FRANCISCO LEITÃO FERREIRA: THE CONCEITS ART IN THE EMBLEMATIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE GLORIFICATION OF THE ROYAL POWER IN THE ITALIANS TRIUMPHAL ARCH

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Resumo: A celebração dos votos nupciais de D. João V com D. Mariana de Áustria por ocasião da entrada régia na Catedral de Lisboa, em 22 de dezembro de 1708, foi assinalada por diversas festividades, incluindo dezanove arcos triunfais, dos quais um foi oferecido pela comunidade italiana. O conceito da ornamentação simbólica e emblemática do Arco Triunfal dos Italianos foi encomendada a Francisco Leitão Ferreira (1667-1735), poeta e historiador, que preservou a sua invenção para memória futura na obra Idea Poetica, Epithalamica, Panegyrica que a Nação Italiana mandou levantar [...], publicada em 1709. Este é um dos raros exemplos em que um autor de conteúdos simbólicos e emblemáticos aplicados a estruturas arquitetónicas efémeras é simultaneamente o narrador da sua obra, descrevendo engenhosamente através de um discurso ecfrástico o seu conceito ou ideia, materializado em estátuas, pinturas, símbolos ou geroglifos e emblemas.

Palavras-chave: conceitos logoicónicos em emblemática aplicada.

Abstract: The celebration on the 22nd December 1708 of the wedding vows of the Portuguese King John V and Queen Marianna of Austria on the occasion of the Royal Entry in the Cathedral of Lisbon was marked by several festivities, including nineteen triumphal arches of which one was offered by the Italian community. The conceit of the symbolic and emblematic decoration of the Triumphal Arch of the Italians was commissioned to Francisco Leitão Ferreira (1667-1735), poet and historian, who preserved his invention for future memory in the work Poetic, Epithalamic, Panegyric Idea that served the Triumphal Arch that the Italian Nation [...], published in 1709. This is one of rare examples in which an author of symbolic and emblematic contents applied to architectural ephemeral structures is simultaneously the narrator of his creation, describing ingeniously through an ekphrastic speech his conceit or idea, materialised in statues, paintings, symbols or geroglifos and emblems.

Keywords: logo-iconical conceits in applied emblematics.

In Portugal, the tradition of the descriptions of Royal Entries and other festivities¹, such as and among others, departures of princesses, royal weddings, and funerals² goes back to the medieval times and were, in an initial phase, included in the official reports of the events, such as the chronicles of Fernão Lopes³ or Garcia de Resende⁴. Later on these

⁴ RESENDE, 1973.

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² ALVES, 1986.

³ ALVES, 1986: 15. The first description of a royal entry was made by Fernão Lopes regarding the entry of king D. Pedro I, LOPES, 1735: chap. XIV.

narratives were published in an autonomous way as an event account — the «relação» —, being the first known Portuguese autonomous report written by occasion of the Royal Entry of Philip I⁵ in Lisbon, published in 1581⁶. Most of the accounts of events incorporated emblematic and symbolic descriptions in ephemeral architecture, and regarding the triumphal arches, the first known account in Portugal of these ephemeral constructions of classic influence, inspired in the roman structures and made to imitate a stone arch, were raised on the occasion of the marriage of crown prince John, the heir of King John III, with princess Joana of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Charles V, in 1552. The official chronicle of the event, written by Manuel de Menezes7, accounts the description of the Arch of «Porta da Ribeira» decorated with devices and *geroglifos* (hieroglyphs), being this the first known reference in Portugal of applied symbolism and emblematics in ephemeral architecture. The use of the ephemeral constructions such as the Triumphal Arches served as a dramatization to reinforce and affirm the royal power and the consecration of the Christian Monarchy in its progressive path of centralization in the Old Regime. These monumental structures were decorated with sculptures, carvings and paintings complemented with dedications, emblems, symbols and hieroglyphs⁸ that included mottos, epigrams and verses that transmitted a vast biblical, historical and literary tradition with political, moral and symbolic dimension. The association of word and image started in the 16th century was initially used to reinforce the pedagogic tridentine strategy of using the image, together with the metaphor, the allegory, the analogy and the symbol, associating the didactic and the entertainment aspect — the horacian prodesse aut delectare — as a form of Counter-Reformation persuasion. The recovery of the classic tradition⁹ in the Renaissance humanism, expressed in a myriad of symbolic mythological, historical and literary contents, reworked by authors such as Vicenzo Cartari¹⁰ and the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo and Piero Valeriano¹¹ influenced the Portuguese and Spanish ephemeral decorators and accounts' authors.

⁵ Philip II of Spain and Philip I of Portugal under the Dual Monarchy period (1580-1640).

⁶ GUERREIRO, 1581. About the Triumphal Arches see also SERRÃO, 2009: 204-206 *apud* SOUSA, 2015; COUTINHO, 2015. See among others RAMOS, *coord.*, 2019.

⁷ ALVES, 1986: 37; MENEZES, 1730: IV, 16.

⁸ LEAL, 2014b: 27-38. See also LEAL, 2014a, 2015.

⁹ In the decoration of the arches and in the contents of the events accounts, side by side the emblematic alciatian influence, we must consider also the Imperial Ancient Roman architectonical structures decorated with epigrams, *frescos* and mosaics with pre-alciatian mythological and symbolic emblems. See PRAZ, 1946: 20ss; 1963: 24; LEAL, 2014a; 2014b: 27-38.

¹⁰ CARTARI, 1556.

¹¹ Inspired in the Egyptian tradition, the hieroglyphs of Horapollo and Valeriano were considered as the forerunners of the emblematic books started with the *Emblematum Liber* of Alciato, in 1531, and that started to be read in Portugal from the final years of 16th century. The first emblem book to be printed in Portugal, in 1596, was *Discvrso sobre a Vida, e Morte, de Santa Isabel Rainha de Portugal, & outras varias Rimas*, of Vasco Mousinho Quevedo Castelbranco while, in Spain, the *Empresas Morales* of Juan de Borga was published in 1581, and the *Emblemas Morales* of Juan de Horozco, in 1589. See ARAÚJO, 2014; LEAL, 2015: 27-38; FERNÁNDEZ TRAVIESO, 2006: 246.

From this moment on and as a part of the festivities symbolic *rhetoric*, the triumphal arches were used in most of the important celebrations taken place in our country, like in many other European countries¹², which is the case of the event which was at the origin of the work we are analysing here, Poetic, Epithalamic, Panegyric Idea that served the Triumphal Arch that the Italian Nation ordered to be raised on the occasion Their Majesties Most Serene King and Queen of Portugal, John V & Marianna de Austria went to the Lisbon Cathedral [...] (1709)¹³ (hereforth referred to as the Idea), by Francisco Leitão Ferreira (1667-1735)¹⁴, eminent author and a parish priest of the church of Our Lady of Loreto of the Italian community of Lisbon. The occasion was the celebration on the 22nd December 1708 of the wedding vows and Royal Entry in the cathedral of Lisbon of King John V, known as The Magnanimous, and his cousin Queen Marianna of Austria who was the daughter of the Emperor Leopold I and sister of the Emperor Charles VI, the Portuguese King's ally in the Spanish Succession War that had recently started in 1706 and only ended many years after, in 1750. Charles of Habsburg was also supported by England, Holland and most of the states of Germany — the Great Alliance — a strategic option of Portugal to consolidate the alliance with England and to ensure the defence of the Atlantic routes to Brazil and the definition and protection of its borders. This was a very important union in the strengthening of the geopolitical affirmation of the royal power of the King of Portugal in the European context, which was the lifetime commitment of his reign¹⁵. This occasion was marked by several festivities, including nineteen triumphal arches of which one was offered by the Italian community of Lisbon that included mainly Genovese and Venetians. The conceit of the symbolic and emblematic decoration of the Triumphal Arch of the Italians was commissioned to Francisco Leitão Ferreira, as he expressly mentions using the «captatio benevolentiae» expression - «This arch (whose idea was commissioned to my incapacity)¹⁶ — taking into consideration his connection with the Italian community.

¹² Since the coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530 (BUESCU, 2010: 9) the Triumphal Arches started to be used in Europe initiating the tradition of the ephemeral architecture of classic inspiration with the influence of emblematics (ARAÚJO, 2014: 595) as reported by Calvete de Estrella (1552) in the account of Philiph I's journey in Flanders and Italy. In king's John II Chronicle Garcia de Resende accounts the existence of Triumphal Arches, probably of medieval inspiration, by occasion of the marriage of Prince Afonso with Isabel of Spain, in 1490. (See ALVES, 1986: 28, 37. And also RESENDE, 1622: 171).

¹³ FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão, 1709, *Idea Poetica, Epithalamica, Panegyrica que servio no arco Triunfal, que a Nação* Italiana mandou levantar na occasião em que as Magestades dos Serenissimos Reys de Portugal Dom Joam V & D. Marianna de Austria foram à Cathedral de Lisboa [...], Lisboa: oficina de Valentim da Costa Deslandes (author's translation).

¹⁴ Born in a noble family in Lisbon, Francisco Leitão Ferreira made his studies of theology and was for thirty years a parish priest of the church of Our Lady of Loreto of the Italian community of Lisbon. He had a natural inclination to poetry, winning the first prize in many Literary Academic Contests. Fluent in Latin and Italian, he pursued his studies in mythology, iconology, epigraphy and ecclesiastical and secular history, and was a member of the Royal Academy of Portuguese History. He was invited for many of the literary academies of the time and lectured the art of conceits in the Anonymous Academy, and of these lectures resulted his masterwork, the *New Art of Conceits (Nova Arte de Conceitos)*, in two books, published in 1718 and 1721. See BARBOSA MACHADO, 1747.

¹⁵ RAMOS, 2009: 343-345.

¹⁶ FERREIRA, 1709: 9 (author's translation).

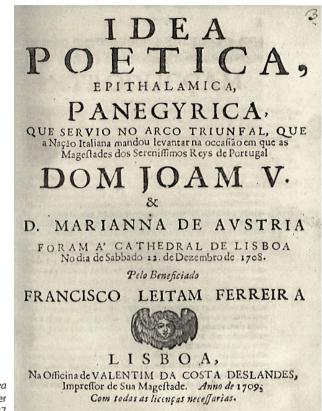
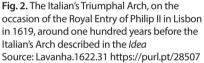


Fig. 1. Poetic, Epithalamic, Panegyric Idea [...], front cover Source: https://purl.pt/22727

Contrarily to the above mentioned descriptions of events, the *Idea* cannot be considered an event account because he tells us nothing about the occasion in itself that took place and justified the construction of the Italian's Arch. The *Idea*, with 48 pages of text and without drawn or printed images, concentrates its speech on the conceit and description of the Arch which is really a novelty, both because it includes the explanation of the conceit and especially because it is probably the first known example in which an author of symbolic and emblematic contents applied to architectural ephemeral structures is simultaneously the narrator of his creation. Curiously there is another work of the same kind, but with different characteristics, and on the occasion of the same event, but this time of the Arch of the English Nation, with no mention of authorship (*Description of the Triumphal Arch that the English nation ordered to be risen on the occasion Their Majesties Most Serene King and Queen of Portugal, John V & Marianna of Austria went to the Lisbon Cathedral[...])¹⁷ (hereforth referred to as the <i>Description*), published in the

¹⁷ DESCRIPÇAM DO ARCO TRIUNFAL que a Naçãm Ingleza mandou levantar na occasiaõ em que as Magestades [...]. Lisboa: Oficina de Valentim da Costa Deslandes, 1708 (author's translation).





same year of the event (1708) and having 20 pages, almost half the length of the work of Leitão Ferreira, and equally without printed images. As the event took place on the 22nd December 1708, the *Description* of the English Arch was written and published even before the event took place in the first days of December 1708 (a very curious anticipation) as we can see by the inquisitorial licenses that come in the end of the *Description*, one of which is a praise or eulogy to the maltese Carlos Gimac who conceived the decoration of the arch by D. António Caetano de Sousa, a prominent writer considered the father of the portuguese genealogical history and like Leitão Ferreira a member of the Royal Academy of Portuguese History. The two works coincide in the fact that they concentrate their speech on the account of the Arches and not on the occasion in itself and both have the same printer: Valentim da Costa Deslandes. The difference between these two works is notorious and already resumed in the titles *Description* and *Idea*. The English Triumphal Arch is merely described. On the other end, the *Idea* of Leitão Ferreira is a kind of treatise of the conceit of the Italian Triumphal Arch. We wonder if Leitão Ferreira wrote his work in reaction to the English Arch's description, surpassing

it in quality. Curiously in the digital edition of the *Idea* we had access to in the National Portuguese Library¹⁸ there are no introductory or final inquisitorial licenses although, on the front cover, there is mentioned that the book has all the «necessary licenses»¹⁹, which is another curious fact.

The Idea applies some of the concepts that would integrate Leitão Ferreira's master work, the New Art of Conceits20, published some years later, in 1718 and 1721, the first rhetoric treatise in Portuguese language to be written and printed²¹ and where, in the footsteps of Aristotle and Tesauro, he defines conceit²² as «the thought, idea or image that the intellect forms in itself of something; and to form the conceit of something is the same as representing it in the understanding (the intellect), knowing it as it in itself is, or seems to be, or one imagines it to be»²³. Another important concept to analyse this work is the «ingenious argument a certain device of speech, with which our understanding proves and demonstrates some truth or some verisimilar or feasible of the matter or subject being discussed²⁴». The concepts of conceit and ingenious argument as well as the concept of metaphor are worked in this Idea of the Triumphal Arch. Before describing the «architectural order» and the «poetic idea»²⁵ of the Italians' arch, Leitão Ferreira makes an introduction of almost eight pages about the base or the «skeleton» of his conceits related to the triumphal arch rescued from the classic Greek and Roman antiquity traditions. He begins by approaching the ancient relation between the celebration of the triumphs and the construction of the commemorative arches, recovering their history and their significance in the public celebrations of the people of the victories of their rulers, resorting to the tradition of the sources of emblematics. Leitão Ferreira regrets the inexistence of descriptions of these triumphal structures in the history of the deeds of the first Portuguese Kings in medieval times that were more occupied in winning the battles and submitting their enemies to the Cristian faith²⁶ than to celebrate their enterprises. To enhance the importance of keeping this bond between sovereigns and subjects, and in the tradition of the «specula principum» — the mirrors of princes — or the education of princes, he calls

23 FERREIRA, 2019: 54, Lição Primeira §IV (author's translation).

¹⁸ FERREIRA, 1709.

¹⁹ FERREIRA, 1709: front cover (author's translation).

²⁰ FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão, (1718). *Nova Arte de Conceitos* [...] *Primeyra Parte*. Lisboa Occidental: Officina de A. Pedrozo Galram; FERREIRA, Francisco Leitão, (1721). *Nova Arte de Conceitos* [...] *Segunda Parte*. Lisboa Occidental: Officina de A. Pedrozo Galram.

²¹ The importance of the *New Art of Conceits* goes beyond the fact that it was the first rhetoric treatise in Portuguese language to be written and printed and to have a real impact in the intellectual national life beyond the academic world and whose echoes endured much beyond his lifetime.

²² In the introductory study of 2019 edition of *Nova Arte de Conceitos*, Belmiro Fernandes Pereira stresses the fact that the English language has the advantage to distinguish *conceit* from *concept* (which is not the case of the Portuguese language that uses the same word «conceito» for both meanings). (FERREIRA, 2019: 15).

²⁴ FERREIRA, 2019: 291 Lição Décima Terceira §1 (author's translation).

²⁵ FERREIRA, 2019: 6 (author's translation).

²⁶ FERREIRA, 1709: 4.

the *Idea of a Political Prince* of Saavedra Fajardo, device or *empresa* 59²⁷, which opens the section called «How should the prince govern his estates» with the *inscriptio* «With the breast and the hand» (*«Con* el senno I con la mano»)²⁸ which advises the sovereign against the danger of ambition to conquer foreign lands *versus* the conservation of the kingdom in peace and prosperity. Being, as we said, Portugal in the Spanish Succession War, the values of peace and tranquillity are highly stressed as a warning or advice to the King, evoking the symbols of love and fortune to assist the good and wise government and the satisfaction of the subjects. The side note to Alciato's emblem 29 «Etiam Ferocissimos Domari»²⁹ (Even the most ferocious can be dominated)³⁰, the celebration of Cicero's death and the symbolic destruction of eloquence by political power, together with the text mention to Marc Antony's subjugating the lions on his chariot as a form of celebration³¹, suggests a probable hidden allusion to the danger of not listening to the wise (Cicero and Leitão Ferreira) and the consequent misuse of government, corroborating the authors' advice.

The two facade's arch itself and its location facing the river and the sunny south and west triggers the following step of the construction of the conceit: the statue of Janus stands on the top of the arch, one of the facades having the statues of Rome and Lisbon and on the other front the statues of Mercury and Hercules Theban. Two frames receive the Lusitanian and the Pontifical coats of arms paintings (as a symbol respectively of the Portuguese and of the Italian Genovese and Venetian) assisted by two symbols the Public Felicity and Eternity. Seven emblems complete the «symbolic and hieroglyphic "intentions" as the author expressly says, especially conceived to the occasion of the wedding vows, inspired in the example of the ancient Rome, where «in enduring marble the symbols where interpreted by the seers in conceited allusions of profound hieroglyphs engraved on the stone» using also «ingenious symbols»³². Embodying the metalepsis of the arch itself for the ancient romans, Janus Bifrons was chosen by Leitão Ferreira to stand on the top of the dome of the Italians' arch, the first to be crossed by the monarchs in their royal wedding triumph. Vicenzo Cartari and Baltasar de Vitoria³³ are two of the authors called to define the attributes of Janus, the doorkeeper, with the two keys, arbitrator of peace and war, symbol of the sun, the world and the sky and representing the beginning and the end of the year. Janus was depicted in his whole body, in two perspectives, from one side of the arch an old

²⁷ FERREIRA, 1709: 4.

²⁸ SAAVEDRA FAJARDO, 1640: 434-452 (author's translation).

²⁹ ALCIATO, 2003: 22.

³⁰ FERREIRA, 1709: 8. The side note mentions Alciato's emblem 22 instead of 29 which is probably a printing mistake as the text refers to Alciato's emblem 29. Nevertheless, Alciato's emblem 22 «Custodiendas virgins», the honour of Pallas Athena guarded by the dragon, symbol of prudence and at the same time the symbol of the king's royal house of Braganza reminds the sovereign his responsibility in guarding his reign which Pallas Athena entitles could also be applied in this context. ALCIATO, 2003: 22, 64.

³¹ FERREIRA, 1709: 8.

³² FERREIRA, 1709: 10 (author's translation).

³³ CARTARI, 1556: 12-14; VITORIA, 1620.

man and from the other a young man, with the express intention to cause strangeness and wonder to the seers, both representations followed by epigrams. In previous Royal Entry descriptions, such as the ones from Calvete de Estrella³⁴ or Mestre Guerreiro³⁵, among others, the two faced, old and young, Janus is represented in one single body which makes the fact of Leitão Ferreira having completed the perspectives of an old man's from one side and from the other of an young man in their complete bodies an interesting novelty. The author presents eight arguments to support the choice of the allegory of Janus to preside this triumphal *machine* and the interpretation of the profound conceits of his hieroglyphs is used to support the connection of his attributes to the celebrating occasion, of which we can point out his connection to Italy (he was an ancient Italian King) and the fact that for the ancient romans he is the metalepsis of the arch itself and this arch was offered by the Italian community. In the applied connection of his symbols to Portugal and the Portuguese context of war, Leitão Ferreira builds ingenious arguments from Janus's intrinsic attributes: as a moderator of war and peace, his quality of mythological doorkeeper or protector is associated to the circumstance that Portugal is the paradise of Europe, with two doors to the east and the west; as a symbol of the world and the sky he is associated to the extension of the Portuguese imperial oriental and occidental influence, as sang by Camões in his Lusíadas³⁶, spread by the four parts of the world but having one only head crowned and united in one only body of monarchy, and being Janus's a symbol of the sun, his two faces light up Portugal in a glorious and perpetual day with his past symbols as the mirrors of the future undertakings. Furthermore and in an unfolding chain of symbolism, the old and young Janus symbolize the two poles, Artic with seven stars that are connected to the seven golden castles of the symbol of Portugal and the Antarctic with his southern cruise of five stars to the five quinas (from the latin quini — every five) of the coat of arms of Portugal that symbolizes the five wounds of Christ as a reference to the religion defended by the secular power entitled by the castles. The old Janus' right hand offers the monarchs the two gold and iron keys of peace and war in homage and subjection but also transferring the inherent decision and responsibility, aiming for peace and the benefit and prosperous future of Portugal. On his left hand a golden sceptre, the attribute of Portuguese Monarchy, has in its top the imperial eagle, both symbol of the ancient Rome and of the prosperous and influent Austrian empire, calling Piero Valeriano, Cesar Ripa and Vicenzo Cartari as attestants of the good fortune that eagles stand for as symbols of the monarchies³⁷. Janus' robe in sky blue with golden and silver stars call's Tesauro's description of the celestial image and

³⁴ CALVETE DE ESTRELLA, 1552: 37b, 227a, 227b.

³⁵ GUERREIRO, 1581: 35b.

³⁶ FERREIRA, 1709: 11.

³⁷ FERREIRA, 1709: 13.



Fig. 3. Tagus allegory, detail, front cover Source: Lavanha.1622. https://purl.pt/28507

symbolizes the Portuguese sky now enriched by the new star represented by the Queen Marianna of Austria. Symbolizing the spring of life, the future time and the perpetual youth, the young Janus, on the other front of the arch, in a «curious spectacle of strange-ness»³⁸, as the author specifically stresses, gives wishes to the King and Queen of a prosperous new year ahead.

Returning to the first facade of the old Janus' perspective there are the statues of Rome and Lisbon with allusive verses, synecdoches of Italy and Portugal, both represented by matrons with a manly aspect, having at their feet the allegories of their respective rivers Tiber and Tagus, both allegorized as men with bull effigies and crowns of fruits as a sign of fertility. Rome, symbolizing the political and spiritual empires, dressed in purple with an imperial white mantle, symbolizing charity and faith, holds the two keys of gold and silver on the right hand as hieroglyphs of jurisdiction and order, standing the two naked swords on the left hand for the ecclesiastical and the secular powers. The paraphrase tells us that Rome, whose anagram in Portuguese is Love (Roma-*Amor*), reminded by the author as

³⁸ FERREIRA, 1709: 14 (author's translation).

a fortunate auspice of the royal wedding, transfers her triumphs to Lisbon in this joyful day. The matron Lisbon, dressed in green with a blue mantle, bears the royal crown symbol of monarchy and holds in the right hand the gold and silver sceptres as hieroglyphs of her power over the opulent provinces and remote seas. On the left hand she shows a vessel with two crows on the bow and stern, symbol of the city of Lisbon and also of the sea commerce. The description of the statues has an emblematic influence in its exposing structure: first the title («inscription»), then the «ekphrasis»³⁹ and meaning of the image («pictura»), and finally the «subscription» in Latin paraphrased in a Portuguese verse with an explanation of the subjects. Leitão Ferreira praises both cities, with a clear advantage to Lisbon which stands out, in the paraphrase, as the synecdoche of the modern world and an example, in its greatness, for Rome. In this comparison, the reader has the feeling that in spite of all the Rome stands for in culture, civilization and religion, she is a «copy» of Lisbon which takes notorious advantage in antiquity and modern deeds, as stressed in the Os Lusiadas⁴⁰ and as the head of a future fifth empire. The author makes an unfolding and chained succession of meanings of interpretation of symbols, as for example the conceit of the number five, expressed in the five wounds of Christ, the five *quinas* of the symbol of Portugal that culminates in King John, the fifth King with his name, as the ruler of the biblical spiritual fifth empire, the myth rescued and advocated by padre António Vieira41 as a Portuguese mission's prediction as a nation.

