Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

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Universidade dos Açores

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Gardens and Landscapes of Portugal

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Presentation

Gardens and Landscapes of Portugal is the first journal ever created in Portugal to share scientific research on Portuguese history of gardens and landscapes and theory, since Antiquity until nowadays, not only in the territory that is nowadays Portugal but also including the landscapes of its Empire. The scope that the scientific journal *Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal* aims to attain is the international one and that is the reason why it only exists in English language and online because we want to reach anyone all over the world who is interested in this subject.

At the same time that we aim to share the scientific research done in this area we also want to promote our heritage. Portugal is a small country but with a privileged location in the south-western part of Europe, between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, with a temperate climate. These geographical conditions gathered with its history, with so many different influences, turn Portugal one of the most interesting European countries in terms of gardens and landscapes. In such a small territory the biodiversity is one of the highest in Europe where all the Mediterranean flora exists, but also many tropical species introduced during the time of the Great Discoveries and Modern period, giving Portuguese gardens and landscapes a very "exotic look" as all foreign travelers have noticed. From north to south, Portugal has so many different and interesting landscapes that ought to be seen and studied from a historical, geographical, sociological and anthropological

point of view. Furthermore, the huge amount of 2 historical gardens that exist in Portugal from the Early modern period; Modern period, Romanticism, Modernism and post-Modernism, most of them totally unknown to Portuguese people, because some are private property and even if some of them have recently been transformed into rural tourism they remain treasures to discover to most nationals. At an international level, this is an almost "virgin" heritage that needs and deserves to be studied, preserved and shared.

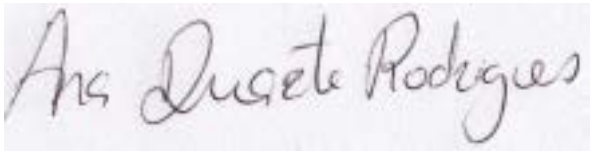
Portuguese gardens and landscapes are full of unexpected surprises that we invite to discover and write about. We expect national and international scientific community committed with this field of studies to get acknowledge of the journal and to consider publishing in it.

Gardens and Landscapes of Portugal journal is a dream come truth. And it was only possible due the support of some people that believed in this project since the beginning, such as the research centers directors, the scholars who are members of the Scientific Committee and the team who has worked with me, day after day, night after night. Professor Paulo Rodrigues and Professor João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, heads of the research centers – Centro de História da Arte e Investigação Artística of the University of Évora and Centro de História de Além-Mar of New University of Lisbon and University of Açores need to be pointed out as vital supports to turn this into reality and we were also very privileged to have the total support of the Mediterranean Garden Society in the person of Miss Rosie Peddle who is also the proof-reviewer of the journal and without her generosity this would not be possible.

The agreement, commitment and enthusiasm of the members of the Scientific Committee with whom I first talk about this project were also highly above my highest expectations. Professor Margarida Acciaiuoli and Professor Aurora Carapinha were the 3 first to know about this project and to support it. Making some positive pressure, Professor Margarida, from times to times, was asking: "So Ana, when is the journal coming up?"

I recognize also that the program I organized this year with Professor Aurora Carapinha on *Arts of Gardens Books: Dialogues on ideas of gardens*, and supported by CHAIA, is mostly responsible for the international scientific relationships that allowed having half of the members of the journal's Scientific Committee from outside Portugal. Among the Portuguese scholars that accepted to become members of the Scientific Committee some are pioneers in the promotion of the study of Gardens and Landscapes by Humanities and Social Sciences such as Professor Luís Baptista and Professor Margarida Acciaiouli to whom I will always be especially grateful. My deepen scientific and personal consideration is dedicated to all the other members of the Scientific Committee.

We have also to thank the generosity of the National Theatre Museum of and its director who has supported in all different manners. Above all I sincerely want to express my gratitude, but also my respect and total admiration for Paulo Baptista and Francisco Baptista. The only reason that can explain a result such as this is because there is was a group of persons that loved to work together and has very similar tastes and opinions on significant subjects. I wish the highest success and long live to this journal. In fact, I wish in a hundred years to be remembered as the first editor of a journal that still exists and is recognized by the academy all around the world.



(Ana Duarte Rodrigues, *Gardens and Landscapes of Portugal* editor)

Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

The spaces in between

John Dixon Hunt

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ABSTRACT

How do we discuss gardens and landscapes without focusing entirely in the various items that elicit iconographical or literary commentary? So much analysis is focused upon the items within a landscape upon which is is relatively easy to offer explanatory accounts of meaning or patronage, that we tend to forget the abundant numbers of spaces within them. How if at all do we respond to those?

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ARTICLE

Sometimes in reading poetry one is taken by their silences, by the gaps between the lines. Silence slides into the mind, for example, when moving from an octet to the sestet of a sonnet (much more so than in the slighter hesitation with which we move into the final couplet of a Shakespearean sonnet). What happens in that space is crucial to the whole affect.

Once Ezra Pound had reworked T.S.Eliot's *The Waste Land*, it was left with breath-taking lacunae, and Pound's Cantos themselves are filled by the silences into which we fall from the surrounding lines. And the Italian poet Ungarreti, clearly moved by the silences in his favourite modern poets, Eliot/Pound, opened up his lines for – well, for what is not clear exactly: maybe for our own thoughts to occupy the trenches that yawn between his lines.

It reminds me of the notion that W.G.Sebald entertained of Sir Thomas Brown's MS, "Musaeum Clausum or Biblioteca Abscondita", where, though it is probably feigned, there is the record of "King Solomon's treatise on the shadow cast by our thoughts, de Umbris Idearum, previously reported to have been written in the library of the Duke of Bavaria". Our thought's shadows fall into the spaces that open up to us as we read and leap or falter across the printed lines of many poems, and I suppose that what we think in those moments emerges, sometimes, into our commentaries. But what of the leaps or pauses or faltering moments in other arts, especially in garden visiting, for example, when so much time is spent between the items on which our mind generally tends to dwell ?

It is the shadows cast by my thoughts that preoccupy me now in gardens. I seem to have exhausted what I can write about this statue, that inscription, this temple or that arcade, about the meanings of the various nomenclatures that people have used to label the garden's structures (Praeneste here, Ancient Virtue there, Apollo, or is it Antinous, somewhere else). I go photographing all these things, caption-worthy items, apt for sustaining art historical or literary enquiries. But gardens do not now easily abide my questions. They tend to escape from my analytical grasp.

Garden commentary and scholarship have, of course, largely attracted art historians and literary critics, with philosophers and geographers also participating. The result, notably in the case of the first two specialists, has

resulted in both text and imagery focusing upon items in the sites that can be discussed in the commentaries. Art historians tend to discuss iconography, literary historians, meaning: and both these foci need to take specific items into account. We have photographs of statues, inscriptions, temples, ground forms like terraces or theatrical amphitheatres; discussions of their significance and meaning all need to concentrate on these physical triggers or prompts of discursive commentary.

Little Sparta, Scotland. (Photo Emily T. Cooperman)

While these approaches have elicited a wealth, no doubt, of excellent commentary, they fail to do justice to what may be called the spaces in between. On either side of these spaces are the tangible things, photographable, explainable, on which we base our discussions of garden art. This recognition struck me forcibly when going two years ago with a photographer to shoot scenes in Ian Hamilton Finlay's garden of Little Sparta. Both the photographer and I knew the garden from the frequent images of it, and in part we were concerned to see that garden in different ways. This meant deciding, as far as possible, not to highlight inscriptions, sculptural fragments (of which Finlay used many, often inscribed), or other discrete objects, many of which were often provoking and unusual (at least for garden lovers), like severed heads painted in gold, a tortoise with PANZER LEADER inscribed on its shell, or bird tables in the shape of aircraft carriers, where the birds seeking food swooped down onto the flight deck and took off into the air. The pull of these stimulating and iconic items was considerable and appealing.But even in a compact site, which largely Little Sparta is, we tried to look at what was between the various items. We were led to see things from afar, with eloquent, even empty, spaces in between, or capturing perhaps a variety of items, within one shot, yet allowing these discrete items not to impinge totally upon the intermediate spaces. We wanted to record silences in the garden. The silent photograph always allows that; but visitors to gardens do not have that evident privilege. It was, in part, an effort to escape from the thrall of the picturesque, what William Gilpin called "the scene painted in syllables, words and sentences….."

The same photographer was with me in two other, very different gardens – Rousham, in Oxfordshire, and Bomarzo, the "Monster" park, near Viterbo in Italy. Here, too, our earlier reception of these places was determined by what we'd seen in books and articles, and in my own case by my earlier explorations of these sites, where all I did then was take photographs of discrete items – statues and a fine arcade, for example, at Rousham, or the strange figures carved in the local rock, sometimes inscribed, at Bomarzo, and construct a narrative that explained how these items were linked into some exposition of the place either for its creator/designer, or perhaps for subsequent visitors with a zest for stories (not to mention the iconography hunters). Yet gardens are NOT narratives, not least because in most cases there is no dedicated route around them; nonetheless, they tend to yield themselves in that narrative way to visiting critics and writers of articles, and the urge to escape their thrall and inhabit the spaces in-between became compelling, but also a touch frustrating.

It was then I come upon a remark of Ian Hamilton Finlay (ironically in a book for which I had provided an introduction). In Finlay's interview with Udo Weilacher, in the latter's *Between Landscape Architecture and Land Art*, he called attention to "a lot of rhetorical space between the individual features" of a garden (p.102). I realized that we need to accept all these places in between the sculptures, the inscriptions and the temples, so as to respond to the interstices of the garden's mixed media. We need to obtain space for a rhetoric that is not explicitly verbal or even visual; what a Japanese poet called the "many things…. brought to my mind / As I stand in the garden / Staring

as a cherry tree". I was struck by the way that even in a compact garden like Finlay's own Little Sparta we need space between items, not least because that garden requires us to meditate upon its ideas; hence the "rhetorical space", space where words ("brought to my mind") can take shape. And if in Little Sparta, why not elsewhere? In the equally small spaces of Rousham, and, though a more extensive parkland, in the wooded glades at Bomarzo, where we constantly confront clusters of buildings (a leaning house, a chapel), stone arcades (a nymphaeum), seats (a Mouth of Hell), outsize statues of heroes wrestling or supine goddesses, inscriptions everywhere, we need pause. We need to let our thoughts cast shadows on the ground.

Rousham, Oxfordshire (Photo Emily T. Cooperman)

In my research and writings on Rousham , I stumbled upon a new book of poems dedicated to that garden, entitled *Her Leafy Eye* (Reading, UK, 2009). It devotes 20 poems to Rousham, mostly by writing about specific features there, though it occasionally responds to a series of more general gardenist items like "folly", "espalier", "topiary" or "the Genius Loci". Its author is Lesley Saunders, "an award-winning poet". Her foreword explains that the "18th century 'picturesque' [sic] landscape gardens at Rousham" have "inspired" the poems: this description of Rousham as "picturesque" seems designed to encourage us to see the garden as a series of pictures, which might therefore be especially apt for ekphraseis, which are, I take it, what are offered by the poems. But the volume also contains some images by Geoff Carr, which presumably work to reify its "picturesqueness" in another medium alongside the poems. Carr's note says that his computer-generated images "refer" directly to the poem that brought the image into his mind's eye, "often arriving completely resolved and in no need of further thought" (sic!). Carr is a garden and design practitioner, a film maker on gardens for the BBC, and the creator of garden sculpture and garden furniture. Finally, along with an oddly miscellaneous and incomplete bibliography on Rousham, a foreword of two pages expounds the "Furor Hortenis" (the garden craze) of the 18th century, and it notes, among its picturesque elements, the loss of topiary in the 18th century. This round-up of typical "picturesque" gardening is fine, if somewhat sweeping, but little of its account is taken up in the poems that follow, and Saunders even includes a poem on "Topiary" itself (p.37), though this had been expunged (by her own account) from the furor hortenis, and anyhow does not feature at Rousham! Overall, then, the site of Rousham is overwhelmed with commentary, both discursive and imagistic, descriptive and imaginative. The whole raison d'etre of this volume seems to be that it is based on the Rousham gardens. Even if you don't know the site, there is a rough map, annotated with the numbers of the poems dedicated to the specific items there, and concluding with a final poem, en face, that is entitled "Visit", though it could be about any visit to a garden.

Two of the briefer poems focus on specific items in the garden. The first takes its title from the Scheemaker sculpture of a Lion Attacking a Horse that graces the end of the bowling green. The poem indulges in fanciful associations - a unicorn (!), grappling lovers in the moonlight and the honey bees that will inhabit the lion carcass hereafter (only if the horse wins, I presume). Frankly, it seems a less than energetic encounter with the sculpture, evading any sense, for instance, of why it might be there.

Another poem also concerns a particular move by Kent's in designing the gardens in 1739, when he moved the Lion and the Horse to its present position, so that its location now presides over the view and leads us to it across the bowling green behind the house at the end of which we can take in a view of the Oxfordshire countryside. Kent also deliberately drew out attention to that landscape by inserting a whole series of incidents – a mill beside the River Cherwell that flows along the edge of the garden, gothicized with flying buttresses, and an "Eyecatcher",

Bomarzo, Italy (Photo Emily T. Cooperman)

as it is called, a triumphal arch, but also gothicized, on the far hillside. The poem on the "Eyecatcher" is printed opposite one of Carr's computerized images, but the image, and naming the actual Rousham feature itself, are really the only clues as to what the poem might be saying, and (absent those particular clues) there is nothing that ties the poem to this location: the first line of the final stanza – "I have been trying all my life / to see beyond the horizon" – might be true of far horizons in general, but in this case the Kentian arch is designed to pull our eyes out to that far hillside rather than to "see beyond" it.

It has been argued, in an article by Jas Elsner in *Art History 33/1* (2010), that all art history is ekphrastic, and one consequence of this is that ekphraseis tend to embrace generality. While all the titles of most of these poems in *Her Leafy Eye* do refer to items at Rousham, they neglect anything local or particular; nothing about the poem entitled "RILL" intersects with the actual rill at Rousham. There is nothing about the Walled Garden or the Grotto (though I am not sure there is anything I'd call a grotto at Rousham) that speaks of or returns our interest to those specific moments at Rousham. It is certainly true that such poems may bring to bear our larger notions of garden-ness upon the Rousham visit, but they do not even do that. Are they then the kind of general thoughts that can be cast upon the ground when visiting Rousham?

Leaving aside, which is difficult (I admit), any discussion of the poetic quality of these verses, they do all seem to occupy the places in between the evident and conspicuous items in the gardens, though for the most part they pretend to focus on those items. And this contrasts with much of the modern commentary on Rousham that "suffers" from an over zealous focus by art historians and literary historians (including myself) on the "meaning" of the gardens, so that the garden seems lost within the thickets of learned discourse. Mostly, this requires privileging an iconographical narrative of items in the gardens based primarily on the specific identification of the sculptures, as if the meaning of the garden was contained only within these isolated features; many other sculptures that are elsewhere in the gardens are ignored in the commentaries; so, even more, are the spaces between all the sculptures (for what can one say about them?). Indeed little attention is even paid to the relation of one item to another by seeing one in the distance while standing beside another, and thereby speculating on the spaces in between. Moreover, in discussing specific objects like sculptures, we are often encouraged to go outside the garden rather than to dwell within its spaces, to consult emblem books, or (in one case) a "rather obscure legend" regarding Proserpina in the Greek topographer Pausanius, or accept a strained attempt to explain the topography of the garden according to cultural geography with gothick elements to the north, an "Egyptian pyramid" to the east and a classical zone or ancient Roman site to the south. Somehow the commentaries often seem at odds with

the experience of the site itself, despite the photography or woodcuts that authors supply to illustrate the place; other narratives involve internal contradictions, or miss any sense that a garden is liable and open to multiple associations, especially when the claim is based upon one obligatory route around the gardens, for there can be, in fact, no privileged circuit "intended by Kent". In this tight, oddly shaped garden, tricks of perspective and unexpected sightlines play a crucial part in teasing the visitor, and it always seemed to me to be a whim that took me one way or another through this site.

