

Urte Krass

The Portuguese Restoration of 1640 and Its Global Visualization

Political Iconography and Transcultural Negotiation

Amsterdam
University
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and Its Global Visualization



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Introduction

Abstract: The introduction sets up the framework for the following chapters. It outlines the circumstances that led to the uprising of 1 December 1640 in Lisbon and presents the book's fundamental questions and premises related to visual anthropology. These include the meanings and terminologies of Baroque visualizations as well as transcontinental communication processes in the period under investigation. The book is situated in the methodological field of political iconography and anchored in transcultural art history. Theories of "iconic knowledge," "image action," and the "decentralization of Europe" are introduced as heuristic tools for the book. The introduction also discusses the status of heterogeneous and multidirectionally moving images as either products of cultural translation, "wandering" or "circulating" images, or even "image vehicles" (Aby Warburg).

Keywords: political iconography, transcultural art history, visual culture, decentering of Europe, cultural translation, circulation

Why do human beings produce images? And what do these images actually accomplish? Now as before, art historians and a range of theorists work under the weight of these basic questions. In this book, I hope to illuminate the complex, dynamic processes that were foundational for the global movement of images at a specific time. My historical focus will be on the 1640 Lisbon coup d'état and its visualization in Portugal and its overseas colonial territories. What image worlds emerged in connection with this political caesura? How were these worlds intertwined? What agency could they develop?

On 1 December 1640, a group of Portuguese higher nobility (*fidalgos*, the "sons of someone," *filis d'algo*) put an end to Spain's rule of Portugal, which had begun in 1580. In the early morning hours, we read, a group of allegedly exactly forty conspirators gathered to execute the long-planned coup. They killed and then defenestrated the hated state secretary, Miguel de Vasconcelos, imprisoned the Spanish vicereine of Portugal, Margaret of Savoy, and declared the powerful Duke John II of Braganza

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(1604–1656) as the new king. He entered Lisbon on 6 December, and on 15 December he was sworn in as King John IV of Portugal.¹

There were many reasons for the Portuguese revolt of 1 December 1640.² Since 1580, Portugal had been joined to the Spanish kingdoms within the Iberian Union. On 31 January 1580 the last ruler in the House of Avis, Henry I, died, at which point Philip II of Spain laid claim to the Portuguese crown. As Philip I of Portugal, he pledged far-reaching autonomy to the Portuguese; but his descendents, Philip III and IV (= Philip II and III of Portugal) increasingly reneged on these promises.

Various Portuguese authors of the period were scandalized by the fact that King Philip was not Portuguese and thus not a *rei natural*. One of the greatest humiliations for, above all, the *fidalgos*, was Lisbon's degradation through the Iberian Union from a city of royal residence to a provincial capital; this development also meant a provincializing of the Portuguese nobility.³ Starting around 1610, Castile systematically infiltrated the Portuguese administration, leading to growing resentment in Portugal. The appointment of the Princess of Savoy as vicereine of Portugal in 1634 further worsened the atmosphere. Moreover, the Spanish Crown wished to conscript Portuguese soldiers for military confrontations with France, the Netherlands, and Catalonia. The Catalan revolt that took place in June 1640 in Barcelona and the proclamation of a Catalan republic sapped Spain's troops, stirring Portuguese hopes that a revolt of their own was possible. French assurance of support for such a move and an affirmative Jesuit attitude gave impetus to plans for a coup d'état. That this revolt succeeded was above all due to John IV receiving vociferous backing from the Portuguese nobility, together with support from the other estates as well.

The coup d'état was only the Restoration's start. The war against Spain that followed would end after nearly three decades with the Peace of Lisbon in 1668.

1 Fundamental studies of the topic are Edouardo d'Oliveira França, *Portugal na época da Restauração* (1951), São Paulo 1997; Rafael Valladares, *A independência de Portugal. Guerra e Restauração 1640–1680*, Lisbon 2006; Gabriel Espírito Santo, *A grande estratégia de Portugal na Restauração 1640–1668*, Casal de Cambra 2009; and David Lewis Tengwall, *The Portuguese Revolution (1640–1668): A European War of Freedom and Independence*, New York 2010.

2 Throughout I will avoid using the term “revolution” as not appropriate for the Lisbon events of 1640. Ilan Rachum, *Revolution: The Entrance of a New Word into Western Political Discourse*, Lanham 1999, has examined the history and etymology of the term in detail from its beginning in Italy until the French Revolution. See also David R. Como, “God's Revolutions: England, Europe, and the Concept of Revolution in the Mid-seventeenth Century,” in Keith Michael Baker and Dan Edelstein (eds.), *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*, Stanford 2015, 41–56. On the Portuguese events, see João André de Araújo Faria, “A ‘restauracao de Portugal prodigiosa,’ ‘milagres’ e politica no reinado de D. João IV,” in *ANPUH-XXV simpósio nacional de história*, Fortaleza 2009, https://anpuh.org.br/uploads/anais-simpósios/pdf/2019-01/1548772189_47dfddc1c166d014eeb7eda296f6e23d.pdf; Jean-Frédéric Schaub, *Portugal na Monarquia Hispânica*, Lisbon 2001.

3 França, *Portugal na época da Restauração*, 130.



The revolt led to significant changes in the political structure of both Portugal and Europe. At the same time, the process of upheaval and realignment extended overseas, with the global power equilibrium having to be balanced anew. The “aristocratic monarchy” established in Portugal after 1640 was itself marked by inner imbalance and the permanent pressure to legitimate itself. Skillful diplomacy was necessary, and ambassadors were sent early on to the courts of those European states from which support was hoped, above all France and England. Here, and also during negotiations leading to the Peace of Westphalia, images were deployed intensively. The period after 1640 was characterized by a quest to define a specifically “Brigantine” iconography and experimentation with different pictorial practices and visual media.

A mere two hours after storming the palace on 1 December, the rebels streamed onto its square and loudly announced what had happened, so that finally, in the words of an early chronicler, “one cry could be heard articulated from countless mouths, announcing Portugal’s wondrous restoration to the whole city, the whole empire, and the whole world.”⁴ The global acclamation was, to be sure, not as speedy as the chronicler asserts. For example, it only reached the Portuguese residents of Macau, an administrative district of Portugal under Chinese sovereign authority, in late May 1642—a full seventeen months after the Lisbon event. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the Lisbon chronicler in his early report had his eye on *todo o mundo* as the acclamation’s addressee.

Decisive for a revolution’s success is the quick and comprehensive distribution of information and propaganda.⁵ Even the Portuguese Restoration’s protagonists were aware of this. As soon as news of the successful revolt reached Vila Viçosa, the Duke of Braganza’s ancestral seat, messengers were sent out to the Alentejo and other Portuguese regions.⁶ They were also promptly sent to the overseas territories ruled by Portugal in an effort to gain an information advantage over the Spaniards, something that had existential importance for Portuguese merchants and officials stationed overseas. Without what Birgit Mersmann has described as the “devastating thrill of speed” connected to present-day electronic media,⁷ during the “first globalization,”

4 Anon., *Relação de tudo o que passou na felice aclamação do mui alto e mui poderoso Rei Dom João o quarto*, Lisbon: Lourenço de Anveres 1641, 23, “Voou pelo ares ua voz articulada por infinitas bocas, a qual publicou a toda a cidade, a todo o reino e a todo o mundo a maravilhosa restauração de Portugal.”

5 Kay Kirchmann and Marcus Sandl, “Einleitung,” in Sven Grampp, Kay Kirchmann et al. (eds.), *Revolutionsmedien—Medienrevolutionen*, Konstanz 2008, 9–18, here 10.

6 José Baptista Barreiros, *A propósito da aclamação de D. João IV em Braga, edição da Delegação da Sociedade histórica da Independência de Portugal*, Braga 1964.

7 Birgit Mersmann, “(Fern-)Verkehr der Bilder. Mediologie als methodischer Brückenschlag zwischen Bild- und Übersetzungswissenschaft,” in Birgit Mersmann and Thomas Weber (eds.), *Mediologie als Methode*, Berlin 2008, 149–67, esp. 162–63.

the difficulty in gaining such an advantage naturally lay in successfully arranging any transmission processes over enormous spatial and temporal distance. One of my aims in these chapters is to describe both the communicative processes that were developed and the role played by the images specifically deployed in this back and forth between the “home” territory and the colonies.