On the other side of the arch of the young Janus has the statues of Mercury and Hercules Theban. The image of Mercury is expressly inspired in Alciato's Emblem 8 «Qua Dii vocant, eundum» («We must follow the God's path»)⁴² as shown in the margin's note. With his head covered with the golden winged helmet and silver sandals, in his quality of gods' ambassador an ruler of commerce and guide of the travellers, Mercury shows the path of triumph with his right hand and holds in his left hand not the caduceus but the club of Hercules, the instrument of victories. On the left hand side, the statue of Hercules Theban dressed with the head and skin of the nemean lion, shows a laurel and a palm in the right hand and holds in the left hand Mercury's caduceus, a golden rod with two entwined serpents, symbol of prudence and wisdom, instead of his club, stressing the fact that Hercules never entered a battle moved by tyranny but by reason. This ingenious exchange of attributes suggests the restrain and balance of emotions (by depriving the

³⁹ In the tradition of «ekphrasis» there are the emblematic examples of Achiles' Schield in Homer's *Iliad* or Vulcan's shield in Virgil's or the sculptures of Dante's *Purgatory* of which Heffernan considers that «'ekphrasis' not only envoices sculpted figures and thus elicits a story from them: it also doubly demonstrates the power of the word over the image». (HEFFERNAN, 1993: 45.)

⁴⁰ FERREIRA, 1709, 19.

⁴¹ FERREIRA, 1709: 22. About the life and work of padre António Vieira see, among others, PAIVA, José Pedro (1999). *Padre António Vieira, 1608-1697: bibliografia.* Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional; AZEVEDO, João Lúcio de (2008). *História de Antônio Vieira.* São Paulo: Alameda, 2 vols; BESSELAAR, José van den (1981). *António Vieira: o homem, a obra, as ideias.* Lisboa: ICALP.

⁴² ALCIATO, 2003: 104 (author's translation).

Mercury and Hercules of their intrinsic and identifiable symbols and the respective exchange) reinforced by the margin's note of Alciato's emblem 108 «Vis Amoris»⁴³ («The power of Love/Cupid»), the cupid's power over the sky's lightening, giving the idea of the prevalence of love over war towards the path of peace while Saavedra Fajardo's emblem 59 is again alluded twice by the image of the arm⁴⁴. The King's forefather's John II *motto «by the law and by the people*»⁴⁵ is remembered stressing that «the greatest triumph of the princes is to defend with useful and wise government the people, rescuing the humble from the oppressed, the poor from the injustice of the rich, the cities from the tyranny of the tributes»⁴⁶, a very straightforward and bold message to King John V.

The two attics of the arch show two paintings of the Lusitanian and the Roman pontifical coats of arms, bare textless paintings that are completed in the *Idea* by sonnets with the expressed intention to build two emblems⁴⁷. Leitão Ferreira addresses the Portuguese coat of arms like a cipher, a veiled history with prophecies and mysteries, going back to the founding myths of Portugal, like the symbol of the five quinas given by Christ as a transference of his «stigmata», a more noble and elevated symbol than the lions, the hydras and the eagles (of Rome and Austria, for example) of other royal houses, to the first Portuguese King Afonso as a predestination of the Portuguese nation's mission in the world's spiritual redemption, the triumph of catholic religion and an hieroglyph of faith⁴⁸. The sonnet, the added «subscription», reminds the challenges of the Portuguese nation, the overcomed Spanish and Moors, and resumes the number five, as a divine cypher, both as a founding symbol — the five *quinas* — and as a destiny, the fifth empire⁴⁹. The pontifical or papal coat of arms shows the three crowned tiara and the golden and silver keys of Peter that substituted in Rome the pagan symbols for the triumph of the catholic religion that consecrated the Portuguese nation through his first King Afonso and all his successors that spread the Christian faith to his empire. Again, as it happened with the comparisons between Lisbon and Rome, all the arguments are ingeniously worked in favour of the Portuguese nation culminating in the persons of King John V and Queen Marianna of Austria.

⁴³ ALCIATO, 2003: 100. Alciato's emblem 108 «Vis Amoris» («The power of love») side note reference has no relation with the text mentions to Hercules, which is approached in emblems 58, 101, 129, 136, 137 and 179. Hercules, which is approached in emblems 58, 101, 129, 136, 137 and 179.

⁴⁴ FERREIRA, 1709: 27.

⁴⁵ FERREIRA, 1709: 28 (author's translation).

⁴⁶ FERREIRA, 1709: 28 (author's translation).

⁴⁷ FERREIRA, 1709: 37.

⁴⁸ FERREIRA, 1709: 33.

⁴⁹ FERREIRA, 1709: 34.



Fig. 4. Pontifical coat of arms, detail of Italian's Arch Source: Lavanha.1622. https://purl.pt/28507



Fig. 5. Portuguese coat of arms, detail of Italian's Arch Source: Lavanha.1622.31 https://purl.pt/28507

Returning to the conceit of the arches, «arrogant factories that had inscriptions, emblems and hieroglyphs as tongues and voices to expose their profound ideas», or as «languages to speak to the eyes of the world»⁵⁰ superseding the Romans with their inscriptions the first Egyptian's mute hieroglyphs, Leitão Ferreira recalling Tesauro's Cannocchiale Aristotelico⁵¹ takes the example of the ancient Romans to now *paint* and *sculpt* his arch with inscriptions, emblems, titles and images to express high subtleties, profound allusions and rare conceits⁵² through two symbols and seven emblems of mixed order dedicated to the wedding vows and triumph of their majesties. Inspired in Piero Valeriano⁵³ and Vicenzo Cartari⁵⁴, where the pentalpha is a symbol of health, the first symbol, Public Felicity, consists in a pentalpha, a five pointed star in red (of joy and colour of the house of Austria) and green (of hope and the Portuguese House of Braganza) with the Latin words «Publica Salus» (that the author translates as «Public Safety» and not «Public Health», reinforcing his message of peace), from which the five Alfas stand for the five «A» of the name mAriAnA of AustriA connected to her spouse, the fifth King John. This is a very ingenious way to build a cypher with symbolic colours and a geometric figure associated with letters transforming the whole set in a kind of symbolic writing. Equally inspired in Valeriano and Cartari, in which both the serpent is also a symbol of health («salus»)⁵⁵,

⁵⁴ CARTARI, 1571.

⁵⁰ FERREIRA, 1709: 38-39 (author's translation).

⁵¹ TESAURO, 1670.

⁵² FERREIRA, 1709: 39.

⁵³ VALERIANO, 1617: 636.

⁵⁵ CARTARI, 1571: 91.

the second symbol, *Eternity*, is pictured as the *Ouroborus*⁵⁶ the serpent that eats its tail with the Latin numbers (CCCLXV) of the 365 days of the year with the Latin epigraph «Inclusi expectant» («awaiting closed») meaning an endless perpetuity of the life and happiness of the sovereigns, the same vows wished by the young Janus. The side note of Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 6, reinforces the idea of life after death, the transformation of Eneas from Trojan to Roman after the ritual passages of *Orcos* to reach the *Elysium*. One possible reading from the association of the Pentalpha (Public Felicity/Safety) and the *Ouroborus* (Eternity) is that from on one hand Leitão Ferreira associates the King and Queen to the symbols of eternity to the assurance of public safety, as if the King's success and eternal destiny of Portugal as a kingdom has to be achieved using of a wise and safe government that keeps his subjects safe and happy.

Finally Leitão Ferreira describes the seven emblems (entitled Emblem 1 to 6 and Last Emblem) composed by a «pictura», a short Latin «subscription» and a Portuguese paraphrase. The first two emblems were placed at the both sides of the Lusitanian coat of arms painting as a complement with a related meaning. The body of Emblem 1 describes *a* vigilant dragon with a golden snitch or apple in his claws alluding to the fable of the garden of the Hesperides (the «nymphs of the west» also named Atlantídes, because they are the daughters of Titan Atlas⁵⁷ and in this way connecting geographically Portugal with the garden of Hesperides) whose trees produced the apples of gold watched by the dragon (the King's house of Braganza ensign), symbolizing the kingdom of Portugal, garden of Europe, producer of the gold of Brazil that offers symbolically the golden apple to the Austrian Queen as a prize for exceeding Juno, Pallas, Venus in majesty, wisdom and beauty. The second emblem on the left hand side of the royal shield showed two crowned palm trees⁵⁸, equal in size having the trunks linked by a chain of flowers, an allusion to the monarchs' matrimony, recalling the Natural History of Pliny that tells how the palms when parted dye and when together grow and bear fruits, symbolizing also the palm tree, in Horapollo⁵⁹, the hieroglyph of the fruitful times. The symbolism of the palm tree is based on the works of Cartari and Picinelli's Mondo Simbolico (Symbolic World)60.

⁵⁶ The serpent *Ouroborus* connected with time and immortality in his emblematic expression can be found in Alciato's emblem 132 «Ex litterarum studiis immortalitatem» (2003: 63) and later on in Juan de Borja's *empresa* 30 «Omnia Vorat» (1581: 66-67). Piero Valeriano (1617: 173-174) in 1556 differentiates the serpent that eats or swallows its tail as a symbol of the «machina mundi», the machine of the world, and the serpent that hides his tail under the throat as a symbol of time and immortality, a distinction probably taken from Horapolo as we can see in the first pages of the French translation of 1543 (*Orusapollo de aegypte, de la signification des notes Hieroglyphiques des Aegyptiens* [...] (1543), Paris: Jacques Keruer.)

⁵⁷ GRAVES, 2013: 234-245; GRIMAL, 2016: 264-265.

⁵⁸ The palm tree motive is a common one in emblematic literature. (See for example the «pictura» of two bare (crownless) palm trees depicted in Daniel de la Feuille's *Devises et Emblémes* (1691), p. 19, devise 13, with the *motto* «the same affection joins us».

⁵⁹ FERREIRA, 1709: 43.

⁶⁰ CARTARI, 1571; PICINELLI, 1653.

The third and fourth emblems were put side by side the Pontifical coat of arms: the first representing two hearts united under the same crown and both pierced by one single arrow, symbolizing the love between the consorts united under the same monarchy, being the Italian arch the first trophy raised to celebrate the monarchs' love and union. Virgil's *Aeneid* expression «Vivit sub pectore vulnis»⁶¹ as the only side note to this emblem, remembering to the mind of the reader of the growing passion of Queen Dido for Aeneas, transfers to the text a dramatic tone. The fourth emblem showed a rainbow whose extremities emerged from weapons and military insignia laying on the ground, signifying the rainbow the sign of serenity after the heavy rain and also the rainbow's arch standing as a hieroglyph of peace that triumphs over the war that rages in most kingdoms of Europe, enhanced by the royal wedding's occasion that raises the hope of serenity in troubled times.

