

6 June, the king's birthday present: an insight into the history of royal monuments in Portugal at the end of the *Ancien Régime*

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Portugal came late to the use of royal representations in public spaces, with sculptures of royalty being confined to effigies on royal tombs and the decoration of church entrances. There are several eighteenth-century records that refer to projects for sculptures portraying King João V (1689–1750) within a variety of monumental fountains, including plans by the Hungarian architect Carlos Mardel (1695–1763) which never progressed beyond the paper versions.¹ Only two works from the set of monuments planned for Lisbon during the reign of João V have survived: a statue of Saint John Nepumocene near the Alcântara Bridge, and a fountain-obelisk in the square opposite the Oratorians' Necessidades Monastery, both of which were built by order of the royal family.²

The plan for the reconstruction of Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake provided the opportunity for a visible display of royal power in a public space. Pombal, the mighty minister of D. José I, perceived the appropriateness of the timing and the opportunity to invert the rejection of this kind of demonstration that had been the norm until then, and initiated a corollary of projects which mirrored, at a national level, the awareness of the power to be able to raise monuments in homage to the monarchical regime.

Pombal's support of the great equestrian statue in Real Praça do Comércio (Royal Trade Square) went hand-in-hand with the policy to spread absolutist propaganda that he militantly fostered, on a par with other initiatives, such as the creation of the first engraving school in Portugal, which, uncoincidentally, was founded at the same time as the Royal Press of Lisbon (*Imprensa Régia de Lisboa*), and as an intrinsic part of it, in 1767.

The example set by Pombal in the construction of the monument to D. José was diligently followed by the ministers and other influential personalities of subsequent generations, who attempted to consecrate the monarchs

who succeeded José on the throne: D. Maria I and the Prince Regent, the future D. João VI. As explained later, none of the new promoters achieved Pombal's success. However, the persistency of such projects, as attested by the successive proposals for the erection of royal monuments in public spaces, which extended well into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, provides evidence that the idea of an absolutist mode of royal glorification continued to be very much present in the national context, even when it had long been abandoned in other European courts. The longevity of the French model in Portugal must no longer be understood simply as the result of an artistic influence, but mostly as an expression of the resistance of an ideology.

The equestrian monument to King José I

This provides the background for the first public royal monument: the equestrian statue of King José I, which is the focal point of Real Praça do Comércio, the key moment in the reconstruction work in Lisbon following the 1755 earthquake.³ This monument, which came late among those produced at the time in Europe, was however the first of its kind in Portugal, in both artistic and technological terms. There were no significant prior examples of equestrian statues in Portugal, or of any noteworthy cast bronze monumental sculptures. It is the fruit of a forced co-operation between royal architect Eugénio dos Santos (1711–60), who designed the project circa 1759,⁴ and sculptor Machado de Castro (1731–1822), who was responsible for executing it. Although the French model acted as inspiration for these Portuguese artists, it was adapted to such an extent that the end result was a genuinely Portuguese design. The monumental pieces were moreover produced by national artists, which contrasted with the situation in other countries where patrons commissioned works directly from French artists, as exemplified by many works analysed in this volume. Thus, the equestrian statue of King José I was presented as the result of a range of purely Portuguese skills, embracing the initial design, the casting on 15 October 1774,⁵ and even the transport and erection in May 1775.⁶ As such, it signalled the peak of the propaganda effort for the regime led by the Marquis of Pombal (1699–1782). Indeed, the casting process was lauded as a source of national glory, as attested by the comments of a Jesuit who witnessed the unveiling ceremony: 'The foreigners were even more amazed by the fact that the Portuguese ... were able to conceive and implement an enterprise which the French, used as they are to receiving so much praise, had feared and not yet dared execute in tribute to the great Louis 14' [*sic*].⁷ The French culture that acted as inspiration for the project reached Eugénio dos Santos and Machado de Castro via prints and specialist literature. This is amply confirmed by inventories from their personal libraries, whose contents help

to explain the variety of historic and artistic influences that account for their differing views and proposals. Santos's collection reflects his justifiable interest in military architecture and engineering, while favouring the Louis XIV model for monuments inspired by images reproduced in Blondel's *Architecture française*.⁸ Machado de Castro was rather more up to date,⁹ being familiar with the works of Patte, Watelet, Cochin, Boffrand, Saly, and Winckelmann, but also in the French actuality with a significant collection of French periodicals.¹⁰

The two artists also belonged to different generations. Santos never had the opportunity to discuss his plan with the sculptor, as he died in 1760, ten years before Machado de Castro was commissioned to produce the work. The sculptural group planned for Real Praça do Comércio reflects the tension between these two overlapping artistic languages. Nevertheless, Santos's original project that Pombal imposed on the sculptor prevailed. Years later, in a work devoted to the process of creating the monument,¹¹ Machado de Castro almost obsessively stressed this conditioning factor, which he felt inhibited his 'artistic freedom, whose restraint causes much harm to all works created by the spirit'.¹² He followed this up with a barrage of criticism directed at such issues as the actual deed, the pose and attire of the heroic figure (whom he was forced to 'dress in iron' rather than in his preferred Roman costume), the allegorical programme adopted for the side sculptures, and the poetic unity of the group, which he felt did not match the concept that was to be transmitted.¹³ All these factors severely restricted the sculptor's individual virtuosity,¹⁴ with the end result that the monument offers a vision that is closer to the official discourse proposed by Eugénio dos Santos than to the artist's own will. Given all these constraints, Machado de Castro described himself as a 'vassal sculptor'.¹⁵

The bronze equestrian statue of King José I is still anchored in the archaic language and image of the military hero (Fig. 4.1). He is portrayed holding a baton of command and riding triumphantly over the conquered and chained peoples depicted in marble in two lateral groups, recalling the monuments dedicated to Louis XIV. Machado de Castro wrote extensively about this issue, showing that he was familiar with the evolution of equestrian imagery, ranging from the pioneering Roman experiments to the works of Girardon, Bouchardon, Lemoyne and Saly:

The ancient artist who created the Statue of Marcus Aurelius portrayed the Hero as the Father of the People, in an attitude of protection. Girardon's statue of Louis XIV showed the king giving orders to his Armies. Bouchardon remembered the title with which his fellow countrymen defined Louis XV, *the Well-Beloved*: and he therefore portrayed the king with one hand resting on one end of his baton of command, while the other end rests on his right upper leg; thereby demonstrating his gentle use of royal authority. The subtlety of this representation lies in the position of his hand, resting on the baton, instead of holding it. By resting the hand on the baton, it cannot be used with the same violence as is possible when holding it. This is precisely what



4.1 Joaquim Machado de Castro, Equestrian monument to King José I, 1770–75, bronze group on a marble pedestal, Lisbon, Praça do Comércio. Photo M. Figueira de Faria

those wise and erudite Sculptors intended in order to demonstrate, in the form that was possible to them, the benign nature of their Heroes and other qualities or Deeds, which they would express with various attitudes and different circumstances.¹⁶

This simultaneously demonstrates that Machado de Castro possessed sufficient critical insight to have a clear perception of the evolution of the French model from the time of Louis XIV through to that of Louis XV.¹⁷ It is therefore easy to understand Machado de Castro's critical and adamant refusal to accept proposals which he knew were outdated, and whose sources he revealed. The sculptor wrote that the moment he saw the drawings which he was meant to follow, he was 'taken by an inner affliction', a feeling which increased when 'Blondel's *Architecture françoise* came into my hands and I realised that the drawings had been taken from this work, and in very poor fashion too'.¹⁸ Although he never openly criticised the ideological intent found in Eugénio dos Santos's original drawings, Machado de Castro opted instead to question them in artistic and technical terms. The most evident example of this is his reaction to the decision to depict the subjugated peoples, an outdated option that had been abandoned elsewhere in Europe.¹⁹ Machado de Castro's prudence on this specific issue led him to focus his wide-ranging criticism exclusively on the inefficiency of the allegory. The sculptor's interest in the experiments used in imagery portraying the *Bien-Aimé* is confirmed by his later works, such as his project for a pedestrian statue of King José I, designed to decorate a library. The statue was never executed but the patinated wax model, made in 1777, has survived and is now in the City Museum in Lisbon (Fig. 4.2). The prince's pose and the preference for a pedestrian image reveal how Machado de Castro had assimilated the French model, which would remain the artist's first choice in several other projects after the death of José I in 1777:

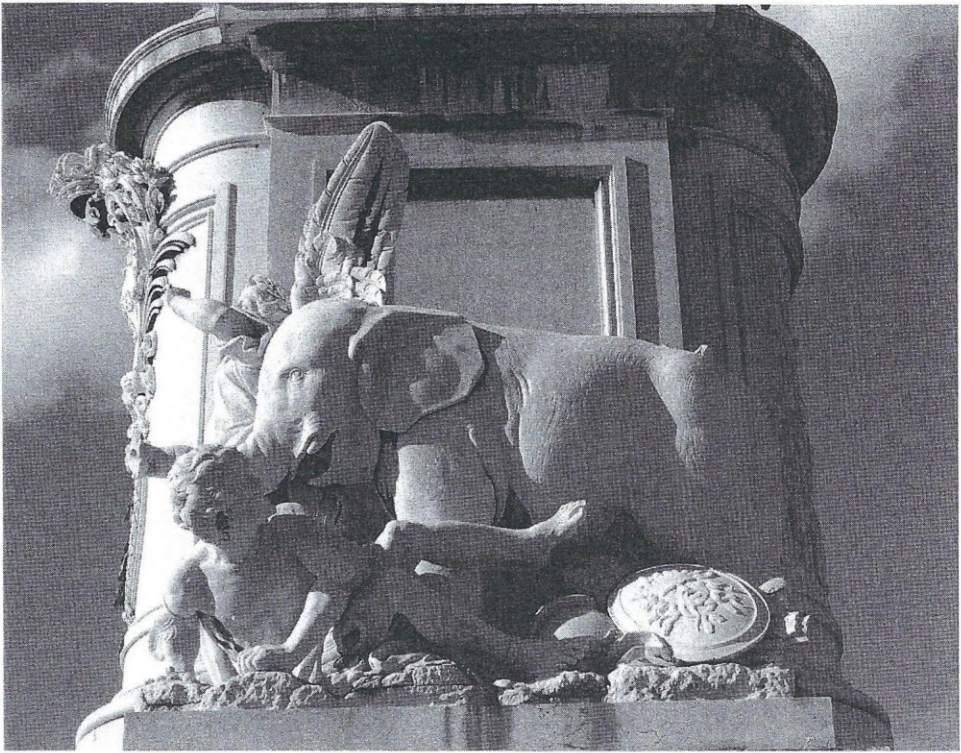
When His Royal Highness passed away, I was about to start a pedestrian statue



4.2 Joaquim Machado de Castro, Model for the pedestrian statue of King José I, before 1777, patinated wax, 0.405 × 0.200 m, Lisbon, Museu da Cidade. © Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Museu da Cidade

of the same Lord in Montes Claros or Borba marble, which was to be placed at a certain library of this Court; of which Statue I still keep the model, and which I liked best than the Equestrian Statue, given that it was to be dressed in the Roman fashion and therefore much more in accordance with fine taste in Drawing.²⁰

In Real Praça do Comércio, the equestrian statue stood on an unusually tall pedestal. This can be interpreted as a deliberate decision to ensure that the monument could be seen from afar by those entering Lisbon from the river Tagus. Machado de Castro produced a detailed description of the studies he carried out, revealing the close assistance of the Marquis of Marialva, the king's head equerry, who helped him choose the horse and suggested how best to reproduce its anatomy, pose and articulation with the rider.²¹ The sculptor also took the opportunity to complain that he was unable to draw the monarch from nature, as the occasion for the king to pose never arose.²² The model approved for the statue in Real Praça do Comércio, with the two allegorical groups flanking the pedestal facing the same way as the main sculpture, imposed an almost exclusively frontal reading. This was forced by Eugénio dos Santos's drawings, which were inspired by the ornamental sculptures on triumphal arches. In this particular aspect, the composition of the monument distances itself from the French model, where a circular interpretation through the positioning of the secondary figures, often placed at the corners of the pedestal so as to create an intentional outward movement, was generally encouraged. In the first version of the statue of José I, these groups represented the four corners of the world, led in pairs by two winged figures of Fame, with a clear intention to create a symmetrical image. However, Machado de Castro managed to make small alterations to the whole, transforming one of the figures of Fame into Triumph. He also attempted to give the figures in the lateral groups a different status, departing from the traditional iconography of the four continents in favour of more generic prisoners of war, as explained in a note from a poetic work dedicated to José I by Castro and published when the statue in Praça do Comércio was unveiled: 'The two Groups of marble figures which lie on the sides, include two Prisoners of War, Fame, and Triumph, one Horse and one Elephant crushing the Prisoners, and various spoils of war. They show that Portugal achieved glorious triumphs at various periods'.²³ However, close examination reveals that one of the figures is wearing a feather skirt, one of the conventional attributes in references to America (Fig. 4.3). The arms of Hercules, an allusion that is habitually associated to King José, can also be identified among the group of trophies, flags and other spoils of war. As such, the monument had a dual purpose: to portray the king as the lord of a vast global empire that had conquered the four corners of the earth, and simultaneously as the man who had rebuilt Lisbon, the centre of that empire, which had been flattened by the earthquake of 1 November 1755.



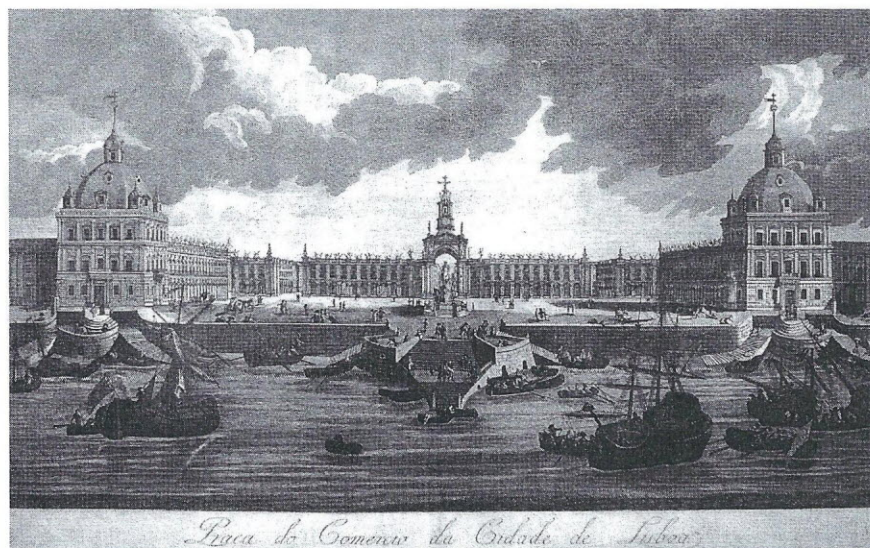
4.3 Joaquim Machado de Castro, Side panel of the pedestal of the monument of José I, 1772–75, marble, Lisbon, Praça do Comércio. Photo C. Chastel-Rousseau, 2006

Machado de Castro was fiercely critical of the iconographical programme, stressing that 'Nothing in the Hero's image, or in his attributes, allow us to reach an understanding of what his Actions or Deeds represent'.²⁴ In fact, only the low-relief in the pedestal's rear panel actually mentioned the context for the monument: the reconstruction of Lisbon. This detail was not even part of the initial drawings and was finished after the monument was unveiled. The seven figures in the sculptural composition, inspired by the work of Cesare Ripa, represent and bring together the key figures in the reconstruction of Lisbon: Royal Generosity, Government of the Republic, Love of Virtue, Commerce, Providence and Architecture, all depicted as partners in restoring the Martyred City. The discourse used is more openly allegorical but still in continuity with the symbolic programme in the main body of the monument. Following the norm, this was completed by inscriptions that portrayed the king as the 'Father of the Land', reformer of the law and the militia, protector of trade and of the fine arts, and rebuilder of the city after the earthquake.²⁵

No analysis would be complete without reference to the image of the Marquis of Pombal, portrayed on a bronze medallion – the same material as the royal statue – and attached to the front of the pedestal. This detail is a clear departure from the French model, where the simultaneous and parallel depiction of the monarch and his minister would have been ‘unthinkable’.²⁶ Pombal’s intention was therefore to stress the importance of his action in the governance of the country and in the reconstruction of Lisbon, and to clearly emphasise his role as the promoter of the erection of the royal building. He proved to his rivals that he had the power to create this manifesto, from the commissioning stage to its final placement in Real Praça do Comércio.

An integrated monumental programme

The message of the equestrian statue, celebrating the glory achieved by the king through victory over the conquered and chained peoples was amplified in the décor of the square, coherently planned by Santos (Fig. 4.4). The monumental programme included decorative sculptures on the triumphal arch at the back of the king, which linked the square to the city. The arch’s project included a winged figure of Fame at the top of the pediment, standing above four figures lying vanquished among trophies and spoils of war. The inclusion of a Native American, clearly identifiable among the figures, may



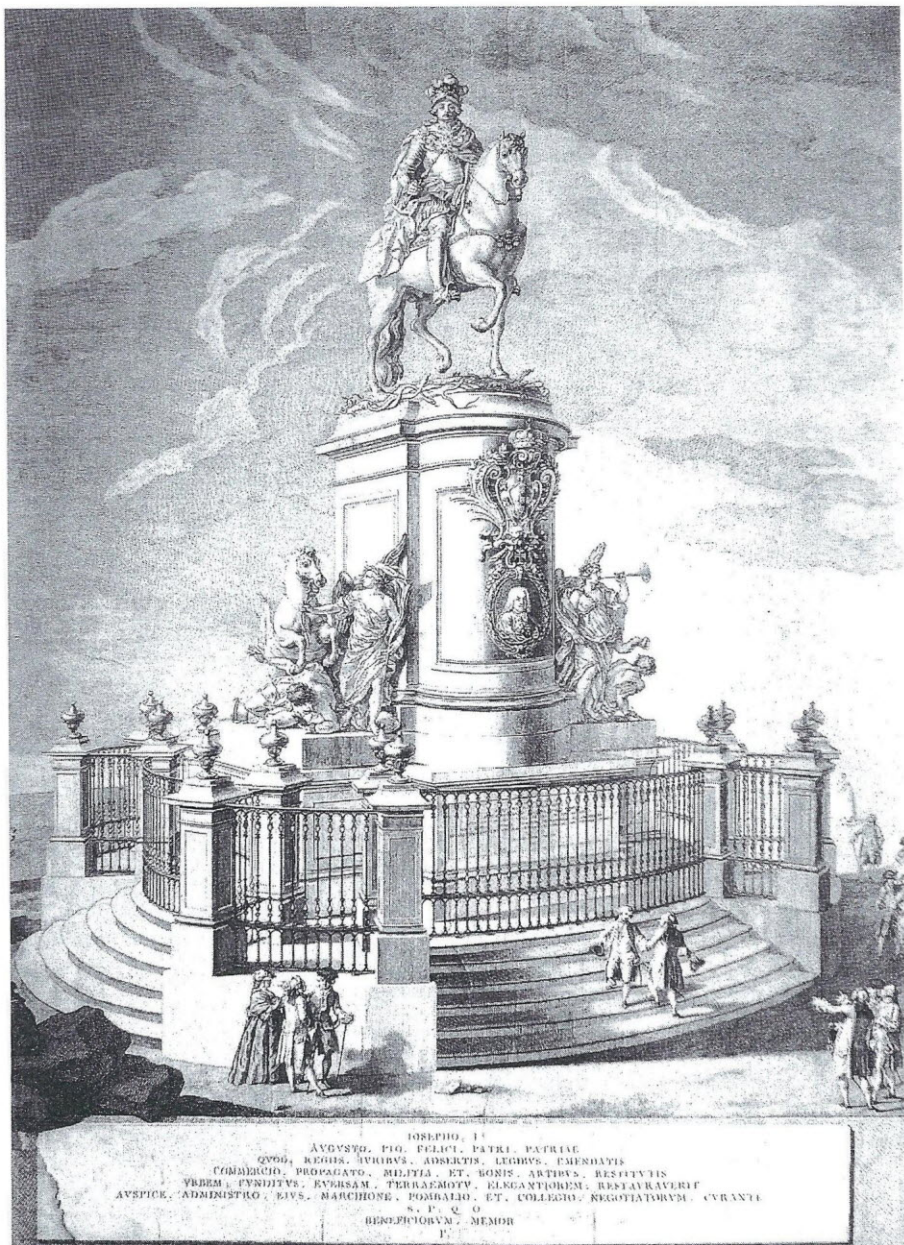
4.4 Gaspar Frois Machado, *Praça do Comercio da Cidade de Lisboa*, second half of the eighteenth century, coloured engraving, 0.435 × 0.750 m, Lisbon, Museu da Cidade. © Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Museu da Cidade

be another reference to the four corners of the world. Closer examination reveals that the original project included statues of Mercury on the left and of Hercules on the right, occupying symmetrical niches just below the pediment, at the level of the tympanum. These two figures on the arch facing the river, in the same direction as the royal statue, would have reinforced the coherence of the whole, in line with the square's original name. Mercury representing Commerce evoked the power of the patrons who funded the city's reconstruction after the earthquake, while Hercules, besides the well-known association to José I, symbolised the scale of the labours involved in the rebuilding process.