Some items are certainly convincing and control our attention: the arcade known as "Praeneste" takes its name from a sequence of its arches derived from the multi-levelled Roman Temple of Fortune at Praeneste, the modern Palestrina. The Lion and Horse at Rousham echoes a similar sculpture at the Villa D'Este, where it overlooks the Roman Campagna, just as Rousham's group presides over the Oxfordshire countryside. The Dying Gladiator, originally designed by Kent to be placed on a Roman sarcophagus, clearly references Rousham's dying patron, General Dormer, and may well contribute, along with the horse attacked by the lion, to the mortuary tonality of the whole place, which other commentators make their main theme. But contrariwise, Venus, as a garden deity, presides over her valley, watched by a faun and Pan lurking in the shrubbery, which has given several commentators a plausible reason for relishing an understandably 18th-century lascivious moment.

But many things don't "fit". Gardens can certainly be melancholy places, and we may, if we like, take the River Cherwell at the bottom of the garden slope to be an allusion to the River Styx that bordered the classical Elysian Fields. But there are also happier prospects: not just the dying Gaul or the savaged horse, but the luscious & lascivious Venus, and views out towards a "triumphal" arch and a Temple of the Mill, which feature in what Horace Walpole called Kent's "prospect, animated prospect" [my emphasis]. Items that are said to be "inappropriate" to the theme of the Elysian Fields, are nonetheless skewed so that they fit the holistic narrative of the relevant iconography. Many other sculptures that do not fit the narrative are either ignored, or explained by saying they give the garden an antique air (which is a more likely gloss, apt shadows for our thoughts to throw upon the garden there). Confronted with the statue variously described as Apollo, or as Antinous, or simply as a "colossal" figure, commentators choose to reject Antinous, the beloved of Hadrian, because (i) it is nowadays presumed to have been "rather meaningless" as a Renaissance attribution and (ii) because Apollo would anyway better fit the Rousham profile.

That there was a River Styx, so called, in the Elysium Fields at the neighbouring garden of Stowe, where Kent designed the buildings but arguably was not involved in the overall landscape, does not make it reasonable that the same identification works at Rousham: there is no inscription at Rousham to point the way. It might have been Kent's whim (he was quick to be whimsical), but it remains a whim, and the argument that here at Rousham we have a real Styx that fits into the iconography of other items, like the Cold Bath, which is envisaged as Pluto's realm where Proserpina spent half the year, is a stretch too far. Now the person who did see the Cold Bath in those terms was the gardener or steward, called Macclary or Clary, writing in a 1760 letter, where he says he originally designated it as Proserpina's Cave himself and embellished it with figures, but "my Master not likening [one of the figures], I chopt them all down". But it is difficult to see how this whim of the steward's, which clearly displeased General Dormer, hardly suffices as a basis for creating yet another River Styx in Oxfordshire.

Macclary's lengthy and somewhat naïve commentary of Rousham was written in the 1760s to tempt its absent owners to come back and enjoy its pleasures (this important text was published as "A Description of Rousham", in the British journal *Garden History* in 1983). Macclary acknowledges some of the items in the grounds, and also gets some of them arguably "wrong" - he misses the Apollo statue, just as he also does not name the "Praeneste" terrace, though we know from the house accounts that this was how it was called; but neither "Apollo" or "Praeneste" have inscriptions, so he was presumably left on his own. So he was, I'd say, improvising as he walked around, or imagined himself walking around, letting his thoughts fall upon the ground, especially between the spaces of the garden that intervened between the scultptures. He does faithfully note almost every sculpture by name or description, though without any commentary on them, and he lists far more items than are conventionally cited by modern commentators. Yet what Macclary (or Clary, as he later called himself) does spend considerable time on is what usually gets neglected in modern discussions, because it seems to play little role in the design of the garden.

Instead he emphasizes three key elements: views throughout and outside the garden – what you see around you as you walk or sit; a whole range of agricultural and country matters, which he lists with far greater enthusiasm than the statues; and finally his endless celebration of its planting. These emphases do most emphatically speak to the effect or the reception of the garden as he and the absent owners would find it, and it surely needs to have an impact on how we respond to the gardens.

Clary's insistence on the planting was, we know from other sources and contemporary contacts, William Kent's signature effect; it seems routine for us now in visiting gardens, but McC insistence should make clear how innovative and astonishing was Kent's rich and careful under-planting of all sorts of trees. He notices "Oaks, Elms, Beach, Alder, plains and Horsechestnuts" as well as evergreens throughout, where walks were "backt with all sorts of Flowers and Flowering Shrubs", with "a great veriaty of evergreens and flowering shrubs", and remarks that "here you think the Laurel produces a Rose, the Holly a Syringa, the Yew a Lilac, and the sweet Honeysuckle is peeping out from every leaf" (there are other references along these lines). Plantings change over the years, obviously, but we still need to respond to a similar "infrastructure" of planting.

Macclary is also passionate about the essential, rural ambience: we look out beyond the garden to "five pretty Country Villages" and a "pretty Corn Mill", to meadows with "all sorts of cattle feeding, which looks the same as if they were feeding in the Garden"; within the estate itself he notices a paddock stocked with "two fine Cows, two Black Sows, a Bore, and a Jack Ass", "as pretty a sett of pig Stighs as aney is in England", kitchen and flowers gardens where the fruit is lovingly detailed, fishponds, a dairy yard, and the church. *Mutatis mutandis* these elements are still all there today, and the adjacent farmyard still very much in use.

We need to accept all these – local contexts like the farm and the countryside that enters into our awareness of the garden, as well as both sculptures and the temples and what we find between them as we walk. Because gardens are difficult works of art – fragile, changeful, ever resistant to our ekphrastic desires, then we need another mode of response that has validity in our thoughtful discussions of them. Hegel even said that the more thought and language that enter into our representation of things, the less do they retain their "naturalness, singularity, and immediacy". That is especially true of landscape architecture.

The one writer I know who tries to deal with this issue is James Elkins in his remarks in "Some Ways of Thinking About Gardens" (in *Our Beautiful, Dry, and Distant Texts*, 1997). He begins by listing some schema for talking about gardens (from representations of history and nature, to mixing of polarities and disciplines, to narratives, "open-ended sites of desire"). He clearly wishes for a way of responding to gardens (their "unusual diversity") that did not copy or duplicate how art historians would approach pictures and sculpture, so he takes up the idea of reverie to talk about the "quality of thought that gardens induce". Reveries have, of course, shades of Rousseau's *Les Reveries du Promeneur solitaire*, and it may well be an apt reference for dealing with the spaces in between. Since Elkins values "the lack of purity in garden responses", for a single response would be meaningless, he invokes a discussion of genius loci from another work, *The Poetics of Gardens* (1988) by Charles Moore, William J. Mitchell & William Turnbull, Jr., in a section that he calls "Writing That Wanders down the Garden Path". From here, he moved to his final claim that "gardens are like mild soporifics… over which observers have limited control". And there our garden paths divide sharply.

I am much preoccupied with what I have elsewhere called the 'afterlife" of gardens, how visitors respond to places that they visit, whether originally or in subsequent times or today. But on the one hand, we cannot rely upon Addison's appeal to gardens "natural" aptitude "to fill the mind with Calmness and Tranquillity" (that Elkins cites), for that is too anodyne and ultimately mere sentimentality; nor yet, I think, on the equally generalized ekphrastic manoeuvres in *Her Leafy Eye*, though it was that collection that forced me to look at the spaces in between.

The three photographs in this essay are all of very specific moments in Rousham, Bomarzo and Little Sparta, where we are not invited to see some special item, no sculpture or inscription in close up - indeed I have chosen ones with none of that (It is customary to illustrate statues when discussing gardens, but these images deliberately are excised from these opportunities). They are simply of places in between. But two of them are images of paths (this is easier to offer the reader here; yet any path that an individual takes in a garden, whether marked or not,

would serve my argument; equally a view taken across a pond). Now what the photographs cannot show here are what even ekphraseis fail to reveal - smells, sounds (to a huge extent), the physical impression of what one sees or whatever surface one is walking on (gravel, moss, grass), the simultaneity of sensations (the awareness of the air and breeze), the time of day and of season, and our natural ability to observe a landscape in a wide-angle gaze (we don't all look through the viewfinder of a camera). It is these elements that we need to involve in our discussions of gardens, however difficult it is to do this without falling into the blither and cosiness of "green fingers" garden writing. We ignore at our peril this varied and scattered attention. It repays attention to Northrop Frye's literary proposal about understanding a play, that our "progress in grasping the meaning is a progress, nor in seeing more in the play, but *in* seeing more of it" (my italics).

It can be easier sometimes to grasp garden history as a narrative of set routes, iconography and literary references, not least because they allow us to grasp the 'meaning' of a place like Rousham. But Finlay's rhetorical spaces also need to be filled at Liitle Sparta (or in any garden and perhaps even in Portugal). He wants us to think and be provoked not only by what he shows us, but what we take away from his inscriptions and by how he affronts his visitors (he wanted gardens to be attacks not retreats). Our thoughts are shadows on which we tread in gardens, on the interstices of a garden's mixed media. And what, Robert Irwin asks, 'if there were no shadows, what then? ….. Actually we could not see as we do without shadows".

Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

Portuguese garden sculpture in the 17th and 18th centuries in the international context: an overview

Ana Duarte Rodrigues

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ABSTRACT

In this article I seek to give an overview of garden sculpture in Portugal between 1670 and 1822, identifying its main features and highlighting the most important gardens with sculptures such as the palace of Fronteira, the royal villa of Belém, the palace of Queluz, and the royal villa of Caxias, among others. The second very important point of this article is to point out the relationship of Portuguese garden sculpture within the European context identifying common features as well as the specificity of Portuguese Garden Sculpture.

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ARTICLE

In this article I aim to demonstrate the character and features of Portuguese garden sculpture between 1670 and 1822 in relation with Portuguese historical context but also by comparing it with other European situations (based on RODRIGUES 2011a). Garden sculpture is the most international language of European gardens due to sculptures' exportation from Genoa and Holland to all European countries and to the circulation of models and iconography through treatises and literary sources, so in many cases garden sculpture in Portugal is part of the European family but in some others it has a very particular definition which comes from the specific construction material, their special relationship with water and their function.

The starting point of this study is that garden sculpture is a distinguished group of sculptures which share some aesthetical, morphological, iconographical, functional and technical characteristics and I have researched the specificities that could differentiate these sculptures from others since the moment of their creation until the moment of the reception, when the spectator is emotionally engaged by the sculpture in the unique *locus* which is the garden. I have considered all sculpture related with palaces and villas located in their courtyards, gardens and parks between circa 1670 until 1822 and gathered it onto a database of 135 gardens with sculpture in Portugal.

Garden sculpture in Portugal is the most erudite and the most international feature of Portuguese gardens because the grammar of sculpture is a European one. With the exception of northern sculpture in granite, garden sculpture in Portugal is mostly influenced by Italian and French models. In fact what gives an exotic character to our gardens is not the sculpture but mostly the horticulture with many botanical species coming from all parts of the world and wild animals kept in menageries, but also some features that still have an Islamic aura such as tiles, "alegretes", "embrechados" (rock-work) and water mirrors.

There are three main distinct groups of garden sculpture in Portugal: one group of imported sculpture in stone and lead from Italy, Holland and England; one group of garden sculpture created in Portugal but following the

Italian and French models and, finally, a group of Portuguese garden sculpture with a strong identity based on the material: garden sculpture in granite. All these groups can be associated with a specific period of time, but also with different commissions and a different geography. Thus, during these two centuries the leadership in garden sculpture commission was headed by different social groups. However, the profile of a patron of garden sculpture in Portugal is usually a noble, with a high level of culture, cosmopolitan, with international relationships, that liked to write, attended academies or promoted them in his own palace, with a rich library and usually, was also a collector. Commissions of garden sculpture in Portugal were made by an elite inside the elite who were most of the time the real creators of their own gardens and probably would supervise the work of artisans using their own libraries as a source of inspiration and taking from their books, prints and drawings models that they would give to artists and artisans.

There is no significant garden sculpture during the Renaissance in Portugal. If we recall the Italian context with gardens such as the Villa di Castello near Florence or the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, there is nothing in the 16th century in Portugal that can be compared with this. The most relevant Portuguese Renaissance villa named Quinta da Bacalhoa in Azeitão (south surroundings of Lisbon) which had some busts, but there is no evidence of a major presence of garden sculpture.

After the Restoration Wars (1640-1668) a new period for civil architecture and pleasure gardens took place in Portugal, with nobility looking for a new status close to the dynasty just created and, finally, garden sculpture had its opportunity in this country.

In fact, garden sculpture in Portugal appears connected with a specific international and national context and both seem to coincide with the 70's decade of the 17th century. Although there is no study to prove the diffusion and impact of the great work the Sun-king was undertaking at Versailles[1], it has already been pointed out by Cristina Castel-Branco that the prominence of Apollo in the gardens of Fronteira Palace is considered to be an echo of the role this Olympic god had in the gardens of Versailles (CASTEL-BRANCO 2008).

However, there was no consequence for Portuguese Royal commissions of garden sculpture. We do not know of any initiative by the kings D. João IV (1604-1656), D. Afonso VI (1643-1683) and D. Pedro II (1648-1706) related to gardens in the second half of the 17th century. They have maintained the gardens that they have inherited, such as the garden of the palace of Ribeira, of the palace of Salvaterra de Magos, the palace of Alcantara (created by the Italian João Baptista Rovellasco whose debts made him lose it to the crown) and the famous garden at Vila Viçosa's palace, created for D. Catarina de Bragança (1638-1705). It was not only because of the war that royal gardens weren't created; it was also a question of taste. King D. João IV was very fond of music and was able to create one of the best libraries of music of his time. If he had felt for gardens what he felt for music, things might have been different. Thus, after the Restoration War, the *Grandes* (nobles with titles) played an inaugural role in the creation and diffusion of gardens with sculptures in Portugal.

Relative to the national context, the 70's decade of the 17th century was the period of regained independence for Portugal after twenty-eight years of the Restoration Wars against the Spanish, who had been ruling Portugal since 1580. In 1640 a group of nobles gathered around the duke of Braganza D. João and swore to fight for him and for the throne of Portugal until their death. After the war they would be rewarded with titles, properties, places, privileges and new incomes. Besides these means, the noble Houses were also disputing among themselves for certain status in the hierarchy of the nobility that was being formed during the post-Restoration period. In

1 However, the bride of king D. Afonso VI, Maria Francisca Isabel de Sabóia, duchesse of Nemours and Aumale, was cousin of King Louis XIV so Portuguese court was surely up-tp-date with the great works undertaken by the French king.

this context the construction of new palaces with sumptuous gardens would play a very distinct part: they would represent the status of the House (family). To create these pleasure gardens the presence of pagan gods was obligatory, thus classic sculpture and fountains for the gardens were imported from Genoa and Holland.

The famous fountain of *Neptune* by Ercole Ferrata/Gianlorenzo Bernini which is now at the gardens of the National Palace of Queluz was a commission made by the 3rd Count of Ericeira on this occasion for his Palace of Anunciada in Lisbon's (DELAFORCE, MONTAGU, GOMES, SOROMENHO 1998: 804-811, VALE 2004: 161-178, VALE 2005: 36-62, VALE, 2007: 45-53, VALE 2008: 137-162, VALE 2010: 35-56 and RODRIGUES 2011b). The two fountains of *Hercules with the Hydra* imported from Genoa for the villa of the count of Aveiras in Belém, by then close to Lisbon, and the other for the palace of Palhavã of the count de Sarzedas were also commissions of this period (see VALE 2013 in this volume).

