

Vol. I • n.º 2 • Winter 2003

e-journal
of PORTUGUESE
HISTORY

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The Portuguese Medieval Parliament: Are We Asking the Right Questions?

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Abstract:

It had traditionally been thought that the history of the Portuguese mediaeval parliament was exhausted from the point of view of available information; almost all approaches had studied the *Cortes* from a legal angle. In 1990, Armindo de Sousa published *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*; this work was to radically renew everything that was known about the theme, proving that, even from the strictly factual point of view, there continued to be a large number of errors and gaps and, above all, suggesting a sociological and political approach to the mediaeval parliament, treating the texts that were produced at the *Cortes* as *discourses*, rejecting biologicistic theories and concepts such as *nature* and *decadence*, lingering in particular over the study of the *primary* and *secondary functions* of parliament. But this book, which represented a complete break with everything that had previously been written on the theme, did not provoke any significant reaction either in Portugal or in other countries, being received in virtual silence. Thirteen years after its publication, this article seeks to rekindle discussion about the more controversial and innovative aspects of Armindo de Sousa's thesis, as well as updating it in regard to a number of aspects and putting forward a new agenda for research into the Portuguese mediaeval parliament.

Key words

Parliament; *Cortes*; discourse; burgesses; commons; representativeness; institutions; powers; duties; functions; chapters; king

1. Difficulties in Relation to the Theme and its Historiography

Each theme and chronology presents its own specific difficulties and challenges. As far as the Portuguese mediaeval parliament is concerned, I would like to highlight four of these:

1. The propensity, particularly if this is unconscious, for establishing a *continuum* up to the present moment, interpreting the mediaeval *Cortes* in the light of the present-day Portuguese parliament.

2. The excessive importance given to juridical history, which has led to legalistic interpretations of an institution that was above all political¹.

3. Consequently, there is a theoretical weakness which is particularly noted in this field with the constant use of biological analogies (regarding the “origin”, “apogee”, “decadence” and “death” of the *Cortes*); such analogies make it difficult to gain a correct understanding of the subject-matter. The application of semiology and linguistics has been almost completely absent. It is not possible to see how an institution that lives mainly from the production of *discourses* can be studied in depth without, for example, turning to the theory of rhetoric and argumentation.

¹ Some examples are Caetano, 1963; Merêa, 1923; Santarém, 1828; Soares, 1943.

4. Like many other areas of Portuguese history, the mediaeval parliament has suffered from the lack of a sizeable, sustained and lasting positivist school that has worked on it². Until recently, there was no good institutional study of the *Cortes*, no reasonably safe knowledge of the respective documentation; there wasn't even a reliable catalogue of the meetings of the *Cortes* in Portugal in the mediaeval period³. Even worse: it was falsely announced in university circles that everything had already been done "on the *Cortes*".

2. The Contribution of Armindo de Sousa

It was in such a context that, towards the end of the 1970s, Armindo de Sousa, a lecturer at the Faculdade de Letras do Porto, began working on his doctorate entitled "The Portuguese Mediaeval *Cortes*". The project was received with some scepticism, precisely because it was generally agreed that everything that there was to write had been written, so that this historian, in following his inclination, decided to investigate what he termed "The mentality of the representatives of the commons through the general chapters of the *Cortes*".

As he continued to publish methodological essays (the most important of which was *As Cortes de Leiria/Santarém de 1433*; Sousa: 1982) in which he refined the traditional way of approaching parliamentary documentation, especially the general chapters, Armindo de Sousa realised that not only was the work not "all done", but that there were numerous factual errors, gaps and ambiguities; furthermore, the overall understanding of the parliamentary institution seemed to him to be inadequate. So, he began to direct his efforts towards two main areas:

1. A documentary survey that was as exhaustive as possible and a detailed criticism of the sources collected, in order to arrive at a catalogue of those *Cortes* that really did take place and their respective features;

2. A renewal of theoretical problems, not only concerning political history and institutional history (to arrive at a different interpretation of what the mediaeval parliament actually was), but also as regards the hermeneutics of the *general chapters*, which he very soon chose to be the quintessential source for his work.

In fact, the convergence of these two avenues of research quickly convinced Sousa that the reality was quite different from the one that he had been told about: the documentation of the *Cortes* was insufficiently known and had frequently been poorly analysed; the inventory of the Portuguese *Cortes* had been badly compiled; the traditional understanding of the institution was wrong. So that Armindo de Sousa had to concentrate his attentions on clearing the terrain, checking every source, every date, every statement made about the *Cortes*, in order to reconstruct the *lied* – who, when, where, how and why – of the mediaeval parliament. And he did not complete his initial project: the study of the collective attitudes of the representatives of the commons through the general chapters. He was only to enter upon this terrain in subsequent works⁴.

The book which came of his research was entitled *As Cortes Medievais Portuguesas (1385-1490)*, Porto, I.N.I.C./C.H.U.P., 1990, 2 vols. It left us with an extremely large number of novelties and controversial interpretations, as well as further paths to explore. Because the author is no longer with us, because it is a very rare event for stimulating theoretical proposals to appear in Portuguese mediaeval history, and, finally, because I believe that Armindo de Sousa's thesis never received the attention that it deserved (even if only by virtue of its being disputed), except as a simple inventory of the *Cortes* and

² The *História de Portugal* of Alexandre Herculano went no further than Afonso III (1279); and the *História da Administração Pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*, of Henrique da Gama Barros, paid little attention to the *Cortes* (Barros, 1946, 3, 125-195).

³ A recent one is in Caetano, 1981 (316-320, 476-480); the more reliable, Ribeiro, 1792, 2, 46-170.

⁴ Mainly the chapter "A socialidade (estruturas, grupos e motivações)" (Mattoso, 1993, 391-473), but also his contribution "Os Homens" (Ramos, 1995, 118-245). Or his study of social conflict (Sousa, 1983).

their chapters, I should like to highlight the most innovative aspects of this work and to concentrate on the new questions that should be asked on the basis of this.

3. How Should the Mediaeval Parliament be Approached?

The medieval parliament should not have been approached exclusively by legal historians, searching for its respective “nature”, “disposition”, “character”, “appearance”, “make-up” or “essence”; they should have avoided all biological and psychological analogies that direct our attention to the “vitality”, “apogee”, “decadence” and “death” of parliament. Instead, its *powers* and *duties* should be defined, since the specificities of this – or indeed of any – institution are rooted in its social function and in the collective awareness of such a function. Taking care over the use of concepts and resisting the careless use of common sense notions were always matters of honour in all of Armindo de Sousa’s research – a rare attitude amongst Portuguese mediaevalists.

Parliament came to be classified as a “sub-structure or partial structure” of the overall political system, just like the king, the royal Council, the jurisdictional domains, the borough councils and the Episcopal curias. Yet, in this overall political system, the different roles were unclear and overlapped with one another, whilst powers and duties were confused; whilst, in the 14th and 15th centuries, there was a tendency to produce finished structures, with the granting of regiments or regulations, such a movement did in fact begin at the bottom and did not reach the *Cortes*, which never had any regulations or even achieved a complete structure. For this reason, the *Cortes* would always be an entity that was *in fieri*, and, as Armindo de Sousa suggests, one whose *fortitudo* would vary in inverse proportion to the royal *imbecilitas*: in other words, a weak king would lead to the *Cortes* becoming bold and insolent; whereas a strong king would lead to the *Cortes* becoming almost decorative.

As they never had any fixed periods for their assembly, the *Cortes* would be summoned (and juridically created) by *convocational letters*, stating the venue, starting date and the aims of the meeting. The author underlines this aspect: though the *Cortes* represented the common people’s quintessential opportunity to be heard, the respective convocation always depended on the king (duly advised).

3.1. Municipal Representatives: an Honour or a Punishment?

The municipal representatives belonged to the municipal elites, the same which dominated local government (Coelho; Magalhães: 1986; Barata, 2001; Duarte: 2001). These, in turn, elected from amongst themselves judges and councillors and, at related meetings, appointed the delegates to the *Cortes*. Was it worth the trouble becoming a municipal representative? This is not an easy question to answer and I believe that it must remain open: in favour of a person accepting the position was the reinforcement that it lent to his prestige and local political capital, the privilege of belonging to a restricted club that had close dealings with the finest nobility in the land, members of the high clergy, the king and his courtiers, the possibility of establishing fruitful, human and even professional contacts with his counterparts in the main cities, the fact of being fully informed about all the kingdom’s business, the fact of “being on the inside”. Of the factors ruling against accepting the position were the travel involved, the fact of sometimes being away from one’s home and business for too long a time, attending working sessions that could become painful and uncomfortable. Apparently there was no hard and fast rule: some wanted to be representatives, others didn’t – just as was the case in relation to positions on the local council.

What is more interesting is the issue of the price of participation. Travelling to the *Cortes* was extremely expensive: there was the cost of travel and accommodation for the representatives and their companions, food, the cost of paying for the animals needed to transport them, new clothes and, finally, the cost of buying from the chancery a copy of the decisions that were of interest to the borough. This is a theme that deserves greater research, because the financing of this attendance at the *Cortes* was a constant concern and a delicate problem to solve, requiring the sort of imagination that was common in municipal finances, because the “price of dialogue”, as Denis Menjot has called it (Menjot, 1981), could be so high that it forced some boroughs, those in greater difficulties, to opt for missing the *Cortes* altogether. In 1481-82, Dom João II decided to subsidise the townships’ expenses in

travelling to the *Cortes*; but this was a doubly serious precedent, firstly because it placed an excessive burden on the public purse, and secondly because, to some extent, it turned the representative of the commons into the king's hostages. It is certainly a delicate matter asking a king to pay for one's accommodation, food and travel.

3.2. *Primi inter pares*: the Seat on the Benches

In mediaeval society, the seat that one occupied at the official opening ceremony was meant to mirror one's position in society or, in the case of delegations from the boroughs, in the hierarchy of cities and towns. The only seating plan that we know of, at the *Cortes* of 1481-82, shows us the 80 boroughs distributed over 16 benches; on each of them, we can find the customary order: the most important in the middle, the second most important on the right, the third on the left, the fourth further to the right, and the fifth on the left at the end (Sousa: 1990, 1, 132-135). Does this mean that the seating plan for the room in 1481 provides us with an accurate 'municipal picture' of the country? No: firstly, because, at best, what we have is a picture of political prestige, which depended not only on economic and social vitality but also on antiquity and military services; secondly, because these seats might have been gained one or even two centuries earlier; and lastly because it was almost impossible to dislodge a borough from its position, even though it may have become a shadow of its former self. Only the battles fought over the front bench, with Lisbon's leadership being uncontested and where Porto was desperately seeking to rise above fifth place, would be worth a closer study.

After the official opening ceremony, at which one of the king's representatives would make the opening speech, and beginning with the *Cortes* of 1331, the members of parliament were separated and each estate met separately; at these same *Cortes*, the commons were granted the parliamentary status of a "class", "order" or "rank" for the first time, just like the nobility or the clergy.

But this is one of the aspects that Armindo de Sousa explains less clearly, and which could be usefully studied in greater detail, as soon as we obtain suitable information. In this same year of 1331, the practice of holding plenary meetings by estate was established. This may have happened for the clergy sometimes (on few occasions, as it happens, because the real plenaries of the clergy were held outside the *Cortes*, quite possibly before, but not during, the parliamentary sessions) and it happened even less frequently (if in fact there was ever such a meeting) for the nobility. We are touching upon one of the central and potentially most innovative themes of de Sousa's reflection upon the mediaeval parliaments: it is suggested to us that the traditional corporative and consensualist idea that we have of the three estates meeting in an assembly to discuss what was best for the country, under the paternalistic and watchful eye of the sovereign, should be superseded by another idea: an opening session conducted with the greatest possible pomp and circumstance, and attended by the high nobility, the high clergy, the burgesses, the king and the main officers of the court, for the reading of the initial arguments ("the scenario of the first *Cortes* summoned by Dom João II was, in itself, nothing more than an ideological discourse", remarked Armindo de Sousa; 1990, 1, 172). Once this was finished, another type of *Cortes* was held that was completely different: the king would leave, although he remained close at hand; the nobles and the clergy, knowing that they were more than likely to be the "main target", would return home, sometimes leaving behind proctors to act on their behalf (and then it would be necessary to know who these were and what powers they had). It was then that the real work would begin, with the people's delegates dividing themselves amongst committees and sessions of different types: plenary sessions, closed sessions, inter or intra-estate committee meetings, meetings with the king or his delegates. The great spectacle of luxury, the strictly marked hieratic and hierarchical positions and the order of the inaugural session, were replaced by the noise, disagreement and confusion that normally reigned at town council meetings, law courts, even in churches.

We do not know a great deal about other forms of municipal association at the *Cortes*, especially *regional sessions*. In a recent debate that greatly enlivened Portuguese public life, some historians mentioned the lack of any trace of *regions* in our past, or even of any municipal coordination. Armindo de Sousa proves that this idea is wrong: in at least 8 *Cortes*, there were meetings between burgesses from Entre Douro e Minho, which led to the presentation of general chapters from this region; the same thing happened, in at least three *Cortes*, with the Algarve boroughs (the *minutes of the*

council sessions in Loulé contain frequent references to meetings of regional coordination; Duarte, ed. 1999). There are also traces of chapters common to various regions and possibly refined at multilateral meetings. The hypothesis raised by the author of there having been exclusive meetings between the cities (the nine sees) seems to me to be rather poorly demonstrated, however.

In 1477, Prince João (the future king Dom João II) made a revolutionary proposal: he suggested the creation of a *committee of determinators*: an inter-estate delegation, with equal representation (five members per estate, plus two representing the king, making a total of 17 people), which would represent the plenary meeting to the prince. The reform, which would have represented a huge step in the restructuring of the *Cortes*, was never implemented. And, as far as the question of plenary sessions of the three estates occurring between the official opening and closing sessions is concerned, we only know of five such meetings (always attended by the king or by somebody representing him).

3.3. The Buying of Chapters, (Or “The act of buying chapters”)

This is another of the novelties to be found in this book, and one that has largely been ignored: only the general chapters of which each borough requested a copy were valid for that same borough (except when a coherent group of chapters with the respective answers was transformed into an ordinance of the realm). I have not seen this question commented upon; and yet it is a transcendent one. We need to know if it was always like this; and then to extract the consequences therefrom: could a borough be intensely involved in the negotiation of certain claims and then not ask for the corresponding certificates? Moreover, one borough could adopt a resolution – judicial, fiscal, military or economic – and the neighbouring boroughs might not do so. What implications did this have? The more we think about the problem, the more doubts occur to us: the many hundreds of general chapters could be converted into a similar number of sources of particularisms; the practice, which is common in our historiography, of considering the chapters and the respective answers to be a reflection of the situation of the country and the policies of the crown, already based on a hermeneutic equivocation (that of thinking that the situations were exactly as the representatives said they were), also ignores this rule.

Once the *Cortes* were formally closed, it could happen that the burgesses were forced to wander about after the king and his chancery, in order to carefully analyse each general chapter with its respective answer, so that they could then ask for a copy of those chapters that might be of interest to their borough. There are various implications here: this phase of the work required burgesses to have already enjoyed enormous political and administrative experience, and to have a specific sensitivity to matters that were of interest to the borough (or, to be more precise, to the social group that they represented); on the other hand, whilst going to the *Cortes* was already expensive in itself, consulting the final decision and waiting for an over-occupied chancery to issue certificates case by case led to an exponential increase in expenditure. The chapters were expensive, so that it was possible to arrive at this extraordinary situation: the burgesses were forced to choose, from amongst the numerous chapters that might be useful to the government of their region, those that they could afford to pay for.

3.4. Sedentary Court, Sedentary *Cortes*

This is another good idea for discussion: today, in Portugal, we enjoy the visits of a president or a prime-minister to our region, to be dazzled by the proximity of power. We have projected this feeling into the past and imagined the regions rejoicing as soon as they heard that they were going to host the *Cortes*. This may be anachronic: receiving a parliamentary meeting would be an honour, it would bring the king and the court to the region, together with great liveliness and festivities, as well as political and social advantages (which Armindo de Sousa sums up as follows: “administration of the courts, correction of the abuses and arrogance of the powerful, supervision of the royal officers and presentation of complaints against the municipal elites”; Sousa: 1990, 1, 178). This was the good news; the bad news included “lodgings, abuses by the courtiers and nobles, theft, rape, rising prices,

disturbances". All in all, weighing up the costs, on the one hand, and the festivities and prestige, on the other hand, was it true, as the author says, that the honour of hosting the court and the *Cortes* did not outweigh the sacrifices? I think that this question still remains very much open.

Whether it was a reward or a punishment, this presence was not evenly distributed throughout the country, as was so often said; the *Cortes* followed after the king, met wherever it was most convenient for him that they should meet; and whenever the court remained around Lisbon, Santarém and Évora, the parliament would follow it. After 1401, parliament never again crossed the Mondego to go to the whole northern half of Portugal; and it kept as far from the periphery, so the saying goes, as the devil keeps from a cross.

3.5. The Commons at Ease, the Nobility Much Less So

The corporatist and juristic view that has been formed of the *Cortes* has overlooked a number of obvious facts: that the clergy and the nobility had many opportunities to talk to the king individually or collectively, something that was not possible for the common people; that the boroughs presented themselves as a collective voice, whilst each nobleman and each clergyman (except for the cathedral chapters) spoke on his own behalf; that the overwhelming majority of the *Cortes* were summoned to ask the commons for money, which meant that certain concessions had to be negotiated in return. And because this was overlooked, it was not understood just how clearly parliament was seen as the "people's tribunal", that it was in fact the common people who were the most enthusiastic supporters of parliamentary meetings and that the other two estates of the realm would prefer to return home as soon as possible after the official opening ceremony; however, the nobles insisted on the compulsory nature of their summons to appear, which led Armindo de Sousa to presume that they always were, with the possible exception of some meetings called to deal with matters that were exclusively of interest to the commons (an idea that seems to me to require greater validation). The nobility attended 23 of the 44 *Cortes* summoned between 1385 and 1490, and we know only a few general chapters thereof (special chapters obviously made no sense). The clergy are documented as attending 24 *Cortes*, but, being aware that they were one of the favourite targets for the complaints of the people, they showed clear disinterest, were late in their participation or boycotted decisions.

If, as Armindo de Sousa suspects, the nobles would go to the opening ceremony and then leave representatives in their place, there are several questions that remain to be answered: who were these representatives? Why do we not know even one of their names? What was the extent of their powers as attorneys of the nobles? Were they simple informants, or did they have any decision-making capacity? At the *Cortes* of 1477, the nobles' representatives threatened that, if they left, it would not be possible to take any decisions about matters involving the nobility; this stance implied both experience and great political courage. The whole question has important political implications, as well as other implications relating to the institutional functioning of parliament. I should like to discuss deeper Armindo de Sousa's belief that the difference between nobles and the representatives of the commons, at the *Cortes*, was the difference "between aristocracy and democracy, the individual and the community, the right of exception and equality in the eyes of the law, the primacy of the clan and the primacy of the nation", with the nobles calling for the "privileges of lineage" and the commons arguing in favour of "the good of the realm and common law" (Sousa: 1990, 1, 188).

3.6. Who was Who on the People's Benches?

After guaranteeing its admission to the *Cortes* of 1254 (Caetano, 1954), the third estate gradually improved its representation; 123 delegations passed through parliament (including ones from the University of Coimbra, six judgeships and "the farmers of Alcobaça", a big Portuguese monastery); I believe that the seating plan for the *Cortes* of 1481-82 gives us a stabilised picture of the 80 delegations that had a right to their own private seat. There were some *Cortes* that were exceptionally open and well attended, while there were other more routine sessions with restricted access. The map of the boroughs is impressive: the most highly populated judicial district, Entre Douro e Minho, did not even receive as

many as 9% of the seats; it was worth as much as the Algarve. The sparsely populated Alentejo enjoyed almost half of the seats (45%); and, together with Estremadura and Beira, it occupied 76% of the seats. The strength of the feudal regime, allied to the highly scattered nature of the population living in Entre Douro e Minho, may help us to understand this picture: the representation of the boroughs had nothing to do with the number of townships and even less to do with the density of the population (Sousa:1990, 1, 189-205). I have yet to hear an answer to Armindo de Sousa's question: did the "regional" chapters of Entre Douro e Minho correspond to an awareness on the part of the respective burgesses that the district was under-represented? I rather tend to think that they corresponded to an awareness of claims and common interests, on the one hand, and to the reduced negotiating power of these delegations that did not amount to as much as 9%. Although somewhat crude and hypothetical, the figures that Armindo de Sousa puts forward provide us with food for thought: a delegation from the north-west of Portugal represented roughly 13,400 inhabitants, whereas another delegation from the Alto Alentejo spoke on behalf of 840 people (16 times less). Half of the "parliamentary" boroughs were on the border; 30 % in the Alentejo heartland. But it was the "heavyweights" from the coastal area (Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Santarém), together with Évora, who dictated the agenda. It is worth following the author's exercise and trying to discover an "economic representativeness", in other words, a representation that was based on the socio-economic interests of the regions. This leads us to conclude, for example, that the elites of the 17 boroughs in Trás-os-Montes and the Beiras that attended the *Cortes* had similar economic interests; and that intensive farming did not have the chance to speak in parliament, their voice being stifled by that of the great landowners from the Alentejo and Ribatejo. The sea, however, – trade, fishing, the extraction of salt – seems to have been widely represented in parliament.

The burgesses insisted – an essential rhetorical trope – on their genuine representativeness. They were not representative "geographically", as we have seen, nor even socially, since they only spoke on behalf of the few people that had chosen them ("landowner-farmers, cattle breeders, traders and merchants – the municipal elites"). Who represented the humble countryfolk and those who were dependent on the manorial estates? The respective landlords? The burgesses from the neighbouring boroughs? No-one? It is for this reason that Armindo de Sousa is able to state that "it is a fallacious proposition to postulate that the discourse of the common people's representatives reflected the interests, motivations and political strategies of the commons *tout court*; and it is much less true to suggest that the vision of the country and its problems as conveyed by this discourse can be taken as an objective diagnosis of the social reality" (Sousa:1990, 1, 206). However, this self-evident fact continues to be ignored and the situation of the country is uncritically deduced from the general chapters.

Having said this, it is not acceptable to make a poor interpretation of the representation of interests: there were people's chapters that defended the nobles; there were common desires that were jointly shared. And in the very representation of the common people themselves, it is possible to see the tensions existing between town and country, the seat of the borough and its outlying area, the local aristocracy and the artisans.

3.7. Delegates' Powers

This question has been discussed at some length, although nowadays it is difficult to understand why. It has always been maintained that the mandate of the burgesses was imperative; they could only vote in keeping with prior instructions that they had brought with them from their boroughs. The analysis of sources undertaken by Armindo de Sousa finally clears up the problem once and for all. Immediately addressing the problem of the summoning of the *Cortes*: whenever these convocations explicitly and unequivocally stated the primary aims of the parliamentary meeting (for example, to vote on a subsidy), delegates could be instructed to vote in a certain way; but when these convocations concealed the primary aims, only revealing other objectives or restricting themselves to making empty generalities, imperative mandates made no sense. Delegates couldn't be instructed to vote in one particular way on matters that were not even known about. Furthermore, as we have seen, in each region, only the chapters that the respective burgesses decided to purchase were worth anything; and, in these cases too, they had almost complete freedom of action. And then again: the burgesses

ended up having real legislative power, since, by choosing certain general chapters in detriment to others, they were deciding upon rights and obligations that would affect the whole borough. This power, which was established in decisions taken by the *Cortes* of 1439 and 1459, may have had contradictory effects: demeaning for parliament (an institution whose decisions have little binding power is weaker) but prestigious for the representatives of the commons, whose powers increased significantly. In the actual wording of the general chapters, the burgesses enjoyed a wide-ranging freedom. A parliament whose delegates were mere conveyors of others' wishes would not be worth anything – neither for the crown nor for the realm.

The less imperative the mandates, the stronger the parliament. And there was no shortage of other possible causes for its weakness: the three estates were joined by a fourth group: the king's men. Everything about the Portuguese *Cortes* – its *modus operandi*, the almost complete lack of working plenaries or effective inter-estate committees – served to reinforce parliament's combative aspect, the dispute over complaints, and did nothing to unite all the participants in a primary group, clear in its social and affective relationships, one that showed itself to be an "us". The mechanisms of the Portuguese parliament favoured the continuation of divisions and social antagonisms, rarely promoting any kind of coming together over common objectives, whether "national" or otherwise. The official opening sessions were exceptional propaganda occasions for the king, but they did not serve to consolidate the institution of the *Cortes*; this was what the plenary working sessions were basically for; but such sessions, as we have seen, were practically non-existent. Antagonism was encouraged, together with disinterest and the fruitless waste of energies.

The *committee of determiners* conceived by Prince Dom João in 1477 could have solved some of these sticking points. But it never went ahead. Perhaps because, as Armindo de Sousa suggests, the clergy and the nobility enjoyed an *innate* parliamentary status, and were not prepared to exchange it for the status of elected representatives, operating on an equal footing with the municipal delegates. Basically, the first two estates managed perfectly well without the *Cortes*; the institution that should represent the three estates only represented one of them – and badly. For this reason, according to the author, the *Cortes* would never become an inclusive, fleshed-out institution. This is another key idea that we would do well to discuss.

3.8. The Spoken and Unspoken Functions of the Parliament

The *Cortes* were summoned to debate and decide upon certain matters: those of a political, monetary and fiscal nature. In 40% of cases, they concentrated their energies upon the presentation of complaints and petitions to the king; and a roughly similar percentage of their time was taken up with deciding upon finance requests and loans. The sovereign, for his part, would only consult them to decide upon taxes and legal tender; the commons, for their part, only attended them to discuss petitions and grievances, or, in other words, to *legislate*. The prestige of the general chapters granted by the king was extremely high; according to A.M. Hespanha, it was at least equal to the prestige enjoyed by the ordinances and greater than that of the laws promulgated by the king alone (Hespanha: 1982, 367-384).

But it was the taking of decisions upon taxes and legal tender that gave the *Cortes* their real strength; and it was this that made them essential for the king, and which therefore gave the people's delegates great bargaining power. As we must surely remember, when the king didn't need any money, the *Cortes* lost a great deal of their importance.

Paradoxically, it was on those occasions when the *Cortes* were politically more spectacular – 1385 and 1439 – because there was no king, that they had less importance as *Cortes*. They became an instrument of social change, placing their vocation as a normal structure of government between parentheses. As far as the classical functions that we were taught about are concerned – swearing in monarchs or heirs to the throne, confirming royal marriages, declaring war and peace, ratifying international treaties – the *Cortes* almost never performed these. The commons might well have wished this; but the kings did not allow it.

One should take note of this extremely important aspect: it was always popularly believed that the decisions taken at the *Cortes* could only be revoked by this same body. This seems to us to be a

reasonable ‘constitutional’ principle. The fact is that this rule was never established; which reveals a great deal about this institution’s structural vulnerability.

But the *Cortes* also served for what was not said (and, in some cases, was not even known): to enhance the king’s prestige, to efficiently disseminate information and, only with regard to the third estate, to create a class *ethos*: in other words, performing functions that Armindo de Sousa refers to as pedagogical and political, endowing the benches where the commons sat with ties of solidarity, integration, affectivity, a common capital of political experience, plans and utopias for the country (Sousa: 1990, 1, 266).

Always dependent upon the king and never completely structured, the Portuguese parliament, rather than having a “juridical nature”, had a political status and the most essential part of its prestige at the time was based on its legislative function (drawing up and proposing general chapters to the king). For this reason, the *Cortes*, which only met if the king so wished, were never dependent upon him at a political and moral level; their strength and legitimacy were therefore based on a solid *political authority*, and not on any juridical status.

3.9. The Controversial Question of the Chapters

I should like to stress just three points. Firstly: at the *Cortes* and in relation to them *thirteen* different types of documents were produced. The chapters are just some of them.

