

Vanquished Moors and Turkish prisoners. The images of Islam and the official royal propaganda at the time of John V of Portugal in the early 18th century

Iván Rega Castro

Abstract

This paper deals with the image of Islam in the visual arts at the service of royal propaganda, with specific reference to the wars of religion in the early 18th century. In many cases the enemy takes the form of religious otherness: the “Moor” or the “Turk”. In the artistic field, the examples that we can mention in the Iberian kingdoms are few; even fewer are the cases of explicit representations, that is to say, those not evoked by allegorical images. However, these circumstances change if we consider the official royal propaganda deployed by the House of Braganza before the Holy See, in a period when the idea of a “holy war” against the Ottoman Empire was still active in Rome. These images of Islam are, in fact, different constructions of an “implicit spectator” and through this, of a remarkably different “audience”, that, in some sense, reflects the disparities in the political or cultural situation of the Iberian kingdoms and “frontier” states, such as the Pontifical State or Malta.

Questo articolo analizza l’immagine dell’Islam nelle arti visive al servizio della propaganda reale, con particolare riferimento alle guerre di religione all’inizio del XVIII secolo. In molti casi il nemico assume le forme dell’alterità religiosa: il “moro” o il “turco”. In campo artistico gli esempi che possiamo menzionare nella penisola iberica sono pochi; ancora meno sono i casi di rappresentazioni esplicite, vale a dire quelle non evocate da immagini allegoriche. Tuttavia, queste circostanze cambiano se affrontiamo la propaganda reale ufficiale dispiegata dalla Casa di Braganza presso la Santa Sede, quando l’idea di una “guerra santa” contro l’Impero Ottomano continuava a essere attiva a Roma. Queste immagini dell’Islam sono però diverse costruzioni di uno “spettatore implicito” e, attraverso di esso, di un “pubblico” notevolmente diverso, che in un certo senso riflettono le disparità nella situazione politica o culturale dei regni iberici e dei territori di “frontiera”, come lo Stato Pontificio e Malta.

1. Propaganda in the Spanish territories in the early 18th century

Despite Burke’s historiographical polemic¹, concepts such as “propaganda”, “public opinion”, or “ideology” are not as strange in the 18th century as they might be in the 17th century, or at least not in the Hispanic tradition² (apart from the religious environment and when preaching for the conversion of infidels). In this context, the propaganda and publicity of Iberian Monarchy acted according not only to the idea of dominating or subjugating their subjects, but also of turning them into an active part of a certain ideology or political discourse³.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to partially analyse the images of Islam in the visual arts at the service of regal propaganda (more or less explicit), and in a particular way, the circumstances of the wars of religion in the beginning of the 18th century, against an enemy that takes on the form of religious otherness: the “Moor” or the “Turk”.

· Iván Rega Castro, Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Social History, University of Lleida, Plaza Víctor Siurana 1, Edificio Rectorat, tercera planta, despacho 3.28, 25003 Lleida, e-mail: ivan.rega@hahs.udl.cat.

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¹ Burke 1992, pp. 2-7.

² Pérez Picazo 1966; Egidio López 2002.

³ On this paradigm shift, see Medina Domínguez 2009, pp. 17-18.

All European states (Catholics and Protestants) believed that they had been chosen to defend and sustain the faith⁴, but in a few places in the West the idea of “holy war” remained present as much as it did in Iberia⁵.

The idea had not only survived the Spanish Golden Age⁶, but in the early years of the 18th century it was more current than ever thanks to the publicity and propaganda of the supporters of Philip of Anjou and Archduke Charles of Austria during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713 / 1715).

This dynastic conflict between Catholic princes was quickly converted by pro-Bourbon propaganda into a “new crusade” against “Austrian heretics” (that is, the forces of the Holy Empire and its allies, England, the United Provinces, Savoy and Portugal), conditioning immediately the understanding of the conflict by the contemporaries themselves⁷. The Bourbon party, with the support of a large part of the clergy, built an image of Philip V as a defender of the “true religion”, which propaganda and art did not take long to exploit. This was visually standardised in his official image, which is well known thanks, in large part, to the works of Morán Turina⁸.

