

THE MOST, AND LESS, KNOWN MYTHOGRAPHERS IN PORTUGAL

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Abstract

This article is in the nature of a report on a particular group of books from a database of Portuguese holdings of art treatises and other literature that has been an important source for artists built for ART TREATISES IN PORTUGAL research project. The study of editions, versions and translations of the most, and less, known mythographers in Portugal from Boccaccio until Balthazar de Vitoria is the main aim of this study. After analyzing which were the authors, books and languages more accessible to Portuguese, we have concluded that after the edition of the *Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidade* (1620-23) by the Spanish fray Baltazar de Vitoria, this book was preferable to the *Imagini degli dei* (1556) by the Italian Vincenzo Cartari.

Resumo

Este artigo tem o carácter de relatório sobre um grupo específico de livros da database construída no âmbito do projecto TRATADOS DE ARTE EM PORTUGAL sobre tratados de arte e literatura artística que foram importantes fontes para artistas e que se encontram nos fundos das bibliotecas portuguesas. O estudo de edições, versões e traduções dos mais, e menos, conhecidos mitógrafos em Portugal desde Boccaccio até Baltazar de Vitoria constitui o principal objectivo deste estudo. Depois de analisar quais os autores, os livros e línguas mais acessíveis aos portugueses, concluímos que depois da edição do *Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidade* (1620-23) da autoria do frei espanhol Baltazar de Vitoria, este livro era preferível à *Imagini degli dei* (1556) do italiano Vincenzo Cartari

Key-words: Mythography; Art treatise; Antique book; edition; Pagan gods.

Palavras-chave: Mitografia; Tratados de Arte; Livro Antigo; edição; deuses pagãos.

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The most, and less, known mythographers in Portugal

In 1961, Seznec wrote “not only France and England, but Germany and Spain offer evidence of the diffusion of the manuals, and especially of the Italian group”¹. This article is the result of a research-led project on **Art Treatises in Portugal** (with the reference PTDC/EAT-EAT/100496/2008) of the Art History Institute of Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa [FCSH/UNL] with the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia’s funding, created to provide a deepened and highly-qualified tools and skills on a mainstream academic subject rated since 1980 of the highest international importance but still a widely recognized omission in our Art History’s domain. So, for the first time in the history of Portuguese Art History we are able to divulge which were the most, and less, known mythographers in Portugal.

To answer some very important questions on the circulation of antique books written by mythographers in Portugal, we have brought together art treatises and artistic literature all over Portuguese libraries and archives on a database. From the research done in the three major libraries for this study, two ancient Royal Libraries, such as the library of the National Palace of Mafra and the National Palace of Ajuda (which includes some thousands books that come from the Royal Library of the Palace-Convent of Necessidades, ordered by King John, the fifth) and the Public Library, created in the eighteenth century, and the archivist research that we have done in inventories, wills and in the Real Mesa Censória (a fund of documents at the National Archives which include the rolls of books owned by all kind of persons by order of Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, future Marquis of Pombal), we are now able to say that the most known mythographers in Portugal were the Italian Vincenzo Cartari and then, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, disputing leadership with the Spanish Fray Baltasar de Victoria.

Each discovery of this research project constitutes almost a deliberate tilt against all the assumptions held most dear. For example, the primary role played by mythographies reinforces them as the basis for the study of classical mythology as there is no doubt that these books stimulate the appetite for the subject and its most preeminent

¹ Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the pagan gods – The Mythological Tradition and its place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Bollingen Series XXXVIII, Princeton University Press, 1972 (1^a ed. 1961), p. 316.

protagonists – the Olympian gods. Nevertheless, in a universe of fifty-one books on mythography, having been searched the *Genealogia Deorum* by Boccaccio, the *Mythographi Latini*, the *Mythologiae* by Conti, the *Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidade* by Baltasar de Victoria, we have only eleven copies and fifteen copies of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid until the middle of the sixteenth century. These numbers show us that there weren't a lot of literary sources for classical mythology circulating in Portugal during the most brilliant phase of Renaissance. Though, we have to underline that, to a certain extent, the phenomenon marked by the emergence of these publications is very much in the wake of the curiosity of intellectuals more than the needs and ambitions of work embodied by Renaissance artists.

The most famous manual of classical mythology until the *Imagine degli dei* by Vincenzo Cartari (1556) in the middle of the sixteenth century was *De Genealogie deorum* by Giovanni Boccaccio who undertook the work by request of Hugo IV, king of Cyprus, and spent the last twenty-five years of his life writing it until 1373, such a long time that the king who had originally asked him to write a book upon the mythology of Antiquity did not live to see its completion.

Although it was published for the first time in 1472 in Latin and without images it had quite a proliferation that demonstrates a growing interest in classical mythology by means of Boccaccio's defence of poetry². As Peter S. Hawkins says what was "raised from the ""relics of the Gentile gods" [was] poetry itself"³.

In our libraries we still have some of the more ancient editions of the *Genealogia*. We haven't found, so far, the 1472, the 1481 and the 1487 editions. Nevertheless, all the other editions – 1494, 1497, 1511 and 1532 – presented by Ernest H. Wilkins⁴ can be found at our National Library and we know, through the identification of the ancient owners, that these copies weren't a recent acquisition of the BNP (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal), but they circulated in Portugal from the fifteenth century on.

