The “new Lepanto”? John V of Portugal and the battle of Matapan (1717)

Running heads:

Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies

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[#]This work is part of more extensive research carried out with the support of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P. IMPI. *Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim in Iberia (15th–17th centuries) and their Mediterranean Connections*, whose principal investigator is Dr Borja Franco, National Distance Education University (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain).

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Abstract

This paper deals with the new propaganda image represented in the *Portrait of John V of Portugal and the Battle of Matapan*, attributed to Giorgio Domenico Duprà, a commemorative work of art which referenced the battle of Cape Matapan. The victory achieved by the Portuguese navy (with an allied Christian force) over the Ottoman Empire in the Aegean Sea, in June 1717, was directly related to the official royal propaganda deployed by the Portuguese before the Holy See. It was destined to make a new image of the Portuguese king as a Catholic hero and to demonstrate his adherence to the idea of a crusade against Islam. The idea of a “new crusade” against the Grand Turk, therefore, continued to be active in Rome (as in Lisbon) at the time of Pope Clement XI, and it is in this context that the portrait gains diplomatic and symbolic significance. It is about offering an alternative view not only of the royal rhetoric but also of the Portuguese public opinion that served as a counterpoint, through unpublished documentation.

Keywords

John V of Portugal

Pope Clement XI

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Marquis de Fontes

battle of Matapan

holy war or crusade

propaganda image

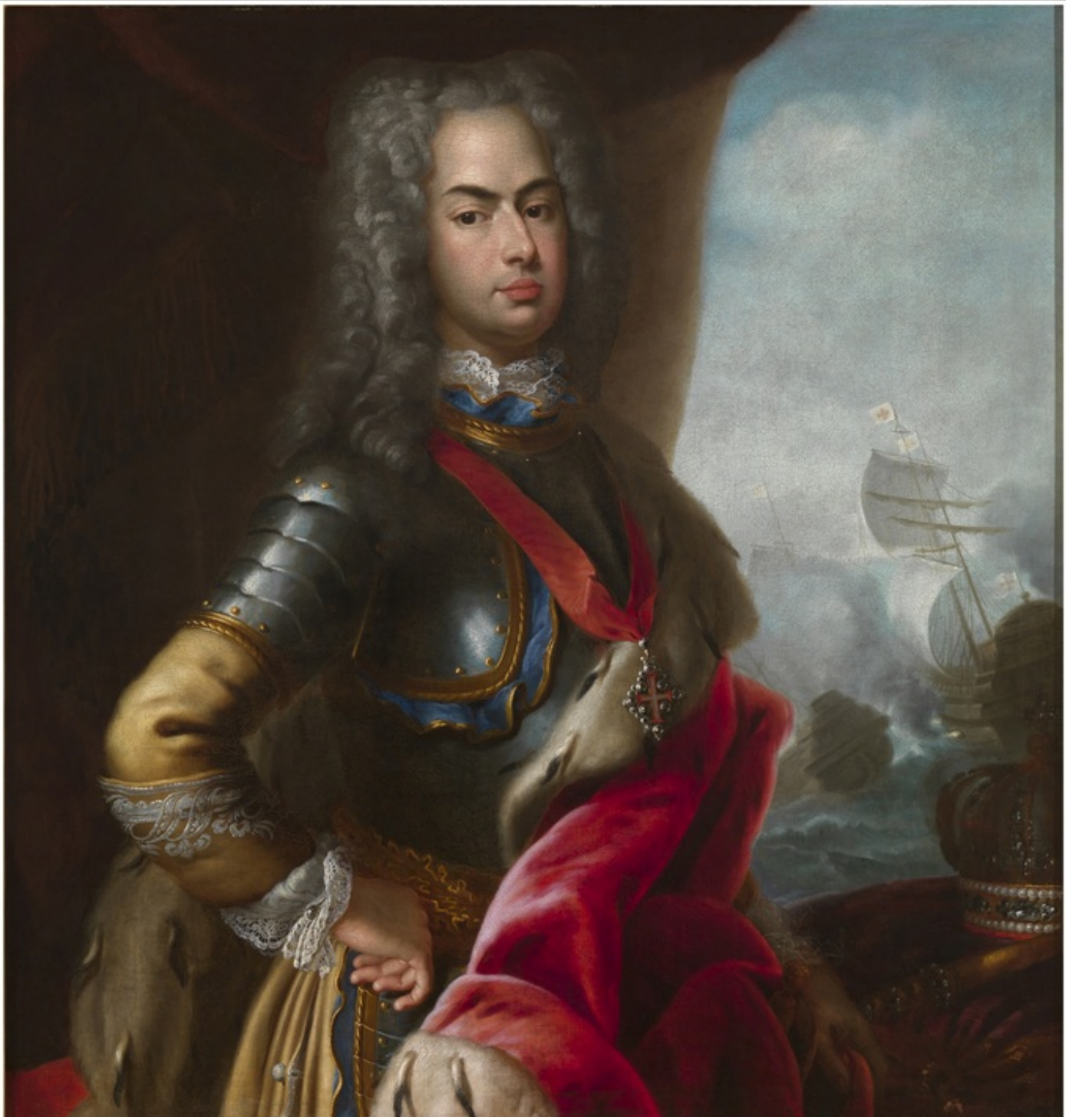
“There is no power without an image, nevertheless, what takes most time in composing [fabricating] is the image of power” (França 1995, 97) Correct citation: França 1991, 19, 1995, 67 . Often there is a gap between the “reality” of the facts and the collective imagination of the contemporaries, and sometimes too a clear conflict between the facts and the “images” or the sources that remind us of or evoke them. In these circumstances, it would be logical to assume a certain degree of “political fiction,” in the words of Bouza (1989, 22; 1998, 63–4), which is connatural to the rhetoric and the royal imaginary that sustain the visual arts. The rhetoric and the propaganda of the absolute monarchies sought – also at the beginning of the eighteenth century – to create a certain public image of the king (Burke 1992, 13–14) and to manufacture, with the media within his reach, the “King imagined” (Giesey 1987, 41–2).

