

# 17 • Mapping Maritime Triumph and the Enchantment of Empire: Portuguese Literature of the Renaissance

NEIL SAFIER AND ILDA MENDES DOS SANTOS

When the Jesuit António Vieira composed his sermons and visionary tracts in the middle of the seventeenth century, maps great and small emanated like puffs of smoke from his fiery prose. The world was ablaze—or might eventually catch fire if Vieira’s audience did not heed his prophetic warnings—and the map was fodder for the terrestrial conflagration, a tool that could encompass and describe the shape of things to come but would ultimately perish in the apocalyptic flames. There would come a day when “the world [would be] in embers,” Vieira wrote in his “Sermão da primeira domingo do Advento” (1650), and when “nothing can be seen upon this beautiful and extended map but ashes, relics of [the world’s] grandeur, and proof of our vanity.”<sup>1</sup> In his *História do futuro*, Vieira used cartographic imagery as the central allegory for a new kind of historical writing: a prophetic and millenarian vision in the form of a “prodigious map” that extended from the present into the future, ending with the end of the world. The terrestrial globe—and its representation—became a central feature of Vieira’s project, in which the upper hemisphere represented the past, the lower hemisphere the future, and the “middle of each hemisphere . . . the horizons of time . . . from which point . . . we will go to discover new regions and new inhabitants.”<sup>2</sup> But in the very same text, Vieira employed cartographic metaphors to describe the science of chiromancy and the topography of the human hand: “In such a small map, as flat and smooth as the palm of a human hand, the chiromancers not only invented distinct lines and characters, but raised and divided mountains as well.”<sup>3</sup> For Vieira, then, the map could shrink from a temporal atlas stretching to infinity to a palm-sized chorography. The flexible scale of the cartographic image allowed the metaphor to expand or contract depending on the needs of the rhetorical moment, while the map’s material adaptability—from human skin to burning embers—gave the orator a limitless range of figurative gestures to mold and maneuver.

It should come as no surprise that literary images and linguistic devices with cartographic overtones were in circulation in Vieira’s day among missionaries and merchants throughout the lusophone world. Vieira inherited much of his geographical vocabulary from language developed at a

time when the use of the map was anything *but* figurative—a time when the voyages of maritime discovery depended inordinately on maps and charts, fueling the imagination of chroniclers and dramaturges, cosmographers and illustrators, poets and their patrons. Influenced by the force of these images and affected by his own experiences on both sides of the Atlantic, Vieira wielded maps and cartographic metaphors as a rhetorical scepter to advance his own proselytic aims. Vieira’s sermons allow us to reflect more broadly on the ties between cartography and culture in the early modern period, which, in this case in particular, draw their roots from the literature of the Portuguese Renaissance. In his writings Vieira evokes maps of all kinds: material charts that allowed Portuguese pilots to sail successfully around distant capes and across unknown seas, cultural maps that reflected biblical readings in an increasingly empirical age, and corporeal maps that conflated macro- and microcosmic visions through readings of the human body. A man of both words and actions, Vieira constructed a baroque discourse around ideas that were drawn from an age that had redefined astronomical, geographical, and pictorial space, raising doubts about the size and scale of the world and the human place in it. The literature of that age reflected an increasing confidence in the human ability to observe, chart, and transform the natural world, but also came to exude a deep uneasiness about the limits of these achievements. This tension between confidence and uncertainty, between triumphalism and despair—due at least in part to the disruption of known geographic, scientific, and philosophical boundaries—found a figurative resonance in the supple, even inflammable image of the map: an *imago mundi* still capable of being manipulated and transformed to suit the cultural exigencies of an expanding world.

Renaissance literature acknowledged Portugal largely through its extensive colonial enterprise on land and at sea, a presence confirmed through its colorful cartogra-

1. António Vieira, *Os Sermões*, ed. Jamil Almansur Haddad (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos, 1963), 97.

2. António Vieira, *História do futuro*, 2d ed., ed. Maria Leonor Carvalho Buescu (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 1992), chap. 1, 51.

3. Vieira, *História do futuro*, chap. 1, 49.

phy (*mappaemundi*, chorographies, and atlases), widely translated travel narratives, and a broad range of literary genres throughout Europe that explored and exalted Lusitania's pioneering role in broadening the boundaries of European overseas conquest. The Portuguese maritime voyages, which began in 1415 with the capture of Ceuta and continued unabated throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, brought the themes of discovery and revelation into the literary lexicon, penetrating the writings of the Renaissance and allowing authors to pose new questions about travel, discovery, and cultural difference in a world whose horizons were changing with alarming speed. Portuguese literature of the Renaissance was particularly transfixed by the idea of displacement: whether through pilgrimage, exploration, purposeful wandering, or forced exile, the rubric of the journey englobed diverse manners of perceiving and dominating new spaces, new places, and new peoples, thereby forcing an interrogation of the Portuguese subject and his or her relation to the outside world.

The idea of the "Indies" played a central role in this examination of Portuguese cultural identity. More than a geographical place, the Indies represented a moral and social space in which two conflicting notions coexisted: on the one hand, the reformulation of the world map would lead to the triumph of the Portuguese nation; on the other, Portugal would fall into a chasm of enchanted delusion with its overseas expansion, reflecting the cupidity and vanity of human desire. These two poles represent two extremes of the oft-contaminated literary genres that emerged in Portugal in response to these new experiences, which range from the epic narratives of overseas expansion, exemplified by accounts from the *carreira da Índia* (route to India) that represent a moral and ultimately heroic use of cartographic imagery as a stand-in for divine providence, to the more reflective, tempestuous genre of the shipwreck narrative, "prose litanies" that pessimistically evoke the dangers and dilemmas of the sea and ultimately challenge "the hegemonic vision of empire evident in the accounts of the canonical actors of colonialism."<sup>4</sup> Alongside the epic masterpiece of Luís de Camões's *Os Lusíadas* and the itinerant east Asian exoticism of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* are Portuguese texts that express emotions ranging from bucolic sentimentalism to hesitation and erancy, all of which employ maps and cartographic figurations to express the aspirations and deceptions of an ever-expanding maritime empire.

#### THE JOURNEY THERE AND BACK AGAIN: THE *ROTEIRO* AND THE POETIC EXALTATION OF EMPIRE

In some of the early *roteiros* (nautical guides), these textual features are also combined with sketches of coast-

lines and harbors (plate 13). The oldest testament to this genre—"Este livro he de rotear" (This book is for routemaking)—is included in the "Manuscrito Valentim Fernandes," a text that brings together descriptions of the coasts and islands of Africa, as well as fragments from the chronicle of Gomes Eanes de Zurara, who wrote the account of the first Portuguese expeditions into Africa.<sup>5</sup> The *roteiro*, written by cosmographers in tandem with those who had mastered the seas (e.g., pilots and sailors), appears as the maritime equivalent of other Renaissance guides that construct a dialog between the learned and the uninitiated, guiding readers safely through occult worlds based on knowledge and experience. The vocabulary is often technical and highly visual, but approximates the earliest poetic forms—the list and the catalog—to become a nautical inventory that is later transformed into fictional narrative.

These early accounts place the figure of the pilot at the forefront of the nautical narrative, and the pilot's knowledge, based on practical experience rather than bookish learning, becomes a literary commonplace as well. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, in his "Esmeraldo de situ orbis," exalted experience as "madre de todas as cousas" (mother of all things), and his formulation of the sea voyage as revealing novel landscapes and new geographical conceptions is also woven into the triumphalist histories of the reign of Manuel I.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Manuel's very title is a toponymic tongue-twister: "King, by the will of God, of Portugal, the Algarve . . . in Africa, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, of navigation and of the commerce of Ethiopia, of Arabia, of Persia, and of India." In the chivalric novel *Clarimundo* (1520), written by the historian João de Barros, the history of Portugal is presented as a contemplative reflection of the globe in its entirety, a catalog of the cities conquered from Africa to the Indian Ocean.<sup>7</sup> And in 1516, Garcia de Resende collected a songbook of court poetry, the *Cancioneiro geral*, where traditional forms of lyricism are intermingled with exaltations of new lands and conquering kings, a topographical index in the form of a poetic recital that becomes the lyric verbiage of which an entire literature eventually will be composed.<sup>8</sup> Experience and geography are thus brought together as build-

4. Josiah Blackmore, *Manifest Perdition: Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xx–xxi, quotation on xxi.

5. Valentim Fernandes, *O manuscrito "Valentim Fernandes"* [ca. 1506–10] (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1940).

6. Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, ed. Joaquim Baradas de Carvalho (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Serviço de Educação, 1991).

7. João de Barros, *Crónica do imperador Clarimundo* [1520], 3 vols. (Lisbon: Sá de Costa, 1953).

8. Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, ed. Cristina Almeida Ribeiro (Lisbon: Editorial Comunicação, 1991).

ing blocks of a new literary impulse undergirding imperial aspirations in the sixteenth century.

Within Resende's songbook, a short composition by Diogo Velho reveals the earliest traces of an epic tradition that would eventually be followed by Camões and others: lyric chants to praise the new worlds discovered and put under Portuguese dominion by the king. These texts were an attempt to transform the lexicon of the nautical guide and the *mappamundi* into poetic form, and they also represent an attempt to link the power of the Portuguese to their unique ability to perceive the world geographically:

These newly present things  
Have become so evident to us  
That no other people has ever seen  
The world in the way we do now.  
Everything has been discovered.<sup>9</sup>

Garcia de Resende himself expanded this cartographic discourse in 1545 with a rhyming chronicle, the *Miscelânea e variedade de historias*, where toponyms and products of the newly discovered lands, enshrined in a quasi-journalistic narrative, file past the reader, who is therefore able to contemplate on paper the dynamic processes of discovery:

Another world uncovered  
We came thus to discover  
What had till then been uncertain:  
It still astonishes to hear  
What one now knows to be certain;  
What extraordinary things  
Are the worlds of India and Yucatán  
And in China, as in Brazil and Peru,  
How many fantastic and heroic acts of valor  
Take place  
A never-ending process  
What great populations  
what great journeys  
what great kings, what riches  
what customs, what oddities  
what peoples and what nations.<sup>10</sup>

This text, like so many others that exalt the imperial power of discovery, takes the form of a *roteiro* describing the route from Lisbon to the four corners of the earth: Guinea and Manicongo, Benin, the Cape of Good Hope, India, China, the Moluccas, Java, Malabar, Sumatra, Siam, Ormuz, Goa, Calcutta, Ceylon, Siam, Delhi, and Ethiopia. The sea route to the East becomes a literary motif, and the stops along the way are the units of meter by which a new poetic language was created. The most famed epic of Portuguese literature takes these itineraries and transforms them into a single lyric project, a unified vision that it was Luís de Camões's glory and duty to sing, expressing the imperial effort of an entire nation through the poetic and geographic grace of Portugal's maritime muse.

## THE EPIC LYRICISM OF LUÍS DE CAMÕES (1524?–1580)

*Os Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões was published in 1572 and provides a synthetic, unifying framework for a host of ideas about empire and exploration that were gaining currency in Portugal from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In a narrative poem in ten cantos, Camões recounts in magisterial verse the maritime odyssey and pioneering voyage of Vasco da Gama, told within the larger context of Portuguese history since the twelfth century. By proclaiming the glorious memory of Portugal's kings and heroes, Camões sings the virtues of the nation, and the voyage of Vasco da Gama becomes a poetic prototype for future expeditions and future national projects.

Geographical imagery, often in the form of globes and spheres, forms an important element in Camões's literary arsenal and is used to vivify the past and to transform historic achievements into a blueprint for other conquests and future explorations. The vocabulary of the *roteiro* and the image of the map are employed directly in the *Lusíadas*. Seashores and islands, promontories and capes, ports and walled fortresses are all connected through a cascading surge of nautical toponyms, providing a maritime realism that situates the reader in an adventurous tale of brine and sea foam. When Vasco da Gama goes ashore, in canto 5, and uses the "the new instrument called the astrolabe" to determine his location in the "distant lands where we find ourselves," he uses these measurements of the sun's height "to measure their location on a world map." He then relies on this cartographic image of the world as both a spiritual and a directional guide to the "land where no people had ever trod."<sup>11</sup> Earlier in the poem, coming before the African king of Malindi, da Gama presents himself and his mission by calling forth a map of the boundaries of Europe, describing to his host deictically the forms of the subcontinent from the Mediterranean to Lapland. The map serves as a currency of cultural exchange for da Gama: a framework for describing the classical, foundational myths of European civilization and an anthropomorphic portrait that allows him to display his homeland at the head of his cartographic project:

And it is here, at what might be the summit of the head  
Of Europe, the Lusitanian kingdom,  
Where the land ends and the sea begins,

9. Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral*, 268.

10. Garcia de Resende, *Miscellanea e variedade de historias, costumes, casos, e cousas que em seu tempo aconteceram* [1554] (Coimbra: França Amado, 1917), sts. 50–51 (pp. 20–21).

11. Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 5, 25–26. See Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, ed. and intro. Frank Pierce (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973).

And where Phebus rests at the bottom of the Ocean.  
This here is my beloved land.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, anthropomorphic cartographies are present throughout Camões's epic. At the midpoint of Camões's tale, Vasco da Gama and his crew meet Adamastor, a monstrous creature of "hardened earth" who was punished by the gods by being ordered to spend eternity at—or, more precisely, *as*—the Cape of Good Hope. Conjured from the seas to warn the Portuguese not to stray beyond the promontory he patrols and personifies, the monster introduces himself to da Gama and his crew by explaining that he is in fact a geographic feature that ancient cosmographers ignored:

I am that great and hidden Cape  
Which you call the Cape of Storms  
Not Ptolemy, Pomponius, Strabo or  
Pliny or any other knew of me.  
It is here that I end the African coast  
In this promontory never before seen  
Which extends toward the Antarctic Pole  
And that your temerity mightily offends.<sup>13</sup>

This synchronic textual revelation of a geographic feature allows the reader to participate in a cartographic epiphany as experienced by da Gama and his crew. Bartolomeu Dias had, of course, already rounded the Cape of Good Hope nearly a decade earlier. But this literary depiction of da Gama's daring—flavored with a secret knowledge not shared by the ancient spirits of Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Strabo, and Pliny—poetically inscribes into the literary annals of cartographic history the graphic fusion of two oceans at Africa's tip. It is analogous to being present as Henricus Martellus Germanus carved a small aquatic channel at the bottom of the African continent in his 1489 map, the first to show a definitive maritime link between the Indian and Atlantic oceans.

But the most eloquent testimony to maps and globes comes in the final canto, where the nymph Thetis, a sea goddess who lives on the Ilha dos Amores (Isle of Love), reveals to Vasco da Gama a series of brilliant concentric orbs contained within the form of a large globe. The mariner and his crew encounter this luminous apparition in a field of "emeralds and rubies," a visual trope that clearly signals the entrance into divine territory. These precious stones also recall the speckled, glittering, gem-like islands that adorn portolan charts and other maps of this period, such as those in the Miller Atlas or the maps of Fernão Vaz Dourado. But the floating globe takes center stage and moves the transfixed onlookers in the poem to a heightened emotional state: "Here, a globe floated toward them, a translucent sphere through which bright light passed freely from its center to its outer perimeter. It was impossible to determine what materials had been used to create it, but the globe clearly comprised several

orbs of divine composition . . . uniform, perfect, almost as self-reliant as the archetypal figure that created it."<sup>14</sup>

As da Gama gazes at it he is deeply moved, and stands lost in curiosity and amazement. Then the goddess speaks: "This image, diminished in size, I give to you . . . so that you may see upon which path you tread, where it will lead you, and what you desire."<sup>15</sup>

Thetis employs the globe as a visual device to show da Gama and his company the discoveries that had been made at the time of Camões's writing, as she prophesies future encounters and explorations by the Portuguese. The series of celestial spheres described by Thetis follows the order of the Ptolemaic system, showing astronomical phenomena through layers of variously moving disks that represent diurnal, equinoctial, and precessional motion. But the terrestrial descriptions closely follow the order found in the Miller Atlas and contemporary maps of the Reinel dynasty.<sup>16</sup> From Christian Europe to the birthplace of the Nile, from Aden and the Red Sea to Persia and the "illustrious Indian coast," the text follows a cartographic itinerary that extends from Orient to Occident, ending at the "great land . . . made superb by the luminous mine whose metal is the color of Apollo's blond hair."<sup>17</sup> Thetis thus describes a world that, at the time of Camões's writing, was still in the process of being discovered and exploited, revealing to the mortals who stand before her the shape of a terrestrial globe that was as yet inchoate and capable of being transformed.

#### PILGRIMAGES LARGE AND SMALL, FAR AND NEAR

In the case of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*, it is not an entire globe that is presented but rather a chorography—a series of textual descriptions of the Chinese coast and its interior as revealed through Mendes Pinto's fantastic narrative of his travels to the East. The likelihood of Mendes Pinto's actually having visited the places he describes remains a contentious issue, although most scholars agree that it is highly improbable that he did. As Loureiro has demonstrated, cartographic documents likely played a fundamental role in the *Peregrinação*'s elaboration.<sup>18</sup> The map to which Mendes Pinto would have had access was the "Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis,

12. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 3, 20–21, quotation in verse 20.

13. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 5, 50.

14. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 10, 77–79.

15. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 10, 79–80.

16. Fernando Gil and Helder Macedo, *Viagens do Olhar: Retrospecção, visão e profecia no Renascimento português* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 1998).

17. Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, canto 10, 139.

18. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins: Portugal e a China no século XVI* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000).

noua descriptio” by Luís Jorge de Barbuda (Ludovico Giorgio), published in Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum orbis terrarum* in 1584. Barbuda, in turn, had likely used Chinese maps in order to construct his own cartographic image, because at the time the “noua descriptio” was produced, the Portuguese had yet to acquire an intimate knowledge of the continental interior. In fact, this first European map of China is characterized by the depiction of an extensive interior fluvial network, and would have provided Mendes Pinto with a graphic understanding of the possible peregrinations one could make within the sixteenth-century Chinese landscape. Thus, Portuguese literature relied on contemporaneous cosmography derived from Chinese chorography to anchor its fictional depictions within an expanded world.

While the circulation of Asiatic cartographies would have allowed individuals such as Mendes Pinto and Barbuda to create texts that depicted detailed geographic aspects of European exploration in the early modern era, there also emerges a darker, more interior side of this cartographic expansion, revealed in the works of Francisco de Sá de Miranda and other writers of the period. Sá de Miranda lyrically interrogates the transformative power of new maps by positing their deconstructive impact on Portugal. Arguing that cartographic knowledge takes the Portuguese outside of their borders and tempts them with the so-called “fumos da Índia” (the scents of India), Sá de Miranda warns that what appears to be a glorious new technology may eventually lead the Portuguese nation to lose its unique cultural identity. The smoky plumes of incense and scented fumes of cinnamon and other spices wafting through the streets of Goa, which ultimately arrive in Lisbon, become the sensorial complement to the cartographic rhumb line, linking two places across distant spaces. While Sá de Miranda celebrates the splendor of the “other parts of the sphere / of other skies / that God had hitherto hidden,” he nevertheless fears that this enthusiasm for spices and new lands will lead to slavery of the senses: “All these Indian sweets / make me fear for Portugal.”<sup>19</sup>

The backdrop against which these antiexpansionist lyrics were written is the theme of geographic errancy. While the Portuguese are recognized as the skilled pilots and gifted mapmakers of the Renaissance world, within the confines of their own land they seem to lose their bearings. Bernardim Ribeiro expresses this sense of geographical confusion in his *Livro das Saudades*, where he describes a young girl who is taken forcefully from her home: “When I was young, a little girl, I was taken from my father’s house and led to a distant land: whatever the reason may have been, I was young and did not know it.”<sup>20</sup> The dramas of her errant journey serve as the organizing principle around which Ribeiro’s account takes form. Likewise, in his second eclogue, Ribeiro describes

a physical and spiritual perplexity around this idea of conflicting directions and loss of orientation:

Lost and uprooted,  
What will I do? Where will I go  
Disconsolate  
in a foreign land far from my home  
where I came seeking solace.<sup>21</sup>

In these and other texts, Portugal becomes the *Theatrum mundi* for this extended geographic wandering, represented most often in pastoral poetry that evokes specific sights and places from the Portuguese countryside. For example, the eclogue *Crisfal* (1543/46), attributed to Cristóvão Falcão, treats a love affair between a shepherd, Crisfal, and a shepherdess, Maria. In order to represent Crisfal’s search for his lost love, the narrator has recourse to a classic motif—the dream sequence—in which Crisfal finds himself lifted up by a great and powerful sea breeze that takes him to heights far above the Iberian peninsula:

Finding myself in this place,  
I lowered my eyes to Earth,  
Where resided my pain  
And the valleys and the mountains  
Appeared to me the same.<sup>22</sup>

Looking down to earth, Crisfal views the world from the perspective of the cosmographer and sees beneath him a great geographic map of Portugal. The stanzas that follow form narrative islands connected by the narrator’s glance, from the winding course of the Tagus toward the Serra da Estrela to the banks of the Mondego as it courses toward the mountains of Lóor. But even the reassuring presence of these familiar geographic features cannot compensate for the loss of his love, who remains hidden from view as Crisfal circles the earth in a desperate effort to locate Maria.

From the ethereal heavens to corporeal materiality, André Falcão de Resende transforms the idea of a romantic pilgrimage into an interior journey, describing himself as a “pilgrim in my own land.” Resende’s “Microcosmographia; ou, Pequeno mundo” is a lyric composition, in three cantos, that describes the “little world that is the human being.”<sup>23</sup> If Crisfal viewed the world through a chivalric lens soaring high above the earth, the narrator

19. See Francisco de Sá de Miranda, *Obras completas*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1960), 2:35 and 52.

20. Bernardim Ribeiro, *Obras completas*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1982), 1:1.

21. Ribeiro, *Obras completas*, 2:57.

22. Cristóvão Falcão [attributed], *Trovas de Crisfal: Reprodução fac-símile da primeira edição*, with a study by Guilherme G. de Oliveira Santos (Lisbon: Livraria Portugal, 1965), 48 (v. 29, 281–85).

23. André Falcão de Resende, “Microcosmographia,” manuscript held at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, n.d. (in-8. Res. 34452).

of Resende's "little world" descends into the material of the human body. As did Crisfal, Resende's narrator takes us through a dream sequence, but this time we find ourselves in an imaginary garden—the terrestrial paradise—where a voice or guide leads the reader through a physical and spiritual discovery of a castle. This metaphor, meant to symbolize the human body, privileges knowledge of what is hidden from view: the organs inside the human body and the understanding of the body's deepest essence. After following an itinerary through the body's physical parts and organs—the head, the chest, the stomach, the heart, the liver, the blood, the eyes, the tongue, saliva—the text presents an elegy to human life but also a moral lesson based on these anthropomorphic cartographies: with the passage of time, the soul too decays if it is not guided by a higher power.

### CONCLUSION

The use of cartographic imagery in Portuguese literature of the Renaissance was not always triumphalist and expansive. While the deserved acclaim of Camões's *Os Lusíadas* has tended to drown out the competing voices of Portuguese literary projects during this period, we have seen the undeniable presence of a parallel movement undergirded by cartographic conceptions that privileged an internal narrative over a globalizing paradigm, one that signaled a shift from expansion to interiorization: from the actual discovery of continents and cultures far from Europe to the metaphorical loss of orientation at home. Francisco Sá de Miranda, Bernardim Ribeiro, Cristóvão Falcão, and André Falcão de Resende used dreams and delusions, cartographic metaphors, and maps in prose as cultural counterpoints to the sensual and material seductions of the Indies. These journeys great and small reveal the Odyssean trajectory that guided Portugal as it turned back toward Europe and struggled to find its place in a postexpansion world.

Vieira's evocation of the map's burning embers, the image with which we began this chapter, demonstrates the extent to which an expanding world and the explosion of geographical language permeated the early modern period's linguistic coffers. The map revealed itself as a flexible literary device that could describe phenomena ranging from imperial extension and religious apocalypse to cultural encounter and the human body. Lines on a globe became the metaphorical intersections where temporal, geographical, and cultural notions could correspond and intermingle. Like the Portuguese caravels of the sixteenth century, these literary figurations had crisscrossed the globe as well, accreting new meanings through their journeys and emerging like newly found islands in literature written throughout the greater Portuguese empire.

But maps in Renaissance Portugal were not only metaphorical tools for catechizing and philosophizing: they were also the physical objects by which monarchs and their minions carved up empires. Occasionally, the direct employment of maps in imperial negotiations created language worthy of the literary figurations of the maps we have observed throughout this chapter. As Bouza Álvarez has shown, Portugal's successful revolt in 1640 after six decades of Spanish rule under the Habsburgs left Gaspar de Guzmán, third count of Olivares, and his advisers searching for a cartographic response to their own political perplexity. With the map of Iberia by Pedro Teixeira Albernaz (ca. 1630) spread across the table before them, they sat dumbfounded in the tower of King Philip IV's Alcázar, trying in vain to find Portugal "on paper as if it had gone up in smoke."<sup>24</sup> Evidently, the fiery metaphors used by Vieira had been employed even earlier by statesmen and courtiers as they sought to govern distant lands and maintain control over their newly minted overseas empires.

But the missionary church used maps to divide and conquer the non-Christian world as well. Fifteen years after Portugal's triumphant secession from Spain, Vieira would seize on this idea of the map's artificiality as he sought to encourage novitiates of his order gracefully to accept assignments drawn from the ever-growing list of overseas posts. In his "Sermão do terceiro domingo da Quaresma," preached in the Capella Real in 1655, the Jesuit enumerates the geographical challenges of the missionary church within the world's most extended monarchy: "So many kingdoms, so many nations, so many provinces, so many cities, so many fortresses, so many church cathedrals, so many individuals in Africa, in Asia, in America. . . . In the Brazils, in the Angolas, in the Goas, in the Moluccas, in the Macaus . . . it is in these places that [the king] needs the most faithful servants and the most virtuous strengths."<sup>25</sup> In a recitation of foreign names reminiscent of the poetic *Miscelânea* of Garcia de Resende, Vieira uses the geographical knowledge contained within the world map to encourage the church's missionaries to dare to step outside the narrow confines of their own provinciality. To do so, he draws on the biblical parable of Habakkuk, who agreed to take food to Daniel in the lion's den even though he had never seen

24. As cited in Fernando J. Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes: Política, cultura, representações (1580–1668)* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 2000), 185–205, esp. 187. Felipe Pereda and Fernando Marías, eds., *El Atlas del rey planeta: La "Descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos" de Pedro Teixeira (1634)* (Madrid: Nerea Editorial, 2002).

25. António Vieira, "Sermão do terceiro domingo da Quaresma," in *Sermões*, 16 vols., by António Vieira (São Paulo: Editora Anchieta, 1944–45), 1:495–49.



FIG. 17.1. "EARTH PROTECTED BY JUNO & JUPITER," CA. 1530S. Tapestry. Attributed to the workshop of Georg Wezler, possibly designed by Bernard van Orley and part of the series called *Spheres*. This tapestry portrays João III and Catherine of Austria as Jupiter and Juno standing on either side of the globe representing Portuguese dominion in the East

as established by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The imagery of the scepter and the illuminated concentric spheres of the central globe is reminiscent of the text of Camões's epic *Os Lusíadas*.

Size of the original: 344 × 314 cm. Photograph copyright © Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid (inv. 10005825).

Babylonia. Vieira puts his challenge in the form of a rhetorical question with a map at its center: “If you never saw the sea except in the Tagus, if you never saw the world but in a map, if you never witnessed war except for the tapestries of Tunis, then how do you dare to govern the battlefield, the sea, and the world?”<sup>26</sup> In Vieira’s accusatorial prose, the map becomes a hindrance to the larger missionary project, an image that could potentially lead Jesuits to put their trust in ephemeral paper knowledge rather than in the experience that comes with the mastery of the land and the seas.

Vieira’s evocation of the tapestries of Tunis refers to an extraordinary artistic series (*The Conquest of Tunis*) that circulated throughout the courts of Habsburg Spain and Portugal. Designed by the Dutch artist Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen under a commission from Charles V to document his military crusade against Tunis in 1535, and later executed by Willem de Pannemaker between 1549 and 1553, these elaborate depictions of the twin triumphs of geographical and military conquest became icons of Iberian power throughout the sixteenth century. One of the tapestries, the first in the series, was a perspective view of the theater of battle: a map of the Mediterranean basin (see plate 22). Frans Hogenberg made etchings of several of these scenes, which he then used as models for the city views he published with Georg Braun beginning in 1572.<sup>27</sup> The artistic tastes and patronage patterns of the Portuguese royal court, as Jordan has shown, were largely motivated by questions of familial ideology, in particular, vis-à-vis the court of Charles V.<sup>28</sup> Maria of Portugal, the daughter of Manuel I and Leonor of Austria, collected a replica of the *Conquest of Tunis* series executed in Flanders between 1555 and 1560. A poet in her court, Luís de Camões, may have viewed these tapestries hanging at the sumptuous estate Maria had inherited from her mother.

But there was another set of royal tapestries with a particularly powerful cartographic agenda, and these may have provided Camões and the cadre of court authors surrounding the Portuguese infanta with inspiration for the globes and maps that permeate the various layers of Portuguese literary production during the Renaissance. It is the so-called *Spheres* series, thought to have been created in the 1530s and to have hung in the Portuguese

royal residences throughout much of the sixteenth century. The tapestry titled “Earth Protected by Juno & Jupiter” is a powerful visual statement of Portuguese hegemony over a recently claimed maritime empire that stretched from Lisbon around the Cape of Good Hope to the outer reaches of the Indian Ocean (fig. 17.1). The figures represented with arms extended on either side of the massive globe are thought to represent Catherine of Austria and João III, who ruled Portugal from 1521 to 1557 following the reign of Manuel I. The king and queen are shown claiming sovereignty over a luminous globe suspended by an invisible ethereal tether, the globe specked with white flags representing Portuguese dominion over distant lands. This potent image of geographic dominion cannot but recall the brilliant sphere that appears in canto 10 of the *Lusíadas*. Indeed, the other extant tapestries from this series show the armillary sphere—the symbol of Manuel I—and the celestial sphere, shouldered by Atlas and Hercules, respectively. These successive spherical representations, which adorned the royal palace in Lisbon, reflected the central place of geographical and cosmological imagery as metaphorical symbols of the Portuguese monarchy. But, perhaps even more important, they represented the very real utility of maps and globes in the forging of an overseas empire. The presence in Portuguese literature of these maps, both real and metaphorical, speaks to their expressive power, their physical and linguistic portability, and the ability of writers and rhetoricians to fashion these images to suit their own purposes. Whether hung on the walls of the royal palace, declaimed in the salons of provincial retreats, or preached from the pulpits of colonial missions far and wide, maps and their metaphors accreted new meanings as they traversed the globe within the poems, sermons, and epic literature of Portugal’s vast seaborne empire.

26. Vieira, “Sermão do terceiro domingo da Quaresma,” 1:502. Cited in Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes*, 185.

27. Hendrik J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen: Painter of Charles V and His Conquest of Tunis*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989), 1: 130–31.

28. Annemarie Jordan, “Portuguese Royal Collecting after 1521: The Choice between Flanders and Italy,” in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 265–93.