In this respect, I will first and foremost be scrutinizing the political use of images in Portugal and its overseas territories during and after the 1640 Restoration—this book being intended not only as an exploration of Early Modern communication circuits, but also as a contribution to the research field of political iconography: a field concerned with the visible shaping of political ideas in the pictorial arts and the function of images in political contexts.⁸ This will involve connecting questions dealt with by the well-established research field of the political iconography of Early Modernity with more recent approaches emerging from transcultural art history and visual (cultural) studies. My arguments will thereby widen a political perspective still most often centered on European contexts, while at the same time addressing a gap in the landscape of Early Modern art history: a discipline with a stronger underlying interest in religious, mercantile, and humanistic transfer processes of sacred and profane artifacts than their use for political goals.⁹

To what extent did visualizations contribute to the success of this momentous coup? What tasks did they fulfill in Lisbon and Portugal in general? What tasks in the distribution and interpretation of news within Europe and the extra-European portions of the Portugal-ruled world? What role did they play in the reflection upon, interpretation of, and enduring promulgation of the new political situation in places located far from where the coup transpired? How was the dilemma of having to both demonstrate dynastic continuity and a new beginning resolved through images and their distribution? Interconnected with such questions is that of the extent to which visualizations of the Restoration contributed to a long-term anchoring of (proto-)national narratives in collective memory. Images, of course, tell one story, while their distribution and reception often bespeak more complex modes of communication, interpretation and formation of ideas.

8 Martin Warnke, “Politische Ikonographie,” in Jean Arrouye and Andreas Beyer (eds.), *Die Lesbarkeit der Kunst. Zur Geistesgegenwart der Ikonologie*, Berlin 1992, 23–28; Martin Warnke, “Politische Ikonographie. Hinweise auf eine sichtbare Politik,” in Claus Leggewie (ed.), *Wozu Politikwissenschaft? Über das Neue in der Politik*, Darmstadt 1994, 170–78; Forschungsstelle Politische Ikonographie (ed.), *Bildindex zur Politischen Ikonographie. Mit einer Einführung von Martin Warnke*, 2nd ed., Hamburg 1996.

9 Examples for more recent studies and article collections: Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542–1773*, Toronto 1999; Margit Kern, *Transkulturelle Imaginationen des Opfers in der Frühen Neuzeit. Übersetzungsprozesse zwischen Mexiko und Europa*, Berlin and Munich 2013; Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (eds.), *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, Leiden 2017.



Against this conceptual backdrop, my initial concern will be to explore the meaning of “visualizations” in our specific context—that term comprising all visual media used in the Restoration period to render the change of power visible—inquiring into their functions and impact in light of their specific context of creation and reception. The visualizations we will consider include church façades and façade sculptures, printed pictures, and the work of goldsmiths, new buildings whose architectural language was meant to visualize the new dynasty, royal portraits (printed and painted), the *castrum doloris* designed for John IV’s funeral, and even the moon, which in one case served as an image carrier. I will look closely at complex iconographic inventions aimed at undergirding the new dynasty with images, as well as at Indian ivory figures manufactured in large quantities and oil paintings with Brigantine themes that made their way into the collections of the coup conspirators. In both Portugal and its colonies, magnificent pageants with their ephemeral architecture, masquerades, theatrical performances, tableaux vivants, and fireworks served to visualize the Restoration. Especially detailed reports about these multimedia events have come down to us from Cochin and Macau. But visualizations in the Portuguese colonial empire’s contact zones were not only of an ephemeral nature. Far from Lisbon, we also find more stable manifestations of a heuristic effort to make the new power relations visible. Hence we will look closely at two Restoration wall hangings or bedspreads (*colchas*) manufactured in Hugli (Bengal), and at a newly discovered providentialist treatise from Goa, which exists today in two versions; it is clear that the many ink drawings accompanying the treatise are from the hand of an Indian artist.

Despite the wide range of visual media comprising the Portuguese Restoration’s heterogeneous and globally wide-reaching image world, it is important to maintain a “micro-perspective” awareness of how individual examples functioned (or were intended to function). For as Monica Juneja has observed, the real difficulty of globally oriented art history lies in tying the macro-perspective with locally oriented case studies. In the face of all the interest in the general denouement of transcultural processes, art history cannot do without the “descent into the local,” with concomitant analysis of each specific imbroglio of actors, cultural practices, and temporal conditions.¹⁰

10 The word “descent” is used in a value-neutral way, as the idea is of a gaze that “sinks downward” from a bird’s-eye perspective in order to perceive microcosms. See Monica Juneja, “Tracking the Routes of Vision in Early Modern Eurasia,” in Karin Gludovatz, Juliane Noth, and Joachim Rees (eds.), *The Itineraries of Art: Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia*, Paderborn 2015, 57–83, here 58, “It becomes necessary therefore to move beyond metaphors or umbrella terms such as cultural flows, hybridity, or any cognate, deployed to capture the exchanges transgressing cultural, linguistic, and material boundaries. In other words, macroperspectives need to be supplemented by a descent into the thicket of localities—urban and rural, past and present, central and at the margins—in which the dynamics of actual encounters



An intermeshing of macro- and micro-perspectives allows us to explore the broad range of functions allotted to the image world of the Portuguese Restoration; at the same time the bird's-eye perspective offers a basis for understanding and comparing nearly synchronous Restoration visualizations unfolding across different continents and political constellations. The precondition for synthesizing the multiplicities of images that circulated in the globally linked, but locally specific Lusitanian world(s) of the seventeenth century, is an open and unbiased approach to image-related phenomena of all possible sorts: an approach, let us note, that corresponds quite closely to that widely manifest in the European Baroque.¹¹

In its effort to address the questions outlined above, including the full spectrum of objects of material and visual culture as well as the expansion of our perspective to include non-European spaces and actors, this book aims to contribute to a much larger, ongoing project: the development of a transcultural disciplinary framework for studying images. From the meanwhile strongly differentiated art historical methodological tool chest, I make use of various approaches whose deployment is appropriate in respect to the objects being studied. For example, in the case of the engravings in the *Lusitania Liberata* discussed in chapter 7, applying traditional iconographical analysis appears most appropriate, while in respect to the acclamation festivities discussed in chapter 5, more contemporary approaches to media and mediation, like Régis Debray's "mediology" seem especially fruitful. According to Debray, the transmission of images (or rituals that incorporate them) into different regional and sociological contexts, to recipients whose ideational and imagistic worlds are divergent, can only succeed when it unfolds in a processual way. Transmission does not work in the form of a mere "transplantation."¹² We can thus move along with Debray in inquiring into the sustainability of such processual transmission in the context of the colonial-territory acclamation spectacle. When, however, a Fortuna with a broken wheel surfaces as a tableau vivant during a Restoration celebration in Cochin, then it becomes apparent that even in the framework of transmission processes "classical" iconographic traditions play a significant role. All told, in

involving a host of actors, practices, and temporalities can be unravelled." See also Monica Juneja, "Die Madonna des indischen Hofkünstlers Basawan. Eine transkulturelle Bilderreise," in Kristin Marek and Martin Schulz (eds.), *Kanon Kunstgeschichte, Neuzeit*, Paderborn 2015, 239–59.

11 See Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Imago. La cultura visual y figurativa del Barroco*, Madrid 2009. For a detailed definition from the period of what a *figura* is, see the work of the Franciscan Antonius de Serpa, *Eucharisticae Chronologiae ab ipso mundo condito, Per figuras legis naturae depictae et enarratae* [...], 2 vols., Paris: Gabriel Cramoisy 1648, vol. 1, 4–47, "De quidditate, definitione, & divisione Figurarum." See also Michael Yonan, "Towards a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," in *West 86th* 18:2 (2011), 232–48. My approach goes beyond Yonan's in considering ephemeral visualizations.

12 Régis Debray, *Introduction à la médiologie*, Paris 2000, 133. See also idem, *Media Manifestos: On the Technological Transmission of Cultural Forms*, trans. Eric Rauth, London and New York 1996, *passim*.



analyzing each specific strategy of visualization, I will be making use of a variety of methods—this for the sake of doing justice to the heterogeneity of the broad historical picture I am presenting.