² Elisabeth Woodbridge, "Boccaccio's Defence of Poetry: As Contained in the Fourteenth Book of the "De Genealogia Deorum", in *PMLA*, vol. 13, n° 3 (1898), pp. 333-349.

³ Peter S. Hawkins, "From Mythography to Myth-making: Spenser and the Magna Mater Cybele", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 12, n° 3 (Autumn, 1981), p. 51.

⁴ Ernest H. Wilkins, "The Genealogy of the Editions of the "Genealogia Deorum"", in *Modern Philology*, vol. 17, n° 8 (Dec., 1919).

The most ancient copy of the Pagan Gods' biographies by Boccaccio still found in our libraries – the one from 1494⁵ –, agrees with the earlier editions in contents but it includes the addition of the famous genealogical trees as it is announced in the title “*cum demonstrationibus in formis arborum designates*” and where he presents an image of Demogorgon, from whom all gods descend. This Latin and illustrated edition was published in Venice by Boneto Locatello to the publisher Ottaviano Scoto of Monza, head of an important family of painters, having belonged to Francisco Estracão (a personality that remains unknown after our research) who has signed the book.

The other copy that we have from the fifteenth century, one of the 1497⁶ edition which is a “page-for-page copy of that of 1494”⁷, was published in Venice by Manfredo Bonelli and was in the libraries of the Monastery of São Bento in Xabregas, also known as Convent of the Beato of the Congregation of the Secular priests of Saint John Evangelist situated in Lisbon and created in 1425 particularly for hospital assistance.

We have one copy of the edition published in Paris in 1511⁸ by the editor Ioannes Kierherus⁹ which only differs from its predecessors because it is the first edition to include editorial material, but in general terms and particularly the genealogical trees are equal to the 1494 edition presenting Demogorgon as an old man with a crown.

The copy of the Latin edition with the comments and notes by Jacob Micyllus published in Basileia in 1532¹⁰ by Johan Herwagen belonged to the important ancient library of the Congregation of the Oratory which was held at the House of the Holy Spirit in Lisbon¹¹. In the front page of this copy there are some manuscripts notes from

⁵ BNP [Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal], INC. 907. Being described at the *Catálogo de Incunábulo. Biblioteca Nacional* (Lisbon, 1988, p. 93), it is very difficult to observe it, but this edition can be consulted online at the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, by using this link:

[http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fmdz10.bib-bvb.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00048400_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fmdz10.bib-bvb.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00048400_mets.xml)

⁶ BNP, INC. 1008. There is a digital version of this book at the site of the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, which can be consulted in this link:

[http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[image\]=1&set\[zoom\]=default&set\[debug\]=0&set\[double\]=0&set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fmdz10.bib-bvb.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00048652_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[image]=1&set[zoom]=default&set[debug]=0&set[double]=0&set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fmdz10.bib-bvb.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00048652_mets.xml)

⁷ Ernest H. Wilkins, ob. cit., p. 73.

⁸ BNP, RES. 955 V. There is a digital version of this book at the site of the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, which can be consulted in this link:

<http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10140341-5>

⁹ Ernest H. Wilkins, op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁰ BNP, RES. 397 A. This edition can be consulted at the site of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/ Mannheim University, at this link:

http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/boccaccio_itali.html

¹¹ There are some notes manuscripts, such as “Da Livraria da Casa do Esp.^{to} S^{to} Lx.^{am}” and “Congreg. Orat. Lybon“, that do not correspond to two ancient owners but only to one, just as it happened with the 1511 edition. It is also in manuscript, but risked, the name Inácio de Carvalho de Sousa, who was probably the

Censorship saying that it was supervised by the Inquisition (“*Foi revisto no S.^{to} Officio*») and some parts were forbidden («*ex.[sic] mutilado pela censura*»).

At the National Library, we have three more copies from the second half of the sixteenth century in Italian and without images. One of the Venetian edition published in 1553¹² by Comin da Tridino di Monferrato and translated into Italian by Giuseppe Betussi da Bassano, which was reedited by Compagnia deli Vniti in 1585¹³ and by Marc’ Antonio Zaltieri in 1588¹⁴, both using the same translation. The last mentioned copy belonged to the 4th Count of Ericeira, D. Francisco de Menezes (1673-1743) and a manuscript note on the front page “*Londre – 1663*”, probably tell us that the book was bought in London in the year of 1663 by his father, the most preeminent 3rd Count of Ericeira who has bought the Fountain of Neptune by Bernini/Ercole Ferrata for his palace in Lisbon.

Even if Seznec¹⁵ and Malcolm Bull¹⁶ say that this book stayed the most renowned for artists until Cartari, we have some doubts that the *Genealogia* has been used by artists in Portugal. To start with these editions are quite paradoxes for the use of artists because the ones that are illustrated are in Latin and those that are in Italian don’t have images.

Until the middle of the sixteenth century the best source to find information on Pagan Gods, aside from the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid¹⁷ and the *Genealogia Deorum* by Boccaccio, were the compilations with the works of late-antique and medieval authors

important member of the Portuguese Royal Academy of History, secretary of the Duc of Cadaval, to whom King John, the fifth, ordered to write the *Memórias Eclesiásticas do Bispado de Elvas* and the unknown *Memórias Seculares de D. João II*. In 1720 he has created the Academy of the Anonymous, that has been active for fourteen years.