Just like his predecessors on the throne, Philip V was represented defeating heretics both in art and in literature, not only English and Dutch Protestants, but also Muslims⁹. Especially in vice-regal America he was represented as the antithesis of the Grand Turk, portrayed alongside the reliquary of the altars of the churches, especially in the Andes region¹⁰.

Inspired by the iconography of the Habsburgs as a defender of the Eucharist and active combatant against the heretics¹¹, the king was portrayed as an enemy of the unfaithful Turk and as a legitimate custodian of the religious fervor of the Spanish Monarchy. Even in La Paz, then belonging to the Viceroyalty of Peru, Philip V was compared to «the sun of both monarchies to eclipse the Ottoman moons» at the celebrations of the birth of Prince Louis Ferdinand I in December 1708¹². In fact, these symbols responded to an idea widely disseminated in printed pamphlets and sermons: the need to cut off Ottoman power in both the Mediterranean and North Africa.

In this sense, the pro-Philip propaganda claimed that the war of succession was a distraction for Philip V from his dynastic obligations as the legitimate king of Spain; at that moment he was deeply involved in defending the enclaves of the coast of Barbary, such as Ceuta (in permanent siege since the late seventeenth century) or the squares of Oran and Mazalquivir, occupied by the Algerians in January 1708¹³, and advancing in the North African conquest.

⁴ In both Protestant and Catholic countries, the same ideas of “messianic imperialism” spread in modern times, according to Parker 2001a, pp. 148-149 y 153-154. The term “messianic imperialism” was first mentioned by Parker in relation to Carlos V and his son Felipe II. Cf. Parker 2001b, pp. 324-325, 336-337.

⁵ Flori 2004, pp. 10-11.

⁶ García Martín 2004, pp. 101-125.

⁷ Egido López 2002, pp. 231-239. See too González Cruz 2002.

⁸ Morán Turina 1990, p. 44; Morán Turina 1988, n.p.

⁹ Pascual Chenel 2014, p. 272.

¹⁰ Morán Turina 1990, p. 44. An ephemeral altar was erected for the feast of Corpus Christi in the city of Potosí during the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1720. It included a tabernacle in which Philip V was represented in the front defending the Eucharist of the Turk. Cf. Mújica Pinilla 2007, pp. 175-176. This “Allegory of the Defense of the Eucharist” frequently served as a compositional scheme in order to underline the fervor and spiritual leadership of the King of Spain, whether it was Charles II or his successor, Philip V. Montes González 2011, pp. 140-141. State of the art in Iglesias 2014.

¹¹ Pascual Chenel 2013, pp. 57-86.

¹² Bridikhina 2007, p. 197.

¹³ An updated state-of-art, in Torrecillas Velasco 2006, pp. 225-229, 243-246.

On the other hand, the *Austracistas* (unsuccessfully) tried to oppose this propaganda strategy by exploiting the prestige accumulated by the Habsburg dynasty of Austria - which still kept the Ottoman Empire at bay as «an antemural to the Christianity incontestable to its enemies»¹⁴.

And in this sense, they condemned the conduct of the kings of France in respect of their strategic partnerships. A pamphlet published in Barcelona in 1702 (re-edited numerous times until 1710), recalled the circumstances of the siege of 1683 and the “opportunism” of France. It compared for example the French with the Turks, calling them astute, false and misleading¹⁵ - adjectives traditionally applied to Moors in religious literature of the Spanish Golden Age. Also, during these years, an anonymous text replying to Cardinal Luis Belluga, famous defender of the Bourbon cause, insisted on the claim that France had an alliance with the Turks¹⁶. An accusation that was even reported in the *Gazeta de Barcelona*, in November of 1710¹⁷.

Therefore, the presence of the Turkish in sermons and publications of religious content was abundant in these years. On the other hand, there are few examples regarding this matter in the artistic field that we can mention in the Iberian Peninsula, let alone cases of explicit representations, that is to say, not evoked by allegorical images. Such is the case of «a dragon with a crescent on the head» in the mythological fable of Andromeda saved by Perseus, designed in April 1701 for the festivities celebrating the entrance of Felipe V in Madrid. In the printed book for this event, it was explained that «the dragon is the perfidious Moor that has oppressed [...] the best Andromeda of Africa»¹⁸. It is probably an allegorical representation of contemporary reality, in relation to the siege of Ceuta by the Moroccans, which started in 1694¹⁹.