Disciplinary Positions

In recent decades, considerable work has emerged on the visual image's epistemological potential—a potential grounded precisely in its visibility.¹³ In generating meaning, images can contribute to the legitimation of existing social and political orders. They are shaped by the cultural system to which they belong, while at the same time actively participating in shaping that system.¹⁴ In the same manner, they are able to call structures of meaning into question and undo existing hierarchies.

In this respect, the potential of visual images is at a remove from that of various forms of verbal expression. A long time ago, Ernst Gombrich pointed to the capacity of images “to convey information that cannot be coded in any other way,”¹⁵ a capacity that has been defined in terms of “iconic knowledge.” Visual images have a salient role in the process of social communication, because such iconic knowledge can usually “demonstrate the existence of a thing more credibly than linguistic-symbolic knowledge.”¹⁶ This demonstrative or deictic potential gains special significance in situations where nonverbal communication is prevalent: in the processes of negotiation between two or more cultures, visual language is sometimes the more efficient way to impart a specific value system and set of ideas to one's interlocutors—and to dominate them, as the case may be. But importantly, we should not assume a sweeping capacity “to directly and correctly recognize images produced worldwide”—assume, that is, that images function as a kind of universal language. On the contrary, art historians need to appeal for a type of seeing stamped by cultural context.¹⁷

13 Dieter Mersch, “Aspekte visueller Epistemologie. Zur Logik des Ikonischen,” in Philipp Stoellger and Marco Gutjahr (eds.), *Visuelles Wissen. Ikonische Prägnanz und Deutungsmacht*, Würzburg 2014, 43–66.

14 Lena Liepe, “On the Epistemology of Images,” in Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (eds.), *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, Turnhout 2003, 415–30, here 424.

15 Ernst Gombrich, “The Visual Image: Its Place in Communication,” in idem, *The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Oxford 1982, 143.

16 Andreas Schelske, “Visuell kommunikatives Handeln mittels Bildern,” in Klaus Sachs-Hombach (ed.), *Bildhandeln. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Pragmatik bildhafter Darstellungsformen*, Magdeburg 2001, 149–58, here 155. On medial differentiation, see Régis Debray, *Vie et mort de l'image. Une histoire du regard en Occident*, Paris 1991, passim.

17 Ulrich Pfisterer, “Kunstgeschichte als Geister-Wissenschaft,” in Dieter Lampning (ed.), *Geisteswissenschaft heute. Die Sicht der Fächer*, Stuttgart 2015, 22–41, here 25f.



In focusing on the problem of how images concretely perform their functions, I wish to align my arguments with a pragmatic framework acknowledging their capacity “to maintain, warn against, forbid, demand, inform about” something.¹⁸ One of the basic tasks in a pragmatic and linguistics-inspired approach to images is to analyze these different communicative dimensions.¹⁹ In this regard, a circular model marked by eight basic image types has been proposed, each tied to a separate function: “surrogate images (simulative function), trace images (registrative function), reflective images (mimetic function), decorative images (decorative function), filling images (phatic function), clip images (ontic function), push images (appellative function), and effective images (energetic function).”²⁰ While the intention of the “image maker” is here already “slotted,” it is also possible “that an image, produced on the basis of a specific intention and in a specific function, later frees itself from these semantic chains and takes on another status (image careers).”²¹ Some doubts exist as to whether this systematization, like other attempts to approach image functioning in terms of a single schema, does justice to the broad variety of images and their overlapping functions: images do not move within a static environment but have functions that change according to the situation—something particularly evident in processes of migration and circulation.

This notwithstanding, the categories listed above have resonance for my approach in this book. In particular, the question of whether “effective” images exert independent power over observers points to the controversial research field of “image action” whose premises will be explored in light of the Lisbon revolt. For at the revolt’s apogee, we observe an image of Christ taking on “life,” sanctioning the unfolding events through its action. Although this serves as an example of what Horst Bredekamp has termed a “schematic” image act,²² I do not follow his argument that some images dispose of recipient-independent agency. It is rather observing human beings—beholders—who ascribe such a “strange potential

18 Klaus Sachs-Hombach, “Bild und Prädikation,” in idem (ed.), *Bildhandeln*, 55–76, here 72. I am following Charles W. Morris’s definition of pragmatics as “that portion of semiotics which deals with the origin, uses, and effects of signs within the behavior in which they occur.” See Charles W. Morris, *Signs, Language, and Behavior*, New York 1946, 219. See also Debray, *Vie et mort de l’image*.

19 Sachs-Hombach, op. cit.

20 Christian Doelker, “Ein Funktionenmodell für Bildtexte,” in Hombach (ed.), *Bildhandeln*, 29–39; Christian Doelker, *Bild-Bildung. Grundzüge einer Semiotik des Visuellen*, Elsau 2015.

21 Doelker, “Ein Funktionenmodell,” 30. See also Gombrich, “Visual Image,” 1982, 144, addressing what he sees as the fact that “an image’s effect is quite independent of the intention of its maker.”

22 Horst Bredekamp, *Theorie des Bildakts. Frankfurter Adorno-Vorlesungen*, Berlin 2007, 101–69; idem, “The Picture Act: Tradition, Horizon, Philosophy,” in Sabine Marienberg and Jürgen Trabant (eds.), *Bildakt at the Warburg Institute*, Berlin 2014, 3–32.



for action” to images (in this case a crucifix on a crozier)²³; it is consistently the human being who animates the image, sometimes in an extreme manner. This fact aligns my own approach with the measured position of Caroline van Eck.²⁴ Still, as W. J. T. Mitchell has suggested, images “are not simply passive entities that coexist with their human hosts, any more than the microorganisms that dwell in our intestines. They change the way we think and see and dream. They refunction our memories and imaginations, bringing new criteria and new desires into the world.”²⁵ Mitchell’s starting point is the fact that we face images from a magical, premodern position, for even today we experience images as taking on lives of their own, “as potentially destructive forces that seduce us and lead us astray,” and thus as entities existing in contexts of action. But this does not mean that images per se become alive or animated. Rather, they are manifest to us in certain situations as “quasi-agents”—the task of specialists in images being to reconstruct the processes through which “animated beings” are produced within human experience.²⁶

Human beings are thus capable of activating images and investing them as what Bruno Latour terms “actants.”²⁷ In the course of this book I will try to differentiate this dynamic historically and regionally: to inquire into differences in the use and perception of images emerging through the complex process of transcultural contact and transfer, and into the role played here by the specific formal constitution of individual artifacts and visualizations. Just as it makes sense to take account of the specific factors informing the political-iconological approach to seventeenth-century visual images (in distinction, for instance, to that manifest in the previous century), it is important to ask ourselves whether coeval, for example, Indo-Portuguese works “act” or are instrumentalized in different ways than its Iberian and European counterparts.

The Impact of Images in Revolutions

The seventeenth century enjoys the reputation of being one of the most turbulent and crisis-stamped centuries of European history, a century of revolutions.²⁸ The

23 Frederik “How Do Pictures Act? Two Semiotic Aspects of Picture Activity,” in Ulrike Feist and Markus Rath (eds.), *Et in imagine ego. Facetten von Bildakt und Verkörperung. Festgabe für Horst Bredekamp*, Berlin 2012, 19–26, here 19.

24 Caroline van Eck, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object*, Leiden 2015.

25 W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago 2005, 92.

26 *Ibid.*, 46.

27 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*, Oxford 2005.

28 E. J. Hobsbawm, “The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century,” in *Past & Present* 5/6 (1954), 5–58; Geoffrey Parker and Lesley M. Smith (eds.), *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century*, London 1978.



Portuguese Restoration can itself only be properly understood in the context of other revolts against the Spanish Habsburg monarchy.²⁹ At the same time, however, Portugal of 1640 was a point of crystallization for very specific historical processes of upheaval tied to questions of national identity, political providentialism, and major narratives within salvational eschatology.