¹² BNP, H. G. 481 V. This edition can be consulted at the site of the Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek at this link: <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10220652-6>. This is a reedition of the following version: *Della Genealogia de gli dei di M. Giovanni Boccaccio Libri quindecim. Ne’ quail si tratta dell’ Origine, & discendenza di tutti gli Dei de’ Gentili. Con la spositione de’ sensi allegorici delle Favole: & com la dichiaratione dell’ Historie appartenenti à detta materia. Tradotta gia per M. Gioseppe Betussi. Et hora di nuovo conogni diligenza rivista, & corretta. Aggiuntai la vita di M. Giouanni Boccaccio, con le Tauole de’ Capitoli, & di tutte le cose degne di memoria. Dedicata all’ Illustris. Signor Bonifaccio Papafava, Venetia, per il Valentini, 1627*. This version includes a chapter on the “*Vita di M. Giovanni Boccaccio descritta dal Betussi*”.

¹³ BNP, H. G. 15319 P.

¹⁴ BNP, H. G. 15320 P.

¹⁵ Seznec, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹⁶ Malcolm Bull, *The mirror of the Gods. Classical mythology in Renaissance Art*, London: Penguin Books, 2005, p. 23.

¹⁷ Only in the National Library we have eighty-four copies of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid edited between 1500 and 1850. Cf. Ana Duarte Rodrigues, “*Tratados de Arte em Portugal – Primeira notícia sobre a database*”, in *Artis*, Lisbon, 2010.

such as Hyginus¹⁸, Fulgentius, Lactantius Placidus, Albricus and Thomas Minckerus entitled *Mythographi Latini*.

In the three libraries mentioned at the beginning of this article, we have found twelve compilations of the mythographers published in Latin and illustrated, being edited mostly in Basileia and Amsterdam. These editions entitled *Mythographi Latini* or *Fabularum liber* include the text by Fulgentius among others, but we have one edition only devoted to one author, Fulgentius, from 1498¹⁹ published in Milan by Ulrich Scinzenzeler with the title *Ennarationes allegoricae fabularum* that doesn't have images.

The edition of 1535²⁰ (of which we have two copies at the National Library) published by Johann Herwagen is fully illustrated with images of the triumphal car of Apollo, Venus, Mars, etc. This version of the *Fabularum liber* was so successful that it was reedited in 1549²¹ (from which we have two copies that have belonged to the library of the Monastery of Alcobaça and the other to a man named D. Nicola) and in 1570²² (two more copies that have belonged to the Royal Monastery of Alcobaça).

Very popular in Portugal was also the 1681 edition published in Amsterdam by the widow of Joannes van Someren using illustrations by H. Caussé. We have four copies in our libraries, two at the National Library²³; one at the Royal Library of Mafra²⁴ and

¹⁸ GAIUS JULIUS HYGINUS was a Latin writer who flourished in Roman Spain in the C1st AD. Two extant collections of fables were attributed to him: the *Fabulae* (or *Fables*) and *Astronomica* (or *Astronomy*). The poor quality of these works lead most to believe they are either wrongly attributed to this distinguished scholar or are a later abridgement of his works composed by a C2nd grammarian. In spite of the poor writing style and numerous errors, the works do preserve many myths and alternative versions of myths not found elsewhere.

¹⁹ BNP, INC. 294

²⁰ BNP, RES. 2833 A. e H. G. 5013//1 A. (this one belonged to the College of the Jesuits in Coimbra) <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/werkansicht/274233657/0/>

²¹ BNP, H. G. 5041 A. e L. 4803 A.

²² BNP, H. G. 5015//1 A. e H. G. 5016 A.

²³ BNP, H. G. 994 P. e H. G. 995 P. e BNP, RES 4042 V. With the following title: *Mithographi Latini*. C. Jul. Hyginus. Fab. Planciades Fulgentius. Lactantius Placidus. Albricus Philosophus. Thomas Munckerus omnes ex libris MSS. Partim, partim conjecturis verisimilibus emendavit, & commentariis perpetuis, qui instar bibliothecae historiae fabularis esse possint, instruxit. Praemissa est dissertatio de auctore, stylo, & aetate Mythologiae, quae C. Jul. Hygini Aug. Liberti nomen praesert, Amsterdão, Ex Officina viduae Joannis à Someren, 1681. [estes autores não são bem os mesmos do livro Hyginus]. (Biblioteca da Universidade Complutense de Madrid)

1.º volume

<http://books.google.com/books/ucm?vid=UCM5324257427&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>

2.º volume (Universiteits Bibliothek Gent)

<http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/bkt01?q=900000004803>

²⁴ BPNM [Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional de Mafra], 2-XXII-8-5 e 2-XXII-8-6. In this copy we can read the manuscripts notes "De Luis au Duc de Mortemart", that could mean an offer from the King Louis XIV to the duc of Montmartre.

one at Ajuda²⁵. To have found more or less the same number of copies of the *Mythographi Latini* as of *Le Imagine degli dei* by Cartari tells us that there was no consciousness of the difference between compilations of authors from Late Antiquity and Early Medieval period and a contemporary text supposedly drinking directly in the waters of antiquity. Two books on mythology which are ostensibly theoretically opposed reveal a lot about the state of classical subjects in Portugal.

Although very few of these editions survive today, it is possible, vicariously, to gain much insight not only into what degree of knowledge the sixteenth and seventeenth-century had on Pagan Gods, but also who were their owners and how they related to Christian morality and to art.