There is a commemorative representation of warlike events documented years later, perhaps more concrete than the mythological fable of Andromeda and Perseus. That is particularly the case regarding the *Fountain of Fame* erected in the gardens of La Granja de San Ildefonso around 1730²⁰. Here is a female figure that mounts a winged horse, over a large rock, with a trumpet in her mouth. In this context, the Pegasus horse is described as «running over Moors and the others, falling around the rock». It is clear that these figures allude to the power of Catholic Monarchy (in fact, it is the only fountain, among all the artworks, that can be clearly interpreted this way) although there are other rather contemporary readings of the statue which are quite surprising. The

¹⁴ *Clarín de la Europa* 1710, p. 14. Cf. González Cruz 2002, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ In the text it reads as follows: «cotejese la Francia y los Turcos, [...] astutos, dobles, engañosos [...]». Ivi, p. 9.

¹⁶ «La verdad es, señor mío, que los franceses, holandeses, e ingleses, criados con la leche de Maquiavelo, y Bodino, son faccionarios de la religión, que más conduce a su interés. Con los turcos son turcos, con los católicos son católicos, y con los herejes [...] / [...] y saben también que la ha tenido [alliance], y tiene, Francia con los Turcos, y con más firmes juramentos que con la Iglesia Católica». In *La Verdad sin doblez* 1706, pp. 29 and 31.

¹⁷ The text reads as follows: «por cartas de [...] 27 de Setiembre, se dize aver alli llegado un Persiano venido de Constantinopla; quien refiere las vivas diligencias; y ofertas que avia hecho la Francia a los Turcos, para que entrassen en la Guerra»: in *Gazeta de Barcelona, publicada dia 30 de noviembre de 1710*, n. 29, Barcelona, Rafael Figuerò, 1700. Cf. González Cruz 2002, p. 58, note 76.

¹⁸ «Es el Dragon el perfido Moro, que procurando cobrar feudo, tiene oprimida la belleza de la mejor Andrómeda de Africa y siendo aquel Perseo Gentil (o Fabuloso) espera deste verdadero Perseo su libertad». In *Descripción del adorno* 1701, pp. 19-20. Cf. Morán Turina 1990, pp. 46, 128, note 16. Morán Turina 1995, p. 94.

¹⁹ Montes Ramos 1999.

²⁰ Obligatory texts are: Bottineau 1986, p. 465; Morán Turina 1990, pp. 47 and 65. For a current state-of-art and an up-to-date bibliography see: Herrero Sanz 2012, n.p.

sculptural group is described as «representing the destruction of the Moors» in Spain²¹. It is an interpretation to which the events of the reign of Felipe V added a new validity. After the loss of Oran and Mazalquivir, the African question had been marginalized in the international politics of the Crown. However, between 1731 and 1732 the Spanish expedition to recover these places was prepared and then carried out in the summer of 1732. An undertaking that was interpreted, by the king and by his contemporaries, as the greatest success of his reign and that once again brought the struggles against the Moors into the European collective imagination²². The truth of the matter was that neither Moors, Turks nor Moorish are represented, or at least not in the conventional way, but simply evoking them through archetypal images (classical and outside of historical time) of defeated warriors.

In fact, this review on how the discourse of otherness around the figure of the “Moor” (and Islam) was created at the beginning of the 18th century offers us the portrait of a sort of non-visible enemy, since it was non-represented. It is an iconographic category that must be related to other forms of “heresy” or other religious conflicts of the modern age, in which “the other” is deprived of an “explicit” representation; be it the “common” enemy of Christianity, the Turks-Ottomans, or the “close” enemy, the Moors of the Maghreb.

2. *The Portuguese “crusade” and its official propaganda in Rome*

Such an absence of representations may seem paradoxical in the light of the abundant propaganda and religious writings of the early years of Philip V’s reign, although not so much if we put it in parallel with what happened in Portugal. In this sense, the Iberian Peninsula describes a coherent and differentiated situation if we compare it with other regions of southern Europe. The circumstances of the royal propaganda of the Braganza dynasty do not differ greatly from those described.

