

# Performance and Intelligentsia around the Inauguration of an Equestrian Statue in the Eighteenth Century

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Festivals are synaesthetic artworks designed to appeal to all the senses. [...] As multimedia productions of political, social, and economic power, festivals attempt by way of ostentatious pageantry to display and to justify a culture based on conspicuous consumption (Korsch 2013: 79-80).

The inauguration of the equestrian statue of King Joseph (José I) of Portugal, on the King's birthday, on 6 June 1775, was the festivity with the utmost impact and resonance in the Portuguese culture of the eighteenth century. Numerous poetic compositions were then written, during and after the festivities that lasted for three days, extending to the whole kingdom for a much longer period of time. Although they involved many government institutions, the festivities were thoroughly organised by the Marquis of Pombal, minister of the King, who was also portrayed in effigy, on the pedestal of the statue. How was it possible for the inauguration of a statue in the city of Lisbon to stimulate the public imagination in such a way: the written and artistic production of an entire era, mobilising poetry, theatre, music, opera, and statuary itself, now raised to an unprecedented scale? A known satirical author, Nicolau Tolentino de Almeida, even though he was part of the list of poets who wrote about the theme, identified the reading of such poems with a certain "minor" reader, poet by taste and barber by trade, compulsively attracted by popular compositions, of questionable taste, sold in the street: "This master tyrant was a scourge/Of the ears and faces of the costumers./All verses he read about the Equestrian Statue/And all the famous plays,/Sold in the Arsenal to the vagrant wanderer/On a string" (Almeida 1861: 278)<sup>1</sup>. How did the torrent

of poems, printed and in manuscript, become the very image of the compulsive reader, a member of a social class that usually remained on the fringes of literary circles? This essay proposes a culturalist and performative reading of this singular inauguration as a *happening*, resorting to historical and literary studies, as well as to the detailed analysis of the symbolic topography, the choreography of gestures, and inscriptions that defined the staging of this major event of the seventeenth century.

As a cultural performance, the inauguration of the statue represents a *liminal* event, with a broad meaning in Portuguese culture. It was a moment of public acclamation of the enlightened power, not only of King Joseph I, but also of his minister plenipotentiary, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699-1782), known as Marquis of Pombal (Marquês de Pombal), the title which was conferred on him in 1769. King Joseph's minister sees his range of action strengthened and performs the exercise of power in a quasi-absolute manner. Until the king's death in 1777, he controls the high nobility's pretensions, expels the Jesuits from the kingdom and its colonies, enacts reforms concerning education, and stimulates commerce. The earthquake of 1755 had destroyed Lisbon, the symbol of an Empire that had spread, since the end of the fifteenth century, to four continents: from South America (to the West) to Asia (to the East), including the holdings in Africa. But the reconstruction of Lisbon is the affirmation of a culture planned by the "enlightened despotism", more cosmopolitan and liberal. The statue was designed to occupy the centre of the square, to which Sebastião Carvalho e Melo contributed decisively, planning and building on the rubble of the earthquake. Located in the old "Terreiro do Paço" (Palace Terrace), now converted into the

“Praça do Comércio” (Commerce Square), it pays “tribute to the new bourgeois class that supported the minister’s reformist policy”, thereby creating a new royal square in Lisbon (José-Augusto França, in Machado de Castro 1975: 337).



Fig. 1. Ribeira Palace in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, before the Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755, still with a defence structure (anonymous painting).

