

SCULPTOR-WRITER: MACHADO DE CASTRO'S “DOUBLE GLORY”

by Miguel Figueira de Faria

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Writing was important for Machado de Castro's intellectual affirmation. The ability to give literary expression to his ideas constituted a tool that he knew how to use appropriately in defence of creative freedom and the status of the artist. This essay seeks to analyse the written work of the master of the equestrian statue and its significance in his time, discovering this other side of Machado de Castro, highlighting the contribution that his literary works made to the construction of the complex profile of the most notable Portuguese sculptor of the period.

Most studies conducted focus on his artistic work, offering limited critical analysis of his literary activity. Cyrillo Volkmar Machado (1748-1823) reproduces a list of his works, with accurate publication dates, but offers nothing from a critical point of view, leaving only the well-known comment, repeated ad nauseam: “Joaquim Machado was always devoted to the lessons of books and to conversation with the Muses”¹. Among the sculptor's contemporaries, Francisco de Assis Rodrigues (1801-1877), his disciple, presents a more complete list of his publications, highlighting his curiosity beyond the arts: “He was not ignorant of the precepts of philosophy, and possessed varied knowledge of the subsidiary sciences of his art, as attested by the different works he wrote and published in verse and prose”².

1 MACHADO, 1823, pp. 267-268.

2 RODRIGUES, 1842, p.101.

However, the image of the compulsive reader remained:

“To the practice of art, he added the lessons of books, possessing knowledge of languages, especially Italian: and in these always fruitful readings, he spent the long winter nights, and the intervals left by his regular attendance at the Sculpture class and laboratory, where he taught for 50 years”³.

Latino Coelho, in his memoirs of António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875), focusing on the pedagogue’s youthful friendship with the sculptor, transports us to the image of Machado de Castro, already an old man, “in his study, surrounded by books and engravings, sometimes drawing, sometimes writing, sometimes leaving that small sanctuary to visit the sculpture class and workshop he had set up on the ground floor of his own home”⁴.

Manuel Mendes gives us a biographer’s perspective, in which he shrewdly considers the two Machados, the sculptor and the writer:

“This artist left us a vast and significant body of work. His activity was not limited exclusively to the work of sculptor. His vehement passion for the love of art led him to write countless pages, containing everything, which constitute a curious repository of his cultural interests, his knowledge, and are an expression of his lively temperament as a public figure”⁵.

A more complete view is offered by José-Augusto França in his excellent “afterword”⁶, a must-read, published in the facsimile edition of the *Descrição Analytica...* (*Analytical Description*) commemorating the second centenary of the inauguration of the monument to D. José.

França notes the paradox between the artistic and literary works of Machado de Castro, oscillating between Baroque and Neoclassical styles, highlighting an update in the latter that his statuary did not reflect.

Also noteworthy is the survey he conducted on the artistic culture demonstrated by Joaquim Machado Castro throughout his literary work. In this dense review, we can follow the list of authors cited by the master

3 *Idem*.

4 COELHO, 1859, p.308.

5 MENDES, 1942, p. 5.

6 It is interesting that it is an afterword and not a preface. We interpret this choice as the author’s usual ethical wisdom in not wanting to compromise the integrity of the original, moving his text to the end of the book.

of equestrian sculpture, and the critical capacity denoted regarding the bibliography he read.

Machado de Castro was part of the select group of 18th-century national artists who enjoyed the right to publication, along with Cyrillo Volkmar Machado, José da Cunha Taborda (1766-1836), Carneiro da Silva (1732-1818), and Vieira Lusitano (1699-1783).

Within this small universe of artist-writers, the sculptor's literary work emerges as the most extensive and diverse, standing out for its reflective content, denoting elaborate intellectual work, frequently intersecting with other areas of knowledge, upstream from the subjects specifically belonging to the art of drawing, in the expression of a Renaissance curiosity, exercising a kind of proto-interdisciplinarity:

"I voluntarily sacrifice myself to censorship, in the honourable project of being useful to the youth I intend to teach; showing them that, with regard to the profession, some of what the great men of the same Arts have judged and said, thus exciting their curiosity to see these examples; and, with respect to other Arts and Sciences, to let them know that from others each one can draw something that is useful to their own; for it is proof of having a sterile imagination for anyone who, from the talents that others profess, cannot draw something from them that serves their own purposes"⁷.

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The initial question is to understand the reasons for the standing that Machado de Castro had among his peers.

Establishing an explanatory framework for Machado de Castro's literary prolific output, three converging lines of force in the construction of the writer-sculptor can be identified. Firstly, the valuing of education, a paradigm always present in his work, demonstrating total openness to learning and a permanent curiosity to "know," which accompanied him until the end of his days. Secondly, taking advantage of this availability, two fundamental phases of instruction ensued, alongside the necessary artistic training: the first, as a young man, was with the Jesuits in Coimbra, and the second was obtained in Mafra, through inspiring interaction with different masters, the most evident being Father Francisco José Freire (Cândido Lusitano, 1719-1773) and the painter Francisco Vieira Lusitano (1699-1783). In the first phase he acquired the basics of grammar, and in the second he cultivated the principles of poetics and rhetoric, the tools

⁷ CASTRO, 1810, p. XIV.

of allegorical language, and the awareness of the need to fight for the artist's status - ingredients that left very visible marks on his literary work.

Finally, the third aspect, materialized by his self-taught efforts, is embodied in the methodical and continuous habit of reading, a practice described by his contemporary biographers.

INITIAL EDUCATION WITH THE JESUITS

Let us further examine the period of Jesuit attendance at the Gerais in Coimbra, corresponding to the learning of Grammar. According to the *Ratio Studiorum*, a transversal method in force in the Jesuit colleges⁸, the teaching of Grammar included three levels: Lower, Middle, and Upper levels, with the same annual duration. Assuming Machado de Castro entered school at the age of 13, it is reasonable to consider that he may have attended the first two cycles of learning, consistent with his departure for Lisbon, between the ages of 15 and 16, as his biographers mention.

According to the aforementioned pedagogical method, after completing the first two years of Grammar, the Lower and Middle levels, the student progressed from the "basics" to "complete knowledge of Grammar, but not in an exhaustive way"⁹, benefiting from Manuel Alvares (1526-1583) grammatical studies; it included the principles of syntax and the basics of Latin and Greek, thus gaining knowledge through an introduction to selected works by Cicero and the poetry of Ovid. These qualifications, drawn from the Grammar programmes of the *Ratio Studiorum*, may have formed the basis of Machado de Castro's humanistic education, associated with the practices of Christian catechesis, which would mark the intellectual universe of the young apprentice sculptor, a skill that he was also developing in the family environment of his father's workshop. In Maфра, between 1756 and 1770, he likely enjoyed a second phase of training in poetics and rhetoric. The influence of Cândido Lusitano is quite evident in his literary works, certainly receiving reading guidance from the outset, from his initial introduction to translations of Horace or, more extensively, to the *Arte Poética* of Father Francisco José Freire (1719-1773), works that he frequently cites.

Through the same lens, he certainly arrived at Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750), converging in his reflections on "good taste"¹⁰ with the

8 MIRANDA, 2009.

9 *Idem*, pp. 218-235.

10 The influence of Muratori on the work of Francisco José Freire is a consensus in the literature on the subject. See, for example, CASTRO, 2008, pp. 474 and ff., or SARAIVA & LOPES, 2010, pp. and ff.

Arcadian doctrines of the priest, also leading us to Vieira Lusitano, personalities with whom he associated in Mafra.

As his biographer, Francisco de Assis Rodrigues (1801-1862), recalls, “our artist received some lessons in rhetoric and poetics” from the aforementioned author of the *Arte Poética*, a relationship confirmed by the sculptor himself who familiarly refers to “our Candido Lusitano, or Father Francisco José Freire, to whom I owed friendship and instruction”¹¹.

Regarding Vieira Lusitano, Machado admits to being a follower of the painter in specific aspects of the arts, namely the conformity of the characters’ features, fundamental to representations, a domain in which he considers him even superior to the great Raphael, an exaggeration that is understandable in the laudatory expression of the sonnet he dedicated to him.

José-Augusto França intuitively in his art an “allegorical diligence”¹² which is another mark of Vieira’s influence, a matter that, incidentally, motivates the sculptor to dedicate a chapter of his major literary work to defending the use of allegorical language in the art of drawing¹³.

It is also necessary to remember the atmosphere of intellectual reflection experienced in Mafra and the cordiality among the guests that allowed the circulation of reference books, an attitude demonstrated in the offering of an edition of Pliny’s *Natural History*, with a handwritten dedication from Vieira to Machado de Castro [figs. n.º.1 e 2]: to Mr. Joaquim Machado de Castro, his revered and faithful Francisco Vieira Lusitano dedicates this book. On the 22nd of November, 1771”¹⁴.

Pliny’s work became an essential reference for the history of artists, through the evocation of the lives and works of classical antiquity creators, establishing a legitimizing past that promoted the status of their modern successors. Vieira’s intention in offering this work reveals a mentorship, a call for attention that reinforces a shared concern in defending the status of artists, a topic still very much in vogue in the second half of the 18th century and which would constitute one of his life’s missions.