Thus, a quick revision of royal entries and funerals, along with other forms of ephemeral art between the late 17th century and during the early years of the reign of John V of Portugal, indicates an absence of explicit images of Moors, Turks or Berber pirates²³. Paradoxically, these circumstances change if we hold them up against the diplomatic strategy deployed by the Portuguese before the Holy See, in order to make the interests of the House of Braganza present in the political and cultural life of Rome in the early 18th century²⁴.

²¹ In the manuscript it reads as follows: «[...] la qual significa la destruccion de los moros quando les obligaron a salir de su / Reino los Españoles, y está dicha Fama en lo alto de un peñasco sobre el Caballo Pegaso, con alas, tienen en cada mano una trompeta [...] y dicho caballo está atropellando a los moros y otros estan caidos alrededor del peñasco [...]»: in *Descripción general de los diámetros y figuras que hacen los estanques de las fuentes como también de las obras de sculpture... en los Jardines de San Ildefonso*, h. 1740-1745, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Mss/2197, ff. 37r.-v. A full transcript in: Martín Pérez *et al.* 2002, p. 202. An anonymous handwritten description preserved at the BNE has been used, but there are other similar ones, which were used as guides of the Royal Palace during the development of the works. Cf. Lozano López 2005, pp. 341-346.

²² Torrecillas Velasco 2006, pp. 144-145 (It is not by chance that the majority of the Moors expelled from the Peninsula between 1609 and 1616 were directed precisely towards Algerian territory). The Spanish expedition of 1732 is well-known and well documented, although for a state of the matter see: Fé Cantó 2016, pp. 89-110.

²³ Montes 1931, pp. 39-41; Alves 1986, pp. 50-73; Pereira 2000, pp. 151-164. An exception may be made to the solemn entrance to Lisbon of the wife of King Peter II, Maria Sophia Elisabeth of Neuburg, in August 1687, see: Borges 1985.

²⁴ On the diplomatic relationship between Lisbon and the Holy See in the time of John V, an obligatory text is: Brazão, 1937. For Portuguese royal patronage in Rome in the first half of the 18th century, see:

It begins with the embassy of André de Melo e Castro, Count of Galveias, extraordinary envoy of John V before Clement IX since 1707, who made his solemn entry into Rome in April 1709, with six allegorical carriages of Roman manufacture, rich in works of carved gold - to which historiography, however, has paid little attention²⁵. In the first carriage or coach, a front panel was painted, presided over by the personification of «Lusitania represented as Pallas Athena» sitting on an orb or globe and accompanied by Hercules, at whose feet there were «barbarians prisoner bounded by strong chains»²⁶. On this occasion, the archetypal image of the barbarian or heathen materializes in a concrete and usual iconographic type in the Roman artistic context, that of the Muslim prisoners: a Moor and a Turkish-Ottoman, subjugated and chained, as observed in the engraving that illustrates the book published with that motive (fig. 1). Among the most similar predecessors for these motifs, there is the tomb sculpted in Rome in 1686 of Nicolas Cotoner, Grand Master of the Order of Malta, for the church of San Giovanni in Valletta²⁷.

In this same sense, a sculpture group was realised in the back of the same carriage, headed by an allegorical figure of Religion enthroned between Africa and America. This allegorical figure is undoubtedly subjecting a Turkish slave, easily identifiable by his shaven head and the tuft or lock of hair on top²⁸, although in the text he is generally referred to as a Moor (fig. 2)²⁹. Generally, the sculptures and allegorical figures of the carriages at the Roman triumphal entrances were intended to glorify the power and virtues of the monarch commissioning the work of art. The figure of the Turk who is falling from the carriage and extends his right hand trying to reach the true Religion symbolizes, therefore, the spiritual Catholic mission deployed by the Portuguese Monarchy throughout their travels around the world, in a permanent struggle against paganism and, in a particular way, against Islam, not only through the «force of arms»³⁰, but also by means of preaching.

It is an iconographic program with which John V of Portugal first tried to demonstrate his adherence to the idea of a crusade against heresy and, secondly, to counteract the negative opinions about his intervention in the War of the Spanish Succession by allying the Portuguese Crown to the Protestant powers.