For this book's context, to name exactly what transpired on 1 December 1640 plays only a negligible role: whether it was a revolt, a coup d'état, or a revolution.³⁰ It is perhaps noteworthy that already at the time, terminological interpretive supremacy was negotiated, and corresponding narratives were established. In early Portuguese reports, the events are frequently referred to as a *levantamento*,³¹ and the term *Restauração* was also introduced at an early date. From the outset, great care was taken to nuance the event's nomenclature. The brother of John IV, Dom Duarte de Bragança (1605–1649), who after 1 December was detained in Regensburg at the Spanish king's instigation and then was arrested first in Passau, then in Graz,³² noted that talk should be not of a rebellion but a *restauração* or *recuperação*. Or “outros nomes semelhantes”—other similar names—should be found.³³ The term *desunione* was likewise brought into play.³⁴

Revolutions and political uprisings in general represent a special “laboratory” for considering the effects of a broad range of images. For a long time,

29 The first author to essay a wide-ranging comparison was Roger Bigelow Merriman, *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions*, Glasgow 1937; see also Jean-Frédéric Schaub, “La crise Hispanique de 1640. Le modèle des ‘révolutions périphériques’ en question,” in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 1 (1994), 223–27; Jonathan Israel, *Conflicts of Empires: Spain, the Low Countries and the Struggle for World Supremacy, 1585–1713*, London 1997; Alain Hugon and Alexandra Merle (eds.), *Soulèvements, révoltes, révolutions dans l'Empire des Habsbourg d'Espagne, XVI–XVIIe siècle*, Madrid 2016.

30 Robert Forster and Jack P. Greene, *Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Baltimore 1970, classify the seventeenth-century European revolts according to type, placing the Portuguese case in the “secessionist coup d'état” category. On the “large lexical variation in classifying disorders,” see also Hugon and Merle, “Introduction,” in *ibid.* (eds.), *Soulèvements*, 1–7, here 1; Tengwall, *The Portuguese Revolution*.

31 António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, “O primeiro mês da Restauração contado em carta inédita de João Pinto Ribeiro a Vasco de Andrade,” in *Congresso do Mundo Português*, vol. 7, Lisbon 1940, 115–36, 133–34, 127, 133.

32 José Ramos Coelho, *História do Infante D. Duarte, irmão de El-Rei D. João IV*, 2 vols., Lisbon 1889.

33 Leonor Freire Costa and M. Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV*, Lisbon 2008, 200. See also Pedro Cardim, “‘Portuguese Rebels’ at Münster: The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in Mid-17th Century European Politics,” in *Historische Zeitschrift* 26 (1998), 293–333.

34 Costa and da Cunha, *D. João IV*, 201. The term is present in the title of Giovan Battista Birago Avogaro's *Historia della disunione del regno di Portogallo dalla corona di Castiglia*, Amsterdam 1647. In the German translation of the Italian, the more neutral *Veränderung*, “change,” was chosen: *Die grosse Veränderung im Königreich Portugall vermittelt deren selbige Krone mit allen zugehörenden gewaltigen Plätzen und Landen in Europa, Affrica, Ost- und West-Indien im 1640. Jahr von dem König zu Hispanien Philippo IV. auff den Herzogen von Braganza, Don Joan IV. gebracht worden. Aus dem Italiänischen Ioannis Babtistae Birago in Teutsch übersetzt*, n.p. 1653.



images created in revolutionary periods were seen as constituting a phenomenon subsequent to the political events. Hence in his *Anatomy of Revolution* of 1938, Crane Brinton limited the function of both postrevolutionary images and symbols to enabling social cohesion through their omnipresence.³⁵ The function of community formation is doubtless a crucial aspect of visual culture linked to political upheaval, nevertheless, the capacity of images to create and represent cohesion *after the fact* is only one facet of a remarkably variegated spectrum of tasks assigned to revolutionary visual culture in the course of Early Modern and subsequent political revolutions. If we accept the postulate that images help produce what they represent, this seems to be especially the case for images emerging in a revolutionary context. They can even be decisive in determining how an uprising unfolds. The series of events constituting the “Arabic Spring” of 2011, for example, was recorded above all by amateur photographers, the images then being distributed via social media, a process that played a decisive role in the further course of the different uprisings.³⁶

What this means, of course, is that images do not simply illustrate events, a dimension of images that is often ignored, even though it is so obvious. In the context of uprisings (e.g. the January 6 United States Capitol attack), the mobilization of what today might be called “fake news” has time and again been key to both fostering and processing political events, thanks to the mobilization of uncritically disseminated and sometimes bogus images.³⁷ The “fomenting, appellative, and memorative potential” of images was powerfully evident in the French Revolution³⁸; in fact, the aesthetic concept of “revolution” was first formed by that event. “Since 1789,” Kay Kirchmann and Marcus Sandl observe, every revolution has also been engineered

35 Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution*, New York 1952, 216.

36 Joshua M. Boyter, “Revolutionary Images: The Role of Citizen Photojournalism, the Citizenship of Photography and Social Media in the Iran Green Revolution and Arab Spring,” MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 2012, <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/15268/Boyter,%20Joshua,%20MA,%20INTD,%20June%202012.pdf?sequence=1>.

37 See Christine Bartlitz, curator, *Online Plattform Visual History/Online-Nachschlagewerk für die historische Bildforschung*, 12 September 2017: “G20-Treffen als Bilderkrieg? Ein ‘Offener Brief’ von Gerhard Paul und die Stellungnahme des NDR,” <https://www.visual-history.de/2017/09/12/g20-treffen-als-bilderkrieg/>. See also Horst Bredekamp, “Schlussvortrag: Bild–Akt–Geschichte,” in Clemens Wischermann (ed.), *Geschichtsbilder. 46. Deutscher Historikertag vom 19. bis 22. September 2006 in Konstanz*, Konstanz 2007, 289–309; Lisa Caspari, “Unverantwortlich. Prügelnde Polizei, instrumentalisierte Wähler: Die Regierungen in Madrid und Katalonien haben Spanien gespalten,” in *Zeit Online*, 2 Oct. 2017, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-10/katalonien-unbhaengigkeitsreferendum-kommentar; anon.> “Fake Images from the Catalan Referendum Shared on Social Media,” in *El Pais Online*, 6 October 2017, https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/10/06/inenglish/1507278297_702753.html: “And the Catalan regional government? It now has bloody TV images meant to help gain international recognition.” Soon after, *El Pais* reported that some of the circulating images were fake.

38 Kirchmann and Sandl, “Einleitung,” 10.



by updating a cultural repertoire of revolutionary staging.”³⁹ For this reason, both the innovative potential and, in part, the difficulty of exploring the visualizations of the Portuguese Restoration lie precisely in illuminating the potency of the images at work here, independently of aesthetic concepts that would only emerge a century and a half later; in other words, it involves interrogating the specific power of visual images in a mid-seventeenth-century situation of upheaval in a space apart from the French Revolutionary paradigm, which developed a century later.

In light of these introductory remarks, it is very clear that a basic premise informing this book is the following: visual images are especially potent in periods of historical caesura, what Victor Turner has described as liminal phases, in which “new ways of acting, new combinations of symbols, are tried out, to be discarded or accepted.”⁴⁰ According to the media theorist Lorenz Engell, revolution is “a basic form of historical description in general—as the most extreme intensification of a historical caesura, an epochal threshold or upheaval, all of which are historiographical positings, products of historical knowledge and not processual forms of the historical itself.”⁴¹ At the same time, revolutions consistently reveal themselves as bound up with “acts of (self-)observation, (self-)description, and propagandistic transformation, with the canon of appropriated media taking in the entire breadth of distributional, communicative, and representational vehicles available at each given historical juncture.”⁴² Among all these medial forms, usually the historically most recent is identified with “the explosive force of political action.” When it comes to the Early Modern period, we can observe “interplays” at work between book printing, graphic printing, and pamphlets on the one hand and revolutions on the other hand; and when it comes to the twentieth century’s revolutions, massive appropriation of technical media: photography, film, TV, Internet. In both periods, the media developed in the service of revolution was designed to circulate quickly, ensuring a “decisive temporal advance in the struggle for the collective imaginary economy.”⁴³ In addition, the revolution’s medial framing took on a “decisive function in the symbolic production and semanticizing of revolutionary temporal structures (the new beginning, the claim to eternity, the temporal leap forward, etc.).”⁴⁴

39 Ibid. See also Martin Warnke, “Arte e rivoluzione. Saggio iconografico,” in *La Storia. I grandi problemi dal Medio-evo all’Età Contemporanea*, vol. V/3, *L’Età moderna. Stati e società*, ed. Nicola Tranfaglia et al., Turin 1986, 796–98.