This story begins with a painting recently acquired by the Portuguese Government for the National Museum of Antique Art (Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga, MNAA), after it was shown in the exhibition *The Prodigious Commission. From the Patriarchal Basilica to the Royal Chapel of St. John the Baptist* (Pimentel 2013, 48–9, no. 21), held between May and September 2013. The artwork was attributed to Giorgio Domenico Duprà, a Turinese painter, who had a considerable contemporary reputation as a portraitist. In fact, he was employed by the Savoy, Stuart (in exile in Rome), and Bragança families, first in Rome and then in Lisbon. Duprà moved to Rome while young, probably in 1717, where he entered the studio of Francesco Trevisani, and in 1719 he travelled to Lisbon to become a portraitist to John V of Portugal (e.g. Busiri Vici 1977; Wolfe 2014).

The *Portrait of John V of Portugal and the Battle of Matapan* (Figure 1), a half-length depiction in armour, shows physiognomy and gestures that remind us of the known portrait of the *Joanina* Library at the University of Coimbra (Universidade de Coimbra), or the portrait at the *Tudescos* Room at the Paço de Vila Viçosa (Évora), also painted by Duprà, with an unknown date (c. 1720–1725). The analogies are not surprising, considering the interrelation of the prototypes, prints, and pictorial copies of the official portraits of John V of Portugal, as well as the

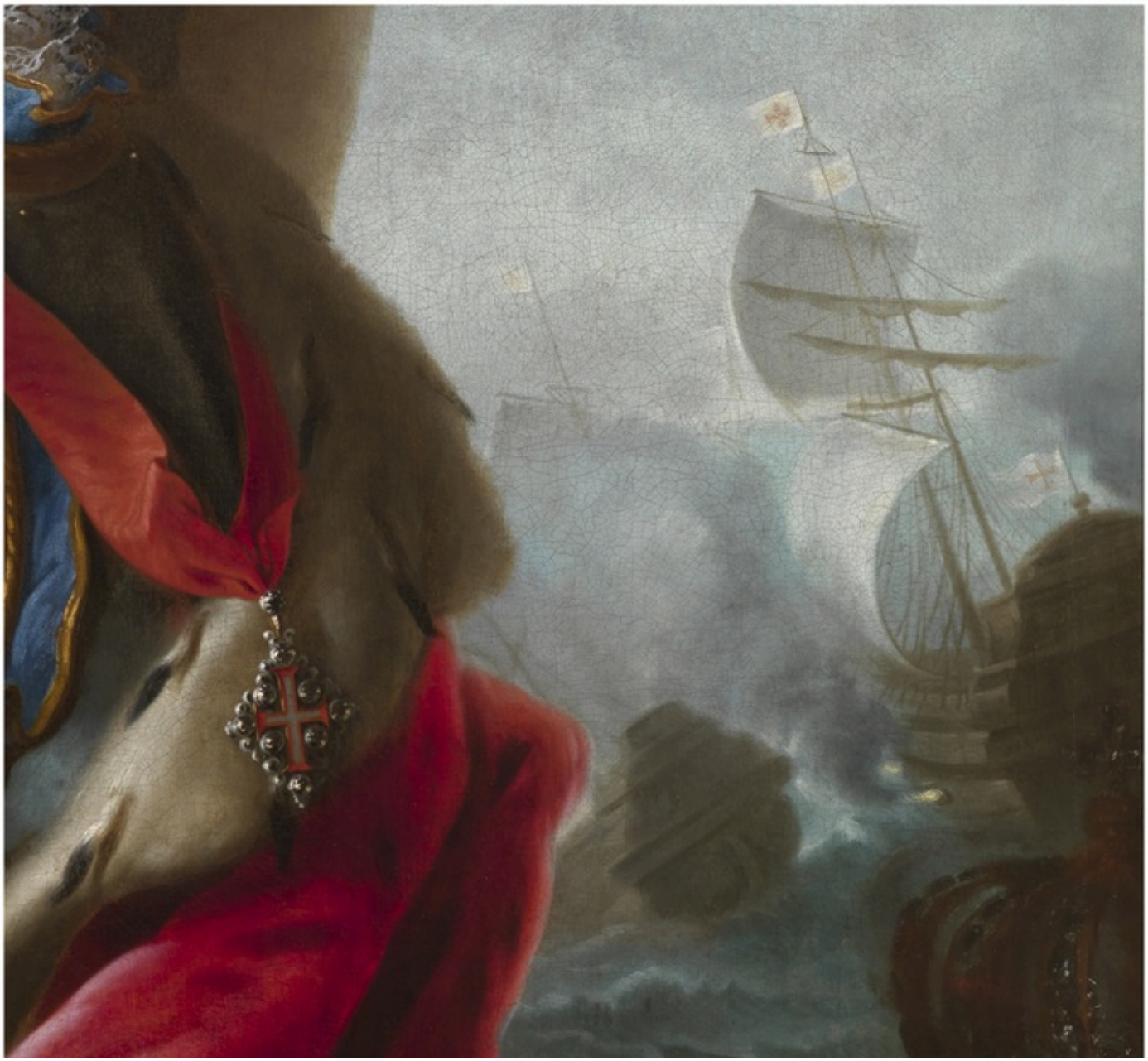
AQ11 Portuguese court portraits (França 1981, 40; Pimentel 2002 [1992], 68–9; Pimentel 2008, 136). The portrait in question (undoubtedly by Duprà) presents the king of Portugal in uniform and as a ruler, with all the insignia and attributes of his rank: the sceptre, the cross of the Military Order of Christ on the breastplate, and the cloak of the ermine, outlined against a dark background, in ochre colour. [1]