On the other hand, the scheme of the composition was not entirely new since it was inspired by a design for a ceremonial carriage by Filippo Passarini, published in Rome in 1698³¹, and destined for the entrance of an ambassador of the Order of the Knights of

Quieto 1988; Rocca, Borghini 1995. On the propaganda policy of John V of Portugal, see also: Bebiano, 1987; Pimentel, 2002.

²⁵ On the extraordinary embassy of Count Galveias, see: De Bellebat 1709. For the study of the carriages that composed the procession, see: Pereira 1987, pp. 77-91; Gomes *et al.* 2000, cat. 59, pp. 172-173.

²⁶ The text reads as follows: «Na poppa da dita carroça está pintada a grande Lusitania vestida de Pallas, amagestradamente assentada sobre hum globo; tem a seu lado o famoso Hercoles armada da sua tão temida massa, e pelle de Leão. A os pés da Lusitania se vêm repetidos despojos de seus triunfos representados já em barbaros presos com fortes cadeas já em rendidas armas, reliquias de tam continuadas batalhas [...]»: in De Bellebat 1709, p. 38.

²⁷ Bacchi 1996, p. 81. I would like to thank G. Capriotti for the news provided on this subject.

²⁸ In Turkish Algeria, in the 18th century, the Spanish sources describe the renegade Christian in this way: «[...] viste el traje de turco, se pone el turbante y se corta el cabello, dejando en lo alto o superior de la cabeza el copete o *chuf* de su propio pelo»: Barrio 2006, p. 197.

²⁹ The text reads as follows: «[...] Entre Africa e America se ve a Religion dando a mam a hum mouro, que vaj cahindo do carro. He emblema do Cattolico Zello Dos Reis de Portugal, nam se contentaram com expulsar de seus Reinos heresia, senam que em partes tam remotas deram a man a muitos pellas forças de suas armas [...]»: De Bellebat 1709, p. 39.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ Passarini 1698, pl. 24. For an updated bibliography, see Di Castro 2009.

Malta - perhaps related to the monument of Nicolas Cotoner in Valletta: the model is certainly Roman. In Passarini's design, a female figure, armed and armoured, who for her attributes can be identified as a personification of the Order of Malta, was enthroned over triumphs and military spoils. A personification that clearly resembles that of Lusitania represented as Pallas Athena, which presided over the carriage of the ambassador of Portugal, the Count of Galveias. Moreover, the carriage's rear train had the shape of a battleship's helmet, and on it were also depicted, on both sides, two slaves (perhaps two Turkish prisoners, because of their shaved heads) which were surrounded by military and marine motifs. Passarini can therefore be considered a source of inspiration for the iconographic programs of the Portuguese ceremonial carriages, not only those of the entry of 1709, but also those of 1716³².

It is the second of these ceremonial processions that traditionally catches the attention of historians, since it is the culminating moment of the diplomatic activity of the extraordinary ambassador of Portugal, Rodrigo de Sá Almeida e Meneses, Marquis of Fontes³³. His official entrance in Rome was celebrated in July 1716, although by then much of his mission was already fulfilled - as emphasized by Delaforce, who had been in Rome since 1712. Three carriages with much symbolic content (presently at the Museu Nacional dos Coches in Lisbon) were at the front of his procession. Their iconographic program was to be read in connection with the title traditionally given to the kings of Portugal, «Lord of Guinea, and Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India», and were designed by the Maltese architect Carlos Gimac, in collaboration with the Portuguese artist Vieira Lusitano³⁴.

However, the aim of this work is focused on the second of the carriages, dedicated to presenting the imperial title «Lord of the Navigation»³⁵, and therefore, in the rear, the personification of the city of Lisbon. This figure has at her feet trophies of war and two prisoners: once again, one Ottoman Turk and one Moor (figs. 3 and 4) - this was also explained in the printed book for the occasion³⁶.

These figures are traditionally interpreted as personifications of Africa and the Orient, whose faces are characterized by their plastic quality and their ability to capture psychological aspects, which allows them to be considered as worthy heirs of *I Quattro Mori* by Pietro Tacca in Livorno. The attitudes and concepts represented by these two figures are different, as highlighted by Delaforce: «A Turk looks down as though unable to bear the light of the "true faith" while a Moor gazes up as if illuminated by his

³² Delaforce 2001, p. 143.