A letter written by the Marquis of Pombal to the King, one week after the inauguration of the statue, explicitly refers the Marquis’s plan to show a new society, open to commerce, showing that the disregard foreigners had for our internal and external commerce – the suspicion of social insubordination, or the rumours that the country was living in the most dire poverty, after the earthquake – was unfounded (Pombal 1861: 12-14). The letter testifies to the care the Marquis put into staging a “theatre” prepared mainly for foreign spectators/observers: effectively, the profusion of jewellery, tableware, dresses, carriages, tables, and local currency disbursements, led the same foreigners to publicly confess that they had never realised that Portugal, in just a few years, had accumulated so much wealth (Pombal 1861: 21). If a “performance” is characterised by the coexistence of actors and spectators, the ephemeral character of the performance, its status as an event, and the rhetorical intention of persuading through non-explicit meanings, the inauguration of the equestrian statue of King Joseph, both from the perspective of the reception and from the perspective of the production, represents a performative act. It seems pertinent to us, therefore, to take into consideration here the way Erika Fischer-Lichte referred to the “liminality”,

which manifests itself simultaneously in the “social performance” and in the “aesthetic performance”, two complementary processes of transition and transformation in human communities:

When characterizing the particular “event-ness” of performances, we differentiated between the possibility of liminality in aesthetic and non-aesthetic experience. Aesthetic experience makes the state of liminality its goal, while non-aesthetic liminal experience can be understood as a means to an end – be it to obtain a new social status or identity, to create or affirm communities, or to legitimate claims to power. There is no clear correlation between aesthetic experience and artistic performance, or non-aesthetic experience and non-artistic performance – both kinds of experiences mix in any given performance. In artistic performances, liminality can be experienced both as an end in itself and as a means to another end (Fischer-Lichte 2014: 164).

The contiguity between the instrumental dimension and the aesthetic dimension is undeniable in this event of 1775. And the analogy with the theatrical space is found right in the letter’s first paragraph, even in its first words:

The great curtain which, in the most joyous 6<sup>th</sup> day of the current month of June 1775, uncovered the royal statue of my lord the king, has come to reveal that, in the following days, to the clear knowledge of all those who, not stopping at the surface of the objects which are presented to them in sight, begin to investigate and understand the substance of things, Your Majesty has not only entirely dispelled the darkness, and repaired the ruins in which you have found your kingdoms buried; but also that you have brought out again, in Portugal, the blissful century of the lords Manuel I and John III (Pombal 1861: 12)<sup>2</sup>.

It is an enactment that requires the participation of “all those who, not stopping at the surface of the objects which are presented to them in sight, begin to investigate and understand the substance of things”. But it is something that is not explicit, even though the Marquis of Pombal makes it explicit for the king. Ten principles (generally linked to the excellent state of the economy, finances, to the climate of social harmony, important to respond to the observations made in countries with a greater economic deficit or a greater social conflict, with that material state accompanying the encouragement of sciences and arts) are staged. It is important to underline that the first of those principles mentioned by the Marquis of Pombal has to do precisely with the rise of a new social

group, consisting of readers and authors: “It is the first of the said examples, the common nature of handwriting, because when, until the year 1750, it was rare for a person to write a letter with good handwriting, there is today, it seems, the same rarity of finding someone who writes badly in Lisbon” (*ibidem*: 12-13)<sup>3</sup>.

And five targeted effects are listed (almost all linked to the external effect the display of wealth and power will have). But, once again, the first chosen effect is the one that will change the cultural perception of Portugal as a “barbaric, fierce, and unsociable” nation (*ibidem*: 20). As a liminal and festive event, the inauguration programmatically establishes a temporality of its own and defines the transition of senses and experiences that is played out between the court, the subjects, the social classes, the spectators, and the actors – “the liminal dimension is the precondition of the transformative dimension” (*ibidem*: 174). The festivities overflow the public space of the square and are extended into the convivial space of Lisbon’s elite, in the aristocratic and the bourgeois house, or further still into the secular stage of the theatre. They involve the whole nation, gathering in the same square, from the terrace to the balconies, an ecstatic crowd of over one hundred and fifty thousand people, of both sexes and of all classes (*ibidem*: 20-21). The printing of Gaetano Martinelli’s libretto, entitled *L’Eroe Coronato* (Lisbon 1775), still gives an account of the musical activities linked to poetry<sup>4</sup>. And this symbolic dynamics results from the performativity of the diverse actions and senses that converge in the celebrations associated with the inauguration.