Other palaces with gardens à la *française* or imitating the most erudite Italian models were built beyond Lisbon and its immediate surroundings such as Quinta do General in Borba, a villa in the southern province of Portugal Alentejo, which clearly was inspired by the Villa d'Este (RODRIGUES 2011: 180-181). However, Diana de Éfeso's model was copied in a much cheaper material: clay. This is an artifice that is quite common in Portugal. D. Francisco de Sousa in his Villa of Calhariz also wanted to have a fountain by Bernini, of whom he had heard a lot from his uncle, who was the intermediate for the commission of the Fountain of Neptune to the Palace of Anunciada, but he ordered something much cheaper – a copy in clay of Bernini's fountain of Triton (RODRIGUES 2011: 179-180).

Water mirror at Palace of Fronteira

The best example of the construction of villas in this post-Restoration period is the Palace of Fronteira which is now in Lisbon but it was the summer villa of the Mascarenhas' family and was in the outskirts of Lisbon when it was built in the 17th century (see CASTEL-BRANCO 2008). After the 1755 earthquake when the family's palace in Lisbon was destroyed, the Mascarenhas moved into their former summer villa and have lived there ever since.

In the gardens of Fronteira Palace the sculpture program is a very erudite one and cannot be completely appreciated without understanding the tiles iconography. Although there is a clear political message, the artistic erudition of the program is worthy of a wider description. At the Gallery of Arts' terrace, presided over by a statue of Apollo, god of music and the arts, and another of Marsias, evoking the episode of the musical contest between the god and the shepherd, there are also statues of the seven planets intermingled with panels of tiles with allegories of the liberal arts. At the bottom of this balcony there is a little chapel where Saint Francis is supposed to have prayed before going to India and which is usually considered the most ancient element of the villa that existed already in the 16th century. However the decoration of the chapel narthex is mostly rock-work and inside it is in the rococo style. At a lower level there is a Summer House (called in Portuguese language "Casa de Fresco") which is considered the best example extant of a built structure totally covered by glasses, ceramics, shells and little colorful stones. In front of this Summer House there is a small lake with two sculptures, a *putto* on a dolphin and a *putto* on a water-dog similar to the ones shown in *Hortus Palatinus* (1620) by Salomon de Caus. This erudite source seems to have been used again at the Venus' pedestal fountain although the sculpture of Venus is quite similar to a *Ceres* of the Boboli garden which seems reasonable because this was the ladies' garden and for noble women fertility, a quality proper to agriculture's goddess, was the main goal. The connection with the Great Parterre is through the Gallery of Kings composed of busts inside niches of all the Portuguese kings since D. Afonso Henriques until D. Pedro II, without including the Spanish kings because this was built just after the Restoration War and the conflict with Portuguese neighbors was still very recent. On the other side, this series includes the count D. Henrique, father of the first Portuguese king and also Infant D. Fernando, left to die in Morocco and who was later considered a saint. Through two lateral staircases there is access to the Great Parterre, and in between there is a water mirror surrounded by tile panels with equestrian portraits of chevaliers. Seen from the Great Parterre, the message is clear: nobility sustains royalty and monarchy exists while there are nobles to support it. The lead statues on pedestals of classical subjects at the Great Parterre were originally painted in black with golden heads. Gardens, as in all of Europe, are privileged places to display copies of the most famous sculptures from Antiquity as there are in Fronteira's great *parterre*. In Portuguese gardens, *Venus of Medici, Flora Farnesio, Hercules Farnesio, Dancing Faun* are the copies in lead or stone, imported or of national manufacture that can be found in Portuguese gardens.

Very recently we have discovered that at Fronteira some statues have the same composition as some gilded lead sculptures at the Herrenhausen Garten in Hannover. Both groups of sculptures were bought in Holland by the Larson's family (RODRIGUES and CLARK 2013 to be presented). Garden sculpture of marble imported from Genoa and of lead imported from Holland as concentrated in Lisbon's gardens and villas and in its surroundings, reveals an up-to-date taste and erudite sources confirming it as international art.

Only with King D. João V, for whom Louis XIV was a model to follow in every aspect, royal gardens with sculpture appeared in Portugal, such as the villas of Belém (CASTEL-BRANCO and GOMES 2005; RODRIGUES 2011a: 127-130), Mafra (RAIMUNDO 1997; RODRIGUES 2011a: 125-127) and Necessidades (REAL 1983; FERRÃO 1994; CASTEL-BRANCO 2001; RODRIGUES 2011a: 131-133). Even if nowadays it is very difficult to recognize it, in all these villas existed gardens à la *française* full of statues. In Mafra there existed a *parterre* with twenty-six statues and antique vases in white marble. In Belém there existed already the famous theatre with the group of *Hercules and the Hydra*, bought in Italy by the former owner of the villa, the count of Aveiras, but the *Death of Cleopatra* and the

Lake at Calhariz' villa

Roman Charity which are now at the Tropical Botanic Garden, had been bought by King D. João V for the Royal Villas of Belém. At the last huge complex ordered by King D. João V – Necessidades - the sculpture helps to create a new micro-villa, namely with the obelisk-fountain in the square in front of the church which helps to recreate a very baroque Roman feature in Lisbon, with the *Four Winds* evoking the *Four Rivers* fountain by Bernini.

In the convent's garden seven statues (now disappeared) represented the seven virtues and were located inside niches covered with blue tiles, the same colour that we find in tiles painted for Fronteira's palace. Both Courtils and Tollemare mention these statues as having a dimension superior to the human body (RODRIGUES 2011a: 131-133). But side by side with this religious context there is a profane one where we can still find classical subjects such as a *Faun* and a *River-God* inside niches with little cascades and fountains with *rocaille* suggesting groves.

Despite all the efforts and intentions of King D. João V, it was in fact only his son King D. Pedro III who succeeded in creating a garden inspired by the model of Versailles, in his hunt lodge at Queluz (PIRES 1925-1926; GUEDES 1971; AFONSO and DELAFORCE 1989; FERRO 1998; NETO and GRILO 2005; RODRIGUES 2011b: 45-121). It was because of him that the spirit of a garden à la *française* succeeds not only in Queluz, but also in Caxias. At Queluz it is possible to see the composition and some of the sculpture's models of Marly, Vaux-le-Vicomte and Versailles. What is different in Queluz from Versailles is the function because this was not conceived as a royal house (D. Pedro was by then the lord of the House of Infantado) and not even the king projected himself into the garden as King Louis XIV did, but there are also some visual and compositional differences. In the French model the aim to reach the horizon was completely achieved with the creation of the water channel of huge dimensions. At Queluz there is no water channel but a cascade at the bottom of the main axis that departs from the palace and more, after the Fame's portal because of the topography it is impossible to have the sensation of dominating the horizon. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between the sculptures of both gardens. There is a higher concentration of sculptures at Queluz than in Versailles or other gardens that have used this model, mostly due to the smaller dimension of the garden. But, many statues bought to John Cheere's studio are inspired by Versailles' models such as groups with children playing; the Rape of Proserpine by Bernini which was copied by François Girardon in Versailles and was equally copied in Queluz by John Cheere. Robbilion had worked there, but when he arrived the sculptures had

already been bought to John Cheere's studio in London, and the sculptor and silversmith that became an architect is only responsible for their distribution, not for the commission and selection of subjects. Although there are only twenty-two lead sculptures by John Cheere at Queluz about ninety painted or gilded lead statues were bought to the sculptor's studio, this being the largest group of John Cheere's lead sculptures outside England. The influences remained Italian, because many of these lead sculptures are copies of classical models as well as modern such as the copies of Giambologna's groups. Beyond this, the Fame's portal has two equestrian statues similar to the ones at the garden of Marly.

Queluz represented the triumph of garden sculpture because it was almost a compendium of different typologies and materials of sculptures with lead sculptures coming from England[2], stone sculptures coming from Genoa and even gilded and painted wooden sculptures made *in situ* that had decorated many pavilions set all along the water channel and at the top of the monumental cascade.

One of the most attractive and strongly identifying features of Portuguese garden sculpture comes from its relationship with water: the particular character of jets of water and the sound produced by them are clearly a legacy of the Islamic tradition. When we compare the water jokes in Latone's fountain at Versailles with Thetys' fountain in Queluz it is clear that the hydraulic resources were not the same but also the way to benefit from water in gardens followed totally different traditions. This is not only recognizable in water jokes but also in water mirrors. It should be also underlined that one of the most original features in Portuguese gardens is the design of lakes.

Necessidades' obelisk-fountain

2 Lead sculptures were gilded or painted "as natural" although there are none in this condition nowadays. But we can have an idea of how they were because the painted Shepherd (c. 1735) by John Cheere in Fenton House, England, is still painted.

Royal Villa of Caxias

Forms similar to classical gardens such as the peristyle garden of Domus dos Repuxos (Jets of Water) can be found at Quinta do Bonjardim (Bonjardim's villa); or baroque forms can be seen at Quinta do Calhariz (Calhariz' villa); or forms inspired by silverware can be seen at the National Palace of Queluz. All villas have huge tanks near buildings and the spreading jets of water still show the Islamic influence. No water jokes exist as in Italy or France and I do not think the only reason is hydraulic resources, although this might be part of the explanation, but one of taste.

The other villa with sculptures ordered by King D. Pedro III is the Royal Villa of Caxias. But the situation was now completely different. After importing garden sculpture into Portugal with foreign signatures such as Ercole Ferrate/Bernini, Giuseppe Gaggini, Inácio Peschiera, Bernardo Sciaffino, Giuseppe Mazzuoli, Bernardino Ludovisi, Pierre Mignard, and the biggest group of English lead sculptures outside England by John Cheere, there was finally a Portuguese sculptor able to receive such a commission. Joaquim Machado de Castro who after making the Poets busts for the villa of the Marquis of Pombal in Oeiras and some mythological statues for the royal villas of Belém, makes the most interesting group of clay sculptures of natural size painted in white to imitate stone, to set on a monumental cascade at the royal villa of Caxias (RODRIGUES et al. 2009) depicting Diana and Actéon, inspired by the Palazzo Reale di Caserta, near Naples. Technically speaking these garden sculptures had the interior full of tubes to have jets of water coming out of them and these were probably the most interesting water jokes created by a Portuguese sculptor. There is no other group of clay sculpture in Portugal with a dimension such as this one, but it is not the only example: in Sintra and in the south of Portugal it was a recurring solution. Clay is a resistant material also often used in Italian garden sculpture as we can observe in Villa Gamberaia or Villa Garzoni, among others.

Other Portuguese artists have made garden sculpture, such as Manuel Alves, Filipe da Costa and Silvestre Faria Lobo who worked in Queluz; José Joaquim de Barros who made the Fame for the Quinta de Belas' obelisk; Francisco Leal Garcia who worked at Queluz and Palace of Seteais; and Faustino José Rodrigues who made sculptures for many villas in Sintra and for the Royal Villa of Bemposta. However, the Portuguese sculptor who distinguishes himself is the Royal sculptor Joaquim Machado de Castro.

Copy of the group of Spring at the Royal Villa of Caxias

Garden sculpture in Portugal is a unique universe of experimentation where boundaries between sculptor, architect, painter, gardener, engineer and silversmith are difficult to define. Theoretically, the landscape-gardener would design the garden, then he would say to sculptors what he needed to decorate the garden, masons would execute statues and fountains; and painters would finish them. However we know of other examples like this. The lack of specialization is evident. José Rodrigues Ramalho, a sculptor, but also a gardener at the palace of Salvaterra de Magos whose career has always moved between a sculptor of wooden images and landscape architect. The renowned painter Cyrillo Wolkmar Machado who designed the villa of Belas; the painter Francisco Vieira Lusitano who drew garden sculptures for Alexandre Gusmão's garden; the architect of the Royal House Manuel Caetano de Sousa and the naturalist Domingos Agostino Vandelli and the gardener Mattiazzi who conceived the Botanic Garden of Ajuda have all been involved in the creation of garden sculptures. Most drawings by architects do not have the detailed location of the sculptures distribution, sometimes only the lakes. So, is sculpture thought of by them? It seems the answer is negative. However, the distribution of sculptures in the *parterre* and in some places is so perfect that it had to be planned as a whole. Maybe ideas had been changed orally.

The materials most used in garden sculpture are marble and lead, but in North Portugal almost all sculptures are in granite. And this is something absolutely unique in international terms, not only because the proper and desired stone for garden sculpture is marble, but also because granite is an especially hard stone to work for sculpture. However it is the most common stone in the north of Portugal and we verify that this option for cheaper materials is a solution that was already used in southern Portugal with different results such as the use of painted clay to imitate stone. Countrywide production is very connected with regional materials with a predominance of granite in the north and the use of clay in the south, as well as marble, for example in the region of Elvas and Estremoz, still nowadays one of the most important places for extraction of marble.

The identity of northern Portuguese garden sculpture is conveyed by the material – the granite – and the possibilities it gives for sculpture. A typical color of grey is used like a frame to all architectonic devices and gardens are also benefit by use of this colour and the voluptuous forms it offers. Probably because it is very hard to work in fine forms there is not much of statuary but it is particularly interesting when used in lakes, portals and fountains, except at the bishop's garden in Castelo Branco ordered by D. João de Mendonça who created a complex program, very erudite microcosms full of statues based on his library's books such as by Bernardo de Brito's *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal* or Manuel Bernardes' *Exercícios Espirituais* (RIBEIRO and AZEVEDO 2001; RODRIGUES 2011a: 149-155). The great difference between commissions that come from bishops or from nobles for private palaces is the prominence of religious subjects in the first group. In this microcosm the iconological program gathers profane aspects of the world with depictions of Good and Evil, Paradise and Hell. There is also a correspondence between Earthly questions and Celestial ones, such as the relation established in the staircases between the Portuguese kings and the Apostles. The composition of the *parterre* resembles the great *parterre* of the Palace of Fronteira with sixteen compartments. Nevertheless, instead of the classical sculptures over the pedestals there are allegories of the twelve months, four parts of the world and seven virtues besides those directly connected with religious spirituality. And if in plastic terms these sculptures seem to have less quality, in fact the technical quality of some angels is very high, taking into account the material from which they are made.

Garden sculpture remains one of the most erudite features of Portuguese gardens and without any doubt one that demonstrates a proximity to the European family. In the seventeenth century it was mostly imported from Italy, France and Holland and was set in the *parterres* created as rooms in the open air, inhabited day and night with statues. We consider this commission up-to-date with European standards', probably due to the cosmopolitan character of the patrons and their international connections but also because of the erudition of their libraries containing copies of important artistic treatises and other artistic literature. Then it develops its own character strongly connected with the materials available: garden sculpture made in Portugal tries to follow Italian and French models in composition and iconography but using local materials and economic solutions. But it will also stand out in architectonic sculpture with heraldry promoting the House and elevating the family status at the same time that a pleasurable *locus* is being created.

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Genoese sculpture in portuguese baroque gardens

Teresa Leonor M. Vale

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ABSTRACT

Considering the idea that water and sculpture play the main role in baroque gardens, with this text I shall try to make an approach to the subject of the presence of Genoese sculpture in Portuguese baroque gardens, paying greater attention to the works that have a particular relationship with water.

With an understanding of the role played by the Italian community of Lisbon (mostly Genoese) in the import of sculptural works to Portugal and (in particular those meant for gardens), I shall then give attention to the most interesting pieces: Bernardo's Schiaffino statues in the gardens of Palhavã Palace and in particular the *Hercules*, by Giuseppe Gaggini, of the waterfall of the gardens of Belém Palace, reflecting also about the subject of Hercules and Neptune as main figures of baroque Portuguese gardens with Italian sculpture.

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ARTICLE

I. Baroque garden and its protagonists: water and sculpture

If there is one concept conveyed by the idea and conception of the Baroque garden it is without any doubt the artifice. Indeed, the Baroque style conveys use of artifice as a quality in addition to nature. As mentioned by Fernando Checa Cremades and José Miguel Morán Turina, baroque gardens prompt a certain image of Nature, not only dominated by men but also measured, rationalized and ordered, functioning as a scenario for the grandeur of the absolute monarchy (CHECA CREMADES, MORÁN TURINA 1989: 58-59, IMPELLUSO 2005: 58-59)[1].