³³ Apolloni 1993, pp. 89-103; Delaforce 1995, pp. 23-26; Delaforce 2001, pp. 117-164; Pinho 1996, pp. 51-57.

³⁴ Carvalho 1960, pp. 292-296; Pereira 1988, pp. 56-57; Delaforce 1993, pp. 55; Pinho 1996, pp. 51-57; Levenson 1993, p. 291, no. 115; Delaforce 2001, pp. 141-143.

³⁵ To quote Count Ciantar, for example, on the role of Carlo Gimac, in his *Malta illustrata*: «Al nostro Carlo [Carlo Gimac] diede l'incompenza d'ordinare le cose necessarie e così pomposa funzione. Ond'egli tra le altre cose fece i vaghi disegni delle sontuose carrozze con alcuni geroglifici, o simboli allusivi ai titoli, e alle provincie soggette alla Maestà Portoghese: e tra gli altri nella prima carrozza fece porre appresso il timone due cavalli marini per indicare il titolo di Signore della navigazione, di cui si pregia quel Monarca [...]», in Ciantar 1780, p. 579. Cf. Apolloni 1995, p. 422; Delaforce 2001, p. 141.

³⁶ «Conformavansi le bracci della parte posteriore del Carro all'invenzione della anteriori, [...]. Con / grave contegno armata di lorica il petto su lo scanno à guisa di roversciata conca, spirante maestà l'aspetto, sedeva Lisbona, collo scettro disteso, che teneva nella destra mostrava atto imperioso, e colla sinistra raccoglieva paludamento Reale; conculcava co'piè gran fascio d'armi barbare sostenute dal corpetto à forma di grande cartella terminata da capriccioso giro di voluta. In atto dimesso ed umile [...] sedevano mezzo ignudi, ed incatenati due schiavi; quello della destra rappresentava un Moro, ed un Turco l'altro della sinistra»: in *Distinto raguaglio* 1716, pp. 15-16.

conversion to Christianity»³⁷. This interpretation, although not supported by the documentation preserved, favours an allegorical reading in parallel with the Conde das Galveias' coach made in 1709, which was presided over by the personification of Religion shaking hands with a Moor, implicitly identifying Religion with Lisbon.

On the other hand, it explores the idea that the Moors are not only enemies, but also allies and, at times, they can also fulfil the role of subject of the evangelization³⁸. It's a (re)conceptualization of the image of the "other" especially useful to the interests of the Portuguese Empire, whose enclaves extended from West and East Africa until India, since the late 15th century. Unsurprisingly, the diplomatic mission of the Marquis of Fontes was intended, amongst other matters, to resolve urgent questions concerning the former privilege of the Portuguese «Real padroado» in their missions in China, which sanctioned the autonomy of these establishments in relation to the jurisdiction of the Roman Church.

But it is not the "Good Moor", the only figure who looks at Lisbon (fig. 4). The city is also represented here as a woman clad in armour and royal insignia: sceptre, mantle and crown (that suspends Glory on her head), and at whose feet appears a dragon that is looking her³⁹. This small dragon destroys a crescent (symbol of the Muslims), and it was explained as the heraldic emblem of the of the Braganza dynasty. This perfectly exemplifies the polysemy of the images related to the representation of the Muslim, since the dragon, snake or hydra, historically related to evil, sin and heresy, does not always represent "the perfidious Moor" such as in the celebrations of the entry of Philip V in Madrid, 1701⁴⁰. However, as in the first of the examples, this is an allegorical representation of contemporary reality, directly related to the preparations made by the Royal Portuguese Navy since March 1716 to aid Venice, the Pontifical States, the Church and all of Christianity, in the face of the Turkish threat in the Mediterranean.

3. *Roman propaganda, a reflection of the Portuguese Empire*

In the spring of 1716, a first fleet set out from Lisbon to break the siege of Messina. Shortly thereafter the carriages of the cortege of the Marquis of Fontes, through the art of propaganda, (re)presented the Portuguese Empire in the eyes of the Romans, and of the entire papal court, as a thalassocracy capable of tackling the threat of Islam. However, these types of allegories were already part of the visual culture of the contemporaries, or at least we can assume it from the themes or subjects proposed for the contest convened by Clement XI at the Roman academy (the *Accademia del Disegno*), in 1706. In fact, «a cart loaded with spoils, and trophies with some Ottoman slaves tied behind it»⁴¹ is proposed as the theme for second-year students. Therefore, these projects created in some way the conditions conducive to «the desired triumph that will come for the Christian weapons» in the war against the Turks that had been promoted by the pope⁴².