The fifth, sixth and seventh emblems were painted in the interior of the «portico» (porch). The fifth emblem, taken from Pliny's *Natural History*⁶² pictured a royal eagle, symbol of the house of Austria and representing the Queen Marianna, facing Cupid (without his blindfold), and both staring at the sun, sign of the King. Cupid aims his bow and golden arrow to the sun, wounding the King with the love of his consort. The sixth emblem also pictures an eagle, the bird of Jove, carrying in its claws a bow and an arrow, the weapon of Cupid's triumph that are transferred to the Queen symbolized by the eagle. Reinforcing the idea of peace and love over terror and war, the side note reference to Horace's Odes⁶³, developed in the text, explains that the eagle that gave the Vulcan's war rays to Jove is now using the weapons of love with the Portuguese Jove, which is King John V. The last emblem on the portico's roof showed Fame, in a timid attitude with folded wings, facing a mirror in her left hand symbolizing the truth of her messages and on the right hand holding a golden clarion or trumpet, with no ears and full of eyes, signifying that she had only eyes to witness the magnificence of the royal court of Lisbon and no ears because nothing that she could hear could be compared to this triumph that she would spread with truth to the world. The example of Fame is taken from the Os Lusíadas of Camões, Virgil's Aeneid and Ovid's Metamorphoses and shown in the side notes but this Fame represented by Leitão Ferreira is suspended and absorbed, instead of open wings she has folded ones, instead of many ears to spread what she had heard she had only eyes to witness the truth of the greatness of King John V's Lisbon Court, a statement corroborated by the symbol of the mirror taken from Filippo Picinelli's Mondo Simbolico⁶⁴.

⁶¹ VIRGIL, 1981: book 4, 67.

⁶² FERREIRA, 1709: 45.

⁶³ FERREIRA, 1709: 48.

⁶⁴ PICINELLI, 1653.

As a conclusion we should point out, as innovating issues, that the Idea concentrates its speech on revealing the conceit of the Arch instead of the occasion in itself and also that the author of symbolic and emblematic contents applied to architectural ephemeral structures is simultaneously the narrator of his creation. Leitão Ferreira shows us the process of the mind construction and expression of applied emblematics and symbolic themes to ephemeral architecture in which everything has a meaning and a purpose explained by the author, giving the reader all the keys to decipher the images which in some way conditions but certainly enriches the reader's interpretation. In the path of Humanistic tradition, we are before the baroque style full of wit an rhetoric resources that in one hand bases some of his messages on the meaning of the emblems of Saavedra Fajardo and Alciato but then constructs his own emblems, conceiving them from the source, from the works of the symbolic tradition, such as Piero Valeriano, Vicenzo Cartari or Cesar Ripa, supported by emotional hints or references to the classic literature such as Virgil and Horace to dramatize and add second readings and meanings, such as the importance to assure justice and peace to the country. The iconological and symbolic expressions of his conceits are exposed in an unfolding and chained ingenious relation of attributes and symbols showing how wit and spirit can be worked in parallel meanings. The author uses emblems, attributes and symbols as a form of «writing», and also, in the case of the emblems as an image with straight or veiled referential meaning, changing and adapting the iconographic signs to convey a message, a *political* statement of appealing to a just and wise government and peace, going beyond a simple conventional panegyric or praising decoration relating to the royal power representation and the wedding celebration. And this may perhaps justify the absence of paratextual introductory complementary texts or inquisitorial licenses which, to be intentional and not accidental for any editing of printing mistakes, might show a strange or compromised silence in fear of association with such open interference to the King's ruling. In the footsteps of Tesauro⁶⁵, Leitão Ferreira bases his emblematic and symbolic constructions in conceits or ideas, being the conceit, and not the text, the soul of the emblem. In the *Idea* is very interesting to see how he assembles and also unfolds a series of ingenious and witty conceits through an ekphrastic speech full of mythological, historical, literary, emblematic and symbolic references in a metaphorical translation of meaning from a series of attributes or hieroglyphs that he uses as a kind of significant logo-iconical language, reaping in Horapollo, Piero Valeriano, Emanuelle Tesauro, Cesare Ripa, Vicenzo Cartari, Andrea Alciato, Saavedra Fajardo, Luís de Camões and padre António Vieira, among others, his source of inspiration to conceive the conceits of the exaltation of the Portuguese monarchy and of the emblematic and symbolic construction of the royal power based on the heroicity tempered by reason and having as ultimate goals justice, loyalty and the

⁶⁵ TESAURO, 1670.

love of subjets. The *Idea* of Leitão Ferreira is a kind of a *lecture* to the King and to the world of the supreme values of peace, justice and wise royal government having in its construction and enunciation many of the principles that would integrate the *New Art of Conceits*, the master work of Leitão Ferreira, only ten years later.

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