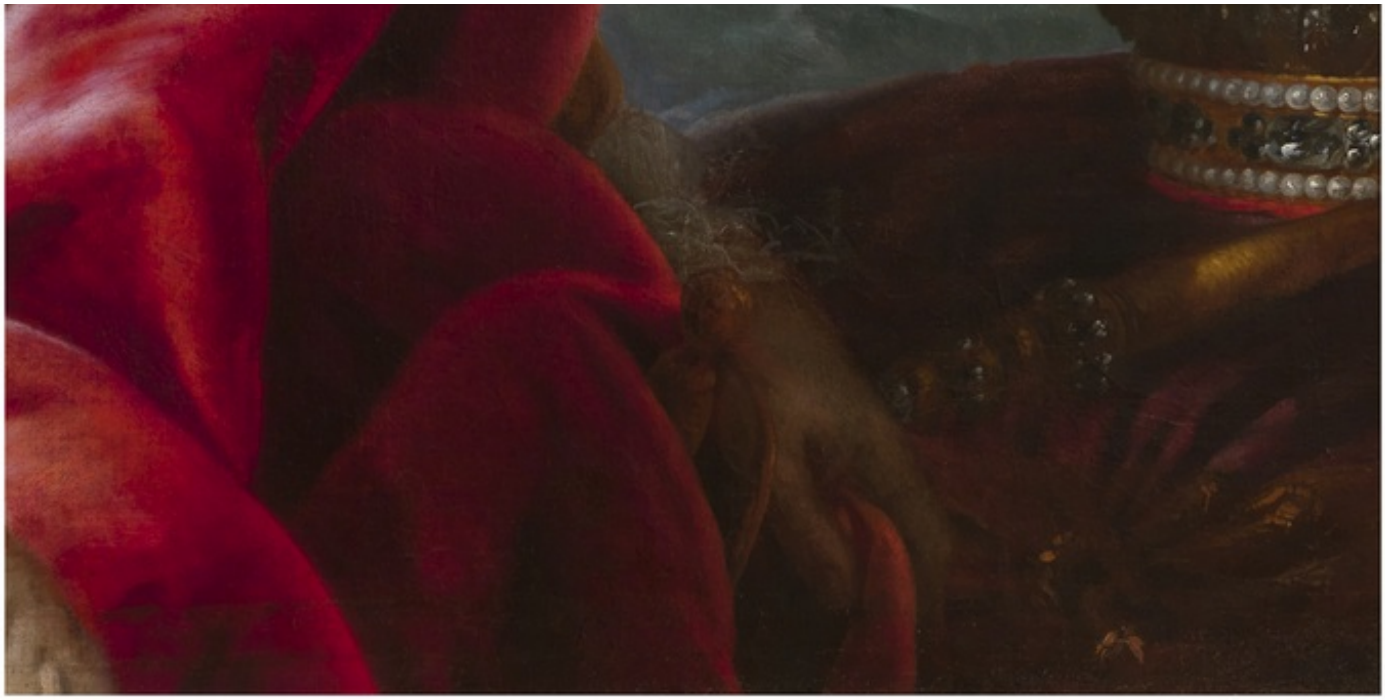
Figure 1. *Portrait of John V of Portugal and the Battle of Matapan*, by Giorgio Domenico Duprà, oil on canvas (99 × 94 cm), c. 1717. National Museum of Antique Art (Museo Nacional de Arte Antiga, MNAA), Lisbon. Photograph: Luisa Oliveira. Direção-Geral do Património Cultural/Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF).



On the left-hand side, an opened curtain reveals a battle scene, depicting what appears to be a naval battle between a Portuguese warship (on the far right of the canvas), recognizable by the flags with the cross and insignia of the Order of Christ, and an enemy that is hardly identifiable. A more detailed analysis allows us to identify the ship as Turkish–Ottoman, by the half-moons that the flags display.[2] There is no doubt that a good part of the kingdom was willing to see and recognize itself in the warship (*nao*) that opens fire on the enemy. This is not a simple synecdoche of the Portuguese Royal Navy, but rather the archetypal image of Portuguese navigation, strongly related also to the heraldry of Lisbon itself (Figure 2).[3]

Figure 2. Picture detail from the *Portrait of John V of Portugal and the Battle of Matapan* (see Figure 1).





The painting also has a landscape format, which is unusual in the production of official portraits painted by Duprà during his stay in Lisbon,[4] where he was working from 1719 until 1730. It is quite distinct from the more traditional late Baroque portrait format, which allowed, however, an expansion of the development of the propaganda apparatus that surrounded the effigy of the monarch. Attention must be paid not only to the naval battle in the background, but also to the representation of the elements that were placed in the foreground: the crown and the sceptre, resting on a cushion or an unusually cylindrical or tubular, red velvet pillow – perfectly visible nowadays thanks to the conservation and restoration works that the canvas is undergoing in the Department of Conservation and Restoration of the MNAA (Departamento de Conservação e Restauro do MNAA).[5] Naturally, the choice and position of the cushion are not accidental, but, in addition, this iconographic formula was of extreme current relevance in the creation of images of power. It followed the conventions to the letter established by Hyacinthe Rigaud in his *Portrait of Louis XIV* (1701), which became a paradigm of royal rhetoric.[6]

The painting was made known to the general public by Ayres de Carvalho (1962), who described it as “one of the most beautiful portraits of the many Duprà painted in Portugal, circa 1719–1720” (Carvalho 1962, vol. 1, 240–1). He boasted that it had been owned by the Portuguese embassy in The Hague, perhaps a gift from John V to his ambassador in the United Provinces, João Gomes da Silva, count of Tarouca, without giving any further information (see also Carvalho 1962, vol.

1, 240–1).[7] But in truth, little or nothing is known of its place of origin or execution. The only clues are the military events that are commemorated in the painting, identified by the historiography as the battle fought in Cape Matapan, southern Greece, on 19 June 1717, between the Turkish and the Portuguese navy (also known as the Christian navy), which brought together the forces of Venice, Portugal, the Papal States, and Malta (Saturnino Monteiro 1996, vol. 7, 97–109).