³⁷ Delaforce 2001, pp. 141-143.

³⁸ See previous quotes by Franco in the same volume.

³⁹ The text goes on: «[...] fra questi feroce slanciavasi [one Ottoman Turk and one Moor] un Drago, che con gl'artigli spezzando una mezza Luna col capo elevato come pendente da cenni, risguardava Lisbona, che dalla parte destra veniva assistita dalla Providenza [...]. Prolisso riuscirebbe, volersi con essa rappresentare il glorioso trionfo delle soggiogate Africa et Asia»: *Distinto raguaglio* 1716, p. 15.

⁴⁰ See previous quotes by Franco in the same volume.

⁴¹ In the text it reads: «Per la seconda classe: Un carro carico di Spoglie, e Trofei, con alcuni Schiavi Ottomani dietro ad esso legati»: Ghezzi 1716, p. 8. Cf. Levenson 1993, p. 291, no. 115.

⁴² «Relazione: Siccome le gravi passate turbolenze, non sono state per l'addietro [...], così al presente i nuovi abbenchè a Roma, e dalla Cristiana Repubblica, formidabili movimenti dell'Ottomana nemica

Only a year later, in June 1717, something similar happened in the battle fought at Cape Matapan in southern Greece against the Turkish navy, which brought together the forces of the Portuguese navy, Venice, Portugal, the Papal State and Malta⁴³. This victory, achieved against the Muslims, and more directly against the Ottoman Empire, not only reaffirmed the commitment to the “holy war” of John V of Portugal, but also legitimized the political-religious project of Portugal beyond the Mediterranean.

This theme, based on the identity-otherness duality within the Portuguese transoceanic empire, was already present in the funeral apparatus designed by the architect Carlo Fontana in Sant’Antonio dei Portoghesi, for the funeral of Pedro II of Portugal, celebrated in September 1707⁴⁴. According to the illustrated source, inside, on the side aisles of the funeral apparatus, they arranged twelve sculptures from different Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia (such as Angola, the Cabo Verde Islands, Mozambique, São Tomé, Goa or Macao), whose distribution does not correspond, however, with the text⁴⁵.

Nevertheless, the figures representing these Portuguese enclaves and territories in Africa and Asia were archetypes of the exotic for the Roman public, without any distinction of religion, ethnicity or culture of origin. Thus, they were depicted with turban and folkloric caps, dressed indistinctly in their gowns, halfway down their legs, tightened at the waist by a girdle, according to the 17th century Turkish fashion. These personifications materialized, however, a specific iconographic type, images of a “close” religious otherness well known to all the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, like those of the Iberian Peninsula, but which had nothing to do with the experience of cultural interaction that was so real to the Portuguese of that vast and geographically discontinuous set of territories that connected Europe and Asia to the east.

Therefore, these images of Islam are, in fact, Roman products that allow the construction of an “implicit spectator” and through this a remarkably different “audience” from that of the Iberian kingdoms, for which the figures of the Turkish and Moorish slaves, to give an example, never had validity. An audience that is that of Portugal in the early 18th century, similar to the Spanish one, who seems to have lost “fear of the Moors” as an immediate, near, alive and constant danger⁴⁶.

The theoretical conformation of this “implicit spectator” presupposes the existence of individuals who actively participate in a particular “ideology” or political discourse, which in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula seems to have been based on the threat of the Ottoman Empire. This propaganda becomes more intense and explicit, if possible, during the pontificate of Clement XI, in which the war against the Turks is intensely promoted. A good example of this is the canonization of Pope Pius V in August 1712, which was used by the Papacy to relaunch the idea of “holy war”, as

potenza non sono bastante a far sì, che dopo di avere [...] implorato la Santità Sua il Divino prima, indi l’umano ajuto, per far argine all’empito di que’Barbari [...], non sono, dissi, bastante a far sí [...]. / [...] furono stabiliti per la concorrenza de’ Premi gl’infrascritti soggetti i quali sotto varie rappresentanze anticipassero al nostro sguardo la vista di quel desiderato trionfo, che sperano l’Armi Cristiane dalla pottente assistenza di quel Dio, il quale propizio al Paese del suo Popolo si arma contro i nemici de’ suoi Servi»: Ghezzi 1716, p. 7.