Secondly: the special chapters reproduce very specific claims from each borough; these were *ad hoc* petitions that were better suited to *ad hoc* judgements and not to turbulent negotiatory processes; they preferred the discretion of a private audience to the publicity of the plenary sessions. They were only presented at the *Cortes* for a question of sparing expenses: if the borough were to spend so much money on sending a delegation to parliament, then at least a return should be made on the investment by dealing with the borough’s own private matters. For this reason, Armindo de Sousa stated quite vehemently that the special chapters, which were produced in great numbers at almost all the *Cortes*, *were not characteristic of*, nor did they characterise, the institution. I still believe that this argument has not yet been refuted in any convincing fashion.

Thirdly: as far as the general chapters were concerned, the vast majority of which have been lost, their wording presupposed a profound political experience and a great deal of technical competence, as well as intuition; the king’s personality had to be taken into account, and the arguments had to be based on law and justice; the help of learned scholars was sought constantly, whilst recourse was also regularly had to the archives of the boroughs. As a source, the chapters present problems, for they represent “a special literary genre”, with highly narrative overtones, dramatic touches and oratory devices. They are structured in three parts: the facts which motivated them (the matter that led the commons to raise the problem), the justifications and, finally, the petition(s), or, in other words, what was in fact being asked for. As can easily be seen, the first two parts are merely rhetorical devices used to promote the third part, the one that really matters. Therefore, in order to make history, we cannot innocently make use of these first two parts, and in particular the facts lying behind the case: as the author reminds us, these facts were presented as a “supposedly objective report”, but it was also one that was full of “exaggerations”, “social stereotypes” and “improper generalisations” (Sousa: 1990, 1, 513; Sousa: 1982).

The rest belongs to rhetorical theory and game theory in their explanation of conflicts: one asks for *a* in order to obtain *b*; one asks for a great deal in order to obtain just a part of this; a smokescreen is put up, concentrating arguments around a claim, in order to deflect the attention of the royal officers from what one really wishes to obtain; one systematically asks for something that may never be granted in order to mark out one’s ground, or so that this utopia will start building its own path. There were *Cortes* that were well conducted strategically by the commons, others that were disastrous; there are lists of well structured chapters, others that reveal ineptitude (the king himself confirmed this). There were high percentages of success, as well as other percentages that were acceptable or insufficient. The burgesses’ job was to exaggerate in their requests, the king’s mission was to refuse just as much as was necessary. Armindo de Sousa shows himself convinced that when the commons saw half of their requests granted they would return home satisfied.

The king had available to him nine types of possible answers, which could be basically reduced to two: to grant or reject the petition. For political reasons, it might be convenient to disguise rejection: and so the answer was delayed, other consultations were called for, it was decided that things should remain as they were, a part of what was asked for was granted, or else it was granted under certain conditions, or an evasive or inconclusive reply was given.

And so the author arrives at his *thesis*: 'The *Cortes* held between 1383 and 1490 must be seen as a substructure of the overall political structure, endowed not with power or powers, but with public, and universally recognised, authority, to advise monarchs and regents, to supervise the behaviour of political and administrative agents, to propose laws, to suggest reforms and to grant extraordinary taxes. All in the name of the nation – especially on behalf of the third estate – through members of parliament who were seen and accepted as the political representatives of the common people'. (Sousa: 1990, 1, 556-557).

This conclusion was formulated in this way in October 1987, that is 16 years ago. I can see no better programme for a good discussion. And yet nobody considered that such a discussion was worthwhile.

4. And So, What Directions Should we Continue in Today?

From the reading that I have made of Armindo de Sousa's thesis, I believe that there are various avenues that can be explored.

1. In the light of his work and his total reinterpretation of the Portuguese parliament, now is a good time to re-read what has been written about the Parliament in France, England, Spain and Italy; for example, an Italian researcher summed up the mediaeval parliament to me in somewhat colloquial terms, in the various territories that made up the Italian peninsula, as a trade-off. Here the political authorities needed to ask for extraordinary financial contributions, so that they could negotiate a deal with the representatives of the "common people" (basically, then, they bought the subsidy). The same thing happened in Castile, during the 15th century. We have seen how this issue was dealt with in our own case and how essential it was.

2. The fact-gathering enterprise is far from being exhausted. The catalogue of the *Cortes* that were held can be constantly improved, whether to confirm the meetings that Armindo de Sousa states took place, or whether to clarify what happened both at those that were "insufficiently documented" and at those that were "erroneously acknowledged" (Sousa: 1990, vol. 2). There is a great deal that needs to be discovered about the dates when the *Cortes* began and ended, the matters stated in the convocation, the lists of those attending, the opening speeches, the chapters and other documentation that was produced. This same researcher's catalogue of the documentation produced at the *Cortes* contains some lapses and a fairly large number of gaps.

3. The participation of the clergy was not very deeply researched by Armindo de Sousa, although other scholars (Marques: 1988 and Ventura: 1997) have studied this question. The presence of the nobility at the *Cortes* (who they were, who represented what, how the participation of this estate came about) is practically still uncharted territory, although, as we have seen, that estate probably invested little or nothing in these meetings and would not have been missed over greatly. This is one of the avenues that it is most worth pursuing, in particular because the thesis that we have been following paid little attention to the matter.

4. Along the same lines, it would be worthwhile discussing the existence of different levels of representativeness amongst the three estates summoned to the *Cortes*, on the one hand, and within each of them. Here, the delegations of the front bench of the commons clearly commanded the others (and, amongst all the rest, the existence of some delegations that were more "equal" than others), with the clergy presumably behaving as if they were a single block (but a block in the midst of which there were also different factions and leaders) and with the nobility letting their respective participation slip to some extent. In relation to the third estate, when their representatives requested the dwellers in the regions without a seat at the *Cortes* to help pay the expenses of the towns and cities that were "of their responsibility and stewardship", they were postulating an unequivocal form of representativeness; was the royal refusal not objectively a denial thereof?

5. It is not understood why no-one seems at any time to have thought about the royal delegation. We know that the king was present – *et pour cause* – at the official opening ceremony; and we calculate that he later absented himself, although in principle he must have remained in the region where the parliament was meeting. The answers to the chapters came either from his own mouth or were made on his behalf, granting, rejecting, postponing; but the negotiations with the boroughs and the maintenance of the royal decisions were, as they had to be, the responsibility of the highest-placed royal officers: a team that included (was coordinated by?) the head chancellor, and which would certainly include the *corregedor* (chief magistrate) of the court and perhaps those of the judicial districts, the men from the Exchequer (inspectors and accountants), the occasional high court judge, judges from the Civil Court or the Court of Petition... (Homem: 1990). In short, a team with a variable geometry depending on the complexity of the matters being dealt with, the relationship between the forces involved, as well as the actual duration and location of the *Cortes*. And it would be curious to know the part played by the king and the part played by his advisers in the final response given to the chapters.

6. One safe way of approaching the Portuguese mediaeval Parliament would always be to carry out a monographic study of each meeting of the *Cortes* (there are already some good examples of this), which may include the set of special chapters that were negotiated thereat. The systematic publication of the documentation, which is being undertaken by the Centre of Historical Studies of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, goes some of the way towards achieving these objectives⁵. Examples of such would be studying the history of the participation of each borough at the *Cortes*: when it was there, which burgesses it sent, which chapters they understood it to be advantageous to purchase for their government, which seats the borough occupied and on which bench, how long it had done so and why. Barcelos, for example, was sometimes represented by the Count, sometimes by the burgesses from Porto, until it earned the right to its own seat in 1490; these were totally diverse, if not in fact opposite, situations.

7. Armindo de Sousa proposed a new and rigorous hermeneutics for the study of the documentation produced at the *Cortes* and, in particular, for the general chapters. This proposal continues to be generally ignored at present, and the texts of the chapters continue to be reproduced and commented upon uncritically, as if they were good “reports” of the state of the country. They both boil down to the same thing: either this historian’s interpretation is challenged with well-grounded justifications or more care needs to be taken in using these texts.

8. Finally, Armindo de Sousa brought considerable theoretical enrichment to the study of the mediaeval parliament. As is frequently the case, this made it possible to shed light on countless aspects of the way in which the institution operated, which were being wrongly interpreted. It would be a pity if this legacy were lost and we returned to the simple uncritical transcription of documents.

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⁵ The Cortes of Afonso IV (1325-1357), Pedro I (1357-1367), Fernando I (1367-1383) have already been published; those of Manuel I (1495-1521) are currently being published.

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The Role of Interpreters, or *Linguas*, in the Portuguese Empire During the 16th Century

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Abstract

This article analyses the different categories of interpreters (*lingoas*), the forms of their recruitment and the strategies of their use in the Portuguese Empire in Asia in the first half of the sixteenth century. The interpreters were as good as adventurers, convicts and natives, captives, renegades and converted slaves recruited during expeditions and military operations. Besides the social-economical status of these interpreters the article highlights the case of the territory of Macao where the necessity to answer to imperial bureaucracy determines the creation of a corps of interpreters (*jurubaças*) and perfectly organised family dynasties of "*lingoas*".

Keywords

Renegades, Convicts, Interpreters, Jews, New-christians Slaves, Languages, Conversions, Translation, *Lingoas*, *Jurubaças*

Former renegades and captives, natives and converted slaves, Jews and new Christians, adventurers and convicts formed an important contingent of a specific category inside the frontier society of the Portuguese empire: that of the interpreters or *linguas*. Their functions could be executed by those who were not marginal, but the ideal profile required to competently fulfill this position presented some characteristics such as the facility to evolve in several worlds, which was not a quality found in the *milieux* of the imported society.

Furthermore, there were several technical problems. Individuals with proficiency in Eastern languages were rare in Portugal; only some merchants, men of letters or religion who had traveled could occasionally be used as interpreters. The languages known in these *milieux* were also limited. Only Arabic, often in corrupted form, and possibly Hebrew were known. The most popular among these languages was no doubt Arabic, which was spoken to some extent by soldiers or ex-captives from the Moroccan garrisons.

As far as the nobility was concerned, such linguistic capacities were even more rare. Only a few cases were registered of former prisoners that had learned the language of the country where they were captives, first in Morocco and later in Asia. For this reason, Antonio Camelo's example, that of squire of the royal household who accompanied Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida to India in 1505 as an interpreter, is neither isolated nor that frequent (Bouchon 1985: 206)¹.

Linguistic variations and the sheer diversity of languages generated other obstacles. The Arabic spoken in North Africa was understood neither in Egypt nor in Syria, which was responsible for the dominant idiom of commerce in the Indian Ocean. Further, Persian and also a mixture of Arabic-Persian enriched by Malayan terms and different Indian languages were equally used as *lingua franca* in the East (Ibid.: 204). The *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean, a mixture of Italian, Castilian, Arabic and Turkish, also spoken by western mercenaries and renegades from diverse nations, was brought in turn by the

¹ This paper doesn't concern the interpreters belonging to religious orders: see, for this last example, Cooper 1994.

Levantines and the Turkish, in particular, to the maritime environment in the Indian Ocean (Kahane and Tietze 1958).

By recruiting people from totally heterogeneous origins and cultures, it was hoped by the Portuguese that an extensive range of languages could hereby be covered. Nevertheless, this recruitment would still raise problems of another order. Having a double culture, sometimes even with various and mastering diverse languages, the interpreters were marginalized by their past. Conversely, their function integrated them into “respectable” society, and even into its higher echelons. If talented, they would frequent the antechambers of power, share state secrets and, at times, fulfill a determining role. Gaspar da Gama, also known as Gaspar da India, (Lipiner 1987, Tavares 1992), a Jew of Ashkenaze origin, came to India as an interpreter for Vasco da Gama, D. Manuel, Pedro Alvares Cabral and D. Francisco de Almeida; also, Francisco de Albuquerque and Alexandre de Ataíde were the two Sefarad interpreters for Afonso de Albuquerque (Aubin 1974). These are some well-known examples of interpreters of talent².

The paradoxical status of the interpreter explains the general mistrust they engendered. This was aggravated by the fact that the *lingua*'s function was practically not dissociated from spying missions or secret negotiations. Since the examples are so numerous in the inevitably sparse documentation, we will only cite some that we find paradigmatic.

Gaspar da India prepared his son Baltasar for the function of *lingua*. The latter was charged to spy on the forces of the Mameluke Admiral Amir Husayn al-Kurdí in 1508 (Castanheda I/II, cap. LXXVII: 391)³. In 1515, the delegation sent to Shah Isma'íl integrated a *lingua*, Gaspar Rodrigues, whom Afonso de Albuquerque had sent “in disguise to hear what the Moors had to say about him” (*dissimulado pera ouvir ho que os mouros dizião acerca dele*) (Castanheda I/III, cap. LIII: 326). In 1535, the *lingua* João de Santiago secretly informed Governor Nuno da Cunha about the intentions of Bahadur Shah (Correia III/II cap. LXII: 620/621)⁴. Diogo de Mesquita, prisoner in Cambay, learned Gujarati (apparently thanks to the liberality of his guards); although certainly converted to Islam, he still acted as a *lingua*, a messenger, a spy and a negotiator between the Portuguese and the Gujarati sultanate around 1535 (Aubin 1974: 178)⁵.

At times, these missions revealed themselves to be incompatible with the prestige and social position and yet the political responsibility of those the interpreter served. The discrepancy of which he was testimony occasionally rendered him inconvenient: other than being associated to state secrets, many times he also knew their darker side. Afonso de Albuquerque kept a close eye on his interpreters. In 1512, he had his *lingua* Francisco de Albuquerque put in irons for five months, accused of knowing his secrets (Bouchon 1985: 210).

On the other hand, these characters, being difficult to classify or to ascertain to which culture they belonged, were troubling due to their knowledge of different languages. The interpreter was suspected of having his soul corrupted, being contaminated by “the other side” (*outro lado*), because employing other languages necessarily implied the use of the thought mechanisms of the Asian world. He had access to forms of a mental universe which escaped his masters⁶.

Finally, from a practical and immediate point of view, the fact the interpreter dominated various codes put the powerful in a position of inferiority, since they were totally dependant on the *lingua* to understand written and spoken language, knowing beforehand that the *lingua* could --- according to the consecrated formula ‘traduttore, traditore’--- manipulate and distort it with respect to his interests.

A significant example is an account from the Portuguese embassy to Bengal in 1521. A renegade, João de Borba (known for his linguistic gifts) served as an interpreter in a dissension between Antonio de Brito and, a Turk, Ali Aga. During the course of the discussion, he “translated” one of the answers in an

² A parallel is possible with Abraão Benzamerro, «língua» of Mazagan: see Tavim 1993: 115-141.

³ In his letter of 1506 (?), Albuquerque, Pereira da Costa 1990: 313, where Gaspar da Gama declares to D.Manuel that his son may succeed to him because “he is such a good man like I am and knows even more about languages than I do and is a young man of 28 years” (*he tam bom homem como eu e sabe lyngoas majs que eu e manço de xx biij annos*).

⁴ About the person, his captivity and career, see Castanheda, II/VII, cap.LXIX, pp.487-488; Correia, III/II, cap.LXII, pp.502-504, and cap.LVII, pp.602-609; Couto, V/I, cap.III, p.37.

⁵ In spite of his admiration for the Governor, Correia shows that Albuquerque's behaviour was not always honest; for example, Albuquerque made «a deal» with his Jewish interpreter (Francisco de Albuquerque?), in order to extort an important quantity of rubies from a rich merchant of Batkal (Correia, II/I, cap.XLVI, pp.388-390).

⁶ About the Bengali's episode, cf. Bouchon and Thomaz 1988: 252-253 [f°76 b], and about the instructions to the embassy, Correia, II/I, chap.X, p.72.

entirely different way, for his own convenience. For this reason, in 1510 Albuquerque sent the delegation of Ruy Gomes de Carvalhosa to Shah Isma'il with interesting, well specified instructions: the *lingua* should not add a single word beyond those of the ambassador during the audience, always remaining by his side, and should be lodged in isolated accommodation for the duration of his mission (Correia, II/I, cap.X: 71/72)⁷.

The only way to counterbalance the interpreter's "occult" power consisted in his master's treating him with condescension, dealing with him as a simple *factotum* of no great importance. Significantly, sources often maintained the *lingua*'s anonymity, scarcely referring to him and when so obliquely. Also, by playing on his modest status of origin, the *lingua*'s ambitions were suppressed, hoping essentially to render him cognizant of his vulnerable position.

In the event of a diplomatic incident, it was easy to make the *lingua* the scapegoat. He was obliged to assume the responsibility of the cultural "misunderstanding" and the consequences that could arise. This responsibility, whether veritable or not, was unanimously attributed to him, either by the Europeans or the Asians. The interpreter of the same delegation to Bengal in 1521 declared in a passage in his Journal that at the moment the Sultan prepared to condemn to death the members of the delegation, the first to be decapitated would be him, "only because he's the *lingua*" (*so por ser lingua*) (Bouchon, Thomaz 1988: 214).

There were permanent interpreters to fortresses, governors and armadas, and they were called State *linguas*. Marco Fernandes was the *lingua* present for the signing of the peace treaty of 1534-1535 by which the Portuguese settled in the port at Bassein. Some of them had long careers, like João Garcês, who was captured in Cape Comorim, and served in India for twenty-five years, twenty-three of which as a *lingua* in various armadas and fortresses on the Malabar Coast⁸.

The majority of State *linguas* were episodically recruited for urgent situations, during specific negotiations, military operations or maritime expeditions, in which it was necessary to initiate contact with adversaries or simply during a fortuitous encounter between unknown entities which urged making contact. So, Afonso de Albuquerque profited from among the passengers of a ship to Mecca captured in September of 1510 off the coast of Malabar by Simão Martins. He used the services of two Jews of Iberian origin, later baptized Francisco de Albuquerque and Alexandre de Ataíde, who accompanied his expeditions to Malacca in 1511 and to Aden in 1513. (Aubin 1974: 176) In 1535, on a reconnaissance mission to destroy the city of Ujong Tanah, near Malacca, D. Estevão da Gama captured an inhabitant of a village who was obliged to furnish information concerning the defenses of the city and remained in service as a *lingua* for the armada (Correia III/II, cap. LXIII: 627).

Indigenous interpreters, used in all areas in which the Portuguese operated (trading posts, fortresses and armadas) came to serve many times in zones far away from their land of origin. In 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque sent a young Abyssinian who "knew the Arabic tongue" to D. Manuel. In 1517, in addition to the Portuguese and the local *linguas*, Ormuz disposed of two Indian interpreters, one Gamgua, a Gujurati, and one Jorge, a Christian from Malabar⁹.

Nevertheless, the recruitment of non-converted Asian and converted interpreters or Eurasian *mestizos* did not please everyone. A certain rivalry opposed the Portuguese *linguas* to the Asian natives, the former despised the latter, and tried to relegate them to a secondary position, even though they had been renegades or convicts themselves. In a letter to the king, João Garcês complained that "a lot of trouble is created here in India as a result of the *linguas* not wishing to serve the interests of His Royal Highness, and

⁷ For the embassy to Gaur, see Bouchon and Thomaz 1988: 241 [f°66 a]. See also the example of Duarte Barbosa, arrested by Afonso de Albuquerque, "because he is an interpreter and cause of all these revolts" (*porque ele he lymguoa e causa de todas estas revoltas*): Bouchon 1985: 205.

⁸ See his letter, from Cochín, 2.I.1529, AN/TT, CC,I, 24, 3, published by Luís de Albuquerque and José Pereira da Costa, «Cartas de «Serviços»...», doc.VI, p.328-330, especially p.328.

⁹ About the young Abyssinian, «mancebo abexim» cf. AN/TT, *Corpo Cronológico* (CC) I, *maço* 12, *documento* 36 (de Cananor, 1.XII.1512). About the interpreters of Ormuz, see Farinha 1991: 30 [Payments made by the «feitor» of Ormuz in 1516-1517] and p.44 [*Livro de Receita e Despesa da Feitoria de Ormuz* (doc.n°7)]. The «Gamgua Guzarate» who was interpreter in the fortress is certainly the «Ganda Chatim», «gentio de Goa que sabia bem fallar a lingua dos guzarates», of Correia, sent in 1514 as «língua» with the embassy of Diogo Fernandes de Beja to the Gujarat (Correia, II/I, cap.XLIV, p.368). Castanheda says that the «língua» of this embassy was Duarte Vaz, but he mentions a Brahmin called Anagapatu, ou Ganapatu, possibly Ganda Chatim, in charge of obtaining the safe-conduct (*salvo conduito*) for the embassy (Castanheda, I/III, cap.CXXVII, p.803, e CXXXI, p.810).

the captains turn to some of the niggers (*sic*) giving them credit for having been of service” (*muitas couzas se fazem qua na India por as ljmgoas non serem aquelas que desejam de fazer o serviço de Vosa Alteza porque amdam qua hus njgrinhos a que os capitames dam o credito porque lhe fazem seos proveitos*) (Albuquerque e Pereira da Costa 1990: 329).

This climate explains the reason why many *linguas* were recruited among the Jews and the new Christians, although this recruitment was also favored for practical reasons. The Jews mastered a wide range of languages: Albuquerque’s Jewish interpreters, mentioned earlier, knew Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Gujarati, and Kanara, and one even learned Malay in a few weeks (Aubin 1974: 176). Gaspar de Gama, other than Hebrew, mastered Arabic and Chaldean (*Caldeu*), also speaking Italian mixed with Spanish (Tavim 1994: 141). On the other hand, they disposed of an extended family and community network that made them excellent emissaries and informers. But the fact that many were of Portuguese, Castilian or even North African origin, gave them above all a certain “cultural proximity” that pagan Asian did not have and created some connivance with the Portuguese.

Isaac do Cairo, for example, was maybe not of Iberian origin; but he originated from Cairo, where an important Jewish community was located, as in Rosetta, in the Nile Delta. Garcia de Orta judged him “a man of discretion and knowledgeable of many languages” (*homem discreto e sabedor de muytas lingoas*), and made reference to him in his “*Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India*” (Orta 1987: 85/204).

Isaac do Cairo rendered remarkable services as an emissary and an informer to the Portuguese Crown. In the troubled period when the Turkish threatened the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, among other missions, during his long career, he is attributed the news of the death of Bahadur Shah in 1537, news from the Sultan of Gujarat and the movements and alliances of the Ottoman in the region in 1538 (Tavim 1994: 180/181)¹⁰.

To recompense his services, the king graced him with the office of *lingua* of the city of Diu. This position offered him the right to an annual retainer of one hundred and sixty thousand *reis* paid in four-month periods. He was also asked by the sovereign to designate a substitute to fulfill the same functions in case of absence or inability to execute his functions (Tavim 1994: 240/241).

Originating from Cairo also was the Jew Samuel, used by Afonso de Albuquerque as his interpreter, who was called forth to translate the letter sent him by the king of Abyssinia (Barros II/VII, cap.VI: 339)¹¹.

These Jewish *linguas* were not converted, since there was an advantage in keeping them apart from their employer, the Portuguese Crown. This way they could maintain their contacts with different Jewish communities without risking to be ostracized by their coreligionists. The situation changed when they intended to obtain properties and favors like Gaspar da Gama (Albuquerque e Pereira da Costa 1990: 312/313). As with Islamic society, conversion became then necessary as a first step in the acculturation of the individual and his social integration in the community, hoping simultaneously to seal his fidelity to the Crown.

It would seem to have worked for some individuals, even though the Portuguese testimonies, if anything over-zealous in their wish to report conversions to Christianity, need to be constantly confronted with complementary documentation. Francisco de Albuquerque, for example, solicited favors from D. Manuel and acquired the status of *casado* in Goa, where he fulfilled the duty of *lingua*. However, and contrary to what Correia affirmed, he did not die in Goa as a *casado* and good Christian. After Afonso de Albuquerque’s death, he returned to Portugal where he continued on to Cairo. There, Antonio Tenreiro encountered him with his people in the Jewish quarter of the city in 1525 (Aubin 1974: 181 183/184). On the other hand, one should take into account the fact that conversion was not always immediate: the Jewish interpreter for Afonso de Albuquerque, Yussef or Joçef, only agreed to conversion under the name of Alexandre de Ataide in 1515, while in fact he had been serving the Governor since 1510 (Ibid.: 177).

Like the Jews, the new Christians also offered advantages when recruited as *linguas*. They did not perhaps have community connections as widespread, nor the capacity of efficient penetration of different oriental societies that the Jews had, but they had their religion and their own community networks (which would at times overlap those of the Jews), which represented considerable weight (Tavim 1994: 187-230).

¹⁰ For a general view of his travels, Tavim 1994: 173-185.

¹¹ Some Jewish merchants had been also «*linguas*» at the court of some the local kings; see the case of Samuel Castiel, in the first half of the 17th century in Cochin (Subrahmanyam, 1987).

In the absence of definite evidence, it is not always easy to distinguish them from non-converted Asians or Muslim converts who generally received patronymic Portuguese names (typically that of their baptismal godfather) when they became Christian. Only mention of a knowledge of Hebrew allows us to identify them with assuredness. This was the case of João Nunes, a former convict who knew a little of this language and who was condemned to remain in Calicut to learn the local language (Bouchon 1985: 205). In other cases, concerning some of the *linguas* from Ormuz, such as Gaspar Martins, Gaspar Rodrigues or Salvador Rodrigues, suspicion remains since it is known that Ormuz, in addition to counting an important Jewish community, was one of the obligatory ports of call for the New Christian of peninsular origin that went to India¹².

The Muslim interpreters constituted a block apart. Some of them were converted to Christianity, others were not, according to rules which escape us or perhaps only in function of concrete contexts and situations. Khwaja Pîr Kulî (Coja Percolim), a Persian interpreter, was present at the signing of the treaty of the concession of Bassaim in the company of the State interpreter Marco Fernandes on 23 December 1534. Not a convert, he was frequently used by the authorities of Goa, perhaps due to his high social status. He was a respectable merchant, not only a *lingua* (Couto 1995: 120)¹³. However, the personal interpreter of Lopo Soares de Albergaria (1515-1518), Miguel Nunes, a Muslim merchant at one time, was a convert to Christianity (Couto 1988: 249). Garcia de Noronha, a spy and a *lingua* for D. Garcia de Noronha, equally a convert, was originally Turkish (Aubin 1974: 182).

As for the celebrated Sidi Ali "The Twisted" (*O Torto*), a nickname due to his squinting, a Moor from Granada who settled in the Gujarat, he represents a special case. He was not a permanent interpreter for the Portuguese, but was the *lingua* for the group imprisoned in Chaul in 1508. As a recompense for his services, D. Francisco de Almeida rewarded him with four hundred *cruzados* in February 1509. In a definite illustration of geo-cultural solidarity, he had actually protected that group of Portuguese captives personally and avoided their being sent to Constantinople against the wishes of the Mameluk Admiral Amir Huseyn al-Kurdî¹⁴.

Even more surprising is the case of João de Santiago. Once a Muslim slave of "subtle ingeniousness" (*sutil engenho*), this adventurer and interpreter originated from North Africa. He received a Christian name when he converted in Lisbon where a caulker had bought him and taught him his art. When the latter left on one of the first ships sent to India, João de Santiago accompanied him. Enfranchised by his master's will upon his death in Goa, he began to sell precious stones in Kanara, thanks to the money he had been able to save. Converted to Hinduism, he became an influential personage at the local court.

A reverse of fortune and diverse intrigues drove him to seek refuge in Goa where he embarked for Ormuz. In this city, he entered into the King's service, returned to Islam and continued his activities under the identity of a Muslim merchant. Business rivalries and his arrogance as a protégé of the sovereign obliged him nevertheless to take refuge anew among the Portuguese. Nuno da Cunha, without forcing him into Christianity, sent him to Cambay as a *lingua* (in the company of secretary Simão Ferreira) to sign the peace treaty regarding the cession of Bassein.

This mission perhaps justified his continuing being a Muslim, in the sense that his religion only made it easier to unfold conversations. According to Diogo do Couto, Simão Ferreira ended by ceding João de Santiago to Bahadur Shah, whose favorite he became and from whom he earned twenty thousand

¹² For Gaspar Martins, see Castanheda, I/III, cap.CXLVII, p.845; about Gaspar Rodrigues, already mentioned, see also Castanheda, I/II, cap.LIII, p.326. Salvador Rodrigues is mentioned by Aubin 1988: 417-432. One of the first two should be Gaspar Pires, new-christian and «boticário» in Cochim em 1509, in mission in Onor in 1512 at the court of Nizâm-ul-Mulk in 1514; he subsequently integrated the embassy sent to Shah Isma'il in 1515 as «língua» (Aubin 1993: 24-25). About the Jewish community of Ormuz, cf. Fischel 1950: 209-210/216-218; the Ormuz itinerary is mentioned by Cunha, 1995: 48/56/58.

