Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal

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

Gerald Luckhurst

Reference: Gerald Luckhurst, "Fortuna and the Wars of the Restoration – a Machiavellian reading of the gardens of the Palácio Fronteira", *Gardens & Landscapes of Portugal*, CHAIA/CHAM/Mediterranean Garden Society, nr. 1 (May 2013). ISSN 2182-942X URL: <http://www.chaia_gardens_landscapesofportugal.uevora.pt/index%20home%20presentation.htm>

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.

Gerald Luckhurst is a Landscape architect at Parques de Sintra - Monte da Lua; member of the Mediterranean Garden Society.

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)

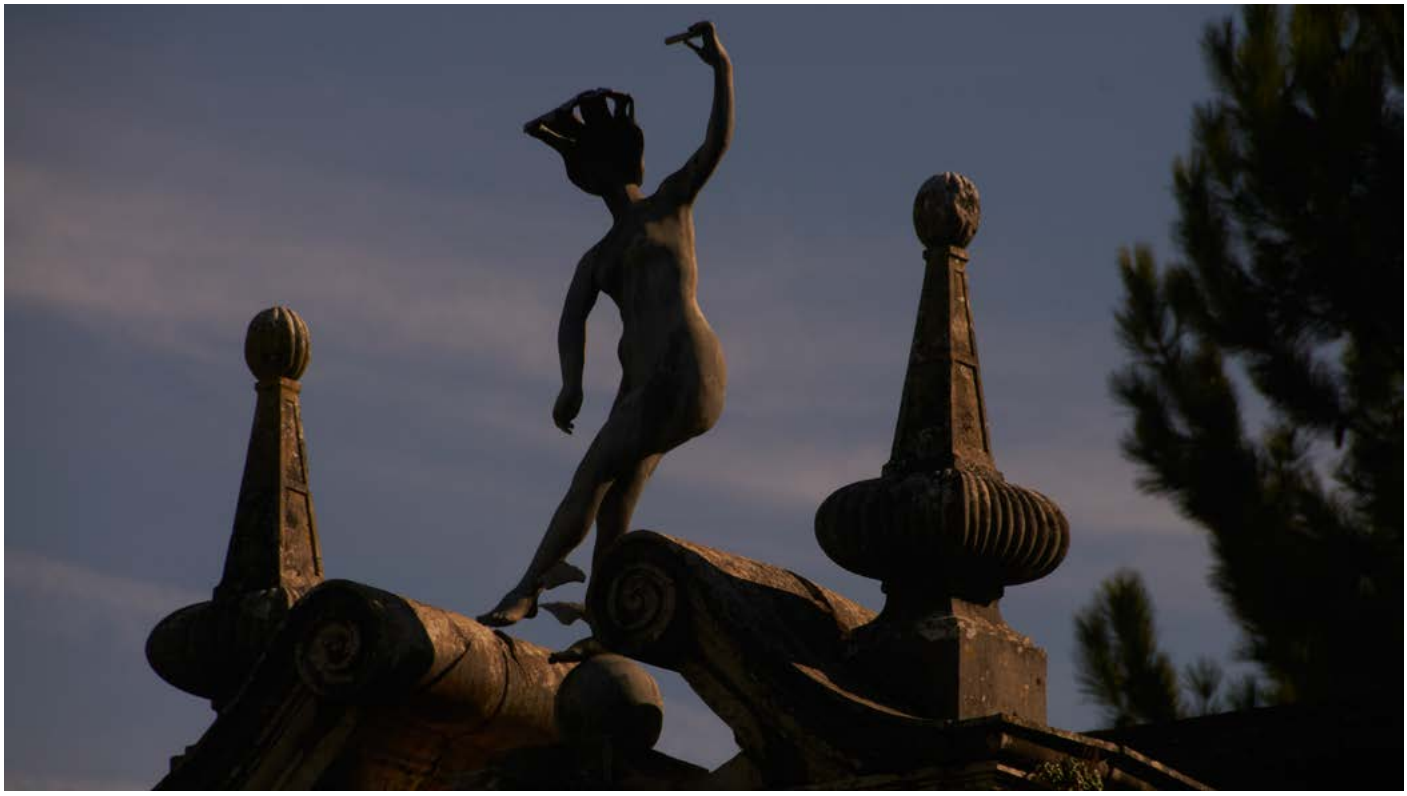
She is Fortuna: goddess of chance, ruler of temporal affairs, and, as befitting her changing nature, she can take many forms. The metaphor was first recognised by Cristina Leite, (Leite 1988: 155) as taken from the emblems of Alciato (Alciato 1549: Emblem 122).This is a special variant of Fortuna: Opportunity[1]. *A man must take advantage*

1 Iconography reference: *Fortune sur Occasion*
Alciato, Andrea: *Emblemes* (Lyon, 1549), pp. 149-150
http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FALb114
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?emb=FALb112

of circumstance as it occurs, or else miss his chance. But she is not unique to this garden.

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.



Fortuna, Lead Statue, Fronteira Gardens

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

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

and Mascarenhas 2005: xii)

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://www.panoramio.com/photo/13218610
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. 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

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.

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

Mars, Tiles , Fronteira Gardens

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.

Jardim Grande at Fronteira

Regent D. Pedro II, bust

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].


King D. João IV, Tiles, Fronteira Gardens

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).

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:

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/index.htm
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://4.bp.blogspot.com/_JfSC5GcL_G0/S4W45NAo8tI/AAAAAAAAAW0/AP3OyPfraO0/s400/D.+Sancho+Manuel.jpg
[all article webpages references were accessed 2013/05/16]


King D. João IV, bust

> "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

Emperor Tiberius, bust

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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALBUQUERQUE, Martim de (2007), *Maquiavel e Portugal: estudos de história das ideias políticas*, Lisbon: Alêtheia.