Thus the baroque garden is itself a space for artifice, of human intervention in the sense of benefiting nature, orientating it, manipulating it, subjecting it to its will (in an obvious parallel to absolutism) (CHECA CREMADES, MORÁN TURINA 1989: 128)[2] but seeking to turn evident elements and natural specific values where water stands out by becoming the real leading figure.

The Baroque garden also stands out, in general, as a scene of power (monarchic but also aristocratic) and pomp, which characterizes the social life of the Baroque period – the gardens of Versailles ordered by Louis XIV

1 Fernando CHECA CREMADES, José Miguel MORÁN TURINA, *El Barroco*, (col. Fundamentos, 77), Madrid, Ediciones Istmo, 1989, p. 127; see also Lucia IMPELLUSO, *Giardini, Orti e Labirinti*, Milan, Electa, 2005, pp. 58-59.

2 See Fernando CHECA CREMADES, José Miguel MORÁN TURINA, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

being a paradigmatic example –, but also for specific celebrations[3], without evoking that same power and without showing the same ostentation.

From a strictly material point of view it is possible to characterize the baroque garden by its formality, with clearly defined spaces, settled by axes (main and secondary), where water occupies the main role and in which sculpture appears, introducing connecting rhythms, sometimes underlined by decorative elements such as tiles, etc.

As I have said water and sculpture are essential components of Baroque gardens, which become quite symbiotic making it very difficult to define where one starts and the other ends, paradigmatic examples of this situation are statues and groups created for fountains where water complements stone (or bronze), amplifying gestures, underlining expressions, becoming sound, as happens when it is spraved by the tritons' dog-whelk in Bernini's fountain, now at the Roman square but previously created by Bernini for the gardens of Barberini palace.

Portuguese baroque gardens are not an exception in this context and there we find an abundant presence of water and sculpture, thus the prestige of Italian sculpture which during the baroque period conveyed a particular expression, attracting the attention of national patrons.

The Portuguese travellers to the Italian peninsula during the 17th and 18th centuries had encouraged this taste and aptitude for using Italian sculpture. The Portuguese ambassador in Rome, between 1676 e 1682, D. Luís de Sousa (1632-1690)[4] was the highest example of this by acquiring numerous works of art (namely fountains to the gardens in his Quinta do Calhariz, in the surroundings of Sesimbra). He was the 3rd Count of Ericeira's agent in the acquisition of the famous Fountain of Neptune by Gianlorenzo Bernini and Ercole Ferrata (DELAFORCE, MONTAGU, GOMES, SOROMENHO 1998: 804-811, VALE 2004: 161-178, VALE 2005: 36-62, VALE, 2007: 45-53, VALE 2008: 137-162, VALE 2010: 35-56 and RODRIGUES 2011a).

D. Luís de Sousa was particularly interested in gardens, as his diary on his Roman stay reveals. In effect, during his journey in the pontific city he visited numerous gardens and it should be registered that the bishop diplomat went to the Roman aristocratic *ville* with the specific goal of delighting in their gardens and fountains (and not really to visit residences). Thus, D. Luís de Sousa visited the gardens of the Vatican palace (Belvedere), of the *ville* Montalto, Giulia, Ludovisi, Mattei, Benedetta (called *Il Vascello*), Madama, Pamphilj and, naturally, the famous Farnesiani gardens at Campo Vacino[5], having, in all of them, appreciated "*muittas fontes con esquezitos jogos de Agoas*", especially those at *villa* Montalto (which was visited by D. Luís de Sousa at least twice in 1676 and 1677)[6], its Neptune fountain having been the model for the one of the same subject made to the count of Ericeira, as I have already demonstrated (VALE 2004).

Nevertheless the pontific city was not the only significant origin of sculpture for Portuguese baroque gardens. In fact, if Rome could impose itself by the undeniable prestige of the art produced in the city, Genoa was gaining prominence through the activity of the Italian community living in Lisbon, mostly Genoese, because of the facility and regularity of contacts through the maritime route, and also because works of art were less expensive there.

Even if the Genoese sculptural production could not be appreciated by a more erudite and demanding patronage,

3 As is the case in the Peterhof Gardens, in St. Petersburg, begun in 1714, marking a military victory for the Emperor Peter the Great – Plumtre 2005: 30-35.

4 About D. Luís de Sousa see VALE 2006.

5 Cfr. BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL (Lisbon), Secção de Reservados, Fundo Geral, Cod. 408, *Diario da iornada (…),* respectively fls. 101, 148v., 203, 248v.-249, 257v., 260v., 266v., 283v.-284 e 264v., published by VALE 2006: 107, 127-128, 152, 173, 177, 179, 181, 189 e 181.

6 Cf. B.N.P., Secção de Reservados, Fundo Geral, Cod. 408, *Diario da iornada que fes o Illustrissimo Senhor Bispo de Lamego Dom Luis de Souza* (...), fls. 148v. e 284, published by VALE 2006: 127.

such as the bishop ambassador D. Luís de Sousa who in a letter to his brother from Rome, dated August 1677, wrote: *"Por muito menos que isso* [two thousand Roman scudi] *se faria esta mesma fonte em Genoua, e podera ser que por a metade do dinheiro. Mas seria a mesma quanto ao numero das figuras e deuersissima quanto a perfeisão dellas. Seria como todas as esculturas de Genoua em que aquy se não fala senão por zombaria, e ficaria boa pera o pouo e má pera quem entendesse de Escultura; e Esta diferensa faz toda a que ha no custo porque so porque huma figura tenha esta ou aquella forma porque tenha hum brasso melhor lansado, ou hum gesto mais proprio dão aquy hum peso de oiro."* [7], the truth is that in expressing that opinion, D. Luís de Sousa had acquired works of Genoese sculpture for himself, even if those could be classified as pieces essentially decorative. In effect, it would be the emperors' busts of Genoese production that would greet illustrious visitors to the Quinta do Calhariz' vestibule. This was the summer residence of the ambassador prelate and his brother, to whom he wrote from Rome in August 1677, as I have already mentioned.

II. The Genoese sculpture imported to Portugal during the Baroque period

As is well known, the 17th century Italian residents in Lisbon, mostly Genoese, were men especially connected to commercial and financial activities, such as loans, mortgages and exchanges, having been previously specifically introduced to Portugal by Italian bankers. These activities had allowed some of them to accumulate fortunes, always created and retained through strong and solid family networks.

Loreto's brotherhood, whose incomes came essentially from their properties and inherited legacies, was also dedicated to loans. The brotherhood also maintained businesses such as an exchange with the Genoese House of Cambiaso (from whose family some later settled in Lisbon) and was also exporting textiles to Brazil on their own account (VALE: 2004). Thus, we can quite easily understand their commitment to providing their national church with works of art originally from Portugal.

Although there is knowledge of many Genoese Works of art (namely sculpture and architectonic sculpture stone pieces such as altar pieces' components, for example) (VALE 2004: 138-143) – the damage caused by the 1755 earthquake meant a relatively poor survival rate. However, we can still point out the following works of art:

- the Virgin's bust at the Our Lady of Loreto's church sacristy in Lisbon, attributed to Filippo Parodi (1630-1702)'s circle (VALE 2004: 143-148, VALE 2005: 11-20, VALE 2010: 13-21);

- nine statues of saints originally from S. Gonçalo de Amarante's church of the ancient convent of S. Domingos de Benfica, dated from the last quarter of the 17th century and attributed to Jacomo Antonio Ponsonelli (1654-1735) (VALE 1996: 119-131, VALE 2004: 148-160, VALE 2005: 21-36, VALE 2010: 23-33);

- King D. João V's bust, nowadays at the National Palace of Ajuda, dated from c. 1715 and by the Genoese Domenico Parodi (1672-1742) and Francesco Biggi (1667-1728) (VALE 2005: 115-118, VALE 2010: 153-155);

- the three statues at the main façade of the Santo Antão do Tojal palace's chapel – summer residence of D. Tomás de Almeida, 1st Patriarch-cardinal of Lisbon (1670-1754) and his successors –, of the 18th century and attributed to Francesco Maria Schiaffino (1688-1763) and his studio (VALE 2006b: 237-270).

7 BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA (Lisbon), Ms. 51-V-25, fl. 83.

Focusing exclusively on Genoese sculpture meant for use in Portuguese baroque gardens it is important to indicate the works that still exist in Palhavã Palace's gardens and the statue of Hercules in Belém Palace's gardens which merit my detailed attention in the following pages.

III. The Genoese sculptures at the gardens of Palhavã Palace

The origin of the Palhavã estate goes back to the 16th century – and was then made up of some noble houses built by the owner, Gomes Lourenço de Palhavã, from the Carvalhosas Palhavã family. The estate passed to the counts of Sarzedas in 1660 when it was sold by Jorge Gomes Lourenço de Palhavã to the 2nd count (ARAÚJO s.d.: 11). Thus the Palhavã estate passed, in the decade of the 60's of the 17th century, to become the property of the House of Sarzedas and acquired its noble look thanks to the patronage of its new owner, D. Luís Lobo da Silveira (1640-1706), 2nd count of Sarzedas, who has through his long life played many different roles in Royal affairs during the regency and reign of King D. Pedro II (SOUSA 1741-1752, V: 140, ZÚQUETE, s.d., III: 362-363).

His son and heir, D. Rodrigo da Silveira Silva e Teles, 3rd count of this title, reveals himself also as a great entrepreneur and engaged himself in the completion of works at Palhavã's estate, being responsible for the villa's improvements and the portal's monumental edification which is the main entrance and gives access to the courtyard, still *in situ* (FARINHA 1923: 28-29, ARAÚJO s.d.: 11, ORTIZ ARMENGOL 1971: 16).

Statue of allegorical or mythological figure, Bernardo Schiaffino, Gardens of Palhavã Palace, Lisbon.

Any of these Counts could have made, from a strictly chronological point of view, commissions for Italian statuary for the Palhavã estate, which nowadays has three fountains (in the upper garden), a statue of Hercules which certainly belonged to a fountain that no longer exists (in the middle of the courtyard) and four statues of mythological or allegorical subject (located in that same courtyard).

Among all these works, although I am sure about the Hercules' Genoese origin, I only seek to study in this paper the statues of mythological or allegorical subject by the Genoese sculptor Bernardo Schiaffino (1678-1725), oldest brother and Francesco Maria Schiaffino's master, to whom is attributed the authorship of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* at Santo Antão do Tojal chapel's façade and who is certainly the author of a monumental crucifix at Mafra church's chancel (VALE 2002, VALE 2006b).

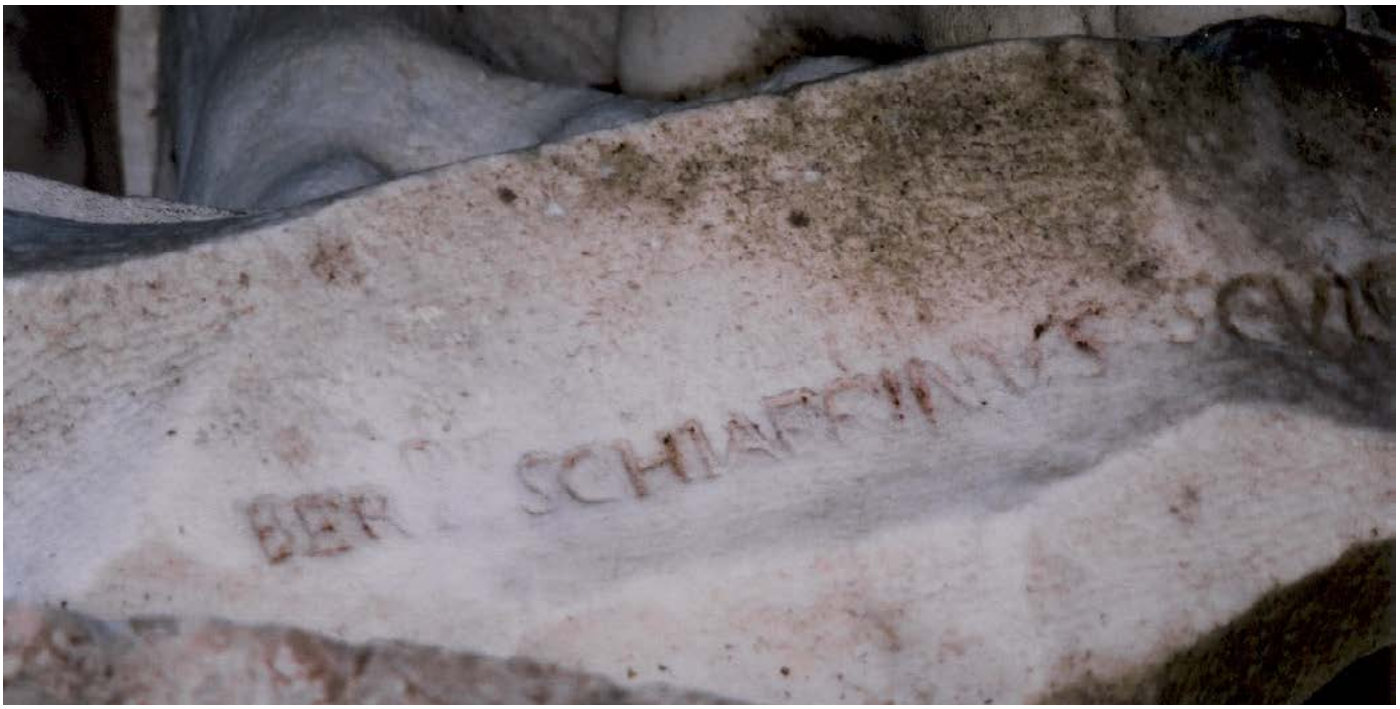
The four statues are sitting on great quadrangular plinths – in *ronde bosse*, made in white marble, in a scale a little bit superior to 1/1 – and are located all along the wall that defines the Palhavã's courtyard: two next to the southern wall and two next to the eastern wall.

The conjunct of two feminine statues and two other masculine statues probably of mythological or allegorical subject but identification of which is nowadays impossible as they have been mutilated to function as torchieres (all the statues had an arm replaced so that the hand could support the flaming torch).

With compositional and plastic solutions which are deeply baroque in style, the four statues convey a high sculptural quality and are obviously of Genoese origin from the end of the *Seicento* or the beginning of the *Settecento*, as shown by certain aspects such as the *serpentinata* solution (always obtained through the allocation of fulcrums in different planes, the naturalistic style of the base being an important means to achieve that result because of their interpenetrative and participating character towards the statue, as is typical of Italian baroque sculpture); the elaborate treatment of drapery giving a great dynamism developed through multiple surfaces, and through innumerous breaking lines with a refined outcome; the different surfaces represented by the diverse materials.

Being Italian without any doubt, because of the composition and plastic analysis, these four statues of Palhavã Palace's courtyard had their imported character confirmed by the sculptor's signature on two sculptures: *BER NUS SCHIAFFINUS SCULP*. The signature reveals their author Bernardo Schiaffino, Genoese sculptor, Domenico Parodi's disciple and thus integrated into the 17th century Genoese production which has been characterized by the strong influence of Bernini through the dominant personality of Giacomo Filippo Parodi, Domenico's father, who moved to Rome and had worked in the circle of the great master of the Roman baroque.

Bernardo, sculptor in the transition from the *Seicento* to the *Settecento* is clearly an heir of the Genoese sculptural tradition. Owner of an important studio in the Genoese context, Bernardo Schiaffino was master of the sculptors



Statue of allegorical or mythological figure, Bernardo Schiaffino, Gardens of Palhavã Palace, Lisbon – detail of the name of the sculptor

Francesco Maria Schiaffino, his brother, as has been mentioned, and Francesco Queirolo, whose activity was developed mainly in Naples.