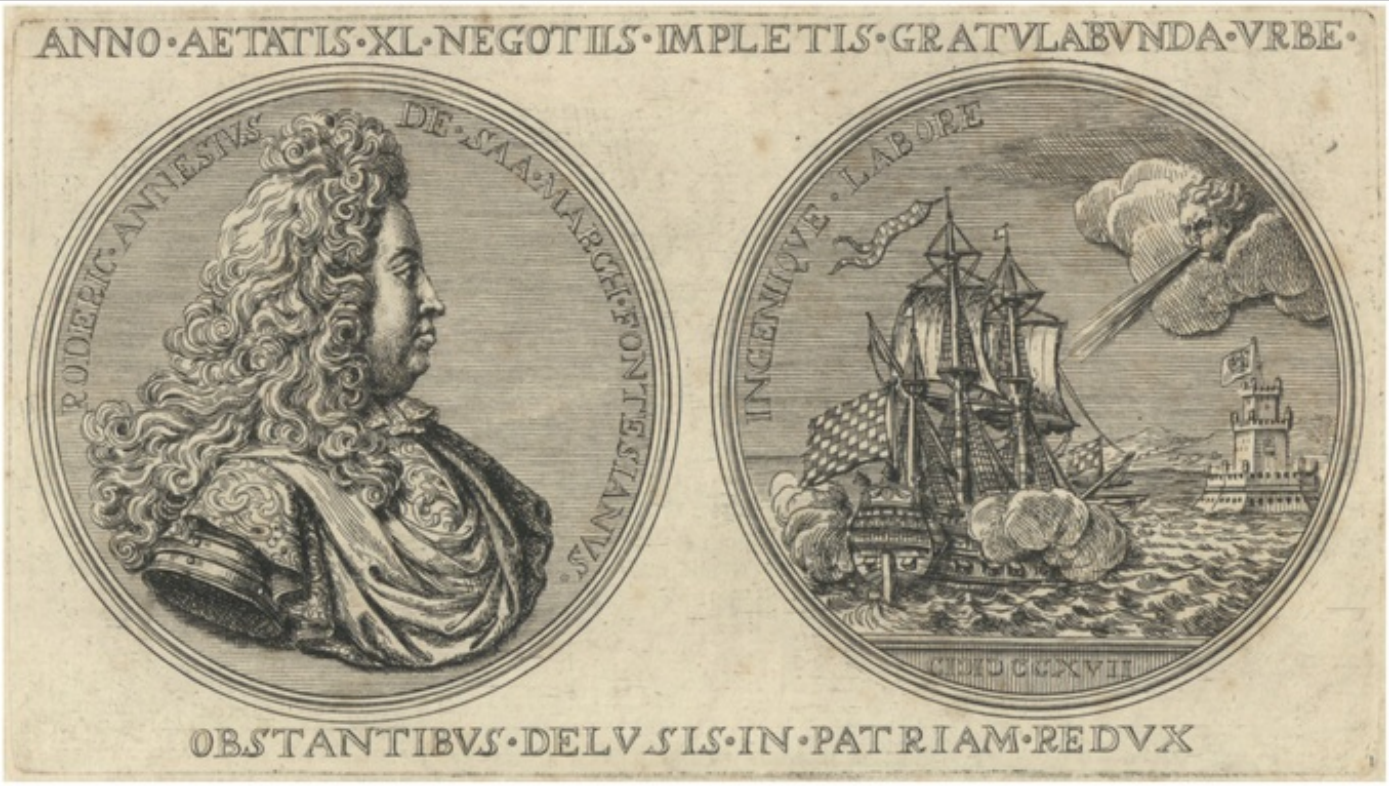
The iconographic interpretation, in my opinion, offers no doubts: the triumph of the Portuguese Crown over the sultan, known as the Grand Turk by the Europeans, is integrated into the diplomatic strategy deployed before the Holy See and the propaganda policy of John V, in which the main component would become a new image of himself and, by extension, of Portugal. The crown and the sceptre, two of the main insignia of royal power, embody Portugal, just as the naval battle in the background represents the offence to the great opponent in the Mediterranean, outside the Christian world: the Ottoman Empire.

Duprà used this image to signify Portuguese naval power, defining the Portuguese Empire as a kind of thalassocracy, capable of tackling the threat of Islam in the Mediterranean through an allegorical portrait that he again took advantage of in later stages when serving the great thalassocracy of the time, England, working as a "court painter" for the Roman court of British exiles.[8]

The model, though, is clearly Roman, or Italian, if you prefer. This artwork therefore becomes another example of the enormous effort that John V of Portugal made to underline his interests in the political and cultural life of Rome in the eighteenth century. The king tried, in a sense, to offer a strong image of the kingdom of Portugal, which he certainly lacked in the Atlantic or European military context. The success of the naval force formed by the Portuguese king against the Turks was also extolled by a rare medal commissioned by the Marquis de Fontes, issued in Rome and dated 1717. Unfortunately, no graphic documentation of it has survived.[9] Instead, all texts describe a ship in the sea with the Pillars of Hercules, which represented the Portuguese power exerted on the Mediterranean in the collective mindset of the period. As is known, this was inspired by the official currency of Charles V, the "*Plus Ultra*" ("Beyond"), with the Herculean columns as the image. This currency, like the image designed for John V of Portugal, augured the establishment of a universal Christian empire extending to the East, as far as the Holy Land, and to Africa. The same image of a ship, sails fully open, is used, with different symbolism, in a medal dated 1717,

commemorating the success of the extraordinary ambassador of Portugal to the Holy See, Rodrigues Aires de Sá Almeida e Meneses, Marquis de Fontes (Figure 3). It was made by another of Trevisani's pupils, the Portuguese artist Vieira Lusitano, who accompanied the Portuguese embassy to Rome. [10]

Figure 3. *Project for a Medal Commemorating the Embassy to Rome of the Marquis de Fontes*, by Vieira Lusitano, engraving (8.5 × 15.4 cm), c. 1717. National Library of Portugal (BNP), Lisbon.



The rescue of Venice, the Pontifical States and, in addition, the Church and all of Christianity in the face of the threat of the Turks, was promoted by Pope Clement XI through the briefs sent to Lisbon between January 1715 and January 1716. The warnings about "the danger that everyone sees as imminent for Christianity and for Orthodox religion" and the calls to defend by arms "all Christianity, the Church and the Faith," to go "in defence of public salvation against such an abominable enemy," take place in these papal briefs. [11]

In fact, John V of Portugal was the only Catholic monarch willing to attend to the requests of the Holy See and to engage in this war against the Turkish navy, not for political or military reasons, but simply to increase his influence in Rome, which had grown since the beginning of his reign, and especially over the papacy. It was not by chance that Clement XI addressed himself to "those who, in their unique affection for the Church, and notable devotion to this Holy See, we know perfectly well that no one surpasses." [12]

perfectly well that no one surpasses.[12]

When John V made the decision to send the Portuguese navy to the Mediterranean, organizing two flotillas in 1716 and 1717, undoubtedly the idea of a "crusade" against Islam, or a religious war, if you prefer, was still alive, which led, for example, to Portugal's participation in the North African expansion (e.g. Tyerman 2007, 864). In fact, all countries believed that they had been chosen to defend and sustain the faith,[13] but in a few places in the West the idea of holy war persisted equally in the peninsular kingdoms, undoubtedly because of the weight of the medieval past (Flori 2004, 7–11). Thus, during the Modern Age, the idea of a religious war continued to be equally active not only in the culture and mentalities of the Portuguese, but also in those of their neighbours, the Spaniards (e.g. Bicheno 2005, 107–80, García Martín 2015, 44–55 Add: González García, 2015). Moreover, the holy war had not only survived in the Iberian Peninsula, but in the early years of the eighteenth century it very much alive thanks to the war of Spanish succession (1701–1713/15). This dynastic conflict between Catholic princes was quickly converted by (pro)Bourbon propaganda into a new religious war against the "Austrian heretics," immediately conditioning the understanding of the conflict by the contemporaries themselves (Egido López 2002, 311–14; González Cruz 2002, 155–60). The Bourbon cause, with the support of a large part of the Spanish clergy, constructed an image of Philip V as the sole defender of "true religion." The propaganda and art did not take long to exploit this subject AQ13 (Morán Turina 1988, 44).

On the other hand, in Rome and throughout Italy, the clergy had also continued to call for doubled efforts in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire since the late seventeenth century. A good example is the canonization of Pope Pius V in 1712, which was used by the papacy to relaunch the idea of undertaking a holy war against the Turks.[14]

Consequently, Pius V – the pope who had succeeded in gathering together the Holy League and assembled the Christian army who fought the battle against the Turks at Lepanto – became a model immediately followed by Clement XI; he also preached the crusade against Islam and called to form a new Holy League against the Turks. In the process of canonization, his belligerent policy against the Turks and the progress of Catholic "re-conquest" in various lands acquired a leading role in the enhancement of his pontificate and his legacy, in tune with a military

and providentialist religious discourse (Caffiero 1998, 117–20).

But it is the letters of Clement XI, dated 18 January and 14 December 1716, not his briefs, which best illustrate the means used by the Holy See to bring John V of Portugal to action, since in his speech providentialism and messianism are still present, with the idea of a "holy war" as a backdrop. Thus, the pope affirms that

> [...] divine providence [...] has reserved for you only [John V of Portugal] this glory which will make its name always memorable in the Annals of the Church, in which [...] it will be recorded that in defence of the whole Church, when horribly threatened [...]: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John." (John 1: 6)

When the Christian navy assembled in Maltese waters,"[...] from thence they shall depart with our blessing and with which we shall unceasingly plead with the Lord of the armies [...] and go boldly to meet enemies: 'Why should the nations say, "Where is their God?" Let there be known among the nations in our sight' [Vengeance for the blood of Your servants which has been shed]." (Ps. 79: 10)[15]

In his letters, Clement XI calls to action "a man sent from God" – in which the Church and all of Christendom place absolute trust – to deal with the grave danger posed by the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean. He intentionally reproduced the same words that Pope Pius V dedicated to the victor of Lepanto, John of Austria, in a speech given during the mass of thanksgiving that he read the day after he heard the news, on 22 October 1571.[16] The comparison particularly favours John V of Portugal, the new "messiah" or Catholic hero who was called upon to use force:

> [...] as we desire, and we expect from His Majesty, more than from any other party, [...] by the fervent and known zeal with which he is accustomed to ignite every time he deals with the affairs of God and the Catholic religion.[17]

The fact that the initiative to attack the Ottoman Empire by sea had been taken by the pope, and that Portugal had not entered the war to satisfy direct interests, was not only not hidden, but widely disseminated in the political writings and press of the time.

The *Lisbon Gazette* (*Gazeta de Lisboa*), which had been published for only a year, since the summer of 1715, reported on the first squadron formed in the spring of 1716, stating that the "naval relief that His Majesty promised [...] to His

Holiness against the Turks departed from the port of this city [Lisbon] to Belem on Saturday 4 of the current [...]" (*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 11 July 1716, 123–44; see talso Brazão 1937, 146–7); in fact, they did not leave the Tagus estuary until 5 July. In the same way, it announced the following year the departure of the ships of the Portuguese fleet "[...] destined to the aid of Christian weapons against the infidels, who are ready to take to the sea" (*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 29 April 1717, 121), an event that occurred on 28 April 1717.

Also in the manuscript preserved in the National Library of Portugal, which is a sort of journal written during the voyage of this second squadron that fought the battle against the Turks, Portuguese navy sergeant Lourenço Justiniano Ribeiro Soares insists on the idea that the reason was "[...] the petitions that Pope Clement XI made several times to the King ... [that John V] resolved to send his aid to Italy, in favour of Christianity, and of the Venetians, against the Turks" (Soares 1717, f. 2 r.).

It is evident that official political writings of the time helped to form a public opinion about the war "against the Turk," not only among the Portuguese, but also among foreign circles in Lisbon, while projecting a new image of John V as the defender of Christianity beyond the limits of the Portuguese Empire. Thus, a witness of Galician origin described as

having arrived at the said City of Lisbon, Queen of Portugal, the referred Fernando de Casas, found in there a war officer of that Kingdom [Galicia] of his acquaintance, called D. Baltasar García, who was about to embark; in one of the warships in which he helped the lord emperor [of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire] against the Turk; on the day of St. Mark of that year, which was on the twentieth and the fifth of April [1717], they accompanied him on a Ship to that vessel, next to which there were more than twenty other Ships. [18]

The news of the victory, in the vicinity of the Cape of Matapan on 19 July 1717, against Islam and more directly against the Turks, which preceded the triumph of the Austrian army in Belgrade in August 1717, definitively deciding in favour of the Christian arms the outcome of the war against the Ottoman Empire, soon arrived in the West. However, the *Lisbon Gazette* (*Gazeta de Lisboa*) scarcely reports on the events in November 1717, in which it informs us how the

Conde do Rio Grande Admiral of the Navy, who was in command of the squadron that this year went to the East, returned fortunately to this port on Saturday the 6th of November, retaining all ships, and with the glory of having honoured His

Majesty's arms in the seas of Morea [Aegean Sea].(*Gazeta de Lisboa*, 11 November 1717, 357)

