The Orange Folly and its dissemination from the Iberian Peninsula to the Old and New Worlds.

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Abstract: The Early Modern period in Europe was a time of citrus-mania, when the cultivation and classification of citrus resulting in true collections appeared all over Europe. While scholarship has mainly concentrated on the Italian legacy, I argue that one should change perspective and concentrate on the Iberian (IP) legacy. The particularity of orange groves in the IP derives precisely from their prominent presence in the landscape, as an autochthonous tree not as an exotic one. They cover and perfume cities like Seville and cover the landscape in Portugal in such a way that when João Vigier (1718) translated Caspar Bahuin’s Theatri Botanici (1571) into Portuguese, he bypassed their description due to the fact that they are so common in Portugal. The analysis includes the distribution of orange-trees in the soil; if they were planted in vases or directly in the soil; the irrigation systems used to their growth; how they were grafted and pruned. I will also demonstrate their aesthetical and economic value and how they were so praised by foreign travellers and recognized as the soul of Iberian gardens. As a result of these findings, I will argue that orange groves stand as one of the most common fruit tree of the IP and a key-feature of its gardens and landscapes, to such an extent that circulation of knowledge and practices account for their status as one of the most desired ornamental tree in Europe, taken to the New World where it will find its present main habitat.
1. Introduction

The main premise behind this paper is that the Iberian Peninsula had a prominent role in Early Modern citrus-mania, a time when the citrus cultivation and classification resulted in true collections that appeared all over Europe, because it was a common feature of Iberian gardens and landscapes, rather than by its exotic character. While scholarship has mainly concentrated on the Italian legacy, I argue that one should change perspectives and concentrate on the Iberian legacy, studying its circulation in other countries, both inside and outside Europe.

The singularity of the orange groves in the Iberian Peninsula\(^1\) derives precisely from their presence as an autochthonous tree rather than as an rare one. They have covered and perfumed cities like Seville and enhanced the landscape in Portugal in such a way that when João Vigier (1718) translated Caspar Bahuin’s *Theatri Botanici* (1571) into Portuguese, he skipped their description due to the fact that they were so common in Portugal.

I enhance the value of orange trees in the gardens of the Iberian Peninsula in two ways: 1) the aesthetical effect of orange groves in the Iberian Peninsula and how it was appropriated in and outside Europe; 2) the dissemination of horticultural knowledge on citrus varieties and its expansion to other parts of Europe and America. The analysis includes: how orange-trees were placed in the soil; if they were planted in vases or directly in the soil (and the reasons for that difference); the irrigation systems used to their growth; and how they were cultivated, grafted and pruned.

As a result of these findings, I will argue that orange groves stand as one of the most common fruit trees of the Iberian Peninsula and a key-feature of its gardens and landscapes; to such an extent that the circulation of knowledge and practices account for their status as one of the most desired ornamental trees in Europe, and were then taken to the New World, where they found a main habitat, namely in Brazil, USA - California and Florida – and Mexico. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that the value of orange trees explored in the New World is the same embodied throughout centuries in the Iberian Peninsula.

2. The citrus-mania: collecting and depicting

Sandro Botticelli’s Primavera (1482) offers an idyllic vision of Venus surrounded by Cupid, the Three Graces, Flora, Zephyr, Iris and Mercury, in a paradisiacal garden: an orange grove. More than two centuries later, the Grand Duke Cosimo Medici (1642-1725) commissioned Bartolomeo Bimbi (1648-1729) to paint 116 varieties of citrus growing in the Medici gardens, including numbered labels for each one, in the fashion of a botanical garden (Fig. 3). *Melangoli, limoni e limette* (1715), held at the Museo della Natura Morta, in Poggio a Caiano, became the most famous painting on citrus fruit, evoking both the idea of an orange craze, as well as the one of a horticulture (Fig. 3). Such paintings portray the framework of the northern European assimilation of the citrus fruits as exotic and desired botanical family. Depicted with the intent of exhibiting a collection of exotics, these commissioned paintings enhanced the real value of citrus fruits for this patronage, turning them into a precious object of collection, difficult to acquire and maintain, therefore worth exhibiting. The Medici family had been collecting citrus trees in giant pots located in their gardens since the fifteenth century. At the

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\(^1\) Although most of the examples stressed in this paper are from Portugal, they represent a similar reality experienced in the whole Iberian Peninsula.
Villa de Castello, near Florence, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I de Medici (1541-1587), had a renowned collection of citrus trees, which especially produced lemons, limes and citrons, and built a greenhouse in the Renaissance, named *limonaia*. Throughout all of Europe there were especially designed *parterres* and greenhouses were built for orange trees, to protect them during the winter. In view of this, the terraces and greenhouses, specifically constructed for orange trees, were labelled as *orangery* in English and *orangerie* in French (such as the orangery in the gardens of Versailles (Fig. 1), the orangery of the Kensington Gardens, the orangery of Hampton Court facing the Privy Garden or the orangery of Herrenhausen Garten in Hannover).

A significant amount of treatises, books and manuals, such as Giovanni Battista Ferrari’s *Hesperides* (1646), were published between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, to suppress the lack of knowledge on this exotic family of plants. However, most of these books cover the cultivation of orange trees in greenhouses and their role in the overall design of the garden, showing they stem from the need for information on how to cultivate them in cold climate countries or as an ornamental plant for gardens — not its mass production.

Therefore, most of the treatises specifically focusing on citrus were published in France, Germany, the Netherlands and England. Some were translations or adaptations of Ferrari’s *Hesperides* to northern climates, such as Johannes Commelin and Franciscus Sterbeeck’s treatises.

France headed the publications on citrus fruits, due to the importance gardens had in that country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even before the seminal treatise on the French garden designed by Le Nôtre - Dézallier d’Argenville’s *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (1709) — many books had already been published in France, such as Pierre Morin’s *Instruction facile pour connoître toute sorte d’Orangers, Citroniers* (1674); Charles de Sercy’s *Nouveau Traité des Orangers* (1692); and the *Traité de la Culture des Orangers* by Quintinie, as part of the Royal gardener’s *Instruction pour les jardins fruitiers et potagers* (1690). These books show a real orange craze throughout Europe. The goal of these books was to instruct gardeners on how to cultivate this exotic tree, originally from warm climates, as ornament in
cold regions. These texts are totally different from those on citrus fruit production for profit\textsuperscript{2} or on the orange tree as an endemic species.

3. **The soul of Iberian gardens**

![Fig. 3. Bartolomeo Bimbi, Varieties of Citrus Fruit, 1715.](image1)
![Fig. 4. Josefa d’Óbidos, Still Life, 1666.](image2)

The singularity of orange trees in Portugal derives precisely from the fact they were not rare in this territory; thus they did not have the connotation of an exotic fruit tree. If we compare Josefa d’Óbidos’ *Still Life* (1666) (Fig. 4) with Bartolomeo Bimbi’s *Varieties of Citrus Fruit* (1715) (Fig. 3), we understand that in the Portuguese painting it is not the sense of a collection that is depicted, but rather three well-known common species of citrus fruits in Portugal: oranges, citrons and one *citrus medica*.

Orange and citrus trees that were rare and exotic in the Roman Empire became very common in the Iberian Peninsula after the Moorish conquest in the beginning of the eighth century. The orange from Seville (*Citrus aurantium* L.) is already mentioned in Ibn Bassal’s *Book of Agriculture* (c. 1080), Ibn al-Awwam’s *Book of Agriculture* (c. 1180), Ibn Luyun’s *Treatise of Agriculture* (1348) and in the Persian Treatise on Agriculture (c. 1450), but it does not appear in *Le Calendrier de Cordove* (961-76) nor in Ibn Wafid’s *Compendium of Agriculture* (c. 1060). Harvey concluded that it was introduced in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the eleventh century (Harvey, 1992, 78)\textsuperscript{3}.

It began to have a major importance in Hispano-Moorish gardens, one of its best-known examples being the Orange’s courtyard in Córdoba, or the Seville cloister cathedral, and it remains until now as one of the main features of Iberian gardens. In *Relation of the Kingdom of Portugal* (1701), Thomas Cox defines Portuguese gardens through the existence of orange and lemon trees: “Their gardens are great parcels filled with orange and lemon trees, as well other fruit trees and herbs used in the kitchen” (Cox, 1701, fl. 45).

Gregorio de los Rios, the Spanish Royal gardener of Philip II of Spain, also king of Portugal since 1580, wrote a fundamental treatise on art of gardens in the late-sixteenth century. Gregorio

\textsuperscript{2} For example, oranges were described as a product for trade by the Italian Francesco Balducci-Pergolotti’s book for merchants written in mid-thirteenth-century (Dugo and Giacomo, 2003, 8).

\textsuperscript{3} Nevertheless, historiography sometimes is not acknowledge of this Hispano-Moorish sources and considers the book by Hugo Falcando, who lived in Sicily from 1154 to 1169, the first mention of sweet orange in Europe (Dugo and Giacomo, 2003, 8).
de los Ríos’ *Agricultura de Jardines* (1592) represents a turning point in written sources concerning gardens and landscapes, since it is the first time that the art of gardens seeks to be independent from Agriculture, in search for its autonomy as a field of art and knowledge, even before the most acknowledged French treatise by Jacques Boyceau (1638). In the Spanish treatise, we can understand the supreme value of orange trees in the Iberian Peninsula at this period in time. To highlight this, one can compare the content of Ríos’ *Agricultura de Jardines* (1592) with the 1586 and 1593 editions of the English treatises by Thomas Hill and William Lawson, which do not include chapters on orange trees.

Gregorio de los Ríos considers fruit trees as proper to orchards rather than for gardens. Gardens should be filled with flowers that would be “beautiful to sight”. Nonetheless, there is an exception: orange trees. As an ornamental plant, due to their perfume and colour, they could share the bed-flowers in gardens with flowers. Gregorio de los Ríos began the chapter on how to spread orange trees by advising that it is more difficult to cultivate them than other fruit trees (Ríos, 1592, 79v-80). If it is in hot regions it needs to be additionally irrigated, but if it is in a cold region there is no need for so much water, although it is more difficult to grow. The Royal Spanish gardener also says that in a hot region one can cultivate them directly on the ground but if it is in a cold region it has to be in pots, to protect them from the cold, and then put under a tent during winter (Ríos, 1592, 83). However, the idea of a greenhouse is not suggested by this author, probably because the building did not exist yet in Spain.

The French author Dézallier d’Argenville considers orange tree to be the most beautiful tree when blossoming, and he identifies all its visual values. Furthermore, he underlines that orange trees give a unique contribution to the gardens’ aesthetics. It is very significant that such an acknowledged author as Dézallier d’Argenville makes these statements about orange trees and then confesses the wish to have alleys of orange trees growing on the floor or orange tree groves, just as they were seen in Spain, Portugal, Italy and some districts in France (Dézallier d’Argenville, 1709, 218).

Orange trees were cultivated in Royal palaces for the pleasure of the Portuguese kings at least since the fifteenth century. King D. João II ordered the cultivation of an orange grove in his Évora palace, the famous “laranjal do Rei” (Carita, 1990, 35). All of the Royal Portuguese gardens such as the ones at the Paço da Ribeira, Royal Palace of Sintra, Royal Villas of Belém,

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4 The edition quoted in this article is the first edition: Gregorio de los Ríos, *Agricultura de jardines*, Madrid: por P. Madrigal, 1592 (consulted at the National Library of Portugal, S.A. 6687). For the part that was added to the second edition the used text is Gregorio de los Ríos, “Agricultura de jardines”, in Alonso Herrera, *Agricultura General que trata de la labranza del campo, y sus particularidades: criação de animais, propriedades de las plantas que en ella se contienen y virtudes provechosas à la salud humana*, Madrid: por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1620, pp. 244-270. Gregorio de los Ríos’s work is also available online in many websites, such as in the edition: Alonso Herrera, *Agricultura General, que trata de la labranza del campo, y sus particularidades: criação de animais, propriedades de las plantas que en ella se contienen, y virtudes provechosas a la salud humana*, Madrid: por Don Josef de Urrutia, 1790, that can be accessed online at: http://books.google.pt/books?id=YLzbAAAAMAAJ&pg=PA448&lpg=PA448&dq=gregorio+de+los+rios+agricultura+de+jardines&source=bl&ots=hC-SSOcWzP&sig=1GgmyaXquN2Xvpeo5A4_HqvyUzO&hl=en&sa=X&ei=qcOxU7iGCJd7QaBjJcG0Oved=OC.DkQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=gregorio%20de%20los%20rios%20agricultura%20de%20jardines&f=false

5 As it was suggested by Piero de’ Crescenzi’s fourteenth-century treatise on agriculture. In this book, a chapter dealt with citrus trees and their cultivation in a “closed place”, probably a sort of protected space as a greenhouse (Dugo and Giacomo, 2003, 8).
Royal gardens of Queluz, Royal Botanic Garden of Ajuda, included orange groves as a typical feature.

Nevertheless, orange groves were not only present in Royal gardens; they were also to be seen in public gardens such as the sixteenth-century orange grove of Évora or in cities such as Seville, Córdoba or Granada. Orange trees were also found in many cloister gardens, as well as in *jardines de crucero*, although, according to the documents found so far, in less quantity (Rodrigues, forthcoming 2016). Orange trees were brought to the monasteries in small numbers because they were very expensive. They were also present in vernacular gardens; an extensive number of documents describe the quintal, a small vernacular garden in the backyard on a house, as having a well and orange trees (Rodrigues, forthcoming 2016), features that augmented their economic value.

The growth of orange trees in Portugal and Spain was done very differently from central and northern European countries, because they were directly planted into the soil and not in boxes. Thomas Cox criticized the fact that orange tree groves were not lined up in Portuguese gardens; at the beginning of the eighteenth-century they were cultivated as if they were in the countryside (Cox 1701: 127 and 129). Nevertheless, later on, another foreign traveler described orange tree groves as “uniformly planted in groves, by the side of a stream running in the bottom of a valley” (Smith, 1832, 97). Alleys of orange trees were also reported to exist in the Marques of Pombal’s estate (Dalrymple, 1777, 151). The orange tree grove at the Royal Villa of Queluz followed a geometric grid, as displayed in the 18th century plan of the palace and gardens of the Royal Villa of Queluz (Carapinha, 2014, 13). There were then three different types of orange groves in Portugal: the ones being grown without any specific plan or pattern; orange tree groves that obeyed to a geometric grid; and alleys of orange trees, rather than *parterres* of orangery or orange trees in boxes. Furthermore, orange groves were sometimes cultivated at a lower level, so as to allow a view from above, following in the Islamic influence in gardening. Thus, it could be appreciated, almost as a tapestry, when one would go for a walk in the garden. It was like this in Quinta da Bacalhoa (where there are presently vineyards) (Fig. 5); and it certainly had a similar effect as orange tree groves cultivated in the Badhi Palace in Marrakesh, built after the battle of the three kings (Fig. 6), both built in the same period of time (ca. 1550-70).
4. Orange landscapes

Orange tree groves were a key-feature of Portuguese landscapes. William Beckford (1760-1844) recognizes two kinds of groves in the outskirts of Lisbon, olive trees and orange trees (Beckford, 1834, 29). The perfume of orange trees was highly appreciated, not only in gardens, but also in landscapes. “Near Lisbon [there] are many Chento’s, or Summer Country Houses, several of them extremely sweet and pleasant, the Flowers from the Orange Trees and Jessamins perfuming the Air round them” stated an English traveler (Bromley, 1702, 7). In the same sense, Duarte Nunes Leão’s Descrição do Reyno de Portugal (1785, 144) points out the existence of a scent to orange tree throughout the whole territory, during the spring. Besides its perfume, orange trees were highly appreciated as landscape of the outskirts of Lisbon. The evergreen character of orange groves was the reason pointed out by Duarte Nunes Leão why all of Lisbon’s estates cultivated them (Leão, 1785, 143).

Orange groves, in religious and noble estates, from southern to northern Portugal, are described by Portuguese and foreign visitors, redefining the country’s identity as connected to the orange landscape. Jacob Sobieski visited Portugal in 1611 and referred that in just outside Lisbon there were a lot of orange groves (Jobieski, s.d., 250). Some years later, Richard Twiss said “The country about Lisbon is agreeably diversified with groves of orange and lemon trees, intermixed with olive and vine-yards” (Twiss, 1775, 7). When Richard Twiss was riding a horse fifteen miles away from Lisbon, probably from Oeiras, and going into the city, he saw “groves of orange and lemon trees loaded with blossoms as well as fruit” (Twiss, 1775, 14) all along the road parallel to the river. The same landscape picture is given by him when he describes his excursion to Mafra (Twiss, 1775, 15). The German doctor, botanist and naturalist Heinrich Freidrich Link, who visited Portugal in the last years of the eighteenth century, describes the orange landscape in the Lisbon’s region and evaluates it as totally different from the landscape in Germany, especially because of the visual effects (Link, 1801, 185-186). Jane Lack described the landscape between Coimbra and Lisbon as follows: “One passes through forests of oak, pine, and cork trees, agreeably diversified by orange groves and vineyards” (Lack, 1884, 73). Nevertheless, she says she did not see any orange trees between Mafra and Sintra (Lack, 1884, 99). The fact that she noticed this was because she was used to seeing them. Furthermore, she stressed there were a lot in Setúbal, which is truth still today.

Orange groves became then an important feature of the Portuguese landscape, not only because of their aesthetical value, a legacy of the Islamic garden (Carapinha, 1995, 243), but also because of their economic value. Orchards of citrus trees also received political protection, because of the strong will of the Philips dynasty to protect and promote their cultivation (See Ordenações Filipinas in Silva, 1808, 296-297). They were of almost no economic value in Portugal because they were so common that they were not for sale, but they had great value for exportation. Duarte Leão provided the first account of all the productive areas of orange trees in Portugal since late-sixteenth-century such as Beira, Douro and Minho, whose oranges were exported to Flanders from Oporto harbor (Leão, 1785, 121). The exportation of orange trees would continue to grow until the nineteenth century and further data on the number of oranges exported from the Algarve’s harbors of Faro and Portimão can be found in Silva Lopes’ Corografia ou Memória Estatística do Reino do Algarve (1841).

The quality of Portuguese orange trees was well-known abroad. They were compared with the ones from Malta. Link pointed out that the best oranges were the ones from: Lumiar, still considered as a surrounding area of Lisbon at the time; the ones from Condeixa, near Coimbra;
and the ones from Vidigueira, in the Alentejo. Another foreign traveler remarked that, in Portugal, oranges were never sold outside the area of Lisbon, because they were so common everywhere. Instead, a huge quantity of orange trees was packed and sent to England (Smith, 1832, 97). Evidence of this can be found in many other sources. For example, Darlymple mentions most of the Portuguese oranges were for the London market, and specifies the route of these oranges (Darlymple, 1771, 165). In addition to this, Link clarifies that most of the Portuguese oranges were exported to France and England and from there to other countries (Link, 1801, 187).

Dézallier d’Argenville’s treatise adds to present knowledge on orange tree market that every year, between March and May, orange trees from Genoa, Lisbon and Provence, arrived in Versailles (Dézallier d’Argenville, 1709, 233).

In view of all the data mentioned above, there is enough evidence to prove orange groves were perceived as a key-feature of the Portuguese landscape.

5. The appropriation of the orange grove by the New World

Although already known in Europe since the Roman Empire, as some of Pompey’s frescos show, almost all evidence of orange trees was lost during the Middle Ages; an exception is made in the Iberian Peninsula where it flourished under the Islamic rule. The Maritime Expansion headed by the Portuguese and the Spanish was the great turning point in the dissemination of orange trees. Through the Portuguese and the Spanish, the growing orange landscape of the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century, was reproduced into the New World, namely in Brazil, Mexico and the USA (Florida and California). Consequently, orange landscapes started being associated with the idea of a blessed and fruitful land, rather than with its exotic and ornamental character.

Citrus fruits and the ones related to them, with the exception of grapefruit, were not pervasive in the New World. It was Columbus who, for the first time, took orange, lemon, and citron seeds from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola, during his second voyage in 1493. By 1525, oranges and shaddocks were widely grown throughout the New World. Spanish explorers were responsible for the rapid dispersion of citrus trees in Central America, explored and conquered by Juan de Grijalva (1490-1527), in Bermuda’s islands, discovered by Juan Bermudez in 1505 and where in 1515 he left some animals and seeds for future lost navigators, and in Florida where orange trees were acclimatized between 1513 and 1565. Agricultura de jardines, written in Castilian in 1592, at the time Portugal was under Spanish rule, may also have become available in the territories under Portuguese and Spanish influence, especially after having been included (after the 1605 edition), in the most successful treatise on Agriculture: Alonso Herrera’s Agricultura General (1513), whose copies circulated in Portugal and Mexico (Arellano, 2006; Rodrigues, 2014).

The Portuguese played an important part in the spreading of orange trees in their colonies, namely Brazil, which is today one of the top worldwide producers nowadays, and indirectly in the USA, because Californian orange groves developed from Bahian orange trees. During the return of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama’s from India (1498), his men reported that the sweet oranges they found in India were superior to those they had at home. This proves that orange trees were already well-known, allowing European and Asian specimens to be compared. Two years later, the Portuguese discovered Brazil. Since Early sixteenth-century
orange trees were brought by the Portuguese to Brazil and cultivated in colonial gardens and farms (Hasse, 1987).

In addition, new orange varieties kept on being brought from India and China by the Portuguese and from Portugal spread to the New World.

The Portuguese had an important role in the distribution of the Chinese variety of orange called *Aurantium sinenses*, introducing them directly from China to Europe around 1640. There are some seventeenth-century documents that stress that a type of sweet orange was brought by D. Francisco de Mascarenhas, “capitão-terra” (governor) of Macau, in 1635 (Macedo, 1675, 118-119). James Murphy mentions in the eighteenth-century that it was D. João de Castro who brought orange trees into Portugal in the sixteenth-century (Murphy, 1975, 261). To support this argument, there are some written sources of Portuguese travellers, such as Garcia de Orta (Orta, 2005, 217), who went to Asia and described the oranges tasted there as much sweeter than the ones they had in Portugal. Nevertheless, biology and ecology experts stress the level of sweetness of the orange would have followed the same logic as other citrus fruits, and the level of sugar would have been different according to the geographic area where they were cultivated. It would thus have been normal for travellers during the maritime expansion to find the Asian oranges sweeter, even if they were the same varieties already cultivated in Europe. The orange that was brought from China is the variety that Aurora argues would become known throughout Europe as the “orange of Portugal”, and it was named by Giovanni Battista Ferrari as *Aurantium Olyssiponensis* (Carapinha, 1995, 240). This is the quality which

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6 Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo wrote in 1675 that D. Francisco de Mascarenhas, the first governor of Macau, “brought to Lisbon in 1635 an orange tree which came from China and then Goa, and from there into his Garden of Xabregas, where he cultivated it” (Ferrão, 199). The text “Memórias sobre a Agricultura Portuguesa consideradas desde o tempo dos Romanos até ao Presente” by Veríssimo Álvares da Silva, published in 1815, mentions the introduction of sweet orange trees in 1635, showing that he knew about the document on D. Francisco de Mascarenhas. Ferrão claims he found a manuscript in a private library entitled “Diario Bracarence das Épocas, Fastos, e Annas mais Demarcáveis e Sucessos Dignos de mençam, que succederam em Braga, Lisboa, e mais partes de Portugal, e Cortes da Europa” by Manoel José da Silva Thadim, 1764 (Ferrão, 202). The document said that “the orange trees were brought by D. Francisco Mascarenhas from China to Goa when he was governor of Macau and from there he brought them into Portugal in 1624. The orange tree from all other provenances is still called Eve in 1671: it has given fruits in Quinta do Grillo” and there is an added note saying that “I saw orange trees inside the wall of the Grilos’ barefoot monks” (Ferrão, 204). The translations are mine.

7 This different theory was supported by Gallesio in 1811 and Tolkowsky in 1938. Portuguese experts such as Macedo (1854, 5), Vasconcelos (1934, 16), Cunha Coutinho (1940: 274-275) and Mendes Ferrão (1986, 1133) share the same rationale presented by Gallesio and Tolkowsky, for whom the sweet orange must have followed the same routes as the other citrus species. Ferrão adds to this thesis an ecologic/biological argument when he claims that the same fruit cultivated in very hot regions or in the Mediterranean region would have different levels of sugar; thus, the same species brought from a subtropical region would be less sweet in Portugal. The author argues that the sweetness depends on the biophysical conditions of the territory and there is no apparent reason for the Muslims to have disseminated the other citrus fruits and excluded that one that became most desired (Ferrão, 1986, 1130).

8 Aurora Carapinha says that this must be the variety denominated by Ferrari, in 1646, as Aurantium Olysiponense, which, as he described: “... havia sido enviada, recentemente, de Lisboa para os jardins de Pios e Barberinos, em Roma, uma bela árvore com frutos dourados. Dizem que esta árvore veio primeiramente da China e, por isso, lhe chamam árvore da China” (Ferrari 1646: 425, in Carapinha 1995: 243).
is associated with Portugal and the reason why in many languages “orange” is named “Portugal”\(^9\).

Due to its Mediterranean-like climate, California and Florida became the only states in the USA where orange trees naturally adapted to the climate, becoming an essential trait of their landscape, as can be seen in a commercial orange grove in Florida (ca. 1942) (Kohen, 1998, 40). Orange trees became a brand image of both California and Florida. The sheet music cover for *Down Where the Orange Blossoms Grow*, music by J. Fred De Berry (1904), shown by Helen L. Kohen, provides in its iconography the association between two main ideas: the sunshine in an orange world (Florida) and the perfume of the orange tree blossom suggested by the white flowers. The poster Florida’s *Land of sunshine and happiness* depicts an attractive female figure bearing palm leaves and oranges (ca. 1920) (Kohen, 1998, 40-42).

It conveyed the message of a land of oranges as a land of Mediterranean plenty on an early promotional brochure. The same idea is disseminated on the brochure for DeLand, where a woman is portrayed picking oranges in the main street, with the Stetson university tower in sight (1925), and a basket filled with oranges becomes the focal point of the brochure (in Kohen, 1998, 34). The advertising poster for the luxurious Savana Line that took passengers to Florida and the South (ca. 1900) offered an almost tropical look, presenting an image based on the sea, oranges and sunny scenery. Images of oranges in all their inflated glory have carried the message of the promised land in all sorts of print material, including postcards, orange crate labels, promotional brochures and other forms of publicity, sheet music, and the cover of at least one theatrical journal showcase the significance of the orange landscapes created in the New World, following the Iberian influence and model.

\(^{9}\) Orange in Greek language is “portokali”; in Turkish “portokal”; in Romanian “portocala” and in some Italian dialects “portogallo”. 

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Fig. 7. João Vigier, *História das Plantas*, 1718, p. 769.

Fig. 8. *Land of Sunshine and Happiness*, ca. 1920.
6. Conclusion

Orange trees endured a worldwide journey since its original provenance, probably from the warm Southern slopes of the Himalayas, in northeastern India. The etymology of the word evokes this journey: From the Sanskrit name for the orange, *nagarunga*, it evolved into *naranj* in Persian, *aurantium* in Latin, *naranja* in Spanish, *laranja* in Portuguese, and *orange* in English and French. The Spanish and the Portuguese had a fundamental role in the circulation of orange trees and seeds between the Old and the New World. Furthermore, in the New World the orange landscape acquired a new symbolism, as a fruitful and blessed land enhanced by its economic value, rather than appropriating its former ornamental character.

Orange trees were highly praised all over Europe. Nevertheless, as they are of very difficult growth in cold countries, where greenhouses became necessary, orange trees retained the value of ornamental and were perceived as exotic in northern Europe, following the Italian model. The iconography of orange trees cultivated inside wooden boxes, so as to be easily transported into the greenhouses, inspired the form of Peter Carl Fabergé’s *Orange Tree* (1911) (Fig. 2), validating its arrangement according to the northern Europe circumstances. On the contrary, in view of its climate and Islamic legacy, orange trees in the Iberian Peninsula have been directly cultivated into the ground. In addition, they are not only present in all kind of gardens but they also cover large portions of landscape. As a prelude to the golden fruit of the Garden of Hesperides located in the ultimate site of Western Europe, the glorious white petals deliver what they promise: beauty, aroma, and a cash crop that almost never crashes from the Iberian Peninsula into the New World where are presently found the top worldwide producers: Brazil, USA, Mexico.

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