Bernardo Schiaffino's works demonstrate – in their subject, composition and plasticity – a strict relationship with the coeval Genoese painting, from which a formal elegance stands out (evident in Palhavã's statues) influencing all the subsequent Genoese sculptural production.

Beyond the artistic value of these Palhavã Palace's four statues, they convey another special importance because they show the importing of Genoese sculpture by a private agent in the transition period between the 17th to the 18th centuries. The first half of the 18th century was renowned for the Royal politics of importation during D. João V's reign which was stylistically highly Italianized. The statues' patron, certainly the 3rd count of Sarzedas, D. Rodrigo da Silveira Silva e Teles, continued in the first quarter of the 18th century, a pattern of commissions that we recognize in many other personalities of the second half of the 17th century.

With these kind of statues it is important to point out their role in the baroque garden. A completely different role from the fountains, which are protagonists in symbiosis with water – the sculptural groups or independent statues on plinths or pedestals have a completely different kind of status and function. These statues appear in the baroque garden's context to:

- Animate walls that display regular breaks, sometimes even standing at the head of the gardens (as in hanging walls or gardens developed with many plans or terraces);
- Defining walks or any other kind of an axis allotted to circulation;
- Punctuating squares and conveying through this medium a greater importance for the whole.
- Schiaffino's statues in Palhavã were moved from their original position, fulfilling however their function of enlivening the walls.

IV. The Hercules at the cascade in Belém Palace's gardens

D. João da Silva Telo de Meneses, born in 7th July 1648, was the first-born child of the 2nd count of Aveiras' first marriage. He inherited the House of his father and became the 3rd count of Aveiras and owner of Belém Villa until 1726 when it was sold to King D. João V, for the amount of two hundred thousand ancient Portuguese gold coins. He certainly appreciated the presence of the Italian statuary in the gardens which were now his own.

In effect, as Carla Varela Fernandes cites "Quando D. João V comprou a Quinta de Belém a D. João da Silva Telo de Meneses, 3º conde de Aveiras, em 1726, já se havia realizado um conjunto importante de intervenções no palácio e nos jardins, como podemos perceber da leitura da descrição que é feita na *Carta de Padrão* da venda." (FERNANDES 2005: 70).

Through reading the former document it is possible to date it from the end of the 17th century or from the first two decades of the 18th century (probably by the time of the intervention, began in 1681, of the count of Aveiras while owner of the villa), a conjunct of "*obras e bemfeitorias*" (the second expression cited in the manuscript), and among those related to the presence of Italian, particularly Genoese, sculpture in gardens, such as: a statue in the summer house located on the balcony; a huge statue which was also a fountain for the tank, in the garden "*que fica da parte de dentro da cerca junto às casas da varanda do poente"*; a statue in the fountain for the summer house, and located "*no canto do prazo de cima com janela para o campo sobre a ribeira dos Gafos"*[8].

8 Cf. MUSEU DA CIDADE (Lisbon), Collection of manuscripts: *Carta de Padrão do Palácio do Benfeito do Terceiro Conde de Aveiras João da*

Viveiro dos Pássaros cascade, Gardens of Belém Palace, Lisbon

The Italian origin of the sculptures was traditionally spoken of and it was confirmed in the case of Hercules' statues when restoration and cleaning campaigns allowed identification of the signature in the base: *IOSEPH GAGINUS SCULPIT*. However, the interpretation of this signature caused some confusion that I will clarify.

The mentioned inscription readable in the statue's base conveyed Giuseppe Gaggini II as the sculptor of the Hercules, he was a member of a sculptors and architects' family from the city of Palermo (WITTKOWER 1993: 396-397, CELLINI 1992: 73-75). He would also be the author of a statue of Margaret of Sabóia (Duke Carlos Emanuel I's daughter), dated from 1707 and meant for the chapel of S. Bento, in Vicoforte's basilica (FERNANDES 2005: 71-72, 103).

I believe this identification of the Hercules' sculptor acquired by the count of Aveiras for his villa in Belém, is not correct. One of the reasons relies on the family Gaggini, originally from Palermo, consisting of sculptors and architects which had died out before the 17th century. The sculptor who corresponds to the inscription on the authorship, is certainly Giuseppe Gaggini (1643-1713), active in the Portuguese context, but a member of a family from Lombardy, and with his brother Giacomo, he was head of a studio in the area of Ponte Calvi (Genoa) in 1709, according to sources promoted by Fausta Franchini Guelfi on the activity developed in the city by artists from the north of Italy. The brothers Giacomo and Giuseppe Gaggini, originally from Bissone, with a studio near Ponte Calvi (1709), worked in the years 1680-82 in collaboration with the sculptor Angelo Maria Mortola on the statue that has disappeared from the marble painted decoration of Spinola's chapel, dedicated to S. Clemente, in Annunziata's church (FRANCHINI GUELFI 1989: 288). It was the documentation on the work of the Spinola chapel that allowed precise determination of Giacomo Gaggini's date of birth, revealing as unacceptable (and traditionally accepted) that given by the author of the 18th century C. G. Ratti, in hid *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Genovesi* (RATTI 1762: 220, RATTI 1768: II, 368, ref. by FRANCHINI GUELFI 1989: 288). On the contrary, the date of Giuseppe's death – 1713 – was already known with certainty since the publication of his death, in the beginning of the 20th century (CERVETTO 1903, ref. by Fausta FRANCHINI GUELF 1989: 288), thus it is probable that he was born circa 1643, still in Bissone.

Silva Telo a El-Rei D. João V em 1726 or GABINETE DE ESTUDOS OLISIPONENES (Lisbon), *Manuscritos*, Maço 1425: *Carta de Padrão do Palácio do Benfeito do Terceiro Conde de Aveiras João da Silva Telo a El-Rei D. João V em 1726*, p. 6; see also CARITA, CARDOSO s.d.: 147 and FERNANDES 2005: 70.

Apparently less important than his brother Giacomo who received relevant commissions in the Genoese context during the last decades of the 17th century and beginnings of the next century, Giuseppe's work is more difficult to recognize. However, Giuseppe stands out more as a sculptor than as "*marmararo*", the opposite to his brother (FRANCHINI GUELFI 1998: 241-242). Giuseppe Gaggini was a famous sculptor known in 1675 among the most relevant names of the Genoese production such as Daniele Solaro, Honoré Pellé, Bernardo Falcone and Francesco Molciano, and was invited to participate in the enterprise meant for the Royal Palace of Madrid, of eighty marble statues (that have since been lost during a fire), and later on, was elected to the Art Council of Genoa sculptors in 1696 (FRANCHINI GUELFI 1998: 242).

Analysis of the lease for the building where in 1709, the Giuseppe Gaggini's studio was functioning[9] near Calvi's bridge, as I have said, reveals an important aspect to the understanding of his activity: the size of the establishment was huge as he certainly had many artisans working with him.

Finally one last point deserves my attention when I approach the work(s) by Giuseppe Gaggini for the gardens of Count of Aveiras' palace: the reason of his choice for the sculpture(s) execution. In this context I should mention above all the role of the Italian community in Lisbon, mostly from Genoa and with an efficient network of permanent contacts in Liguria's city, as I have cited. In reference to this it is enough to mention that the maritime links of Portugal with the Italian Peninsula were for the majority of the second half of the 18th century through Genoa harbour and Genoese ships (VALE 2004: 55-61). Thus, it is easily confirmed that the acquisition of Genoese Works of art, in particular sculpture, was an easy task for an interested Portuguese aristocrat in the last quarter of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

Furthermore, in Giuseppe Gaggini's case, there is another question which I consider important because it can stand as a clear link between the "Genoese" sculptor and an eventual Portuguese patron. In his will, dated the 26th May 1710, the sculptor of Lombardian origin (definitely from Bissone), active in Genoa, Francesco Garvo shows Giuseppe Gaggini as his executor testamentário (and overseer of his youngest sons' interests), as well as trusting him with the management of his studio located near Gaggini's studio (BELLONI 1988: 191, FRANCHINI GUELFI 1998: 242). Garvo was also the family name of a master mason and sculptor active in Portugal during these years: João Baptista Garvo (1644-1692), already resident in Lisbon in 1672 – as we can verify in the list of Italian community members in Lisbon in that year (VALE 2004: 326-328, VALE 2012, to be published) – and revealed in the following year of 1673, referred to as "*scultore*" in a letter sent from Genoa the 3rd August to the purveyors of Loreto's church by Giovanni Gerolamo Ghersi (VALE 2004: 332, Doc. 11).

Probably Garvo's family, through their members resident in Genoa and those resident in Lisbon (it should be noticed that another son of João Baptista Garvo, whose name was Giovanni Domenico, was married to Giulia Maria Gaggini), became an important link and contributed to the choice of Giuseppe Gaggini to assure the execution of one or two more statues for the gardens of the count of Aveiras who had committed himself to improve his Belém estate[10].

Hercules' statue by Gaggini heads the cascade of the Birds' nursery, as I have said, because that is the location that will influence future Portuguese gardens. Although setting statues on cascades is not an invention of the baroque in this period of history it will become very popular because of the theatrical solution it conveys corresponding

9 ARCHIVIO STORICO DEL COMUNE (Genoa), *Padri del Comune*, nr. 761, ref. by Fausta FRANCHINI GUELFI 1998: 242.

10 Another link between the Count of Aveiras and the Italian community of Lisbon is Gregório Luís, master mason and "medidor das obras da cidade", who made several works for the Italians and particularly to their national church – see ARQUIVO DA IGREJA DO LORETO (Lisbon), *Diario da Receita e Despeza da Igreja Italiana do Loreto*, 1ª Série, Livro 15, fl. 3 ref. by VALE 2004: 139); the same Gregório Luís was responsible for works at the palace of the Count of Aveiras, at the Chão do Loureiro, in Lisbon – cfr. ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO (Lisbon), *Arquivo da Casa dos Condes de Aveiras e dos Marqueses de Vagos*, Pacote 6, Maço 22, Doc. 10.

Hercules, Giuseppe Gaggini, Viveiro dos Pássaros cascade, Gardens of Belém Palace, Lisbon

to the taste of that period.

The physiognomic expression and, above all, the eloquent gestures with which water moves – spraying water from the hydra's mouth that the Classical hero controls with vehemence – gives an amplified effect, making it clear that the already mentioned interdependent relationship between water and sculpture in the context of baroque gardens transforms the whole creating a perfect baroque spectacle.

At the cascade of the birds' nursery in Belém Palace it is recognizable a statue of Hercules and at the ancient gardens of count of Sarzedas' palace (Palhavã), still survives another Hercules' statue, originally from a fountain, probably Genoese. On the other side, the celebrated fountain ordered by the count of Ericeira through Portugal's ambassador in Rome, close to Gianlorenzo Bernini's studio, stands as many other baroque fountains, Neptune as a dominant figure which is inspired by another Bernini's representation of seas' god: the one at *villa* Montalto in Rome.

Neptune's election is explained by obvious reasons related with the presence of water which the god of Antiquity would command and dominate, overcoming on maritime creatures (which would also go along with him) and making use of his trident. It is precisely this situation that we can observe in Bernini's fountains – the villa Montalto's disappeared fountain from Rome and the fountain of the also disappeared count of Ericeira's palace of Anunciada in Lisbon –, as well as posteriors fountains (even if they were not meant to ga4rdens but to urban spaces) which spread the same model, such as in Roman environment the famous fountain of Trevi (by Nicola Salvi) and, in national context, the fountain of Neptune by Joaquim Machado de Castro to the Two Churches' square (in front of Our Lady of Loreto's church) and transferred to D. Estefânia's square, in Lisbon.

Relatively to Hercules' election as the main figure of a fountain in the baroque period reveals a less linear explanation that passes mostly by an allusion (more or less concealed) to the patron and owner who establishes a parallelism between his own realizations through life with the twelve works the Antiquity's hero had to succeed.

This attitude is not strange to the epoch mentality. We just need to remember the commission process of D. Luís de Meneses, count of Ericeira's fountain, who made it execute in Rome to its Lisbon's residence. As I have noticed when I approached the commission and execution of Bernini's fountain it had originally a different program of the one it was executed. This fountain had in the middle a representation of the War god portraying the count of Ericeira himself. The count wrote in a letter on July 1676 to Dr. Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, ambassador of Portugal in Paris, about the fountain he had bought in Rome: *"Hua figura de Marte que há-de ter em cima há-de ser tirada pelo meu retrato como ja avizei ao Arcebispo (...)."* [11]. Having in mind very present in his memory his

11 A.N.T.T., *Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Caixa 4, Maço 7, Doc. 19, fl. 1v., published by LINO 1960: 4.

participation in Restoration war's campaigns, D. Luís de Meneses first idealized a fountain in honor of the God of War and in certain aspects in his own honor. Nevertheless, it did not concern the figure of Hercules but of Mars and the passage in the count of Ericeira's letter evokes exactly the same process of making correspondence between the patron's image to the god's fountain[12].

I do not believe that the count of Aveiras or the count of Sarzedas wanted to do some particular parallelism between their selves and Hercules on the commission of fountains with the Antiquity hero's figurations to their palaces and gardens[13]. In these cases it was certainly an option specially related with the hydra of the seven heads' effect from which mouths are spread jets of water with pomp proper of the willing baroque show of sound and movement.

Hercules, Giuseppe Gaggini, Viveiro dos Pássaros cascade, Gardens of Belém Palace, Lisbon - detail of the face

In this brief journey through baroque gardens with Genoese sculpture what concerned us the most was to convey not only an over whole view but also to make some considerations on the origin, authorship, patrons and sculpture's characteristics, as well as make some reflections on certain iconographic programs and their integration in the gardens.

12 As far as fountains with a statue of Hercules are concerned should also be mentioned the drawing of one fountain to the Bemposta Palace, in Lisbon – see ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE BELAS-ARTES (Lisbon), Cx. 87 A, Gav. 3, Pasta 26, Nr. 665 – I must thank the knowledge of this drawing to Maria João Pereira Coutinho.

13 In fact, this is a very typical subject of baroque gardens all over Europe. See RODRIGUES 2011b: 382-384.

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Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

Fortuna and the Wars of the Restauration - a Machiavellian reading of the gardens of the Palácio Fronteira

Gerald Luckhurst

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ABSTRACT

This article proposes an integrated reading of the iconography of the Jardim Grande at Palacio Fronteira, near Lisbon. The seventeenth century garden celebrates the re-establishment of Portuguese independence in 1640 following a period of sixty years of Spanish rule. Hidden Machiavellian influences are newly revealed within the symbolism of the garden.

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ARTICLE

The gardens of the Palácio Fronteira contain many mysteries, but none as fascinating as the statue of a young woman balanced on a ball. She stands high above the parterre, the central figure of the famous Gallery of Kings. There are other figures in the *Jardim Grande*, but they are commonplace: dancers, gladiators, soldiers and Roman gods, the stuff of garden ornament found all across Europe. This sculpture is different and begs the question: Who are you?

