale dell'anno 1712. / CONSACRATO / ALLA NOBILTÀ / VENETA. / IN VENEZIA. / Per Marino Rossetti, in Merceria, / all'Insegna della Pace. / CON LIC. DE' SUPERIORI.

5. Scenografic

[24] **VENICE 1747** CAIO MARZIO / CORIOLANO / DRAMMA PER MUSICA / DA / RAPPRESENTARSI NEL / TEATRO TRON / DI / SAN CASSIANO / IL CARNOVALE / DELL'ANNO MDC-CXLVII. / SECONDA EDIZIONE. / [marca] / IN VENEZIA, / CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, 78. Reggia di Galatea.

Ballo.

Galatea discende su 'l lido scortata da Nettuno ed altre marine divinità che unite ad essa dimostrano colle danze l'applauso di quel trionfo.

A colecção Estudos & Documentos (E&D) do CHAM publica trabalhos originais resultantes da investigação científica nas Humanidades, nas mais variadas cronologias e esferas disciplinares.

Desde tempos imemoriais que o elemento água tem sido associado com poder. A intenção deste livro é aprofundar o entendimento da conexão entre água e poder através de uma série de estudos de caso que nos darão informação sobre a enorme versatilidade deste assunto.

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