It is also worth remembering the exceptional library in the Mafra monastery and the wealth of information to which the sculptor certainly had access during a crucial phase of his intellectual development, contributing to his self-taught efforts.

¹¹ CASTRO, 1810, p. 4, note 3.

¹² FRANÇA. 1975, p. 341.

¹³ CASTRO, 1810, p.175,

¹⁴ See Library of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lisbon. We thank Pedro de Azevedo for informing us of the existence of this copy.

HISTORIA NATVRALE DI G. PLINIO SECONDO,

TRADOTTA PER M. LODOVICO DOMENICHI;

CON LE POSTILLE IN MARGINE, NELLE QUALI, O VENGONO
segnate le cose notabili, o citati altri Autori, che della stessa materia habbiano
scritto, o dichiarati i luoghi difficili, o posti i nomi di Geografia moderni;

ET CON LE TAVOLE COPIOSISSIME DI TUTTO
QUEL CHE NELL'OPERA SI CONTIENE.

ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO SIGNORE,
IL SIGNOR ALBERIGO CIBO' MALESPINA,
MARCHESE DI MASSA, ET S. DI CARRARA, &c.



CON PRIVILEGI.



IN VINEGIA APPRESSO GABRIEL
GIOLITO DE' FERRARI.

Figure 1. Frontispício da obra de PLÍNIO, o Velho. *Historia naturale*. Biblioteca da Faculdade de Letras, 1561.

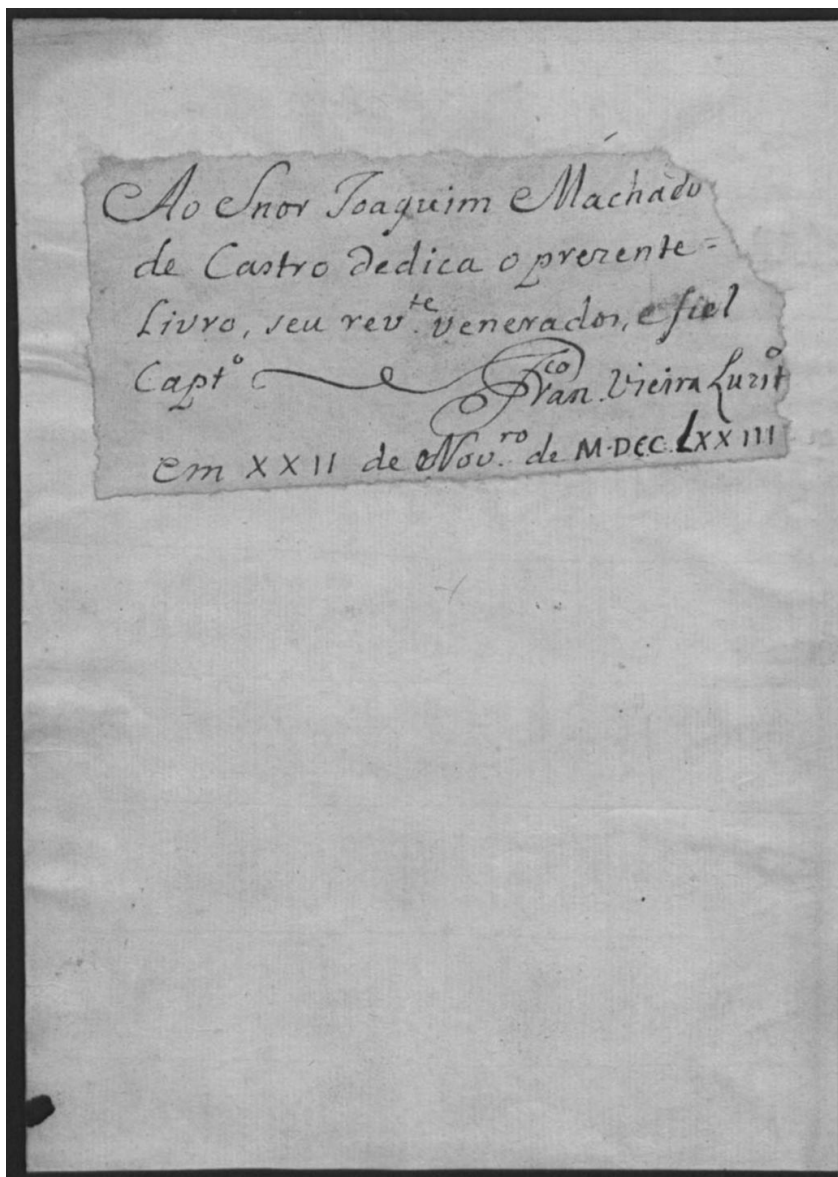


Figure 2. Dedicatória a Machado de Castro de Francisco Vieira Lusitano na obra de PLÍNIO, o Velho. *Historia naturale*. Biblioteca da Faculdade de Letras, 1561.

This reading habit would remain in him after he settled in Lisbon, as evidenced by the library listed in his posthumous inventory, to which we dedicated our attention at another time¹⁵.

FIRST PUBLICATIONS

It was in Mafra that Machado de Castro's initial publications emerged, reflecting the atmosphere evoked. The first, *Elogio ao Senhor Francisco Vieira Lusitano* (*Eulogy to Mr. Francisco Vieira Lusitano*), as early as 1758, in which the sculptor identifies himself very simply as "a native of the city of Coimbra". Based on a sonnet by the Arrábida priest António da Conceição, Machado "glosses in applause" a verse eulogy to the painter, extending the religious figure's initial message about Vieira's imaginary confrontation with Apelles, the celebrated painter of Alexander the Great.

The composition contains notes comprising Latin declensions – Virgil, Seneca, Aristotle, etc. – demonstrating his humanistic culture, and is enriched with marginal comments highlighting the qualities of the master painter: "His paintings are so expertly ordered with symbols and hieroglyphs that in each figure there is a concept, and in each action a sentence," or, further on, "he studied in Rome with as much diligence as his knowledge shows".

In these two passages, the tribute to allegorical language and the scientific character of his art reveal the fascination with the knightly painter, a meritorious academician of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, and "most worthy painter of His Most Faithful Majesty," exceptional qualities of Vieira that are stated on the cover of the edition. Elsewhere in the poem, the sculptor's lament for not having portrayed the painter in marble is foreshadowed:

"Is it possible to forget Sculpture today,
Being Vieira's inseparable sister,
Not to make its figure out of marble,
Escaping an abominable oversight?"

Some guiding principles are already emerging that would extend across his subsequent literary works, namely in the equation of Arts and Sciences and the affirmation of the status of artists and their respective creative freedom.

¹⁵ FARIA, 2008, pp.119 and ff.

Following the tribute to Vieira Lusitano, a new poetic work entitled *Tríduo métrico na eleição, que a província da Arrábida fez, para seu ministro provincial...* (*Metrical Triduum in the Election that the Province of Arrábida Made for its Provincial Minister*) would be produced, dated 1763, dedicated to the Count of Prado and recited by the sculptor himself in the garden of the royal convent, “on the three nights of illuminations with which this election was celebrated”. In the preface that opens the publication, Machado, drawing on renowned poets, including Virgil and Camões, begins a process that would become usual in his literary work, defending himself in advance against potential criticism, in this case, that of being labelled a “nose of wax” that is, repeating commonplaces extracted from other authors without adding anything original:

“We know that Virgil valued these imitations so much that when Fulvius Urcinus slandered him with many thefts from Homer, he replied that it was he who took the club from Hercules’ hand who was of great strength. To anyone who would reproach me in this way, I give the same answer”¹⁶.

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This is the beginning of a claim for himself over the territories of writing that we will find frequently and progressively in his work:

In the same vein, trying to justify the use of two very similar verses in sequence, he uses Cândido Lusitano’s *Poetics* to support his “poetic gallantry” and avoid being accused of pleonasm.

In the following note, he defends himself against any accusations of using a hyperbolic expression by stating that the narrative is allegorical, once again drawing on examples from the *Lusíadas* (*Lusiads*) and the *Aeneid*. In this extensive poetic exercise, divided across the three nights of illuminations, he concludes his literary phase in Maфра, but not his inclination towards poetry, which will continue after he definitively settles in Lisbon.

His lyrical work also included some sonnets, including one dedicated to Father Manuel do Cenáculo¹⁷, on the occasion of “his promotion to the bishopric of Beja”, an initiative aimed at attracting new patronage, now within the circle of the capital, and another celebrating the birthday of King D. José (6 June), evoking the carrying by the people of Lisbon of “one of the stones for the pedestal of his equestrian statue”¹⁸. It was in connection with the inauguration of the monument in Praça do Comércio

¹⁶ CASTRO, 1763, p. 20.

¹⁷ Manuscript transcribed and published by LIMA, 1989, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Idem*, pp.56-57.

that Machado de Castro published the following work *Ode to D. José* (Régia Officina Typográfica, 1775), where he already identifies himself as “the sculptor of the same royal statue and all the adjacent sculpture”.