ALCIATO, *Los Emblemas de Alciato traducidos en rhimas españolas* (1549), Lyon, G. Rouille WWW:<URL: http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/facsimile.php?id=sm32z_c2v

ALMEIDA, Lilian Preste de (1997), "O grande teatro da guerra da Restauração. Ainda a Sala das Batalhas do Palácio Fronteira: uma leitura estético-simbólica", *Monumentos*, nº 7, Lisbon: September 1997, pp. 70-77.

BARGHAHN, Barbara von (1999), "The sacred Parnassus", *Struggle for Synthesis: a obra de arte total nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, Ministério da Cultura, Instituto Português do Património Arquitetónico, pp. 413-418.

BURKE, Peter (1969), "Tacitism", in Leo, Friedrich, *Tacitus*, London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul.

CASSIER, Ernst, & DOMANDI, Mario, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, Chicago: University Press, 2010.

CASTEL BRANCO, Cristina (1989), *An Analysis and Restoration Proposal for a Seventeenth Century Garden*, Master's thesis presented to: University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

CASTEL BRANCO, Cristina (1992), *O Lugar e o Significado. Os Jardins dos Vice-Reis.* PhD thesis in landscape architecture presented to Instituto Superior da Agronomia, Universidade Técnico Lisboa, Lisbon.

CASTEL BRANCO, Cristina (2008), *Os Jardins dos Vice-Reis - Fronteira*, Lisbon: Oceanos.

CORREIA, Ana Paula Rebelo (1997), "As Fontes de Inspiração dos azulejos da Galeria das Artes", *Monumentos*, nº 7, Lisbon: September 1997, pp. 60-69.

CORREIA, Ana Paula Rebelo (2006), "Um retrato real nos jardins do Palácio Fronteira", *Monumentos*, Lisboa, nº25, Setembro 2006, pp. 226-33.

CORREIA, Ana Paula Rebelo (2008), "Fábula, história, real e imaginário no jardim barroco: os azulejos do jardim do Palácio Fronteira em Lisboa", *Actas do Congresso Internacional "Jardins do Mundo"*, Lisbon: Edições Gradiva.

FARIA, Maria da Graça Pericão de (1979), *RESTAURAÇÃO, Catalogo da colecção Visconde da Trindade*, Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra.

JULIEN, Pascal (2011), "La bibliothèque du marquis de Fronteira et la conception du jardin de son palais", in MOREIRA, Rafael Moreira, & RODRIGUES, Ana Duarte (ed.), *Tratados de Arte em Portugal*, Lisbon: Scribe.

LEITE, Ana Cristina (1988), *O jardim em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII*, Master's thesis presented to F.C.S.H./Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon.

MARCUS, George, and MASCARENHAS, Fernando, (2005), *Ocasião: The Marquis and the Anthropologist, a Collaboration* , Walnut Creek, California: Rowman Altamira.

MASCARENHAS, Fernando (2011), "Uma proposta de Leitura do Conjunto da Azulejaria

do Jardim Formal do Palácio Fronteira em Lisboa" Conference: *Tratados de Arte em Portugal*, Lisbon: Palácio dos Marqueses de Fronteira, 6th May, 2011.

De MELO, Francisco Manuel (1650), *Tácito português. Vida, morte, dittos e feitos de El Rey Dom João IV de Portugal*, Lisbon, Livraria Sá da Costa, 1995.

MENEZES, Dom Luis de (1698), *Historia de Portugal restaurado offerecida a El Rey Dom Pedro II* ..., Vol. II, Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Deslandes.

MESQUITA, Marieta Dá (1992), *História e Arquitectura – Uma Proposta de Investigação – O Palácio dos Marqueses de Fronteira como Situação Exemplar da Arquitectura Residencial Erudita em Portugal*, PhD thesis, FA, UTL, Lisbon.

MONTEIRO, Rodrigo Bentes (2011), "O príncipe novo D. João IV", Colóquio Internacional: *Maquiavel dissimulado heterodoxias político-culturais no mundo brasileiro* Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói, Rio de Janeiro, 25-28 October 2011. Abstract in Portuguese:
WWW:<URL: http://www.historia.uff.br/ciadasindias/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Resumos.doc

NEVES, José Cassiano (1954), *Jardins e palácio dos marqueses de Fronteira*. Lisbon: Câmara Municipal.

PATON, William Roger, trans. (1918), *Greek Anthology*, W. Heinemann, Vol. V, Book 16, nº 275, p. 325; Posidippus, *Anthologia Planudea*, 'On a Statue of Time by Lysippus'.

PEREIRA, Esteves e RODRIGUES, Guilherme, coord. (1907), *Portugal - Dicionário Histórico, Corográfico, Heráldico, Biográfico, Bibliográfico, Numismático e Artístico*, Vol. 3, Lisbon: João Romano Torres.

RODRIGUES, Ana Margarida Neto Aurélio Duarte (2009), *A escultura de jardim das quintas e palácios dos séculos XVII e XVIII em Portugal*, PhD thesis presented to F.C.S.H./Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon.

RUFFO-FIORE, Silvia (1982), *Niccoló Machiavelli*, Boston: Twayne.

TESAURO, Emanuele, (1643), *Campeggiamenti overo istorie del Piemonte*, Venice: Marco Garzoni.

TOFFANIN, Giuseppe (1921), *Machiavelli e il Tacitismo, (la "politica storica" al tempo della controriforma)*, Padova: A. Draghi.