After a certain period it is put forward already in the introduction of the mythographies that they are manuals for the assistance to poets and artists, as it is written by Giralaldi and the editor Francesco Marcolini in the foreword of the book by Cartari reminds that he is the first one to speak about the statues and representations of Pagan Gods which will be very welcomed by painters and sculptors²⁶.

From the second half of the sixteenth century on, the Great Italian Manuals as Seznec²⁷ referred to Giralaldi's *History of the Gods*, Conti's *Mythology*, and Cartari's *Images of the Gods*, being all first editions published between 1548 and 1556²⁸, will have some success in Portugal, mostly *Le Imagini degli dei*. Although Vincenzo Cartari was the one of the three Italian mythographers who found more readers, being the author also of the *Fasti*'s translation of Ovid (1551) and of an abridgement of Paolo Giovio (1562), the protégé of the dukes of Ferrara has remained a quite obscure humanist, probably involved in the virtual Accademia Pellegrina²⁹, and less regarded as an authority by his contemporaries than Lilio Gregorio Giralaldi.

The first major mythography after Boccaccio was the *De deis gentium* by Giralaldi, published for the first time in 1548 in Basel by Oporinus. Influenced by contemporary

²⁵ BA [Biblioteca da Ajuda], 70-IV-66. This copy contains a manuscript note "Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale" that indicates that it has belonged to Hugh Cecil Lowther, 5th Earl of Lonsdale (1857-1944).

²⁶ Seznec, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

²⁷ Seznec, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

²⁸ Lilio Gregorio Giralaldi, *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia in qua simul de eorum imaginibus et cognominibus agitur*, etc. (Basel, Oporinus, 1548); Natale Conti, *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri decem* (Venice, Aldus, 1551); Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi* (Venice, Marcolini, 1556).

²⁹ Stefano Pierguidi, "Gigantomachia" and the Wheel of Fortune in Giulio Romano, Vincenzo Cartari and Anton Francesco Doni, and the Authorship of the "Asinesca Gloria", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 67 (2004), p. 284.

Ferrarese art and using literary sources including primary ones, Giraldi wrote the most scholarly mythography until then.

In the three libraries that we have worked until now we have found just four copies, all written in Latin, published in Basileia or Leiden, three of them from the sixteenth century and one from the seventeenth century, the only illustrated one.

The 1560 Latin edition was published in Basileia by the *Officina de Joannem Oporinum* and belonged to the College of the Jesuits in Coimbra³⁰. The other book by Giraldi was published in Latin in Leiden by the heirs of Jacques Giunta and has had two ancient owners: “Johanmis Roberti Aurel” and the convent of Nossa Senhora da Graça in Lisbon³¹.

At the antique Royal Library of Ajuda there is a copy of the Latin 1580 edition of the various *Opera* by Giraldi including *De Deis Gentium*, published in Basileia by Thomas Guarum that belonged to the library of the Jesuits College of Santo Antão-o-Novo³². At the antique Royal Library of Mafra we can find an *Opera* just like the former one, published in Leiden by Hackium, Boutesteyn, Vivie Vander AA, & Luchtman in 1696³³. This edition of the mythography is the only one that is illustrated with prints of the Pagan Gods designed by F. Boilard and executed by Joh. Vanden Avecle.

More or less the same reception had the *Mythologiae* by Natale Conti in Portugal. Edited for the first time in 1551 in Venice by Aldus, it didn't add much more novelty to the book by Giraldi and it was conceived using the same *formula*, in Latin and without images.

The edition that had more success in Portugal was the Venetian 1568 edition published by Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marmorium, & haeredes Iohannis Aubrii with illustrations, of which we have two copies at the National Library that have belonged one to the College of Holly Spirit in Évora³⁴ and the other to a man called D. João³⁵.

All the other editions are from the seventeenth century, published in Latin and without images, with the exception of the 1616³⁶ edition published in Padova by Pietro Paolo

³⁰ BNP, H. G. 357 A.

³¹ BNP, H. G. 5103 A.

³² BA, 64-VI-12 e 64-VI-13.

³³ BPNM, 1-XXXVIII-2-2.

³⁴ BNP, H. G. 482 V.

³⁵ BNP, H. G. 14395 P.

³⁶ BNP, H. G. 483 V.

Tozzi. At the ancient Royal Library of Mafra there is a copy of the 1612³⁷ edition, published by Samuel Crispinus, and a copy of the 1618³⁸ edition published in Genova by Petrum & Iacobum Chouet that belonged to the Congregation of the Oratory at the Palace-convent of Necessidades.

Much of the success of Vincenzo's Cartari's *Le imagini* is due to be written in Italian and not in Latin and, after the edition of 1571, to be illustrated by Bolognino Zaltieri. Especially focused on the appearance and attributes of Pagan Gods, therefore perfect for artists because it was easy to use and learn, so artists could enrich their compositions with "the most bizarre additions"³⁹. In fact, if the intention of an artist was to represent a god such as Venus or an Apollo the ideal book to search for inspiration would be *Le imagine*. The author, an Italian painter, wrote a book telling the story, the look and the biographies of the pagan gods, including even descriptions of their statues. Each reedition of the book by Cartari became more and more into the form of dictionary-album or catalogue, really easy to consult for someone that was interested in one specific subject, such as an artist would be.

Throughout archives research we were surprised with a few quantity of books by Cartari found in the National Archives' fund of the Real Mesa Censória, but in existences it is one of the mythographies with a higher score in our libraries.

The oldest copy that we have found so far was one of the second edition published in Venice in 1566 by Francesco Rampazetto⁴⁰ with the same prefatory letters by the artist and the publisher Marcolini. This Italian version belonged to the College of the Jesuits at Carnide in Lisbon. The most famous edition in Portugal was probably the 1581's, because we have found until now five copies in a universe of fourteen. This version was translated into Latin by Antoine du Verdier and used illustrations by Bolognino Zaltieri being two of our copies published in Leiden by Étienne Michel⁴¹ and the other three by Barthélemy Honorat⁴².

Curiously this edition is illustrated but printed in Latin, so artists are not their main reader as usually they don't read Latin. In fact, the principal owners of the mythology's

³⁷ BA, 71-V-66.

³⁸ BA, 77 = B-VI-28

³⁹ Seznec, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁴⁰ BNP, H. G. 12697 P.

⁴¹ BNP, H. G. 7788 V. e BA, 76-VII-4.

⁴² BNP, RES. 3348 V.; BNP, H. G. 13835 V. and BNP, H. G. 7788 V.

manuals were the convents' libraries. For example, these copies come from the antique royal library of the palace-convent of Necessidades⁴³, the library of the Convent of Xabregas⁴⁴ and from the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora de Jesus⁴⁵, so the main public for this book in Portugal were the intellectuals and erudite in convents. And it is clear that one of the easiest ways mythographies got accessible to artists would be through the convents' libraries.

There are also two copies of the 1592⁴⁶ edition, written in Italian and published in Venice by Marco Antonio Zaltieri using again the same illustrations by Bolognino Zaltieri. From the seventeenth century the 1647⁴⁷ edition was probably the most popular because there are three copies against one of the 1614 edition and one of the 1687.

The 1614 edition was in Italian, illustrated by Cesare Malfatti, published in Padova by Pedro Paulo Tozzi and the copy that we have of this edition was offered by the bishop of Évora, fray Manuel do Cenáculo⁴⁸. The 1647 edition is in fact a reedition of the previous version published in Venice by Tomasi, with the same illustrations.

Finally, the most recent copy that we have found is one of the 1687⁴⁹ edition published in Frankfurt by Ludovic Bourgact with eighty-eight illustrations that are altogether at the end of the book. Strangely, the last edition that we have is a copy in Latin, when since the beginning the success of this book was because of its vernacular language.

By looking at these numbers we can't say that the manuals written by the Italian group – Giralaldi, Conti and Cartari –, supposedly inspired directly from the waters of Antiquity had more success than the compilations of texts by authors of Late Antiquity or Early Medieval periods. It is possible, as it happened in other countries⁵⁰, that in Portugal these compilations of very mixed erudition were preferable to ancient sources and even to renaissance books. Cartari was never commonly used in Portugal, and only the 1581 and the 1647 editions had some success, the first one probably because it was in Latin, the language more read in convents. As we have seen by a similar study of the

⁴³ BA, 76-VII-4 e BA, 18-VII-51.

⁴⁴ BNP, H. G. 13835 V.

⁴⁵ BNP, H.G. 7788V.

⁴⁶ BNP, H.G. 16002 P. and BA, 18-VII-50.

⁴⁷ BA, 18-VII-51; BNP, H.G.13751 P. and H.G. 13815 P.

⁴⁸ BNP, H.G. 13814 P. It is written in the front page "*Este Livro há da summa variedade, preciosidade, como me ofereceu [sic] Ex.mo. Arcb. De Evora D. Manuel do Cenáculo*". It also belonged later to the library of António Lourenço Caminha.

⁴⁹ BNP, H.G. 17360 P.

⁵⁰ Sez nec, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

Metamorphoses by Ovid, 60% of the sixteenth century editions were in Latin and even when more editions turned out to be in vernacular languages, in our National Library 50% of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries copies are still in Latin⁵¹.

In the seventeenth century editions of the *Imagine degli dei* were still in use in Portugal but losing terrain for the Spanish *Teatro de los dioses* by fray Baltasar de Victoria which has known a much better success in Portugal than the manual entitled *Philosophia secreta donde debaxo de historias fabulosas, se contiene mucha doctrina provechosa a todos estudios, con el origgen de los idolos, o dioses de la gentilidad* by Juan Pérez de Moya (¿-1596) published in Madrid by Francisco Sanchez in 1585. From this book we have three copies at the National Library, one of the first edition⁵²; one edited in Saragoza by Miguel Fortuno Sanchez in 1599⁵³; one edited in Alcalá de Henares by Andres Sanchez de Ezpeleta in 1611⁵⁴ in four volumes and another one published in Madrid by Andres Garcia de la Iglesia in 1673⁵⁵, making evident that this was in use even after the edition of the *Teatro de los Dioses* by Baltasar de Victoria in 1620.

Surprisingly and against what we know from all Europe, the most used mythography in Portugal wasn't the *Imagine de I dei degli antichi* by Vincenzo Cartari but the *Theatro de los dioses* by the priest Baltazar de Vitoria, prior of the convent of San Francisco in Salamanca, published for the first time between 1620 and 1623 in Madrid by the Spanish Royal Press with an "approbation" by the Spanish poet and playwright Félix Arturo Lope de Vega y Carpio (1562-1635) himself⁵⁶. Due to its editorial success many other editions have come such as in 1646, 1657, 1673, 1676, 1702 and 1737. Written in castellan and by a priest, even if it hadn't images, it is easy to understand why it had such a good reception in Portugal. It was the easiest for Portuguese to read as we have produced one in our own language but only on planets⁵⁷ and with a very lousy

⁵¹ Ana Duarte Rodrigues, "Tratados de Arte em Portugal – Primeira notícia da database", in *Artis [printing]*

⁵² BNP, RES. 2985 P.

⁵³ BNP, S.A.17970 P.

⁵⁴ BNP, H.G. 15308 P.; H.G. 15309 P.; S.A. 5470 P. and RES. 1205 P.

⁵⁵ BNP, H.G. 484 V.; H.G. 21247 P.; H. G. 23189 P.; and R. 22585 P.

⁵⁶ Nevertheless, when Lope de Vega wrote a Play on the Apollo and Daphne myth, entitled *El Amor enamorado* (1637), the main source was Ovid, whose texts were followed with remarkable fidelity. Cf. Howard College, "The Apollo and Daphne Myth as Treated by Lope de Vega and Calderon", in *Hispanic Review*, vol. 1, nº 2 (Apr., 1933), pp. 149-160.

⁵⁷ Because we have found only two copies of this book: *Fabula dos planetas, moralizada, com varia doutrina Politica, Ethica, & Economica, A Simam Farto Bitto, Cavalleiro Fidalgo da Casa del Rey N. S.*

distribution. This book written by a Portuguese author Bartolomeu Pachão from Peniche, a seaside town north Lisbon, entitled *Fabula dos planetas, moralizada, com varia doutrina Politica, Ethica, & Economica* was printed in Lisbon in 1643 by Domingos Lopes Rosa. Totally unknown until now, it is divided into five chapters: the first on Saturn, the second one on Jupiter, the third one Mars and Venus, the fourth on Diana and Apollo and the fifth on Mercury. It was printed three years after the beginning of the Restoration War (1640-1668) with licences signed at S. Domingos de Benfica. The relation between this book and the Gallery of Arts at Fronteira's Palace, located also at S. Domingos de Benfica, an area in the outskirts of Lisbon in the seventeenth century, is for us quite evident. In the Gallery of Arts there are seven statues of the Planet Gods inside niches all around a balcony following the same order as it is proposed in the book – from the Batalhas' room to the chapel – *Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Venus, Mercury* and *Diana*. If Diana seems to be the only one out of order it becomes clear when we read the text because it says “*He Diana, em quanto Lua, Planeta primeiro*” (It is Diana, as moon, first planet). We can add to this the fact that D. João de Mascarenhas participated in the Restoration War and ordered the construction of this villa when the war was almost being concluded and in the all palace and gardens the history of the battles is narrated. He would probably know the book and it must have been an inspiration for him. The planets have never been read as an allegory of moralized politics, ethics and economy as they should, having this book as a source for meaning, which would be connected with the rest of the *decorum* of the villa. This is just an example, first, of the relation between these books and plastic arts and, second, even if history is not made in the conditional, that if we had had a major literary production in this field, we would probably had more art with mythological subjects.

Nevertheless, there are architecture treatises translated to Portuguese during Renaissance, for example the translation of Vitruvius by Pedro Nunes in 1541, and even conceived by Portuguese architects, such as the treatise by António Rodrigues, but the first translation of the *Metamorphoses* dates from the nineteenth century (1841) and we don't have a significant national production, but we have the translation to Portuguese of the classical poetry *Livre des trois vertus* by Christine de Pisan⁵⁸.

seu Capitão, Per Bertholameu Pacham Penichense seu primo, Lisboa: Na Officina de Domingos Lopes Rosa, 1643. BNP, RES. 5666 P. and L. 3527 P.[inedit]

⁵⁸ Charity Cannon Willard, “A Portuguese Translation of Christine de Pisan's *Livre des trois vertus*”, in *PMLA*, vol. 78, n° 5 (Dec., 1963), pp. 459-464.

In our libraries, we have found until now seven copies by Vitoria, three from the seventeenth century – one copy of the 1673⁵⁹ edition and two of the 1676⁶⁰ edition (which belonged to the Patriarchal) – and four from the eighteenth century – two of the 1702⁶¹, one of the 1722⁶², and one of the 1737⁶³ edition. But archives research made evidence that the book on the life of classic mythology with more divulgation in Portugal was the *Theatro de los dioses*, present in a lot of libraries⁶⁴, such as the one from the bishop of Angra do Heroísmo; the 1737 edition⁶⁵; the one from D. Ana Clara Cátaró's library, assistant at the Monastery of the Esperança in Lisbon⁶⁶; at the Convent of St. António da Convalescença⁶⁷; at António de Morais Calado's library, resident at Bemposta⁶⁸; at the judge of the High Court João Barroso Pereira's library⁶⁹; and at the João de Couto Lobo's library, resident in S. Nicolau Street⁷⁰. António José Pereira de Faria, abbey of the church of S. Pedro de Figueiredo had in his library the 1722 edition⁷¹; just as the bachelor Custódio Ribeiro de Araújo, who attends in Coimbra⁷²; and the judge of the High Court João Baptista Aguilar, purveyor of Évora's district⁷³. The priest Manuel Lopes of the Congregation of the Oratory, in Oporto, had the 1673 edition published in Madrid⁷⁴, the same edition found at the library of the Monastery of

⁵⁹ BNP, H. G. 486 V. and H. G. 486 V. and H. G. 12161 V.

⁶⁰ BNP, TR. 4508 P. e BA, 71-VI-5 e 71-VI-6 e 71-VI-7.

⁶¹ BPNM, 2-XXI-6-10, 2-XXI-6-11 e 2-XXI-6-12 e BA, 71-VI-8, 71-VI-9 e 71-VI-10.

⁶² BNP, H. G. 15330 P., H. G. 15331 P. e H. G. 15332 P. This book belonged to the antique Public Library.

⁶³ BNP, H. G. 15338 P., H. G. 15340 P. e H. G. 15341 P.

⁶⁴ Na B.N.P. existe a edição de Balthasar de Vitoria, *Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidad, Autor el P. Fr. Baltasar de Vitoria, Predicador de San Francisco de Salamanca, y natural de la mesma Ciudad al señor Don Ignacio de Altariba Ram de Montoro, Maestre de Campo, Governador que fue de Olivenza, y Capitan General de la Artilleria de Cerdena*, Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, 1673; a de 1676 *Dirigida Al Excelentíssimo Señor Don Iuan Francisco Pacheco Tellez Giron Velasco Gomez de Sandoual Toledo Mendoza y Aragon, Duque de Vzeda, &c. Avtor El P. Fr. Baltasar de Vitoria, Predicador de San Francisco de Salamanca, y natural de la mesma Ciudad*, Madrid: En la Imprenta Real; a de 1737 (Madrid: en la Imprenta de Juan de Ariztia). [inedit]

⁶⁵ “Fr. Baltazar de la Victoria, *theatro de los dioses da gentilidad, Madrid, 1737*”, included in the class of Philosophy, just as the book by Natali Comti. Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 114, nº 21.

⁶⁶ “*Teatro de los Dioses de la gentilidad nuevamente corregido por Frey Baltazar de Victoria los primeros dos e el tersero por Fray Joan Bautista Aguilar, Madrid 1737, 1738*”. Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 114, nº 36.

⁶⁷ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 115, nº 178.

⁶⁸ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 116, nº 264.

⁶⁹ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 122, nº 1039.

⁷⁰ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 123, nº 1199.

⁷¹ “*Teatro de los Dioses. Por Fr. Balthazar Vitoria. 1º e 2º tom. O Terceiro, por Fr. Joan Bepitista Aguilar. Todos três em Barcelona, 1722*”. Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 116, nº 287, fl. 56.

⁷² Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 134, nº 2789.

⁷³ Cf. I.A.N./T.T. - Real Mesa Censória, cx. 122, nº 1135.

⁷⁴ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 127, nº 1955.

Santo Tirso⁷⁵. And the bachelor Custódio Pacheco de Rezende from Coimbra had the 1676 edition⁷⁶; as in the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhora do Carmo at Moura⁷⁷.

The Monastery of S. Bento da Saúde had a copy of the first edition by Baltasar de Victoria⁷⁸. The doctor José Francisco de Paula Rebelo, who studied Law at the University of Coimbra and resident at the Rua do Sol had the 1702 edition⁷⁹, the same owned by the priest José Lourenço Monteiro, resident at the Rua da Sé⁸⁰; the priest Manuel Ferreira Bouria, from the outskirts of Oporto⁸¹; the priest Manuel Gomes, from Castelo Branco⁸² and the business men João Rebelo and Manuel Joaquim Rebelo, seu filho, resident at the Rua Augusta⁸³. The success of *Theatro de los dioses* in Portugal justified the five volumes edition, organized by alphabetic order, with the explanation of the stories, districts, towns, mountains and rivers there mentioned, translated into Portuguese and printed in Lisbon in 1744⁸⁴. We have also found a poem in manuscript on the Olympian Gods that is in fact a translation of parts of the *Theatro de los dioses* by Baltazar de Vitoria entitled *Tratado da fabula dos deoses da gentilidade* written in 1793 by Fernando Garcia and dedicated to the police intendment Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique⁸⁵. This little manuscript of twenty-five folios includes the description of each of the Olympian gods with some parts literally copied from Baltazar de Vitoria.

One copy of the 1737's edition printed by the Imprensa de Juan de Ariztia⁸⁶ is signed "Costa e Silva" in the three volumes, being the ancient owner probably the famous architect José da Costa e Silva (1747-1819). The most important Portuguese sculptor Joaquim Machado de Castro (1731-1822) had a very important library that we are fortunate to know from his will and he also had this mythography by Vitoria as well as

⁷⁵ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 131, nº 2491.

⁷⁶ "Baltasar Victoria, *Teatro de los Dioses*, Madrid, 1676". Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 118, nº 499.

⁷⁷ "*Teatro de los Dioses, Madrid, 1676*". Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 118, nº 505.

⁷⁸ "*Baltasar de Victoria, Teatro de los Dioses, Salamanca, 1623*". Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 118, nº 443.

⁷⁹ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 124, nº 1434.

⁸⁰ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 124, nº 1368.

⁸¹ Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 127, nº 1826.

⁸² Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 127, nº 1878.

⁸³ "*Balthazar da Vitoria, Teatro de los Dioses, Barcelona, 1702*". Cf. I.A.N./T.T., Real Mesa Censória, cx. 123, nº 1214.

⁸⁴ Cf. Balthazar LUIZ, *Lugares comuns de letras humanas, e appendix ao Theatro de los Dioses. Contém as histórias, fabulas, proincias, cidades, montes, rios mais famosos, e conhecidos do mundo. Traduzidos de toscano em castelhano por D. Diogo de A'greda, e novamente traduzidos em portuguez, e disposto por Alfabeto por Balthazar Luiz, uylsbonense*, Lisboa: na officina dos herdeiros de Antonio Pedrozo Galrão, 1744.

⁸⁵ BNP, RES, COD. 13110.

⁸⁶ BNP, H. G. 15338 P.- H. G. 15340 P.

the one by Cartari⁸⁷. Only in the end of the eighteenth century it becomes more common to very important architects and plastic artists to have their own libraries where treatises and books on art occupy a very important place.

Seznec⁸⁸ reminds that Giovanni Battista Armenini in his treatise on the *Precetti della pittura* mentions the books that every artist should have in his library: Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the work of Cartari. In Portugal, the authors on classical iconography that we have found the most are Alciato, Ovid and Baltazar de Victoria. In fact, Cartari is not that known and Boccaccio even less.

Finally, we are able to say what were the less known mythographies in Portugal. We have discovered only one copy of the *Allegoriae Poeticae* by Albricus, probably a pseudonym for the theologian and scientist Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), but a quite late edition, from 1681⁸⁹. And we haven't found any copy of the earliest German mythography, the *Theologia mythologica* (1532) by Georgius Pictorius, nor of the *Heydenwelt* (1554) by Johann Herold. So, the mythography less known in Portugal is the *Mythological Theology* (1532) presented in dialogue form by the German George Pictor from whom we haven't found till now none copy. It had an iconographer approach mentioning several descriptions of the same god, based upon different authors and documents, with a special interest in Libellus as an authority.

Even if the number of copies of mythographies that can be found in our libraries is very small when compared with the various editions of the *Metamorphoses* by Ovid or the book by Valerius Maximus, it is also true that we are surprised with the richness of different editions that were known in Portugal by then. This knowledge is very important to search for the right or more plausible source in mythological subjects and this research was very important to clarify the authors and books more used in Portugal and to establish a comparison with the rest of Europe, allowing us in the future to do the same kind of studies Peter Hawkins⁹⁰ did on Edmund Spenser's poetry, or Dorothy A. Dilts⁹¹ on the possibility of John Gower's having used Boccaccio's *De Genealogia*

⁸⁷ Ana Duarte Rodrigues, *A Escultura de Vulto Figurativa do Laboratório de Joaquim Machado de Castro (1771-1822): produção, morfologia, iconografia, fontes e significado*, Master thesis, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2004, p. 207.

⁸⁸ Seznec, op. cit., p. 257-258.

⁸⁹ BNP, RES. 4042 V.

⁹⁰ Peter S. Hawkins, op. cit., p. 56.

⁹¹ Dorothy A. Dilts, "John Gower and the De Genealogia Deorum", in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 57, n° 1 (Jan. 1942), pp. 23-25.

Deorum in his *Confessio Amantis* and how he could have had access to a compilation of the manuscript, or William E. Burns⁹² on the most influential Renaissance mythography source for English writers, or Supriya Chaudhuri⁹³ studies on the different sources in the classical tradition of Venus's chariot, among others.

⁹² William E. Burns, "A Proverb of Versatile Mutability": Proteus and Natural knowledge in Early Modern Britain", in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 32, n° 4 (Winter, 2001), p. 972.

⁹³ Supriya Chaudhuri, "The chariot of Venus: a note on Capman's mythographical sources", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 44 (1981), pp. 211-213.

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PUBLICAÇÕES

7 Publicações

"Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad" ANO "Castelhano"

Autor(es)	Título	Data	Localização	Cota
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1673	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 485 V. - 1.ª Parte H.G. 486 V. - 2.ª Parte
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1676	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	TR. 4508 P. - 2.ª Parte
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1676	Biblioteca da Ajuda	71-VI-5 - 1.ª Parte 71-VI-6 - 2.ª Parte 71-VI-7 - 3.ª Parte
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1702	Biblioteca Palácio Nacional de Mafra	2-XXI-6-10 - 1.ª Parte 2-XXI-6-11 - 2.ª Parte 2-XXI-6-12 - 3.ª Parte
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1702	Biblioteca da Ajuda	71-VI-8 - 1.ª Parte 71-VI-9 - 2.ª Parte 71-VI-10 - 3.ª Parte
VITORIA, Baltasar de	<i>Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad</i>	1722	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 15330 P. - 1.ª Parte H.G. 15331 P. - 2.ª Parte H.G. 15332 P. - 3.ª Parte
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8 Publicações

"Imagines degli dei" ANO "1500-1599"

Autor(es)	Título	Data	Localização	Cota
CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1566	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 12697 P.
CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1569	Biblioteca da Ajuda	76 - VII - 5
CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1581	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 7788 V.
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CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1581	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	F. 3016
CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1581	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	RES. 3348 V.
CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1581	Biblioteca Palácio da Ajuda	76 - VII - 4
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CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1592	Biblioteca da Ajuda	18 - VII - 50
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CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1647	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 13751 P.
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CARTARI, Vincenzo	<i>Imagines degli dei</i>	1687	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal	H.G. 17360 P.