However, this moment is used for a first, more developed incursion into notes on artistic subjects, namely the usual invocation of the twin arts – architecture, sculpture and painting – and their union with poetry, scrutinizing the legitimacy of an artist to also cultivate poetics. In this sense, Machado lists a group of artists who accumulated poetic creations, from Michelangelo to Claude Watelet, summoning an extensive universe and revealing, at this stage, a thorough knowledge of the life and work of his past and present contemporaries¹⁹.

There is still time to explain, in new notes to the poetry, the symbolism of the adjacent sculptures and the bas-relief of the monument, in the first case taking the opportunity to definitively undo the proposed allegory to the four continents of the original project and, in the second, adding an extensive and detailed explanation of the allegorical narrative chosen to occupy the mirror of the pedestal facing the city.

Finally, a last note of praise for the foundry director, Bartolomeu da Costa, without, however, diminishing his status as the author of the work.

The poetry follows the usual laudatory model, evident in the universe of creations dedicated to the inauguration of the equestrian statue, filling the 22 six-line stanzas of the composition with the most significant moments of the reign and especially the tasks of rebuilding Lisbon after the earthquake. However, it is the marginal notes that anticipate the sculptor’s expressed desire to exercise his writing in other literary universes²⁰.

The successive lyrical experimentation that we have been following did not lead Machado de Castro “to the fading of being a poet”²¹, being the first to humbly acknowledge the relative value of his odes and sonnets²².

¹⁹ CASTRO, 1775, in LIMA, 1989, pp.60-61.

²⁰ Regarding the interpretation of the meaning of the Ode to King José and its relation to the monument, see the recent article by RUSINOVA, 2025.

²¹ CASTRO, 1810, pp.230-231, note 2.

²² Other creations follow, adhering to the same formats and similar content: *Na Feliz Acclamação dos Fidelísimos Reis D.Maria I e D. Pedro III Nossos Senhores: Ode, Lisboa, Na Regia Officina Typographica, 1777* (the Happy Acclamation of the Most Faithful Kings D. Maria I and D. Pedro III Our Lords) and, also, another poetic exercise: *Pelo restabelecimento da saúde preciosa do serviço e do senhor dom João príncipe do Brasil em agosto de 1789* (For the restoration of the precious health and work of Dom João, Prince of Brazil): Ode Saphica, Lisbon, At Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789, Finally, a sonnet of thanksgiving dedicated to doctor José Feliciano de Castilho who assisted him, essentially concluding the lyrical work published by Machado de Castro (See LIMA, 1989, pp.71-82).

WORKS IN PROSE

In 1780, the sculptor published his first essay on artistic matters, whose long and suggestive title we recall: *Carta que hum Affeiçãoado às Artes do Desenho escreveo a hum Alumno da Escultura, para o animar à perseverança no seu estudo: mostrando-lhe as honras, e utilidades, que os Potentados, as Pessoas de juízo, civilidade, e instrução, tem feito, e fazem aos Professores ingénuos das Bellas Artes, filhas do Desenho*²³ (*Letter that a Lover of the Arts of Drawing wrote to a Student of Sculpture, to encourage him to persevere in his study: showing him the honours and uses that powerful people, people of judgment, civility, and education, have bestowed and continue to bestow upon the professors of the Fine Arts, daughters of Drawing*) [fig. n.º 3].

In another work we identified the recipient, his beloved disciple Faustino José Rodrigues (1760-1829), although the meaning of the text was transversal to an entire generation of candidates for the practice of the art of Sculpture²⁴.

The title of the work elucidates its meaning, and the argument developed constitutes an initiation into the defence of the artist's status and the nobility of the profession, based on an exhaustive review of international examples of the consecration of creators of fine arts, with allusions to the sculptors Bouchardon, Pigalle, Saly, Lemoyne, and painters Pompeu Batoni and Carlos Marati, among others. This pursuit of others' glories, beyond borders, will be a constant in his strategy in defence of the class, which will gain superlative expression in his most ambitious literary work, the *Descrição Analytica (Analytical Description)*, which we will discuss later.

The *Carta (Letter)*... concludes with encouragement to the beloved student, and to those aspiring to the art of sculpture, not to give up and to maintain their decision to embrace the profession: "Be encouraged, and let all those endowed with genius who dedicate themselves to Sculpture, and other Arts of Drawing, be encouraged: be encouraged, I repeat, to dedicate yourselves to the laborious study that you will undertake"²⁵.

His published work includes the *Discurso sobre as Utilidades do Desenho* (1788) [fig. n.º. 4], (*Discourse on the Utilitys of Drawing*) and *Analyse Gráfico-Ortodoxa* (1805) and the (*Orthodox Graphic Analysis*), works in which, without losing the sense of affirmation of the

23 First work published without author identification in Lisbon.

24 FARIA, 2008, pp.31-32.

25 CASTRO, 1780, p.28.

CARTÁ
QUE HUM AFEEIÇADO A'S ARTES
DO DESENHO

Escreveo a hum Alumno da Escultura , para o animar á
perseverança no seu estudo: mostrando-lhe as hon-
ras , e utilidades , que os Potentados , as Pessoas
de juizo , civilidade , e instrucção , tem
feito , e fazem aos Professores inge-
nuos das Bellas Artes , filhas
do Desenho.

ESCRITA , E IMPRESSA A PRIMEIRA VEZ EM 1780
POR SEU AUTHOR

JOAQUIM MACHADO DE CASTRO ,
*Professo na Ordem de Christo , Escultor mora-
dor da Casa Real , Lente da Aula , e La-
boratorio de Escultura , na repartição
das Obras Publicas.*

*Incumbido por Sua Magestade de toda a Escultura do seu
novo Palacio , e mais Obras Reaes: Correspondente
da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa.*



LISBOA,
NA OFFIC. DA ACADEMIA R. DAS SCIENCIAS.
ANNO M. DCCC. XVII.

Por Ordem de SUA Magestade.

Figure 3. Frontispício da obra de Joaquim Machado de Castro. *Carta que hum Affeiçãoado às Artes do Desenho escreveo a hum Alumno da Escultura, para o animar à perseverança no seu estudo...* Na offic. da Academia R. das Sciencias, 1780. Coleção particular.

DISCURSO
SOBRE AS UTILIDADES DO DESENHO,
DEDICADO
À RAINHA N. SENHORA
POR SEU AUTHOR
JOAQUIM MACHADO DE CASTRO,
PROFESSOR NA ORDEM DE CRISTO, ESCULTOR DA
CASA REAL, E OBRAS PUBLICAS.
RECITADO PELO MESMO PROFESSOR
NA CASA PIA DO CASTELLO
DE S. JORGE
DE LISBOA
Na presença da maior parte da Corte, e Nobreza,
em 24 de Dezembro de 1787.: dia oitavo
daquelle em que faz Annos
SUA Magestade FIDELISSIMA.

*Citoyens ne soyez point des ingrats. Quand j'écris ce que l'amour
du bien m'inspire songez moins à mon style qu' à mes vus.*
Mr. De Rozoi, Essai Philosoph. pag. 49.

L I S B O A
NA OFFIC. DE ANTONIO RODRIGUES GALHARDO,
Impressor do Conselho de Guerra.
M. DCC. LXXXVIII.
*Com licença da Real Mesa da Commissão Geral, sobre o Exame,
e Censura dos Livros.*

Figure 4. Frontispício da obra de Joaquim Machado de Castro. *Discurso sobre as Utilidades do Desenho...* Na offic. de Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1788. Coleção particular.

artist, he defines a tendency towards intervention as texts of protest, or motivated by the clash of ideas established in contemporary Portuguese society: The first, written in response to a nobleman sceptical about the nobility of the art of drawing²⁶, and the second in which he defends the legitimacy of using two angels in the representation of Our Lady of the Incarnation, against the wishes of the clergy responsible for the commission. This latter text was the most committed to the cause of defending the creative freedom of artists. In the *Discurso*... seemingly ignoring his first incursion, foreshadowed in the *Carta*... whose first edition, it should be remembered, was published anonymously, he claims to be a pioneer in this genre of writing, asserting “the certainty that not a single word has yet been printed on the subject in Portugal”²⁷. He further insisted that “since the subject matter is so new that it is the first time it has been dealt with in this Kingdom”²⁸. The central theme continues to be the artist’s status, returning to the same strategy of enunciating the nobility of the art of drawing, a subject to which he dedicates a lengthy seven-page note, which reveals the centrality of the issue:

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“Oh most precious Arts! How poorly those who do not know you treat you and your good Teachers, as you deserve to be treated! How many look upon you as upon any factory worker! Without knowing, without realizing that they discredit their own judgments by ignoring that in you, the essential whole is scientific, Philosophical”²⁹.

The *Discurso* emphasizes the economic view of the arts, aligning itself with the ideals of the Enlightenment, a projection that the use of the term “Utility” in the title adequately reinforces. The defence of applied arts and their return to the nation, through their respective industrial productions and the promotion of the quality of artifacts, highlights the mercantilist aspect in vogue, allowing us to situate the author’s ideas within the context of his time. He insists on the need to create an Academy of Arts of Design, emphasizing its importance “for civil and even economic purposes”, seeking to dispel the idea that the Arts are understood only as “an immediate luxury” but, more accurately, as “a delightful fostering of civil culture”³⁰.