Santos's proposal for the square also firmly established the order for the surrounding buildings, where priority was given to the stock exchange and customs office. This plan was equally coherent with the iconography of the central monument and its position facing the river Tagus. When seen in its entirety, the outstanding aspect of Santos's initial plan is its unity as a secular work. Had it been faithfully executed, there would have been no room for any religious feature. However, this attempted coherence was lost, notably due to indecision over the tympanum whose execution was delayed until the third quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁷

The wooden square

On the eve of the equestrian statue's unveiling ceremony in 1775, the square was still far from complete. This was a far cry from the idealised setting for the event, which was to be the focal point in popular acclaim of the regime. The Marquis of Pombal therefore decided to complete the originally planned buildings with ephemeral constructions made of wood and painted plaster cloth, which were built 'with such perfect likeness that the eye cannot distinguish the real from the false'.²⁸ It took five days to transport the statue from the foundry to the square, and the entire process was surrounded by an atmosphere of great solemnity and pomp. The feeling of ritual devotion was so intense that the sculpture, protectively covered by a wooden crate, was moved on a cart pulled by 'human forces', since it was considered 'indecent for it to be pulled by four-legged animals, which lack the attributes required to pay respect'.²⁹ The passage through the old streets of Lisbon required some buildings to be demolished, and the cart was pulled along to the synchronised rhythm of the chant '*viva El-Rei!*' (long live the king!). The equestrian statue was formally unveiled on 6 June, chosen to celebrate the king's birthday. Gathered in the improvised wooden square, the authorities and various social orders acclaimed the royal statue in a ceremony that had been planned down to the smallest detail. A print of the statue created by Joaquim Carneiro da Silva (1727–1818), one of the key official artists of the Pombal regime, was distributed to the



4.5 Joaquim Carneiro da Silva, *Equestrian statue of King José I*, 1774, burin engraving and etching, 0.580 × 0.407 m, Lisbon, Museu da Cidade. © Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Museu da Cidade

leading figures present (Fig. 4.5). The celebrations lasted for three days, with allegorical floats, illuminations, fireworks and a sumptuous banquet paid for by the senate of Lisbon city council. A 'great tower' stood opposite the statue, on the waterfront. Its decorative programme included such allegorical figures as Majesty, the Lusitanian Monarchy, Perpetual Fertility and Public Content. The latter consisted of a young country boy holding a mirror in his right hand and a fruit basket in his left.³⁰ This image of one of the common people in public art was a very modern feature, similar to Pigalle's *Citoyen heureux* in the monument to Louis XV in Reims. The contradiction between the modernity of the artistic language of the temporary works and the archaic nature of the model chosen for the square's monumental programme is striking, offering a broader vision of the artistic concepts that were used informally and those which were intentionally adopted by the regime's political manifesto.

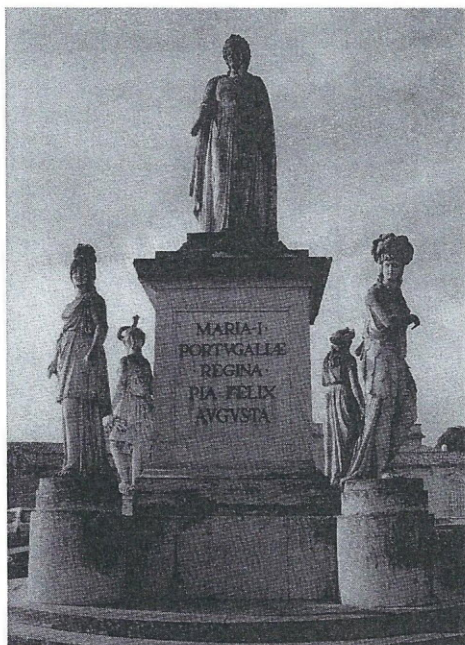
This apparent discrepancy reinforced the gap between the ideology that was deemed appropriate to the monarchical regime in Portugal and the *aggiornamento* by some representatives of the Lisbon artistic sphere, who were aware of the evolution of the international taste and of the renovation of its corresponding symbolic expression. The official ideology was reflected in a conservative aesthetical culture adopted by the Pombal regime, one in which the principle of an equestrian statue imposed on the sculptor constituted a paradigmatic example. Secondary artistic demonstrations, such as the ephemeral architectural examples described above, constituted privileged ground for the propagation of new ideas, which also benefited from the increased difficulty encountered by the authorities in power to exercise effective control on the choices made over projects carried out in extremely tight time frames.

Machado de Castro made no reference to the celebrations, revealing other priorities in his discourse. His writings speak of 'the fateful revolution' that led to the systematic destruction of royal monuments in France.³¹ Although his *Descrição analytica da execução da real estatua equestre* was basically complete by 1793, it would only be printed in Lisbon in 1810. The news of events in France caused a backlash in Portugal. The Real Praça do Comércio was not yet finished when discussion began on the idea of a new square, this time dedicated to Queen Maria I (1734–1816). From then on, such insistence on consecrating the monarchy may be understood as a counter-programme. This no longer involved rival propaganda languages, but was rather, in the spirit of the 'counter-reformation',³² an international *Ancien Régime's* answer to the iconoclastic destruction of royal monuments which had affected France.

The great monument of five statues

The decision to build a public monument in honour of Queen Maria I was made by Diogo de Pina Manique, General Superintendent of the Police

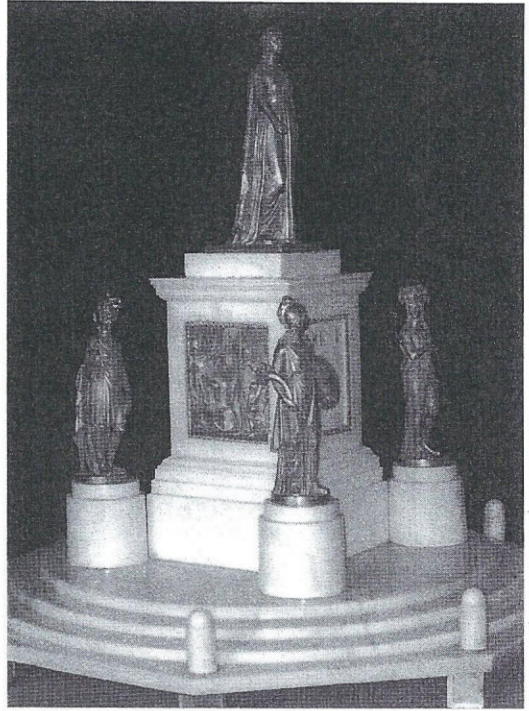
(1733–1805) who, despite never becoming a minister, was one of the most influential figures on the political scene during the queen's reign. In 1794 Pina Manique commissioned the work in Rome from João José de Aguiar (1769–1841), a follower of Canova who held a scholarship from the Royal Casa Pia, a Portuguese charitable institution for orphans that was directed by Manique himself. This deliberate choice allowed the Superintendent to commission works beside Lisbon's *Aula e Laboratório de Escultura* (School and Laboratory of Sculpture), created and directed by Machado de Castro,³³ where the production of Lisbon's main public sculptures was centralised, including the large ornamental group at the new Estrela Basilica (inaugurated in 1789), a paradigmatic example of art from the reign of Queen Maria I. It must be pointed out that Pina Manique aimed to create a Fine Arts *Academia* in Lisbon, an institution that was to be under his direct supervision. To this purpose, he sent a contingent of artists of all disciplines to Rome. The generation of Portuguese creators who, later on, were responsible for the transition from the late Baroque and *Rocaille* styles to the Neoclassical were part of this group of artists. In his attempt to fill an historical gap in the teaching of fine arts in Portugal, Pina Manique also founded a nude life class in Lisbon.



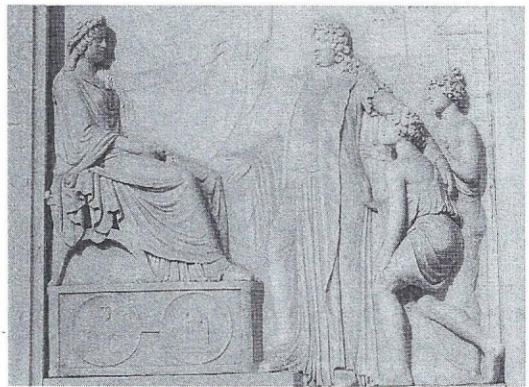
4.6 João José de Aguiar, Monument to Queen Maria I, 1794–97, marble, in front of the Queluz National Palace, Lisbon. Photo M. Figueira de Faria

Completed in 1797, the pedestrian statue of Queen Maria, set on a pedestal and framed at the corners by four auxiliary figures, follows the conventional French formula (Fig. 4.6). The monarch is portrayed wearing a Roman-style laurel crown, a royal mantle and holding the baton in her right hand. In a first version, the allegorical figures represented Love of the Fatherland, Fidelity, Union of the Virtues and Public Happiness. However, the final version replaced these with the more conventional theme of the four corners of the world, in line with the initial plan for the lateral groups of the equestrian statue in Real Praça do Comércio. The iconography that lauded Portugal's overseas ventures had become a leitmotiv of the monarchy's propaganda efforts since, in contrast to France, it could not boast of a wide range of pan-European events to justify other forms of national affirmation. The monument was made in marble, in

contrast to the small-scale model previously sent to Lisbon (Fig. 4.7),³⁴ in which all the sculptured work, including the relief on the pedestal, was reproduced in gilded bronze. Just like Pombal before him, Pina Manique also left a personal mark on the pedestal, adding a high-relief portrait that showed him offering his protection to the orphans of the Casa Pia (Fig. 4.8), and referring to the most emblematic works from the reign of Queen Maria I: the aforementioned Estrela Basilica and the Cordoaria Factory. Pina Manique's initial plan was to erect the monument, today located in front of the Queluz National Palace, in a new square to be created opposite the Estrela Basilica.³⁵ However, the wheel of internal politics was always turning, and by the time the monument arrived in Lisbon, the Superintendent was no longer in control of the process. Involved in conflict with the French ambassador in Portugal, Marshal Lannes, and with the Masonic lodges in Lisbon, the political influence of Manique, a fierce defender of the absolute regime, was progressively reduced. He died in 1805 without fulfilling his wish to erect a public monument in homage to Queen Maria I. The 'great monument of five statues'³⁶ remained packed in its crates, reflecting the irreversible political decline of the man who had planned it in an unmistakable demonstration of the umbilical cord which linked monumental projects to those who commissioned them.



4.7 João José de Aguiar, Model for the monument to Queen Maria I, before 1794, gilded bronze and marble, Lisbon, Queluz National Palace. Photo M. Figueira de Faria



4.8 João José de Aguiar, Side panel of the pedestal of the monument to Queen Maria I, 1797, marble, Lisbon, in front of the Queluz National Palace. Photo M. Figueira de Faria

The Rio de Janeiro project

Several unexecuted projects attest to the inflationary trend, at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the number of attempted commissions of royal statues by Portuguese ministers or other officials. Among them, the monument of Prince Regent D. João (1767–1826) commissioned from Machado de Castro by D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (1755–1812), who was then the Secretary of State for Naval and Overseas Affairs, is particularly interesting as it was to be located in the tropical environment of Rio de Janeiro, where the Portuguese court moved in 1808.

In 1799, the year when the regency of the future João VI became official, Castro had already submitted to Sousa Coutinho a proposal for a pedestrian monument in honour of the prince. The planned monument was dedicated to the 'eternal memory' of 'the virtues of the Prince', in testimony of the 'faithful love and gratitude of a minister of state and a loyal and thankful subject'.³⁷ The never-executed pedestrian statue was to be surrounded, in accordance with French taste, by four seated allegorical figures at the corners of the square pedestal, in the manner of the monument to Louis XV in Nancy, respectively representing Science, Arts, Commerce and Agriculture.

Although Machado de Castro's new proposal for Rio de Janeiro was designed after receiving a note from Sousa Coutinho, it repeated the previous formula, with a pedestrian statue of the prince, standing on a pedestal and surrounded by allegorical sculptures at the corners of the base. The main original feature in the iconography lay in the references made to Brazil, clearly demonstrating that the symbolic programme was adapted to the specific location for which the monument was intended. According to the artist, the base of the pedestal was to be hidden by a 'hilly terrain' that represented the 'vast area of uncultivated and unpopulated land' that still existed in Brazil, 'in whose succour the Hero is going'.³⁸ Machado de Castro initially proposed only two allegorical sculptures set symmetrically at the front corners of the base, depicting Lusitania on the right and America on the left (Fig. 4.9).³⁹ This was presented on the understanding that the monument would be placed in 'a niche that already exists or is to be created in the wall or façade of some great building'⁴⁰ exemplified, as the artist pointed out, by the monument to Louis XV in Rennes. In a second version, the monument was to stand 'isolated in the middle of a square or salon'⁴¹ and the visual balance was to be ensured by introducing two other auxiliary figures representing Loyalty and Constancy at the rear corners of the base.

Very striking is the fact that Sousa Coutinho also organised a parallel competition for the same monument with London's Royal Academy of Arts in June 1810. The instructions sent to the Portuguese Embassy in London requested drawings for 'a great monument with a bronze statue of His Royal Highness',⁴² either on foot or on horseback, which the city of Rio de Janeiro

wished to erect in his honour. At war with France, and unable to resort to the Italian market that was also involved in the Napoleonic conflict, the British solution stood as the natural one, an option which was reinforced by D. Rodrigo's public support for the 'English party' inside the Portuguese government.

The Portuguese ambassador in Great Britain initially delayed the process, in order 'to ascertain whether the two most famous sculptors of statues in London, Nollekins [*sic*] [1737–1826] and Flaxman [1755–1826] would compete, either directly or indirectly'.⁴³ The Royal Academy responded to the request, while stressing the lack of information available to organise the competition, and merely sent two lists, one of names and addresses and another of topics that would allow an initial order-book to be established.⁴⁴ Sousa Coutinho was encouraged to provide more exact information about the model wanted so that the 'nature of the subject', the place and circumstances in which it should be installed, and the estimated budget could be known in detail.⁴⁵ Despite this insistence from

London, details from the Portuguese governor were conspicuous by their absence. In his reply, he merely referred, in rather ambiguous terms, to the location, stating that 'it will either be erected in the middle of a Square that is bordered on one side by the Sea, or in another large Square inside the City'.⁴⁶

This answer suggests that the location for the monument was still under consideration in a colonial city which was trying to adapt its urban structure to its new status and function as the seat of the monarchy. However, examination of a contemporary plan of Rio de Janeiro makes it easy to identify the first potential location as Largo do Paço, where the court had set up official residence, an adaptation which would turn the space into a sort of royal square. The second option could either be the Rossio Square or Campo de Santana. This late transposition of the urban concept of *place royale* to the New World is particularly original since only a few cities such as Quebec or New York had a similar (and earlier) experience.⁴⁷ The exchange of correspondence resulted in a sort of regulation that was distributed amongst artists. The