¹³ About Khwaja Pîr Kulî, a friend of the great naturalist Garcia de Orta, cf. the letter of Rui Gonçalves de Caminha to D. João de Castro, [from Goa, 4.II.1547], in Cortesão and Albuquerque w.d.: 358, as well as the *Livro que trata das Cousas da Índia e do Japão*, 1957, (25), F°132-133. See also, for Marco Fernandes and Khwaja Pîr Kulî, Matos 1999: 62/65 and 70-71.

¹⁴ Correia, I/II, cap.IV, p.943, and Castanheda, I/II, cap. LXXXI, pp.401-402, and cap. CI, pp.441-442. Cf. in CAA, II, p.429, the «mandado» of D.Francisco de Almeida for «Cide Alle Baci, andaluz» (made on board the *Froll de la Mar* 6.II.1509). Cf. also the letter already mentioned of Tristão de Gá, by Candeias Silva 1996: 356.

cruzados out of the revenues from the villages. His service to his new master proved of short duration. Following Bahadur Shah's early death in 1537, Santiago ended by being stoned by the Portuguese in a disturbance which occurred at sea off the coast of Diu (Couto V/I cap.X: 104-107).

Just as with all other categories in the frontier society, the *linguas* were also motivated by economic interest. What they earned as interpreters was not considered to be enough in an environment where many individuals, officers of the Crown, *casados* and merchants-entrepreneurs tried with all means to make a fortune. It is certain that, barring exceptions, the *lingua* who either accompanied a delegation, served as an emissary or even as an informer, always had the possibility to receive --- other than the emoluments (at times secret) inherent to the specificity of his mission --- small donations according to Oriental custom offered by kings or local potentates they visited. Gaspar Martins, interpreter for the delegation of Fernão Gomes de Lemos to Shah Isma'il, received one hundred and fifty *cruzados* in this manner, as did the clerk Gil Simões (Castanheda I/III, cap.XLVII: 845)¹⁵.

But all this did not amount to making one's fortune. Even if we look at the habitual complaints of the servants of the Crown in Asia in relative terms, João Garcês, who characterized himself as "a proven peon" (*hu prove pyam*) complained bitterly that he did not "have food to eat like other people who buy and sell" (*ter de comer como estroutras jemtes que compram e vendem*), affirming that as for "as for the salary, it does not suffice for the barrels [in which the pay is carried], since the basic salary is 12.000 reais a year and 6 *cruzados* by way of subsistence-allowance" (*ao soldo e mamtimento nom mabasta pera pagar os tones em que amdam porque sam doze mjll rs cada ano e sei cruzados de montimento*), to conclude precisely: "Sir, you should make sure that a *lingua* has to eat in proportion to the service he provides" (*olhay senhor que hua ljmgoa de Vosa Alteza nam ter que comer quanto servjço ha de dar*) (Albuquerque, Pereira da Costa 1990: 329)¹⁶.

For this reason, , we find them in commercial activities, just as with the *casados*, even illicit ones, such as smuggling pepper (Disney w/d: 69/70)¹⁷.

However, the interpreter's activity could also be a passport, if not to fortune, at least to obtaining certain political influence at a local level. Various merchant-adventurers, mercenaries or Portuguese renegades, while advisers to Asian potentates, added to their competence the functions of interpreter-secretaries, which thereby substantially enhanced their power. Bhuvaneka Bahu, King of Kotte, gave immense credit to Antonio Ferreira and Antonio de Fonseca who worked for him as *lingua* and clerk around 1540 (J. Flores [1993]: 140)¹⁸.

Nevertheless the status of *lingua* was not completely unfavorable. Although we only dispose of documentation relative to the first half of the 17th century, one might highlight the special case of China during this period. From the earliest times, the Chinese empire was characterized by an attitude of rejection

¹⁵ Fernão Gomes de Lemos got 300 *cruzados* e «hu terçado goarnecido dour».

¹⁶ For variations of salaries, see Matos 1999: the «*lingua*» of the Vice-roy earned 30.000 *réis* a year (p.65); but that of the King of Ormuz received 125.590 *réis* (the equivalent of 9 *lack*) (p.27), and the one of the King of Cochin, 15.600 (p.103) ; the one of the customs of Ormuz in 1571, 10.500 *réis* each year (p.28); the interpreter of the fort of Daman, 12.000 (p.38); of Tarapor, 7.500 (p.41); of Quelmehahim, 7.200 (p.41); of Açarim, 8.640 (p.45) ; the rent of Dabul was so low that the salary of his interpreter is not mentioned specifically (p.57); of Cananor, 14.400 (p.99); of Cranganor, 4.600 (p.101); of Cochin, 9.600 (p.103); of the little forts of Coulan and Coulicouran, a total of 21.600 (p.106); of Ceylan, 6.000 (p.108). The *linguas* of the captains of the important fortresses were better paid: of Bassein, 20.000 (p.49); of Diu, 20.000 (p.33); but the «*lingua*» of Goa, did get only 12.960 (p.76); the salary of the interpreter of Barcalor was 14.400 (p.93); of Mangalor, 14.400 (p.96); of Onor, 12.000 (p.89); of Chaul, 7.200 (p.53). Some salaries of private interpreters are also provided. The salary of the «*lingua*» of the «*feitor*» of Chaul was included in the general expenses of the fort (p.54), but the interpreter of the judge of Ormuz (*ouvidor*) received a salary of 7.200 *réis* each year (600 *réis* per month) (p.24). Documents also show that they could be landlords: see, for example, *O Tombo de Diu*,..., p. 135 (lands of the «*lingua*» Aleixo Gomes).

¹⁷ They assisted the administration officers when the land taxes were paid: see *O tombo de Diu*..., p.88.

¹⁸ See, for renegadoes, Couto, 2001: 178-201, published also (with more critical notes) in *Mare Liberum*, 16 (1998), pp.57-85; Lima Cruz 1995: 39-47; Subrahmanyam 1994 and 1990; Coates 1998: 147-155.

towards foreigners or their communities, considering them alien bodies whose presence could only be tolerated from the moment they submitted themselves for forced integration. In accordance with the application of these principles, the foreigners from Macao were considered “Chinese” and forced to comply with the regulations of the Chinese laws. The interpreters whose function symbolized the survival of the foreign identity itself were fiercely persecuted. The *linguas* from the delegation of Tomé Pires were executed as a result and their women sold as slaves (Flores [1993]: 4)¹⁹. This attempt to avoid the acculturation of the Chinese was especially directed at the renegades who were considered “Portuguese Chinese” (*Chineses aporuguesados*) (Flores [1993]: 4), and this explains also the daily aggressions the *jurabaças* (*linguas*) were victim to in Macao during the 17th century (Ibid.: 4).

Beyond these aspects, a series of specific characteristics obliges a different way of conceiving the existence and the employment of the *linguas* here. The bureaucratized structure of the Chinese State, the problematic existence of a written language in the form of ideographs, and the lack of assistance from foreign communities to serve as linguistic intermediaries--- they expressed themselves in Chinese--- just as the absence of the insertion of adventurer-merchants into local political structures led to the creation of bureaucratized, formal structures, which were not found in other areas of Portugal’s Empire of the East.

To face this situation and confront the Imperial bureaucracy in a systematic way, a municipal linguistic corps was created in 1627. This corps employed five men: one principal *lingua* assisted by two other minor *linguas* and two clerks (Ibid.: 7). Considering that this group was in charge of the credibility of the city in its relations with the Empire, the interpreters could not then be marginalized in the sense observed above. They could at worst be economically marginalized: farmers in flight who, having abandoned their land, flowed into the city and were engaged by the authorities to exercise this office (Ibid.: 8).

One of the rare aspects in common to these *linguas*, as well as their very different life trajectories mentioned up to now, was their conversion to Christianity. However, as far as Macao is concerned, the goal was not only to guarantee the interpreter’s fidelity but also to avoid him from being marginalized. The need to reinforce the respectability of the *linguas* as well as their identification with the imported society can also be seen by their being granted the *casado* status. This fact turned the *lingua* into a rooted individual and thus more easily controlled by society. It is worth noting that their salaries were also considerably superior to those of the other interpreters of the Portuguese empire in the East (Ibid.: 9).

Also significative of this policy of stabilization, planning, and projection of the “long trend” (*tempo longo*) was the fact that families of *jurabaças* were constituted to serve the city of Macao. The father and the brother of one of the most important interpreters of the city in the years around 1620, Simão Coelho, were themselves also interpreters and the office would be perpetuated through following generations (Ibid.: 9)²⁰. With the goal of planning for the “long trend”, we can also note the originality in the preparation of future *linguas*. This task was the charge of the principal interpreter who was to create an actual school, recruiting young children to receive complete training so as to later serve as *linguas*. This preparation was principally a linguistic one, but also demanded a knowledge of the laws and customs, an initiative largely justified by the extent of the attributions assigned the *linguas* (Ibid.: 11).

If in India, during the 16th century, the interpreters of Afonso de Albuquerque (certainly some others as well) executed administrative functions: the payment of soldiers, the management of fortresses’ building works, the selection of gifts to be offered to local royalties, they did not, however, possess extended political-administrative responsibilities at an institutionalized level. But the *linguas* of Macao were invested with a series of responsibilities that we do not see elsewhere: they were in charge of the census and surveillance of the Chinese population in the city; they were supposed to avoid any interference of the Mandarin authority with that of the town-council, and above all they had to keep a written record of political and diplomatic contact with the Imperial Administration (Ibid.: 12)²¹.

¹⁹ About the embassy, see also Ptak 1992: 290-291, and the *Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues*, (transcription and notes of Armando Cortesão), 1978: 21-61, specially p.51.

²⁰ We have, for the XVI century, the example already mentioned of Gaspar da Gama, who tried to pass on his charge to his son.

²¹ They also could act as maritime security agents : in 1651 the «jiribaças» from the city , with the help of the Chinese, could take eleven pirate boats which fled from Canton (Boxer 1985: 133, letter of the Governor and Captain Major of Macau, João de Sousa Pereira to the Viceroy of Índia [2.XII.1651]

However, as respectable as the interpreters from Macao were, their functions could not escape the fate of secret informants. The service and the defense of a city which was part of a xenophobic Empire provided, nevertheless, another dimension to this espionage: it did not serve disparate strategies individual or collective, instead it represented the interests and the political action of a city-state in a cohesive manner. This spying activity was actually vital for the city to be aware of what was written concerning it, as well as what circulated on the continent. Just as important was the necessity of projecting via the *linguas* a favorable image of the community to the continent.

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Cósimo III Medici and the Portuguese Restoration: A Voyage to Portugal in 1668-1669

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Abstract

In many seventeenth century European courts the prince's formation and education were understood as matters of state, such that the prestige surrounding the quality of the heir's upbringing could in the future reserve him a position of both national and international distinction. One of the most popular means used to complete the prince's political, military, economic, religious, literary and artistic formation was by way of educational voyages through various European countries. This tradition is present in the case of Cósimo III of Medici, who during 1668-1669 undertook a trip to Spain, Portugal, Ireland, England, Holland, France and Flanders.

The present study is dedicated to the itinerary followed by the Prince in Portugal as well as the contacts he established with local society in other countries, and will analyse the diaries that narrate the trip he carried out during the decades following the Restoration, a very delicate period in Portugal's history.

Keywords

Portugal, Restoration, Medici

In many seventeenth century European courts the prince's formation and education were understood as matters of state, such that the prestige surrounding the quality of the heir's upbringing could in the future reserve him a position of both national and international distinction. It was a concept of education taken in the broadest sense of the word: it included specific knowledge of a political, military, economic, religious, literary and artistic character. To achieve the objective of a broad-based education, the princes from their youngest years were taught by the best lecturers (religious or secular) who could be found either nationally or abroad, and had the opportunity (and duty) to actively frequent the government, and more generally, to frequent social-political life. In this kind of education, along with the heir and his brothers, the king's illegitimate sons were often included.

In this educational context, and especially after the sixteenth century, the custom of educational fieldtrips, both within the realm and abroad, became increasingly prestigious. The countries the prince visited could be more or less distant from his home country, and include those nations with which the state maintained a direct relationship, or which might play an active part in the state's future political and economic relations. These trips could have very distinct characters, especially as regards their institutional

weight. First, they could be official visits without or outside of the realm; in other words they would constitute the reception of a public person of the first order (in this case the prince) who carried with him a corresponding institutional weight. Second, they might be trips undertaken by the prince for personal reasons and apparently undercover, which, notwithstanding their unofficial character, due to the fame of the traveller resulted in most cases in consequences of an “official” nature. Third, they could be pilgrimages carried out by the prince of his own initiative and not reflecting official sanction. In fact, they might be made in open contrast to the state’s current foreign policy. As regards Portuguese history it is sufficient to recall as examples of this latter variety the trips carried out by Dom Pedro or Dom Manuel, the brother of Dom João V.

Concerning each of the aforementioned cases there exist more or less complete records in the form of letters, other direct and indirect reference material, and complete voyage journals. An emblematic case in this sense is the voyage carried out by Cósimo III of Medici between 1668-1669 in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, England, Holland, Flanders and France. Even though this was a non-institutional trip, the related documentation is vast and diverse, capable of offering a well-defined view not only of the individual experience but also of the societies and the human and geographical organization with which the Prince came in contact.

Cósimo received an exquisite education, having studied with men of science, letters, philosophy and the arts, and having founded the “Conversazione Filosofica” and the “Accademia del Cimento.” Besides this, due to the influence of his mother, Vittoria della Rovere, he had a very deep religious upbringing. This led him to prefer a religious life to a secular one (Fantoni 1993: 390-402), a fact that had considerable influence on his married life with Marguerite Luise d’Orléans. His wish to see the world and perfect his knowledge led the Prince to carry out several trips, a first one in 1664 to Emilia and Romagna, the Veneto and Lombardy,¹ a second in 1667-1668, which took him to Germany, Holland and Flanders,² followed by a third in 1668-1669 to Spain, Portugal, Ireland, England and again, Holland, Flanders and France.³ Additionally, a couple of others were undertaken during his adult years (to Loreto in 1695 and Rome in 1700 on the occasion of the Holy Year⁴).

Previous studies on Cósimo’s voyages were predominantly authored under the influence of a cultural-literary historiography, and the notion of the so-called *grand tour* of formative experience and education. However, in the last decades some researchers have evaluated this kind of life experience as an effort to acquire scientific and geographical knowledge with a clear political purpose in mind (Bianchi 1985,

¹ Regarding this voyage there are three records conserved at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato: one anonymous, one by the chaplain Filippo Pizzichi and the third by Cósimo Prié, chamberlain.

² Two diaries of Filippo Corsini conserved in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato narrate this occurrence.

³ Documentation regarding this extended voyage is conserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence, in the National Central Library of the same city and in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato. Partial studies were conducted with regard to the geographical areas visited by the Prince: Hoogewerff 1919; Graillot, 1934: 213-223; Doglio, 1991: 9-29; Crinò, 1968; and regarding the Iberian Peninsula, Sanchez Rivero, A. and Sanchez Rivero, A. Mariutti, w.d..

⁴ An anonymous account is conserved at the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo del Principato.

Scaramellini 1993, Sterpos 1978). It is with this new approach that we intend to proceed with our critical reading of the Tuscan Prince's stay in Portugal.

The Renaissance voyages gave particular importance to observation and to comparison between the known and unknown, with the final purpose of analysing the reality with which one came in contact. This very complex educational process did not have to be limited entirely to individual action, but rather sought to transform the acquired knowledge into a rational means of divulgation through a communication process for it to be valid. As such, the need grew (later it became a custom) for the traveller to keep, according to well defined rules, a diary describing the itinerary completed, the human and natural landscape, local history, the main events, etc (Leed, 1991, Ch V/VI). In some cases – especially if the traveller were a king, prince, ambassador or special clergyman – the elaboration of the diary was consigned to one or more travel attendants. This situation is reflected in the type of writing committed to the diary, and begs the question of the true value of the documents as reflections of the traveller's psychological and moral character.

This scenario occurs during the trip undertaken by Cósimo during 1668-1669. In this case, a diary written by the Prince is substituted by diaries written by his fellow courtiers, as well as an album of sketches regarding the most important places visited, and by numerous letters. It is worth highlighting that the authors of these diaries are high-ranking members of Florentine society. Consequently, even though they try to remain very objective in their writing, one can notice a personal hand in the descriptions. This gives originality to the records and offers researchers the possibility of conducting a more complete critical reading of certain events which took place and of certain proposed analyses.

The official diary concerning this voyage was most probably written by Lorenzo Magalotti, an intellectual who began his scientific education in Galileo's entourage. As well as being a poet and a prestigious narrator, he occupied the position of secretary of the "Accademia del Cimento", spoke various languages, and was entrusted with diplomatic missions. In his "biography", placed in the beginning of his "friendly letters," it is stated that Lorenzo was abroad when he "*was ordered by the Grand Duke Ferdinand II to return in order to accompany along with other eminent persons his son Prince Cósimo in his trip through Europe.*"⁵ This confirms that Magalotti's position on the trip was more than that of a simple companion. He decides to record in a diary the trip undertaken in the company of his Prince. With his humanistic background, Magalotti is accustomed to moving in the best society. His political and diplomatic experience confers upon him the opportunity to narrate and evaluate in an original manner the Prince's voyage through some of the most important European states. This "official diary" is complemented by an album of drawings - containing representations of landscapes, fortresses, docks, churches and cities - attributed to Pier Maria Baldi, who accompanied the Prince as his assistant chamberlain. Furthermore, alongside Cósimo III people of different backgrounds and functions kept diaries. Examples include the diaries of Filippo Corsini, the administrator Jacobo Ciuti and Giovan Battista Gornia, doctor of Bologna.⁶

⁵ *Delle Lettere familiari del Conte Lorenzo Magalotti, e d'altri insigni uomini a lui scritte*, Firenze MDCCLXIX, and volms, vol. I, p. XXV.

⁶ The literary tradition regarding this documentation has been dealt with to some extent in various studies, but detailed analysis is still lacking. On this issue see the indication referred to in the essay written by: Rombai, w.d., and for the part regarding the trip to the Iberian Peninsula, the sum of the sources proposed in the volume Sanchez Rivero, A. and Sanchez Rivero, A. Mariutti, w.d.

All data quoted so far indicate the extensive nature of the documentation regarding Cósimo III's trip through a considerable number of countries unique in both history and culture. However, the data also show a lack of personal involvement on the part of the Prince in this formative and politically educational experience. Each one of these authors, according to his specific role in this small wandering court and according to his own background, sensibility and interests, focuses on specific interactions with local society. This confers originality to the various narrations of the trip. The narratives, written in the third person, seek not only objectivity but follow a fixed and quasi-scientific method of recording the different stages of the trip: the locations visited, the distances covered over land and water, the quality of the means of transportation and accommodation, the reception granted in public, private and religious contexts. Regarding this latter issue – the Prince being accompanied by a small escort of 50 people – a number of diplomatic difficulties were posed, as his transit through some areas and above all his stay, even for a period of a day or so, brought up certain questions of formality. The fact that the Prince travelled in a personal capacity offered him the possibility of choosing quite freely the places private or ecclesiastic in which to rest, but this did not eliminate the “moral” obligation of those locals aware of his passage to reserve treatment for him in accordance with his social status.

Continuing our trip with Cósimo III, we shall now follow how his voyage to and in Portugal evolves. The Prince and his court left Florence on the 18th of September destined for Leghorn where he would set sail. On the 30th of the same month he reached Barcelona where he stayed until the October 5th. After leaving there, he reached Madrid on the 24th of October. He remained in Madrid and the surrounding area until November 25th. He then carried on his voyage, travelling to Cordoba and Seville, followed by Talavera la Real and Badajoz.⁷ On the January 9th, 1669, after almost five months pilgrimage through the southern and central regions of Spain, and after several social-political contacts, His Highness left Badajoz for the Kingdom of Portugal, taking the route to Campo Maior and Elvas where, as stated by Magalotti “*there is no other mark of a border than that of a large stone placed beside the main road.*”⁸

The ancient cultural-economic friendship and ties of cooperation which had always bound the interests of Florence to those of Portugal, as well as the experience acquired during the Prince's stay in Spain, immediately moved the author of the diary to mention the war which marked the history of Portugal and Spain. In the beginning of his diary, the marquis Filippo Corsini affirmed, “*His Highness Prince Cósimo III of Tuscany considering important to whom stands the duty and weight of ruling those subjected to him, to learn the rituals of various nations, to know the quality of the different nations and to observe the politics of the great rulers, not contenting himself with having- the previous year- visited a great part of Germanium, and having seen The Court of the Great Electors of Mainz and Saxony, many of the free cities including Hamburg, a great part of Holland, some bits of Flanders, decided near the end of 1668 to undertake a greater and longer voyage to strengthen relations with the greatest European powers and to visit those subjected to them, maintaining himself perfectly informed in matters of power and quality. As so to visit undercover and to enjoy more freedoms he limited the number of his escort (Ibidem 7, n.1).*” This implicit politico-diplomatic component of Cósimo III's passage through Portugal allows for a different interpretation and weighting of the conserved records.

⁷ The Spanish itinerary was largely commented on in the introduction and notes in the volume of Sanchez Rivero, A. and Sanchez Rivero, A. Mariutti, w.d. while the trip in Portugal in the same study appears only in a few notes of interpretive character.

⁸ All the references to Malagotti's diary and the divergent versions proposed by other testimonies follow the text published in the volume by: Sanchez Rivero, A. and Sanchez Rivero, A. Mariutti, w.d.: 241.

As is well known, Florence in the second half of the sixteenth century went through a deep politico-diplomatic and economic crisis. It is therefore understandable that the Prince and his closer and qualified collaborators always tried to proceed in a discreet but effective evaluation of the Portuguese kingdom regarding its ability to confront and defeat the Spanish power. In this critical reading it is worth recalling the time spent on non-institutional meetings, carried out under pseudo-casual circumstances, with the hero of the battle of Montes Claros, General Dinis de Melo e Castro. According to unanimous records of the diaries' authors, after a quick meeting with the Prince at Vila Viçosa, the General, accompanied by a few of his men, followed the Florentines to Estremoz in order to show and describe the battle that took place at Montes Claros, and that made him famous (*Ibidem*: 248-251). The references to the wars with Spain are not limited to this episode, as is demonstrated by the fact that in all visited localities until arriving at Setúbal, the various authors took considerable space in noting and evaluating defence structures, not only concerning the number of fortresses and fortifications, but also as pertained to munitions, military organization, payments, etc. Regarding this matter it is well worth highlighting that the attention devoted to these issues is not perfectly coincident between the two authors; while Lorenzo Magalotti limits himself to offering us a general view, Filippo Corsini describes in detail the Portuguese defensive system, keeping in mind even the names of some military men who distinguished themselves in the Restoration War.⁹

In the same scientific and objective line, the analysis of the land's physical and morphological character, and of its human and geographical records – the latter consistently outlined in their own specificity – gives us a complex portrait of Portugal in the second half of seventeenth century. From a geographical point of view, the country was shown to have a pleasant landscape of hills, plains and few mountains, covered with olive, cork, lemon, orange and pine trees, and with pastures where cattle of various kinds grazed. Although in a few places signs of destruction and devastation were present, the overall image was that of a peaceful, rich and well organized country, from an economic point of view, as attested not only by its agriculture and cattle raising, but also by the marble extraction, clay production, and salt industry at Setúbal, as well as the nation's involvement in shipping.

In this landscape there appeared various towns and villages that – with few exceptions – showed positive characteristics from the points of view of architecture and social organization.¹⁰ Built in strategic locations, the most important of these settlements were defended by fortresses, towers and bastions, with water, churches and monasteries.¹¹ Indeed, even those simply-constructed settlements were judged architecturally interesting, and were adorned by *azulejos*. In these accounts the present was continually linked to the past by way of historical references, and described by way of curious and/or emblematic facts. For example, the visit to Palmela stimulated Magalotti to trace the history of the Military Orders in Portugal (*Ibidem*: 263), while the passage through Santarém inspired the author to write down some of the miracles that had made that city famous (*Ibidem*: 309-319). At Tomar, his description of the convents allowed Magalotti to trace the history of the Order of Christ, (*Ibidem*: 312-313), while during his stay in Coimbra the author narrated the battle of Campo de Ourique (*Ibidem*: 316-317).

⁹ As an example see Sanchez Rivero, A. and Sanchez Rivero, A. Mariutti, w.d. the analyses on Campo Maior, p. 242, notes 2 and 3 and p. 243, notes 1, 2 and 3.

¹⁰ The size is usually calculated in function of households with 4 to 6 persons.

¹¹ The number of churches and monasteries is always identified, indicating how many housed nuns, how many houses monks, and to what order these persons belonged.

As mentioned in the beginning, due to the education he received, the Prince showed a great tendency toward the religious life, a fact that had significant relevance to the trip's organization and to the contacts he established with local society. In general the Prince preferred to lodge in religious institutions and frequently chatted with the priests. Besides this, in all the localities through which he passed he tried to visit churches and convents, participated in the festivities, and socialized with the monks and nuns. On this matter, particularly during his stay in Lisbon, the Prince had the opportunity to evaluate the nation's religious life: he went to the church of Santa Maria de Loreto, the church of the Italians, São Antònio, São Roque, Nossa Senhora da Penha da França, São Paulo, São Francisco (just to quote a few), and attended processions and concerts. Likewise, Cósimo visited some monasteries, among them those of Belém and São Bento, but it was the *Mosteiro de Odivelas* that most aroused the curiosity of the Florentines.

The nuns at Odivelas, daughters of noble families, were shown to enjoy great freedom and living conditions which recalled palatial society rather than the righteousness and simplicity of the religious life style. Lorenzo Magalotti describes in detail the rich dressing of the nuns and highlights their use of jewellery and of gloves, which were adorned with lace and flowers. Corsini comments on the meeting of the Prince with the nuns in these terms: "*he discoursed with them for a while listening to songs sung by some mothers, and joyfully passed some time with them, some of them being gentle and gallant in their speaking. It is usual for gentlemen to come over and have a good time with their devotees, enjoying such freedom that on occasions certain inconveniences follow*" (*Ibidem*: 316-317).

The pleasure of conversation marked various moments of the Prince's voyage, as is demonstrated by the fact that at Lisbon he met various representatives of the Italian community, hosting and visiting a number of nobles and clergymen. As concerns the latter, it should be recalled that His Highness met with three Franciscan friars, Frey Girolamo de Monte Sarchio, Frey Ignàcio da Valsassina and Frey Giovanni da Montecuccolo, who had spent much time in Congo, and heard Father Lobo talk about his voyages in the East and West Indies. The Prince also had the opportunity to talk several times with Padre Antònio Vieira and to attend his famous masses.¹²

Cultural curiosity caused the Prince to spend much time with the Italian engineer Antoniacci, who showed him the plans of some battles, and who built fortifications on the Portuguese border. On another occasion, Cósimo received from the ex-Governor Salvador Correia de Sà a topographic map of the Kingdom of Angola. Lorenzo Magalotti also mentions the fact that His Highness met and spoke with a Portuguese mathematician who showed him a large book regarding deeds done and fortresses built by one of the Viceroys (*Ibidem*: 280) in India and in nearby regions. The author does not provide the name of the mathematician, but one can deduce that it is Luis Serrão Pimentel, who in the preface of his work entitled *Método Lusitano de Desenhar as Fortificações das Praças Regulares e Irregulares* recalls his encounter with the grand duke of Tuscany.¹³

As a man of culture the Prince could not ignore the educational system of the country he was visiting, a fact that induced the diary writers to reserve a large amount of space for this topic, and motivated them to present not only a detailed description and history of the famous University of Coimbra, including its

¹² Filippo Corsini also provides a short biographical note on Padre Antonio Vieira in which he highlights his fame as a speaker, the problems he had with the Inquisition, and the fact that in the time of the Prince's voyage, he was a preacher in the Royal Chapel, ..., p. 226, note n.1

¹³ This work was posthumously published in Lisbon in 1680.

various courses and lecturers, but moreover to include descriptions of the organization and functioning of the Colégio de Évora – described by Magalotti as the University of the Jesuits founded by the Cardinal D. Henrique – the *Colégio de S. António* of Lisbon, and the *Misericórdia* institution, with all its assistance and social functions.

For Cósimo III and his party, religion, culture, art and science proved vital. However, due to the political and economic decadence that Florence was suffering at the time, as well as the fact that the Prince was to face the responsibility of ruling and managing over the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, a special attention was paid to the political and administrative structure of the Kingdom of Portugal, and to the political and diplomatic games which were carried out by the Court of Lisbon.

His rather long stay in the capital and his intense contacts with both private and public representatives of power, and with religious men and intellectuals, offered the Prince and his small group the opportunity to evaluate in detail the functioning of the country. With different methods and sensibilities, Lorenzo Magalotti and Filippo Corsini write complete and very well articulated accounts of the administrative organization of the country, and of the institutions charged with managing the nation's various activities. These include the *Conselho do Estado*, *Conselho da Fazenda*, *Conselho de Guerra*, *Conselho do Desembargo do Paço*, *Conselho da Consciência e das Ordens*, *Conselho Ultramarino*, *Ordens Militares*, *Tribunal da Suplicação da Justiça*, *Senado da Câmara de Lisboa*, *Tribunal dos Contos*, *Contadoria Geral de Guerra*, *Casa da Índia*, *Casa da Alfândega*, *Conselho da Fazenda da Rainha*, *Conselho da Casa de Bragança*, *Governo Eclesiástico das Conquistas*, *Delegação Eclesiástica de Lisboa*, *Tribunal da Santa Cruzada*, *Conselho da Inquisição*, etc (*Ibidem*: 284–308).

The Prince and his court left the Portuguese territory from Caminha on March 1st, travelling on a ship that would take them to Galicia. In general, they maintained a very positive image of Portugal and its socio-political and economic potentialities. In this sense the territory was evaluated as very rich, mild, crossed by numerous rivers propitious for navigation, urban supply and agriculture. The urban centres were seen as normally well defended, and with few exceptions well organized. It was in this near idyllic panorama that Lisbon emerged as a “metropolis which by its commerce, the surrounding fertile lands and its population, whom one can count of nearly 150 thousand souls, one can say that it is of the most important centres of Christianity” (*Ibidem*: 308).

As one can detect from these brief notes, the documentation regarding Cósimo III of Medici's voyage has the capability to offer us a wide and quite complete panorama of Portugal and its society in the second half of the seventeenth century, a special moment in its history in which this kingdom was attempting with great effort to build a new political identity on the national and international levels. The diaries of the voyage of the future Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as the letters relating to the voyage, allow researchers not only to study these documents as reflecting a human experience, but also to view Portugal in x-ray form as a country which might serve as a model for a decaying Florence.¹⁴

¹⁴ We are presently preparing a detailed analysis on various aspects relating to this trip, as well as engaging in a comparative study of other Florentine sources regarding the Kingdom of Portugal in the time just before the Union of the Crowns, during this period, and after the Restoration.

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The Political History of Twentieth-Century Portugal¹

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Abstract

The political history of twentieth-century Portugal has recently become the focus of intense research by historians of that country. This article attempts both to summarise the political developments of the period and to provide an English-language readership with an introduction to the on-going debate. This debate is driven to a great extent by the attempt to explain the reasons for the longevity of Salazar's New State and by the attempt to place it within a broader European context. As a result, the regime immediately preceding the New State, the First Republic, has been somewhat neglected by Portuguese historians.

Keywords

Twentieth-Century Portugal, Historiography, Political History, First Republic (1910-1926), New State (1933-1974)

Contemporary history sells in Portugal, and is a regular presence on the country's television screens and in its museums. A handful of historians has become well known through their regular media presence. While it must be acknowledged that historical research covering contemporary topics might seem, to the uninitiated, more accessible than medieval or early modern studies, which require a number of technical skills, notably palaeography, the reasons for this sudden awakening of interest in twentieth-century events both among producers and consumers of history lies elsewhere, and is intimately related to the political events which shaped Portugal's recent past. Towering over other issues lies Salazar's New State: its origins, its nature, its ability to survive for so long, its place in a wider European context, its demise and its consequences. All of these are topics that the Portuguese, whether or not part of the academic community, want to understand, having been unable to discuss them fully while events were underway, either because of direct censorship or as a result of a more subtle tactic: the encouragement of historical activity dedicated to earlier, and less politically troubling, periods, such as the mediaeval monarchy or the 'Discoveries'.

As was mentioned in an earlier article,² Salazar's New State rested on the belief that Portugal's decadence, which it had halted and reversed, had been inextricably linked to the untimely

¹ A version of this article was published in *Historia y Política: Ideas, procesos y movimientos sociales*, no. 7, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid e Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2002, pp. 11-54.

² See "The Political History of Nineteenth-Century Portugal", *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, Volume 1, number 1, Summer 2003, by the same authors, for a wider discussion of political history's place in Portuguese historiography.

adoption, and subsequent degeneration, of liberal politics. Detailed and critical evaluations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which might challenge this belief, were discouraged. And when, in April 1974, Salazar's successor, Marcello Caetano, was overthrown, the balance was excessively tipped in the other direction, with a refusal to acknowledge the inherent difficulties faced by Salazar's republican predecessors and the mistakes they committed while in power, which so alienated a considerable part of the politicised population. What has emerged since the revolutionary period of the mid-1970s, however, as the political passions of the period have died down, is a fresher and more objective approach to twentieth-century events, an approach guided not by remembered or inherited beliefs about events and protagonists but by a return to the fundamental activity of the historian: the attempt to reconstitute the past on the basis of the available evidence.

A second reason for the recent rise in popularity of contemporary history in Portugal is that the very questions historians are asking of the past have changed. As was mentioned in the already alluded-to article, political history is making a comeback, and this is the type of history that most appeals to a public eager for answers about Portugal's recent past. This new history, while not discarding the conclusions reached by successive generations of social and economic historians, concerns itself above all with the political realm, from the local to the global sphere, identifying those in positions of influence and seeking to understand the motivation for their actions. Its necessity and appeal after decades of intense political strife is obvious.

The objective of this article is to cast an eye over these recent historiographical developments in Portugal, making their conclusions available to both English speakers and those who, about to embark on a research project dedicated to contemporary Portugal, need a quick guide to existing secondary material. As a result, mention is also made of recent historical work published in English by Portuguese and non-Portuguese historians.

General Works

The large number of competing multi-volume histories of Portugal is one of the defining characteristics of the Portuguese historiographical scene. In virtue of the names associated with these works, they are an obligatory point of departure for aspiring researchers on Portuguese topics. We begin, therefore, by examining the most important of these histories in relation to the twentieth century. The final three volumes of Damião Peres' *História de Portugal* are an obvious starting point, although there was an inescapable political agenda permeating the work.³ It remains essential reading, however, especially in relation to the First Republic (1910-1926), which is examined in considerable detail. A similar criticism can be made of Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão's *História de Portugal*,⁴ whose volumes XI-XIV cover the First Republic and the New State, and which often (especially in the case of Volume XII) becomes too detailed and list-like to accomplish its narrative goal.

More significant are Volumes XI and XII of the *Nova História de Portugal*, directed by Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques. Volume XI, co-ordinated by A. H. de Oliveira Marques himself, is dedicated to the First Republic and Volume XII, entrusted to Fernando Rosas, covers the New State until 1960. Heavily influenced by the *Annales* school, they pay special attention to social and economic factors, relegating a narrative of the period to a final chapter. The seventh volume of José Mattoso's *História de Portugal*, almost exclusively written by Fernando Rosas, marks an important step in the historiography of the New State. The final volume, entrusted to José Medeiros Ferreira, is completely dedicated to the post-1974 period. The twentieth century takes up three of the fifteen published volumes of João Medina's *História de Portugal dos tempos pre-históricos aos nossos dias*. Some other general works should be included in this survey. João Medina's *História*

³ This is especially true of the final volume, written not by Damião Peres himself but rather by one of Salazar's ex-ministers, Franco Nogueira, and published in 1981.

⁴ Veríssimo Serrão writes, in the preface to the first edition of the work, 'May the *História de Portugal* accomplish its goal: helping the Portuguese to feel a renewed pride in the past of a nation which rendered the greatest of services to the progress of Humanity (...)'

contemporânea de Portugal (1990), in seven volumes, is remarkable for its (not always successful) mix of primary and secondary sources of the most varied background. *Portugal contemporâneo* (1989-1990), directed by António Reis and made up, in its first edition, of six volumes, is another useful starting point for research covering the twentieth century despite being clearly aimed at a general public.

Other useful sources of information are historical dictionaries. The publication of Joel Serrão's *Dicionário de história de Portugal* was recently restarted (1999-2000), with three volumes dedicated exclusively to the New State, coordinated by António Barreto and Maria Filomena Mónica. Some of the entries in these later volumes are remarkable for their essay-like style. The *Dicionário de história do Estado Novo* (1996), in two volumes, coordinated by Fernando Rosas and José Maria Brandão de Brito, is another work whose pioneering nature should be emphasized. Important in the identification of a national political elite is the *Dicionário biográfico parlamentar*. A. H de Oliveira Marques (2000) has edited a volume covering the First Republic and António Costa Pinto is currently doing the same for the period 1926-1974.

For the English-language reader an obvious starting point is Douglas Wheeler's *Historical dictionary of Portugal* (1993), while an important collection of introductory essays is to be found in *Modern Portugal*, edited by António Costa Pinto (1998). In the wake of the 1974 revolution a number of English-language histories of contemporary Portugal appeared (Robinson, 1979; Gallagher, 1983), although their usefulness is growing increasingly limited as a result of new research taking place in Portugal.

Narratives of the Twentieth Century: from 5 October 1910 to 25 April 1974

The First Republic (1910-1926)

The First Republic has, over the course of a recent past, lost many historians to the New State. As a result, it will be difficult to attempt a global synthesis of the republican period in view of the important gaps that still persist in our knowledge of its political history. As far as the October 1910 Revolution is concerned, a number of valuable studies have been made (Wheeler, 1972), first among which ranks Vasco Pulido Valente's polemical thesis. This historian posited the Jacobin and urban nature of the revolution carried out by the Portuguese Republican Party (PRP) and claimed that the PRP had turned the republican regime into a *de facto* dictatorship (Pulido Valente, 1982). This vision clashes with an older interpretation of the First Republic as a progressive and increasingly democratic regime which presented a clear contrast to Salazar's ensuing dictatorship (Oliveira Marques, 1991).

A republican Constitution was approved in 1911, inaugurating a parliamentary regime with reduced presidential powers and two chambers of parliament (Miranda, 2001). The Republic provoked important fractures within Portuguese society, notably among the essentially monarchist rural population, in the trade unions, and in the Church. Even the PRP had to endure the secession of its more moderate elements, who formed conservative republican parties like the Evolutionist party and the Republican Union. In spite of these splits the PRP, led by Afonso Costa, preserved its dominance, largely due to a brand of clientelist politics inherited from the monarchy (Lopes, 1994). In view of these tactics, a number of opposition forces were forced to resort to violence in order to enjoy the fruits of power. There are few recent studies of this period of the Republic's existence, known as the 'old' Republic. Nevertheless, an essay by Vasco Pulido Valente should be consulted (1997a), as should the attempt to establish the political, social, and economic context made by M. Villaverde Cabral (1988).

The PRP viewed the outbreak of the First World War as a unique opportunity to achieve a number of goals: putting an end to the twin threats of a Spanish invasion of Portugal and of foreign occupation of the colonies and, at the internal level, creating a national consensus around the regime and even around the party (Teixeira, 1996a). These domestic objectives were not met, since participation in the conflict was not the subject of a national consensus and since it did not therefore

serve to mobilise the population. Quite the opposite occurred: existing lines of political and ideological fracture were deepened by Portugal's intervention in the First World War (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2000). The lack of consensus around Portugal's intervention in turn made possible the appearance of two dictatorships, led by General Pimenta de Castro (January-May 1915) and Sidónio Pais (December 1917-December 1918).

Sidonismo, also known as *Dezembrismo*, has aroused a strong interest among historians, largely as a result of the elements of modernity that it contains (José Brandão, 1990; Ramalho, 1998; Ribeiro de Meneses, 1998, Armando Silva, 1999; Samara, 2003 and Santos, 2003). António José Telo has made clear the way in which this regime predated some of the political solutions invented by the totalitarian and fascist dictatorships of the 1920s and 1930s (Teixeira, 2000, pp. 11-24). Sidónio Pais undertook the rescue of traditional values, notably the *Pátria*, and attempted to rule in a charismatic fashion. A move was made to abolish traditional political parties and to alter the existing mode of national representation in parliament (which, it was claimed, exacerbated divisions within the *Pátria*) through the creation of a corporative Senate, the founding of a single party (the *Partido Nacional Republicano*), and the attribution of a mobilising function to the Leader. The State carved out an economically interventionist role for itself while, at the same time, repressing working-class movements and leftist republicans. Sidónio Pais also attempted to restore public order and to overcome, finally, some of the rifts of the recent past, making the Republic more acceptable to monarchists and Catholics.

The vacuum of power created by Sidónio Pais' murder (Medina, 1994) on 14 December 1918 led the country to a brief civil war. The monarchy's restoration was proclaimed in the north of Portugal on 19 January 1919 and, four days later, a monarchist insurrection broke out in Lisbon. A republican coalition government, led by José Relvas, coordinated the struggle against the monarchists by loyal army units and armed civilians. After a series of clashes the monarchists were definitively chased from Oporto on 13 February 1919. This military victory allowed the PRP to return to government and to emerge triumphant from the elections held later that year, having won the usual absolute majority.

It was during this restoration of the 'old' Republic that an attempted reform was carried out in order to provide the regime with greater stability. In August 1919 a conservative President was elected – António José de Almeida (whose Evolutionist party had come together in wartime with the PRP to form a flawed, because incomplete, Sacred Union) – and his office was given the power to dissolve Parliament. Relations with the Holy See, restored by Sidónio Pais, were preserved. The President used his new power to resolve a crisis of government in May 1921, naming a Liberal government (the Liberal party being the result of the postwar fusion of Evolutionists and Unionists) to prepare the forthcoming elections. These were held on 10 July 1921 with victory going, as was usually the case, to the party in power. However, Liberal government did not last long. On 19 October a military *pronunciamento* was carried out during which – and apparently against the wishes of the coup's leaders – a number of prominent conservative figures, including Prime Minister António Granjo, were assassinated. This event, known as the 'night of blood' (Brandão, 1991) left a deep wound among political elites and public opinion. There could be no greater demonstration of the essential fragility of the Republic's institutions and proof that the regime was democratic in name only, since it did not even admit the possibility of the rotation in power characteristic of the elitist regimes of the nineteenth century.

A new round of elections on 29 January 1922 inaugurated a fresh period of stability, since the PRP once again emerged from the contest with an absolute majority. Discontent with this situation had not, however, disappeared. Numerous accusations of corruption, and the manifest failure to resolve pressing social concerns wore down the more visible PRP leaders while making the opposition's attacks more deadly. At the same time, moreover, all political parties suffered from growing internal faction-fighting, especially the PRP itself. The party system was fractured and discredited (Lopes, 1994; João Silva, 1997). This is clearly shown by the fact that regular PRP victories at the ballot box did not lead to stable government. Between 1910 and 1926 there were forty-five governments. The opposition of presidents to single-party governments, internal dissent within the PRP, the party's almost non-existent internal discipline, and its constant and irrational desire to group together and lead all republican forces made any government's task practically

impossible. Many different formulas were attempted, including single-party governments, coalitions, and presidential executives, but none succeeded. Force was clearly the sole means open to the opposition if it wanted to enjoy the fruits of power (Schwartzman, 1989; Pinto, 2000).

By the mid-1920s the domestic and international scenes began to favour another authoritarian solution, wherein a strengthened executive might restore political and social order. Since the opposition's constitutional route to power was blocked by the various means deployed by the PRP to protect itself, it turned to the army for support. The armed forces, whose political awareness had grown during the war, and many of whose leaders had not forgiven the PRP for sending it to a war it did not want to fight, seemed to represent, to conservative forces, the last bastion of 'order' against the 'chaos' that was taking over the country. Links were established between conservative figures and military officers, who added their own political and corporative demands to the already complex equation. The *pronunciamento* of 28 May 1926 enjoyed the support of most army units and even of most political parties. As had been the case in December 1917, the population of Lisbon did not rise to defend the Republic, leaving it at the mercy of the army (Ferreira, 1992a). There are few global and up-to-date studies of this turbulent third phase of the Republic's existence (Marques, 1973; Telo, 1980 & 1984). Nevertheless, much has been written about the crisis and fall of the regime and the 28 May movement (Cruz, 1986; Cabral, 1993; Rosas, 1997; Martins, 1998; Pinto, 2000; Afonso, 2001). The First Republic continues to be the subject of an intense debate which is impossible to summarise in these pages. A recent historiographical balance sheet elaborated by Armando Malheiro da Silva (2000) is a good introduction into this debate. Nevertheless, one can distinguish three main interpretations. For some historians, the First Republic was a progressive and increasingly democratic regime.⁵ For others, it was essentially a prolongation of the liberal and elitist regimes of the nineteenth century.⁶ A third group, finally, chooses to highlight the regime's revolutionary, Jacobin, and dictatorial nature.⁷

English-language interest in the First Republic was for a long time restricted to American historian Douglas Wheeler, whose pioneering political history of the period remains even today a useful summary (1978). Portugal's participation in the First World War, and its alliance with Britain, generated some interest, and a steady number of theses and articles. Of special notice are the works of John Vincent-Smith covering Portuguese-British diplomatic relations from 1910 to 1916 (Vincent-Smith, 1974 & 1975). Few of these, however, became books, and Portugal's role in the Great War remains, to a large extent, shrouded in mystery (see, nevertheless, Ribeiro de Meneses 1998a and 2000a). An interesting analysis of the religious question during the period has been made by R.A.H. Robinson (1977 & 1994).

The Military Dictatorship (1926-1933) and the New State (1933-1974)

The military dictatorship of 1926 to 1933 was a period of intense struggle for political power, whether it be among those within the army or between the army and its opponents. It is also a period marked by the ascent of Salazar and his inner circle: of the men who, together, would build the New State (1933-1974). It is for this reason that the period, along with the first years of the New State, has received so much historiographical attention.⁸

The successful *pronunciamento* of 1926 was carried out by an extremely varied group which included monarchists, fascists, conservatives, liberals, and even those to the left of the PRP. Its first objective was precisely to remove the PRP from power. Once this was achieved, a struggle for power

⁵ At the head of these historians stands A. H. de Oliveira Marques.

⁶ Among these the names of António Costa Pinto, António José Telo, Fernando Farelo Lopes, and João B. Serra stand out.

⁷ See, for example, the works of Vasco Pulido Valente and Rui Ramos.

⁸ For the period of military dictatorship, see Wheeler's general account (1988) and Baiôa's bibliographical survey (1994). The best narrative accounts of the period of the New State are to be found in the above-cited general works. See also the following conference proceedings and detailed studies: Various Authors (VA), 1987, 1989a & 1989b.

and for the ideological direction of the dictatorship broke out almost immediately. On 9 July the most visible figures of the coup, General Gomes da Costa and Commander Mendes Cabeçadas, were driven from power in order for another general, Óscar Carmona, to take up the position of Prime Minister. After direct and uncontested presidential elections Carmona rose to the presidency on 25 March 1928. The financial instability of the first years of the dictatorship forced Carmona to appoint António Oliveira Salazar as his Minister of Finance on 18 April 1928. This Coimbra academic entered the cabinet thanks to his reputation as a specialist in financial matters and was able to satisfy, in his first year, the needs of employers and of the country's middle class, delivering a balanced budget, financial and monetary stabilisation, and the promise of an economic relaunch of the country thanks to direct State intervention. With the financial crisis thus resolved, the question of the political course of the dictatorship became more acute: what would be the army's alternative to the First Republic? Three groups can be identified in the struggle to provide the generals with a working alternative: Conservative republicans, right-wing radicals, and Salazar's own faction, the Catholic Centre (Rosas, 1994).

Generals Vicente de Freitas and Ivens Ferraz attempted, through their action while in government (until 1930), to regenerate the Republic through a simultaneous strengthening of the executive branch, of public order, and of the State's authority, taking care not to destroy the basic features of a democratic regime. However, the prestige acquired by Salazar through his financial policies allowed him to gather up the support of the more conservative elements within the army, notably President Carmona, in order to deprive the reforming republicans of power and so create an authoritarian regime in Portugal. On January 1930 General Domingos Oliveira was entrusted with the formation of a government which marked a new departure. Still limited, officially, to the Finance portfolio, Salazar had become the *de facto* ideological and political leader of the dictatorship. He was asked to form a government in 1932. Already in 1930 a civilian structure capable of harnessing the support of all conservative forces that approved of the nascent regime was created. This *União Nacional* (UN) was conceived initially as a civic association, although it carried out the typical functions of a political party. Despite this, it was destined never to control either the government or the State (Cruz, 1988).

The institutionalisation of the New State depended on the elaboration of a new Constitution. In 1933 a balance was finally found among all the forces which supported Salazar's project. The resulting Constitution reinforced the power of the government and combined democratic principles and measures (limited, in practice, by the government's power to legislate) with authoritarian elements (Rosas, 1992). The radical and fascist Right considered the new Constitution to be too centrist and the UN to be too static to mobilise public opinion. It refused to join the UN and in 1932 a National-Syndicalist movement was formed under the leadership of Rolão Preto. Salazar, who had used this group to defeat the conservative republicans in 1929-30, now turned against them, launching a systematic campaign which would culminate in Rolão Preto's exile in 1934. After this, many national-syndicalists would adhere to the UN, wherein they would continue to push for fascist solutions to the regime's problems (Pinto, 1999).

Salazar was able to create consensus among the country's elite, resisting both the liberal-democratic and the fascist threats. But as the New State rooted itself more firmly, it also had to face threats from outside the original 1926 coalition. From 1926 to 1934 there were a number of military and civilian revolts against the new authoritarian institutions (Farinha, 1998). The workers' movement, the Socialist and Communist parties, and the old republicans were never able, however, to come together within and outside Portugal in order to take the fight to the dictatorship in a concerted fashion. By 1934 all political and syndicalist leaders opposed to the New State and to corporativism (Lucena, 1976; Wiarda, 1977; Patriarca, 1995 & 2000) were either in exile or behind bars. The State's repressive system was improved through the creation of a new political police (Gallagher, 1979; Wheeler, 1983; Ribeiro 1995) and with the perfecting of censorship, which allowed for the regime to legitimise itself through the 1934 elections to the new National Assembly (Rosas, 1985). The threat of the Spanish Second Republic (Oliveira, 1986) and the subsequent Civil War (Oliveira, 1987; Rosas, 1998) forced the regime to move further towards the authoritarian Right and the fascist model through the creation of organisations such as the National Foundation for Joy

in the Workplace (Valente, 1999), the Portuguese Youth, and a party militia, the Portuguese Legion (Rodrigues, 1996), as well as by stepping up the personality cult of Salazar.

These steps are behind an intense debate over the question of whether or not Salazar can be classified as Fascist (Pinto, 1995; Torgal, 1992; Nunes, 1993a). Two broad currents have emerged, classified by Fernando Rosas as the 'taxidermists' and the 'historicists' (VA, 1989a, pp. 21-29). Different theoretical presuppositions and analytical models are behind this debate, producing, obviously, distinct results. For the former, the New State was an authoritarian regime, close to fascism but alien to it both because of its origins and because of its evolution.⁹ For the latter, this was a fascist regime, endowed, of course, with a set of distinct national features.¹⁰ Salazar's was 'a fascism devoid of a fascist movement' (Lucena, 1976, Vol. I, p. 27).

Portugal adopted, during the Second World War, a 'policy of neutrality' which, after 1943, became a 'neutral collaboration' with the Allies (Telo, 1987, 1990 & 1991b; VA, 1989c; Peter, 1996; Wylie, 2001). Of late there has been a certain amount of polemical discussion over the economic links with Nazi Germany, especially around the questions of wolfram exports (Wheeler, 1986) and the so-called 'Nazi gold' (Telo, 1999, 2000; Louçã, 1998, 2000). Internally, the Second World War led to an increase in social agitation and to the reorganisation of the opposition – now clearly under the control of the clandestine Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). It also fed the hopes for a democratisation of the regime. Both tactics for the removal of Salazar from power – legal or armed – were to fail, however. A common opposition front, the *Movimento para a Unidade Democrática* (MUD), attempted to take part in the 1945 elections, but withdrew from them once it realised that there were no guarantees that, as Salazar had originally promised, these would be free and fair. Its leadership was subsequently arrested.

In the wake of war, Salazar was able to split the opposition, neutralising its more radical elements and including moderates in the regime. It was only in the run-up to legislative and presidential elections that the political and social order was threatened through the appearance of opposition candidacies. The greatest threat of all occurred in 1958 when general Humberto Delgado, who had reached a position of prominence within the New State, mounted a bid for the presidency in opposition to the UN's candidate, admiral Américo Tomás. Delgado was able to mobilise all opposition forces behind his bid and famously threatened to remove Salazar from the government once he had won the election. As was widely predicted, however, Tomás emerged victorious from the poll thanks to widespread electoral rigging. Nevertheless, the threat posed by the direct election of the President to the New State was realised by Salazar, who altered the Constitution in order to prevent future destabilising bids (Raby, 1988; Delgado, 1998).

Delgado's bid for the presidency led to the emergence of serious fractures within the New State, giving rise to a long period of unrest. That this was not manifested more clearly was the result of the outbreak of the colonial wars (Pinto, 2001), which also prevented any attempt to modernise the regime as Salazar sought the backing of a more conservative and loyal cabinet. Only after Salazar's health was permanently impaired, in 1968, could an attempted modernisation take place, thanks to the selection of a new premier, Marcelo Caetano. The new government generated great hopes of significant liberal reforms through a softening of censorship laws, the permitted return of political exiles, and greater syndical freedom. In 1969, Caetano sponsored the entry of a reformist current – a 'liberal wing' made up of relatively young modernisers who pushed both for economic growth in a European setting and political modernisation – into the National Assembly (Castilho, 2000). This overall timid push for change met with strong resistance from a conservative wing led by President Américo Tomás, a strong supporter of the existing order and of the colonial war. Marcelo Caetano was forced to give in to this group, calling a halt to the reformist programme. It was too late, however, to quiet the opposition of students (Proença, 1999), among other social players, as well as to restrain the growth of opposition parties, who would again bear the full weight of the regime's repressive nature (Brito, 1999).

The colonial wars played a vital role in the resolution of the problem. They divided the regime's supporters, including the Catholic Church (Cruz, 1998) and the armed forces (Ferreira,

⁹ See studies by Manuel Braga da Cruz and António Costa Pinto.

¹⁰ See works published on the subject by Fernando Rosas and Manuel Lucena.

1992a). Some of the highest-ranking officers in the army, including generals Spínola and Costa Gomes, criticised publicly the government's colonial policy, for which they were forced to resign from their posts. The political immobility to which *Marcelismo* was condemned; the inability to generate a political solution to the colonial conflict; and the defence of corporative rights by career officers, who viewed the expansion of the army as a threat to their livelihood: all contributed to a rising of the increasingly politicised mid-ranking officers, designed to end the war and carry out a change of regime. A coup was carried out on 25 April 1974 with the support of a majority within both the armed forces and the population of Lisbon (Graham, 1979; Sánchez Cervelló, 1993; Ferreira, 1994).