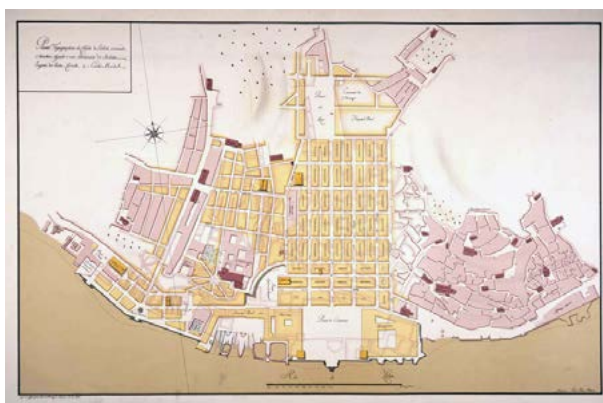


Fig. 2. Topographical plan for the rebuilding of the Baixa Pombalina, with the future Commerce Square open to the river, by Eugénio dos Santos e Carlos Mardel, 1758.



Fig. 3. Commerce Square with the equestrian statue of King Joseph in the centre, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lisbon Municipal Archive.

It is not, therefore, a unique festivity, in the manner of the ritualistic passage, structured in a linear manner, being celebrated in this case by many poets, dedicated, more or less explicitly, to various personalities: the King, the Marquis of Pombal, or the son of the Marquis, the Count of Oeiras, the author of the project of the statue, the sculptor Machado de Castro, or even the technician who cast the statue in bronze, Bartolomeu da Costa. There are, certainly, in these circumstantial relationships between poets and their patrons, obvious signs of a financial dependency between the protectors and the protégés. But it is interesting to see, even in this kind of writing, the upsurge of a new kind of authors and corresponding readers. In fact, what keeps us busy in this reading is not so much the *archive* as heritage, or the legacy of the written and the artistic production of the period, but mainly the *repertoire* of texts, readings, and performative gestures performed during the festivities (see Taylor 2003). This compulsive production, at the moment when writing asserts itself as the dominant technology of public communication (see Oliveira 2008), includes the proliferation of poetic compositions of all sorts, in classical and popular forms, in favour of and against the statue and the extravagant event of its inauguration. However, the poetics of praise, ranged from lyric to satire, from theatre to compositions such as *L’Eroe Coronato. Serenata per musica da cantarsi in occasione delle pubbliche feste per la inaugurazione della statua equestre di S. M. Fedelissima D. Giuseppe I* (1775).



Fig. 4. Arrival of the equestrian statue of King Joseph at the Terreiro do Paço, 1775. MNAA.

A text that we believe to be credited to José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa (author of so many string booklets sold in the street) clearly identifies the Commerce Square as a scenic space, in a *“mise-en-abîme”* structure, in which the real event is confused with the theatrical event (“the scene is in the Great Commerce Square”), with the boards, balconies, boxes, arches and curtains, and, obviously, spectators, focused on that “ecstasy of objects” they saw installed in the square or parading in front of them. This is a sensorial anticipation of the “atmosphere” referred to by G. Böhme in his essay on the aestheticization of the real (Böhme 1995: 49-66), invading the body of those who observe and comment on the statue: “For we are in the theatre/In the most pleasant scene” ([Costa] 1775: s.p.)<sup>5</sup>. The event, therefore, presents itself with a complexity that escapes the ritualist script, from the outset, because the historical period, at the end of the eighteenth century, confronts us with a society undergoing a process of modernisation and secularisation, giving signs of the emergence of a public space (The Public Promenade, *Passeio Público*, opened in 1760), a new civility that disputes the symbolic dominance, the modes of representation and subjectivisation. Significantly, the modern cult of statues, established from the renaissance imitation of this

classical precept, had only become commonplace in the eighteenth century with the affirmation of the bourgeois society. At the end of the Modern Age, the statue begins to glorify military figures, statespersons, and scientists and artists as well. The moment of this generalisation coincides, paradoxically, with the iconoclastic dispute over public statuary.

It will not be necessary to wait until the toppling of the statues that today, in the twenty-first century, celebrate colonial figures or heroes of dubious character. The controversy against the presence of the great figures of society in public spaces was already a reality in the words of the sculptor Joaquim Machado de Castro (1732-1822), when he published, at the end of his life, a long *Analytical description of the execution of the equestrian statue erected in Lisbon*. The sculptor begins by showing himself aware of the late moment that his greatest work had occupied among modern nations (Machado de Castro 1975). The enumerative rhetoric, which was common in the celebratory writing of the time, leads him to include in the book a final “Catalogue”, where he enumerates some of the statues placed in public squares in the Europe of Lights, information he collected from the treatise by the French architect Pierre Matte (1723-1814), which he quotes profusely (*Monumens érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV, précédés d'un tableau du progrès des arts et des sciences sous ce règne, ainsi que d'une description des honneurs et des monumens de gloire accordés aux grands hommes, tant chez les Anciens, que chez les Modernes, Paris, 1765*). In his “Catalogue”, Machado de Castro estimates the number of statues dedicated to great figures at sixty-six, but he is aware that the counting is precarious, due to the iconoclast impulse provoked by the Revolution of 1789 and the “resentment” that marked the toppling of the many works that reminded of Louis XIV: “All of these French Statues, its Revolution has either annihilated or extinguished them; and for this reason it seems that in their enumeration I should mention them in the past” (1975: 326)<sup>6</sup>. An example of the disputes of the time is the ambiguity of the dedications of the poetic compositions, often making it difficult to tell the main object of the poet’s veneration: whether the king or the marquis, from the political perspective; whether the project designer, Machado de Castro, or Bartolomeu Costa, the technician, from the

artistic perspective.

From the political perspective, the symbolic dispute became clear by the placement of a medallion with the bust of the Marquis of Pombal on the pedestal of the equestrian statue representing King Joseph: a boldness that did not go unnoticed. In 1775, an anonymous sonnet, dedicated to the Marquis, does not fail to have a jibe: in the statue to King Joseph “[...] I see here also Your Memory/Subdued to the Monarch, and this looks,/You hold Him the throne (it is a notable voice)”<sup>7</sup>. A few years later, in 1777, when the Marquis of Pombal fell into political disgrace, the opening of a sonnet that integrates the anti-Pombaline lyric (which was also to circulate profusely) calls for the removal of the medallion: “Lord, to exalt our good fortune/Remove from the pedestal of the Augustan Statue/The ugly and rugged image of the Marquis,/That by seeing it still at its feet, it stirs up hatred” (Pimenta 1982: 54)<sup>8</sup>.

From the artistic perspective, the dispute is between patrons and artists, and also between theorists and practitioners, authors of the project and technical adjutants. As an anonymous poet was to write, in a sonnet dedicated to Bartolomeu Costa, “each in his own state,/You in second, Him, the King, first”<sup>9</sup>. A poem by the sculptor himself, Machado de Castro, would not fail to contain some irony about the praises given to the technician Bartolomeu da Costa: “[...] should the ones that I utter not have the lowest place, because I have more reasons to know the excellence with which the Foundry expressed everything that the sculpture did” (Machado de Castro 1775: 10n)<sup>10</sup>. The equestrian statue of King Joseph was the first, in Portugal, to be associated with this modern cult, a reason for the sculptor to congratulate himself on his personal achievement. His *Analytical Description*, dated 1810, even tries to settle the score with the building process of the statue. The creator laments the little time he had, the unprecedented and solitary nature of the project, and even the physical absence of the king, during the design of the statue, which forces him to figure an absent body. He now laments, more explicitly, the fact that, at the time, the person responsible for the casting *technical performance*, Bartolomeu da Costa, deserved more recognition than his contribution as the artist responsible for the *aesthetic performance* of the work, for the

movement of the horse, for the gestures of the horseman, from the direction of the eyes to the bare hands that he ends up maintaining. In fact, the act of casting represented a technical challenge that impelled the Marquis of Pombal himself to personally watch the process, at the Santa Clara Foundry. Machado de Castro disenchant the Literati who erroneously presumed this, in the thousands of praises written at the time of the celebration:

In the multitude of verses and some prose that will appear at the festive Inauguration of this Royal Statue, about this subject, many of their Authors will call our commendable Engineer, Statuary; thinking that this is the same as making it, and, therefore, praising him. I sympathize with the fact that those Literati were so solemnly mistaken; being led to this grief by the lack of knowledge of Arts and of drawing (Machado de Castro 1975: 231)<sup>11</sup>.

Realising the poor quality of many of the statues in European cities, he reaffirms the importance of ingenuity and art for the memorable dignity of the represented person<sup>12</sup>. The statue he describes, in successive chapters, aspires to the condition of art. Hence, ingenuity should triumph over matter “that the bronze should look tender, and in such a way lively, that imagination should care to see both man and horse breathing and moving” (*ibidem*: 279)<sup>13</sup>.

The performative superiority of his artistic practice shares the characteristics and the different stages of what we call today “creative process”. The sculptor Joaquim Machado, studied, compared, sketched, and drew the various parts of his work. Over dozens of pages, he describes in detail how he got to the position of the horse, the outline of King Joseph’s body, the position of the bare hands, the direction of the eyes, even to the symbols to include in the figures of its monumental pedestal. On the whole, he intended to confer on his work the qualities of the “Epic action”: “If the Epic action should not only be great, but wonderful, useful, and interesting, for an Equestrian Statue, one should choose which ornaments of these predicates represent the Hero’s most brilliant virtue” (*ibidem*: 8).

The lexicon used by Machado de Castro aspires to the “magic of Art” and to a “*Je ne sais quois*”, syntagms that surely express the category of the “sublime” that, in this and other compositions about the subject, runs through the aesthetic



thought of the seventeen hundreds. The ode that Machado de Castro dedicates to the king, in 1775, began precisely by stating that he only allowed himself to address such a “sublime matter”, excited (Machado de Castro 1775: 3)<sup>14</sup>. The poets of the Equestrian statue have written many times under the fascination of a happy age, in which politicians practice the great art of making mankind fortunate: they rejoice, because they sing happiness for the first time, and not war. The poet Cruz e Silva believes that the fair fantasy brought to Portugal a Golden Age. The compositions, symbolically signed by Antonio Alberto Paradiz, are particularly detailed, when he describes the tables set for the festivities, with paradisiacal foods and drinks, served in tableware made of national silver (also strategically referred to by the Marquis of Pombal in his letter to the king)<sup>15</sup>.

The construction of the equestrian statue was, thus, marked by a relevant set of political, material, and aesthetic tribulations, but the structuring of the social and cultural event of its inauguration expanded, in detail, the performativity of this historical episode. We can perhaps get an even better idea of the “staging process” of the festivities from the reading of a document with a revealing title: *Narração dos aplauzos com que o juiz do povo e casa dos vinte-quatro festeja a felicissima inauguração da Estatua Equestre. Onde também de Expoem as Alegorias dos Carros, Figuras, e tudo o mais concernente ás ditas Festas* [trad. *Narration of the applause with which the judge of Lisbon and the house of the twenty-four celebrate the most blissful inauguration of the equestrian statue. Where also the Allegories of the Floats, Figures, and everything else concerning the said Festivities are exhibited*] (Lisbon 1775). In the opening chapter, the seven majestic floats that, then, paraded in the festivities, are described. The first four represented the four best known parts of the Earth (Europe, Asia, Africa, and America), symbolising the power of the Empire and the universal tribute paid to the King of Portugal. After the floats of Apollo and Oceanus have passed, the parade ends significantly with the float representing Triumphant Portugal. The depiction of each of the seven floats illustrates how they present themselves at the Commerce Square as true stage machines, accommodating an enormous amount of figures, props, visual and sound effects, and other technical devices. The procession of the four floats with details about the

fauna and flora of each part of the World, would resemble a small World Exhibition. There being no room, here, for their exhaustive description, take the case of the float devoted to Europe, as an example: “One sees a boisterous horse over the prow of the Car: in it, ten instrumentalist Musicians, and the same number of Dancers, all in costumes, richly dressed” (*Narração*: 5). The same document contains a section devoted to the “Regulation of the Dances that accompanied the Cars, and their garments” (*ibidem*: 24-25), where the movements, the costumes, and the colours of the diverse outfits, are listed in detail. The text also includes the choreography of the inauguration, in the section entitled “Description of the Order, in Which the Floats will March, and Dance to the Commerce Square” (*ibidem*: 26-28). The procession of the floats and other figures has a protocol stopover by the statue, for the spectacular production of a bow to King Joseph, leaving, after this gesture, under a “continuous symphony” (*ibidem*: 29). The feast and the many delicacies are the corollary of these actions, followed by dances and contradances, that will only “end at the break of Dawn”, repeating such bustle for two more days. Immediately before the feast, at eight o'clock in the afternoon of June 6, after listening to a sonata, the Judge of Lisbon reads a “gratulatory prayer” (*ibidem*: 30), which is followed by the reading of verses by the scribe and two deputies of the House of the Twenty-Four. The verses that are heard at the moment of the inauguration represent, however, a small part of the written production and of the reading of the verses. One should only remember that, from Apollo's float, where the poets and the musicians were, verses were constantly being poured out:

In the lower part of the float there will be six openings, from where verses of every existent quality will be thrown down the Streets and Squares. And from each of the other floats, in the same way, their respective Allegories and Explanations will be thrown (*ibidem*: 16-17).

Hence, a remarkable similarity can be seen between the persuasion that Goffman attributes to the social performance<sup>16</sup> and the inauguration of the statue as a major device of self-representation not only of King Joseph, but of the Marquis of Pombal, as well, suggesting a new urban conception for the city of Lisbon, and the symbolic projection of their authoritarian governance. The

compositions about the equestrian statue have very often captured the memorable impression of the event. The very (paradoxical) absence of the King at the inauguration seems to stimulate the imagination of the royal power (see Faria 2012). And the fact that the statue is completely covered by a red curtain seems to have increased the excitement of finally seeing it uncovered. A sonnet by Manuel Coelho de Carvalho is entitled: “Feelings of a spectator who comes to admire the equestrian statue” (Lisbon 1775: [s.n.]). An anonymous print, the *Letter or Concise Narration of the Festivity held in the City of Lisbon During the Placement of the Equestrian Statue*, refers to the excitement of the first moments, when the Marquis of Pombal and the Count of Oeiras “made the hearts jump with excitement”, “[...] uncovering that majestic artefact”, leaving on hold for a long time the admiration for the “singularity of the object” (1775: 4)<sup>17</sup>. The author of the Letter exemplifies the Ovation, also describing the happy feeling caused by the luminaries that were lit at night, the dances until dawn, the relaxed presence of the ladies in the windows, or the children who hugged each other in a continuous hullabaloo. The information is confirmed by another description, that of Jacinto Saldanha: he also celebrates the unusual “grandeur of the pomp and ceremony”, and ensures that the spontaneous acclamations of the spectators were often interrupted by the sincere tears which well showed the happiness and pleasure of the crowd (Saldanha 1776: 25).



Fig. 5. Equestrian Statue of King Joseph, early 20<sup>th</sup> century, photo of Augusto Bobonne, Lisbon Municipal Archive.