26 According to the author’s own testimony, published only in the 2nd edition of *Discurso*... (CASTRO, 1818).

27 CASTRO, 1788, p. 204.

28 *Idem*.

29 *Idem*, note VI, pp. 244-252.

30 *Idem*, p. 214.

The defence of utility extended to the universe of sciences that depended on the graphic expression of the arts of drawing to approach their objectives, and cites: Mathematics, Geometry, Optics, Perspective, Physics, Natural History, Medicine, Anatomy, Cartography, Geography, Naval Architecture, etc.

Regarding Physics and Natural History, the author wonders: "(...) Considering the individual application to objects that such beautiful Sisters make, which the imitation of the drawing most easily familiarizes; and without whose help one cannot know them, nor study their attributes without an inexplicable inconvenience?"³¹.

Regarding Geography and Cartography, he adds: "If I contemplate Geography, here the drawing reveals to me a theatre as vast as the whole world! What a branch this is, Gentlemen, of such a fruitful tree! It is no prodigy of Delineation to see in the small space of a sheet of paper the whole sea with its islands, reefs and sandbanks?"³².

Prioritizing the training of artists is another cause that Machado de Castro sought to defend throughout his life. From Pamphilo he recalls the principle that "the painter must not be ignorant of anything", and from Vitruvius, the idea that the architect "is obliged to know how to write"³³.

Beyond the mutual mastery of the three twin arts of drawing, he enumerates other fundamental areas for the artist, beginning with Rhetoric, followed by Poetry, Mythology, Iconology, Theology, and Chronology. For the sculptor, this was the counterpoint that followed the ongoing discussion of the utility of the drawing arts for the sciences. Knowledge of other humanistic and scientific areas was also fundamental to artists, in a process that always advocated placing arts and sciences on an equal footing.

Machado de Castro's stance throughout the *Discurso*...elucidates his aesthetic inclinations, declaring his adherence to the reference models of classical art, from the Apollo Belvedere to the Venus de Medici, from the Farnese Hercules to the Laocoön, further clarified by the peremptory statement "in the study of the Fine Arts there are only two systems, either Greek or Barbarian".

Accordingly, for José Augusto França, the *Discurso* constitutes "an important work for the definition of neoclassical thought in Portugal", considering the entire series of authors cited, from Cochin to Du Fresnoy and Mengs³⁴.

31 *Idem*, p. 216

32 *Idem*.

33 *Idem*, p. 222.

34 FRANÇA, 1975, p.350.

Two further notes on this text. The first concerns the significance of its presentation before the court and nobility, granting it a privileged audience and reinforcing its intention to protest against the lack of intellectual and social recognition granted to artists during that period³⁵. The second is that initially, permission to print the *Discurso* was denied... It was later granted, but with alterations imposed by the Real Mesa, including the title, which originally used the term “Oração” (Prayer) and not “Discurso”, a situation that led to complaints by the author to Father Manuel do Cenáculo and Father Vicente Salgado³⁶.

In summary, we find in the *Discurso*... aspects already addressed in the Carta ... namely, the defence of the status of the arts and their practitioners, with the author insisting on the need for protectors who guarantee proper instruction, fundamental to artists.

Status, protection, and instruction will effectively be fundamental axes in the literary interventions and true causes in Machado de Castro's ideas, seeking to transpose these principles to the society of his time, without much success, it must be acknowledged, primarily because the desired Academy, the platform for these ideas, would take a long time to materialize.

In 1805, 17 years after the publication of the *Discurso*..., Machado de Castro returned to the printing presses and published his third work of prose, a new essay entitled: *Análise Gráfica Ortodoxa, e Demonstrativa, de que sem escrúpulo do menor erro Theológico, a Escultura, e Pintura podem, ao representar o Sagrado Mistério da Encarnação, figurar vários Anjos*³⁷ [fig. n.º. 5] (*Orthodox graphic analysis, and demonstration, that without scruple of the slightest theological error, sculpture and painting can, when representing the sacred mystery of the Incarnation, depict various angels*).

Following the successional evolution of the regime, the *Análise*... is dedicated to Prince Regent D. João. It is a mature work, where Machado de Castro, already 74 years old, assumes his dual role as artist and intellectual and where he displays his authority, immediately asserted on the title page where the author identifies himself as “Professed in the Order of Christ, Sculptor of the Royal Household, and Public Works, and appointed by His Royal Highness Director of all the sculpture of his new Royal Palace, and other Royal Works”.

³⁵ CASTRO, 1788, p. 203

³⁶ See the correspondence sent to Cenáculo and Salgado, dated 26 and 27 August 1788, respectively. (LIMA, 1989, pp.298-299 and 308-310).

³⁷ CASTRO, 1805.

ANALYSE
GRAFICO'ORTHOXA, E DEMONSTRATIVA,
De que sem escrupulo do menor erro Theologico, a Escultura,
e Pintura podem, ao representar o Sagrado Mystério
da Encarnação, figurar varios Anjos:

DEDICADA

A O

PRINCIPE REGENTE NOSSO SENHOR

PELO AUTHOR DA MESMA OBRA

JOAQUIM MACHADO DE CASTRO,
PROFESSOR NA ORDEM DE CHRISTO, ESCULTOR
DA CASA REAL, E OBRAS PUBLICAS,

E POR

SUA ALTEZA REAL

DIRECTOR DE TODA A ESCULTURA DO SEU NOVO
REAL PALACIO, E MAIS OBRAS REAES:

O qual expõe fielmente os motivos que teve para projectar dous Anjos acompa-
nhando a Imagem de N. Senhora da Encarnação, que executou no principio do
anno de 1803 para a Freguezia do mesmo titulo: declarando a causa de omitir
os ditos Anjos; e mostrando ser erro d'Arte achar-se nesta configuração (segun-
do o sitio, e circumstancias delle) hum só Anjo: e não ser erro de Religião
esculpirem-se dous Anjos; não obstante declarar o Evangelho só o Arcanjo
S. Gabriel:

Allegando em apoio da sua idéa as regras das Artes Graficas, e algumas razões
Theologicas de congruencia, inclusas nas Santas Escrituras, authorities
de alguns Santos Padres, e Sagrados Expositores, etc.

E para declaração de circumstancias acompanhão esta Obra duas Estampas
gravadas ao boril.

Les Savants lisent aussi-bien dans les Tableaux, que dans les Livres.
M. l'Abbé Mery. Theolog. des Peint. Sculpt. etc. c. 1. pag. 3. Paris. 1765.



LISBOA
NA IMPRESSÃO REGIA.
ANNO 1805.
POR ORDEM SUPERIOR.

Figure 5. Frontispício da obra de Joaquim Machado de Castro. *Análise Gráfica'Orthodoxa, e Demonstrativa, de que sem escrúpulo do menor erro Theológico, a Escultura, e Pintura podem, ao representar o Sagrado Mystério da Encarnação, figurar vários Anjos...* Na Imprensa Régia, 1805. Coleção particular.

In that same title page, we identify an enlightening quote from the Abbé de Méry that reflects the author's thought: "The Wise read as well from Paintings as from Books"³⁸.

In the dedication, he extols, according to the norm of the time, the qualities of the regent, reinforcing his authority, claiming "primogeniture" among royal artists by recalling that he was the prince's first drawing teacher³⁹.

The *Analyse...* was the last in-depth text of his authorship, since he mentions having completed the writing of the *Descrição Analytica* back in 1793, apart from some revisions he later made⁴⁰, and the comments added in footnotes to the second editions of the *Carta...* (1817) and the *Discurso...* (1818).

The work recounts his second attempt, after the equestrian statue, to circumvent the demands of the commission. In this sense, it is the text most focused on the question of the artists' freedom and their respective creations.

His dissatisfaction made him publish this lengthy text of over 80 pages, supported by existing cases and art theorists, as well as the Holy Scriptures, theological works, and conciliar texts, in favour of his choice. The divergence is explained right on the cover of the work, where the author presents his plan to place two angels siding the image of Our Lady of the Incarnation, seeking to demonstrate that this choice is neither an error of art nor of religion.

The sculptor initially managed to overcome the inflexibility of the religious leaders who, faced with his threat of self-exclusion from the work, allowed him to return to the project. The final decision ultimately prevented the realization of the idea of placing the two angels in the composition because it was contrary to the Gospel⁴¹, an argument considered insurmountable by the religious authorities.

Machado, citing the space's conditions and the creation of a visual imbalance by maintaining only Saint Gabriel, ended up leaving the image isolated, accompanied by two vases of flowers as symbols of virtues, which, due to lack of time, he ended up executing in cut-outs of

38 "Les Savants lisent aussi-bien dans les Tableaux, que dans les Livres" (Méry de la Canorge, 1765, p. 3).

39 Machado states: "(...) having been the first Professor of Drawing Arts, I had the honour of serving His Royal Highness in his early adolescence; a circumstance that confers upon me the right of primogeniture over his artists" (CASTRO, 1805, 89).