> "Who are you?
> *A moment of time seized, holding sway over everything.*
> Why do you stand on tiptoe?
> *I am constantly moving about.*
> Why do you keep winged sandals on your feet?
> *The light breeze carries me hither and thither.*
> In your right hand is a slender razor. Pray, why?
> *This symbol teaches that I am keener than every blade.*
> Why the tuft of hair on your brow?
> *So that I can be seized as I approach.*
> But tell me, why is the back of your head bald?
> *If someone once lets me go, swift as I am, I cannot then be captured by my hair.*"
> (Paton 1918: 325)

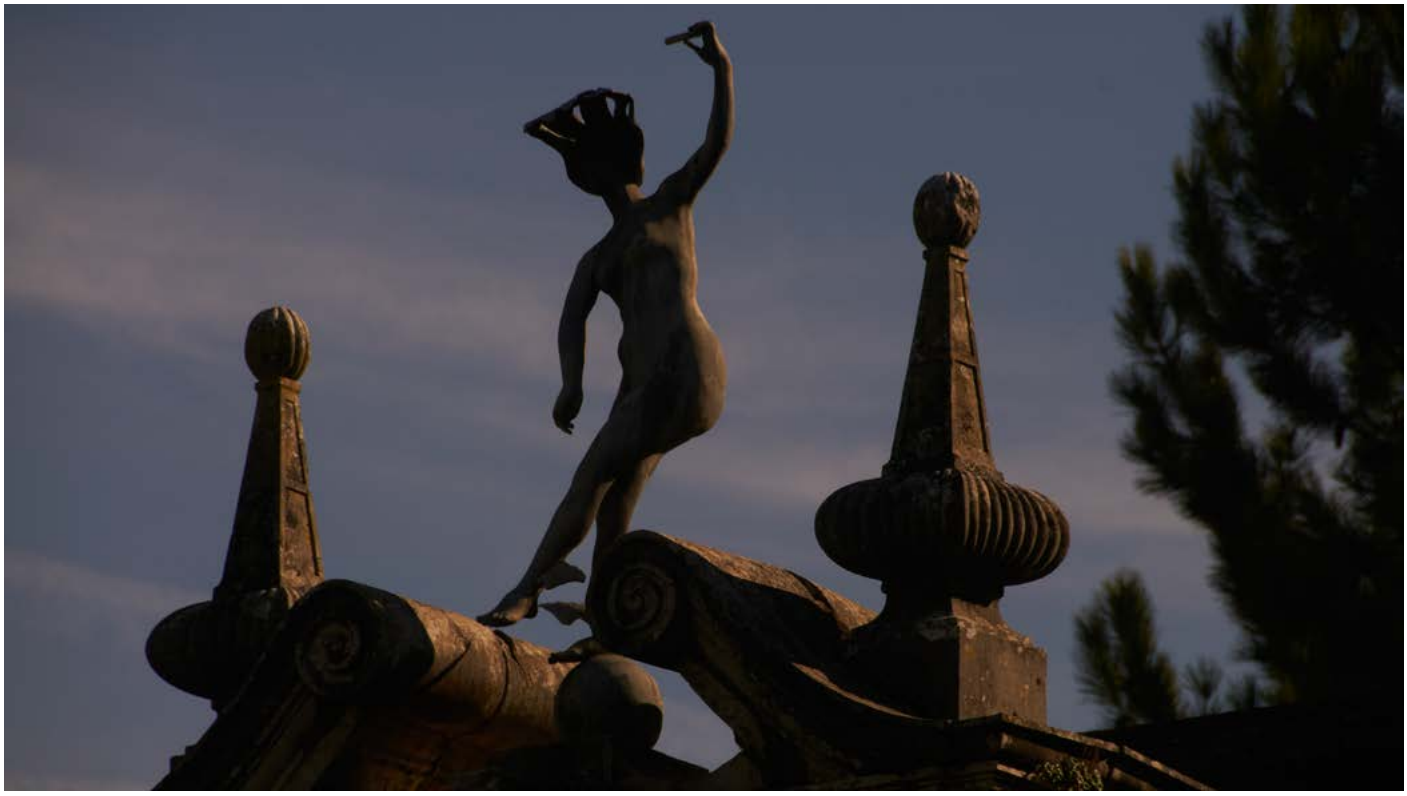
She is Fortuna: goddess of chance, ruler of temporal affairs, and, as befitting her changing nature, she can take many forms. The metaphor was first recognised by Cristina Leite, (Leite 1988: 155) as taken from the emblems of Alciato (Alciato 1549: Emblem 122).This is a special variant of Fortuna: Opportunity[1]. *A man must take advantage of circumstance as it occurs, or else miss his chance.* But she is not unique to this garden.

1 Iconography reference: *Fortune sur Occasion*
Alciato, Andrea: *Emblemes* (Lyon, 1549), pp. 149-150
http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/facsimile.php?id=sm33-k3r
Related to the argument presented in this paper see also *Fortune surmontant Virtu* , pp. 147-8
http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/facsimile.php?id=sm33-k2r

In Venice, high above the Customs House, Fortuna stands on a golden globe, sculpted as a weather-vane by Bernardo Falcone in 1677[2]. Carried by the wind she would remind sailors of the hazards of their journey, and their chance of potential rewards. Indeed printed emblems of the goddess frequently show sailing ships in the background, tossed about by the wind and at risk. This is luck, good or bad; there is little a man can do about it.

The goddess also presides over the main square at Fano[3], on the Adriatic coast of Italy. The *Fontana della Fortuna*, modelled by Donnino Ambrosi in 1593, commemorates a battle fought on the banks of the Metauro River in 207 BC. Here the decisive action of one man saved the day, against all odds. Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, had marched across the Alps with his elephants, intent on attacking Rome. The Roman general, Gaius Claudius Nero, acted quickly on the intelligence, and intercepted the Carthaginian army as it tried to cross the river. This was his opportunity: a moment of time seized, and a lucky victory. Fortuna provided the opportunity.

Returning to Fronteira, let's look more closely at the figure of Fortuna:



> "A young naked lady stands with one foot on a sphere and the other slightly in the air (both feet are winged); she holds a knife pointing upwards in her left hand (her arm being more or less horizontal) and her hair is thrown forwards as if blown by the wind from behind.
>
> In short it means that she is unstable and dangerous and has to be grabbed just before she passes by."

This is how the sculpture was described by Fernando Mascarenhas (the present Marquis of Fronteira), in 1999 (Marcus and Mascarenhas 2005: 44). He decided that this should be the first of the lead statues of the garden to be restored, "for who knows what might have happened to the family if it had been allowed to fall?" (Marcus and Mascarenhas 2005: xii)

2 Iconography reference: Fortuna of the Dogana di Mare
Photographer Frank Kathoefer
http://www.panoramio.com/photo/35378744
3 Iconography reference: The *Fontana della Fortuna* at Fano, Italy
http://www.lavalledelmetauro.org/standard.php?lingua=it&id_sezione=8&id_sottosezione=10&id_sottosottosezione=&record=7021

But what of the moment? What was the opportunity that she represents? Did Fortuna get away - or was she caught?

The general consensus amongst scholars is that the ideology of the garden at Fronteira concerns the struggle of Portugal to reassert its independence from Spain following the expulsion of the Habsburg dynasty upon the "Restoration" of 1640. These battles were known in Portugal at the time (from 1640 – 1668) as the Wars of Independence, though later they became known as the Wars of the Restoration. They are commemorated in the *Sala das Batalhas*, the main room of the palace of the Marquis of Fronteira. Cristina Leite sub-titled the chapter of her thesis concerning Fronteira as 'The nationalism of the Restoration' and wrote: Fronteira '.... an allegory of the Restoration. The key to the allegory is the figure of "Opportunity" ... it is a celebration of the victories and a personal military exultation ..." (1988).

Ana Duarte Rodrigues in her doctoral thesis (2009) makes a summary of various other interpretations of the garden, beginning with the descriptive treatment written by Cassiano Neves (1954). Others include a reading through the *Lusíadas* of Camões by Cristina Castel Branco (1989, 1992, 2008), and a comparison with the Baroque stairway of Bom Jesus de Braga by Barbara van Barghahan (1999). Marieta Dá Mesquita employs the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1992) and Lilian Preste de Almeida examined the relationship between the sculpture and the *azulejos* of the garden (1997). I would add to this list the valuable work of Ana Paula Correia in identifying sources for the imagery of the "Gallery of Arts" (1997, 2007). Ana Rodrigues warns of the dangers of knowing where to stop with the interpretation of iconography, but here I would like to explore the concepts behind the making of Fronteira, rather than the iconography per se.

Professor Pascal Julien has recently made an extensive study of the library of Dom João Mascarenhas (1632-1681), first Marquis of Fronteira, and his son Dom Fernando (1655-1729). This was based upon a manuscript library catalogue listing more than 4500 titles and also the books surviving in the library of the Fronteira Palace today (Julien 2011). He identifies the allegorical figure of Fortuna as one of the keys to the reading of Dom João de Mascarenhas' garden. As evidence from the library catalogue the professor presents the frontispiece of the *Campeggiamenti overo istorie del Piemonte* (Tesauro 1643)[4].

Here we find the same naked young lady, her forelock blowing in the wind, launching dice upon a drum. She is watched by a soldier, who could be taken for Mars, the god of war, as they determine the result of the ensuing battle. She is leaning against a wheel (*of fortune*), thus representing Chance, rather than her guise of Opportunity, but as we have seen the two concepts are closely intertwined. Dom João Mascarenhas, argues Julien, enjoyed good fortune in his campaigns against the Spanish during the Wars of Independence and was rewarded by the Regent Dom Pedro for his bravery, his loyalty, and his good service, with the title of marquis of Fronteira, in 1670 (Julien 2011: 148).[5]

4 Frontispiece
TESAURO, Emanuele, (1643), *Campeggiamenti overo istorie del Piemonte*, Venice: Marco Garzoni.
http://archive.org/details/campeggiamentio00tesagoog
Note the broken column of virtue, and discarded broken weapons at Mars' feet. Also the pot, labelled "Sors" (Fate), from which lots were drawn, the abandoned anchor (of hope), fallen crown and sceptre and bird's skull and wheel of chance similarly placed in relation to Fortuna. Her right foot rests on a ball decorated with symbols of the Zodiac.

5 A.N.T.T., *Chancelaria de D. Afonso VI,* L.35, fls. 25-25v. 7th January 1670: "Dom Pedro etta faço saber aos que esta minha carta virem que tendo respecto aos meretimentos e serviços de D. João mascarenhas Conde da Torre gentil homem da minha camara do conselho de guerra e vedor da fazenda tendo por certo que por aqui adiante continuara a me servir como pedem suas obrigacois (sic) e com aquele amor e lealdade com que athe 'agora o fez imitando aquelles de que dessende e desejar por tudo e por quem hé o Conde e

Mascarenhas, at that time 2nd Conde de Torre, was at first a colonel (*mestre de campo*) in the Alentejo (1657), and then became general commander (*mestre de campo general*) of Entre Douro and the Minho. Following this he became a cavalry general (*general de cavalaria*) back in the Alentejo, taking part in the campaign of 1662, at the capture of Valença de Alcantra (1664), and at Mourão, the relief of Evora, and the battles of Ameixal (1663) and Montes Claros (1665) He was nominated governor of Campo Maior in 1663. Following the end of the war with Spain in 1668 he then became governor of the Estremadura Province, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Vedor da Fazenda*) and a member of the Council of State and War and chamberlain to the prince Dom Pedro (Menezes 1698: 967; Pereira, e Rodrigues 1907: 622).

The war had been favourable to Mascarenhas, and the bravely seized opportunity presented him (*by Fortuna*) had brought the soldier wealth and prestige. From this engraving Julien concludes that Mascarenhas took the idea of dedicating his country house to a joint celebration of the re-establishment of Portuguese independence and of his own success under royal patronage (Julien 2011: pp. 148-9).

With due acknowledgement of Professor Julien's original ideas, this paper proposes a slightly different interpretation of the iconography of this garden: a Machiavellian reading that follows humanist notions concerning fate, fortune and the role that men play in determining their own destiny. Machiavelli firmly believed that a man must take advantage of circumstance as it occurs or else miss his chance: the issue being that only those sufficiently prepared and bold enough were capable of recognising such opportunities. [6]

The hidden influence of Machiavelli upon Portuguese thought, particularly at the time of the Restoration, has recently been studied by a number of scholars in Portugal and Brazil. Current research, as witnessed by the conferences held in Rio de Janeiro in October 2011, entitled *Maquiavel Dissimulado – Heterodoxias Político-Culturais no Mundo Luso-Brasileiro*, and in Lisbon *Maquiavel Dissimulado - Religião, império e herança romana no mundo português* in November 2011,[7] takes the view that the ideas of Machiavelli acquired great significance in Portugal and consequently in Brazil. The focus of this research has been to emphasise how Machiavelli's ideas were adopted by Portuguese nobleman without ostentation though often deliberately concealed through subterfuge.

Was Dom João Mascarenhas influenced by Machiavelli's ideas? The official position has been that throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (and indeed beyond) Portugal was Anti-Machiavellian. National politics at the time were closely allied to the Church and greatly shaped by the ideas of Jesuits and other Counter Reformists.

acressentar Sua pessoa muito e caza me praz e hei por bem fazer-lhe merce do titullo de Marquês de Fronteira."

6 Manuel de Faria y Sousa *Historia del reyno de Portugal dividida en cinco partes* […]». *Nueva edición enriquezida con las Vidas de los quatro últimos Reyes y con las cosas notables que acontecieron en el mundo durante el reynado de cada Rey, hasta el año 1730*, Brusselas: Francisco Foppens, 1730, p. 367:

«La casa de Bragança a sido siempre de muchos siglos a esta parte muy ilustre en Portugal, los Duques della decienden del Rey Don Alonso […]. Avía mucho tiempo que Don Juan IV anelava suceder en el trono de sus Predecessores, pero deseava la ocasión oportuna para poderlo executar; la fortuna le ofreció una coyuntura favorable para lograr su desseo, que fue como se sigue. Los Portugueses cansados de la dominación de tres Reyes de España, que avía durado casi sesenta años, y de las discordias entre ellos y los Castellanos, o por que desseavan tener un Rey de su nación, que es lo más creyble, resolvieron eximirse de la de Don Felipe IV, como lo hizieron el primero día del mes de deciembre año de 1640.» Manuel de Faria y Sousa *Historia del reyno de Portugal dividida en cinco partes* […]». *Nueva edición enriquezida con las Vidas de los quatro últimos Reyes y con las cosas notables que acontecieron en el mundo durante el reynado de cada Rey, hasta el año 1730*, Brusselas: Francisco Foppens, 1730, p. 367.

7 International Congresses: "Maquiavel dissimulado heterodoxias político-culturais no mundo brasileiro" Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, 25-28 October 2011; "*Dissimulating Machiavelli. Religion, Empire and Roman Legacy in the Portuguese World*" Lisbon, 18-19 November 2011.

The books of Niccolò Machiavelli had been banned and his sympathisers were considered heretics. If there was any Machiavellian influence in Portugal at this time it was certainly carefully concealed. Historians have tended to limit its consequence. As recently as 2007, in *Maquiavel e Portugal*, the only book to have been dedicated to the study of the Florentine's ideas in Portugal, Martim de Albuquerque writes:

> "Certainly there were those in Portugal who had read Machiavelli, and those who tried to obtain The Prince, but few were able to get their hands on the book, and very few, even politicians, acted knowingly of his ideas (Albuquerque 2007: 76, translated from Portuguese)."

Curiously though Albuquerque admits that Machiavelli's influence is nonetheless clear, and at precisely the time of the garden's construction:

> "If the political theoreticians of the 17th century in general disavowed of the doctrine of *Ragion di Stato*, political cruelty, lies, dishonesty, this does not mean that there was a complete absence of a certain practical Machiavellianism, above all during the Restoration. The fact is explained, though not justified, by the circumstances with which the country was faced whilst fighting for its survival, during which it was not always easy to maintain normal ethical behaviour." (Albuquerque 2007: 77, translated from Portuguese).

These Machiavellian practices during the restoration of Portuguese sovereignty have been examined by Professor Rodrigo Bentes Monteiro of the Universidade Federal Fluminense. He defends that, against the hereditary succession of the Spanish Hapsburgs, the legitimacy of Duke of Bragança's claim upon the Portuguese throne was dubious. The propaganda in João de Bragança's favour was constructed along Machiavellian lines, stressing his virtues as a Christian prince, as opposed to the villainous bad government of the Habsburgs. Dom João's strategy of punishment and reward following his seizure of power – generosity towards the defeated, intense cruelty towards traitors – can easily be read according to Machiavellian tenets of power: love and fear was shown towards his loyal subjects in due measure. And fortune was on his side. The moment of rebellion was a well chosen opportunity: Castilian troops were busy fighting rebellion in Catalonia, unable to respond to the uprising in Lisbon. In all, Monteiro finds a lack of coherence between the language used to justify the legitimacy of the new Bragança dynasty and the actions of Dom João. This he maintains places the "new prince" Dom João IV on the roll of the "razões de Estado vigentes na Europa seiscentista"(Monteiro 2011). The Duke of Bragança acted in the national interest rather than for moral or religious motives; one of the fundamental doctrines of Machiavellian thought.

The veiled influence of Machiavelli on the thoughts of the founders of Fronteira is strongly suggested by the prominent position of the sculpture of Fortuna in the garden. Machiavelli wrote frequently of the role of Fortuna in men's lives. Many of his contemporaries believed that the affairs of the world were governed by her – for Fortune is a woman – AND by God. These men were powerless to manage their own lives and left everything to chance. But Machiavelli himself came to a rather different conclusion:

> "It is not known to me how many men have had, and still have, the opinion that the affairs of the world are in such wise governed by fortune and by God that men with their wisdom cannot direct them and that no one can even help them [...] Sometimes pondering over this, I am in some degree inclined to their opinion. Nevertheless,
>
> not to extinguish our free will, I hold it to be true that Fortune is the arbiter of one-half of our actions, but that she still leaves us to direct the other half, or perhaps a little less" (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter XXV).

So we see that Machiavelli understood Fortuna as ruling over half of all human actions. He also compared her to a raging river, destroying everything in its path. After the storm wise men should make provision. By building dykes and dams, should the waters rise again they will be conducted in canals and their force will be less dangerous. By comparison men should take care with their luck.

> "So it happens with fortune, who shows her power where valour has not prepared to resist her, and thither she turns her forces where she knows that barriers and defences have not been raised to constrain her" (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter XXV).

Here we see the central tenet of Machiavelli's argument. Men who wished to control their lives needed to be valorous. The translation here is difficult. This not only meant that bravery was required, but also a princely education so as to enable a thorough comprehension of the chaos wrought upon the world. This quality Machiavelli defined as VIRTÙ. Machiavelli did not mean the heavenly virtues of the church, but rather a man's ability, vitality, energy, action, and determination. (Ruffo-Fiore 1982: 37). This "manly virtue" determines the capacity of the individual to control circumstances as they happen. Since Fortune depends upon happenstance, and luck is so changeable, men who would control their lives must direct their actions according to the needs of the moment. Machiavelli counselled boldness:

> "For my part I consider that it is better to be adventurous than cautious, because fortune is a woman, and if you wish to keep her under it is necessary to beat and ill-use her; and it is seen that she allows herself to be mastered by the adventurous rather than by those who go to work more coldly. She is, therefore, always, woman-like, a lover of young men, because they are less cautious, more violent, and with more audacity command her." (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter XXV).

As Virgil has it in the *Aeneid: audaces Fortuna iuvat*. "Fortune favours the brave." (Virgil, Aeneid book X). Machiavelli interpreted this idea through the concept of "virtù", the abstract quality required by his Prince to control situations in order to achieve great things (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapters XV - XVII). Seizing opportunities presented to him by Fortuna he will be rewarded with success. Those who stand by and watch will be passed over (Cassier and Domandi 2010: 77). Machiavelli makes it absolutely clear that those who possess *Virtù* will need to constantly reassess the fickle nature of Fortuna. For this reason Machiavelli contends there is no fixed method that will lead to success: a bold man must adapt to his circumstances. In conclusion, he maintains that a man of *virtù* will be able to recognise a lucky opportunity as it occurs, and will construct a suitable strategy to control the situation. In this way "the brave" will achieve their aims.

Perhaps we are approaching an explanation as to why Dom João Mascarenhas choose Fortuna as the key to his garden programme? But let us look first at the other elements that make up the terrace of the *Jardim Grande* over which the statue of Fortuna presides.

This part of the garden was described by Fernando Mascarenhas in his address to the first of the cycle of conferences entitled *Tratados de Arte em Portugal* held at the Palacio Fronteira (Mascarenhas 2011). Surrounding the box hedging of the parterre are three low walls, each decorated with panels of *azulejos* that represent firstly the elements, planets and stars, secondly, the signs of the zodiac, and thirdly, the months of the year (Figure 6)

Cristina Leite in her master's thesis described this as a model of the Baroque Cosmos (Leite 1988: 159). However the ideas contained here are more closely related to the philosophy and astrology of the Renaissance

than to the ideas of the Baroque. Machiavelli would have seen them as an expression of astrological determinism. Man's fate is written in the stars, just as on earth the seasons are bound to follow one another. As Anthony Parel has written in his Machiavellian Cosmos:

> "Machiavelli believed that the motions of heavens and the planets affected all human motions, collective as well as individual, the 'order' that human history follows – of rise and fall, corruption and renewal – and the 'power' which makes such order possible, are received from the motions of the heavens and the planets" (Parel 1992: 28).

According to the ideas of Machiavelli these panels may be taken as representative of that half of a man's destiny *over which he has no control.*

Most important are the azulejos placed along the garden wall that runs in front of the house: seven planets, four elements and two constellations (which represent the heavens). Here is written both the nature of Man and his destiny through astrology and the doctrine of humours (Parel 1992).

The other two sides of the garden contain images of the signs of the zodiac and the twelve months of the year: eternal cycles both of the Heavens and here on Earth. Nothing that either Fortuna or Man could do would change these.

It is tempting to digress upon the messages contained within these panels, but the arcane symbols presented in their details were in fact copied directly from engravings which inspired their imagery. The original plates of the Four Elements were first published by Adriaen Collaert in Antwerp and later republished in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz Visscher in 1654 (Correia 2008). The Planets were taken from a series by Jacob Matham after Hendrik Goltzius, published at Haarlem, Netherlands, in 1597.

During the Renaissance the natural motions of the heavens, planets and stars were believed to affect not only individuals, but also states and politics generally. Though these were irresistible forces, Machiavelli believed that human temperament also had a role in forming the character of regimes, and that the military and political actions of individuals could change the course of history. To achieve this, these individuals had to possess the right qualities of *virtù* and recognise the moment in which Fortuna gave them an opportunity. This is what concerns the fourth side of the garden.

The *Jardim Grande* is closed by an elaborate structure known as the Gallery of the Kings, which is built around and above a decorative lake. It is here that the statue of Fortuna stands at the highest point of the structure on the central axis of the garden. According to our Machiavellian reading, the purpose here is to illustrate that part of life – both of individuals and of state – to which Fortuna grants an opportunity for greatness: *the other half of destiny*.

The virtues of the nation state (of Portugal) are amply demonstrated by the succession of Portuguese Kings from Henri de Bourgogne, conde de Portucale (1066–1112) up until the regency of Dom Pedro II (1668–1683). These busts of successive dynasties, placed behind the figure of Fortuna, constitute a strong representation of *virtú*, and the success of a nation against all odds.

The most striking feature of the Gallery of Kings is the arcade containing *azulejos* showing fourteen cavalry

commanders astride mounts *en courbette*. These portraits recall the equestrian portraits of Velasquez, but there is a direct link between these large-scale representations and the tiny painted images of mounted soldiers contained in the *azulejo* panels of the *Sala das Batalhas*. These miniature portraits illustrate and identify the nobleman, who, alongside Dom João Mascarenhas (marked as the *Conde da Torre*), engaged in the battles of the Wars of the Restoration fought against the Spanish[8].

Of the large-scale tile portraits in the Gallery, one of these commanders is clearly Dom João Mascarenhas himself. Another has been convincingly identified by Ana Paula Rebello Correia as Dom João IV, the Duke of Bragança and figurehead of the Restoration (Correia 2006). The portrait of Dom João was taken from *Lusitania Liberata* (published in London, 1645)[9]. Following further investigation for this paper it transpires that the base for this Portuguese engraving was originally taken from the French printmaker, Jacques Callot, with his portrait of Louis de Lorraine, Prince of Phalsbourg from 1623[10]. The equestrian portrait, published in 1673, of Dom Sancho Manuel de Vilhena, Conde de Vila Flor, victor of the Battle of Ameixial, bears a striking similarity to portraits at Fronteira (Faria 1979: 426-430)[11].

These horsemen seized the opportunity of the Restoration offered them by Fortuna.. Men of *virtù*, through their ability, vitality, energy, action, and determination, they changed the course of Portuguese history. Acting directly in what they saw as the national interest (Machiavelli's *Ragion di Stato*) these aristocrats supported the Bragança dynasty and went on to sustain the regency of Dom Pedro (II).

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8 Conde da Torre at the Battle of the Lines of Elvas
Tile-panel from East wall of the *Sala de Batalhas*
at Palacio Fronteira
http://www.fronteira-alorna.pt/batalhasSearch/iconograficas/iconograficaFicha.jsp?refID=1770

9 "Triunfo de Dom João IV",
Lusitania Liberata, Book 3, Chapter 9, p. 650.
http://archive.org/details/lusitanialiberat00sous

10 *Louis de Lorraine, Prince of Phalsbourg,*
Jacques Callot, Etching and engraving, c. 1623, 288 x 342 mm. LXXI 155 Dessin pour le Prince de Phalsbourg (Cat. 505), Coll. Chatsworth.
Dated by Meaume to 1623 see p. 85 Jacques Callot Vol. I by Jules Lieure, Collector's editions, 1969
Jacques Callot: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre gravé, Volume 1.
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84957097

11 Equestrian portrait of Dom Sancho Manuel de Vilhena,
Conde de Vila Flor
Aplausos Academicos e rellacção do felice sucesso da celebre victoria do Ameixial, offerecidos ao Excellentissimo Senhor da Academia dos Generosos e Academico Ambisioso. Em Amesterdam em casa de Jacob Van Velsen. Anno de 1673
http://www.csarmento.uminho.pt/pop_up_view_img.asp?path=imgs/ndat/gravuras/&imageName=Grav1465I.jpg&table=gravuras&filter=559&fieldID=gravuraID&fieldsToShow=imagem|n_registo|assunto|descricao|data_epoca|gravador|autor|editor|inscricao|processo_tecnica|cor| [all article webpages references were accessed 2013/05/16]

The horsemen have been traditionally identified, since at least 1919 (Sampaio 1919: 307) as the *Doze de Inglaterra*. Although there are twelve arcades facing the lake, which correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twelve months of the year there are in fact fourteen equestrian portraits beneath the gallery. The association with Camões derives from a romanticist desire to associate the garden of Fronteira with Portugal's epic myth. In a recent interview the present Marquês de Fronteira gave his opinion:

> "Há quem diga - que os cavaleiros são os 12 de Inglaterra, em referência ao episódio d'Os Lusíadas, há quem diga que são chefes da Restauração leituras que, aliás, não se negam uma à outra. O mais provável é representarem a família, que aparece mesmo identificada nos painéis laterais. Em minha opinião representam a aristocracia como suporte da realeza" (Mascarenhas 2011)

A Prince comes to power with the support of either the *popolo* or the *grandi*. (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chapter IX). Whoever these horsemen at Fronteira maybe, the message was clear. The Duke of Bragança was raised to the monarchy by his fellow aristocrats – those that fought in the struggle against Spain. It was through their *virtù* that these noblemen seized the great opportunity of the Restoration granted by Fortuna to Dom João IV. *This is the Machiavellian message.*

Despite his central role King João IV is given an inconspicuous position in the Gallery of Kings. He is crowned with laurels as the victor of the Wars of Independence, but together with the other two members of the Bragança dynasty he is placed to one side, at the end of the walk. However, it is important to note that he is facing the founders of the Kingdom: Dom Afonso Henriques, his son Dom Sancho I and grandson Afonso II.

This is surely a reference to the establishment of a new dynasty. Machiavelli was quite clear in stating that heaven cannot give a greater gift to human beings than the *occasione* to found or to reinvigorate a new state:

> "And truly, a Prince seeking the glory of the world ought to desire to possess a corrupt City, not to spoil it entirely like Caesar, but to reorganize it like Romulus. And truly the heavens cannot give man a greater opportunity for glory, nor could man desire a better one." (Machiavelli, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, Book I Chap. X.)

At the top of the steps leading to the south pavilion is a bust of Henri de Bourgogne, conde de Portucale, father of the Afonsine Dynasty. In a corresponding place of honour at the entrance to the north pavilion is Nunes Alves Pereira, the general who had saved Portugal's independence from Spain in the crisis of 1383–1385: both are men deserving of honour in the Machiavellian code. But the last of the busts in the series is exceptional:

since it represents not a Portuguese, but a Roman, the Emperor Tiberius. Casually, it could be said that there was a space left over – but surely then another Portuguese hero could be found – perhaps even Camões? A Roman emperor seems to underline the Classical heritage of what is clearly a Renaissance garden, but the choice of Tiberius is most telling, and is a clear pointer to the Machiavellian politics of the builder of Fronteira.

Readers of political theory in seventeenth-century Portugal, when unable to accede to the works of Machiavelli, used Tacitus instead, in particular his *Annals* of which the first six books deal with the rule of Tiberius. (Leo 1969: 165; De Melo 1650). Whilst he was still Regent, Dom Pedro was compared directly with Tiberius for his refusal to adopt the title of King (Lacerda 1669: 264). But Dom Pedro changed with the times, just as Machiavelli recommended. By force of his own *virtú*, as opposed to the complete lack of these qualities in his brother the king, Dom Afonso VI was removed as an obstacle to his own kingship. Dom Pedro, with no assistance from *Fortuna*, created his own opportunity:

> "(…) for where men have little virtù, fortune greatly shows her power, and as she varies it, Republics and States change often, and they will always change - until there springs up one who is a great lover of antiquity who is able to rule so that she has no reason at every revolution of the sun to show how powerful she can be" (Machiavelli, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, Book II, Chapter XXX).

The Emperor Tiberius was adopted here as representative of the Machiavellian ideal "Prince" (Toffanin 1921: 49). Here at Fronteira he represents perhaps the future of the Bragança dynasty and incidentally confirms the presence of Machiavellian thought in the garden program. Fortuna is indeed the key to understanding this garden, but without the boldness of those to whom she presented the opportunity of Portugal's liberation there would be nothing to celebrate.

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On project

Creating an Algarvean Native Garden

Marilyn Medina Ribeiro

Hapimag Resort Albufeira, a four-star resort in southern Portugal, is 11 hectares of low-rise apartment buildings, lawns and subtropical shrubs. However, all this is changing: we have just embarked on a project to transform the water-hungry landscaping into a drought-resistant garden, using only native plants and sustainable maintenance methods. For a public landscape in a tourist town, this is a revolutionary idea. Many people consider the plants on our lists no better than scrub, but we hope to show that the obliging evergreen Lentisc bush, thriving in summer without water or fertiliser, is more beautiful than a tropical shrub struggling against the summer heat and processed water of the irrigation system. With thousands of square metres winter-planted with shrubs, perennials and climbers alongside mature olive trees, carobs and umbrella pines, the garden is well on its way to establishment, and we are turning the idea of hotel landscaping on its head.

Algarve, southern Portugal. For many (incuding myself, before I had been here), the word "Algarve" is synonymous with golf courses, towerblock aparthotels and identikit ice-cream- coloured villas. But, as with many resorts, its fame as an over-developed, package-holiday- hell is largely undeserved. Many MGS members have perhaps had the epiphany. Taking off to one of these locations as a last-minute, budget break in the sun, the place surprises, delights and ultimately bewitches us into staying there.

My case was a little different. In 2008, I accepted a job gardening here, based on 48 hours in July for an interview and brief tour of seaside town Lagos – and I confess, this initial visit lived up to my preconceptions – narrow streets overcrowded with grumpy, sunburned yobs and screaming children. I decided I could overlook these points, however, in view of where I would be working – the manicured garden of a clifftop boutique hotel. When I returned to start work in mid-September, the crowds had calmed, but the weather was still balmy as the best August in England, day after day. The air was full of the scent of ripe figs, oleander blossom, and pine sap toasting in the sun. Suddenly, it began to make sense.

As I quickly discovered, there are some particular treasures the Algarve retains. The coastline and beaches are a good place to start, and not only for the swimming and sunbathing. Here, we are mediterranean with a small "m": strong winds all through the year and the Atlantic ocean violently lashing the rocks in winter. The beaches are often surrounded by breathtaking rock formations that have been shaped by this sea, and both dune and clifftop harbour diverse plant communities. On the way to Cape St. Vincent, the furthest southwest point in Europe, wave upon wave of brilliantly flower-starred tapestries cover the rolling plains in Spring; it is a sight to time visits around. But there is much to admire year-round in the harmonius compositions of greys, greens and silvers; a tussocky, hummocky loveliness made up of frequently gardenworthy plants.

Fast-forward to early 2010. Following some disappointments in the first job, I have started as Garden Manager at Hapimag Resort Albufeira. Perched on the cliffs away from the bustle and blaring lights of Albufeira centre, Hapimag is surrounded by a conservation area thick with native plants and the other species which rely on them. Cistus abound – especially common are Cistus albidus, C. crispus and C. salviifolius, proof against both the winter's withering, whipping winds and the pounding sun of midsummer. Annual wildflowers abound, especially peas and thistles. Cynara humilis is humble only in the sense that it is shorter than its cousin

C. cardunculus, the cardoon – it still makes a statement with imposing, electric blue flowers and sculptural spiky leaves. Eryngiums flower in midsummer, accompanied by the complimentary sulphur-yellow of Helichrysums and rhyming with the now-dried seedheads of the annuals and grasses. Lagurus ovatus, Brizas large and small, and the fascinating starbursts of Aegilops geniculata are personal favourites.

Lavandula luisieri *with Spanish Festoon butterfly*

All of this is undoubtedly lovely, but when the resort was constructed in 1994, it needed an instant garden. As is still very often the case, roll upon roll of turf was laid, a few mature palm trees ("reassuringly expensive"?) were dotted about, and the reliable year-round colour of Bougainvillea and Hibiscus enlisted. I have no problem with any of these, per se (except perhaps the lawn), but in this garden, you could be anywhere in the subtropical world - south Africa, Dubai, China, Italy, California - while the more subtle beauty of the local native plants is overlooked. It also looks almost exactly the same day in, day out: not a problem for the week-long package holidaymakers, but many of Hapimag's clients stay for a month or more, especially in the winter. Undoubtedly most damning of all, however, is the cost, to the company pocket and to the environment, of maintaining such a garden. To deal with local conditions - thin, stony, soils, powerful heat and wind - subtropical plants have to be on permanent life support. Apart from the chemical fertilizers and pesticides keeping the plants alive but utterly sanitized, some lawns were using around 10m3 of water, per night. With the cost of this water rising to over €1,50 per cu-

bic metre in recent years, it became increasingly obvious to the management that another way should be sought.

Thus the experts, landscape architect Claudia and biologist Udo Schwarzer, were invited to propose alternatives. During extensive surveys of the garden and its surroundings, they discovered that Hapimag is surrounded by a fascinating, biodiverse ecosystem, including one plant community in particular that appears to be unique within the Iberian peninsula. Containing, among others, wild carob trees, Ceratonia siliqua, the periwinkle Vinca difformis and the rather vicious sarsaparilla, Smilax aspera var. altissima, this combination of plants indicates a relict natural carob wood and is only seen again on the North African coast. It is fascinating to think that our little pocket of land could have been, at one time, connected to that vegetation.

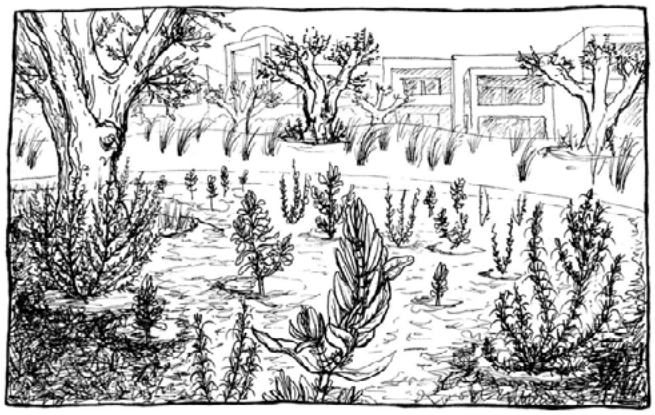
Ophrys apifera *coming into bloom*

After this consultation with the "genius of the place", a revolutionary, yet obvious, conclusion was drawn – go back to nature. The new Hapimag garden would be planted exclusively with native species from the Algarve coast. The landscape architects developed their plans rigorously, utilizing a few fundamental matrices of plants which would be employed in given areas, depending on the specific conditions of soil, neighbouring species, light and shade in each situation. These choices, based on combinations of species found in the wild, should ensure that the new plant communities will not just survive in their situation, but thrive and become quickly self-sufficient.

So far, so good – but now we had to find a source for the plants. This remains one of the biggest challenges of constructing a garden using drought-resistant plants in Portugal. Some species are mail-ordered from Spain and France, others we can only obtain by producing ourselves via seed or cuttings. Native plants in particular are viewed, it seems, as weeds and beneath the gardener's attention (though I have also considered the possibility that the continued use of wall-to-wall lawns and thirsty exotic shrubs is a conspiracy, perpetuated by irrigation suppliers and technicians to keep themselves in business...).

One thing that was, and is, available in abundance is the olive tree. Ours, most of them between 60 and 100 years old, had been unceremoniously grubbed out of an orchard some 200km north of Hapimag, and would have gone on the bonfire if they did not find new homes, so I like to think we did a good deed as well as getting a good price. However, the planting of the trees was a baptism of fire for the project and for me; my first weeks in the job were spent overseeing the arrival and safe conveyance of the trees to their new homes. Being such large creatures, this entailed the use of heavy machinery. The ex-lawns where the olives are planted were full of irrigation pipes which were comprehensively destroyed by the JCBs, to the great consternation of colleagues and guests alike. At the time, this all felt incredibly destructive and dramatic, but has become symbolic of the process and the point of this project: it was a statement of intent; we are staking our hopes on a completely irrigation-free garden.

Although we experimented in a couple of places with drip-line irrigation, what has proved to be more successful is watering by hand with a hose, as infrequently but as thoroughly as possible. We create basins around each plant to catch as much water as possible and send it directly where it is needed – to the plant's own roots, and not to the neighbouring weeds. We go round no more than once a week in the height of summer (July and August), leaving two or three weeks or a month between waterings in the autumn. Once plants are established, they will receive no extra water whatsoever, relying on rainfall as they do in nature.



Young plants of Cistus albidus and Rosmarinus officinalis, *with the ornamental grass* Hyparrhenia hirta *and mature olive trees beyond*

That Spring, we planted our first few patches of Algarve coastal mix, including our various Cistus species, rosemary in profusion, Asteriscus maritimus, Phlomis purpurea, and Lavandula luisieri. More shaded areas received evergreen shrubs - Pistacia lentiscus, Jasminum fruticans, Rhamnus alaternus, Phillyrea angustifolia. A few key native trees – mostly the umbrella pine Pinus pinea and carob, Ceratonia siliqua – joined the olives. Much of the space between the trees has been left to grow as wildflower meadow, where we had many pleasant surprises. Ground orchids such as Serapias lingua, Ophrys apifera and Ophrys speculum appeared in unexpected places, indicating that the original soil and seed bank had not been too greatly altered during the years of the conventional garden. Over the course of the summer, seedheads dry out and bleach to shades of flaxen and bone, becoming a textural, sculptural feast for the eyes, especially when backlit by golden evening light. By the time the first rains arrive in autumn, the plants have had the chance to drop their seeds and we give the meadow its annual cut.

During the last two winters, we have continued to refine and expand the mixture of species and the number of square metres given over to native plantings. We have added to the wildflower meadows with seeds gathered locally. Chrysanthemum coronarium, various euphorbias, the pinky-mauve thistle Galactites tomentosa and a bright violet Echium are star performers, creating a delightfully

Dried seedheads dance in the evening sunlight: Bellardia trixago, Lagurus ovatus *and* Trifolium angustifolium

zingy palette from mid-February often until the end of June. We have built a composting area and the garden waste which, in the past, was taken off site at great expense, is now composted or shredded and returned to the garden as mulch. The difference this makes to the texture, temperature and water-retaining capacity of our frequently sandy soil is evident almost immediately.

As you might imagine, there are those who do not appreciate this picture. Some look out on a wildflower meadow and see an abandoned wasteland; see our tiny plug-plants struggling in the sun and think we must be doing something wrong. It is an understandable reaction, particularly from those who were almost certainly expecting to see bright green lawn and exotic flowers when they arrived at their hotel. But it is testament to the authenticity, common sense and obvious health of this way of gardening that the response from clients has in fact been overwhelmingly positive. And when, a couple of short years from now, the garden has matured and begins to possess its full beauty, the case for going native will be unignorable.

Marilyn Medina Ribeiro trained initially as a graphic designer at Camberwell College of Arts in London, working in design during and after her studies. However, the tube journey and workdays spent in a basement office quickly lost their glamour and a move to the Ashdown Forest in Kent followed, reawakening her childhood love of plants. A BSc in Landscape Management at Hadlow College came next, along with work in specialist nurseries and as a craft gardener and planting designer. In 2008 she moved to Portugal where, apart from finding some very interesting gardens to explore and to work in, she met and married her husband. They live in Lagos, west Algarve.

LOURENÇO E SILVA, ANDRÉ, *Conservação e Valorização do Património. Os embrechados do Paço das Alcáçovas*, Lisboa: Esfera do Caos Editores, 2012, 331 pp.

Reviewed by Maria Alexandra Trindade Gago da Câmara
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In his work, the author approaches the study of the Paço das Alcáçovas rock-work, making a different, new proposition and study, on the 'in context' domain of Decorative Arts. Based on his Master's thesis on Interior Preservation and Rehabilitation, presented to the Decorative Arts School of the Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva Foundation, in Lisbon, the final outcome of this unique and original research, which must be continued is now published – with the approval of the Regional Cultural Board of the Alentejo.

The title leads us to a double feature: the study of the rock-work, specifying a case study, and, simultaneously, the focus on the preservation and appreciation of this artistic heritage.

As a matter of fact, this double feature implies a strong interconnection, permanently emphasised throughout the work.

When we examine both the table of contents and the theme, we see that the work translates several concerns at different moments. We see that the author feels the need to suggest three structuring elements for his book: the first part gives the historical content and the theme of the rock-work study from the European context to the national context.

The second part is a specific approach focused on the studied object – the Garden and the Chapel of the Paço das Alcáçovas – suggesting an artistic approach to the commission and its iconographic program, as well as the treatise influence, along with the site's and the surrounding environment's material on the architectural piece.

Lastly, the third part begins with a diagnose and an assessment of its current preservation state, suggesting contributions, as well as recommendations for an intervention methodology.

The text is well structured and fluent, graphically light, and well documented with unprecedented images, figures, and documents, making the theme easier to read and understand.

Also to be emphasised is the useful glossary and the significant sets still in existence in continental Portugal, comprised in a long time arch, between the 16 and 20 centuries.

In his book, André Lourenço da Silva gives us several work indications and also:

The commented and contextualised analysis of this text leads us to question of the rock-work relevant role over the course of the Portuguese gardens' art and their excellent aesthetic value, implying the cultural environment, as well as the aesthetic currents, which have influenced these sets. The author saved one of the most notable residential architecture buildings in the south of Portugal from oblivion, placing it on a quality cultural tourism itinerary.

Seduced by this bright material symbiosis, the author has depicted a correct intervention strategy on this set.

To conclude, it's important to make note that this book takes us on a journey, inside an artistic universe known and studied by few people in Portugal. Although he has no basic scientific training in the domain of Art History, André Lourenço e Silva is able to master with dedication and intuition the proposed methodological corpus, decoding and analysing the meanings, the influences, the materials, and the techniques used in the artistic set.

Therefore, and in so many other ways, this is a book of happy encounters between different domains: Art History, as well as the preservation and study of materials.

Now, the scientific community is expected to take on the challenge set by André Lourenço, by exploring and continuing his study. 'This is, indeed, an open subject' (p.254).

CARNEIRO, JOSÉ MANUEL MARTINS, *O Imaginário Romântico da Pena,* Lisboa: Chaves Ferreira Publicações S.A., 2009, pp. 287

Reviewed by Filomena Serra
IHA-FCSH

The publication of *O Imaginário Romântico da Pena*, issued in 2009 under the patronage of the Municipality of Sintra, appeals to the general reader's attention not only because of its contents but also due to its large number of enlightening pictures and nice layout. However, the lettering is difficult to read and we feel the lack of a name's index that would guide the reader through the pages. The study is the result of an academic work presented by its author, José Manuel Martins Carneiro, as an MA dissertation conducted at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon.

The Palace of Sintra and its Park are considered one of the most important symbols of Portuguese artistic Romanticism but they have been studied and interpreted throughout the times in quite a dispersed way. Instead, the author meant this book to be more than a study of artistic heritage; in fact, he wants it to function as an interdisciplinary work covering the whole subject of the Pena complex.

The author's concept of «romantic imagery» encompasses the three constructions in spite of their distinct values. Supported by extensive documentary sources, the analysis includes the Palace itself; the Park, which consists of a diversified set of buildings and properties that the German duke Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha went on acquiring during the mid-19th century in order to create there the first landscaped garden in Portugal, according to the romantic taste inspired by the knowledge of the various arts, from painting to poetry and opera; and finally, the so-called «Moorish Castle» which he had restored.

The volume is well organized. After an historical and methodological introduction, the author seeks to establish the premises that guided the research at the same time that he introduces the reader to the cultural mindset in which this romantic works were conceived. Indeed, Ferdinand was born in Vienna in 1816 and came to Lisbon in 1836 to become the King consort of Queen Mary of Portugal. His importance justifies the attention dedicated to him as patron of the arts and artists, as well as restorer of many national monuments. He also proved to be a skilled politician and a defender of the Portuguese cultural heritage, putting his enlightened imprint on the culture of the 19th century in Portugal during the long period of consolidation of the constitutional régime.

Throughout the pages we are introduced to the worldview of this German «King-artist», who gave Portugal the idea of nature as a subject of reflection and enjoyment, and not just of aesthetic contemplation and imitation. The book presents the German romantic philosophy in a detailed way in order to show that such philosophy recognizes sensitivity and feeling as fundamental categories. Therefore, the whole Pena complex is the result of a mentality and a program. It is the Germanic cultural world that is at its origins; a world where music, poetry, singing and opera, but equally botany, mineralogy and geology intersect. It inspires a careful plan developed during several decades. Diversified zones and circuits were built and scenic solutions were found to the different terrain accidents as well as the natural landscape.

Behind the Pena complex is one *Natürphilosophie*, which corresponds to theosophical principles, godly revelations and the discovery of visible and invisible realities. According to the author of the study, it is in this perspective that applied scientific knowledge acquires a religious significance, while the walker's creative imagination expresses itself through the iniciatic pathways to the Park and Palace of Pena. Imagery and representation forms merge with the whole construction of the Palace, where the Baron Von Eschewege, a mining engineer, made his mark as an amateur architect. In addition, the study's author also highlights the history of the restoring of the Hyeronimite convent and the Moorish castle, as well as the gardens. Architecture and ornament extended to the landscape following the composition principles of the outside spaces. The author also points out the relationship between Goethe's *Elective Affinities* and the gardens of Pena as well as role played by the French gardener Bonnard after designing the Necessidades Park in Lisbon where he formed a school of gardeners. Scenography and afforestation have created Pena as a poetic of space and time. Among multiple possible readings, the author interprets the garden landscape as a voyage. It is a seductive intertextual reading which connects forms and symbols.