In our view, among the many compositions about the equestrian statue, this text by Jacinto Saldanha, which contains a political poison disguised by the sugary taste of the praises, should be read more carefully. Unlike the others, it dates from 1776, perhaps already from that time when the illness and eminent death of King Joseph foretells the banishment of the Marquis of Pombal and the partial destruction of his political project, when “the wheel came off the axle”, in the words of a courtesan (Malato-Borrvalho 2008: 74). Saldanha calls for a new reflection which should also stem from the individual conscience and not only from the collective practices, used in conversations, classes, or academies (Saldanha 1776: 5). For their effectiveness, in 1776, the poems from 1775 are useless and insufficient:

The public actions that have shown your excessive pleasure in praising our Sovereign have already come to an end [...]. The poetry is not the most capable one, it is not worthy of such high matters (*ibidem*).

It is now a matter of saving whatever of the Pombaline period could now be deemed memorable: the appreciation of manual labour, the interest in the commercial activity, the education reform that goes beyond erudition, the usefulness of a permanent army which assure peace to a new civility. Those are the pillars for a more just world. It reminds him of some of the legislation left, still incomplete in its intention, such as the Charter of 19/09/1761, which abolished slave trade to and within mainland Portugal. It had, then, been discovered that perpetual slavery is a punishment of innocents, worse than death, that can only be enforced by the right of force and never that of reason.

I get confused, I get afraid seeing the little that I have been saying, and the much I have yet to say (...) In this blissful time, one acknowledges that Vassals should not be slaves” (*ibidem*: 14-15)<sup>18</sup>.

Saldanha ends up praying for the health of the King, whose body was the necessary evidence for the actions that remained undone.

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## Notes

1 “Era um flagello este tyranno mestre/ Dos ouvidos e faces dos freguezes;/ Todos os versos leu da Estatua Equestre/ E todos os famosos Entremezes/ Que no Arsenal ao vago caminhante/ Se vendem a cavallo n’um barbante” (Almeida 1861: 278).

2 “A grande cortina, que no felicissimo dia 6 do corrente mez de junho de 1775, descobriu a régia estatua del rey meu senhor veio manifestar nos dias sucessivos, ao claro conhecimento de todos aquelles que não parando na superficie dos objectos que lhes presentam á vista, passam a investigar e compreender a substancia das cousas, que s.m. não só tem inteiramente dissipado as trévas, e reparado as ruinas em que achou sepultados os seus reinos; mas que além disso tem feito aparecer outra vez em Portugal o



seculo feliz dos senhores D. Manuel e D. João III” (Pom-  
bal 1861: 12).

3 “É o primeiro dos ditos exemplos, o character commum da letra de mão, pois quando até o anno de 1750, era rara a pessoa que escrevesse uma carta com boa letra, há hoje, parece, a mesma raridade de achar quem escreva mal em Lisboa” (*ibidem*: 12-13).

4 Such intention does not go unnoticed by many poets who sing the inauguration of the equestrian statue, including, among them, mainly Italians. Many poetic or poetical dramatic compositions refer to the eye of the “Foreigner”, or the Portuguese who emigrated after the earthquake. For example the anonymous sonnet “To the fair and much esteemed craftsman of the Equestrian Statue of His Majesty” (Book Collection of The National Library of Portugal, L 567/ 3 A), the sonnet by Domingos Maximiano Torres that begins “Oh Pilgrim, who looks respectfully” (BNP, L 567/ 17 A), or the “Dialogues in which the Magnificent Festivity with which the Splendorous Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue was celebrated is described [...] A Traveller and a Courtier are interlocutors” [by José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa] (BNL, L 1166// 16 A). As a dramatic curiosity worthy of note is the publication, in 1899, of a five-act play, *A Inauguração da Estátua Equestre* (*The Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue*), by Joaquim da Costa Cascaes (BNP, L 3857// A).

5 “Pois estamos no theatro/ Na mais agradável scena” ([Costa] 1775: s.p.).