40 Machado de Castro would also return to write about the subject of the execution of the equestrian statue in articles published in the *Jornal de Coimbra*, which summarize aspects developed in his *Descrição Analytica* (CASTRO, 1812)

41 CASTRO, 1805.

wood, requiring later replacement by a definitive work, which we do not know if it was ever executed.

The second part of the analysis focuses on his religious education and the research effort in the Holy Scriptures to support his iconographic choice of the Incarnation. In obedience to the guidelines of the Council of Trent, he remains steadfast, offering us an important profile of the sculptor and his religious practice, which leads him, even, to the peremptory statement, "I would rather be a bad artist than a bad Christian"⁴².

The work in question, a polychrome, upholstered wooden image of Our Lady of the Incarnation, intended for the church of the same name in Lisbon, where it is still preserved today, was executed by Machado de Castro in 1803.

It is worth highlighting the sculptor's originality in dedicating an entire publication to contesting the decision of those responsible for the artistic commission, an unprecedented attitude in the meagre national literary scene.

From this perspective, the *Analyse* revisits the protests undertaken during the execution of the equestrian statue, cases separated by more than 30 years, both without favourable outcomes for the artist, demonstrating the enduring nature of the cause, a theme to which the sculptor would return in his *Descrição Analytica*, with particular vehemence. In the present case, Machado insisted that the proposed composition would be the one that best explained the projected subject, only to conclude with a kind of non-conformed conformism, "but there are eyes that, however bright the light, are always in the dark"⁴³.

In some notes of this work, one observes the concern in defining the meaning of certain terms applied to the arts, for example "plinth"⁴⁴, then "thirds"⁴⁵ (of the face), or further on "attitude"⁴⁶, moments that anticipate what would be one of the sculptor's final works but which he did not see published during his lifetime. We refer to the *Diccionario Arrasoado, ou filosofico, d'alguns termos Technicos pertencentes à Bella Arte da Esculptura* (Reasoned, or philosophical, Dictionary of some Technical Terms belonging to the Fine Art of Sculpture (post. 1812), published in the second quarter of the 20th century by Garcez Teixeira (Lisbon, Livraria Coelho, 1937). Completing the final trilogy are the *Methodo breve para saber as principaes proporçoens do corpo humano* (A brief method for understanding the main

⁴² *Idem*, p. 29.

⁴³ *Idem*, p. 21, note 1.

⁴⁴ *Idem*, p. 3, note 1.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, p. 101.

⁴⁶ *Idem*, p. 53.

proportions of the human body), which was not published, and the small text entitled *A El rei D. João VI. Nosso Senhor offerece o amor, e a lealdade, o incluso projeto para se lhe erigir huma estátua pedestre na presente corte do Rio de Janeiro* (To King John VI. Our Lord Offers Love and Loyalty, and the included project for erecting a pedestrian statue to him in the present court of Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Nova Impressão of Viúva Neves e Filhos, 1819).

We draw attention to the didactic aspect of the first two texts and the obsequious nature of the last publication, an edition that rescues previous unrealized projects, which Machado, almost at the end of his life, at 88 years old, decided to put to print and send to the court then established in Rio de Janeiro.

DESCRIÇÃO ANALYTICA

The equestrian statue constitutes Machado de Castro's greatest work, as he himself acknowledges, classifying it as an "epic sculpture"⁴⁷ at the supreme level of the discipline. In this essay focused on his literary work, the time has come to discuss his seminal work, *Descrição Analytica da Execução da Real Estátua Equestre do Senhor Rei Fidelissimo D. José I* (Analytical Description of the Execution of the Royal Equestrian Statue of the Most Faithful King D. José I) [fig n.º 6], which, as the title indicates, is a detailed account of the monument's execution process.

Descrição Analytica could, without exaggeration, be classified within the realm of treatises, but the work goes beyond technical and pedagogical concerns, reproducing the author's experiences, who does not shy away from introducing personal reflections into the extensive narrative of almost 400 pages, including text and images. In this context, José-Augusto França's insistence on defining it as "a book of memoirs"⁴⁸ is understandable, a reality that gives it a broader meaning.

The *Descrição Analytica* reinforces the coherence of Machado de Castro's publications, constituting the keystone of his written work, revisiting and deepening many of the themes explored in his other literary exercises. The work elaborates on the aspects we discussed earlier, whether as a text of protest, a technical-pedagogical treatise for the education of art of

47 CASTRO, 1810, pp.5-6. Regarding its importance in integrating the monument into the urban plan, the reconstruction of Lisbon, and its significance for the Pombaline regime, we have already offered the essentials of our viewpoint in other texts (FARIA, 2008b, and 2012).

48 FRANÇA, 1975, p.343.

DESCRIÇÃO ANALYTICA
DA EXECUÇÃO

DA
ESTATUA EQUESTRE,
ERIGIDA EM LISBOA A' GLORIA

SENHOR REI^{D^O} FIDELISSIMO

D. JOSÉ I.,

Com algumas reflexões , e notas instructivas , para os Mancebos Portuguezes , applicados á Escultura : e com varias estampas que mostram os desenhos , que servirão de exemplares ; alguns estudos que se fizeram ; a maquina interna , e methodo , com que se construiu o modelo grande ; e toda a Escultura do Monumento , do modo que se expoz ao Público.

ESCRITA, E DEDICADA
A O

PRINCIPE REGENTE N. SENHOR,
PELO ESTATUARIO DA MESMA REGIA ESTATUA,
JOAQUIM MACHADO DE CASTRO,

*Professo na Ordem de Christo , Escultor da Casa Real ,
e Obras Públicas , etc.*

Io venni sol per isvegliari altrui.
Petrarca. Canz. 24.

PRIMEIRO TOMO DAS DIVERSAS OBRAS DO AUTHOR.



LISBOA,
NA IMPRESSAM REGIA.
1810.

Por Ordem Superior.

Figure 6. Frontispício da obra de Joaquim Machado de Castro. *Descrição Analytica da Execução da Estátua Equestre...* Na Imprensa Régia, 1810. Coleção particular.

sculpture candidates, or as a manifesto of intellectual affirmation and of the status of the arts and artists.

It is a text of protest and denunciation on several fronts: the lack of creative freedom, as the model of the monument was imposed; the absence of recognition for the authorship of the work in contrast to the founder's contribution; the belittling of the status of the arts and artists and the awareness of the artistic and cultural illiteracy of the country, including the elites; and against malicious criticism, even that coming from peers.

The *Descrição Analytica* is also a pedagogical and technical text, intended for aspiring artists and curious amateurs, in which he details the phases of the monument's execution, with detailed explanations about the preliminary studies, the models, the different techniques applied to the various materials—clay, plaster, bronze, and marble - in a cross between long professional experience and the extensive specialized critical literature that he demonstrates to be familiar with.

It is a text of personal defence, "of honour and not of luxury," published almost four decades after the events, for future remembrance of the circumstances in which the work was done, pressured by the time factor, and the necessary teamwork involving assistants, subordinates, and stonemasons, always defending his authorship, and drawing a comparative picture with European counterparts who created other equestrian statues and comparing them with best artistic practices, execution conditions, logistics, etc. It is also an exercise of intellectual affirmation in defence of the status of creators, with a full range of bibliographic references within and outside the field of artistic culture, extending into the domains of literature, poetics, rhetoric, and exact sciences such as physics, mathematics, geometry, etc., envisioning the full equalization of the arts with the sciences.

It may be surprising how Machado de Castro managed to gather all the literature most focused on the theme of equestrian monuments and their execution. Based on information that the sculptor himself provides, supported by his reading of Pierre Patte's work - *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*⁴⁹ - José-Augusto França states that Machado knew the place of his equestrian statue within the respective European monumental series⁵⁰. Similarly, he was also familiar with the context in which the *Descrição Analytica*... was situated at the time of its publication. It should be noted that Patte's work existed in his personal library, as did Mariette's work on the casting

49 PATTE, 1765.
50 FRANÇA, 1975, p. 343.

of the monument to Louis XV, authored by Edme Bouchardon⁵¹, one of the most explanatory works on the bronze casting process⁵².

Machado also had access to Boffrand's work on the casting of the statue of Louis XIV by Girardon⁵³ and to Saly's pamphlets describing the execution of the monument to Frederick V in Copenhagen⁵⁴. The sculptor also cites Falconet's text published in Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, making full use of the printed documentary sources on the subject. It is with all this knowledge that he sets out to write the *Descrição Analytica*, understanding the space that his work could have occupied in the specialized literature of his time, an academic hypothesis given the lack of recognition to which it faced in the European context.

However, this is an innovative work for European artistic culture, and we acknowledge that its limited circulation is primarily due to it being written in Portuguese. On the other hand, it represents an impossible dialogue: if Machado knew the aforementioned works, repeatedly referring to them with keen critical sense – especially Saly's –, by the time *Descrição Analytica* was printed, all of his cited counterparts had already passed away. Accordingly, we can consider it a work out of its time, dealing with an already archaic theme, given the events that led to the destruction of royal monuments in France, a phenomenon that Machado repeatedly condemns. It was not a unique work in the European scene merely because of the existence of Saly's description, which preceded it by about three decades and which the sculptor cites extensively.