The New State, as can be imagined, proved to be a richer pasture for English-language historians than previous periods. Much of this interest arose the moment the regime fell. There was a sudden rush to explain what had just happened in Portugal, and how a dictatorship begun in the 1930s, before that of Hitler, had survived well into the 1970s. Douglas Porch concentrated his attention on the Portuguese army in a hurried and very partial work (Porch, 1977). More thoughtful and comprehensive attempts were made by R.A.H. Robinson (1979) and Tom Gallagher (1983). The nature and working arrangements of Portuguese corporativism have been explored in some detail (Schmitter, 1975, 1978 & 1980; Wiarda, 1977; Wiarda & Mott, 2001), as have been aspects of Portugal's involvement in the Second World War (Wheeler, 1983; Stone, 1994; Peter, 1996). Malyn Newitt has long been charting the history of the Portuguese colonial empire (1981), a subject recently summarised by David Birmingham (1999), while D.L. Raby attempted to chronicle the experiences and internal rivalries of the opposition to Salazar (1988). A number of extremely useful works has also been published in English relating to the fall of the *New State* and its international consequences, notably in Africa. Maxwell's already mentioned *The making of Portuguese democracy* is one (1995); another is Norrie MacQueen's *The decolonization of Portuguese Africa* (1997).

Thematic Studies on Twentieth-Century Politics

After this brief sketch of the political evolution of twentieth-century Portuguese politics, we must now address in greater detail some specific issues of this evolution, as was done above in relation to the nineteenth century. Elections and electoral systems have not been the subject of any great attention by Portuguese historiography. As regards the First Republic, the standard reference work continues to be the *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*, edited by A. H. de Oliveira Marques in the 1970s (Marques, n.d.) In it can be found an analysis of electoral legislation as well as results, expressed in a series of tables and maps. Little advance was subsequently made in the study and analysis of Portuguese voting patterns. There is a basic and fundamental lack of individual studies about individual elections (Menezes, 1992). There is no overall study of local elections. The new regime looked like a democracy: but no movement was made, despite repeated promises, towards universal suffrage. Patronage networks and the *caciquismo* typical of the constitutional monarchy remained in place, and in fact acts of political violence became common and widespread, carried out by the PRP's supporters against all opposition forces (Lopes, 1994). Little interest has also been manifested in the elections held during the New State, whose outcome was of course known well in advance. However, the few studies so far carried out show how both regime and opposition attributed considerable importance to these elections (Schmitter, 1978; Rosas, 1985; Cruz, 1986 & 1988; Delgado, 1998).

There have been some attempts to examine the internal and external propaganda effort of the New State, directed by the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Paulo, 1994; Ramos do Ó, 1999; Medina, 2000).

Political elites, meanwhile, have been traditionally ignored (Lewis, 1978; Schmitter, 1980). The situation is changing as a result of the arrival of a new generation of historians. Political elites, notably at a parliamentary and government level, have become the subject of great interest (VA, 2001a; Carvalho, 2002; Pinto, 2003). Attempts have been made, as was earlier pointed out, to collect the biographies of all Portuguese parliamentarians (Marques, 2000), as well as comparing the

biographies of Portuguese ministers with those of their southern European counterparts.¹¹ Beyond these collective efforts, local elites are being fleshed out by individual researchers (Almeida, 1997; Baiôa, 2000). Biography is also increasingly important, and numerous masters' and doctoral thesis have been dedicated to selected Portuguese personalities. However, there is still a good way to go in order to reach the level of coverage to be found in other countries. There are, for example, no modern biographies dedicated to the two politicians who left the greatest mark on the First Republic and the New State, Afonso Costa (Oliveira Marques, 1975) and Salazar.¹² Most biographical details are to be found in encyclopaedias and historical dictionaries, but some progress has been made in recent years (Ventura, 1994; Leal, 1994; VA, 2001; Vieira, (2001-2003); Valente, 2002; Pinto 2002a). There have been works on Norton de Matos (Norton, 2002), Sidónio Pais (Ramalho, 1998; Armando Silva, 1999), New State minister and diplomat Armindo Monteiro (Oliveira, 2000), Raul Proença, a leading intellectual figure of the first half of the century (Reis, 2000), and Álvaro Cunhal, leader of the PCP during the second half of the century (José Pacheco Pereira, 1999 & 2001), as well as all who have so far served as President (Pinto, 2001a).

The First Republic has been described as a dominant-party parliamentary regime (Sousa, 1982). For Portuguese historiography in general, the political supremacy of the PRP, the parliamentary drive of the 1911 Constitution, the electoral mechanisms which made difficult the access of opposition parties to political institutions and, above all, the practices inherited from the constitutional monarchy all help to explain the instability, the violence, and the lack of legitimacy of the republican regime (Lopes, 1994). There is, however, a great deal of speculation taking place, since there are still no systematic examinations of either the parties themselves or of the party system. Little progress has been made in the study of the largest parties of the period (João Silva, 1997). Portuguese historiography has been attracted by smaller and more marginal movements and parties, especially those which enjoyed some continuity with the parties on the political scene after 1974. Studies were thus made of the Socialist and Communist parties (Maria Filomena Mónica, 1985; Cunha, 1992) and of those which inspired the builders of the New State. We thus know more about the Portuguese Catholic Centre (Cruz, 1980; Seabra, 1993; Alves, 1996), the Lusitanian Integralists (Cruz, 1986; Leal, 1999; Pinto, 1999) and other fascist groupings than we know about the main party of the period, the PRP.

Solid research has been carried out into the UN, whose limitations as a movement have already been noted. One historian, in view of these limitations, described the New State as a 'State with a single party', rather than a single-party State (Braga da Cruz, 1988, p. 62). Similar research has also been conducted in the field of the radical right-wing movements which, close to fascism, appeared in Portugal in the 1920s and 1930s (Pinto, 1999). Despite these general works, there is still a need for studies about more specific subject matter and periods which might allow for a more critical reading of the pioneering studies which have become standard readings in Portuguese historiography. Opposition forces have been paid less attention, largely as a result of their dispersed nature, their lack of internal cohesion and, of course, the lack of materials. Nevertheless, historians have focused on republican movements attempting to overthrow the military dictatorship and the nascent New State (Cruz, 1986; Farinha, 1998) and on the extremely durable PCP (José Pacheco Pereira, 1993; Raby, 1990; Cunha, 1992; Madeira, 1996).

The nineteenth-century origins of Republican, socialist and anarchist ideologies have received more historiographical attention than their later twentieth-century developments. (Homem, 1990; Freire, 1992; Ramos, 2001; Catroga, 2000). More conservative ideologies have been studied primarily in regards of their contribution to the New State. The ideological basis of this regime can be found at a crossroads between Catholic politics, Integralism, Fascism, and the earlier liberal traditions (Cruz, 1980, 1986 & 1988; Nunes, 1993b; Leal, 1999; Pinto, 1999; Medina, 2000).

¹¹ Pedro Tavares de Almeida and António Costa Pinto, 'The Portuguese Ministers, 1851-1999', in Pedro Tavares de Almeida and António Costa Pinto (eds), *Regime change and ministerial recruitment in Southern Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (to be published).

¹² The most extensive biography of the dictator was written by one of his former ministers, Franco Nogueira (Nogueira, 1977-1985).

Portuguese international relations in the twentieth century have been marked by a hesitation over whether to embrace Europe or to find comfort in the colonies (Ferreira, 1993; Telo, 1993; Teixeira, 1996b; Alexandre, 2000; Martínez, 2001; Martins, 2001). They were, of course, governed for a long time by the all-important British alliance (Rosas, 1988; Stone, 1994) and the Spanish threat (Torre Gómez, 1980, 1985; Oliveira, 1986, 1987 & 1995; Ferreira, 1989; Loff, 1996; Telo, 2000a). An effort was nevertheless made to diversify Portugal's diplomatic options and to participate in the great decision-making centres such as the Peace Conference of 1919 (Ferreira, 1992b), the League of Nations, the United Nations, the European Organisation for Economic Cooperation (Rollo, 1994) and NATO (Telo, 1996). Membership of the EEC became possible only through the process of democratisation begun in 1974 (Pinto, 2002). Although great strides have been made into the Portuguese-Spanish relationship, there remains a great dearth of material covering Portugal's relationship with individual countries, despite some inroads made in relation to the United States of America (Antunes, 1986, 1992 & 1993; Rodrigues, 2002), Italy (Schirò, 1997; Salvadorini, 2000), France (Derou, 1986, Janeiro, 1988), Germany (VA, 1996; Louçã, 1998, 2000; Telo, 1999, 2000; Medina Guevara, 1997), and Ireland (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2002).

Military interference in politics has been a constant feature of contemporary Portugal, and it has been the subject of much historical writing (Carrilho, 1985; Ferreira, 1992a; Caeiro, 1997; Martelo, 1999; Faria, 2001). Less attention has been paid to the army's performance on the battlefield, (Pélissier, 1997; Teixeira, 1998), although the first studies of the colonial campaigns are now emerging (Guerra, 1994; Cann, 1998; VA, 2000; Afonso, 2000; Pinto, 2001; Teixeira, 2001 & 2002). Classic works on national and local administration (VA, 1998; Oliveira, 1996; Silveira, 1997b) and modern studies on public opinion (Vaz, 1997) and the media (Cádima, 1996) have also aroused much interest among the academic community, although much remains to be done.

Conclusion

The overthrow of the New State in 1974 did not bring in its wake, as might have been expected, academic recognition of the political history of twentieth-century Portugal as a valid field of research. Marxism, structuralism and the Annales school all combined to stifle this discipline through the 1970s and 1980s. Few dared, from either within or outside university circles, to write a biography, or to analyse an election. The 1990s witnessed the inversion of this trend, with political history acquiring both a set of dedicated practitioners and a considerable mediatic presence. Some experienced researchers and a new generation of historians, trained in the 1990s, have been able to restore the discipline of political history to its rightful place in academic life, thus providing a new boost – in terms of quality and quantity – to Portugal's historiographical output. Nevertheless, there remain important gaps in the political history of the twentieth century, as even this short and imperfect overview was able to demonstrate. The lack of biographical studies of even the most important figures of the period (beginning with Salazar himself) remains acute; the workings of most political formations are still largely ignored, and the whole of the First Republic remains insufficiently studied, overshadowed as it is in terms of both popular and academic interest by the New State.

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Opportunity and Chance: The Introduction of Sampling Techniques in Portugal

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Abstract

In the Republican State, the idea of social reform brought about new languages and new attitudes with respect to misery and poverty. Private situations became not only public problems but also social priorities. Sampling methods were adopted as a technique that allowed the transposition of particular situations to universal problems, abstracted from individuals and summarized in synthetic numbers. Sampling was a device for the acquisition of knowledge, with low information costs, but also for the conversion of knowledge into guidelines for government action. This paper examines the evolution of sampling techniques in Portugal considering four levels of analysis: the politics of government, the meaning acquired by statistical figures in the perception of society, the uses of numbers by social groups and class associations, and the innovations introduced by the development of mathematical statistics (Bowley, Fisher and Neyman) in applied science.

Keywords

Scientific culture and political culture, history of statistics, government techniques, social meaning of index numbers, disembodiment of knowledge, opportunity sampling and random sampling

Sampling techniques were used in government surveys undertaken at the beginning of the 20th century. Thanks to this innovation, data collection methodologies began to involve a choice not only of the type of facts to be recorded and the field of possibilities associated with those facts, but also of information extraction processes and “laboratory” control of results. The question of material survey conditions was subordinate to the question of the representativeness of the information obtained. The sense of things shifted from the honest search for occurrences to the search for representative occurrences. The reliability of surveys began to be relative not only to the situation in which the questions were asked, but also to the selection of respondents and the number of useful answers. These were changes in both accepted ways of thinking and of acting, to the knowledge of agents and the *modus operandi* of institutions. In such a context, it is particularly interesting to analyse the logic that came to serve as the justification for the sampling criteria: How were the political arguments and the scientific arguments weighted? What roles were played by institutional structures, political and administrative priorities and government objectives in the choice of what was taken to be representative? Could there be partial information extraction units, capable of suitably representing the social whole, without the legal recognition of the State? What was the role played by information costs in determining sampling methods?

In order to answer these questions, we shall examine the various stages in the diffusion of sampling procedures in Portugal, distinguishing between their first appearance, the phase of their consolidation and subsequent transformation.

Social Reform and Single Numbers

In March 1916, Germany's official declaration of war brought an end to the uncertainties of diplomacy and made it necessary for the Portuguese government to prepare for war in terms of its own logistical apparatus, as well as ensure social support. With the formation of the "Sacred Union" government, Afonso Costa and António José de Almeida sought to cement together a social block that was capable of guaranteeing stability for the country's participation in the First World War and reserving a place for Portugal at future peace negotiations. The "national" strategy did not, however, heal the wounds that had been opened earlier, and the government remained under fire from the unionist right, independent republicans, radical monarchist sectors and anarchist militants. Whilst a contingent of troops was being prepared for Flanders at Tancos, the working classes unfurled their anti-war banners and came out onto the streets to denounce the policy of using them as "cannon fodder," and to underline the class nature of the conflict. In an attempt to obtain the greatest possible consensus and to maximise social peace, Evolutionists and Democrats proposed the creation of a Ministry of Labour with clearly defined functions: to look after the food provisions for the poor, to deepen the charitable support provided to the more needy, and to guard against strikes. The government social welfare institutions were to serve as a buffer against difficulties, as well as set up a basic network of protection under the supervision of the government.

António Maria Lisboa, a leading figure in the Democratic Party, a mason and a member of the Carbonária, was called upon to coordinate the new ministry. The Ministry of Labour therefore had a reputation as one of the more left-wing sectors of the government, a tradition that was to be maintained in the future.¹ Besides guaranteeing the capacity of the Ministry to engage in dialogue with the militant radical workers, by virtue of his links with the Carbonária, António Maria Lisboa brought to the post the experience that he had previously accumulated in the civil service, in his capacity as the interim director of statistics and director general of the Post Office.

The economic and social crisis dictated priorities. The Ministry of Labour rapidly became a benchmark organisation in the collection of information about prices and mutual aid societies, supplanting the practices of social assistance engaged in by the Directorate-General of Trade and Industry. A new phase began to take shape in the contextualisation of the working class. The use of statistics for prevention and control gave way to more sophisticated techniques of planning, forecasting and calculation. The aim was no longer to disseminate norms and check patterns, but instead to allocate resources. "The work of the State is not to provide assistance, but to take providence," (*Boletim da Previdência Social* 1919: 376) said Andrade de Saraiva to his peers at the Ministry of Labour. The legacy of sociological paternalism lost its utility in light of the new challenges being placed before the "Modern State," making it responsible for managing the social question in a situation of crisis. In the same way, local surveys ceased to be of interest, for what mattered were national solutions.

In no other contemporary institution did there exist such close ties between the task of collecting information and legislative responsibility. The imbuing of knowledge into action presented new challenges to techniques of analysis: calculation became an instrument of governance with short-term [immediate?] effects. Reforms such as the compulsory social insurance payments of 1919 sought to attack the structural causes of the precariousness of the working classes, pledging the State to seeking to achieve joint solutions. The change from conceptions of social assistance to conceptions of social welfare brought with it major alterations in the object of study and in statistical methods, and raised new mathematical problems.

A carefully combined response to social problems was only possible by considering national figures. There had to be an idea of the mortality rate and the average salary to be able to minimally forecast the mathematical reserve of invalidity and old age pensions and the corresponding deduction

¹ António Maria Lisboa remained Minister of Labour from March 1916 to April 1917. He was replaced by the horticulturist Lima Basto, the former Mayor of Lisbon. With the revolution led by Major Sidónio Pais in December 1917, Major José Feliciano Costa Júnior, a member of the military Revolutionary Junta, occupied the post. The Unionist and mason, Manuel Forbes de Bessa, in turn, replaced him in March 1918.

rates. The change in the language and objectives of social policies required the transposition of statistics to another level of abstraction and synthesis. The other side of the coin was that the monographic study lost its immediate relevance. Increasing the knowledge of a community or a region was only of interest in order to draw conclusions that covered a larger area. Government activity was now conducted through summarised numbers and not through private networks of social interaction, as had previously happened with the Directorate-General of Trade and Industry. In this way, the community ceased to be the real object of study, and became a miniaturised universe, for what mattered was extracting data for normative calculation from limited series of observations. New questions were therefore raised at the methodological level: How to move from the particular to the general? What was the representativeness of the cases considered? What was the relationship between the parts and the whole? Under the scope of the Ministry of Labour's reformist policy, case studies gave rise to sampling studies.

With these techniques, a short cut was introduced in terms of the diversity of records, and greater economy was introduced into statistical procedures with a view to the calculation of summarised numbers. This need was felt even more deeply when civil servants had to forecast the consequences of the reforms and anticipate valid solutions for the whole country. Planning and prospective calculation were used to steer the services towards low-cost methodologies capable of revealing single numbers. Statistics were integrated into the recursive circuit of the action and the consequences of the action: decisions had to be justified; results of decisions had to be gauged.

The term "single numbers" is used to designate the statistical indicators that summarise quantitative data into one single value by means of a criterion of classification, a criterion for the aggregation of data or a ratio between variables. This definition is explicitly comprehensive and includes everything from arithmetical averages to more complex indicators such as the estimates of a country's Gross Domestic Product. The underlying methodology of calculation is here so important because of the social use that is given to these indicators. What characterises single numbers is precisely the fact that the values can be highlighted from amongst the concrete mathematical operations that gave rise to them and can be used as "things" that have their own intrinsic value, which circulate and create areas of objectivity. The initiative shown by State institutions in creating single numbers therefore ends up having collateral repercussions throughout society, since the strict aim of ensuring the governability of a given sector is rapidly overtaken by decentralised processes for the appropriation of information. These processes reinvent the function of indicators, as these are applied in different areas from those originally envisaged. Once they have been made public, single numbers begin to structure social interactions, for they make it possible to anticipate information about the actions of others.² The publication of a consumer price index, for example, by reducing the universe of possibilities and concentrating attention on a given value, changes an individual's expectations not only in relation to himself, but also in relation to the possible strategies of other agents, companies and the State.

The Introduction of Sampling Techniques

The question of the increase in the cost of living became one of the main themes of the working-class movement in the period of the First Republic. From 1913 onwards, the protests of class associations, and particularly of those that were influenced by the socialist movement, became much more aggressive. In Lisbon, a Trade Union Central Committee was formed with the aim of making propaganda against the high cost of living and encouraging the creation of local committees. Newspapers such as the *Voz do Povo* launched a campaign arguing that prices had doubled while salaries remained stationary.

² This explanation in terms of decentralized information effects is not incompatible with the explanation in terms of governmentalization of politics advanced by Rose Nikolas (1991). Governing by numbers: figuring out democracy. *Accounting Organizations and society*, 16 (7): 673-692.

Until then, the price of bread had been considered the main measure of the people's standard of living. With the increase in national income in the second half of the 19th century (a growth in the national product at a rate of 0.6% per year), the elasticities of demand changed and the range of food products was diversified. Rice, potatoes, beans, dried cod, fresh fish, *chouriço* and bacon, butter, sugar, soap, coal and oil began to represent a very significant share of the household budgets of working-class families and began to be widely advertised at grocer's shops, which sought to attract customers with attractive prices (Costa Junior 1917:195-199; Quintas 1988). In order to gain a more complete knowledge of the situation of the working class, it was necessary to establish a benchmark for the 20th century that was equivalent to that provided by bread for the 18th and 19th centuries. It was not enough to know the price of the different commodities, since it was not possible to draw any safe conclusions from these: what was needed was a single number that represented a synthesis of the evolution of the cost of living. The first author to attempt to represent the aggregate change in prices was Albino Vieira da Rocha, who resorted to the values of imported and exported goods, just as these were set out in the Trade Balances, in order to produce a single index based on different "proportions" of 38 commodities that entered into commercial trade (1913) (Rocha 1913). Using this methodology, it was confirmed that inflation had risen 20% since the beginning of the century. However, the impact that prices of imported and exported goods had on the shopping basket of household budgets remained to be explained: the statistical measurement related to goods included in the trade balance did not have sociological content.

With the disgraceful situation of the First World War, the problem of provisions once again encouraged discussion of the social question of the cost of living. The normal supply circuits experienced a serious crisis. There were wholesalers who took advantage of the circumstances to hoard products and in some cases it was even necessary to resort to the services of the army bakehouse to ensure the supply of bread at reasonable prices. The difficulties were exacerbated by the fall in national production, and the shortage of energy products and imported raw materials, which pushed prices upwards. This trend grew worse from 1916 onwards. At the recently created Ministry of Labour, the Economic Defence Department took on the task of combating speculation and the shortage of essential goods. As early as 1917, information began to be collected about the prices of commodities in the various districts of mainland Portugal. Influenced by the developments of the English statistics published by the Board of Trade and by the Australian survey, *Expenditure on living in Australia*, Aquino da Costa Júnior, the head of the Economic Defence Department at the Ministry of Labour, set to work constructing the first weighted cost of living index in Portugal. Transferred to the Ministry of Labour from the Directorate-General of Trade and Industry, this engineer combined his new position with his work as a mathematics lecturer at the Lisbon Science Faculty, where he was the most qualified statistical analyst.

How did the workers spend their salaries? This was the first problem to be investigated. Quite simply, the question was more complicated than it seemed. Consumption depends on disposable income and consequently on the worker's income level. However, it also depends on the household structure, the person's stage in the life cycle, the traditions of the region's material culture and its eating habits. In contemporary language, this complexity is captured by the multivariate analysis model, saying that the household structure, region and income level are variables that help to explain the behaviour of the dependent variable of consumption. Aquino da Costa Júnior felt the need to make the relationship between these components explicit, because he was not thinking of surveying all the households in the country. Instead, he wished to gather a significant sample of the working-class population. Now, if there were no control of sampling, there would be a danger that the conclusions might be distorted: just think, for example, what would happen if the data collected were to over-represent the proportion of families at advanced stages of the life cycle and if their children, by contributing to the household budget, were to push disposable income and consumption up to values above the mean for the population: "in order for the budgets of the working classes to be properly appreciated, we must take into account the relationship existing between their income and the number of children who work and do not work, without which apparently unreasonable conclusions might be drawn" (Costa Junior 1917:108).

Although the idea of delineating smaller sectors for observation was not new, discussing the social and demographic composition of a sample was an important scientific step in Portuguese

statistics.³ Thanks to this methodology, the doors were opened to low-cost data collection and selection processes, replacing interminable counts through laboratory modelling and through the mathematical analysis of the relationship between the estimates of the sample and the parameters of the population as a whole. Unfortunately, the initiative did not enjoy any continuity and the recourse to sampling procedures remained relatively unaltered in until the 1940s.

Aquino da Costa Júnior began by sending 7500 questionnaires to 350 of the country's class associations. In the accompanying circular letter, he considered the fact that science was the best possible ally of the working class, a view that clearly revealed his positive belief in the role of knowledge in transforming society: "Social science abroad has taken its researches to the point of determining man's economic value, establishing the equation between *what* his sustenance requires and *what* his work produces. This remarkable work of economic speculation, which has benefited from the help of the class associations, is responsible for most of the conquests achieved by the working classes in their claims, based on a greater equity in the relationship between capital and labour" (Costa Junior 1917:103).

Only 756 answers were received, a part of them being incorrectly filled in, and a new request had to be made, this time being issued through the local administrators. When it finally proved possible to amass a reasonable volume of surveys, he moved on to the next phase. The methodology presented by Costa Júnior was based on intuitive elements, without his putting forward any theoretical arguments to support them. The lack of any more profound justifications was probably due to the fact that the author followed in the footsteps of the mega-survey undertaken by the Board of Trade in 1906, which represented the first survey of household budgets amongst the working classes, simultaneously undertaken by various European nations. The consultation of this source of authority gave scientific credibility and legitimacy to the comparison of results in international statistics, curtailing the discussion of sampling techniques. The nub of the argument was centred on one single feature: showing that there were no spurious elements and that all social factors that might influence the results were subject to prior control.

A set of cross tables shows the distribution of the frequencies of household types by income classes, the number of children by income classes, and average income by region. Checking the reliability of these figures as a whole consists of showing that, if we divide the answers to the questionnaire into sub-samples, each of which is structured according to mutually exclusive criteria, we will obtain new distributions that are reasonably similar amongst themselves. In other words, the distribution of income classes does not significantly change when we consider families with fewer than 4 persons and families with 4 or more persons (Graph 1). It can therefore be deduced that this factor does not have any spurious influence on the results of household consumption.

An intuitive methodology was followed, without any mathematical confirmation of the conclusions and without any explicit formulation of the statistical hypotheses. However, even at this intuitive level, there are two ways of looking at things:

One is to consider the fundamental element of distinction to be the mean of the distributions. Not only is the mean an appropriate statistical indicator for filtering the random variations of social facts and showing their regularities, but the symmetrical nature of the (normal) distribution means that the deviations in one direction or the other cancel themselves out. On the other hand, in large aggregates, the concentration of frequencies around average values has a profound epistemic meaning, for it reveals that there are constant causes guaranteeing the stability of data. Conversely, any instability or difference between mean values proves that the aggregates are affected by different causes. Such a conceptualisation was the starting point for the notion of the "average man" developed by the French mathematician Jacques Quetelet (Hald 1998: 586-598). Now, as the two sub-samples of the survey undertaken by the Ministry of Labour present a household income distribution centred more or less on the same average values, decreasing thereafter

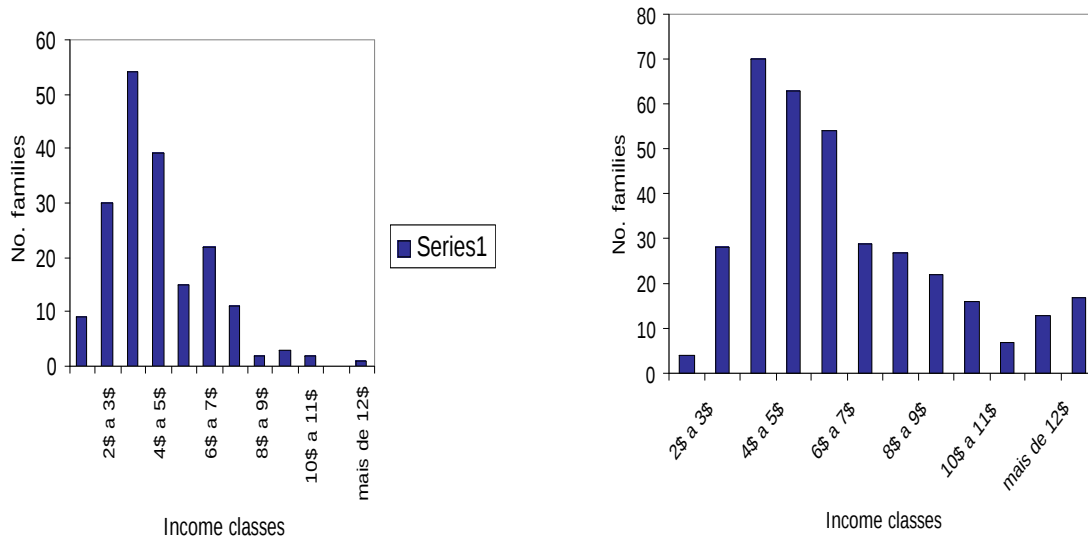
³ Aquino da Costa Júnior was the first author to discuss this problem when applied to economic and social areas. A first scientific introduction to the theory of sampling probability was, however, provided in a footnote by Luiz Feliciano Marrecas Ferreira, with the author making use of the methodologies developed by the mathematicians Laplace and Jacques Bernouilli. Marrecas Ferreira, Luiz Feliciano (1886). *Estudo sobre Montepios*, Lisbon:Tipografia da Viúva Sousa Neves: 9.

at the extreme values, it seems legitimate to conclude that they are similar. The similarity of the more frequent values in both sub-samples therefore functions as proof of the fact that there are no causes influencing one sample without also influencing the other. Our eyes are directed towards the fact that most people were situated in the income classes between 3\$00 and 5\$00 escudos, both in the sub-group of families with more than 4 members and in the sub-group of families with 4 members or fewer.

Graph 1

Classification of working-class families according to their average family income

2.1. Families with fewer than 4 members 2.2. Families with 4 or more members



Sources: (Costa Júnior 1917:103-109)

But there is another way of looking at the problem. The fundamental element of distinction between the two sub-samples is not the mean but the variation around the mean. The possibility of the distribution of the frequencies not having a symmetrical shape and therefore of the mean not representing the best estimate of the expected value is theoretically contemplated. Other parameters are needed that are capable of showing the variation at different moments of the distribution, both to the left and to the right. In the actual case under analysis here, the prospect of change directs our eyes towards the fact that the families “with 4 or more persons” show a distribution with a pronounced tail to the right, indicating that the larger households, probably those with children in active employment, have higher incomes. From this, it can be inferred that the two distributions are not exactly the same.

The succinct interpretation made by the Ministry of Labour did not suggest this latter hypothesis, and it was satisfied with the conclusion that there was a similarity in the distribution of incomes in different-sized families.⁴ Underlying this was the idea that “representativeness” is given by the concentration of sociological groups around a certain mean. The sense of order, position and functional group is transmitted through the concentration of the distributions at central values.

⁴ The statistical test for the differences of the means gives a result of -5.58 , showing that there is a significant difference in the mean of the two distributions, which allows us to conclude that family size is effectively related to the variable of household disposable income, contrary to the view expressed by the Ministry of Labour.

Historically, this view was closer to Quetelet's Average Man theory, from the first half of the 19th century, than to the English biometry movement, from the end of the 19th century. This included the new discoveries of anthropometry and mathematical biology made by Galton, Pearson, Weldon and other authors, who centred their attention on the variability of individual cases and on ideas of variance, correlation and regression.⁵ The priority given to the study of groups, summarised by their mean, gave way to the analysis of the distribution of individuals and their comparative difference.

The idea of using what is known about the population as a whole in order to select small samples that represent the diversity of characteristics of the whole group only began to be noted in the mid-1920s. A. Jensen, the director of the Danish Department of Statistics, made a decisive contribution towards testing this methodology and demonstrating its efficacy (Hald 1998: 290-291). Aquino da Costa Júnior's view naturally did not have anything to do with these techniques of intentional selection. There were other concepts involved: the population of the sample was not a randomly chosen object, but there was also no deliberately determined pattern. For this reason, it would be difficult to speak of the existence of criteria for the extraction of data. And this meant that the notion of "representativeness" had to be constructed *a posteriori*, as a justification for the volume of answers that it was possible to obtain within the survey. We are therefore faced with a sample of opportunity, where the reliability of what is represented depends on a judgement about its capacity for revealing the average traits of a population⁶ without questioning the verisimilitude between the observations collected and the sector under analysis, between the sample and the population. The concept of a *sample of opportunity* thus describes the State's use of previously existing social groups and their recognition as suitable entities for building a sampling pool with low data collection costs.

In the international statistical world, the mathematician Arthur Bowley insists on criticising this type of survey, proposing a methodology for estimating "confidence intervals" for samplings. After the First World War, the question was firmly on the agenda. To counteract the proliferation of questionnaires, which lacked the formal mechanisms of standardisation and control, the International Statistical Institute approved a recommendation in 1925, in which it declared the need for finding a mathematical formulation for establishing the degree of accuracy of results, as well as providing an indication of its probability of error.⁷

In 1934, the mathematician Jerzy Neyman established a new paradigm for research in this area. Before an audience of specialists at the Royal Statistical Society, Neyman answered a fundamental question: how many observations must be collected for us to be able to replace the exhaustive analysis of the whole by the investigation of one of the parts. Thanks to this idea, statistical representativeness began to be gauged mathematically, subordinating the importance of sociological representativeness. The very concept of the confidence interval is also altered, ceasing to

⁵ Astronomy and navigational sciences from the end of the 19th century, (Pedro José da Cunha, Wills de Araújo, Júlio Milheiro and others), followed by criminal anthropology and the eugenics movement from the 1920s, were the first scientific areas in Portugal to introduce the analysis of the dispersion of distributions (standard deviation and probable error). This representation corresponds in the human sciences to an attitude of distrust in relation to the realistic grouping of individuals into classes, justified by the sociological sense of the normal distribution of the categories around a central trend. The prospect of individual variation becomes important and calls into question the aprioristic coherence of statistical categories, this being one of the features of the criticism levelled at the biological determinism of Lombroso (evident in the works of Roberto Frias, Basílio Freire, José Joyce) and the distancing from the social elitism of Darwinism (evident in the works of António Azevedo Castelo Branco, Júlio de Matos, Magalhães Lemos). Madureira, Nuno Luís, 2003. *A estatística do corpo: antropologia física e antropometria na alvorada do século XX, Etnográfica*, VII(2):283-303.

⁶ According to Desrosières, the 1906 survey of the Board of Trade, the benchmark for the Portuguese survey, as well as others of a similar nature undertaken in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, were part of the mathematical theory of Quetelet's average man. On this subject, see Desrosières, Alain, (1998). *The Politics of Large Numbers*, Harvard: Harvard University Press (English translation).

⁷ This recommendation by the International Statistical Institute resulted from the insistence of A. Jensen and the Professor of Statistics at the London School of Economics, A. Bowley, who at that time was the scientist most evidently concerned with defining the conditions for a probabilistic assessment of sampling error. Hald, Anders, *A History of Mathematical Statistics...*, op. cit. (1998): 291-294.

be a result in order to become a flexible process, in which the researcher is called upon to intervene. The statistician becomes a decider for it is his responsibility to decide upon what would be the most suitable confidence interval: he can equally well choose an interval of 99.5% or one of 95%. The greater the level of confidence, the greater is the possibility of the real value of the parameter remaining within the intervals estimated by the sample.⁸ This contribution provides theoretical support for the adoption of random sampling techniques, freeing administrative techniques from prejudices against the uncertainty of results in random choices.

In the survey undertaken by the Ministry of Labour in 1917 on the “Portuguese proletariat,” the class associations and the ministry staff filtered the answers twice over: the associations because they were intermediaries in the choice of candidates; the ministry staff because it suppressed answers that were considered invalid or fanciful. Although the historical sources have not survived, it is legitimate to suspect that the less literate workers, those who had greater difficulties in calculating their consumption and those who were politically radical and refused to engage in any form of collaboration with the State (it should be remembered that we were at that time at the height of anarcho-sindicalist influence) did not contribute to the final results of the sample. Such circumstances profoundly changed the premises of random selection. If hypothetically we were to forget such a reality and took the sampling as a genuinely random act, Neyman’s theory would allow us to conclude that the 538 valid questionnaires (0.4% of the industrial workers identified in the 1917 census) effectively guaranteed a good estimate. Faced with the parameters of the distribution and basing ourselves upon a confidence interval of 95%, it could even be said that it would be enough to have access to roughly half of the answers collected (292 questionnaires) in order to already be able to obtain satisfactory results.⁹

Technical Legitimacy and Political Legitimacy of the Price Index

The next step in the construction of the index of the cost of living consisted in finding out how households managed their budgets. The quantities consumed were calculated on the basis of 52 weeks (1 year) and began to constitute what is now known in modern terms as the “consumer’s shopping basket” (Table 2). From this reference, the index was calculated by multiplying the average prices for a given year by the respective average consumptions. Subsequently, the total expenditure of the shopping basket was added up and a weighted average was obtained that fixed in one single number the impact of the price changes on the life of families.

The publication of the first studies making use of the price index was a source of great pride for the staff at the Ministry of Labour. The satisfaction came from the fact that Portugal introduced this statistical innovation before other European nations, more particularly before Spain and Germany. Not everyone shared in this enthusiasm, however. The globalising expression “cost of living index” gave an idea that did not correspond to reality because many household expenses were not included in the “shopping basket.” For technical reasons it was only possible for the Ministry of Labour to investigate the prices of food and the odd products used for hygiene and heating purposes.

Amongst the items omitted, clothing, linen and house rents were the most problematical, for they represented a considerable portion of household budgets (at least 25% according to the conclusions of the survey of workers’ consumption habits). In other circumstances, perhaps this technical lapse would have gone unnoticed. In the agitated atmosphere of the First World War, the

⁸ “Note that to Neyman, the probability associated with the confidence interval was not the probability that we are correct. It was the frequency of correct statements that a statistician who uses this method will make in the long run. It says nothing about how accurate the current estimate is.” Salzburg, David, (2001). *The Lady Tasting Tea. How Statistics Revolutionized Science in the Twentieth Century*, New York: W.H. Freeman and Company, 123.

⁹ A group of 292 surveys would make it possible to obtain a sample of working-class families with average incomes situated within a 95% range of confidence, in the interval between $8 - Z \alpha/2 \sigma \sqrt{n}$ and $8 + Z \alpha/2 \sigma \sqrt{n}$ and receiving 5\$69 and 5\$09, respectively. The average income of the survey of living conditions was 5\$39 per family per week.

deficient coverage of the index took on political overtones and became a subject of debate. Due to the shortage of essential commodities, the prices of food products and coal grew at a faster rate than all other types of goods and services. Furthermore, they were imperfectly measured by the official statistics, which did not capture the parallel evolution of the black market. The wave of robberies at grocer's shops and small trading establishments in the spring of 1917 was the most visible symptom of people's impatience with the bottlenecks in the market and the rising trend in prices. As the index only considered those essential goods where the effects of inflation were most severely felt, the official picture of the cost of living was higher than that which individuals experienced in their day-to-day life. If we further add to this factor a high level of social conflict, which continued until 1921 in the struggle for better salaries, in a defence of the 8-hour working day and in the fight against a reduction in work by the employers, then the ingredients were in place for the index to become part of the social unrest. An exaggerated measurement of the rise in the cost of living legitimised the workers' claims for an updating of their pay levels.

Table 2

Annual consumption of a working-class family (food, energy and hygiene) according to the 1917 survey

Product	Annual consumption of a 4-person family	Product	Annual consumption of a 4-person family
Bread	800 Kg	Eggs	40 dozen
Potatoes	250 Kg	Sugar	50 Kg
Beef	90 Kg	Lard	10 Kg
Lamb	20 Kg	Chouriço	12 Kg
Rice	30 Kg	Bacon	12 Kg
Dried cod	30 Kg	Wine	400 litres
Olive-oil	40 litres	Coke	250 Kg
Coffee	12 Kg	Charcoal	250 Kg
Beans + chickpeas	150 litres	Oil	50 litres
Milk	180 litres	Soap	100 Kg

Sources: (Costa Júnior 1917:106)

Working class associations expressed their discontent by comparing the increase in salaries with the increase in the prices of bread, dried cod, meat and other foodstuffs, resorting to disaggregated prices to draw their own conclusions. Against such a line of reasoning, the employers were unable to counteract with a valid argument; they could not invoke the single numbers of the cost of living, nor even wave the flag of scientific objectivity. The mathematics of the Ministry of Labour coincided with the arithmetic of the workers' associations. Faced with the adversity of the numbers, all that was left was to lead this debate to those places behind the scenes in which technical discussion was the order of the day, and to criticise the lack of credibility of the cost of living index: "Unfortunately, our offices where statistics are kept are not equipped to formulate the necessary data for the appreciation of the nation's different forms of economic life (...) At this moment, the working classes wish to be given impracticable rewards for their work, and the impossibility of satisfying such demands cannot be opposed with sufficiently convincing arguments, because of the lack of statistical data on which such opposition would have to be based." This text appears on the opening page of the Commercial and Financial Bulletin (*Boletim Comercial e Financeiro*), distributed free of charge in banking and financial circles. The writer of the article concludes his argument by requesting the compilation of a truly representative price index: "not only is it necessary to deal with the problem of food, clothing and accommodation, but it is also necessary, in addition to such essential needs, to

pay attention to the habits of social solidarity, the organisation of education and health, aspects of a recreational nature and others” (Boletim Comercial e Financeiro, 1921). Through an ironical twist of fate, Aquino da Costa Júnior’s visionary statement of science as the ally of most working-class “conquests” ends up being proven, although not in the sense envisaged by the author.

Against the background of galloping inflation, strikes and demonstrations for better salaries, and the snowball effect of the budget deficit, single numbers began to have strategic significance in the perception of the indicators of the economy and the State’s behaviour. In five, or possibly six years, things had changed so rapidly that the economic agents needed reference anchors in order to be able to understand what was happening.

Comparing data from 1913 with data from 1919 or 1920 became a common practice in all reflections upon this matter: in this interval was to be found the unknown measure of the war’s economically degenerative effects. Not only in Portugal, but throughout Europe, “index number mania” was invading the space of reflection, and the essayists came to use the aggregate information of these indicators as a platform for developing their ideas (Andrade 1925; Costa 1926; Valente undated).

This whole conjuncture gave a special impetus to the search for single numbers that were capable of reducing ambiguities and uncertainties. The cost of living index became highly relevant, for it was a tool that was already available to be used in measuring phenomena and in comparing them in order to establish a pattern. The trend towards extrapolation necessarily implied that the social meaning be decontextualised: what had previously been an instrument for helping the working class was transformed, by dint of circumstances, into a macroeconomic indicator that could be generalised and applied to the whole country. The cost of living of the working population was therefore transformed into an abstract rate of inflation. The first step was taken in 1922, when the Statistical Yearbook reproduced Aquino da Costa Júnior’s work in order to make a comparative estimate of the evolution of prices in that year. The aggregate indicators were presented as prices for the country as a whole and no longer just as measurements approximating the standard of living of the workers. In other words, the social significance of the aggregation faded away (this social significance was represented by the value of q in the calculation of $\sum pq$, which describes the sum total of the prices weighted in accordance with the quantities consumed).

In 1929, the Monthly Statistical Bulletin (Boletim Mensal de Estatística) issued by the National Statistical Institute continued with the initiative, updating all the information of the Ministry of Labour and establishing the prices of July 1914 as the 100 base of the index. During the period of the New State (Estado Novo), this indicator became the official one. The State formed by Salazar appropriated the republican initiative, stripping it of its social ideas and converting it into a technical device. Such a disembodiment of knowledge implies that the conclusions that were strictly valid in terms of sampling were later extended to cover the whole population.

The first attempts made by the regime to modernise the coefficients for the weighting of consumption were unsuccessful. In an attempt to solve the problem, the National Statistical Institute ended up resorting to the survey carried out by the Directorate-General of Health in 1937 in order to obtain data about household budgets. Once the index had been reformulated, the advances made in the coverage of expenditure were minimal and there continued to be only 21 items estimated in the shopping basket. The discourse was therefore prudent and cautious. To avoid falling into the controversies experienced by the former Ministry of Labour, it was stated that the country did not have a real cost of living index, but rather a “weighted index number of the cost of food and some articles of domestic consumption” (INE; 1940).

But not everything had to do with technical difficulties. Some products escaped the nets used for the collection of information simply because the informality of transactions did not allow for any standardisation of characteristics or comparison of prices. The selling of fruit and vegetables on farms, in the street, at temporary markets and stalls, based on the value of each unit, the circumstances of the moment and the general appearance of the customer, fell under this category. Obviously, where the economic rules of trade allowed themselves to be imbued with other factors, the analysis of prices was more complicated. In these first indexes, there was clearly some difficulty in capturing the evolution of perishable seasonal products such as vegetables and of those that

appeared on an irregular basis, such as fresh fish. The very size and scale of market relations limited the possibilities of statistics.

The main novelty in the updating of the index undertaken in 1938 was the appearance at such an early stage of an official mathematical notation of the formula proposed by the mathematician Laspeyres (1871).¹⁰ The price index of the Laspeyres type is still in use today in Portugal and in the other countries of the European Union,¹¹ and shows the variation in the cost of a shopping basket of articles in the current period (1), by comparison with the same shopping basket in the base period (0):

$$L = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n p_{i1} q_{i0}}{\sum_{i=1}^n p_{i0} q_{i0}}$$

According to the economists Solow and Temin (Solow and Temin 1978:8), the Laspeyres index has an effect similar to that of a man who, on the basis of today's information, goes to bed trying to imagine what tomorrow's prices will be like. It is easily understood that the great disadvantage of this statistical indicator is that it does not accompany the trends of consumers when they choose to buy new products whenever there are advantages in replacing one good with another.

The statistics relating to inflation changed very radically after the Second World War. The age of radio advertisements, restaurants, entertainments, detergents, electricity, electrical household appliances and medicine substantially altered the consumption routines of the urban classes. Changes were now occurring at a much faster pace. From 1941 onwards, the Bank of Portugal also began to publish a price index on a regular basis, and in 1948 the National Statistical Institute finally presented a general consumer price index.

A substantial improvement was immediately noted in the coverage of the whole spectrum of household expenditure, particularly in the category of services that had been undervalued until then. Furthermore, the index now included those novelties that had caused such a stir in modern life: football and other entertainments, electricity, restaurants and cafés, personal hygiene, home furnishings and a fair sample of expenditure on clothing and footwear (12 items for men and 19 items for women). The main advance in this area, however, had to do with the inclusion of the price series of house rents, whose absence from earlier statistics called into question their reliability. Altogether, each month between 198 and 251 prices of goods and services were collected, five times more than previously, and a fairly up-to-date number if we consider that the Consumer Price Index for 1976 grouped together similar information (256 items excluding rents). The new advances made in statistical credibility only occurred during the 1980s, when the database increased to a total of 524 items (1983 Index) and then to 577 items (1991 Index).

Despite the post-war improvements, the fact of the matter is that the use of the sampling of the survey as the basis for the construction of the coefficients for the weighting of the index was far from able to represent the multiform reality of household expenditure in the different Portuguese

¹⁰ In the Monthly Statistical Bulletin of the Directorate-General for Statistics, INE, (1929) 3, a version had already been presented of the Laspeyres index with an early notation that used a capital "P" to indicate the current year's prices and a small "p" to refer to the prices of the base year:

$$L = \frac{100 \sum Pq}{\sum Pq}$$

¹¹ France and the United Kingdom used variants of chain indexes of the Laspeyres index to account for the permanent updating of consumer behaviour.

regions. The 56,215 individuals consulted in June 1948 were more a reflection of the “population of the regime” than the population of the country. The sampling criteria were drawn up from the corporate structure, using “official” trade unions, based in Lisbon, as their channel for the conveying of information. The overlapping between government and State, together with the centralism of capital, was able to produce scientific magic: a sample of 2.5% of the workers of each trade union in Lisbon ended up being representative of the country’s socio-professional universe. The reasons for the survey were grounded in the regime, serving simultaneously as official procedure, a legitimising demonstration and a motivating narrative.

Sampling Probability and Theory

Opportunity samples have the function of legitimising the mechanisms of representativeness created by the regime: political groups become statistically relevant groups, for it is in them that the very sap of social organisation is to be found. Yet the most important thing is to stress that, at that time (in the 1940s), new sampling techniques were being tested in Portugal for the first time, based on the paradigms of statistical inference. This scientific advance was to lead to the general acceptance of the methodologies of random sampling.

The new concepts were presented in a book published in 1938 by the scientist who had most distinguished himself in Portugal in the experimentation of mathematical statistics, the Coimbra University lecturer Euzébio Tamagnini (Tamagnini 1938). From the point of view of practical applications, it was in the field of agronomic studies that the first steps were taken. At the Alandroal Dryland Crops Experimental Station and the Sacavém National Agronomic Station, stratified samplings were developed, based on the geometrical division of the cultivated land into “causalised blocks ... with L strips, each with h possible sample units, of which only K are included in the sample” (Oliveira 1948: 208). Ronald Fisher’s variance analysis, which had also come into being at an experimental agronomic station in England, was the great theoretical influence upon these experiments. It should be noted that the methodology of artificially dividing the land into small experimental blocks transformed the statistical observations into a random selection of the set of possible measurements. The object of knowledge ceased to be the cultivated land and was centred on the samples taken from this land. Consequently, instead of having fixed parameters to describe the real distribution of the observations, we were left with estimates, “mere statistics” based on insufficient information, which might later be used to try and discover the parameters of the real distribution. By making the mathematical calculation dependent on the prior constitution of the series, the sampling became a logic for science to represent the world. The methodology for the construction of the observations was likened to a throw of the dice, and statistical facts therefore acquired the theoretical position of probable facts. The premise that there was a gap between the theoretical value of the parameters (mean, standard deviation, regression, etc.) and their estimated value led to the foundation of an epistemology that was to become known as statistical inference.

The adoption of these methods in Portuguese agronomy was associated with the activity of Manuel Zaluar Nunes at the Higher Agronomic Institute in Lisbon. His works on samples of cereal and potato crops at Sacavém and Alandroal were not in fact the only developments of the research. In the 1940s, mathematical applications of sampling techniques to the study of forests were also attempted to determine the volume of trees in eucalyptus woods, controlling the errors to which sample units are subject (Monteiro 1944:25-58), an activity that involved high costs in information collection by direct measurement.

Around this time, the secondary school teacher and psychologist, Rui Carrington da Costa, introduced an application of the significance tests (*student T-tests* and Fisher’s *z-Distribution*) to check the forecast of his students’ success at school, based on a small sample of 59 cases. As he said, it was a question of “assessing in terms of probability, the degree of confidence that can be attributed

to the calculations made... establishing the limits of the discrepancy between the constants or parameters of the sample and those corresponding to the population or sector” (Costa, 1941).¹²

The contrast between the agronomic experimentation and the estimative theory of school psychology, and the methodology of household budgets, is enormous. The demographic and sociological concerns of the First Republic resulted in surveys intended to confirm the political and administrative structure of the New State, whose reliability was based on the law of large numbers. Still missing, however, was an assessment of the degree of confidence in the results (Bowley, Neyman) and the probability of obtaining estimates in the samples that were different from the true mean of the population (Fisher).

Seen from a comparative historical perspective, the adoption of sampling methods, modelled by mathematicians, enjoyed a remarkable level of development in the American administration during the period of the New Deal. In several sectors of the Federal Government, namely in the Trade Department and the Labour Department, but also at the National Cancer Institute, a generation of young mathematicians replaced the routine statistics of the federal government with Fisher and Neyman’s methodologies, proving that small random samples were more accurate and rigorous than the exhaustive surveys that had been undertaken until then (Salzburg 2001:172-180).

Scientific Culture and Political Culture: an Impossible Compromise

The New State’s administrative opportunity statistics preferred to demonstrate in an overwhelming fashion the regime’s power of persuasion, gathering together tens of thousands of responses and encouraging the collaboration of the corporate trade unions. In fact, the idea that individuals can be drawn at random from a population and that they can be used to form an experimentally valid group transcends the scientific question to become a postulate that is politically incompatible with the basic principles of organisation of the New State.

Salazar’s regime ideologically justified authoritarianism and restrictions on freedom of expression with the argument that political representation in Portuguese society gave a voice to the natural groups and spontaneous forms of social structuring: the family, socio-professional organisations, local communities. This corporate base made it possible to go beyond the dilemma of the liberal model of the expression of individual interests, as opposed to the socialist model of the representation of class interests. Now, as the corporations were political realities and economic entities, they also took on the role of administrative units for the purposes of information collection (institutionally inserted in the data collection circuits of the National Statistical Institute from 1944 onwards). The regime established a representativeness prior to the statistical choices made about groups and political and administrative classification. In this way, however convincing the scientific arguments might be, there could not be any great sensitivity to the idea of random sampling, for this meant denying the representative logic of existing institutions and the constitutional philosophy of representation, not to mention the risk of obtaining results without any political control and opening the doors to the sociological questioning of the variance in household incomes. Establishing limits for the processes used for extracting information from structures that were bound to the regime was the way of controlling the outburst of randomness.

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¹² The significance tests had previously been introduced by Eusébio Tamagnini in the above-mentioned work published in 1938.

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The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography

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I shall begin with a true and curious story. In March 2003, I went to give a lecture in an European university, as part of a seminar on the Far Right in the 20th century. In the room was a Portuguese student whom I barely knew and who had landed in that University some months earlier. In the course of the customary conversation after the seminar, she told me about her great perplexity when she realised that many of the leading figures from the Portuguese intellectual and historiographical world who had passed through that University were unknown to their peers abroad. She was even more surprised when she submitted their names to the “tyranny” of the gigantic databases at the university library and discovered that these names were not even mentioned in the summaries of the thousands of articles and books published in English over the last 20 years.

This student’s discovery was the same I had made 15 years earlier, when in the 1980s I had left Portugal to study for my doctorate at the European University Institute. For several years, I tried to find explanations for this phenomenon, which has definitively marked a generation of historians and sociologists, who are now nearing the age of retirement. They had been the first to “go abroad to study” either as political exiles or as some of the rare beneficiaries of scholarships, shortly before the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974. They wrote their theses in English or French, but this proved to be of little benefit to them. In a world of academic publishing that was demanding but generous and which published dozens of works about the dictatorships of Paraguay, the Bulgarian aristocracy, or the ethnic groups of Lower Guinea, I saw no Portuguese name, and I couldn’t even justify this fact by its being part and parcel of the so-called “destiny of small countries”. The reasons for this phenomenon, about which I have been thinking over the last few years, would fill a great number of pages and would be the subject of an essay on the history of the mentalities of the Portuguese academic community during the 1970s and 1980s, but there is no space for this in my brief commentary.

Internationalisation first appeared on the agenda of Portuguese social sciences a few years ago and has now reached History. The process has been a complex one and has met with much resistance. Yet, thanks to some outside encouragement, namely from the Foundation for Science and Technology (or, in one particular area, from the Commission for the Discoveries), the Portuguese universities have found themselves obliged to think about this subject. In addition to a number of isolated initiatives, such an obligation has arisen because the policy introduced for the funding of research has begun to require greater contact with institutions and colleagues from other countries, introducing non-nationals to the assessment committees and gradually obliging journals and reviews to use a system of peer refereeing etc. On the other hand, the number of students studying for master’s degrees and doctorates or enjoying brief stays at foreign universities has increased significantly. These outside impetuses have altered the research agenda in History, even though it is still too early to fully review the situation.

As a specialist in contemporary political history, it is not easy for me to undertake a global analysis, but I do believe that it is not difficult to find some changes, most of which became particularly visible in the 1990s. The first is the “rediscovery of Brazil”. I have always thought it strange that most historians from my generation, who studied the Old Regime, did not know a single Brazilian historian. About Brazil itself they had what can best be described as a “vague idea”. The overall picture has changed quite dramatically over the last few years and I believe that this is not only

a circumstantial and short-term phenomenon. Another change, and this one dates back even further, has to do with comparative Iberian history. Contacts and research initiatives have multiplied over the last 20 years or so. But it would be an illusion to think of internationalisation in terms of “geography”. The fact is that the fundamental questions direct our attention towards the inclusion of national areas of research in the respective international historiographical communities, and here the limitations are still quite significant. I limit myself to presenting just some of them:

1. Portuguese historiography has enjoyed only very scanty exposure in international journals and amongst international publishers. Here the panorama varies from area to area. But the parochial resistance of many established historians has been transmitted to their students. As a small country with a small community of historians, where access to the immediate audience was easier, many were content with the greater facilities provided by the national market where, until quite recently, special requirements such as assessment by one’s peers or the scientific editing of books were few and far between. Except for a few sporadic individual cases, the impetus in this instance came from outside, or, in other words, as I pointed out earlier, from the new funding and assessment requirements introduced by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, and these are finally beginning to bear fruit.
2. The historiographical community is still heavily dominated by what is termed the “national fact”, so that it does not generally develop comparative projects. One can count on the fingers of one hand those who study other national or cultural realities. Until quite recently, the university teaching of history itself provided very little stimulation in this area. The most important factors leading to internationalisation have been the increase in the number of scholarships for doctorates taken abroad and the funding requirements of projects.
3. With only a few exceptions, the community of Portuguese historians has demonstrated a reduced level of international academic mobility. The Chairs in History created by the Portuguese State and some Foundations at a number of European and American universities, such as Brown University, the European University Institute or Kings College, London, are important, but there has been no Portuguese academic diaspora similar to the one found in Greece, just to give an example of another southern European country. At the same time, there are very few foreign historians teaching in Portuguese universities, not only because the working conditions are relatively unattractive, but also because of the fact that these institutions have informally blocked applications by non-nationals. Since even mobility amongst Portuguese university teachers has itself proved to be complex, international mobility is understandably almost non-existent.
4. It is obvious that underlying this problem is yet another problem of a more theoretical and methodological nature and one that, at least superficially, can be summarised as follows: the greater the tendency towards writing narrative history, the more parochial it is; the closer it is to the social sciences, the more likely it is to become part of international historiographical debates.

The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography: Basic Data and Educated Guesses

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My discussion of the proposed topic will rest on two assumptions.

First: historiography is about the writing of History; internationalization is about the boundaries of its writing, of its reading and of its usefulness. So, whatever other dimensions one may discuss of the internationalization of Portuguese historians or institutions, they should be seen as a means to an ultimate end, that of placing historical research carried out by Portuguese institutions under the gaze and in the minds of the international scholarly community. No amount of networking, project sharing and conference attending will do the trick unless it translates to frequent publications by Portuguese-based authors in widely accessible international scholarly media. Nor will (self) complacent remarks about the international quality of Portuguese historians, as long as we remain protected from international scrutiny behind the national and linguistic borders of the media that convey our writings.

Second: historiography is a collective and a cumulative endeavour. The core issue is not about the personal experience of a few people or the ability of a few institutions to engage in the international game. This is not to deny their importance as parts of the collective effort (which certainly can use spearheads), only to give the question a precise meaning: whether there are collective results to speak of, whether in the end of the day there is evidence of collective effort in that direction. In a nutshell, I assume that aggregate outcomes, their institutional settings and the social incentive systems that inform the actors' decisions are the stuff of our discussion.

The only readily available indicator for disciplinary internationalisation in the above sense is the number of publications in international academic journals by authors affiliated to Portuguese institutions. By international journals I mean those included in international academic reference databases. By this standard, a Portuguese journal may be international, while a journal published abroad may not.

I have used three kinds of international reference databases. One is the National Citation Report for Portugal provided by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), based on the relevant Citation Indexes compiling the publications in thousands of science and humanities journals worldwide (<http://www.isinet.com>). The basic statistics are published by the OCES (Observatory for Science and Higher Education) at

<http://www.oces.mces.pt/en/documentos/navigator.jsp?action=opendoc&pkid=10>.

ISI's Science Citation Index has long asserted itself as the international standard reference database for the exact, natural and engineering sciences. Its companion indexes, the *Social Science Citation Index* (SSCI) and the *Arts and Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI) are the relevant ones here.

These are less comprehensive and are often criticised by experts for insufficient coverage, due to disciplinary fragmentation of nation and region-specific subject matters and academic traditions, and to the alleged Anglophone bias in journal selection in disciplines whose expression remains strongly rooted in national languages. However, they do cover a wide variety of important journals from most countries in the world (not from Portugal, though), including several French, German, Italian and Spanish-speaking journals, and for the present purpose they allow a comparison of publication numbers between History and other disciplines of the Social Sciences and Humanities, across the most selective compilation of publications.

The second kind of reference databases is composed of other general coverage databases and discipline-specific compilations of international standing. Each of them covers a wider range of journals in the respective discipline than ISI, including a few Portuguese ones. Although they are not devised for bibliometrics, it is possible to perform basic counts from *Portuguese Scientific Production in the Social and Human Sciences 1989-2001* (PSPSHS), an ongoing synthetic database made available by the OCES that gleans Portuguese authored articles from the most important of those collections (www.oces.mces.pt/bds/prod/csh/index.jsp). Besides the SSCI and the AHCI, it incorporates the articles indexed in *Econlit* (Economics), *Psyclit* (Psychology), *Sociological Abstracts*, *MLA International Bibliography* (Linguistics and Literature), *ERIC* (Education Sciences), *Historical Abstracts*, *International Index to Music Periodicals*, *Lisa* (Document Sciences) and a few more generic reference databases (*Wilson Art Abstracts*, *Wilson Humanities Abstracts* and *Wilson Social Sciences Abstracts*), along with a Portuguese-specific one.

The latter, the *Inventory of Portuguese Journals* (IPJ), is the third and most inclusive database resource on Portuguese publications. It includes articles published in Portuguese journals admitted on minimal scholarly quality requirements, chiefly that of having an academic scientific committee steering a publication policy, or being owned or sponsored by an academic or research institution, and maintaining regular publication of the periodical. Most of them do not comply with international standards of academic publication, namely peer review, and are not indexed in any international reference database (see <http://www.oces.mces.pt/bds/prod/csh/introducao.jsp>, unfortunately not available in English, for further information concerning PSPSHS and IPJ).

From these sources I took simple series of yearly publication statistics. For a clearer view of the trends, all serial data below are presented as three-years moving averages plotted on the third year.

I admit that this type of indicators does not capture international publications in an exhaustive way. Publication of books, book chapters and papers in conference proceedings may be important as well. But publication in academic journals is generally acknowledged as the best single measure of the pulse of academic productivity. Even if the number of articles in journals were only the tip of the iceberg, one might assume that there is some relationship between the tip and the base – apart from the fact that they are supposed to be the *base* of the iceberg in the first place.

[Chart 1](#) shows the number of publications authored by Portuguese institutions in History journals indexed in the AHCI, comparing it with those in Psychology, Economics, and Sociology & Anthropology in the SSCI. It should be noted that in cases where the same journal is counted in more than one discipline, the articles are counted repeatedly in all categories. These series can be compared across disciplines, but not added up.

One important point is that the four disciplines started from very similar levels in the first half of the eighties, and only later diverged into two very different trends. Psychology and

Economics' growth trend picked up slowly in the second half of the decade and intensified from the early nineties. History and Sociology & Anthropology fell very much behind, in near stagnant trajectories, which only seemed to pick up a consistent albeit moderate increase after 1996-1997. Arguably this late and limited growth may be related to the international evaluation procedures introduced by FCT, along with the opening of R&D funding programs to the Social Sciences and the Humanities, as pointed out by António Costa Pinto. If this is the case, however, History's reaction has been rather numb, even by the standards of the slower and later trend it shares with Sociology & Anthropology.

This laggardness is not related to the volume of research. Assuming that the investment in doctoral and post-doctoral research and the number of new PhDs can be used as proxies for this variable, I first plotted the number of doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships granted by the main funding programs since 1990 in each of the above disciplines, according to whether the scholarship took place exclusively in Portuguese institutions, or at least a part of it took place abroad ([chart 2](#)). The results show that Economics clearly benefited from a head start for being included in the priority criteria that shaped the CIENCIA program (1990-93). Doctoral research in Economics was targeted by public policy a few years before that in the other fields. Economics was also more oriented from the very start to international training: unlike any of the other fields, over 80% of doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships in Economics took place at least in part in foreign institutions. This cannot but reflect in opportunities for collaborative research and exposure to international evaluation standards that in turn favour publication in international journals. However, although these differences apply to Economics, they cannot explain the dynamics of Psychology, which only differs from History and Sociology & Anthropology in that the internationalization of its scholarships was even lower, below 50% overall. Publication in SSCI Psychology journals may have had an "invisible" marginal head start through research in the Health Sciences and maybe in the Life Sciences, via publications in Clinical Psychology and Neuropsychiatry journals, but this remains an untested hypothesis. On these input data, History only compares unfavourably to Economics, and certainly not to Sociology & Anthropology which, however, seem to have taken more advantage in terms of the growth of publications in mainstream journals from the second half of the nineties.

Doctoral research is supposed to produce original knowledge of publishable quality, and is usually one of the most dynamic contributors to academic publications. History has hardly been at a disadvantage in this respect as well ([chart 3](#)). It was by far the fastest growing category in new doctorates, consistently outgrowing all other fields in the sample since the early nineties and for the rest of the decade. Somehow this was not channelled in significant proportions into the admittedly rarefied and biased mainstream of the AHCI. Where has it gone to and to what extent it was disseminated through other international journals are the next logical questions to ask.

To answer those questions we have to look at the more general journal publication patterns of the History research community, compared to those of the other disciplines. For that effect, I will now explore the data in the OCES 1989-2001 PSPSHS database. Because of the burdensome process of semi-manual counts in the online database, I will restrict the sample to two disciplines, besides History (which here includes Archaeology): Economics and Sociology.

The top lines in [chart 4](#) display the total of articles indexed in the PSPSHS for the three disciplines. Contrary to the previous data, History presents a clear lead in total publications, almost three times those of either Sociology or Economics. But the lines at the bottom of the chart, the

numbers of publications in *international* journals (all those indexed in the international reference databases, including the Portuguese ones) and in international journals *abroad* (international journals minus the Portuguese ones) show that the outlet for the bulk of publications in History is that of purely *national* journals, those that are *only* indexed in IPJ. A closer look at the data for international publications ([chart 5](#)) shows that History took the lead in absolute numbers both of international publications and of publications abroad in the early nineties. It was first outnumbered in publications abroad by Economics in 1993, and was so for most years until the end of the series. Still in absolute numbers of publications abroad, History kept ahead of Sociology. Their modest growth was almost parallel until 1999, but then History lost some ground (and apparently momentum) in the last years of the series. In what concerns the absolute numbers of publication in international journals, History dropped sharply and lost its lead in the second half of the nineties.

Historical publication became more and more confined to purely national journals in the second half of the nineties. In this respect, there is a sharp contrast with Sociology, whose international publications grew dramatically after 1992, fed by the policy of the major Portuguese journals in the field that invested in international indexation and generally kept it. In contrast, most of the more reputed Portuguese History journals never got indexed during this period while some of the older ones lost their indexation, presumably because they failed to keep up with publication standards. For this reason, the large output of Portuguese historical research dispersed across a vast number of discipline-specific and generalist journals that are virtually invisible to the international community. One telling comparison is that of the sheer number of Portuguese journals indexed to each discipline in the IPJ: 41 in History & Archaeology, versus 10 in Economics and 7 in Sociology, besides 42 generalist Social Sciences and Humanities journals. Only a small fraction was ever indexed in any of the international databases.

[Chart 6](#) shows the ratios of international publications and of publications abroad to total publications for the three disciplines, measuring how much of the total publication effort has been channelled to internationally referenced articles. Not surprisingly, Economics is by far the more oriented to international publication. Both Charts 5 and 6 place it above History and Sociology. International journals published abroad are becoming ever more important in internationalizing Portuguese research in Economics. History is right at the other end. Its ratio abroad was the lowest across most of the decade, having definitively lost ground to Sociology since 1994, and proceeded at a nearly stagnant pace, while Sociology's modest ratio grew a little more consistently and apparently picked up momentum since 2000. History's international ratio, which was higher than that of Sociology until 1991, actually *decreased* on average for most of the decade, especially since 1996, while Sociology's grew consistently after 1992, as a result of the developments summarized in the paragraph above. Looking at the disciplinary endeavours as aggregate results, it is clear that the equation of opportunities and incentives, when it comes down to the average historian's decision of where to publish her/his results, has been particularly unfavourable to the internationalization of Portuguese historiography.

One can therefore conclude that although historical research and total publications grew in absolute terms above those of related disciplines, its dissemination in international journals published abroad remains very limited and has grown at a comparatively modest pace. On the other hand, the kind of international publication over which the national research community has more control and to which it has easier access – that of Portuguese journals indexed in international reference databases

– even decreased, partly because some journals seem to have lost that status, partly because most journals did not see international indexation as a goal worth striving for. This alone is a direct indicator that History journals have been under little pressure to internationalize from their authors (who choose where to publish on the basis of future reputation assessments), from their users (who rank their reading and citing priorities according to journals' and authors' reputation), from academic institutions (who assess researchers' reputations mainly according to their publications) and from public institutions (who evaluate projects and research institutions on the basis of published research results, and who fund most journals). To the extent that any academic community's status allocation system balances general and local hierarchy criteria, Portuguese History's seems to be mostly defined by the latter, and not to incorporate international standards in the former in any decisive way. Only recently, as A. Costa Pinto points out, have a few journals upgraded their publishing standards by introducing peer-review and improving regularity of publication, and some got indexed anew in international databases as a consequence. Too recently to be visible in the series above, and maybe too few as yet to have a large aggregate impact, but one can expect that as the databases are updated they will display some upward inflection in trends similar to the one shown by Sociology.

L. Adão da Fonseca's opening questions and J.-F. Schaub's and A. Costa Pinto's reflections emphasize what might be named "supply side" arguments, according to which the means to transcend localism in research publication implies amplifying either subject scope – wider geographical boundaries, comparative studies – or theoretical breadth, making "local" data relevant for broader theoretical and methodological debates, and engaging in international collaborative research. I just beg to differ with A. Costa Pinto on one particular point: I do not think that this has to do with "narrative" versus "theoretical" and "comparative" history. Narrative historical research can be of comparative and theoretical significance ("thick narrative", adapting Geertz). The cornerstone is whether or not theoretical problems and empirical results are devised to relate, through theoretical discussion and comparative evidence, to international scholarly concerns. The main point seems indisputable, though. There is a direct relationship between the disciplines' theoretical ambitions, research in international collaboration and publications abroad.

However, I think the supply-side approach somewhat begs the question. Granted that those are the means to achieve internationalization of Portuguese historians, the question remains about their preference formation. Why would Portuguese historians *want* to become more internationalized in the first place? What is the marginal profit of publishing in an international journal in terms of a scholar's reputation and career opportunities, as compared to publishing in a non-refereed Portuguese journal, in the proceedings of a (sometimes literally) parochial meeting, a chapter in an unedited book, or a whole book for that matter? How does it compare with the marginal cost of conducting extensive international literature review, writing or getting translated in a foreign language, reshaping theoretical problems to connect with those of the international community and submitting to the recommendations of a peer review? Are rewards worth the bother? To put it bluntly, is there an institutional effective demand for international publications in History?

This "demand side" approach assumes that institutions and their practices shape the only effective demand for international publication. It is they who perform reputation assessments and allocate opportunities according to their evaluation standards and to their constraints. The statement that internationalization is a prized target remains rhetorical if it is not turned to effective demand, that is, the willingness to allocate specific rewards to international publications in curricular

assessments, in the opening and filling of new career opportunities, in the evaluation and funding of Portuguese journals. This of course varies according to evaluation contexts and to institutions.

The Gordian knot, as stated in one way or the other by all my fellow discussants, lies on the combination of inbreeding, lack of mobility opportunities and of effective external competition in research institutions, and proliferation of local or network-based journals not evaluated by any external, let alone international standards. In the absence of generalized hierarchical criteria, like those that prevail in other areas, each parochial journal is by local definition among the best, and publishing there is a locally valued sign of institutional or network allegiance. Editorial comments, if any, are purely endogenous. This configuration puts a high opportunity cost on publishing in independently peer-reviewed journals. And we do tend to behave as rational actors after all (myself included)! From what information I have, leading faculties in Economics begun to sever this knot years ago.

Demand for international publications has become more explicit in public evaluations of research institutions, although uncertainty remains in the community about the hierarchy of publication media. Only too often reputed researchers express the view that such requirements "do not apply to our areas". Evaluation of journals that are granted public funding, however, never did set clear standards for a hierarchy of Portuguese journals that matches the requirements made by the international evaluation of output, in spite of some attempts initiated in later years that hopefully will be carried on. The evaluation-based identification of Portuguese journals to be considered of international level by the evaluating panels, the incentive for the best journals to upgrade their standards, to sustain indexation in international databases and to publish more often in languages other than Portuguese, might be quite effective in fostering internationally visible Portuguese journals and in setting internal publication standards closer to those of mainstream journals abroad. This e-J project itself intends to be a step in that direction.

In a broader perspective, institutional demand for international publications should also become effective through investment in framework conditions such as the wide-based subscription to international journals. International mainstream journals will generally not accept an article without a consistent literature review framing research problems and data discussion; comparative research by definition requires a good command of literature about relevant cases. Needless to say that such requirements can only be met at much higher costs by the average Portuguese researcher than by her/his counterpart in countries where universities and research centres currently subscribe to large online journal databases or to major publishers' electronic editions. Make no mistake, I do not just mean the US and Northern Europe. Spain, Greece and Turkey have got there as well.

I would not want to oppose this "demand side approach", which emphasizes constraints and incentives in the institutional opportunity structure, to the voluntarism of the "supply side approach". Purposeful action can shape institutions and aggregate outcomes; it is clear that there are individual and institutional players in the field whose stakes and values transcend the average, forced to conform by the internal opportunity structure, who have been willing to face the opportunity costs of internationalization, and that in consequence the rules of the game are slowly, almost willy-nilly, changing. But I do believe that unless structural constraints are clearly identified and dealt with within institutional practices, these examples will for a long time remain a slow-growing minority, and the effective internationalization of Portuguese historiography will not experience any significant leaps.

Charts

Chart 1

Title: Number of Portuguese publications in journals in History, Economics, Psychology, and Sociology & Anthropology in the Social Sciences Citation Index and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index, 1981-2001

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education

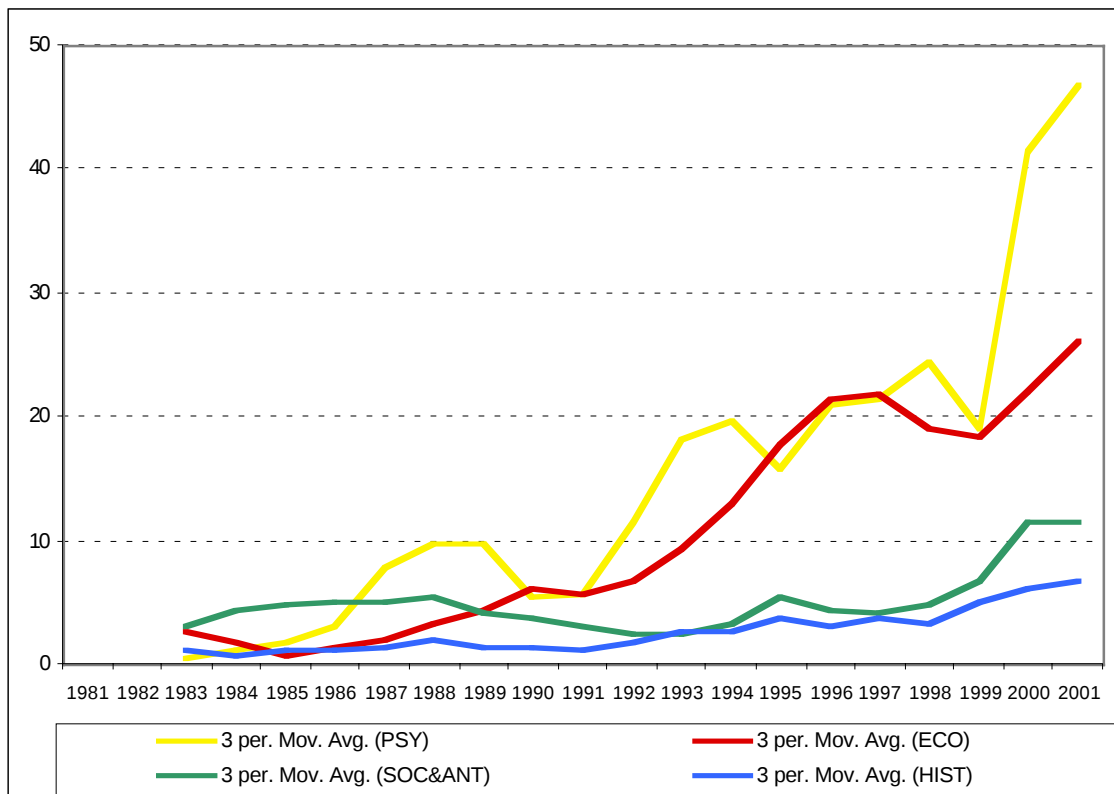


Chart 2

Title: Number of doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships granted in History & Archaeology, Economics, Psychology, and Sociology & Anthropology by main funding programs, 1990-2002

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education

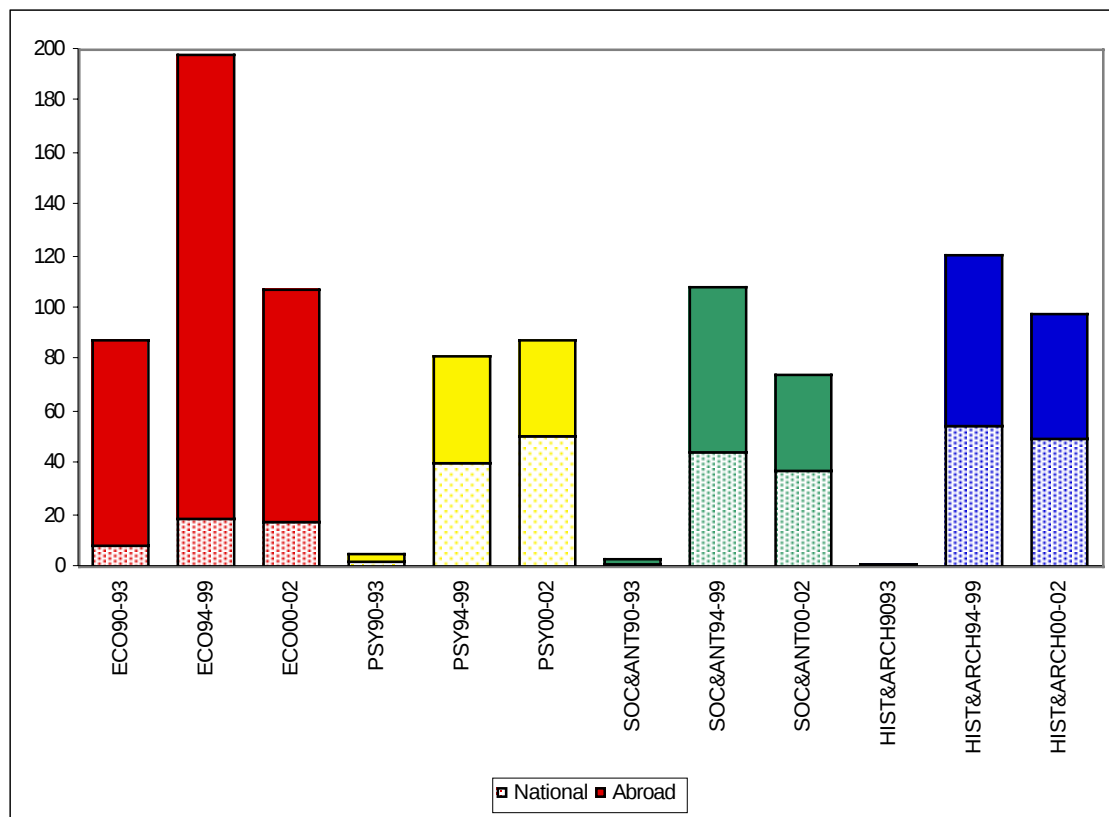


Chart 3

Title: Number of new doctorates awarded or recognized by Portuguese Universities in History & Archaeology, Economics, Psychology, and Sociology & Anthropology, 1981-2002

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education

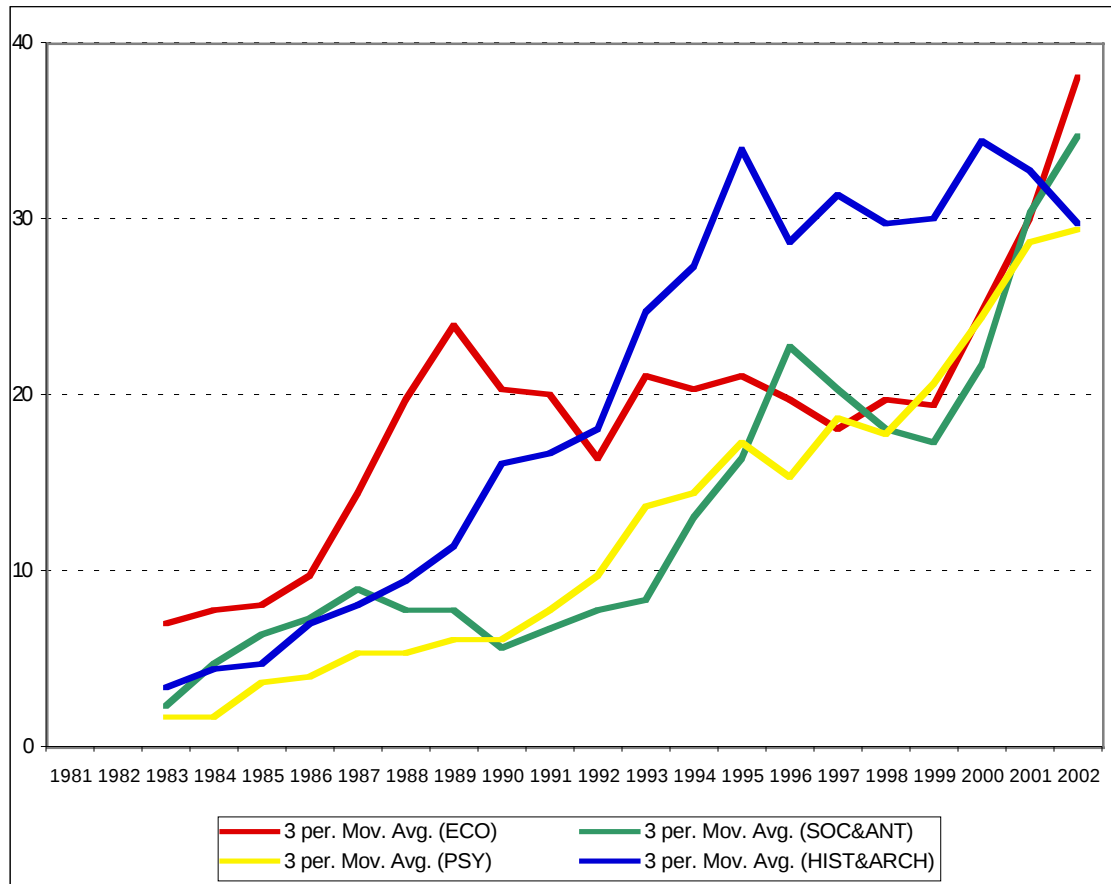


Chart 4

Title: Number of Portuguese publications in journals in History & Archaeology, Economics, and Sociology. From the Portuguese Scientific Production in the Social and Human Sciences database, 1981-2002

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education

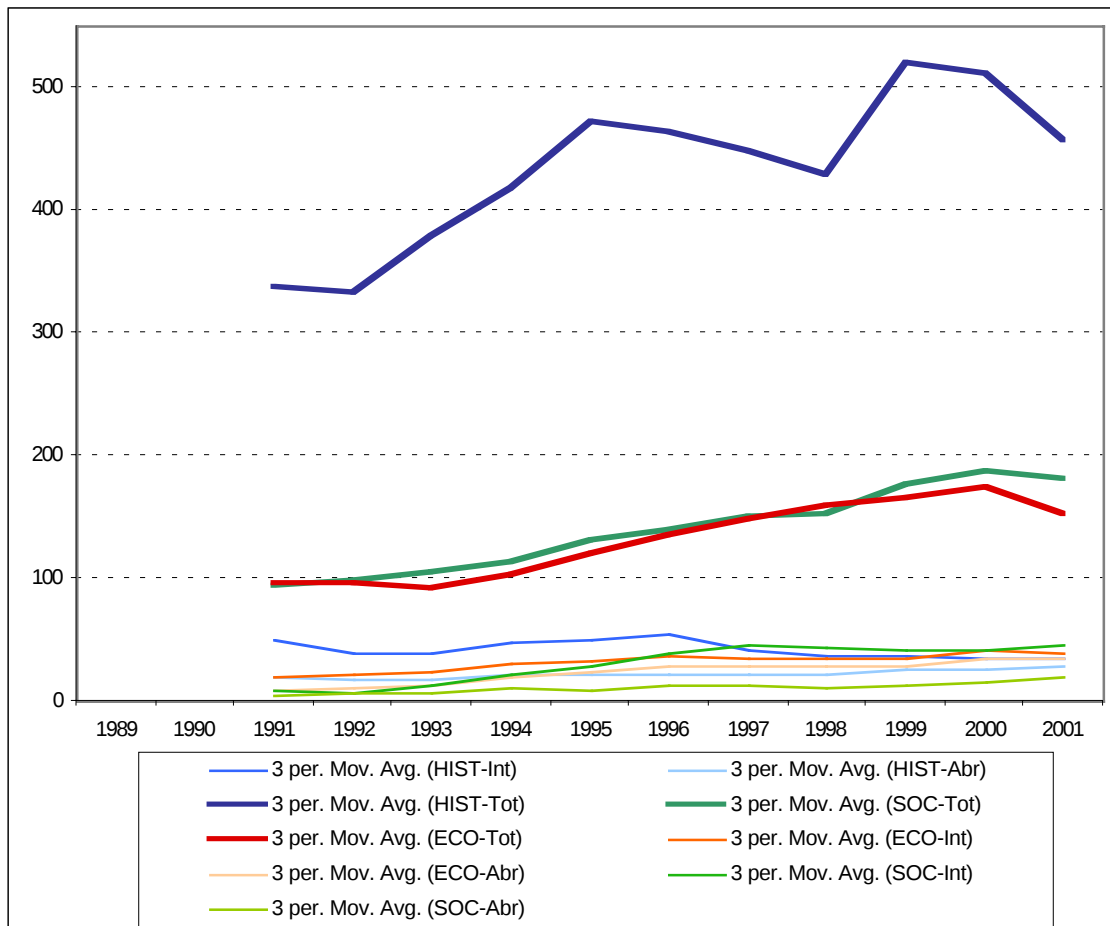


Chart 5

Title: Number of Portuguese publications in international journals in History & Archaeology, Economics, and Sociology. From the *Portuguese Scientific Production in the Social and Human Sciences* database, 1981-2002