6 “Todas estas Estatuas de França aniquilou, ou extinguiu a sua Revolução; e por esta causa parece que na sua enumeração deveria falar dellas em pretérito” (1975: 326).

7 “[...] cá vejo também Vossa Memoria/ Submetida ao Monarca, e isto soa,/ Lhe sustentais o throno (he voz notória)”, Book Collection of The National Library of Portugal, L 567// 2 A (Anon 1775: s.p.).

8 “Senhor, para exaltar a nossa dita / Tirai do Pedestal da Estátua Augusta / A imagem do Marquês feia e robusta, / Que ao vê-la ainda a seus pés o ódio excita” (Pimenta 1982: 54).

9 “cada hum no seu estado,/ Vós sem segundo, Elle o Rey primeiro” (Book Collection of The National Library of Portugal, L 567/ 3 A).

10 “[...] não devem os que eu proferir ter o menor lugar, porque tenho mais razões para conhecer o primor, com que a Fundação exprimio tudo quanto a escultura fez” (Machado de Castro 1775: 10n).

11 “Na multidão de versos, e algumas prosas que apparecêrão na festiva Inauguração desta Real Estatua sobre este assumpto, muitos de seus Authores chamarão Estatuario ao nosso recomendável Engenheiro; cuidando ser isto o mesmo que fazella, e que deste modo o elogiavam. Eu me compadeço de se haverem enganado tão solenemente aqueles Literatos; sendo conduzidos a este pesar pela falta de conhecimento das Artes e do desenho” (Machado de Castro 1975: 231).

12 “This proves that whoever makes similar favours, and expenses, in choosing skilful Artists, so that the monuments are visitable, should be careful; because if they are not, it results in the contempt of the same monuments, and the forgetfulness (against what is intended) of the

Heroes that they represent” (referring to Alexander the Great who “prohibited by an Edict, that no one could paint him, except for Apelles; nor sculpt him in bronze other than Lysippo” (Machado de Castro 1975: 323). “Isto prova do cuidado que deve ter quem faz semelhantes obséquios, e despesas, em escolher Artistas hábeis, para que monumentos sejam atendíveis; pois que de não o serem, resulta o desprezo dos mesmos monumentos, e o esquecimento (contra o que se intenta) dos Heroes, que eles representam (refere que Alexandre Magno, “prohibio por hum Edicto, que ninguém o retratasse em Pintura, à excepção de Apelles; nem o esculpissem em bronze outro que não fosse Lysippo” (Machado de Castro 1975: 323).

13 “[...] que o bronze pareça tenro, e de tal sorte animado, que a imaginação cuide ver-se respirar, e mover, tanto o homem, como o cavallo” (*ibidem*: 279).

14 Longinus is quoted in the *Analytical description*, and Joaquim Machado de Castro shows his knowledge of the neoclassical treatise, topically presenting painting and sculpture as silent poetry (Machado de Castro 1775: 3n e 1975: 7).

15 Quotes from the anonymous ode that begins “If, until now, you have been” [1775], the “Ode to the Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue”, by António Dinis da Cruz e Silva [1775], and the ode “In praise of the great day of the Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue”, by Antonio Alberto Paradiz, three printed texts, included in the Collection of The National Library of Portugal, respectively with the call numbers L 567//18 A, L 567//21 A, and L 567//30 A.

16 “A performance may be defined by all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants” (Goffman *apud* Schechner 2006: 29).

17 *Carta ou Narração Conciza da festividade feita na Cidade de Lisboa na Collocação da Estatua Equestre* [trad. Letter or Concise Narration of the Festivity held in the City of Lisbon During the Placement of the Equestrian Statue], Lisbon, Off Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1775, included in the Collection of The National Library of Portugal, with the call number L 3344//1 A.

18 “Confundo-me, atemorizo-me vendo o pouco que tenho dito, e o muito que me falta que dizer [...] Neste feliz tempo se conhece que os Vassallos não devem ser escravos” (*ibidem*: 14-15).