In short, Machado, at the time of executing his work in Praça do Comércio, was familiar with the two classic works on the bronze casting of monuments (Boffrand and Mariette), and the only description of the execution of an equestrian statue written by the sculptor responsible for the work (Saly), a text he came across in the later stages of his undertaking of the monument to D. José. In *Descrição Analytica*, based on knowledge of the aforementioned texts, Machado establishes a kind of comparative forum of the experiences of Girardon, Bouchardon, Saly, Falconet, and Pigalle, regarding public recognition and its rewards, their respective creative processes, commenting on the artistic and technical choices, the logistical differences, the execution deadlines, etc.

51 MARIETTE, 1768.

52 FARIA, 2008a, pp.119 and ff.

53 BOFFRAND, 1743.

54 SALY, 1771-1773.

MACHADO DE CASTRO AND SALY

Machado's first contact with Saly's description occurred during the final stages of completing the model for the equestrian statue of King José I. The first part of the work was provided by the Marquis of Marialva, Master of the Horse of the Kingdom (*Estribeiro mor do Reino*), and his permanent advisor on equine matters.

Within the cited bibliography, Saly's work is the only text that focuses on the artistic execution of the monument, and it serves as a reference for the sculptor throughout the *Descrição Analytica*, totalling more than 50 citations.

Machado attempts, at the beginning of his work, to establish the convergences and specific objectives of the two works:

"My aim is the same as Saly's in some parts, and different in others. In wishing to excuse ourselves, we agree with this difference, which he shows to be the exact imitation of Nature that impelled him to do some things that, to the concern of the Professors, seemed defective; and I intend to show that I missed several beauties of Art because of the very limited time I was given to execute this work; and forced by the whims of others, obliging me to follow some designs that, for all reasons, should not serve as examples".

Machado makes clear, from the outset, his discourse of protest, repressed for decades and now repeatedly exposed, without ever naming those responsible, although the shadow of Pombal is inevitably implied.

Comparisons with Saly's work are inevitable and, as a rule, aim to highlight the disadvantages of the operation conducted by Machado; the pressure of time is transversal and begins right from the comparison of the periods allocated to measuring the horses: ten days for Machado, a year for Saly; the size of the workshops is also a matter for reflection; in the choice of materials for the successive models, however, there are convergences with Saly and Bouchardon, first in wax, second in clay, third in stucco.

The artistic options are also reviewed: from the hairstyle to the costume – in this aspect, the trauma of not having been able to dress Dom José in Roman style like Saly is well documented – to the attitude and gestures of the model; the type of horses used, their movements, anatomy and details, such as the design of the tail; technical processes of sculpture, from modelling to the construction of the final model, etc.

Machado, despite maintaining a cordial and laudatory tone regarding Saly's text, does not refrain from reading it critically⁵⁵, as in the case of the use of copper points in the modelling process, so as not to leave compass marks in the clay. The Portuguese sculptor considers this technique artificial, a method more of a curious person than a teacher, reflecting an "excessive fear" that "cools the enthusiasm and prevents the frankness of touch that constitutes one of the good qualities of these Arts". He adds in conclusion: "After studying an object, as Saly studied his, the execution must be straightforward"⁵⁶ This is Machado's general attitude towards the works he uses, always ready to extract what best suited his discourse, but forming a personalized opinion when he felt the opportunity to express his critical spirit. However, as mentioned above, it is solitary work, without echo of its impact among peers, with no known reviews by fellow sculptors or other contemporary artists.

At the end of the *Descrição Analytica*, Machado transcribes the conclusion of Saly's work, which he appropriates – "whose discourse I refer to, in a certain way, as my own"⁵⁷ – in a kind of final assessment reaffirming the three fundamental objectives of his literary initiative: firstly, the claim to credit for the execution of the monument in Praça do Comércio, absolving him of any faults that could not be attributed to him; secondly, reaffirming the objective of "instructing the Portuguese youth who carry out my profession"; and "thirdly, and lastly, dispelling the misconceptions of those who blindly consider Foundry more scientific than Sculpture". Machado, three and a half decades after the monument's inauguration and recalling its impact at the time, insisted on a fair assessment of the work:

"If you pay attention to this discourse by Saly, and to everything else I have written and proven regarding the scientific studies and knowledge that my Art demands, and putting passion aside, you will readily admit that the difficulties and advantages that Sculpture has over Foundry are incomparable"⁵⁸.

As highlighted, Machado's dissatisfaction is the sentiment with which he concludes the final lines of the *Descrição Analytica*⁵⁹, an attitude of protest that is repeated throughout the text and definitively marks it.

55 CASTRO, 1810, p. 47.

56 *Idem*, p. 48.

57 *Idem*, p. 281.

58 *Idem*, p. 282.

59 FRANÇA, 1975, p. 349.

FROM MANUSCRIPT TO PRINT

The publication of the *Descrição Analytica* had a bumpy road, taking more than 25 years from the first news of its creation to its printing. Correspondence with Father Manuel do Cenáculo is the first source we have located that mentions the beginning of the work. Machado, in a letter dated 1 January 1783, informs Cenáculo of his project:

"I am preparing a description of our equestrian statue, declaring how it is, and how it should be; showing the studies I have made; with a list of existing monuments of this class; and with an equestrian symmetry, which no artist has published until now. This work will take 12 or more plates: it is a work of much labour but has considerable progress⁶⁰.

It is in the same correspondence that we find a more extensive note, dated February 1787. At that time, Machado informs us: "Of my work I have already written 5 chapters up to the completion of the large model, and retouching the waxes for casting. I am now starting the 6th chapter dealing with the lateral groups, and allegorical bas-relief in marble; and I may finish in the 7th or 8th chapters"⁶¹.

The text was already well advanced, and in the *Descrição Analytica* itself, Machado provides the following information, stating that "when the lamentable disorders in France began, the writing of this Description was complete, except for some minor revisions"⁶². We interpret the sculptor's allusion as referring to the year the revolution began, 1789. The text was finally completed in 1793⁶³, leaving the issue of the images unresolved, a problem that persisted until at least 1805. The final text received some additions, such as the dedication and the "Warning" with which the work begins, besides some updating notes introduced in other chapters, necessary given the long time it took to complete the work. The author reveals that it was about to be printed at the time the Portuguese government agreed to neutrality with Napoleon's France (1804) and that "its printing has suffered so many obstacles that the mere memory of them causes tedium and annoyance"⁶⁴. The following are complaints about the engravers: "one of the great embarrassments that I

60 LIMA, 1989, p. 288.

61 *Idem*, pp. 293-294.

62 CASTRO, 1810, p. 30.

63 CASTRO, 1805, p. 13.

64 CASTRO, 1810, "Advertência".

have suffered at the hands of several engravers, one of them even having a drawing in his possession for a year and a half, without ever working on the engraving that was his responsibility..."⁶⁵. The difficulties made him commission a Spanish engraver to complete the missing allegorical images, a fact attested by the signature on the two prints: "Rafael Esteve engraved it in Madrid on 15 May 1805"⁶⁶. By that date, the manuscript with the planned images was complete; all that remained was the printing of the work.

Regarding the delay in printing *Descrição Analytica*, the sculptor confronts it with the complaint about the deadline imposed on him for the completion of the monument:

"Besides the reasons regarding lack of time, which led me to publish it earlier, since I wasn't obliged to produce lightning-fast work there, and it's solely a work of my own free will, I wanted to work on this piece (since I couldn't do it on its subject) to my satisfaction, so that being more relaxed it would result in fewer flaws"⁶⁷.

This quote also makes explicit the lack of freedom of the artist, prevented from working on the monument according to his ideas, and forced to execute it "against his feelings"⁶⁸. The *Descrição Analytica*, due to the length of the text and the number of images, had become an expensive edition, and Machado de Castro cannot pay for the printing costs. The image component increased the project's cost, primarily due to the engravers' fees, materials, and printing, leading the sculptor to find a workaround by securing a job for engraver Lúcio da Costa among the assistants in the sculpture class⁶⁹.

Thus, the 23 technical images were effected, which, along with the two allegories by the Spaniard Rafael Esteve, completed the illustration component that had delayed the work⁷⁰. However, authorization for printing was slow in coming. Machado was approaching his 80th birthday, and his seminal literary work was finished but unpublished. On 9 September 1809, he issued a sort of ultimatum to the Superintendent of Public Works.

⁶⁵ *Idem*.

⁶⁶ *Idem*.

⁶⁷ CASTRO, 1810, p. XXIV. Underlined by our decision.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, p. XXXV.

⁶⁹ FARIA, 2008a, Appendix to the documents, document no. 18. Lúcio had already produced 21 plates by November 1794.

⁷⁰ It is Machado himself who informs us of the state of the work as of 1805: "I finished writing the said description at the end of the year"; and I haven't published it yet because I'm still missing 2 prints out of the 25 it contains"., CASTRO, 1805, p.13, note 1.

The document begins by stating the interest in the work, “which has been well regarded by all the learned men who have seen it”, informing of the willingness expressed by Ambassador Count of Fernam Nunes, with his friends, to have the work printed by subscription. The manuscript was eventually delivered to the Royal Printing Office with an order to print, “to the point that it was beginning when the French plague fell upon this Kingdom” (1807), Machado concluding, “because of the obstacles that this misfortune has produced, the said work has been halted”⁷¹.