40 Victor Turner, “Variations on a Theme of Liminality,” in S. F. Moore and B. Myerhoff (eds.), *Secular Rites*, Assen 1977, 36–57, here 40.

41 Lorenz Engell, “Revolution und Gedächtnis. Über die Vermeidung von Umstürzen durch Fernsehen,” in Grampp, Kirchmann, et al., *Revolutionsmedien*, 457–58.

42 Kirchmann and Sandl, “Einleitung,” 10.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.



Transcontinental Entanglements of Images

Mary Louise Pratt has spoken of contact zones as “social spaces, where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination.”⁴⁵ Such zones, and the dynamic involved in their relations to Portugal, constitute a central dimension of the political-societal tectonics framing the processes of image-transfer processes explored in these chapters. Already on a quantitative level, the sociocultural contexts of these contact zones has great importance: more people lived in the Portuguese colonial empire, which extended roughly between Brazil, Angola, and Macau, than in Portugal itself.⁴⁶ In 1640, the European extent of the realm contained only ca. 1.3 million inhabitants. Lisbon had a population of 200,000 including slaves, children, and foreigners.⁴⁷ What was termed the Portuguese Empire was not a monolithic body that stretched out endlessly over far-flung regions, but rather a loose network consisting of scattered trading posts separated by non-Portuguese areas. So-called Portuguese India, the *Estado da Índia*, for instance, was made up of a series of fortified trading towns and forts scattered on the Indian Ocean; in 1580, the most important of them were Mozambique, Mombasa, Muscat, Hormuz, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Malacca, Timor, and Macau. Sanjay Subrahmanyam has referred to an “elaborate network of trade and power.”⁴⁸ Some of the Portuguese possessions and administrative areas such as Chinese Macau and Brazilian São Paulo functioned as small, dynamic republics that hardly manifested any traces of a supposed centrally organized Portuguese imperial system.⁴⁹

The period that concerns us in this book can be characterized as a period of decline for Portugal’s overseas possessions. In the early seventeenth century, Goa still had more residents than Lisbon and was considered the “Rome of the East.” But as a result of supply bottlenecks, epidemics, and a decline in trade, its population

45 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London and New York 1993, 4.

46 Glenn Joseph Ames, “Pedro II and the Estado da Índia: Braganzan Absolutism and Overseas Empire, 1668–1683,” in *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34 (1997), 1–13, here 3, describes the empire as “tri-dimensional.” One of the best maps of the Portuguese Empire around 1640 is found in Fengxuan Xue, *Macau through 500 Years: Emergence and Development of an Untypical Chinese City*, Singapore 2013, 13.

47 João Francisco Marques, “Lisboa religiosa na segunda metade do século XVII,” in Luis de Moura Sobral (ed.), *Bento Coelho 1620–1708 e a Cultura do seu tempo*, Lisbon 1998, 139–69, here 139.

48 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History*, 2nd ed., Chichester 2012, 11. On the concept of a “Luso-Baroque sphere” and a “republic of letters,” see Mia M. Mochizuki, “The Luso-Baroque Republic of Things and the Contingency of Contact,” in *Ellipsis* 12 (2014), 143–71, here 145. See also Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge (MA) 2000.

49 Diogo Ramada Curto, “Portuguese Imperial and Colonial Culture,” in idem and Francisco Bethencourt (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, Cambridge (UK) 2007, 314–57, here 314.



had been halved by the 1630s.⁵⁰ In 1640, the *Estado da Índia* consisted of twenty-six coastal fortresses; in 1666 the figure was sixteen. The Goa-based viceroy's control of more distant regions such as Mozambique and Macau was weak. Around this time, the Jesuit Manoel Godinho noted that Portuguese India, once a giant, had shrunk to a dwarf; what was once magnificent was now a nothing.⁵¹ The reason for this was the steady advance of the Dutch into Portuguese-ruled areas and Japan's post-1639 closing to all Catholics, including Portuguese merchants.⁵²

While in Portugal the revolt against the Spanish king was successful, the Asian portion of the Portuguese colonial empire recorded only setbacks from the imperial perspective. Malacca fell to the Dutch in January 1641, Ceylon in 1658. The situation in the *Estado da Índia* would only change after 1668, when Viceroy Luís de Mendonça Furtado (ruled 1671–1677) oversaw a reform program aimed at stabilizing what remained of the territorial possessions and boosting trade.⁵³ We need to be aware of the previous decline to be able to gauge how important the remaining territories' loyalty was to John IV. Macau's merchants, for example, would have certainly chosen a more lucrative future if they had decided against John and remained under Castilian rule.

This historical reality points to a widely neglected but defining feature of Portuguese colonial image transfer in the period we are exploring: it did not unfold in a mono-directional manner. At stake here was, ultimately, never a mere demonstration of Portuguese power vis-à-vis the colonies. On the contrary, the large-scale acclamation festivities in Goa, Cochin, and Macau represented a crucial effort by the local societies to demonstrate their loyalty to the newly established Portuguese crown. Witness accounts of these distant visualizations of the Restoration were sent back to Portugal, for the sake of instilling inner images of their splendor and breadth in the minds of readers in Europe.

On the other hand, we find engravings from *Lusitania Liberata*, a treatise defending the Restoration that was printed in London in 1645, making its way to Goa, and Bengali weavers producing wall hangings that meticulously recorded what had been taken from chronicles printed in Portugal. These and other examples demonstrate the migration of both written accounts and pictorial renderings and

50 António Henrique R. de Oliveira Marques, *Geschichte Portugals und des portugiesischen Weltreichs*, Stuttgart 2001, 247.

51 Ames, "Pedro II and the Estado da India," 4; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825*, New York 1969, 128.

52 Anthony Disney, "Portuguese Expansion, 1400–1800: Encounters, Negotiations, and Interactions," in Curto and Bethencourt (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*, 283–313, here 308; Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750*, Stanford 1996.

53 Ames, "Pedro II and the Estado da India," 5.



interpretations of the events from Europe to the colonial regions, while reports of processions and staged events circulated in the other direction.

Knowledge about images and image practices more generally also reached Portugal from the empire's Asian regions and impacted visualizations of the Restoration, inflecting them with local image cultures of different, but sometimes overlapping, Euro-Portuguese visual cultures. The “decentering” of Europe reflected in this reverse movement had been prepared for upon different fields since the sixteenth century, both mentally (in respect to worldviews and imaginative worlds) and with respect to the lived world (related to the concrete, material world).⁵⁴ In his book on “the four parts of the world,” Serge Gruzinski has illuminated the extent of global intercultural linkages during the period of the Iberian Union, his intention being to “reconnect the ensemble of regions, living beings, and ideas that became disconnected in the course of time.”⁵⁵ He thus underscores the “intercontinental horizons” that, for example, supplied a chronicler writing in Nahuatl with information about the violent death of the French king and the clothing worn at the court of the Japanese emperor. Around 1600, Gruzinski indicates, the “synchronization of people and societies” was well underway.⁵⁶ This approach reflects a well-commented and documented shift in historiographical paradigms: from a view of Europe as a “star” or center radiating its communicative axes out into the world's remainder to a focus on networks that manifest innumerable transverse communicative lines, which place various nodes in mutual and interconnected relation to one another, sometimes circumventing Europe altogether.⁵⁷ With nodes and interstices continuously emerging, this growing global network steadily offered new possibilities for multidirectional circulation of human beings and objects. We will thus have ample occasion to see how dense this informational network was between, for instance, Lisbon and Goa, Cochin and Bengal around 1640. The Portuguese political, mercantile, and religious elites were highly mobile, traveling—often repeatedly—between continents. For this reason, it is striking that we still find frequent references in relevant scholarship to, for example, “two Portuguese cultures [...] that although evidently in contact never really overlapped: the culture of a Portugal [...] in the Orient (to a lesser degree Africa and later Brazil also play a role here) and the culture of a European Portugal that [...] possessed little or nothing of an ‘open culture.’”⁵⁸ Research in

54 Frédéric Tinguely, “Ouverture. Les métamorphoses du centre,” in idem (ed.), *La Renaissance décentrée. Actes du colloque de Genève (28–29 septembre 2006)*, Geneva 2008, 9–13.