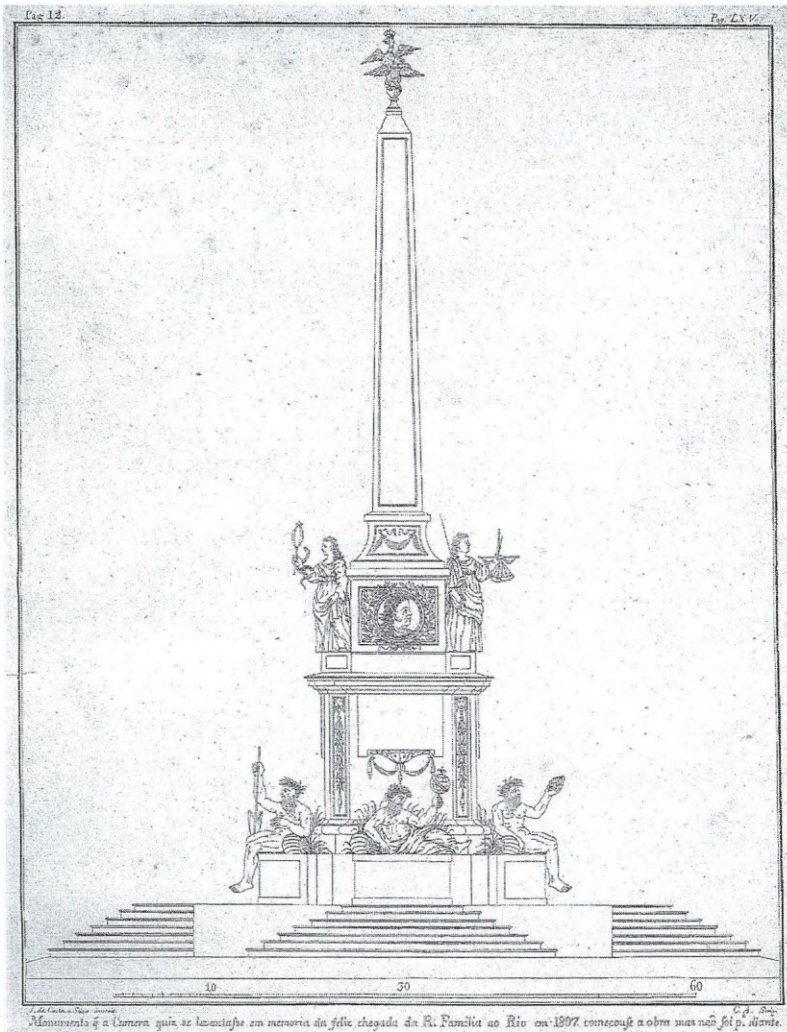
4.9 Joaquim Machado de Castro, *Project for a monument to Prince-Regent João for the city of Rio de Janeiro*, 1811, watercolour drawing, Lisbon, Academia Nacional de Belas Artes. Photo M. Figueira de Faria

monument was to be erected in an open square and the drawing was to be 'left entirely to the taste and judgement of the artist'.⁴⁸ The candidates were instructed to send their proposals to the Royal Academy of Arts in London, which would forward them to Rio so that the city authorities could make the final decision. D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho's death on 26 January 1812 brought a momentary pause to the process. However, despite his demise, the idea did not fade away, and the competition for an equestrian statue was launched in June 1812.

The competition was kept open (with unsatisfactory results) until 1815, at which time the Royal Academy decided to assess the existing proposals.⁴⁹ It ultimately awarded the joint first prize to sculptors Charles Rossi (1762–1839) and Vincent Gahagan (1776–1832), while second prize went to the only other candidate, John Edward Carew (1785–1868).⁵⁰ As stipulated in the regulations, the artists duly delivered their models to the Portuguese Embassy in London. The ambassador kept the drawings that were to be sent to the court in Rio de Janeiro.⁵¹ The drawing by Carew depicts Prince Regent D. João in Roman attire and holding his baton of command. It is a composition of poor quality, excessively conventional when compared with existing international models. As the plinth of this equestrian statue is also completely undecorated, which directly contradicts the written description that Carew included, it may be that other drawings in Brazilian collections can complement this image. In Carew's proposal, the main eight-foot-tall (2.4 metres) statue was in bronze. The pedestal in white stone included panels with five-foot-tall (1.5 metres) figures carved in high relief in the finest marble. The corners of the base were ornamented with four eight-foot-tall allegorical figures representing Religion, Time and two Brazilian natives. The artist established the final price at 12,000 guineas and calculated that it would take four years to produce it. The name of the London-based artist Carew did not appear on the original list proposed by the Royal Academy of Arts. However, this list did include the name of his master Richard Westmacott (1775–1856), who probably passed the commission on to his pupil. The fact that neither Carew's project nor those of the other two candidates were accepted must be understood as a natural end to a process which had been regarded as dead in the water due to the lack of credible candidates and the weakness of the proposals received.

Proof of the court's waning interest in the British solution came with its approval of another project drawn up in the meantime by architect José da Costa e Silva (1747–1819), who had been in charge of the works at the São Carlos Theatre and the Ajuda Royal Palace in Lisbon. According to contemporary accounts, Costa e Silva's proposed solution was to be erected in the Rossio Square but the work was never completed. While maintaining its original focal position in the centre of the square, the monument had undergone a substantial change in terms of its artistic language, ultimately adopting a more up-to-date, neoclassical programme (Fig. 4.10). The dominant feature was

an obelisk, which was accompanied by four statues allegorising rivers (the Tagus, Zaire, Ganges and Amazon), an innovative variation on the idea of the four corners of the world following the Roman tradition of the Piazza Navona Fountain. The sculptural programme was expanded by including images of the four virtues: Prudence, Justice, Peace and Mercy, bringing the project



4.10 Caetano de Almeida, *Project by Costa e Silva for a royal monument for the city of Rio de Janeiro* (inscription translated from the original: 'Monument which the City Council wished had been erected in memory of the joyful arrival of the Royal Family to Rio de Janeiro in 1807. The work was started but was not continued'), c.1807, engraving, 0.340 × 0.240 m, Lisbon, private collection. Photo M. Figueira de Faria

into line with the evolution of European politics and mirroring the peace which had been achieved. The royal statue was abandoned and replaced by a medallion with an image of the prince, a compromise formula which diluted the discourse of monarchical propaganda. The decisive factors in this evident lack of political will to take the project through to its final stages may well have been an understanding that on the eve of Brazil's predicted independence, the erection of such a monument in Rio de Janeiro was inconceivable.

Proposals for monuments to João VI were still made after the beginning of the liberal revolutions in 1820 and following the Portuguese court's return to Europe in 1821. However, as was also true of the majority of projects examined here, they never saw the light of day. Of the three last monarchs of Portugal's *Ancien Régime*, only D. José saw his image consecrated in a public space during his lifetime, while other projects were never finished or condemned to oblivion after completion. The monument in Real Praça do Comércio, Pombal's birthday gift to his king, was the sole work to enjoy the apotheosis of an unveiling ceremony. In contrast, Sousa Coutinho's projects never progressed beyond drawings, and Pina Manique's tribute to Queen Maria I, 'the great monument of five statues', would only be exhibited after the fall of the monarchy. Having the power to create monuments was clearly not in itself enough: it was equally important to guarantee proper conditions for their long-term survival in the public space. In the absence of these two conditions, those who commissioned the work could not gauge their power or claim to be the subject of Pliny's maxim, as recalled by Machado de Castro's proposed inscription for his 1799 unexecuted monument to Prince Regent D. João: '*Non solum gloriosum est Statuam in Foro habere, quam etiam ponere*' (Glory is attained not only by those who have their statue in the Forum (public square), but also by those who ordered it to be erected there).

Translated from the Portuguese by Richard Trewinnard.

Notes

1. Two of Carlos Mardel's projects for the network of public fountains which distributed the water brought into the city via the new Aguas Livres aqueduct are decorated with royal statues of João V, one pedestrian and one equestrian. The respective drawings are reproduced in Irísalva Moita (ed.), *D. João V e o Abastecimento de Água a Lisboa* (João V and the Lisbon Water Supply), exh. cat., Lisbon: Palácio Galveias, 1990, vol. 2, nos 86 and 87.
2. On the projects for royal monuments and the rejection of the French-style royal squares for Lisbon in the reign of João V, see Miguel Figueira de Faria, 'Impacto do modelo da Place Royal em Portugal de D. José a D. João VI', in *O Terramoto de 1755, impactos históricos*, Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2007, pp. 460–61.
3. For further details, cf. José-Augusto França, *Une ville des Lumières, la Lisbonne de Pombal*, Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and Paris: Centre culturel portugais, 1988 (1st edn 1965).
4. Eugénio dos Santos's drawing for the equestrian monument is not dated. However, it bears the signature of the count of Oeiras, a title bestowed to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (later the

Marquis de Pombal) only in June 1759. This allows us to date the project sometime between 1759 and 1760, the year of the death of Eugénio dos Santos.

5. Joaquim Machado de Castro, *Descrição analytica da execução da real estatua equestre do Senhor Rei fidelissimo D. José I*, Lisbon: Impressam Regia, 1810, p. 238.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
7. Anon., *A inauguração da estátua equestre de El-Rei D. José I*, Lisbon: Editorial Labor, 1938, pp. 9–11.
8. Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture françoise, ou Recueil des plans, élévations, coupes et profils des églises, maisons royales, palais, hôtels et édifices les plus considérables de Paris, ainsi que des châteaux et maisons de plaisance situés aux environs de cette ville, ou en d'autres endroits de la France, bâtis par les plus célèbres architectes et mesurés exactement sur les lieux*, Paris: C.-A. Jombert, 1752–56, 4 vols.
9. In the 'Preliminary Discourse' of his *Descrição analytica*, Machado de Castro lists three basic references on the experiments involving equestrian statutes created in Europe: two referred to the founding processes (Boffrand and Mariette/Lempereur), and only one to sculpture techniques, Saly's *Description de la statue equestre que la compagnie des Indes orientales de Dannemarc a consacré à la gloire de Frédéric V, avec l'explication des motifs qui ont déterminé sur le choix de différents partis qu'on a suivis dans la composition de ce monument*, Copenhagen: C. Philibert, 1771. Cf. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, pp. II–VII.
10. Machado de Castro accepts that he was not able to use Jacques Saly's two works in his monument, which is justified by the respective dates of publication (1771–73). Nonetheless, the description of the monument of King José I mentions Saly's writings as one of the key references. Cf. Saly, *Description de la statue équestre and Suite de la description du monument consacré à Frédéric V*, Copenhagen: C. Philibert, 1773.
11. The *Descrição analytica* is little known internationally, due to the fact that it was never translated. However, it is of paramount importance for comparative study on the development of models for French-style royal monuments, since the author wrote it while making constant comparison to the experiments he was carrying out and reading contemporary specialist literature.
12. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 22: 'liberdade de Artista; cujo cativo he prejudicialissimo a todas as obras de espirito'.
13. Castro's evident unwillingness to be associated with the original project even reached a point where he requested that the assistant architect of public works issue a declaration certifying that he was not responsible for the original drawings. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 35: 'vestir de ferro'.
14. It is therefore impossible to use this dialectic as a balancing factor in designing the models, an aspect further developed by Daniel Rabreau in this book.
15. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 17: 'escultor-vassalo'.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13: 'O autor antigo da Estatua de Marco Aurelio, representou o Heroe, como Pai do Povo, em Acção de o proteger. Girardon mostrou Luis XIV na sua Estatua, como dando ordens aos seus Exercitos. Bouchardon lembrou-se do titulo, com que os seus Naturaes caracterizariam Luiz XV, o Bem-amado: e por isso o figurou apoiando a mão no bastão de Commando por huma extremidade, e firmando a outra sobre a coxa direita; mostrando usar da Authoridade Regia com doçura. Neste apoiar a mão, em lugar de pegar-lhe, consiste o fino desta expressão: he certo que apoiando, não se póde usar do bastão com a mesma violencia, com que se pode mover pegando-lhe: e isto he que quizerão mostrar aquelles judiciosos, e instruidos Escultores, para indicar, do modo que lhes era possivel, a benignidade dos seus Heroes, e as outras qualidades ou Acções, que lhes exprimirão com diversas actitudes, e mais circumstancias.'
17. On the evolution of representations of the monarchs from Louis XIV to Louis XV, see, amongst others, Charlotte Chastel-Rousseau, 'La figure du prince au XVIII^e siècle: monument royal et stratégies de représentation du pouvoir monarchique dans l'espace urbain', in Alexandre Gady and Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos (eds), *De l'esprit des villes. Nancy et l'Europe urbaine au siècle des Lumières 1720–1770*, exh. cat., Nancy: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2005, pp. 98–102; and Richard Cleary, *The Place Royale and Urban Design in the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 58–81.
18. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 24: 'assaltado por uma interna aflição ... quando me veio à mão a Architecture Françoise de Blondel, e vi que desta obra se furtarão, e muito mal os desenhos'. In a note, he adds that: 'The desperate poverty of begging from the houses of others for what can be found better in one's own is a very just motive, as educated and proud Artists know only too well, to increase my sorrow. The aforementioned work by Blondel includes images of two projects which were drawn up and actually started for a triumphal arch to be built in Paris to pay homage to Louis XIV. One of these projects was by Perrault; the other by le Brun: each is surmounted by an

Equestrian Statue, of which I do not approve. Whoever produced our drawings stole the bad aspects from those examples, and rejected what good. In Perrault's project, the Statue is clad in iron; in le Brun's, it appears in the Roman way, with a Lion across the pedestal. [*A indiscreta pobreza de ir mendigar às casas alheias o que na propria se podia remediar melhor, he motivo muito justo, como sabem os Artistas instruidos, e briosos, de augmentar-se a minha magoa. Na citada obra de Blondel se encontram duas estampas de dous projectos, dos que se fizerão para hum Arco Triunfal, que em Paris quizerão levantar (e chegou a principiar-se) em obsequio de Luiz XIV: hum destes projectos he de Perrault, outro de le Brun: cada hum remata com sua Estatua Equestre, que não louvo. Quem fez os nossos desenhos furtou daquelles ao máo, e regeitou-lhes o bom. No projecto de Perrault, vê-se a Estatua vestida de ferro; no de le Brun, he á Romana, com o Leão atravessado no pedestal.*]