⁴³ Monteiro 1996, pp. 97-109.

⁴⁴ *Funerale celebrato* 1707, pl. V. Cf. Rocca, Borghini 1995, cat. 41.I/5, pp. 268; Fagiolo 1997, pp. 23-24, no. 49, fig. 14.

⁴⁵ Text reads as follows: «dodici Statue di chiaro scuro, quali nelle divise delle vesti rappresentavano dodici principali Paesi soggetti al Dominio di Portogallo additati in altrettanti scudi, [...], cioè in una parte Portogallo, Isola Madera, Ternate, Capo Verde, Maragnone, e Regno d’Algarve, nell’altra opposta Macao, Brasile, S. Tommaso, Goa, Regno di Angola, e Mozambique»: in *Funerale celebrato* 1707, p. 4.

⁴⁶ To this fear and fantasy about Moors reconquering the Iberian Peninsula, so common during the sixteenth century: Hess 1968; Kimmel 2012.

highlighted by Capriotti⁴⁷. The festival that concludes the eight celebration in honour of St. Pius V and, in particular, the fireworks commissioned by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, on the evening of August 14, is of great interest in this relation. For this reason, a firework machine was designed and built in the same Piazza Navona where Bernini built the *Fontana del Moro*, in the form of combat, and shaped by three Christian galleys, and in the other three Turkish galleys so that it represented the Turkish armada and the three galleys encircled with the moon, the coat of arms of the Barbarian Empire⁴⁸.

In the light of these sources, it is easy to formulate a hypothesis, although adventurous, about the geographical distribution of these representations, since the “explicit”, that is, non-allegorical images of Muslims subjected by force of arms (such as the Turkish and Moorish prisoner) seem to have triumphed mainly in frontier places such as the Pontifical States or Malta⁴⁹, whose coastal enclaves were continually exposed to the threat of the Turkish fleet or attacks by pirates and privateers.

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⁴⁷ Capriotti 2016, pp. 357-374. Cfr. Caffiero 1998, pp. 103-121.

⁴⁸ Text reads as follows: a «macchina del fuoco artificiale» was designed «in forma di combattimento, essendo disposte da una parte le tre galee de' collegati cristiani, e dall'altra le tre galee turchesche», so that «rappresentavasi [...] tutta l'armata formabili dei Turchi ni tre Galee contrassegnate colla Luna, stemma di quel Barbaro impero»: in *Istorico motivo* 1712, pp. 2 and 3. Cf. Fagiolo 1997, p. 30.

⁴⁹ It is an iconography that had its roots in the south of the Italian peninsula, since the 15th century. As a distant antecedent, it is worth mentioning the triumphant entry of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples in 1443, in which he also used images of subjugated Moors, as noted by Franco, in this same volume. Among the most recent references, see also: Molina 2011, pp. 97-110; Molina 2015, pp. 201-232; Delle Donne 2015, pp. 114-155.

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Appendix

Fig. 1. “Emblem” for the coach of the Conde das Galveias, engraving in *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur Andre de Mello e Castro a la Cour de Rome...*, 1709, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 2. Desig for the coach of the Conde das Galveias, engraving in *Relation du Voyage de Monseigneur Andre de Mello e Castro a la Cour de Rome...*, 1709, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 3. Allegory of the Continent of Asia: the “Turk” prisoner. Detail of the second coach of the Marquês das Fontes. Carved and gilded wood, 1716, Lisbon, Museu Nacional dos Coches. Foto: Henrique Ruas. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF)

Fig. 4. Allegory of the Continent of Africa: the “Moor” prisoner. Detail of the second coach of the Marquês das Fontes. Carved and gilded wood, 1716, Lisbon, Museu Nacional dos Coches. Foto: Henrique Ruas. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF)