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Ludic, exotic or vilipendious? Deconstructing the anonymous sixteenth-century genre painting *Chafariz d'el Rei* from the Berardo Collection, Lisbon.

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The vigorous anonymous painting of Lisbon depicting the scene around the King's Fountain in the Alfama, the *Chafariz d'el Rei*, reminds one at first glance of the *Legend of St. Ursula*, painted by Vittore Carpaccio painted between 1497-99 and held at the Accademia in Venice.¹ These are paintings packed with human figures (155 in the *Chafariz*) involved in a variety of distinct, but not immediately clear social activities within one overarching scene or setting, an early modern *Wimmelbuch* (from *wimmeln* [German], 'to teem') of the kind my four-year old daughter liked to read. In fact, what we have here is an early example of genre painting, an independent pictorial category which emerged in sixteenth-century Antwerp and depicted scenes of daily life. Genre painting can be seen to evolve in the market (*kermis*) scenes of Pieter Aertsen and Pieter Balten and, above all, the oeuvre of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, beginning with his prints, notably the two scenes entitled *Ice*

¹ This is a comparison drawn by other art historians from other Portuguese art of this period, like the *Arrival of the relics of Santa Auta*, conventionally ascribed to Garcia Fernandes (fl. c. 1514-65), Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal*, (London : Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968), 199.

Skating before the Gate of St. George.² It marked a sea change for this artist, who switched from a reputation as follower of Hieronymus Bosch in the grotesque apocalyptic tradition, to one as author of ‘landscapes in oils’ as Vasari was perhaps the first to recognise, and was gradually taken up in an Iberian urban context to the point that, as Laura Bass observes, ‘the repetition of motifs and settings (water-sellers filling their jugs, clerics conversing, members of the elite riding through the city in plush carriages) suggests that there was a particular taste for this distinct genre’.³ But is our painting Flemish or Portuguese? Can we and how should we proceed to read its detail at face-value? And what can we do with the lingering suspicions, despite three spectrographic analyses that, alongside a similar picture from Kelmscott Manor, Oxon., which it has been suggested depicts the Rua Nova in Lisbon, these are both ‘obras suspeitas’? The history of the fountain itself shall be presented here for readers alongside literary and artistic material shedding light on black lives in sixteenth-century Lisbon and a section addressing the most intriguing figure in the panel at centre stage, the black figure ‘in a trance’, who is omitted from discussion in favour of the African *cavaleiro* of the Order of Santiago.

1. Questions of authorship and dating.

Although the quality of the draughtsmanship is not particularly fine in the *Chafariz* picture, especially in terms of the perspective and relative scale of objects (witness, for example, the artist’s difficulties depicting fire, or the figures to the left of the fountain precinct), there is a lot going on in this scene, and the detail that it presents us with allows us, in the words of one commentator, to ‘proceed to an inventory of Lisbon practices inscribed in a limited space’.⁴ Moreover, as we shall see, there are a host of puzzles and problems associated with the task of identifying this picture, its author, and the things it depicts.

The painting was probably produced by an outsider, probably of Netherlandish or Flemish provenance, for whom this scene was unfamiliar. It is currently housed in a museum of modern and contemporary art in Belém, a waterfront suburb of Lisbon. It only emerged into the public eye in 1997 and Vitor Serrão was the scholar who made the first in-depth

² Margaret A. Sullivan, ‘Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen and the beginnings of genre’, in *Art Bulletin*, 93, (June 2011), 127-149; Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes. The Rise of Pictorial genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Jan Van der Stock, ‘Baltens, Peeter’, in *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online* (O.U.P.) [online ed.] 30 July 2014.

³ Quoted in Nadine M. Orenstein et al. eds., *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 13; Laura R. Bass & A. Wunder, ‘Fashion and Urban Views in 17th century Madrid’, in José Luis Colomer & Amalia Descalzo, *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europea Hispánica, 2014) vol. 1, 378.

⁴ Isabel Castro Henriques, *Os Africanos em Portugal. História e Memória. Séculos XV-XXI*, [exhibition catalogue] (Lisbon: Mercado de Letras, 2011), 24. A digital version is available here: https://www.ces.uc.pt/myces/UserFiles/livros/1097_Miolo_Finalissimo%20Ultimo_Frances_4_DEZ.pdf (URL accessed 28/03/17)

analysis and published study of this work.⁵ Although the painting is currently dated to the 1560-80 period, which I would go along with, Serrão suggested a date of 1598, implying the painting was made to mark the improvements carried out to the fountain by the Município de Lisboa.⁶ A critic, Fernando António Baptista Pereira, has asked why no dignitaries of the Câmara are represented here, and why the image of the fountain is of the Manueline fountain and not the latest 1598 changes to the structure.⁷ Others prefer different dates, one blogger suggesting that the clothes of the woman appearing in the window and speaking to the gentleman in black below are more in keeping with a date around the 1520-30s; some of the headgear, such as on the figure we have numbered 4, would also suggest this time period. Vecellio, however, writing in the 1590s, is at pains to point out that women in Iberia often continued to wear these pleated floor-length overgowns with a round-necked low-cut bodice even if customary back home in Italy 145 years earlier.⁸

There is further discussion as to whether the painting is from the hand of a second-rate Portuguese Mannerist, or whether it was produced by one of the many Flemings in the city at the time.⁹ Joaquim Oliveira Caetano suggested in 1999 that it is the work of ‘a sixteenth century Portuguese painter, with a rare perspective on the Chafariz d’El Rei at a time of festivity, an object of the highest iconographic value pertaining to Lisbon at that time’.¹⁰ The art world remained unconvinced by Caetano’s attribution to Gregorio Lopes (c. 1490-1550), a court painter of religious themes, and the *dia de festa* hypothesis also failed to stick: there is no bunting adorning the streets and no organised music, entertainment, or processions.¹¹ Anisio Franco’s hypothesis that this is really a twentieth-century work ‘in the sixteenth century fashion’ was brushed away after a careful scientific analysis of the materials used in the painting courtesy of a ‘Scopeman’ machine. Besides ascertaining the antiquity of the *craquelê*, the exercise concluded that the brush strokes were not those of Portuguese masters of the time but more akin to the miniaturists of ‘genre’ painters of the north (archetypically Pieter Brueghel).¹² Fernando Pereira thinks that the painting reveals ‘um olhar documental’ belonging precisely to the emergent ‘genre painting’ tradition of the

⁵ Vitor Serrão, ‘A Imagem do Mar e da capital do império no século XVI: um novo testemunho iconográfico da Lisboa das Descobertas’, in *As rotas oceánicas (sécs. XV-XVII): quartas Jornadas de História Ibero-Americana*, (Lisbon: Colibri, 1999), 171-187.

⁶ Serrão, ‘A Imagem do Mar’, 185.

⁷ Ana Maria Rodrigues ed. *Os Negros em Portugal - Secs XV a XIX* [exhibition catalogue] (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999), 106.

⁸ Margaret F. Rosenthal & Ann Rosalind Jones eds., *Clothing Of The Renaissance World: Europe . Asia. Africa. The Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni* (Venice 1590 & 1598), (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 334; Cf. Christoph Weiditz’s renowned costume book of this period *Das Trachtenbuch des Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)*, ed. Theodor Hampe (Berlin & Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter: 1927).

⁹ Rodrigues, *Os Negros em Portugal - Secs XV a XIX*, 186.

¹⁰ Joaquim Oliveira Caetano, ‘Uma desconhecida obra prima de Gregorio Lopes’, in *Estudo da Pintura Portuguesa. Oficina de Gregório Lopes*, (Lisbon: Instituto de José de Figueiredo, 1999), 129-132.

¹¹ For the ‘dia de festa’ hypothesis, see Serrão, ‘A Imagem do Mar’, 179.

¹² Rodrigues, *Os negros em Portugal, sécs. XV a XIX*, 106. Further laboratory tests were carried out in Spain in 2001 and in the wake of the ‘Cidade Global’ exhibition (2017), see Alexandra Carita & Miguel Cadete, ‘Exames a um dos quadros polémicos do Museu de Arte Antiga revelam que é autêntico’, *O Expresso*, 7 Abril 2017.

time, one revelling in the ‘exoticism’ of the Portuguese capital, and which adopts some of the critical perspectives we can attribute to the Flemish humanist cleric Cleynaerts who, in one famous letter, attacked the abusive use of black slaves in domestic life and other offices. After composing some sketches ‘en nature’, the artist would have put the ensemble together once back in his native land, a picaresque or burlesque vision depicting an exotic Lisbon, and which included elements that Pereira considers completely foreign to Lisbon of that time, like the swans, ducks and seals in the water, belonging rather to the rivers and seas of the north.

Pereira’s ideas are interesting, if not wholly persuasive. While his ideas about the northern fauna can be confirmed from the swans readily depicted in the art of Rogier Van der Weyden, such as the *Heimsuchung* and in the background to the *Head of Holy Katharina*, we should not forget that this was the height of the period historians now refer to as the Little Ice Age when temperatures were of the order of 0.5 °C below the 1961-90 mean: seals and sea lions were found as far south as the Canary Islands, after which an offshore islet Lobos marinhos was named in the era of rediscovery in the fifteenth century.¹³ Pereira’s ideas regarding the way the picture was put together do not necessarily hold: the art world was fooled by the panels illustrating the life of S. Tiago Maior 1518-25 from the Castelo de Palmela, and which thought the Flemish influence so marked it could not have been a local craftsman who copied carefully motifs he had seen brought into the country (a position now known to be erroneous).¹⁴ Then, there are examples of Luso-Flemish artistic partnerships like that of Simon Bening, who worked in Flanders, painting up drawings made *in situ* by António de Holanda (active 1527-51), who remained in Portugal.¹⁵ The vilipendious, or critical perspectives adopted by an outsider like Cleynaerts were, as Jorge Fonseca points out, aimed less at the injustice of the treatment of domestic slaves, and more at the consequences on Portuguese society, encouraging idleness and moral depravity.¹⁶

Pereira also takes issue with the ‘amorous embrace’, which he thinks much more common to the Dutch and German pictorial tradition, whether from Books of Hours, or easel painting (*pintura de cavalete*). We are far here from the bawdy embrace of the drunken Texel sailors, one grabbing his partner by the hair with one hand while holding a tankard in the other as

¹³ See the *Book of the knowledge of all the kingdoms, lands, and lordships that are in the world : and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them / written by a Spanish Franciscan in the middle of the XIV century*, tr. & ed. Sir Clements Markham, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1912), 29. Monk seals were also mentioned in the Azores by the homeborn Gaspar Frutuoso in his *Saudades da Terra* (writt. 1586-90, pub. Ponta Delgada, 1822-31, 6 vols.), but are no longer to be found there. For the Little Ice Age, see John Matthews & Keith Briffa, ‘The ‘Little Ice Age’: Re-evaluation of an evolving concept’, *Geografiska Annaler. Series A. Physical Geography*, vol. 87: 1 (2005), 17-36.

¹⁴ Nicole Dacos, ‘Os artistas flamengos e a sua influência em Portugal (sécs. XV-XVI)’, in Eddy Stols & Jan Everaert eds., *Flandres e Portugal. Na confluência de duas culturas*, (Antwerp: I.N.A.P.A., 1991), 162.

¹⁵ Smith, *The Art of Portugal*, 200.

¹⁶ Jorge Fonseca, ‘Black Africans in Portugal during Cleynaert’s visit (1533-1538)’, in K. Lowe & T. Earle, *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, (Cambridge U.P., 2010), 124.

we see in a print from Cornelis Dusart from the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ A close inspection would suggest intimacy in the Berardo picture but it is not even a kiss or facial contact. However, the women in the picture do not go about their business in twos or threes as was typically the case in southern Europe, and although wearing headscarves, unlike Jean-Honoré Fragonard's 'Young Woman at the Fountain' (Private Collection), do not generally appear shy or retiring. Here Fernando Castelo-Branco would agree with Pereira that historically speaking 'o ambiente moral' in Lisbon was not as dissipated as Madrid, as commonly commented upon by visiting foreigners, where the workings of the Inquisition ensured that even gossips (*alcoviteiros*) were hauled up in front of the Inquisition.¹⁸ The Count of Oxenstierna, Lord High Chancellor of Sweden between 1612-1654 who travelled widely in his early years as a diplomat, was amazed at how few women were to be found in the streets of Lisbon *tout court*, while travellers often quipped that women only left the house three times in their lives: to get baptised, to marry and to be buried after death.¹⁹ Pereira may then be right in assuming that the greater liberties accorded the female subjects in this picture fit better to a north European social model. Pereira's concluding argument is a reminder that the current owners bought the work in Madrid from a collection of specifically Dutch art belonging to Sr. D. José Antonio Urbina from *Caylus Anticuarios* in Madrid (who had himself procured it from the Conde de Adanero, to whom the picture belonged in the 1940s).

Fresh debate has erupted in the wake of the picture being showcased in a recent exhibition at the Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (February 24-April 9, 2017) alongside the equally anonymous and contemporaneous oil painting provisionally entitled *View of the Rua Nova dos Mercadores, from the Arco dos Barretes to the Arco dos Pregos*, belonging to the British Society of Antiquaries. In a brilliant piece of synthesis Kate Lowe and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend have argued it belonged to Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *espólio*, who had no idea as to its provenance, attributing it to the school of Diego Velázquez.²⁰ Not until 2009 had anyone thought of linking it to the realities of the streets of the city of Lisbon. Historians Diogo Ramada Curto and João Alves Dias have insisted publically through the newspaper

¹⁷ 'Gelyk van aart is welgepaart' (Like-natured makes a good match), c. 1695, Yale University Art Gallery item 2008.31.3.

¹⁸ Fernando Castelo Branco, *Lisboa Seiscentista*, (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte 1990), 140-4.

¹⁹ Conde de Oxenstiera, 'Lisboa no segundo quartel dos seiscentos', *Revista Municipal de Lisboa*, no. 41, (1948), 26; also the diary of a person in the entourage of the Earl of Peterborough, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C., V.a. 184, entry for April 13, 1662. The Spanish playwright Tirso de Molina was of much the same opinion: his character proclaims 'Estamos en tierra agena (foreign)' (...) yaves que libertades enfrena por el recato (modesty) portugueses' to the point that 'toda doncella de casa / no sale hasta que se casa , niaún los domingos, à misa', cited by M. Sousa Pinto in *Portugal e os Portugueses em Tirso de Molina*, (Paris/Lisbon: Aillaud/Bertrand), 20.

²⁰ Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, 'The Rua Nova Paintings, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Victorian art dealer George Love: questions of provenance', in Jordan-Gschwend and Lowe eds, *The Global City: on the streets of Renaissance Lisbon*, London : Paul Holberton Publishing 2015, ch. 15. See also <http://www.kelmscottmanor.co.uk/Lisbon> [URL accessed 28 March 2017] and A.J. Gschwend, 'Zwei Ansichten der Rua Nova dos Mercadores in Lissabon', in *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon. Luxusgüter für Katharina von Habsburg (1507-1578)*, Zürich 2010, 49-51, cat 10a & b.

Expresso that it remains an ‘obra suspeita’, poorly identified and a forgery with certain motifs lifted from Georg Braun, the first printer resident in Lisbon. There is a strong temptation to attribute the Rua Nova painting to the same hand as the Chafariz picture given a similar presentation on a horizontal plane, the same dimensions (the *Rua Nova* is 65 x 191 cm in origin, while the *Chafariz* is 93cm x 163 cm, neither large enough for the typical cityscapes hung in municipal buildings), with certain pigments in common (a bright, light, vermilion red, or a subdued pink used for depicting long, thick coats, with the same, huddled, sombre, conversing figures in each, even details such as certain ludic elements and broken pots lying abandoned on the ground). Lowe however distances herself from such a connection on the basis that the two were painted on different media, one canvas, the *Chafariz* on a wooden panel.²¹ We must await the conclusive analysis of a colorimeter or spectrophotometer, or even optical microscopy of pigment grains in dispersion using polarised light, alongside various forms of elemental analysis,²² while Curto even raises doubts about the recent technical tests carried out on the Chafariz picture on the basis that the juggernaut which is the tourist industry feeds on a positive identification.²³

What more can we add to the guessing game as to who was the anonymous author of the Chafariz painting? There are no hidden monograms or initials of the possible author, as we find introduced into the fixings of the double bonnets in other Portuguese pictures of the period.²⁴ How might a Flemish picture have been produced? There was, of course, an active Flemish community in Lisbon, one of many facets and occupations.²⁵ These were principally traders and adventurers, men like Gerrit van Afluyzen, a native of Antwerp, Dirck Gerritszoon (nicknamed ‘China’), Diogo Coutre and his brother, who became jewel traders, and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, who took delight as he himself describes in reading ‘histories and strange adventures’ and desired to see something of the world.²⁶ Ten years later the navigator Cornelis van Houtman himself spent two years in Lisbon on a reconnaissance mission, before he set off for the Indies in 1595. Amongst this developed

²¹ Lowe, *The Global City*, 28.

²² using techniques explained to me by Ruth Bubb, a professional conservator of paintings affiliated to the Barber Institute, Birmingham University. See also Marco Meniketti, ‘Initial pXRF Analysis of Chinese Ceramics from Spanish Shipwrecks on the Pacific Coast’, in *Proceedings of the Society for Californian Archaeology*, 2014, 28, 305-10, where he discusses portable X-ray fluorescence and whether trace element spectra could provide a means of distinguishing the different collections.

²³ Curto, ‘Ha um Estado Cultural que quer pôr o MNAA a render no circuito turístico’, *O Expresso*, 22 February 2017.

²⁴ ‘Portuguese carracks off a rocky coast (c.1540)’, National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, Inventory #BHC 0705.

²⁵ Eddy Stols & Jan Everaert, *Flandres e Portugal. Na confluência de duas cultura*,; Eddy Stols, ‘Os mercadores flamengos em Portugal e no Brasil antes das conquistas holandesas’, in *Anais de história*, 5, (1973), 9-54; Jan Everaert, ‘Shifting the ‘Diamond Connection’, Antwerp and the Gem Trade with Portuguese India (1590-1635)’ in *Indo-Portuguese history, global trends : proceedings of XI--International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History--silver jubilee session*, eds. Fátima da Silva Gracias, Celsa Pinto & Charles Borges (Panjim, Goa : Research Institute for Women, 2005), 315-35.

²⁶ *The voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: from the old English translation of 1598* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1885), I, xxiv, xxviii.

nação there were artists. Stols lists them: the mid-sixteenth century artist Jacques Clerbot (a.k.a. Jacques de Lerbo, or Elermo of Antwerp), Rodrigo de Riene (a.k.a. della Regna) from Utrecht, and Joam Flores (Jan Floris), who possibly designed the blue-and-white tile panels with *florón grandes* and *arabesco* motifs for the Alcázar in Madrid and the Escorial. Most of these Flemish painters naturalised in Portugal concentrated exclusively on religious motifs, as was true of Francisco de Campos (-1580), Frei Carlos (-1540), Francisco Henriques (-1518) and Cristovão de Utreque (1498-1557).²⁷ There were specialised furniture makers, ceramicists, carpet makers, glassmakers, musicians, men of the cloth, a number of innkeepers (*estalajadeiros*). We also need to bear in mind that Flemish artists were itinerant, and Brueghel himself travelled to Italy (probably via France between 1551-4) to acquire the latest fashions and styles. The city of Lisbon was visited, for example, by artists like Hendrik Corneliz Vroom in the 1590s, and more famously Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (1519-1576), who came to Portugal in the 1550s and whose style was vigorously copied by Iberian disciples like Sánchez Coello, who had come to Portugal as a child.²⁸ The Flemish artists Anton van den Wyngaerde and Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1600) specifically drew cityscapes under commission for Philip II of Spain, and for Braun and Hogenberg's extensive *Civitates* compilation.²⁹ These were often drawn as if from an elevated standpoint, but included elements of local custom and dress, like *cornudos pacientes* (complacent cuckolds) and bulls being chased by dogs. One of the plates included in the *Illustriorum Hispaniae urbium tabulae*, published in Amsterdam in 1652, even explicitly foregrounded *lavaderos*, cleaners at work in the River Manzanares, a theme identical to the one at hand here. Yet, while it is known that Hoefnagel travelled in Spain and France between 1561-7, and was mostly in Andalusia in 1564 and 1565, it seems neither visited Portugal.

2. The King's Fountain.

It is highly significant that our unknown artistic author decided to make a study of the area around the King's fountain. This was an earthy, popular district of the city away from the King's palace or the hub of the shipyard area further to the west. It was an open space of beaten earth, where people could gather away from the narrow and tight alleyways of the Moorish Alfama (or better to say Jewish ghetto, *aljama*) just above it, itself a shady,

²⁷ Rui Manuel Mesquita Mendes, 'Comunidade flamenga e holandesa em Lisboa (séculos XV a XVIII): algumas novas históricas e patrimoniais', in *Ammentu. Bollettino Storico e Archivistico del Mediterraneo e delle Americhe*, n. 7, (lug.-dic. 2011), 74.

²⁸ F. de B. de San Román, *Alonso Sanchez Coello* (Lisbon: Grupo dos Amigos do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1938); J. Moreno Villa, 'Documentos sobre Pintores recogidos en el Archivo de Palacio', *Archivo Español de Arte*, Madrid, vol. XII (1936), 261-2, 265-6. Annemarie Jordan, *Retrato de Corte em Portugal. O Legado de António Moro* (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1994). For the Flemish communities in Lisbon, see Eddy Stols 'A 'nação' flamenga em Lisboa, in Stols & Everaert, *Flandres e Portugal. Na confluência de duas culturas*, 119-43 and Eddy Stols, 'Os mercadores flamengos em Portugal'.

²⁹ Johannes Kenning, 'The *civitates* of Braun and Hogenberg', in *Imago Mundi*, 17, (1963), 41-44. The article includes a list of plates by Hoefnagel. See also Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700. The Formation of a Myth*, (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2005), 252.

limitrophic area where in Ferreira's *Vlysiippo* extra-marital revels were conducted. A brief glimpse through Portuguese literature reminds us that the waterfront (*ribeirinha*) was the site of inspiration, both to Gil Vicente and his *Auto da India* (1509) as much as to foreign visitors to Lisbon like Cervantes, or the fifteenth-century poets like João Zorro, who drew his inspiration from 'as idas ès ribas do mar, onde o amigo há-de embarcar ou desembarcar, o passeio ao longo da ribeira do rio'. Perhaps his most famous *cantiga* went:

Cantando ia la dona-*virgo* d'amor

Enquanto venham nas barcas pelo rio o sabor.³⁰

Comparisons to other artistic representations of the river bank, as we find in Jean-Antoine Watteau's *Fête champêtre* (Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Agén), for example, confirm this *topos* as an area of great social intermixing, both men and women, gentlemen as much as menials, and an area of seduction amongst all the bathing and washing. Recent archeological excavations meanwhile at the neighbouring Chafariz de Dentro have uncovered shards of majolica and Italian glass, German stoneware, Valencian and Sevillian, Dutch and French ceramics, alongside some more exotic Chinese porcelain, celadons and Martaban pots from Southeast Asia.³¹

The origins of Lisbon's Chafariz d'el Rei, a public fountain, go at least back to D. Afonso III (1246-79) and D. Dinis (1279-1325)³², his successor, taking advantage of the excellent water run-off from the slopes of Alfama, and it is from this latter monarch that the fountain took its name.³³ In 1487, under order from D. João II, the water was channelled to the exterior of the city walls: to specify, the fountain was built at the point where the ancient *Cerca Moura*, tumbling down from the Castelo Sao Jorge met the *Cerca de D. Fernando*, which protected the waterfront. Now Mediterranean galleys, and the ships of the Carreira da India could be supplied with water, although fountains did exist further to the west, no more so than in the centre of the Terreiro do Paço, as we can appreciate from Dirk Stoop's 'Terreiro do Paço no Século XVII' or in the 'View of Lisbon before the Earthquake, c. 1693' (Jorge de Brito collection). As we can see from the detail exhibited in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates*

³⁰ I have used the version from the *Antologia Compacta de Literatura portuguesa. Selecção de Eduíno de Jesus*, (Departamento de Língua e Cultura, Universidade Clássica de Lisboa, 1993), although the online database Cantigas Medievais Galego-Portuguesas has a slightly different variant, <http://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/cantiga.asp?cdcant=1180&pv=sim> (URL accessed 28/03/17); cf. Zorro's *cantiga* 'En Lixboa, sobre lo mar', in José Pereira Tavares, *Antologia de Textos Medievais* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa Livraria, 1961), 55.

³¹ Rodrigo Banha da Silva et al., 'Largo do Chafariz de Dentro. Alfama em Época Moderna', in José António Bettencourt & André Teixeira, *Velhos e Novos Mundos. Estudos de Arqueologia Moderna*, vol. 1, Lisbon: CHAM, 2012, 71 ff.

³² Sílvia Leite's 'Nota Histórico-Artística' on the register of Portuguese Património Cultural <http://www.patrimoniocultural.pt/pt/patrimonio/patrimonio-imovel/pesquisa-do-patrimonio/classificado-ou-em-vias-de-classificacao/geral/view/13047479/> (URL accessed 28/03/17) suggests there may have been a Moorish fountain here previously.

³³ The oldest in Lisbon is the Chafariz de Dentro (a.k.a. Chafariz no. 19) in São Miguel parish, inside the Muralha Fernandina (1373-5), but it was also smaller with only four spouts.

Orbis Terrarum (1572), ships moored along the entire waterfront extending westwards – past some Manueline public buildings like the Alfândega and Terreiro do Trigo, as far as the Terreiro do Paço, on either side of the old palace wing that ended in a flight of steps leading into the estuary, and on to the old quarter of São Paulo (around today's Cais do Sodré), where foreign ships typically unloaded.³⁴ This area to the west of the Terreiro do Paço, where Manuel had moved his palace down from São Jorge, was more conventionally the Ribeira das Naus of the early modern period, as we can appreciate from Amaro do Vale's *Nossa Senhora de Porto Seguro Roga a seu Precioso Filho por esta Cidade e sua Navegação de Lisboa*, a.k.a. *Vista de Lisboa* (dated to c. 1620).³⁵ Here were the great warehouses, the docks in which ships were outfitted. It was here that João de Castro visited every day before he departed for the Indies as governor in February-March of 1545.³⁶

[Fig 5]

The eastern limits of the city were in this period conventionally marked by the Madre de Deus monastery in Xabregas to where, after her brother Manuel I had succeeded to the throne in 1495, Eleanor (of Viséu) moved. Here she hosted the royal court and continued to engage in public life. So the Chafariz remained very much at the heart of the old city, just down the hill from the Sé and the Alfama district. Yet the riverfront (*ribeirinha*) was at the Chafariz d'el Rei still free of portuary construction from landfill (*aterros*), as is the case today.³⁷ There was already a quay, but neither a slipway nor the space for the cogs, caravels and *naus* to be hauled up on to dry docks as we see was the case in the Terreiro do Paço from the illumination of *the Livre d'Heures du Roi Emmanuel* (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon).³⁸ Rather, small lighters and rowing boats, even smaller draught caravels and galleys if we are to follow the civic bylaw (*postura*) of 1551 and the picture presented by Amaro do Vale would tether to metal rings nailed into the stonework on the side of the quay.³⁹ We do not yet see the wooden piers extending out into the river for beggars to be

³⁴ This area was also called Corpo Santo from a small chapel dedicated to St. Elmo (patron saint of mariners) close to the river shore, just beyond the royal palace, see Jacques de Coutre, *The memoirs and memorials of Jacques de Coutre : security, trade and society in 16th- and 17th-century Southeast Asia*, (Singapore: N.U.S. Press, 2014), 65.

³⁵ This picture, in the church of Saint Louis 'dos Franceses', is also attributed Domingos Vieira Serrão (1570-1632) and Simão Rodrigues (c. 1560-1629).

³⁶ Jean-Baptiste Aquarone, *D. João de Castro Gouverneur et Vice-Roi des Indes Orientales (1500-1548) : contribution à l'histoire de la domination portugaise en Asie et à l'étude de l'astronautique, de la géographie et de l'humanisme au XVIe siècle*, (Paris : Presses universitaires de France 1968), vol. 2, text accompanying Plate 25.

³⁷ Vitor C.M. Durão, 'Análise Urbana de Territórios Construídos. Os Aterros na baixa e na frente Ribeirinha de Lisboa, Portugal', in *Revista da Gestão Costeira Integrada*, 12 (1) (2012), 17-30. See especially the cartographic representation of the 'Frente Ribeirinha de Alfama – 500 anos de aterros', 25.

³⁸ Albino Forjaz de Sampaio ed., *História da Literatura Portuguesa Ilustrada*, (Paris, Lisboa, 1929-32; Porto, 1942), t. I, 300.

³⁹ Vale's picture is held at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, and repr. in Stols & Everaert, *Flandres e Portugal*, 120-121. Royal galleys were 64 *palmas de Goa* long which is, in common estimation, 15.68m long, see H. Leitão & J. Vicente Lopes, *Dicionário da linguagem de marinha antiga e actual* (Lisbon: Edições Culturais, 1974, re-ed. 1990), 389. See also Francisco Contente Domingues, *Os Navios do Mar Oceano. Teoria e empiria*

employed to dispose of refuse into the current of the river as was stipulated in a Spanish ordinance (i.e. post-1580), although we do find beggars squatting on the floor of the fountain precinct.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the pavement would appear from the Chafariz painting to be simple, beaten earth, rather narrower than other stretches of the waterfront, though without the modulations and relief we can perceive in pictures such as Dirk Stoop's.⁴¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the fountain was covered with an ashlar porch (*alpendre em cantaria*) by royal order of the Câmara de Lisboa in 1517, and the columns and marble archwork Damião de Goís writes of in his *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*, can be clearly appreciated. The costs of this construction work were covered by Lope de Albuquerque, of the same family as the first Viceroy of the Indies, Afonso de Albuquerque. Although, as Damião de Goís reminds us, many springs issue forth along the shoreline, this was the principal source of water for the entire city and its waters were thought to clear one's respiratory channels – 'água de purante do muco catharroso' as Camilo Castelo Branco wrote in his romance *Queda d'um Anjo*.⁴² The water, we are told, 'streamed out lukewarm, but after settling for a short period of time it takes on a great purity and freshness, so that it is a pleasure to drink'.⁴³ At the time of the painting there were six spouts, each in the form of an animal, although in the Berardo painting they would appear to be identical – possibly dogs' heads. Animal heads were standard design: another public fountain around the corner from the Chafariz d'el Rei, the Chafariz de Dentro - possessed four spouts all in the shape of horses' heads, when stolen, as the chronicler Lopes relates, by Castilian troops in the time of King Fernando (r.1367-83).⁴⁴ And de Holanda proposed a fountain decorated with four elephants to King Sebastian as was to be found in the Villa Medicis in Rome.⁴⁵ In following decades, the supply head of water (*caudal*) at the Chafariz d'el Rei was increased to nine

na arquitetura naval portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII, (Lisboa: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa 2004), 273.

⁴⁰ Mary Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny: prisoner of the Lisbon Inquisition*, (New Haven : Yale Univ. Press 1948), 22.

⁴¹ Stoop lived c. 1618-86 (F.M. de Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e artistas em Portugal, Contribuições para a história das artes e indústrias portuguesas*, (Lisboa: Livraria Ferreira, 1920), 16-17 thinks his dates are 1610-80). Stoop's picture is in the Museu da Cidade de Lisboa collection. Francisco de Holanda commented on the scarcity of adequate paving (*calçadas publicas*) in Lisbon, *Da Fabrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, ed. Vergilio Correia, (Madrid : Vergilio Correia, 1929), cap. VII, 14-17.

⁴² Camilo Castelo Branco, *Queda d'um Anjo*, (Lisboa: Livraria de Campos Junior 1866), cap. XX.

⁴³ Damião de Goís, *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio* published in 1554, trans. and repr. in Jeffrey S. Ruth, *Lisbon in the Renaissance*, (New York: Italica Press, 1996), 23. Note: not all of Ruth's footnotes are accurate.

⁴⁴ It was probably for this reason that the fountain was commonly known as the *chafariz dos cavallos*. Fernão Lopes, *Crónica do Senhor Rei D. Fernando nono Rei destes regnos* (Porto: Livraria Civilização, 1986), 204. Herculano is mistaken in thinking the *fonte dos cavalos d'arame* the very same fountain as in the Berardo painting, 'Viagem a Portugal dos cavalleiros Tron e Lippomani, 1580', in Alexandre Herculano, *Opúsculos*, (Lisboa : Viúva Bertrand 1873-1908), vol 6, 120. Cf. Hogenberg map of Lisbon, landmark #72, in Ruth, XLII ff. Goís refers to the *chafariz dos cavallos* in his *Descriptio*, so the heads must have been replaced, 23.

⁴⁵ Christiane Maria Rebello Nascimento, 'Da Fábrica que falece à cidade de Lisboa: Francisco de Holanda entre os Mirabilia e os guias topográficos de Roma', conference paper from *IV Encontro de História da Arte*, IFCH / UNICAMP (2008), 804 -

[<http://www.unicamp.br/chaa/eha/atas/2008/NASCIMENTO,%20Cristiane%20Maria%20Rebello%20-%20IVEHA.pdf>] (URL accessed 28/03/17)

outlets or *bicas*, of which each one was destined for a different social group, including the *mareantes*.⁴⁶

In the Berardo painting we do not see, however, the two nearby springs from the Chafariz Novo and their 'great torrents of water' which 'run down to the sea like a brook'. De Goís relates how watermills might have been built to harness all this energy, how they still attracted washerwomen and the hide tanners and dressers to this area, marked on Hogenberg's famous map of 1572 (Plate 6), and the Venetian ambassadors Tron and Lippomani in 1580 also explain how the water 'forms a current in the manner of a river'.⁴⁷ In our picture, we see only washerwomen and water-bearers collecting water, a domain of predominantly women's work.⁴⁸ While observers like de Goís, João Brandão and Padre Duarte de Sande exalt the civic water supply, most historians like Jeffrey Ruth and Castelo Branco, following Francisco de Holanda, denigrate the quality of the water, suggesting the fountains were too few for the exploding urban population, and point out that occasional droughts would cause the populace to take to the streets in processions, begging the heavens for water.⁴⁹

The *chafariz* fronting collapsed in 1744, a few months before the official opening of the Aguas Livres aqueduct, after which the whole ensemble had to be remounted. It again suffered various damages in the earthquake of 1755.⁵⁰ Today, after renovations in 1864, we find the monument refashioned in classical style with pinnacles and urns and a parapet (*platibanda*), and instead of the original six, there are only three metal spouts (Plate 7). Access to the tank (*tanque*), which is below street level, is to be had from some steps situated at the top of the fountain.⁵¹

3. Sixteenth-century black society in Lisbon.

The scene presented in the Chafariz painting centres on black urban life and activity on the streets of Lisbon. We have to remember that this constituted a big 'issue' for Europeans at the time, somewhat akin to the migrant crisis afflicting Western Europe in 2015-6. The visiting Flemish clergyman Nicholas Cleynaerts was led to believe that in Lisbon 'slaves outnumber free Portuguese' already by the 1530s, and the visiting Lutheran tailor's son

⁴⁶ Serrão, in 'A Imagem do Mar', 184 covers the *obras de ampliação* carried out by the architect Nicolau de Frias on behalf of the Senado in 1598, although as early seventeenth-century *consultas* suggest, the problem was one of more general supply.

⁴⁷ in Herculano, *Opúsculos*, vol. 6, 121.

⁴⁸ Ariès & Duby, *History of Private Life*, vol. III, 413 remind us that 'Ovens, washhouses and shops were the province of women'.

⁴⁹ João Brandão, *Grandeza e Abastança de Lisboa em 1552*, ed. José da Felicidade Alves (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990), 103-6; Sande, 'Lisboa em 1584', *Arquivo pittoresco*, t. VI (1862), 85; Francisco de Holanda, *Da fábrica que falece na cidade de Lisboa*, ed. Joaquim Vasconcelos (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1879), cap. VI 'D'Agoa livre', 14. There are 1929 and 1984 editions of this text.

⁵⁰ *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal* ed. Jay Levenson, (London: Yale University Press, 1993), 46.

⁵¹ Sílvia Leite, 'Nota Histórico-Artística'.

Hieronymus Köler went even further suggesting that ‘in this city of three times hundred thousand people (...) two-thirds are Moors’.⁵² Whilst this was the view of outsiders, the indigenous population feared much the same: the court poet Garcia de Resende (1470-1536) could himself expound in refrain:

‘We see in the Kingdom /
 so many slaves (*cativos*) grow /
 and the natives go /
 That if this is so, there will be more /
 of them, than of us, in my opinion’.⁵³

Needless to say, this was something of an exaggeration. In Lisbon, which played the role of principal European conduit of black slaves into Iberia and Europe generally, the conventional statistic attributed is 10.000 blacks from a total population of 100.000, amounting to 10% of the total population.⁵⁴ In the mid-1580s the Jesuit Manuel Correa stated that there were over twenty diverse black ‘nations’ in the city, highlighting the diversity even within these black incomers.⁵⁵ The numbers were of such magnitude that would have immediately impressed itself upon visitors from northern Europe; slaves and the very institution of slavery were both problematic and almost non-existent in the late-sixteenth century Netherlands. Writers like Dierick Ruiters (fl. 1619-31) and Brederode (1585-1618) were quick to denounce ‘horse-like’ slavery, arguing it ‘unfitting for a Christian to purchase and sell people’. A captured Portuguese slaver was brought to Middelburg in 1596 and its human cargo – after deliberation - turned free; another one was sold for a trifle

⁵² Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *La aventura de Jerónimo Köler : Sevilla, 1533* (Seville: Marcial Pons Historia / Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2013), 217-65.

⁵³ Jorge Fonseca, ‘Black Africans in Portugal’, 113 ff.; Garcia de Resende, ‘Miscelânea’, *Livro das Obras de Garcia de Resende*, ed. Evelina Verdelho (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994), 572.

⁵⁴ Cf. in the Seville census of 1565, slaves accounted for 7.4% of the population, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, ‘La esclavitud en Castilla durante la Edad Moderna’, in *Estudios de historia social de España*, ed. C. Viñas y Met, (Madrid: Departamento de Historia Social de España del Instituto Balmes de Sociología, 1949-60), vol. II (1952), 367-84. The figures for Spain as a whole are 1.25%, Bartolomé Bennassar, *The Spanish character: attitudes and mentalities from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century*, (Berkeley ; London : University of California Press , 1979), 106. Carmen Fracchia cites a far higher figure (30.000 slaves out of a total Sevillian population of 120.000), ‘Constructing the black slave in early modern Spanish painting’, in Tom Nichols, *Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe*, (Ashgate: Farnham, 2007), 180, but does not declare her source. See also Charles Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, (Bruges: Tempele, 1955), vol. 1, esp. 615-32, 835-46. The Lisbon statistics are cited in Luís Arquilino’s television documentary, *Portugal no Tempo das Descobertas*, EBM (1993), although travellers like Bartholomé Villalba y Estaña, writing in 1577, cited a figure of ‘tres o quatro mil almas’, *El pelegrino curioso y grandezas de España* (Madrid: 1886-89), vol. II, 58 . There are some fine early sixteenth-century miniatures depicting blacks in domestic service from the *Livro de Horas de D. Manuel*, Dagoberto L. Markl, *Livros de horas de D. Manuel*, (Lisboa: Impr. Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1983).

⁵⁵ Manuel Correa, *História da Fundação e Progresso da Casa de Sam Roque*, (c. 1588). Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Codex 4491.

to a passing English vessel as it was thought impossible to sell slaves in the Netherlands.⁵⁶ Hondius has shown how Dutch burial records fail to register slave status, while Amsterdam notarial documents reveal scattered attempts by international merchants to reaffirm their chattels in the eyes of Dutch law. Slaves were occasionally accorded Jewish poor relief, the *Imposta*, and even on one occasion ‘per a soltar o preto’ (bought their freedom). British historiography mirrors the Dutch position that ‘slavery was never commercially important, and was really an accidental by-product of plantation slavery and of the Atlantic slave trade. It took root in Britain when planters, merchants, government officials, and the military returned home with slaves in tow’.⁵⁷

We can see waterbearers (*aguadeiros*) working at the fountain, and private servants, both black and white, attending to daily errands including the emptying and cleaning of chamber pots (*calhandras*) full of detritus. Fights and deaths were known to occur here because so many people wanted to fill their jugs at the six spouts. Finally, in 1551 the *câmara* decided to impose a bylaw (*postura*), implementing a policy of segregation. The first spout was assigned to male slaves (*captivos*) and freedmen (*forros*) of all races, black, mulatto, Indian or otherwise; they could also use the second spout after Moorish galley-slaves had finished filling water-barrels (*barris*) for the fleet.⁵⁸ Free white men used the third and fourth spouts, women slaves and freedwomen the fifth, and white women and girls (*moças*) the sixth.⁵⁹

Whilst we see in the picture - particularly in the inner fountain precinct - a number of children engaged in water-bearing, women maidservants and slaves were traditionally particularly associated with the trade in water, as well as snacks and provisions. Water carrying was heavy and hard, bearing a stigma of manual labour. These slaves were known

⁵⁶ See Markus Vink, ‘Freedom and Slavery: The Dutch Republic, the VOC World, and the Debate over the ‘World’s Oldest Trade’, *South African Historical Journal*, 59:1 (2007), 19-46; Dienke Hondius, ‘Access to the Netherlands of Enslaved and Free Black Africans: Exploring Legal and Social Historical Practices in the Sixteenth–Nineteenth Centuries’, *Slavery & Abolition*, 32:3 (2011), 377-395.

⁵⁷ For example, the contributions in Joaneath Spicer ed., *Revealing the African presence in Renaissance Europe*, (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012); David Dabydeen et al., *Oxford Companion to Black British History*, (Oxford University Press, 2007), 453.

⁵⁸ Being a galley slave was no monopoly of ‘Moorish’ or ‘white slaves’, we know that blacks too were sent there. Serving in the galleys was a common punishment for a range of crimes from homosexuality to murder. Fleets of galleys were the choice for Mediterranean transport, and were stationed in the Algarve. Plate 74 of Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* depicts black slaves preparing water tanks for the *naus* in Barcelona, using an ingenious contraption to more quickly divide out the water.

⁵⁹ Noted in Júlio de Castilho, *A Ribeira de Lisboa*, (Lisboa: Publicações da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1943), vol. II, 18-19. Original source is in the Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Livro do Posturas da Cidade, C7, 99r. Also repr. in Lowe & Jordan, *The Global City*, Appendix 4. A version published in the *Revista Municipal de Lisboa*, no. 17, 1886, p. 19, repr. in *Os negros em Portugal, sécs. XV a XIX*, 105, suggests that black women, mulatto women and both freed and captive Indians were to use the third and fourth spouts (i.e. tending towards the Alfama side). Cf. the *Vista do Mosteiro dos Jerónimos da Praia de Belém* by Filipe Lobo, dated 1660 (currently in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon). Here only white women are depicted at the fountain. In the nineteenth century, a small *chafariz*, like Chafariz de Dentro, saw the employment of 132 *aguadeiros*, organised in four separate companies, as well as four foremen and one *ligeiro* (whether this means a small cart, possibly used as a fire engine, a *ligeiro* as casual worker or lackey, or a small boat or lighter).

as *negras do pote*, who carried these great jars (*potes*) of water on their heads. In Lisbon, the historian A.C. de C.M. Saunders alleges, they were forbidden to display their pots on the ground, for fear that dust might contaminate the water.⁶⁰ In the 1550s each *negra do pote* earned 40 rs a day, of which 20-25 went to her master, while she retained the rest to buy food for herself at work. At night she returned to her master's house to have dinner and rest.⁶¹ Cleynaerts provides a portrait of such women 'beasts of burden' (*nihil differt a brutis iumentis*): 'she go[es] to the market to buy the necessary things, who washes the clothes, sweeps the house, carries water and deals with the rubbish (*faeces domesticas et humanas*) at the appropriate time'.⁶²

In Spain and Portugal, established white local waterbearers tended to go about, like Lazarillo de Tormes, with a donkey and whip, his beast bearing four jugs at one time. He was expected to earn above 30 *maravedís* a day, which is what he was to repay the priest who had fitted him out (Michael Alpert calculates that the minimum requirement for life was around 2- 2½ *reales* per day, or 68-85 *maravedís*).⁶³ We can see exactly such a waterbearer with laden mule to the right of the Chafariz precinct sharing out the water (Figure 6). Thus we can say that it was not a profession exclusive to black labour. Diego Velázquez, for example, himself rendered a famous portrayal of *The Waterseller of Seville* (1620) as an old man in ripped sack-cloth. In nineteenth-century Lisbon illustrations and cards, similarly, the profession was a white man's career.⁶⁴

The street-sellers, *vendadeiras*, or to accord them their proper names, *regateiras*, appear in Brandão's census from the mid-1550s and in a short play (18 folios), the *Auto das Regateiras de Lisboa*, published by Ribeiro Chiado in 1536 (not 'around 1565', as Lowe reports).⁶⁵ They commonly sold snacks like cooked beans and *aletria* (pasta), besides more essential supplies such as olive oil and seafood. They also sold foods like rice pudding, couscous and chickpeas from pots, shouting their wares. Stewed prunes were popular with the ill, and Brandão commended the women for covering their wares with freshly laundered cloths, a laudable attention to cleanliness. This is how the black *vendadeira* in Filipe Lobo's *Vista do Mosteiro*

⁶⁰ AHCM, Lxa, Ch. Cidade, 396, Posturas reformadas, liv. 1, tit. 30, post. 2, f. 139.

⁶¹ João Brandão, 'Majestade e Grandezas de Lisboa em 1552', ed. Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, *Archivo Histórico Português*, XI, (1917), 76; Christovão Rodrigues de Oliveira, *Sumário em que brevemente se contém Algumas Coisas (assim Ecclesiásticas como Seculares) que há na Cidade de Lisboa (c. 1554-55)*, ed. A. Vieira da Silva, (Lisbon: 1938-9), 94.

⁶² 'Letter to Jacques Latomus', dated 26 March 1535, Évora. In Alphonse Roersch ed., *Correspondance de Nicolaus Clénard*, ed. Roersch (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1940-1), vol. I, 54; cf. Plate 44 of Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch*, which depicts a white maidservant carrying unglazed earthenware pots on her head.

⁶³ Francisco de Quevedo, *Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler (El Buscon)*, trans. & ed. Michael Alpert (London: Penguin, 2003), xxx.

⁶⁴ See, for example, the cards posted in MLisboa's blog: <http://olhai-lisboa.blogspot.co.uk/2011/03/aguadeiros-e-chafarizes.html> (URL accessed 28/03/2017)

⁶⁵ *Regateiras* are often translated as 'hucksters', even though the term had its own pejorative, *cadela* or *cadelão*. Two revised editions of manuscript no. 8581 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa have been published: Silveiro Bueno ed., *Auto das Regateiras*, (São Paulo: Saraiva/INL, 1969) and Giulia Lanciani ed., *Auto das Regateiras*, (Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1970).

dos Jerónimos is depicted.⁶⁶ Other authors like Durão draw attention to the fish-sellers at the Chafariz – Lisboaetas ate considerably more fish than meat as Tron and Lippomani reported - and the sale of materials connected with maritime commerce (ropes, sail cloth, buckets etc.).⁶⁷

Some of the blacks appear to be servants, accompanying their often horseborne masters leading them about their business by the halter, although it is not possible to visually determine the status of who is *criado*, who *escravo*, who *forro* (freedman, a status which could nonetheless be revoked). One slave at the entry to the precinct is wearing shackles (*braga*) (Figure 7) joining neck to leg of the kind Weiditz depicts, which he explains was reserved for *entlaufene Mohren*, runaway slaves. Saunders follows the line that there was not a sufficient number of freed blacks in the city to threaten white commoners for their employment, although the Lisbon municipal council was agitating in the direction of limiting their numbers.⁶⁸ The public mood as gauged by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos in his *Comedia Vlysippo* (writt. pre 1561) was anyway against such measures. Here Parasito exclaims:

Men who take slaves (*catiuos*) in chains, and throw shackles on them do not know what they are doing: you heap woe upon woe to these poor things, and they only desire to flee if they can, and with help (*graça*).⁶⁹

Many of the blacks represented are workers actively engaged in portuary activities. There is a black *stevedor*, transporting bales of straw from two lighters pulled up by the quayside. According to evidence available, there were more male slaves who worked as manual labourers than as petty traders or *regatões* who hawked goods through the streets.⁷⁰ They were, however, involved in the sale of bulky or heavy goods such as charcoal for cooking-fires and straw for bedding, floors and stables. By 1544, there were so many blacks and *mourisco* slaves and freedmen in this line of trade that the city council decided upon separate treatment for them in the event they should be discovered selling short measure.⁷¹

Not all the blacks seem to have respected the freedoms accorded them. In the bottom left we see a black, apparently drunk, who is being arrested and led away by two constables. They wear distinctive red hats with white feathers, and are marked on their left-hand sleeve

⁶⁶ 'Majestade e Grandezas', *Arquivo Histórico Português*, XI (1917), 59, 60.

⁶⁷ Durão, 'Análise Urbana de Territórios Construídos'.

⁶⁸ *Das Trachtenbuch des Weiditz*, Plate 22; Saunders, *A Social history of Black Slaves*, 148.

⁶⁹ Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, *Comedia Vlysippo*, ed. B.J. de Sousa Farinha (Lisbon: 1787), Act II, Scene VII, 150.

⁷⁰ Male slaves were frequently set to work in the stables; Cardinal Henrique (who was one of Cleynaerts' students) had seven 'stable slaves'. Évora, Biblioteca Pública, Cód. CXI/1-6 cited in Fonseca, 'Black Africans in Portugal', 117.

⁷¹ Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves*, 76, especially footnote 65.

at the shoulder with a golden badge of office, and are reminiscent of the Signori Otto in the sixth panel of Filippo Dolciati's *Story of Antonio Rinaldeschi* (Museo Stibbert, Florence, 1502). This unwilling and apprehensive black male may be bleeding from a wound to the head or face. On close inspection, a second black drunk would appear to be smooching within the fountain precinct with a white woman (Figure 8). In sixteenth-century Spain there was a formula ('he is not a drunk, a thief or a runaway') used in official documents relating to slaves indicating that these were their most common faults.⁷²

Blacks were seen at the time as carefree, fulfilling a 'laughing black' stereotype. In a description of Portugal written anonymously, but probably by the Italian military engineer Baccio da Filicaia, in 1579-80, the Portuguese were characterised as gloomy and melancholic people, who did not dare laugh, whereas their black African slaves were depicted as carefree and happy.⁷³ Blacks had long fulfilled the role of court jesters in Manueline Lisbon, as the career of Panasco illustrates.⁷⁴ When Philip II was in Lisbon after Spain's annexation of Portugal, he wrote to his daughters in June 1582 that he had gone to the window to watch black Africans dancing in the streets.⁷⁵ In this picture, similarly, we can see Portuguese looking down from their windows at this noisy spectacle. Here then was a ludic space, all the more so given the municipal decrees (*ordenações*) stipulating that 'slaves, whether black or white, are to be prohibited from eating or drinking in taverns, inns (*vendas*) or other public establishments, whether public or private, in the city of Lisbon or surrounding settlements, and the hour of closing is to be fixed in these establishments'.⁷⁶

The play contrasts with the orderliness of the architecture and the composition, a classic Renaissance frieze. The streets, although populated by many figures and animals such as dogs, do not bear witness to the filth and ordure which breathe from accounts of early modern Lisbon from Francisco de Holanda (1517-85) to Henry Fielding (1707-54) to Robert Semple (1766-1816).⁷⁷ Street cleaners were only instituted by Dom Sebastião (r. June 1557-August 1558), although we continue to see that ordure, in the foreground of Dirk Stoop's picture of the Terreiro do Paço, for example.⁷⁸ The urban filth was a feature of the city invariably commented upon, perhaps in contrast to the majesty and freshness of the ocean approach.

⁷² Aurelia Martin Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI: genero, raza y religion* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2000), 397.

⁷³ A.H. de Oliveira Marques, 'Uma descrição de Portugal em 1579-80', in Oliveira Marques, *Portugal Quinhentista (Ensaios)*, (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1987), 127-245.

⁷⁴ A. C. de C. M. Saunders. 'The life and humour of João de Sá de Panasco, *o negro*, former slave, court jester and gentleman of the Portuguese royal household (fl. 1524-1567)', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. E. Russell*, edited by F. W. Hodcroft, D. G. Pattison, R. D. F. Pring-Mill, and R. W. Truman. (Oxford, UK: Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 1981), 180-91.

⁷⁵ Fernando Bouza ed., *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, (Madrid: Akal Ediciones, 1998), 86.

⁷⁶ repr. in *Os negros em Portugal, sécs. XV a XIX*, 108.

⁷⁷ Holanda, *Da Fábrica que falece à cidade de Lisboa*; Fernando Castelo-Branco, 'Aspectos urbanísticos de Lisboa na perspectiva dos viajantes estrangeiros', *Povos e Culturas*, 2, (1987): 535-544.

⁷⁸ Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, 21.

We see a narrow entry through the red stone city walls (Cerca de D. Fernando) directly to the west of the King's fountain, the same red we find in the illumination attributed to António de Holanda in Duarte Galvão's *Crónica d'El Rei D. Afonso Henriques* (1520).⁷⁹ This is the Postern of the Count of Linhares, as we can ascertain from the detail in Braun and Hogenberg's *General View of Lisbon*.⁸⁰ The Postern of Alfama (*postigo de Alfama*) is further east, further than the door opening depicted in the Berardo painting, from which three youths stream forth, paying their goodbyes to their mother (Figure 9). Further east still, at the end of the city walls, is the 'Porta da Cruz', where already in Dinis's time stores or warehouses were built (*tercenas*).⁸¹ It is marked as '74' on Hogenberg's map. The postern gate, or back gate, as its name suggests, is not of the same dimensions as one of the standard city gates, at any rate hardly wide enough for carts to pass.

Blacks commonly also served as boatmen (*barqueiros*) in the riverine stretches of the Tagus valley, where there was a lot of fishing. Here, one entertains a young romantic couple with a tambourine in a small boat, the other heaving the oars (*remador*). We have some fine *azulejos* from the seventeenth century depicting blacks as rowers, or helping to catch turtles, in the Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna, Lisbon.⁸² The tambourine, meanwhile, was a lowly instrument – in a 1440 Palermo edict black Africans were forbidden from carrying such, alongside more dangerous objects, presumably because of the subversive and collectively enticing effect of their rhythms.⁸³

Historians have found stock representations of blacks playing music and dancing.⁸⁴ In Henrique Lopes's *Cenapoliciana*, for example, the mulatto, Solis, is told that:

Men of your colour / are musical (*ser musicos*) by inheritance⁸⁵

Here in this picture we see mixed black and white couples dancing – the black men taking the lead – one is wearing a sarong (Figure 3).⁸⁶ In fifteenth-century Portuguese literature the *poço*, or well, was a place where young men would target young women come to fetch water with amorous thoughts in mind – the Chafariz merely represented then a continuum

⁷⁹ copy in the Museu Biblioteca dos Condes de Castro-Guimaraes, Cascais.

⁸⁰ published in the 'Civitates orbis terrarum' series, vol. 5 (Cologne, George Braun, 1598).

⁸¹ Durão, *Análise*, p. 25. We can see these *tercenas* as well as the *postigo* to the west of the Chafariz, in the pencil drawing in the University of Leiden dated to 1570, Inv. J29-I5-7831-110/30. There is a reproduction at the Museu da Cidade de Lisboa.

⁸² repr. in Isabel Castro, *Os Africanos em Portugal*, 23.

⁸³ Henri Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450*, (Rome/Palermo 1986), II, 450.

⁸⁴ Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen*. The author does not take the Berardo picture into consideration.

⁸⁵ Afonso Lopez, *Autos e Comedias Portuguesas. Primeira parte dos Autos e comedias portuguesas / feitas por Antonio Prestes & por Luis de Camões & por outros autores portugueses cujos nomes vão no principio das obras*, (Lisboa: Andres Lobato, 1587), 46.

⁸⁶ Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen*, 168-9. Sasseti thought that black Cape Verdeans were very quick to learn, and good players of the lute. Lopes is in António Prestes et al., *Primeira Parte dos Autos e Comedias Portuguesas*, (Lisbon: Andres Lobato, 1587), f. 45.

of this idea.⁸⁷ This kind of behaviour was of great concern to the religious authorities of the day, which in Franciscus de Conceptione's report of 1547 complained about the deplorable spiritual conditions of the slaves in Lisbon, how they 'do not have the faith, and are completely ignorant of the Creed, and of the Lord's Prayer (..) They are permitted to have illicit sexual relations, and these sometimes happen between baptised and unbaptised persons, and also between slaves and free people'.⁸⁸ These illicit sexual relations were the very stuff of the ballads and broadsides like the anonymous *Coplas de cómo una dama ruega a un negro que cante* (How a Lady Begg a Black Slave to Sing to Her) (c. 1520).⁸⁹ Of the 155 figures in this scene, there are apparently no *religiosos* to uphold public morals, an otherwise common appearance in the early modern Iberian urban landscape.⁹⁰

The painting represents many different social groups, from which it is thus hard to draw facile generalisations about blacks in Portuguese society.⁹¹ There is the fine horseborne black in the foreground, with what would seem to be the *botas bayas* (yellow kid-leather boots) mentioned in Jorge Ferreira's *Comedia Aulegrafia*, bearing on his back the red cross of the Order of Santiago. Santiago was the Order responsible for the defence of Lisbon historically, and was overseen from Palmela, no great distance to the south.⁹² The Order was composed of a two-tiered membership structure, of which many of the ordinary knights and holders of small commanderies came from relatively low social backgrounds – the Order was known popularly as the order of seafarers and surgeons.⁹³ We would do well to remember that blacks were not just of servile status, that many benefited from European contact, received an education, were ennobled, and visited the Pope. There is the bust of Antonio Emanuele Funta, called Nigrita, in Rome where the deceased ambassador was depicted in noble physiognomy with a quiver on his back (referring to his African origins)

⁸⁷ Stefan Halikowski-Smith, 'Um tributo', in Onésimo Teotónio Almeida ed., *Eduino de Jesus. A Ca(u)sa dos Açores em Lisboa*, (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 2009), 143-44. This is an idea, which is borne out by bylaws in Coimbra and Évora forbidding men from loitering on riverbanks and paying court to slaves and other women trying to wash clothes, Arquivo Distrital de Évora, Câmara Municipal, Posturas Antigas, 2, f. 66v (9 July 1556).

⁸⁸ 'Annotationes in abusus sacramentorum', in *Concilii Tridentini actorum*, ed. Theobladus Freudenberger (Freiburg: Sumptibus Herder, 1972), pt. III, vol 2.

⁸⁹ For a critical discussion of this text, see Jeremy Lawrance, 'Black Africans in Renaissance Spanish Literature', in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, eds. Earle and Lowe, 70 ff.

⁹⁰ See Dirk Stoop, for example, or the anonymous *View of Rossio Square in Lisbon*, oil on canvas, private collection, repr. in Lowe & Jordan, *The Global City*, Fig. 27.

⁹¹ Cf Lowe & Jordan, *The Global City*, 43 ff.

⁹² The Order of Santiago held great swathes of land in the extreme south of the country, controlling up to a third of the region south of the Tejo, Livermore 1973: 54, 72-4. For the various types of cross adopted by the different military orders, see the seventeenth-century engraving 'Ordine dei Cavalieri di Portogallo', in *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos*, ed. Francisco Contento Domingues (Lisboa: Caminho, 1994), vol. II, 820. cf. Matthew Voss, "In this sign you shall conquer." The cross of the Order of Christ in sixteenth-century Portuguese cartography, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 39, Issue 1 (2007), 24-36. The Order of Christ was based in the north of the Estremadura region, with its centre at Tomar; Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos, *Comedia Aulegrafia*, (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1619), fol. 12v.

⁹³ Francis A. Dutra, 'Evolution of the Portuguese Order of Santiago, 1492-1600', *Mediterranean Studies*, 4, 1994, 63-72.

and in a cloak *all'antica*.⁹⁴ Despite his bent on the wholesale destruction of Islam, Manuel I was open to a native African or Indian Christian priesthood, and promoted the appointment of Henry, the son of the King of Congo to a bishopric in 1518, although we know that the common people commonly chafed at this social elevation.⁹⁵ In 1488 an African emissary to Dom João II's court, Bemoim, was slighted and then murdered, while in 1514, a Congolese ambassador to Portugal complained that he had been insulted by the royal stablemen, who offered him an inferior mount and refused to show him due respect.⁹⁶ Horses were a matter of great attention in Lisbon, Tron and Lippomani explain how 'there are to be seen in that city beautiful jennets which the Portuguese buy for any price'.⁹⁷ Smooth-gaited Spanish jennets, of the type our horseman is seated upon, were all the rage.

Indeed, there is little indication here to reinforce the subaltern status of blacks in Portuguese society. We do not see slaves being marched through the streets to market, as Hieronymus Köler relates. While the blacks in this picture are the merry-makers in the boat, the drunkards and the water-bearers, the indigent, barefoot characters in the painting are predominantly whites – the female impromptu dancer on the patio of the fountain, the servant with a yellow top who is clasping the halter of his master's horse while his master sees to eating what looks like watermelon, and a white *aguadeira* to the left of the patio. She too, like the blacks is bearing her load on her head, much as Camões's *cantiga* would confirm:

Leva na cabeça o pote,
O testo⁹⁸ nas mãos de prata,
Cinta de fina escarlata,
Sainho de chamalote;
Traz a vasquinha de cote,
Mais branca que a neve pura;
Vai fermosa, e não segura.

4. A ludic figure or a black in a trance?

⁹⁴ See entry on the sculptor of this bust Francesco Caporale, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, (Roma : Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana 1960-2015), vol. VIII, 671-2. The cloak borne by the Chafariz horseman appears to be made of dark velvet. We are not able to ascertain whether it possessed a fringe, so important a status consideration for Lazarillo, *Lazarillo de Tormes and The Swindler*, 57.

⁹⁵ Stefan Halikowski Smith, biography of Dom Manuel I in *Christian-Muslim Relations, 1500-1900*, (Brill: Leiden, 2014), vol. 6, 286.

⁹⁶ António Brásio ed., *Monumenta missionaria Africana*, (Lisbon: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1952), vol. 1, *Africa Ocidental (1471-1531)*, 349-50 cited in P.E. Russell, 'White kings on black kings: Rui de Pina and the problem of black African sovereignty', in P.E. Russell, *Portugal Spain and the African Atlantic, 1340-1490: Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), ch. 16, 163, n. 15.

⁹⁷ Herculano, *Opúsculos*, vol. VI, 121-22.

⁹⁸ Here meaning 'the lid'. The *cantiga* is taken from Eduíno de Jesus, 'Poesias de Luís de Camões' in the *Antologia Compacta*, 6.

The one character who is omitted in classic interpretations of this scene is the black occupying centre stage (Figure 1) and around whom an empty space has been made, whose face is obscured, whether by a rag, whether from momentarily tossing a water jug into the air, or from purposefully placing a broken-bottomed *pote* over his head. It is not clear what he is doing, whether he is a *feiticeiro* or witch doctor performing African rites. But there are no idols here, nor charms, and better known African religions that involve such activities like *candomblé* only originated at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁹⁹ Yet it is curious that none of the other figures surrounding him seems to want to have anything to do with him, it is as if he is an object of shame. Yet this is not a pillory (*pelourinho*), as there was in the centre of the Terreiro do Paço. Is he perhaps rather having a solitary vision? Müller reported from the Gold Coast in 1673 how priests went off by themselves to have visions, and afterwards came back and told the people what they had seen.¹⁰⁰ But this is hardly 'going off'. If, as appears, the subject is in a trance state, then normally he would have entered that state through clapping, drumming or dancing, as noted by Cavazzi.¹⁰¹ Perhaps the rag or pot is a medium through which spirits speak to the subject? This is not so absurd a proposition as it may at first appear: Wyatt MacGaffey writes of 'the misuse of fabricated composites of natural materials that nowadays we would call magical', and Protestant seventeenth and eighteenth-century observers noted how African 'fetishists' would exchange gold for seemingly random objects: 'some a Bird's Feather, some a Pebble, a Bit of Rag, Dog's Leg, or in short anything they fancy'.¹⁰² While the Protestant view of such behaviour was that of an irrational craziness on the part of the African, earlier Catholic missionaries were more concerned with the transgressive elements of talismans and remedies which fell outside the framework of life as controlled by the Church. Indeed, fetishes were initially taken by missionaries to be sacramental objects – *nkisi*.

The figure would seem to be standing within a ring of fire. The artist's clumsiness in rendering perspective complicates interpretation, but we can compare it with the fire on the patio in front of the fountain behind the dancing figures (Figure 10). The most likely interpretation, then, is one that conforms to the 'dia de festa' or ludic template underlining this scene. We have here a street performer, possibly in trance, who has made a ring of fire around himself to attract attention to his show.

The gentlemen wandering around with swords in their side scabbards and wide-brimmed hats conform to the sartorial norms of the day in Iberia, a sobriety much in keeping with the tenor of the court of King Joao III, the Pious (*o Piedoso*), and indeed that of João's brother-

⁹⁹ Jim Wafer, *Taste of Blood: Spirit Possession in Brazilian Candomblé*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

¹⁰⁰ 'Wilhelm Johann Müller's description of the Fetu country, 1662-5', in Adam Jones ed., *German sources for West African history, 1599-1699*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983), 164.

¹⁰¹ John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1998, 2nd. edition*, 243.

¹⁰² William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London: Nourse, 1744), 26. More generally, Wyatt MacGaffey, 'Dialogues of the Deaf' in Stuart Schwartz, *Implicit Understandings*, (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 264-5.

in-law Philip II in Spain.¹⁰³ While there are at least five blacks dressed in the showy red (*cô de telha*) Ferreira wrote of, the local gentlemen are dressed in the black ‘Spanish cape’ known as *saio* (or *saione* in Italy), which went with an assertion of not only piety but constancy as an attitude to life. Vecellio states that the shorter knee-length variety we see here was introduced in Italy after 1550 but took another 25 years to reach Spain; the Augsburgers Matthäus Schwartz, however, dressed in over the second decade of the sixteenth century were also knee-length, tending to have sleeves down to the hands and plenty of loose folds and even a collar.¹⁰⁴ The gentlemen go without the extravagant Spanish ruffs or *lechuguillas*, which started to proliferate in the seventeenth-century Spanish court and which Philip IV in Spain was forced to curb via his acts of reformation, promulgated in 1623, alongside the use of silver and gold thread *passementerie*.¹⁰⁵ Indeed it is in the simplest of plain white collars, that we see the Portuguese King João III (r. 1521-1557) portrayed in the António Moro portrait of 1552 (Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid). João is bearded, as are the men in this painting, though some grow their beards more freely than the careful pointed beards redolent of the ‘Spanish fashion’. Was it an attempt to depict Marranos who, despite outward conformity, were still intimately connected with early modern Portugal as the common ditty ‘trois Portugais, deux Juifs’ went?¹⁰⁶ Specialists assert, however, that Marranos in no ways visually stood out from the rest of Portuguese society, and the older stereotypes in visual culture of depicting Jews’ pale and ruddy complexions, brightly coloured clothes, and hats with chinstraps, is also here lacking.¹⁰⁷

In the Moro portrait, João is wearing a soft felt cap with small rim, of a similar type as the most courtly figure in our picture, the black horseman, albeit without the brocading or fancy white plume. These velvet hats, or at least one variant borne by a gentleman returning to court from Castile, became the butt of witty verses in Garcia de Resende’s *Cancioneiro Geral*, occupying as many as 300 lines!¹⁰⁸ The street strollers tend to have a more pronounced rim, the archetypal black Portuguese *chapeú* we see illustrated across the Portuguese world, as far afield as the Po-Win Taung caves of Burma, although without the

¹⁰³ This sobriety is confirmed by Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni*, 281 and inventories of André Resende’s clothes on his death in 1573, see John R.C. Martyn ed., *On Court Life*, (Bern/New York : P. Lang, 1990) 36. It stretched right up until the marriage party of Catherine of Braganza in 1662, which was ridiculed by the English when they appeared in her suite, and won portraitists like Domingos Vieira (c. 1600-78) sobriquets like ‘o Escuro’.

¹⁰⁴ Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni*, 285; Schwartz, in Ulinka Rublack & Maria Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), I.25 & I.71.

¹⁰⁵ Marcelin Deforneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, (London: Allen & Unwin 1970) 56-7. We see ruffs earlier in northern Europe amongst local dignitaries as in P. Pourbus’s portrait of the Bruges alderman Jacob van der Gheenste, painted in 1583. More generally, Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up. Cultural identity in Renaissance Europe*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁰⁶ Robert Challes, *Journal du voyage des Indes Orientales: à monsieur Pierre Raymond*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1998), 57.

¹⁰⁷ Personal communication from François Soyer, June 14, 2017. He shared seventeenth-century materials from the Bibliotheca Sefarad and Rizi’s oil painting *Profanación de un crucifijo* to demonstrate his point. Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts. Signs of Otherness in North European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley 1993), vol. I, 42-3, 46.

¹⁰⁸ Aubrey Bell, *Portuguese Literature*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press 1970), 99.

chin strap of those revellers in the *tanque* at Ormuz.¹⁰⁹ Others, including the two municipal constables, wear the bright red cap (*barrete*) so famous from Vaz de Caminha's letter and familiar to all Portuguese seamen.¹¹⁰

There are many instances of individuals conferring in the painting. Could they be the stern familiars (*familiares*) of the Inquisition, which were reported to scrutinise incoming ships, and who were brought into Portugal by this king, one of the deeds by which his reign is most frequently judged?¹¹¹ Certainly the wide-brimmed hats resemble that in Lavanha's engraving of the character standing under the Arch of the Familiars of the Inquisition, built for the entry of Philip III in Lisbon (Plate 9).¹¹² But there were few familiars at this time, they reached a peak only between 1761-1770 and, for the first period on record, 1571-80, there were only eighteen in the whole of Portugal!¹¹³

5. Towards a general interpretation of the picture.

We come back to questions of general interpretation. Critics are invariably helped by preparatory drawings and sketches of oil paintings: in the case of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, we possess as many as 61. But for this painting, there are apparently none: we are obliged to proceed on the basis of this image alone.

Churchmen and moralists, as we have seen, generally decried black intermixing into white society. With regard to the crypto-Jewish 'problem', moralists urging separation invoked Paul's 'Epistle to the Hebrews' (12:20) forbidding the approach of 'animals' to Christ's sermon on the Mount on pain of stoning ('Omne animal quod tetigerit montem, lapidabitur').¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, art historians have established close links between other genre artists and the moralizing plays of the 'rhetoricians' (*rederijkers*), Antwerp men like Abraham Ortelius (1527-98) and Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-90), who wrote plays like that entitled *De la correction des coquins, ou comment réduire le nombre des oisifs malfaisants*.¹¹⁵ Theirs was 'a dream of a distant Church across the sea, an ancient and better time when Christianity was still pure in spirit'. Whereas pictures such as Bruegel's

¹⁰⁹ Luís de Matos ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), Table XVIII. 'The Portuguese in Ormuz. They are eating in the water since the land is very hot'.

¹¹⁰ 'Letter of Vaz de Caminha', in William Greenlee, *Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938), 9; Fernão Peres de Andrade distributed caps on his embassy to Annam, João de Barros, *Da Ásia*, (Lisboa: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1777-1788), dec. III, pte. II, cap. VI, 182.

¹¹¹ Ana Isabel Buescu, *D. João III*, (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2008), 10-13.

¹¹² João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da catholica real magestad del rey d. Filipe III[.] a su Reino de Portugal y Relación del Solemne Recibimiento*, (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1622), 52v.

¹¹³ Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition. A Global history, 1478-1834* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) Table 2.1, 79

¹¹⁴ Cf. similar text in Exodus 19:12-13.

¹¹⁵ Discussed in *Bienfaisance et Répression au XVIIe siècle: deux textes néerlandais*, trans. by Pierre Brachin (Paris: Libr. philosophique J. Vrin, 1984).

Netherlandish Proverbs (1559, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), which were once typically seen as the product of a 'jovial prankster who painted amusing scenes of peasant life', now the key to the painting is perceived as a return to medieval theology as a buttress against the uncertainty of the times.¹¹⁶

However, while it is true that there are examples in the Chafariz picture of the forces of law and order coming to arrest black drunkards, and there are broken pots on the ground, there are strong grounds for suggesting quite the opposite interpretation, that what we have here is a celebration, as Lavanha wrote in 1619, of a city:

In which there are goods (*bienes*) both of nature and fortune (..) for the multitude of its inhabitants (..) and frequency of various nations which flock to it and reside there, such that it appears a microcosm of the world (*Mundo Abreviado*).

The heterogeneity, as Lavanha re-emphasizes, is precisely one of the characterizing features of being 'a universal market square (*plaza*) of the whole world'.¹¹⁷ Students to whom I have presented this picture similarly prefer to think rather that it represents a celebration both of social mobility for blacks and a mark of social integration, as we can appreciate in the blacks' relations with white women as exhibited in the dancing. Clothing does not seem to have a dividing line between black and white. The picture of the city presented is a lively one, but not one rent by vagabondage, ordure filling the streets, street violence or neglected, collapsing buildings; a more generalised picture of moral decay as, for example, we find in the sixty-one interesting stanzas by the querulous Alvaro de Brito Pestana in the *Cancioneiro Geral*.¹¹⁸ Relations between poor blacks and poor whites do not appear tense, as Saunders upholds was the case. The natural law theories elaborated by the university jurist Luís de Molina (1536-1600) for the purpose of the *escravização dos negros*, a 'devastating idea for any thought of assimilation between Africans and Europeans', does not easily stand up when put to the test here on the streets of Lisbon as conveyed in this picture.¹¹⁹

We are told that 'Bruegel's *Ice Skating before the Gate of St. George* is neither critical nor laudatory'.¹²⁰ This would be the line I choose to follow. Genre paintings convey, in the words of Walter Gibson, a 'sense of amused detachment of an observer, even participating in the dance, while maintaining a certain distance'. This sense of amusement is, in the Iberian context, what draws critics like Vítor Serrão to draw attention to what he perceives

¹¹⁶ Kenneth C. Lindsay, 'Mystery in Bruegel's Proverbs', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38. Bd. (1996): 63-76.

¹¹⁷ J.B. Lavanha, *Viage de la Catolica Magestad del Rey Don Felipe III*, fol. 8r.

¹¹⁸ Aida Fernanda Dias ed., 'D' Alvaro de Brito Pestana a Luis Fogaça, sendo vereador na cidade de Lixboa em que lhe daa maneira para os ares maos serem for a dela', in Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral*, (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1990), vol. 1, 57-. Digital version

<http://www.literaturabrasileira.ufsc.br/documents/0006-02950.html#13> [URL accessed 01/04/17]

¹¹⁹ António Manuel Hespanha, 'Luís de Molina e a escravização dos negros', *Análise Social*, vol. XXXV, 157, (2001): 937-960.

¹²⁰ Sullivan, 'Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen and the beginnings of genre', 130.

as the picture's 'picaresque' line.¹²¹ But at the same time, the gaze of the genre painter was typically a Stoic one. Landscape art shared with genre painting the aspiration of being a 'mirror of the Earth'.¹²² The observer meditates on the world of man and nature, as the ancient Stoics made clear. Epictetus said that man 'should be a spectator of the life around him', while Cicero viewed the contemplation and understanding of the world as 'surpassing all other pursuits'. As Margaret Sullivan reminds us, 'an art of the ordinary could amuse and entertain and, at the same time, it could be used to address more serious questions', here relating to racial intermixing.¹²³

¹²¹ Serrão, 'A Imagem do Mundo', p. 178.

¹²² Walter S. Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth. The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, (Princeton University Press, 1989).

¹²³ Sullivan, 'Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen and the beginnings of genre', 145.