55 Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation*, Paris 2004; idem, *La pensée métisse*, Paris 1999, 14.

56 Ibid., 21, 26.

57 Frédéric Tinguely, “Le monde multipolaire des missionnaires Jésuites,” in idem (ed.), *La Renaissance décentrée*, 61–72, here 61.

58 Eduardo Lourenço, “Der Welt-Blick Portugals,” in *Novos Mundos* 2007, 47–51.



recent years has actually long since overcome this notion, and the present study also comes to a different conclusion.

Cultural Translation

When it comes to the question of how the Portuguese Restoration was rendered visible in the different Portuguese-dominated parts of the world, the concept of cultural translation, introduced by Homi K. Bhabha in his book *The Location of Culture* in 1994, proves useful.⁵⁹ Like many other circulating concepts in cultural theory, it has gone through a phase of “hegemonial presence” shifting through inflation to drastic devaluation and corresponding marketing.⁶⁰ Bhabha’s contribution was to extend the idea of translation to include a broad range of cultural practices, an approach both highly daunting (overwhelming) and promising in its transdisciplinary premises.⁶¹ For Bhabha, citing Walter Benjamin in this regard, the translation process has both transformative and performative character⁶²; the idea that the process unfolds in time and space and contains enormous transformational potential is also central in the writing of Régis Debray.

This approach also strongly informs the work of Margit Kern, which offers a contrast with a systematizing of putative cultural syncretism or convergence: “For art history of the colonial period,” Kern argues that the transition from object-oriented to process-oriented analysis is important above all because translation of the sign does not necessarily amount to translation of what is signified. For this reason we need to discuss not only the artwork but also possible processes of appropriation and reception.⁶³ Birgit Mersmann has developed the idea of a “transcultural imaginology” out of Debray’s mediology. The questions she raises have resonance also as regards to the role played by images during the Portuguese Restoration:

Precisely in respect to the global movement of images, it would be interesting to observe the variety of media in which image messages are brought together—sometimes in ever new ways. Likewise in respect to the different technical and organic dispositives through which images form connections along their migratory routes; the milieus of image culture into which they migrate [...] from

59 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London 1994.

60 Birgit Wagner, “Kulturelle Übersetzung. Erkundungen über ein wanderndes Konzept,” in *Kakanien Revisited*, 23 July 2009, <https://www.kakanien-revisited.at/beitr/postcol/BWagner2.pdf>.

61 Ibid., 1. Already Debray’s concept of transmission postulates an expansion of linguistic to cultural translation. See Mersmann, “(Fern-)Verkehr der Bilder,” 151.

62 Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 212.

63 Kern, *Transkulturelle Imaginationen*, 115.



other such milieus; whether they adapt to the new surroundings or rather subvert them; whether a milieu resists specific forms of image media or a certain milieu is predestined for certain visual media; which diachronic routes of long-range mediation shrink into short routes, for the sake of conveying image culture as global news exchange; and so forth.⁶⁴

This would be the ideal approach when treating forms of artistic expression in contact zones. However, when I discuss the abovementioned providentialist treatise from Goa (chap. 10), for example, I will call into question the extent to which we can actually retrace the images' transmission, which is to say, the diverse processes of negotiation from which the ink drawings emerged.

In recent years, the theoretical adequacy of the cultural-translation concept has been called into question, Mieke Bal thus speaks instead of a "traveling" process on the part of ideas and behavioral models—an approach taken up and developed by Birgit Wagner.⁶⁵ For Wagner, peregrination—*Wanderschaft*—is "a metaphor that in many respects is more neutral than the concept of translation appears to be, but that in any case is open to association with a migration context."⁶⁶ But for some authors, the concept of migration is itself insufficiently neutral. In 2004, W. J. T. Mitchell suggested a distinction between that concept, seen as suggesting something "fraught with contradiction, difficulty, friction and opposition" and "the neutral notion of images in *circulation*, moving freely, circulating basically without consequences."⁶⁷ It is noteworthy how this terminological anticlimax from *translation* to *migration* to *circulation* appears to gradually exclude human actors.

In a collection of articles entitled *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, published in 2015, contributors considered the difficulties tied to the development of a global art history, with special attention paid to approaches that address the complications surrounding the topic of circulations, which appear "to be the only ones that have so far succeeded in taking into account 'others' without shutting them inside the prison of the notion of alterity or dismissing them as peripheral."⁶⁸

One of the basic proposals offered in this volume is that in order to come to grips with phenomena such as interculturization or *métissage*, a "horizontal" approach is called for that resists ascribing artistic superiority to either central or

64 Mersmann, "(Fern-)Verkehr der Bilder," 166.

65 Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts: A Rough Guide*, Toronto 2002; Wagner, "Kulturelle Übersetzung."

66 *Ibid.*, 3.

67 W. J. T. Mitchell, "Migrating Images: Totemism, Fetishism, Idolatry," in Petra Stegmann and Peter C. Seel (eds.), *Migrating Images: Producing, Reading, Transporting, Translating*, Berlin 2004, 14–24, here 15.

68 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Introduction: Reintroducing Circulations: Historiography and the Project of Global Art History," in *id.* (eds.), *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, Farnham 2015, 1–22, here 2.



peripheral agents in the process of cultural interchange. Instead we must insist on investigating the interplay of cultures on an equal footing, in order to explore a dynamic of transformation and integration potentially emerging from cultural encounter and confrontation. But in fact, we need to ask, can the circulation concept actually do justice to this goal? Why do we need a “neutral” concept to understand phenomena that are actually never neutral? When we speak of the traveling or circulation of ideas and images, it would seem that a problem almost inevitably emerges: the insufficient degree to which the interpreting (sometimes misinterpreting), evaluating and selecting subject is taken into account. For when something material or immaterial migrates, wanders, or circulates, this movement is enabled by groups or individuals who are formed by their own cultural contexts or else are border-crossers, their individual interpretive accomplishments leave traces in the products of the cultural translation process. In that light, drawing on Debray’s interpretation of mediating processes appears to make sense: in his mediological theory, Debray systematically points to the responsibility of human beings for the transmission process and draws attention to putative communicative mistakes and misunderstandings, subverting the translation process, as making an enduring anchoring of cultural contents possible in the first place.⁶⁹ As this book proceeds, we will need to repeatedly ask whether the particular voyage of images and ideas that we are examining represents a case of circulation or migration or whether it would in fact be more accurate to speak of processes of cultural translation.

One of the first scholars to concern himself with the wandering movement of images was Aby Warburg, whose famous “Mnemosyne” pictorial atlas traced the movement of images in space and time, made possible by what he termed “automobile image vehicles” (*automobile Bilderfahrzeuge*). Warburg was referring to mobile or “dispatchable” pictorial media such as tapestries, woodcuts, and engravings.⁷⁰ In the present study, the complexity and functioning of the “image vehicles” deployed in visualizing the Portuguese Restoration will be subject to critical scrutiny. Particularly in the final chapter, discussing the migration of ivory figures of the Good Shepherd from Goa to Brazil (chap. 11), we will need to consider the possibility that something like an inverse functioning of Warburg’s “image

69 See Debray, *Introduction à la médiologie*, passim; idem, *Transmettre*, Paris 1997, 49–50; Mersmann, “(Fern-)Verkehr der Bilder,” 150, 154.

70 See Aby Warburg, “Mnemosyne. Einleitung (1929),” in idem, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, ed. by Martin Warnke as vol. II.1 of *Gesammelte Schriften. Studienausgabe*, ed. by Horst Bredekamp et al., Berlin 2003, 3–6, 5; idem, “Italienische Kunst und international Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoia zu Ferrara,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1932, 463. Charlotta Krispinsson, “Aby Warburg’s Legacy and the Concept of Image Vehicles. Bilderfahrzeuge: On the Migration of Images, Forms and Ideas. London, 13–14 March 2015,” in *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 84 (2015), 244–47.



vehicle” is manifest. This would mean that over the course of their intercontinental wandering, artifacts can lose their original meaning and become invested with new meanings at their final destination.

Images of the Portuguese Restoration: The State of Research

So far, nobody has attempted to comprehensively explore the image worlds of the Portuguese Restoration—not for Portugal and still less in a global perspective. This book’s aim is to bring to light a global pictorial discourse through a new contextualization of the different images and visualizations, explored with the help of a range of written sources.

In 1990, the Museum of Évora staged an exhibition on the *Iconografia da época da Restauração*. The catalog offers an idea of the boundaries within which Portuguese Restoration iconography is usually conceived. The catalog presents, for the most part, portraits of members of the House of Braganza and others involved in that historical event, for example, the Duchess of Mantua.⁷¹ In his introduction to the catalog, José Teixeira speaks of a “pragmatism conferred to the image” systematically tapped over the entire seventeenth century—something that would also indicate an intensified use of images for propagandistic ends.⁷² But regrettably, this is not demonstrated by the catalog entries themselves.

Vítor Serrão, writing in 1992 about art in Portugal between 1612 and 1657, included a chapter on image production during the Portuguese Restoration, and later returned to the theme in various essays.⁷³ Luís de Moura Sobral has likewise explored the connection of artifacts to the Restoration in many publications. His article on Lukas Vorsterman the Younger’s engraving of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception is foundational for understanding this iconography and its integration into the Restoration agenda⁷⁴; equally important is his writing on the program of the Lisbon palace chapel after 1640, that city’s tradition of court portraiture, the linkage

71 José Teixeira (ed.), *Iconografia da época da Restauração*, exhib. catalog, Museu de Évora, Évora 1990. See also, as a similar effort at such a collection although focused on printed material, not portraits, Augusto Botelho da Costa Veiga, *Exposição bibliográfica da Restauração*, Lisbon 1940.

72 Ibid., foreword.

73 Vítor Serrão, *A pintura protobarroca em Portugal 1612–1657. O triunfo do naturalismo e do tenebrismo*, Lisbon 2000; idem, “A linguagem da pintura portuguesa proto-barroca e a arte da parenética na obra do Padre António Vieira,” in *Oceanos* 30/31 (1997), 202–14; idem, “O mito do herói redentor: A representação de Eneias na pintura do Portugal restaurado,” in *Quintana* 1 (2002), 71–81.

74 Luís de Moura Sobral, “Teologia e propaganda política numa gravura de Lucas Vorsterman II: A Imaculada Conceição e a Restauração de 1640,” in idem, *Do sentido das imagens. Ensaios sobre pintura barroca portuguesa e outros temas ibéricos*, Lisbon 1996, 143–58.



between the Cistercian order and the House of Braganza, and the iconography of Troy in flames and its connection with the 1640 plot.⁷⁵

The historians Fernando Bouza and Pedro Cardim have contributed pathbreaking studies of Portugal's political culture during and after the Iberian Union.⁷⁶ Bouza has, for example, pointed to the period between 1640 and 1668 as being marked in Portugal by an intensive focus on generating memory through printed texts and images, which aimed to strengthen the country's repute.⁷⁷ Especially instructive in this respect is Cardim's work on the writings and the person of court advisor and Jesuit preacher António Vieira and the role of John IV's diplomats at both the European courts and the Westphalian peace negotiations of the late 1640s.⁷⁸ In the context of considering John IV's funeral apparatus of 1656, Cardim addresses the question of the extent to which we can speak of a "Restauração visual." His source analysis underscores the problematic task that also other Restoration visualizations faced: on the one hand, displaying the break with Spain; on the other hand, tying the new dynasty back to a recognizable Spanish-Castilian iconography of rule.⁷⁹

In order to understand the cultural milieu out of which early Portuguese Restoration images emerged, we need to bear in mind that between 1580 and 1640, Lisbon suffered from a sort of phantom pain, the (Spanish) ruler being absent, the Lisbon palace only used by the governor and the vicereine. This lacuna for art and artists is discussed in an article by Nuno Senos.⁸⁰

In respect to visualization of John IV's role after his 1640 enthroning, the fact that—like his predecessors—he never traveled to Portugal's colonies is important,

75 Idem, "A ordem de Cister e a Restauração Brigantina. Um ciclo emblemático em Salzedas," in *Oceano* 6 (1991), 80–85; idem, "Da mentira da pintura. A Restauração, Lisboa, Madrid e alguns santos," in Pedro Cardim (ed.), *A História: Entre Memória e Invenção*, Lisbon 1998, 183–205; idem, "Os retratos de D. João V e a tradição do retrato de corte," in idem, *Do sentido das imagens*, 173–85.

76 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, *Palavra e imagem en la corte. Cultura oral y visual en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid 2003; idem, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes (1580–1668)*, Lisbon 2000.

77 Fernando Bouza Álvarez, "Papeles, batallas y público barroco. La guerra y la restauração portuguesas en la publicística española de 1640–1668," <https://www.frenteira-alorna.pt/Textos/papelesbatallas.htm>.

78 From the large number of Cardim's publications on the topic: Pedro Cardim (ed.), *A História: Entre Memória e Invenção*, Lisbon 1998; idem and Gaetano Sabatini (eds.), *António Vieira, Roma e o universalismo das monarquias portuguesa e espanhola*, Lisbon 2011; idem, "D. João IV (1640–1656). A luta por uma causa rebelde," in António M. Hespanha (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Lisbon 1993; idem, "Portuguese Rebels' at Münster."

79 Idem, "Una Restauração visual? Cambio dinástico y uso político de las imágenes en el Portugal del siglo XVII," in Joaon Lluís Palos i Peñarroya and Diana Carrió Invernizzi (eds.), *La historia imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la Época Moderna*, Madrid 2008, 185–204.

80 Nuno Senos, "Na esperança de vossa real presença desejada. El arte y un poder ausente en la Lisboa filipina, 1580–1640," in *Reales Sitios* 40 (2003), 48–61. See also Fernando Bouza Álvarez, "Lisboa sozinha quase viuva. A cidade e a mudança da corte no Portugal dos Filipes," in *Penélope: Fazer e desfazer a História* 13 (1994), 71–93.



as is the absence of even a governing viceroy in most of them. In a broader European context, the seventeenth century can be considered an “epoch of absence.”⁸¹ As recent Early Modern historiography has highlighted, it was impossible for Western rulers to be present throughout their immense territories.⁸² Here keeping in mind research on the representation of rulers in the Baroque period is very useful, with Louis Marin’s writing offering a theoretical framework.⁸³ From an art historical vantage, Diane Bodart has presented a foundational overview in her study of the royal portrait at the Spanish Habsburg court.⁸⁴ But in respect to Portugal from 1640 onward, it is clear that after sixty years of outside rule the arts showed little activity throughout the country, including Lisbon. As I lay out in chapter 2, there were simply very few good portraitists, architects, engineers, and so forth who were not suspected of cooperating with the new enemy.

There are few studies of architecture under the new Braganza dynasty. This is not so much due to scholarly disinterest, but rather to the fact that John IV halted numerous construction projects and what was built, or what remained, was largely destroyed by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which erased the new dynasty’s visible signs from Lisbon’s prominent public spaces. Still, the architectural historian Paulo Varela Gomes has proposed that alongside recourse to Gothic architecture and connected resurfacing of Manueline style, it was above all the form of the central-plan building that would emerge as the new dynasty’s architectonic expression.⁸⁵ One architectonic project that John IV followed with great interest, the chapel of the Tagus Palace and its visual program, has been fairly successfully reconstructed in several articles.⁸⁶

In her PhD thesis of 2013, Joana Fraga undertakes a detailed comparison of three nearly simultaneous revolts and their images—the Portuguese Restoration, the Catalan revolt of 1640, and the Neapolitan revolt by Masaniello the fisherman against the Habsburgs in 1647/48 in Naples.⁸⁷ For the Restoration, Fraga focuses

81 Mark Hengerer, “Abwesenheit beobachten. Zur Einführung,” in idem (ed.), *Abwesenheit beobachten. Zur Kommunikation auf Distanz in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Zurich et al. 2013, 9–28, here 11.

82 Arndt Brendecke, *Imperium und Empirie. Funktionen des Wissens in der spanischen Kolonialherrschaft*, Cologne et al. 2009.

83 Louis Marin, “Le corps glorieux du Roi et son portrait,” in idem, *La parole mangée et autres essais théologico-politiques*, Paris 1986; idem, *Politiques de la représentation*, ed. Alain Cantillon et al., Paris 2005; Vera Beyer, Jutta Voorhoeve, and Anselm Haverkamp (eds.), *Das Bild ist der König. Repräsentation nach Louis Marin*, Munich 2006.

84 Diane H. Bodart, *Pouvoirs du portrait sous les Habsbourg d’Espagne*, Paris 2011.

85 Paulo Varela Gomes, *Arquitectura, religião e política em Portugal no século XVII: a planta centralizada*, Porto 2001.

86 Sobral, “Da mentira da pintura.”

87 Joana Margarida Ribeirete de Fraga, “Three Revolts in Images, Catalonia, Portugal and Naples (1640–1647),” PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2013, <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/127046>.



largely on paintings and engravings emerging between 1640 and 1668 in Europe.⁸⁸ Strikingly, she concludes that more of these works were produced for or in other countries—mainly France—than in Portugal. She traces a development from the first circulating representations to carefully planned iconographically ambitious images whose complexity challenged the ability of contemporary beholders to decipher them. But, she observes, this development did not imbue the later pictures with an innovative character. Rather, their novelty consisted in the translation of known themes and styles into a “propagandistic vocabulary” meant to legitimize the revolt against the Spanish monarchy.⁸⁹ Fraga also points to the early dissemination of John IV’s portrait in Europe and observes that most of the representations are of Portugal’s military victories.

The deployment of images in the Masaniello revolt has also been examined in thought-provoking essays by, respectively, Peter Burke, Katharina Siebenmorgen, and Dietrich Erben.⁹⁰ Siebenmorgen suggests that the most important aspect of the revolt’s visualization was “translating the repugnant negativity inscribed in the loss of order into the positivity of an enduring medial event.” In this way, she argues, a unique type of portrait was invented that transformed the barefoot *lazzarone* in a singular elevation to the rank of the king of Naples.⁹¹ Regarding the broader purpose of images in the revolt’s context, Siebenmorgen observes that “like textualization and narrativity, images allow a fixing of historically manifest contexts of order but also their divergent commenting and interpretation. Like the revolt’s confusing unfolding, its representation denies irrevocable reference to universality and general validity.”⁹² For his part, Dietrich Erben concludes that the “extremely intensified claims and expectations art is subject to in revolts” here led to artistic innovation.⁹³

A summary has been published as an article: idem and Joan-Lluís Palos, “Trois révoltes en images, la Catalogne, le Portugal et Naples dans les années 1640,” in Hugon and Merle (eds.), *Soulèvements*, 119–38. 88 Ibid., 14.

89 Fraga, “Three Revolts in Images,” 254.

90 Peter Burke, “The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello,” in *Past & Present* 99 (1983), 3–21; Katharina Siebenmorgen, “Masaniello und die Rebellion zu Neapel 1647/48. Zur Genese eines Medienereignisses,” in Peter Forster, Elisabeth Oy-Marra, and Heiko Damm (eds.), *Caravaggios Erben. Barock in Neapel*, exhib. catalog, Museum Wiesbaden, Munich 2016, 31–47; Dietrich Erben, “Bildnis, Denkmal und Historie beim Masaniello-Aufstand 1647–1648 in Neapel,” in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999), 231–63. See also Rosario Villari, “Masaniello: Contemporary and Recent Interpretations,” in *Past & Present* 108 (1985), 117–32; Peter Burke, “Masaniello: A Response,” in *Past & Present* 114 (1987), 197–99. See further below, ch. 3.

91 Siebenmorgen, “Masaniello und die Rebellion zu Neapel,” 39. On the “ruler’s portrait” of Masaniello, see the fundamental study by Bartolommeo Capasso, *Masaniello. Ricordi della Storia e della ita napoletana nel secolo XVII*, Naples 1979.

92 Siebenmorgen, “Masaniello und die Rebellion zu Neapel,” 44.

93 Erben, “Bildnis, Denkmal und Historie,” 263.



Articles by Ines G. Županov and Zoltán Biedermann on circulation and mobility of providentialist ideas in the seventeenth-century *Estado da Índia* provide a foundation for my discussion of the possibility that globally circulating ivory figures of the Good Shepherd may have been charged with Restorational associations. Both authors have concluded that ideas on the future of post-Restoration Portugal not only emerged from that country but rather from all parts of the Portuguese world, as a multiplicity of voices.⁹⁴ In contact zones such as Goa a number of these voices mingled, allowing something new and independent to emerge. A treatise written by a Goa-based Franciscan, António de São Thiago, needs to also be understood in this context. The only detailed examination of this text and its author, by the historian Ângela Barreto Xavier, is indispensable. The essay includes a contextualizing of some of the treatise's ink drawings.⁹⁵

Chapter Organization

This book is organized chronologically. That its structure follows the temporal sequence of Portuguese Restoration images and is not, for example, divided according to socio-geographical space, aims to make the fact visible that the Restoration visualizations produced outside Europe did not necessarily constitute a subordinate echo of what was conceived, invented, and arranged in Portugal.

In following a temporal trajectory, I hope to make the images' permeability in all directions clear. Pictorial practices and innovations in Japan, Bengal, Macau, and Goa sometimes not only preceded what was taking place in Lisbon but also shaped it. This is the backdrop to my insertion of a number of subchapters titled "shift of perspective" into the text; the intent here is to render palpable the rarely discussed movement of images from the alleged periphery into the equally alleged center.

In this historical-geographical framework, the situation regarding documentary sources is highly uneven. There were, of course, numerous contact zones in the Portuguese colonial empire. Sources are not evenly distributed between them, however. Most of the extant sources stem from the Portuguese territories in Asia,

94 Ines G. Zupanov, "A 'Historia do Futuro'. Profecias móveis de jesuítas entre Nápoles, Índia e Brasil (século XVII)," in Ângela Barreto Xavier and Catarina Madeira Santos (eds.), *Cultura Intelectual das Elites Coloniais*, Lisbon 2007, 123–61; Zoltán Biedermann, "Um outro Vieira? Pedro de Basto, Fernão de Queiroz, e a profecia jesuítica na Índia no século XVII," in Pedro Cardim and Gaetano Sabatini (eds.), *António Vieira e o Universalismo dos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon 2011, 145–73.

95 Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Looking through the 'Vizão feita por xro A el Rey Dom Affonso Henriques' (1659): Franciscans in India and the Legitimization of the Braganza Monarchy," in *Culture & History Digital Journal* 5:2 (2016), <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2016.012S>, <http://cultureandhistory.revistas.csic.es/index.php/cultureandhistory/article/view/98/336>.



whereas material from Portuguese Africa is less plentiful, consisting mostly of acclamation reports. As things stand, then, the prominence of the *Estado da Índia*, of India and Asia, will inevitably contrast in the following chapters with a certain “invisibility” of the African continent.⁹⁶ Future research could, hopefully, take on this challenge and extend the scope of the analysis presented here.

In the case of Brazil, the situation is only partially better, with, alongside acclamation reports, another group of objects being available that possibly served as a visualization of the Restoration: the aforementioned ivory figures of the Good Shepherd, manufactured in Goa and exported to Brazil in great quantities. The lack of balance in my consideration of the four continents is not the result of arbitrary choice, but specific differences in the source evidence we have.

I am very indebted to Joel Golb who, during his translation work, pointed out to me the importance of the theme of Christian supersessionism for many of the sources and images discussed in this book. He wrote the excursus on “Portugal as *Verus Israel*” at the end of the first chapter and I am grateful to him for sharing his knowledge and for being my coauthor in these paragraphs.

96 See Isabel Hofmeyr, “Africa as a Fault Line in the Indian Ocean,” in idem, Pamila Gupta, and Michael Pearson (eds.), *Eyes across the Water: Navigating the Indian Ocean*, Pretoria 2010, 99–108, here 101. On the problem of sources for the Early Modern history of Angola, see Beatrix Heintze, *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII. Estudos sobre fontes, métodos e história*, Luanda 2007, 23–161.