He then introduces a dramatic note, emphasizing the risk of not being able to correct the work during his lifetime, at the time of its composition, since he is “at the brink of death”:

“To ensure that any work to be printed is of the highest quality, everyone knows that it is highly advisable for it to be reviewed by the author himself during the printing process. I find myself almost at the brink of death, and if this printing process is not handled with some promptness, it is very likely that it will suffer the misfortune of not being corrected by its own author, should it be printed after his death”⁷².

He even suggests that the work “may never see the light of day,” concluding:

“This will be a cause for regret, because not only will the great work the author undertook in writing it and creating the twenty-five relevant drawings be lost, but also the expense already incurred, depriving the public of a work that is not only interesting to the art of drawing, but also to amateurs of it; and which is of some glory to the Nation, for to this day, since the world has existed, there has not yet been in this Kingdom/in the art world/ a work as glorious as the aforementioned Statue; nor has there been a single artist who, wielding his art with acclaim, has also directed his pen to the satisfaction of the readers”.

He also mentions the head librarian António Ribeiro dos Santos among the people who were eagerly awaiting the publication of the work. Finally, he proposes to hand over the engraving plates and their respective

71 ANTT, IOP, lv. 36, official letter addressed to the Superintendent of Public Works, Professor of Sculpture of said works Joaquim Machado de Castro, 9 September 1809.

72 *Idem*.

paper proofs to the Royal Printing Office to finance the printing with the proceeds from the sale, revealing that the cost of the 25 engravings alone had been estimated at one conto de réis at the expense of the royal treasury⁷³.

Machado de Castro makes numerous references in his literary works to the importance of images in works. His concern with the illustrations for *Descrição Analytica* led him to postpone printing until he had gathered the prints he considered essential for the work. He even included a page with instructions for the bookbinders on the exact locations where they should place the images. His conviction regarding the didactic usefulness of the engravings is evident in his comments, methodically articulating the text/image connection to clarify the narrative, aligning with pedagogical concerns consistent with the philosophy of the Enlightenment⁷⁴. As an author, he demonstrates attention to detail in the edition, from the clarity of the text and the use of images to the need to monitor the printing of the manuscript, including inserting a final erratum and adding material aspects such as attention to the quality of the work, insisting on the use of “triple lined paper”:

“What I have been requesting lately is that the onus be placed on the gentlemen of the said Corporation [Royal Printing Office] to ensure that the paper on which printing is to be made is nothing less than the so-called “triple lined paper”, even for the sake of national decency. And that the craftsmen handling the paper heed the Author’s instructions and follow them punctually”⁷⁵.

At this stage, we can make a characterizing approach to the literary work of Machado de Castro, which began with poetry and extended to essays on art, with particular emphasis on his last major work, divided between treatises and a memoir on the execution of an equestrian statue. His written expression also extended to correspondence, where we can discern his closest circle, and equally through institutional communications with hierarchies. Most of these documents also contain critical depth and

⁷³ *Idem*.

⁷⁴ FARIA, 2026.

⁷⁵ ANTT, IOP, lv. 47 ? /36, official letter addressed to the Superintendent of Public Works, Professor of Sculpture of said works Joaquim Machado de Castro, 9 September 1809. “In the aforementioned pamphlet about the project to erect a pedestrian statue of King John VI in Rio de Janeiro, Machado again addresses the quality of the paper in the event of publishing a booklet with prints of the monument, insisting on the use of the triple-lined paper or “of higher quality, which, if higher quality, will be optimal”. See: LIMA, 1989, p, 279.

reflections of interest that complement his rich profile as both artist and writer⁷⁶.

Taken together, this allows us to establish a framework of priorities. By establishing a hierarchy, we have chosen the defence of the artists' status and the freedom of creation as the immediate objective of their literary works. A second principle, closely associated with the first, is the pedagogical concern of instructing young people, emphasizing the importance of education in his various essays. Finally, as a transversal backdrop, there is his search for protection, intellectual affirmation, and defence of his ideas and works. Simultaneously, his writings are also an essential source for a better definition and understanding of his religious, ideological, and social positioning, his culture and aesthetic choices, his appreciation of the arts, and their equivalence to the sciences.

The first of these priorities runs throughout his prose work, with echoes also in his correspondence, in what we define as protest texts.

THE WRITER

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Several aspects mark Machado de Castro's journey as a writer. First, his claim to be a pioneer in writing about artistic subjects in Portugal. Alongside this conviction, which he frequently repeats, arises the counterpoint of self-criticism in his audacity to project himself into the world of literature without being a "literary figure". Another prudent attitude is that of being a writer of his own original ideas, defending himself, beforehand, from any accusations of being "nose of wax," as we saw earlier, or even a plagiarist, as he mentions regarding the similarity of ideas between his texts and the works of the French engraver Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790):

"Anyone who reads my Discourse and what I allege about Mr. Cochin will observe that, without being accused of plagiarism, we are not in a small way alike, because the general maxims are common to men of good sense, and who have insight into the matters they discuss⁷⁷.

By scrutinizing the first of these three aspects, that of being a pioneer, Machado supports his thesis by dismissing any possible

⁷⁶ See the complete collection published by LIMA, (1989, pp. 285 and ff.) and FARIA, (2008a), documentary appendix.

⁷⁷ CASTRO, 1817, Warning.

predecessors in writing, referring only to the work of Father Inácio da Piedade Vasconcelos⁷⁸, which he classifies as a “compilation of ravings,” and to Filipe Nunes’s small seventeenth-century treatise on the arts of poetry and painting, considering “both of equal merit, which is quite little”⁷⁹.

He also cites two translations by Vinhola, adding that they only deal with measurements, concluding

“And since in these writings I do not restrict myself solely to measurements (although I do address some), but also venture somewhat into the philosophical aspects of these arts, this leads me to believe that, without arrogance, I can state the aforementioned proposition that I am the first Portuguese to write about such circumstances”⁸⁰.

In fact, the translations by José da Cunha Taborda⁸¹ and Cyrillo⁸² would only arrive at the beginning of the 19th century, and the latter’s *Colecção de Memórias* was published posthumously in 1823. *The Insigne pintor e leal esposo... (Distinguished painter and loyal husband)* by Francisco Vieira Lusitano was to be published in 1780, but the sculptor must have understood the work only in its poetic dimension. Other unprinted works included those from the 16th century by Francisco de Holanda or by Félix de Almeida at the end of the 17th century. Also in manuscript form was the contemporary *Discurso sobre a Necessidade de se estabelecer hua Academia de Pintura Escultura e Architectura para crédito, e utilidade da nação Portuguesa...* (*Discourse on the Necessity of Establishing an Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture for the Credit and Use of the Portuguese Nation...*) by Joaquim Carneiro da Silva, the original dated 1780, and by the same author, already in print, the *Apologia da Preeminencia da Arte da Esculptura sobre a de fundir estátuas de metal* (*Apology for the Pre-eminence of the Art of Sculpture over that of casting metal statues*), published in February 1789 in *Jornal Enciclopédico*⁸³.

In this chronology, Machado could more rightfully declare the pioneering nature of his *Carta*..... published, albeit anonymously, in 1780, a text that he seems hesitant to endorse perhaps due to the similarity in

78 VASCONCELLOS, 1733.

79 CASTRO, 1810, p. XIII.

80 *Idem*.

81 TABORDA, 1815.

82 MACHADO, 1815.

83 FARIA, 2021b, pp. 366 and ff.

title with Cochin's work (*Lettres à un jeune artiste peintre, pensionnaire à l'Académie royale de France à Rome*). This defensive attitude illustrates the sculptor's somewhat obsessive prudence in denying plagiarism even before the accusations. His works are marked by numerous critical footnotes or endnotes, yet he insists on not wanting to create excessive narrative density, justifying them in this way:

"Quotations are useful for showing sources to those less educated; and I also use them so that no one thinks I want to set myself up as a Legislator of the Art. I love the truth; and because I am persuaded that these authors will find it before I do, I do not want to rob them of the glory that is rightfully theirs by making their judgments or decisions my own"⁸⁴.

In a footnote, he quotes Pliny (*Natural History*) to reinforce his anti-plagiarism principle: "it is truly a thing of servile mind, and of unfortunate intellect, to rather be caught red-handed than give back what has been lent to him"⁸⁵.

In his publications, Machado always adopts a defensive attitude, whether against potential criticisms of being illiterate, a layman writing about religious matters, or potential plagiarism, suggesting an atmosphere of intrigue and rivalry among peers.

In this context, his works take on the quality of instruments of denunciation, in the face of this hypothetical offensive which had no known written expression, but which reflects a certain existing situation. See, for example, the sculptor's note, released belatedly, in *Análise*:

"Since the Ministry ordered me to come from Mafra to Lisbon to execute the Equestrian Statue of King José I, not a single month has passed without me groaning under the intrigue, which increases every day (...) but as this is a cross (and quite a heavy one), I must embrace it, to follow Him who opened the gates of Heaven for us with it"⁸⁶.