Thus, the two Portuguese expeditions in the eastern Mediterranean, in 1716 and 1717, coincided in time with the diplomatic activity of the extraordinary ambassador of Portugal to the Holy See, the Marquis de Fontes. He had arrived in Rome in 1712 with the delicate mission of solving urgent questions concerning Portuguese royal patronage and, in parallel, obtaining special privileges to elevate the royal chapel of the Palace of Lisbon (Paço da Ribeira) to the category of a patriarchal church. Already in 1716, much of his mission had been fulfilled, as is commemorated on the medal designed by Vieira Lusitano for "*Roderic Annesius de Saa March Fontesianus*." Delaforce highlighted the relationship between the flotilla that left Lisbon in July 1716, heading east, to help break the Turkish siege of Corfu, and the following, in April 1717, which was part of the Christian armada that overcame the Ottomans at Cape Matapan, with the decision of Clement XI to grant to the Lisbon Church, and, by extension, to the Portuguese Crown, important honorific titles (Delaforce 1993, 55–60; Delaforce 1995, 23–6; Delaforce Correct **AQ14** citation: Delaforce 2002 , 134–5). On 7 November 1716, by the papal bull *In supremo apostolatus solio*, Clement XI created the Patriarchate of Lisbon, and elevated the royal chapel to the status of holy patriarchal church of West Lisbon (Brazão 1937, 185).

In addition, after the triumph achieved by the Portuguese in southern Greece in the summer of 1717, John V of Portugal received effusive signs of gratitude from the Holy See and the Republic of Venice.[19]

On the other hand, news is scarce in the gazettes, printed material, and battle accounts located in Portugal, as is news on the celebrations and commemorations on the occasion of the Portuguese victory in the Aegean Sea: the major celebrations of the battle of Matapan took place in Italy.[20] Moreover, the absence of other allegorical images is astonishing Add: (see, e.g., Mulcahy 2006; Bouza 2008, 44) , as is the lack of reflection in the production of a certain contemporary genre painting with the facts narrated and which dealt, monographically, with naval battles similar to those executed, for example showing the battle of Lepanto (e.g. **AQ16** García Bernal 2007, 38–9; Mínguez 2011, 264–7, 2017, 335–51). Even more suggestive is the fact that there was no official Portuguese analogy between the victory of the Portuguese navy over the Ottomans in 1717 and the battle of

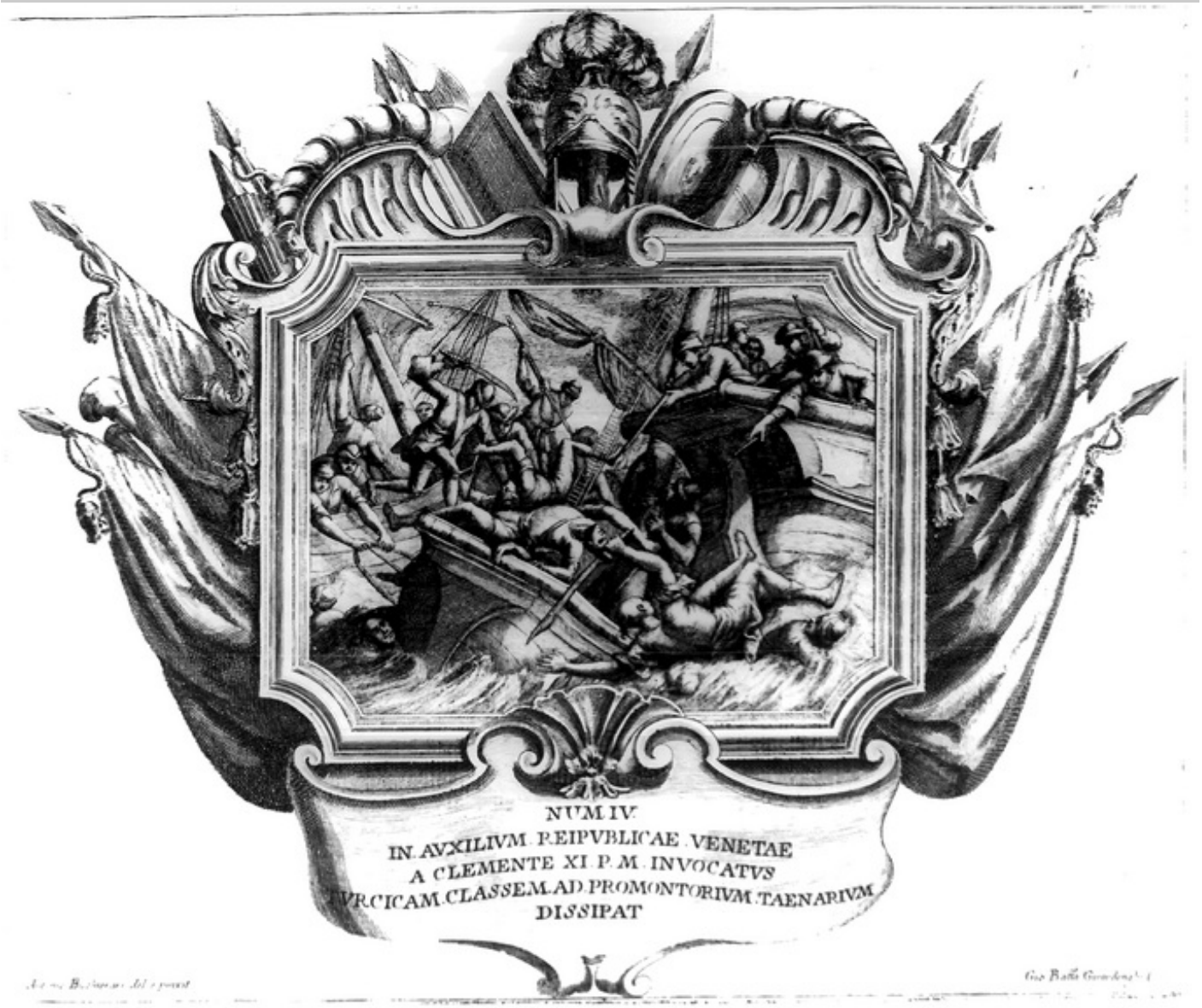
Lepanto. Not only for the discreet participation of the Portuguese in the Christian alliance that virtually annihilated the Turkish fleet, but especially for being the military achievement that prepared the inclusion of Portugal in the Catholic monarchy in 1580: with the triumphant backdrop of Lepanto, King Sebastian planned his own crusade against the West African coast, where the young king of Portugal died in 1578, and so too did Portugal's independence.

Therefore, a few years later, some eulogists elected other examples, such as an elaborate "*parangone*" promoted between John V and Manuel I on the occasion of the solemn procession of Corpus Domini held in Lisbon in June 1719. In this context, the incursions of the Portuguese navy in the Aegean Sea, between 1716 and 1717, were compared with the aid given to the Republic of Venice against the Turks in the summer of 1501, as an example of the commitment of the Portuguese kings in the defence of Christianity and the fight against Islam.[21]

The few localized examples, especially engravings, are directly related to the military glories of John V of Portugal and the merits of his reign. This is the case in the funeral apparatus constructed in the church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi in Rome, on the occasion of the funeral of John V of Portugal in May 1751, a project by the Portuguese architect Emanuel Rodríguez Dos Santos, widely disseminated by the Roman press (*Exequias feitas em Roma* 1751; Gambogi 1751).

AQ17 Surely it was he he = Rodríguez Dos Santos who devised much of the allegorical programme and chose the artists involved in its execution, with a great display of scenes of "history" inside the church, which also had room for the political and military achievements of the reign. Thus, on the capitals of the pilasters of the main nave, twelve panels framed by military trophies were created with the deeds of the reign of John V, painted by Antonio Bicchierai. Among these, the one by the entrance on the right stood out, "[...] the victory achieved by the Portuguese navy sent by the late King at the request of Pope Clement XI to help the Republic of Venice" (*Exequias feitas em Roma* 1751, VII). For this battle scene, Bicchierai resorted to a very dynamic composition, characterized by once again focusing on two or three ships, which collides, in the foreground, with the Turkish soldiers placed in the lower third, subjected by the arms of the Portuguese, or cast into the sea, just as it appears in the engraving (Figure 4).[22]

Figure 4. *The Victory of the Portuguese Navy in the Battle of Matapan*, engraving after a drawing by Antonio Bicchierari, in *Exequias feitas em Roma á magestade fidelissima do senhor Rey Dom Joaõ V* (1751, Rome). National Library of Portugal (BNP), Lisbon.



The scene represents an outdated concept of a naval battle whose iconographic model was perhaps Lepanto, which consists of the approach between warships, the collision and the fight with arms of hand, which is more effective for the allegorical and propagandistic purpose of the iconographic programme. The battle of Matapan, on the other hand, did not escape the usual rule in the representation of naval battles in the eighteenth century, with a fierce artillery combat at a distance, but without any ship being seriously damaged, much less sunk or burned (Brazão 1937, 167–8; see also Saturnino Monteiro 1996, vol. 7, 107–9). Therefore, in order to see the deployment of the Portuguese squadron, composed of ships that looked more like sixteenth-century galleons than eighteenth-century warships (*naos*), we must pay attention to the panel at the entrance on the left, which commemorates, “the aid of the navy, against the

Ottoman army in the siege of the [island] city of Corfu" (*Exequias feitas em Roma* 1751, IX), in August 1716, and which is of little interest when represented from the point of view of those defending. [23]

To summarize, the victory of the Christian navy over the Ottomans in July 1717 at the Cape of Matapan, although not decisive from a strategic point of view, had an enormous diplomatic and symbolic value, not only in Rome, but in the rest of Italy, and in a certain way in Portugal. This triumph somewhat proved the idea of holy war that legitimized the political and religious project of the Portuguese Empire as the main ingredient of the great oceanic voyages in its late medieval past, and also reaffirmed its continuity in the *Joanino* period, in that Portugal had been able to stop the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean. It is probable that the making of an image of power at the height of these "exploits" would not be expected, and that the task would be undertaken immediately in the Eternal City.

There is no certainty as to the date of execution or the origin of the *Portrait of John V and the Battle of Cape Matapan*, but perhaps it was the Marquis de Fontes himself who conceived of the commission of the king's portrait that would celebrate and remember these facts (just like the medal for "Joannes V. Rex Portug. et Algarb."). It was not by chance that he came into contact with Giorgio Domenico Duprà and probably encouraged him to put himself at the service of the Portuguese court, which is why he left Rome in December 1718. The coincidence of the dates and the fact that the Marquis de Fontes was the specially appointed ambassador of Portugal to Clemente XI, the main instigator of the Portuguese intervention in the eastern Mediterranean, logically explains their relationship and the commission. It has so far gone unnoticed, but Duprà probably met the painter Vieira Lusitano in Rome (Yarker 2017, 197), and thus, possibly collaborated on the pictorial project, which must have materialized between the summer of 1717 and the end of 1718.

Disclosure statement

AQ1 No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Acknowledgement

I would like to especially thank Alicia Canes for her recommendations and corrections to this article.

Notes

1 For other portraits of John V of Portugal, with identical iconography, see

1.For other portraits of John V of Portugal, with identical iconography, see Quieto (1988, 49, Fig. 1); Rocca (1995, 152, no. 30, Fig. 98); Carvalho (1995, 256–9, no. 23).

2.The Ottomans did not adopt the emblem with the crescent as a symbol of their state until the eighteenth century (e.g. Brummett 2008, 116; 2015, 91).

3.Since the late Middle Ages, the arms of Lisbon have been the ship and the crows. But it is from the sixteenth century that the ships used in the overseas expansion become the dominant element of the shields of the city (e.g. Moita 1994).

4.Most of the paintings are portrait format, such as the portraits of the *Infanta of Portugal, Maria Bárbara de Bragança* (75 × 60 cm, inv. no. 2255) and the portrait of the *Prince of Brazil, José de Bragança* (75 × 62 cm, inv. no. 10002068), c. 1725, in the Prado Museum and the Royal Palace of Madrid, respectively (Franco 1995, 246–9, no. 20, 21; Yarker 2017, 197–8). However, it was not uncommon in his Italian production, since a portrait of *King Vittorio Amedeo III of Savoy* was recently sold in the Italian art trade, which matched that of his wife, Queen Maria Antonia Fernanda of Spain, an oil on canvas of similar measurements, 89 × 84 cm (Meeting Art, Vercelli [Italy], 2010, 10 April, lot 530).

5.Grateful acknowledgement is made to the MNAA for the rights of access, with especial thanks to the curator of the Painting Collection, Dr Joaquim Caetano.

6. Burke (2001 Burke, Peter. 2001. Visto y no visto: el uso de la imagen como documento histórico. Barcelona: Crítica AQ12, 34). Busiri Vici (1977, 2) also detects French influence in Duprà's earliest portrait work.

7.It was allegedly purchased by the Brazilian ambassador to Holland, Sousa Leão, in the antiquarian trade in The Hague, and was later part of the Mario Fiorani Jr and André Fiorani collection in Rio de Janeiro, from whom the Portuguese government purchased it (September 2016).

8.This is the case in the portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Jacobite claimant to the English throne, shown in full body, represented in military dress, with a flotilla in the background. But more suggestive is the fact that the portrait is widely disseminated in the engravings by Nicolas-Jean Baptiste de Poilly (s. l./s. n.), made after Duprà's 1740 portrait, e.g. in the National Library of Spain (Biblioteca Nacional de España), engraving, 33.4 × 21.1 cm (s.l.; s.n., c. 1740), BNE, signatura IBR/517. However, the need to project the young Stuart as a military figure was even more important than in Portugal (e.g. Wolfe

2011; Yarker 2017, 203).

9.The inscription reads as follows: “Joannes V. Rex Portug. et Algarb.,” with the king’s bust; on the reverse was a ship in the sea, with the Pillars of Hercules, bearing the inscription “Fusis, fugatisque Turcis Lusit. classis subsid, ad Faenarum p. [portum] 1717” (see e.g. Sousa 1738, vol. 4, 492–3). See also Brazão (1937, 182, Delaforce 2002, 135).

10.Authorship attributed to Vieira Lusitano and dated between 1716 and 1717. The inscription reads: «Roderic Annesius de Saa March Fontesianus: ingenique labore, MDCCXVII: anno aetatis XL negotils impletis gratulabunda urbe obstantibus delusis in patriam redux». It is known only through engravings, such as the one preserved in the National Library of Portugal (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal), engraving, 8.5 × 15.4 cm (s.l.; s.n., c. 1717), BNP, cota E. 75 PQ. For Vieira Lusitano, see Delaforce (2002, 124–6).

11.Castro (1873, vol. 9, 270–86, brief from Pope Clement XI to John V of Portugal, 17 January 1715; 6 January 1716; Clement XI to Mariana of Austria, Queen consort of Portugal, 7 January 1716); see also Brazão (1937, 122–7).

12.Castro (1873, vol. 9, 274–7, brief from Pope Clement XI to John V of Portugal, 6 January 1716); see also Brazão (1937, 124–6).

13.Parker (2001, 148–9, 153–4) proposed the term “messianic imperialism,” which was first mentioned in relation to Carlos V and his son Felipe II.

14.Of great interest because of their canonization are the celebrations, in which the fireworks commissioned by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva of Rome stand out. The subject is the battle of Lepanto, and they are using a “*macchina di fuoco*” built in Piazza Navona, made up of six galleys in combat: three from the Christian navy and three from the Turkish (see Fagiolo, vol. 2, 1997, 30 [August 1712]; *Istorico motivo* (1712).

15.Castro (1873, vol. 9, 280–6, letter from Pope Clement XI to John V of Portugal, 18 January 1716); see also Brazão (1937, 127–9).

16.To Don Juan, Pope Pius V applied the scriptural text: “Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes” [“There was a man sent from God, whose name was John”] (e.g. Sotillos 1993, 120; Rodríguez González 2004, 205). The enthusiasm of the people of Catholic Europe for John of Austria and the Christian force was tremendous. In this sense, in the second siege of Vienna, in 1683, the same words had been exclaimed at the thanksgiving mass in Saint Stephen’s, the old cathedral, in honour of John Sobieski, king of Poland.

17.Castro (1873, vol. 9, 280–6, letter from Pope Clement XI to John V of Portugal, 18 January 1716)

Portugal, 18 January 1716).

18.Archive-Library of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (ACS), Section "Fundaciones Pías, Capillas," sig. IG 393, s/f. (A declaration of the stonecutter Pedro Fandiño, 28 June 1721). See also Rega (2015, 50–2).

AQ15 19.Castro (1873, vol. 9, 294–9, brief from Pope Clement XI to John V of Portugal, 17 June 1717).

20.The few localized examples, especially by the Italians, are mainly due to the interest in taking political advantage of the successful expedition to the European courts. See also *The Battle of Matapan, July 1717* ("Demonstração do lugar e disposição da armada Cristãa e Turca sobre o fim da batalha em 19 de Julho de 1717"), engraving, 43.5 × 59 cm (s.l.; s.n., c. 1725), BNP, cota C.C. 954 V.

21.It reads as follows: "[...] El Rey D. Manoel tambem seu grande Avô [Grandpa of John V] fizera navegar huma grossa Armada no socorro dos Venezianos, para conservar os Templos da sua Republica da irrupção dos Turcos, não obrou menos para socorrer Corfú, e amparar as Costas de Italia. Libertou felizmente aquella Praça sitiada pelos Exercitos Otomanos [...] e ficarão isentas as suas Igrejas dos fataes desacatos, que experimentariaõ, se não fosse a protecção do seu braço, que no seguinte anno triunfou por seus Capitães dos mesmos Turcos, na batalha em que no mar Egeo foraõ derrotados, librando Italia dos estragos de que se via ameaçada" (Machado 1759, 137, §136).

22.On an engraving of the battle scene, designed and engraved by "Antonio Bicchierari del. et pinxit. / Gio: Batta Girardenghi sculp.," the inscription reads "Num. IV IN AUXILIUM REIPUBLICAE VENETAE / A CLEMENTE XI.P.M.INVOCATUS / TURCICAM CLASSEM AD PROMONTORIUM TAENARIUM / DISSIPAT." It has been published, studied, and reproduced in Ferraris (1995, AQ18 279–80, no. 41.II/3) and Fagiolo (1997, 146–8, 24 May 1751).

23.On an engraving, designed and engraved by "Antonio Bicchierari del. et pinxit. / Io: de Franceschi sculp.," the inscription reads "Num. III CORCYRA / CHRISTINI NOMINIS PROPUGNACULO / OBSIDIONE TURCARUM / LIBERATA." See also Fagiolo (1997, 146–8, 24 May 1751).

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