19. The insistent use of this option came after the model had been abandoned in France, where the iconographic expression had been criticised by Voltaire and rejected by Pigalle when creating the monument to Louis XV in Reims. Pierre Patte's seminal work on monuments to Louis XV echoes this shift in attitude. This approach had long been known in Portugal, and was used on the equestrian variant of the fountains designed by Mardel referred to above. Cf. Pierre Patte, *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV*, Paris: chez Rozet, 1767, p. 175: 'Des esclaves enchaînés, plus convenables pour caractériser les Princes qui font consister toute leur gloire dans l'ambition des conquêtes, auraient mal figuré autour d'un Monarque dont l'humanité est l'âme de toutes les actions.'
20. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, pp. 327–8: 'Quando Sua dita Magestade faleceo, estava eu para principiar huma Pedestre do mesmo Senhor em marmore de Montes-Claros, ou de Borba, para collocar-se em certa livraria desta Corte; de cuja Estatua ainda conservo o modelo; e nelle tenho mais complacencia, que no da Estatua Equestre, por ser vestido á Romana; e em consequencia muito mais conforme ao bom gosto do Desenho.'
21. Castro repeatedly expressed his gratitude to D. Pedro José de Menezes Coutinho, Marquis of Marialva, for his teachings on equestrian art, about which the sculptor recognised his ignorance. See, for instance, J. Machado de Castro, *Dicionário de escultura*, Lisbon: Livraria Coelho, 1937, p. 41.
22. While creating an equestrian statue, an artist could choose the horse's stance and the prince's attire, appearance, attitude and portrait but he remained restricted to a highly codified composition. Space for experimentation and creativity was mainly restricted to the auxiliary sculptures around the pedestal. Cf. Chastel-Rousseau, 'La figure du prince', p. 100.
23. Joaquim Machado de Castro, *Ao Rey Fidelissimo Dom José I. Nosso Senhor collocando-se a sua colossal estatua equestre na Praça do Comércio ode por ...*, Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typographica, 1775, note 3: 'Os dous Gruppas de figuras de marmore, que estam dos lados, e constam de dous Prizioneiros de Guerra, a Fama, e o Triunfo, hum Cavallo, e hum Elefante, atropelando os Prizioneiros, e varios despojos de campanha; mostram, que Portugal em diversos tempo teve gloriosos triunfos.'
24. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 12: 'No que pertence à Acção, ou Feito, que nos representa o Heroe, nem pela sua Imagem, nem pelos seus acessórios, podemos alcançar este conhecimento.'
25. The inscription is written in Latin: 'Josepho. I / Augusto. Pio. Felici. Patri. Patriae. / Quod Regiis Juribus. Adsertis. Legibus. Emendatis. / Commercio. Propagato. Militia. Et. Bonis. Artibus. Restitutis. / Urbem. Funditus. Eversam. Terraemotu. Elegantiorem. Restauraverit. / Auspice. Administro. Ejus. Marchione. Pombalio. Et Collegio. Negotiatorum. Curante. / S.P.Q.O. / Beneficiorum. Memor. / A. MDCCCLXXV. / P.'
26. Daniel Rabreau, 'Royale ou commerciale, la place à l'époque des Lumières', *Monuments historiques*, 120, March–April 1982, 31–7, esp. 31–2.
27. On the models for the triumphal arch in Rua Augusta, see Miguel Figueira de Faria, 'Lisbonne, la place royale du Commerce' in Gady and Pérouse de Montclos, *De l'esprit des villes*, pp. 98–102.
28. Anon., *A inauguração*, p. 17: 'com tal perfeição de semelhança que os olhos não pudessem distinguir o verdadeiro do fingido'.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 13: 'indecente, que a puxassem animaes quadrupedes a quem faltava o discurso para o respeito'.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
31. Castro, *Descrição analytica*, p. 2: 'a funesta revolução'.
32. This actually inverts the idea of 'counter-programming' that was developed by Hendrik Ziegler, in 'Le modèle de la place royale française à l'épreuve de l'Europe' in Gady and Pérouse de Montclos, *De l'esprit des villes*, pp. 82–95.

33. At around the same time Pina Manique, the Marquis of Ponte de Lima, commissioned another sculpture of Queen Maria from Machado de Castro. The location for the statue was the Public Library that was created on the queen's orders and opened in 1796.
34. The model is now in the collection at the Queluz National Palace (PNQ 1331).
35. Faria, *O Terramoto*, pp. 463–4.
36. This is how Pina Manique referred to the monument in his correspondence with Rome.
37. Cf. Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima, 'Projecto de um monumento ao Príncipe Regente depois Rei D. João VI, da autoria de Machado de Castro' in *Museu*, III (7), p. 154: '*à perpétua memória [das] virtudes do Príncipe [como testemunho do] fiel amor, e gratidão de hum Ministro d'Estado, de hum Vassalo leal e agradecido*'.
38. Academia Nacional de Belas Artes (ANBA), manuscript no. 1540–1545: '*Ao Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor offerece o Amor, e a Lealdade, o incluso Projecto para se lhe erigir huma Estatua Pedestre, na sua presente Corte do Rio de Janeiro. Inventado, desenhado, e explicado pelo Escultor da Real Casa do Mesmo Augusto Senhor, Joaquim Machado de Castro ... terreno montuoso [que representava] a grande porção de terreno inculto e sem civilização ... a cuja falta o Heroe se acha occorrendo*'.
39. See Miguel Figueira de Faria, 'Joaquim Machado de Castro e os Monumentos Reais para o Rio de Janeiro', *Proceedings of VII Colóquio Luso-Brasileiro de História de Arte*, Oporto: FIUP, 2007.
40. ANBA, manuscript no. 1540–1545: '*nicho que esteja formado, ou haja de se formar em parede, ou Fachada de algum grande Edifício*'.
41. *Ibid.*: '*ser insulado em meio de alguma Praça ou Salão*'.
42. Arquivo Nacional/Torre Tombo, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (AN/TT, MNE), Portuguese Legation in London (Court Dispatches), Book no. 514, doc. 118 (1810): '*grande monumento com uma estátua em bronze de Sua Alteza Real*'.
43. AN/TT, MNE, Portuguese Legation in London (Court Dispatches), box no. 729 (1810, no. 142): '*para estar certo que os dois famosos estatuarios de Inglaterra Nollekens [sic] e Flaxman, concorrem directa ou indirectamente para o programa*'.
44. Besides Nollekens (Mortimer Street) and Flaxman (Buckingham Street), those listed also included C. Rossi (Lisson Grove), R. Westmacott (Mount Street), J. Bacon (Newman Street); ? Smith (Portland Road) and J.G. Bubb (Grafton Street East).
45. ANBA, manuscript no. 1540–1545: '*It is first necessary to be accurately informed of every circumstance which the nature of the subject may make it desirable [sic] to introduce or allude to in the Monument; the kind of situation in which it is to be placed; the amount of the sum intended to be devoted to it & any other points which may require attention in the composition of the Work*'.
46. AN/TT, MNE, box 167, Diversos (1807–20): '*ou há de ser erigido no meio de huma Praça, que he fechada de hum lado pelo Mar, ou em noutra Praça maior mas no interior da Cidade*'.
47. Cleary, *The Place Royale*, pp. 245–6.
48. AN/TT, MNE, box 167, Diversos (1807–20).
49. Another artist, 'Matheo C. Wyatt' [Matthew Cotes Wyatt (1777–1862)], made a proposal outside the structure of the competition. He introduced himself as the author of a bust of 'His Britannic Majesty' [sic], and of the drawing of the monument dedicated to Lord Nelson in Liverpool, which he classified as the largest in England, if not in Europe Cf. AN/TT, MNE, Legation in London, box 733, no. 400.
50. This unheard-of result of all the candidates being awarded a prize led the Portuguese ambassador to react strongly, questioning the value of the projects submitted.
51. At least one of these has survived, and can be found there at the National Library. Cf. Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Arc. 30 (E:f III). CAREW, 'J. E. Estátua equestre de S. Alteza Real'.