A pioneer among his peers in writing about art, an honest and original author, being a sculptor and not a literary figure, he also knew how to wield the pen—this is how Machado de Castro, the writer, portrays himself.

84 CASTRO, 1810, pp. XIV-XV.

85 *Idem*.

86 CASTRO, 1805, p.58, nota 1.

FROM THE “VASSAL-SCULPTOR” TO THE POWER OF WRITING

Given his position as sculptor to the royal household, Machado de Castro never forgot the obligations stemming from that status, which he called that of a “vassal sculptor”⁸⁷ obediently, but not without protest, complying with the directives received from the Crown and its agents, as was the case with the execution of the equestrian statue. Through writing, however, one senses a form of liberation from this condition, an expression that gains dimension as it matures, growing over time in the defiant audacity that is absent in its early publications. Thus, we note that the self-proclaimed “vassal sculptor” enounced having received express orders to write his *Ode to King José I* commemorating the inauguration of the equestrian statue: “The Royal Treasury Councillor Joaquim Ignácio da Cruz Sobral, then Inspector of Public Works, positively ordered me to write some verses for that purpose”⁸⁸.

Inevitably, publishing also constituted a sign of prestige and power. The right to print original works, in addition to passing through the censorship services, also required economic capacity to operate the printing presses. In this context, his first prose essay, *Carta* (1780), was supported by the sculptor, as recorded in the accounting of the Royal Printing Office: Joaquim Machado was paid 3\$450 for the printing of a letter based on the drawing, numbering 1000 sheets and a half”, an amount which, added to the price of the paper, totalled 7\$870. The poetic compositions of the initial phase must also have been financed by the author. Machado de Castro invested in publishing his poetic works and his first prose essay, demonstrating the necessary financial resources to do so. The act of publishing must be understood in its multiple aspects: the sculptor acquired the right to publish his ideas independently, thus gaining public prominence, circulating his opinions, particularly on the nobility of the arts, and defending them even knowing that there were contrary opinions in privileged circles. This faculty allowed him to print his protest texts, which continued in the *Discurso* (1788), the *Análise* (1805), and finally, in the *Descrição Analytica* (1810), the latter

87 Challenging the lack of creative freedom he had in the conception of the equestrian statue – and here we see once again the shadow of Pombal – and the consequent international criticism that might arise, Machado de Castro makes the following comment: “(...) the concern of foreigners, and the defects that I was forced to commit, impel me to show that these faults in that work are not the effects of universal blindness; but rather of a particular and extravagant whim, invincible to my strength, and to that of any other Vassal Sculptor” (CASTRO, 1810, p.17).

88 CASTRO, 1810, p. 230.

being more expensive and already supported by the regency government. Beyond the right and freedom to publish, despite the constraints of censorship, Machado also used publishing to strengthen his circle of relationships, which can be determined through the successive dedications he signed. The initial phase, focused on poetic exercises, had specific recipients who are identified in the respective titles or introductions, attempting to create a network of protection, leaving us with a map of his references and his approach to the Court. This includes the *Tríduo métrico* (*Metrical Triduum*) and sonnets in praise of Vieira Lusitano, Father Manuel do Cenáculo, the Odes to D. José I, and later compositions dedicated to the acclamation of D. Maria I and the prince regent Dom João.

The way he signs his texts also gives us an indication of his publications as a record of his rise society, beginning with a discreet “Joaquim Machado de Castro, native of the city of Coimbra”, evolving to “sculptor of public works and the equestrian statue”, and the longer form in his last publications: “Joaquim Machado de Castro, professed member of the Order of Christ, sculptor residing in the royal household, lecturer and workshop instructor for sculpture in the Department of Public Works. Entrusted by His Majesty with all the sculpture for his new Palace, and other royal works: correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon”.

The printing houses for his works ranged from the Patriarchal Press of Francisco Luiz Ameno to that of António Rodrigues Galhardo, culminating in the Royal Printing Office. *The re-edition of the Carta* (1817) and the *Discurso* (1818), produced on the presses of the Royal Academy of Sciences, holds special significance after he accepted the title of corresponding academician—a supplementary glory in the absence of the much-desired Academy of Fine Arts, a title he proudly displayed, emphasizing that he was the first artist to enjoy such a privilege⁸⁹.

DOUBLE GLORY: THE SCULPTOR-WRITER

On the front page of *Descrição Analytica*, following the title, one reads: “which constitutes the first volume of the author’s diverse works”. At the end of the text, an announcement is included that foresees a second volume, bringing together the works previously mentioned, and others “not yet printed”, including “some statements, and circumstances related to

⁸⁹ Regarding his admission to the Royal Academy of Sciences, see the somewhat comical episode involving his diploma, as narrated by CASTILHO (1926, pp.106-109).

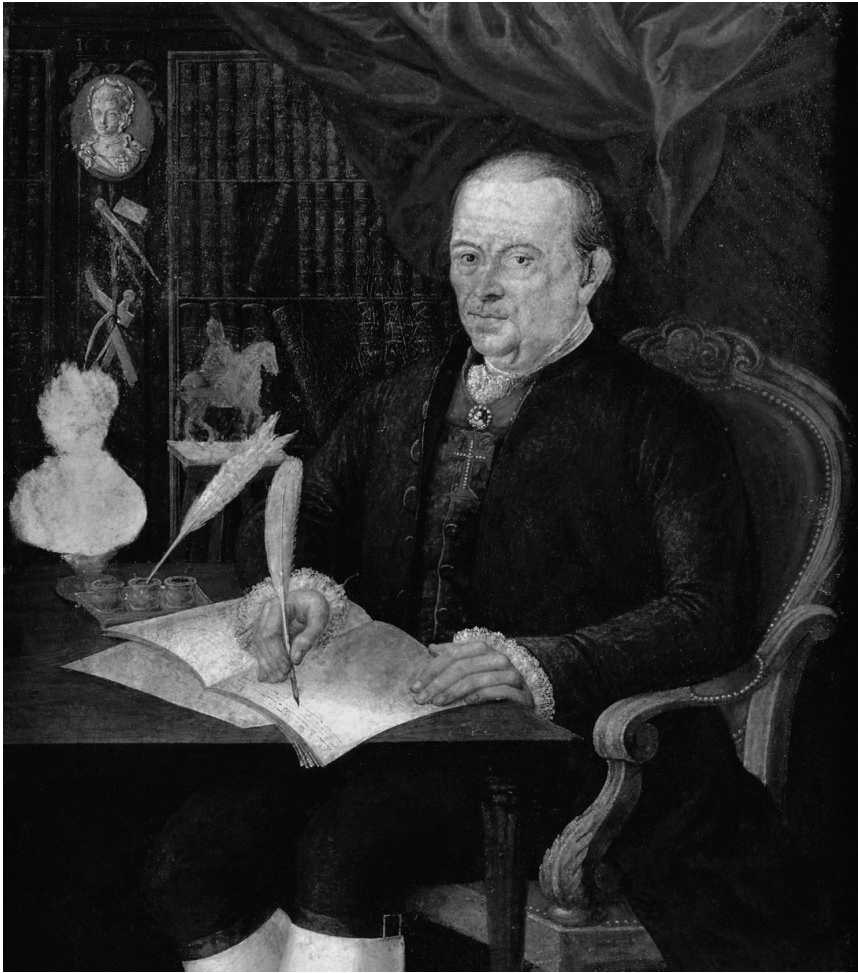


Figure 7. Retrato de Joaquim Machado de Castro, autor desconhecido, 1790, óleo sobre pergaminho, 25x21cm, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. 1050 Pint.

Descrição Analytica, and the one entitled *Orpheida*; Epic-Tragic Poem, in octave rhyme, divided into 4 parts” and “various works in prose and verse: some pertaining to the arts of drawing; others about other diverse subjects”⁹⁰, which would extend to a third volume if the planned second volume became too voluminous.

The plan outlined a sort of complete works of the writer. Although it remained unrealized, the project reveals the sculptor’s literary aspirations, consolidating this second vocation where he complemented sculptural art with his presence in the world of letters.

In the aforementioned letter requesting the printing of *Descrição Analytica*, Machado de Castro recalls the recognition given to the French sculptor Bouchardon for the creation of the equestrian statue of Louis XV. Placing his own work on the same level, he concluded:

“I must point out that if the French sculptor gave glory to his Nation with the work of his art, I give to my Motherland that double glory, because I give it to her as a Sculptor and as a Writer: something that has been seen very rarely, even in the Countries where the arts have made the greatest progress”⁹¹.

The text reflects the latent aspiration throughout his career to also establish himself as a writer. In the collection of the National Museum of Ancient Art, a portrait of the sculptor [fig. n.º 7] is preserved, taken in his later years, in which he is depicted writing, holding a pen, relegating his sculptural models to the background – a conscious metaphor and a future memory of this claimed legacy of the dual glory of being both sculptor and writer.

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90 CASTRO, 1810, p. 329.

91 ANTT, IOP, lv.36, Official letter addressed to the Superintendent of Public Works by the Professor of Sculpture of said works Joaquim Machado de Castro, 9 September 1809.

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