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education

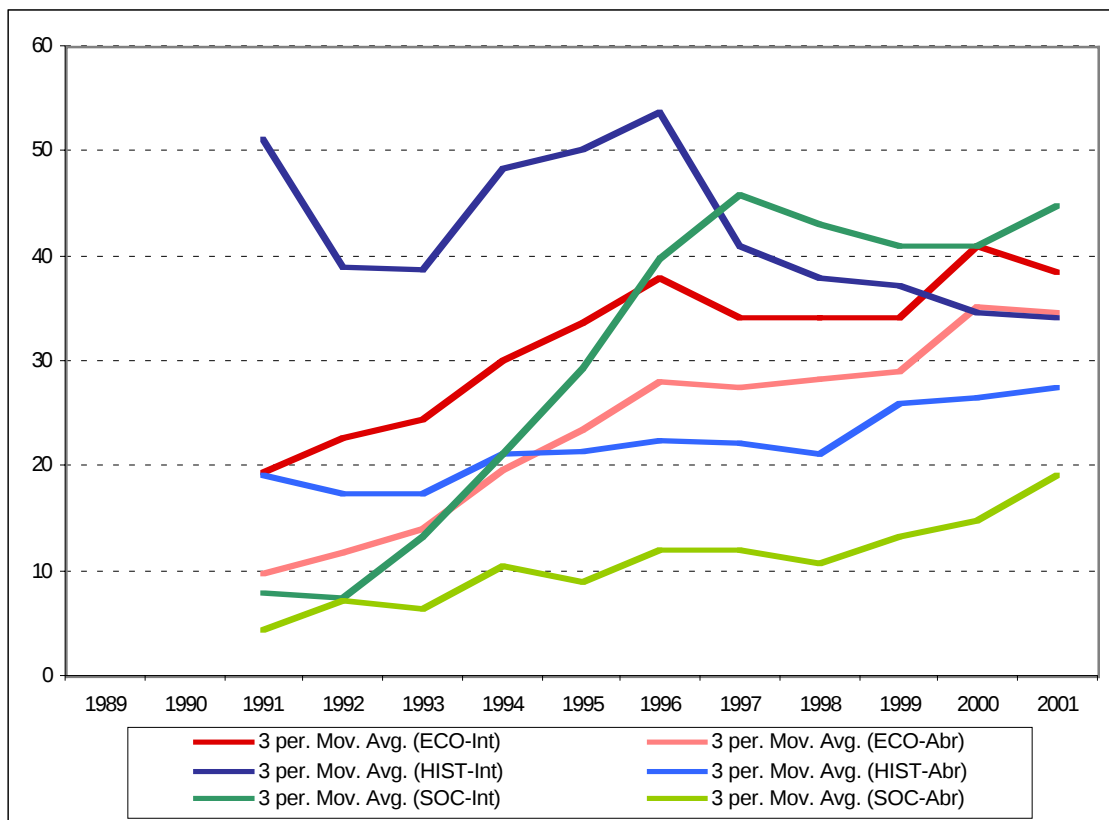
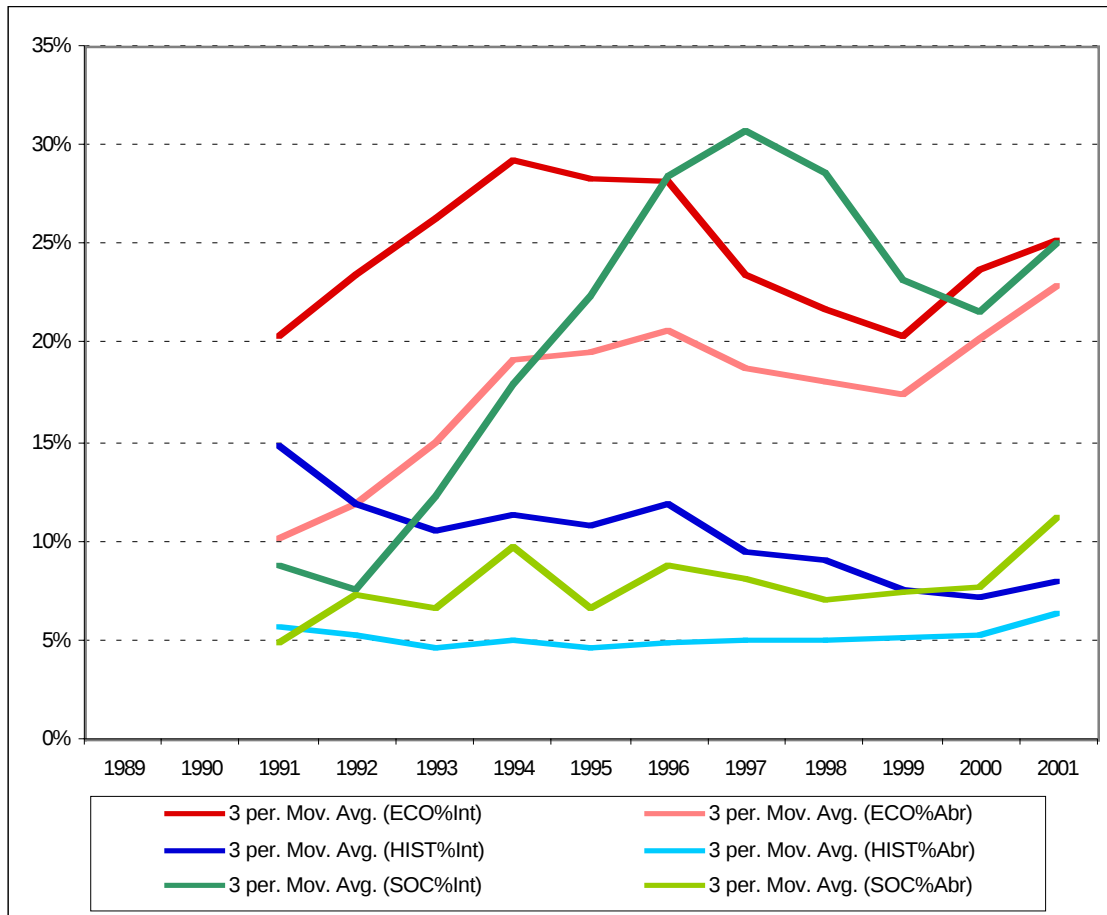


Chart 6

Title: Ratio of Portuguese publications in international journals to total publications in History & Archaeology, Economics, and Sociology. From the *Portuguese Scientific Production in the Social and Human Sciences* database, 1981-2002

Source: Observatory of Science and Higher Education



The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography and its Discontents

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Portugal has long been a peripheral country. The hard facts of geography – both size and location – have coalesced with lasting economic, political, and cultural structures to keep the country away from the forefront of historical change. Chances for national improvement and for the integration in the ever widening international community have been accordingly slim. In such a context, academic research, which was for a long time regarded by consecutive governments as an extravagant luxury, could hardly keep pace with the developments occurring elsewhere in the world.

The laggardness and seclusion of Portuguese academic endeavours have been commonplace, in almost every field of knowledge. Only recently have the want of innovation, the backwardness of the scientific system, and the poverty of its internationalization come to be understood as problems that must be addressed. With the help of newly available European funds, the promotion of research and development has been steadily pursued by governments for the last ten years or so. This effort is still clearly insufficient to bridge the wide gap, which kept expanding over such a long period, and this shows in the position Portugal holds in most international scientific and academic rankings. However, the change of scale of the public investment in this area has already produced some results, particularly in the fields of Engineering and Technology, Health and Life Sciences, and Economics. The number of young researchers doing their doctoral and post-doctoral studies abroad has multiplied, and internationalization advanced, through network building, new – more demanding – standards of publication, and a more cosmopolitan outlook. But this is not exactly true of all fields of knowledge.

The Humanities and Social Sciences (with the conspicuous exception of Economics) have not figured high in the list of priorities in public policies. Therefore, the lack of resources has certainly played a part in restricting the opportunities for internationalization. However, there is more to the prevailing parochialism of research in these fields, than just inadequate funding. It has to do, for one thing, with the very nature of these disciplines, as their agendas tend to be national-specific. But it has also much to do with an established narrow-minded attitude which pervades most academic institutions, and which is a long way from having been displaced. This is not to say that some progress has not been made, because it has. Familiarity with the more important theoretical and methodological breakthroughs, general knowledge of foreign bibliographies, and the practice of comparative analysis are now much more common among Portuguese social scientists. Still, parochialism remains very much at the core of the academic system. This is particularly the case of historiography.

To be sure, in the last few decades, Portuguese historians have become increasingly aware of the foreign literature in their specific fields of study. Sometimes they have even been inspired by that literature when setting their agenda for research, and a measure of comparative concern is less extraordinary than it used to be some twenty or thirty years ago. But this has not uprooted the lasting insularity of national historiography.

As a matter of fact, when it comes to historiography, the long peripheralization of Portugal has had a double bearing. In the first place, as happened in other scientific domains, the community of Portuguese historians (if it may be so called) became relatively isolated and remained aloof from the international trend towards the internationalization of research. But what is specific to our discipline is that Portugal and Portuguese history also became peripheral as objects for research, a circumstance which could not help restricting the opportunities for internationalization.

In fact, if the Great Discoveries and the role that Portugal played in the early-modern European expansion are left out, one must reckon that Portuguese themes have consistently not appealed to foreign researchers, and when they have, they usually interested peripheral historians (with the odd exception). A peripheral country usually attracts peripheral historians. Portuguese researchers, then, have not met the challenge in their home ground of more advanced historiographies; they were not forced to learn from and adapt to new approaches, insights, and methodologies. As a result, they did not find it necessary to take part in the exchange within the international historiographical community. Most never even dreamed of studying anything other than national history.

Furthermore, there is the language problem. Although one of the more widely spoken languages in the western hemisphere, Portuguese is scarcely known to non-native speakers. This is undoubtedly a handicap, but it must not be an impediment to internationalization. Other countries, with an even greater linguistic peculiarity, have dealt with the problem, resorting to the widespread use of English, which has become the language for international publication and communication. This is an irresistible trend to which Portuguese historians must become accustomed, should they really want to take part in the movement towards the internationalization of their discipline, that is.

The resistance to internationalization is not simply a story of missing opportunities; it is at least as much a case of forsaken opportunities. Even when funding was available (for instance through the National Commission for the celebration of the Portuguese Discoveries) and international interest significant (although still peripheral in global terms), as with the history of Portuguese expansion, which drew the curiosity of reputable scholars in the wake of Charles Boxer, the chances for putting together large-scale international networks have been grossly neglected. For sure, most of those scholars have developed an interest in the history of Portugal and her empire which is an offshoot of their main concerns as Brazilianists (Stuart Schwartz, John Russell-Wood, Dauril Alden and their students), Africanists (Edward Alpers, Malyn Newitt, John Thornton, Joseph Miller) or specialists of India and the Eastern world (Om Prakash, Michael Pearson, Anthony Disney). They nonetheless form an excellent group, which could be successfully turned into an important and internationally visible community for scientific discussion and exchange. Some of these researchers may have their contacts and keep relationships with individual Portuguese colleagues and take part in some of their ventures, but this has not produced consistent results, at least at the institutional level. The possibility of turning the Commission for the celebration of the Discoveries into a research institute, which would promote the internationalization of Portuguese social sciences in the area of colonial and post-colonial studies, was promptly rejected, thwarting in this way any prospect of a pro-active institutional development.

Bearing in mind what has been said so far, it may not come as a surprise that the record of international publication by Portuguese historians, even in the more favoured fields, is so meagre and that the Portuguese historiography continues to be largely unheard of in the major international centres of research. There are some exceptions to this rather gloomy perspective. For instance, studies on the history of early-modern law and institutions carried out by António Manuel Hespanha and his followers and on Salazar's dictatorship and the transition to democracy by António Costa Pinto and some younger researchers have befitted the agendas of international research networks. There have developed some small groups which consistently work in an international framework, and one can find more often chapters on Portugal in cross-European comparative volumes. Nevertheless, the Portuguese case is still missing from many such works, and the number of papers by Portuguese historians that find their way into the pages of internationally renowned journals is almost ridiculous.

Is it just because Portugal is out of favour as topic for research? Because it is definitely not central to be part of the mainstream surveys and not peripheral enough to find a place in cultural or area studies? Is it that Portuguese historians are turned down, because the papers they submit are not satisfactory or sufficiently appealing to an international audience? It may be so, but one of the main reasons is that the concern for internationalisation is largely rhetorical. This clearly shows in the charade of international participation in academic evaluation and research assessment. For the most part, internationalization is irrelevant for the national recognition of academics and academic institutions. Those with significant international records are not necessarily praised or rewarded, and the more close-minded are certainly not penalized. With a few worthy exceptions, the academic *nomenklatura* have built their power on parochialism, and have grounded their international connections on the control over national resources, not on the internationalization of their work and research.

While this system keeps in place, strategies for the internationalization of Portuguese historiography, however well-intended they may be, will only produce minor results, because it will never be at the core of the research agenda.

The Name of the Game; or What's in a Name: Teaching, Research and Critical Agendas in the “Internationalization” of “Portuguese Historiography”

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After Rui Santos's commendably heroic attempt to move the discussion onto the surer footed ground of facts and figures, my contribution may well strike a little like a spanner thrown into the works. But like Schaub and Ramada Curto I think that a biographical note of contextualization is here pertinent and like Costa Pinto, though somewhat more indulgently, I find anecdotal remarks from the field uniquely telling. Moreover, and to introduce a pedantic note all of my own, I am not convinced that either of the terms “Portuguese historiography” or “internationalization”, upon which the discussion centres, are being used with anything like a clear or unproblematic sense. Indeed, reading the meaning of internationalization oppositionally, off the multitude of sins that in the various contributions is described as the condition of its lack, internationalization seems at times to mean little more than publishing in English and at others nothing other than professionalism, scholarship, accountability and standards. Portuguese historiography, in turn, appears to range in meaning from historical research and writing authored by historians in Portuguese institutions, historical research on Portugal (wherever and whoever by), through to an almost hegemonic reading of world history as Portuguese history (I am uneasy, for example, with Jorge Pedreira's reference to Alpers' work as concerned with the ‘history of Portugal and her empire’. Unlike, say, David Birmingham and others of his generation who did come to write on the history of *Portugal* from an engagement with Portuguese Africa and the colonial wars, Alper's engagement with the Portuguese colonial context in Mozambique is incidental to his study of *African* history in the East African and Indian Ocean context. This is a distinction that, it seems to me, is worth making).

Mine is an assumedly marginal take on this debate. As an historian I came late to Portuguese history. My undergraduate years in the Oxbridge-without-the-deadweight-of-institutional-inertia, which is very much how the York history department saw itself, and at UCLA, where I chose to do my Year Abroad, were solidly unencumbered by references to Portugal. Only in my final year did I decide to face up to that O'Neillian ‘issue I have with myself’ and, capitalising on my knowledge of the language, take up a Portuguese topic for a dissertation which, after initial hesitation, ended up focusing on trends in the post-‘74 historiography of the Portuguese Discoveries. Though almost a clichéd choice, it was, retrospectively, clearly the right one at which to cut my teeth. It both served me as a sort of crash course on the best and worst of Portuguese historiography and pretty much set my path to King's College. Having started my doctorate there in the blissful days before the introduction of taught postgraduate programmes, when I eventually became a lecturer in Portuguese history I did so, for better or for worse, without ever having been *taught* Portuguese history.

On the one hand, therefore, I came into contact with the Portuguese academic establishment and historiography as an outsider and my initial concern in this encounter was to have my work recognised in Portugal — that outsider status, with all the advantages and disadvantages that it brings continues to structure the terms of my engagement with institutions and colleagues and certainly my take on the present debate. On the other, I came to Portuguese history as an historian, not as someone who emerged from within the discipline of Portuguese studies, but I teach Portuguese history in a Portuguese Studies department. My concern and priority, therefore, have always been to be recognised as an historian who happens to specialize on Portugal, to place the discussion of Portuguese history beside the study of other histories, as an individual case among others. This

doubly marginal status and the correlative strategies of academic insertion in each of the two contexts affords a different, perhaps a Janus-faced, though certainly not an Olympian, take on this debate on internationalization.

Whatever else Portuguese historiography is, as it is shaped in Portuguese institutions it is sociologically defined by generational cohorts and discipleship. There are no original Portuguese contributions to historical practice, theory or methodology to speak of. It was (is?) the bureaucratic/charismatic centred relation to research supervisors, the reproduction of approaches to the parcelling out of *coutadas*, the incestuous genealogies of citation clusters (reflected and reinforced by the norm of in-house journal publication and amply attested in the shamelessly tributary nature of the 'review of the literature' chapters of Portuguese double-decker PhD theses), and the institutional placement and positioning of graduates, that largely defined the various 'historiographical schools'. The first generation of cosmopolitan (read Oxford parochial) narrative historians simply substituted an *avant moi le déluge!* ritual of bibliographical and footnote referencing for the tribally totemic. Whether the more recent internationalization of careers through visiting lectureships and research fellowships will simply define yet another institutional variant or represent a more thorough challenge is yet to be seen.

One thing is worth remembering, though. As a quick glance at Anthony Grafton's wickedly funny but deadly earnest remarks on West German and Italian traditions of historiographical footnoting practice will caution, parochialism is hardly the preserve of Portuguese historiography. Not to mention also that, as I am always humbly astonished to learn from that strangely compelling and most parochial of genres, the *Elogios* of the Academia Portuguesa da História, even parochial historiography has not been without its own traditions and strategies of internationalization. Conversely, at least in the British historiographical tradition on Portugal, a certain disregard of historical writing by Portuguese historians long cultivated as a virtue —in the manner of the old Orientalist suspicion of the natives' ability to be objective about their own cultures— has not, I fear, completely disappeared; thus only universalizing one parochialism as the avowed repudiation of another.

I congratulate the editors of the e-journal for promoting this debate. Most of all, because I consider it an important critical reflection upon the very nature and function of this journal. I have followed the discussion with great interest, but also not a little scepticism. For my part, I will limit my comments here to four observations.

Firstly, the terms of reference of the debate have perhaps been defined a little too narrowly. This because, it seems to me, a culture of historical scholarship and research is laid at undergraduate level and a discussion that ignores this fails to address the issue at root. At the risk of sounding a little too *Sérgiano*, the problem passes through the lecturer-student relation and the classroom culture. It is also fundamentally related to the use of bibliographies and libraries rather than anthologised text readers; to class participation and critical engagement, and to overcoming both the *Professor-Assistente* hierarchy and the distance/subservience of the teaching relationship cultivated as a mark of authority. A number of other key considerations justify stretching the discussion back to undergraduate level. One much needed restructuring, I would suggest, is the introduction of combined Degree models, so that students of History of Science, Technology or Medicine or Cultural History have been schooled in History and Medicine, or Biology, or Physics or Engineering or Literature or Music or whatever. Another, more fundamental, is a minimum language requirement of two foreign languages, not only stipulated but, more importantly, supported through language teaching for historians (i.e. centred on reading not oral skills).

I agree with those who have argued that the internationalization of Portuguese historiography means historians in Portuguese institutions researching and teaching the history of other countries as specialists schooled in those areas and it is inconceivable that (as at present) this should include historians who do not have language competence in those (especially non-Western, it goes almost without saying) areas. This is one factor in the internationalization of the domestic scene. Limited library resources have constituted a serious obstacle to research and effective teaching in non-Portuguese history. But electronic journal databases have transformed the nature of this problem. Reference-only access and downloadable articles, searchable journal stores and archival collections

progressively reaching further and further back in time have effectively eliminated the main problem; while mega and meta library catalogues and the scope and openness of electronic literature searches, have, quite by themselves, rendered the old closed referencing practices unsustainable. But, and this is my second point, it is just as important to overcome the problems of access to Portuguese history materials. Authors' and private editions, small print Municipality or regional government sponsored editions, or small private foundation and non-government organization publications, subsidized editions with limited distribution and even lesser incentive to distribute, house journals with restricted circulation, the evasion of deposit or copyright library obligations by many publishers, all these and not only the wilful disregard of the work of others constitute very real obstacles to good scholarship. This problem does not, of course, affect the starry few at the top of the profession, nor the lucky few more in the mutual admiration clubs, all of whom can count on their complimentary and signed copies, but the issue of professionalism in Portuguese historiography will hang on the question of nationalising broad academic access much more than upon enforcing the international projection of the few. Correlatively producing electronic versions of Portuguese journals in Portuguese and their back catalogue, nationally and internationally, is just as fundamental to internationalizing Portuguese historiography as broadening access to foreign journals.

My third point is really a very pedestrian one. It is perhaps best stated through a number of petty observations and anecdotes. Outside Portugal, articles on Portuguese journals are not primarily published in specifically History journals. There are Hispanic and Lusophone journals, which by definition tend to be multidisciplinary but weighted towards literature and culture, area studies and comparative studies journals, and social science, cultural studies and other journals, and neither their editorial boards nor advisory panels will necessarily have Portuguese specialists, let alone Portuguese history specialists. They are, though, no less properly refereed and justifiably respected journals in their fields. This leads to some curious effects. I have, for example, turned down an article submitted to one journal I referee for as absolutely unpublishable, on account of its ignorance of the Portuguese bibliography on the topic, only to see it come out in another very reputable international journal half a year later without a single alteration. I have, on another occasion, raised the charge of plagiarism, and bad plagiarism at that, with an article submitted to another journal, which offered a poor caricature of arguments I was familiar with from a Portuguese book published a few years earlier, only to find out that the author of book and article were the very same, but had omitted any reference to the previous Portuguese publication to pass for original, and the loss of the subtleties that had characterised the book and rendered the English version article so poor were actually the fault of the translator. I have also, at times, recommended publication of articles by Portuguese authors in English language journals, none of which said absolutely anything new in relation to their own previous work published in Portuguese, thus breaking the journals' stated rules of publishing only original material, on the excuse that it is new *in English*, so as to bring it to a wider audience. There are other problems. I believe one of the most effective forms and truest expressions of the internationalization of Portuguese historiography is the publication of Portuguese case studies in comparative edited collections (something which Prestage, rather than Boxer, pioneered in English language historiography). Yet, the relative unfamiliarity of the Portuguese material can result in pressure, self imposed or from editors, to provide general introductory summaries, or footnote background to events or personalities referred, but necessarily of such concision that they end up being a travesty of the author's own knowledge of the subject. Correlatively, lack of command of the Portuguese material can sometimes lead reviewers to pass silently over the Portuguese contributions for fear of treading insecurely, thus undoing the very point of including the Portuguese chapters. Internationalization and professionalism — or at least internationalization as *divulgação* and internationalization as professionalism — in other words, do not always go hand in hand. There are two other related points to mention here. No one will say that the publication of Mascarenhas Barreto's *The Portuguese Columbus*, by Macmillan of all publishers, in 1992, represented a breakthrough for the internationalization of Portuguese historiography. It was owed to the logic of the market and a gamble in the quincentenary year. But what of Carcanet's publication of José Hermano Saraiva's *Portugal: A Companion History*? Certainly not the logic of the market. Carcanet's 'Aspects of Portugal' is essentially a heavily subsidized showcase series, and Saraiva's volume was

subsidized by the Gulbenkian Foundation, the Instituto Camões, the Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro and Portugal 600. But neither does the subsidizing alone explain it either. The fact is that in the absence of a critical mass of teaching of Portuguese history in non-Portuguese universities or of a broader general readership to sustain commercial publishing, whether we are talking of scholarly monographs, chapters in books, articles in journals, or conference papers, the determining factor at present continues to be the logic of personal networks, established, brokered and filtered through gatekeepers on both sides: foreign scholars with an interest in Portugal and Portuguese scholars with international projection. No amount of statistical analysis of citation indexes and articles can ignore that fact.

Lastly, I cannot help wondering why out of seven historians invited to comment so far no contribution has yet appeared by a woman historian.

The Internationalization of Portuguese Historiography: The View from Economic History

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History is by nature an international topic. If it is written within national boundaries, it is because sources are mostly of a national kind or because of language barriers and political interests. Consequently, the internationalization of historical research is a natural movement to overcome constraints imposed by sources, language and politics. This view necessarily applies to economic history. In fact, this discipline is mainly about understanding economic growth and backwardness, which are by definition concepts of an international kind as they derive from comparisons of levels of development across boundaries. Moreover, topics in economic history that do not refer directly to growth – such as financial or institutional history – also need to take economic growth into account, as it embodies the dynamic of historical analysis.

The international nature of economic history is patent in some of the earlier Portuguese historiography over the last two centuries. For example, the books by Armando de Castro (*A Revolução Industrial em Portugal*, 1946 and 1978) and Borges de Macedo (*Problemas de História da Indústria Portuguesa*, 1963 and 1982) provide an international perspective on Portuguese nineteenth century industrialization. In fact, these two authors attempt to explain why Portugal did not have an industrial revolution in the beginning of the nineteenth century, in contrast to what they believed had happened in Britain from the late eighteenth century onwards and in the case of other European forerunners. This was of course a major concern of the international historiography by then. In the 1970s, the works by Halpern Pereira (*Livre-câmbio e Desenvolvimento Económico*, 1973 and 1983) and Villaverde Cabral (*O Desenvolvimento do Capitalismo em Portugal*, 1976 and 1981) set the study of Portugal's nineteenth century 'underdevelopment' in the context of theories of dependence, which were a major concern of development theories at the time.

The perspectives on which the above works were based proved to be less promising than anticipated. In fact, the concept of industrial revolution was peculiar to Britain and not to the rest of the European continent. By the same token, the postulates of the dependence school were based on insufficient evidence. That is, however, beside our point, which is that those books deal with problems of an international relevance. Many economic historians of nineteenth century Portugal that followed kept alive that international perspective, although that implied shifting to other historical interpretations and theories of growth.

Most studies of Portugal's twentieth century economic history tend to be less international. Not many authors have dealt with the Republican regime (1910-1926) in a comparative framework that would have placed Portugal's performance in the context of what happened elsewhere in Europe during the period of growth and depression between the two World Wars. Neither has the regime of the Estado Novo (1926-1974) been satisfactorily analyzed in an international perspective until recently. The study of institutional development during that era still needs to be placed in the context of similar developments elsewhere in Europe. After all, Portugal was special in Western Europe both because it was not a democracy but also because it was a poor country.

Clearly, the efforts for the internationalization of Portuguese historiography have not been sufficient to include satisfactorily this country in the general interpretations of economic growth. In fact, major textbooks on European economic history, such as those by Paul Bairoch (*Commerce Extérieur et Développement Économique de l'Europe*, 1976), Sydney Pollard (*Peaceful Conquest*, 1982 and 1994) and the more recent ones by David Landes (*The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 1998) and François Crouzet (*Histoire de l'Économie Européenne*, 2000), only marginally mention Portugal, and with little detail and precision.

Thus, there is an obvious need to make an effort in order to place Portugal more squarely on the international agenda of economic development research topics. For that purpose it is necessary to divulge abroad recent research on Portuguese economic history, which implies breaking the language barrier and

publishing more in English. There is a great need to submit papers on Portugal to international journals and book publishers. One way to achieve a greater interest from publishers abroad is by exploring topics on the international economic history research agenda that can be highlighted by the study of the Portuguese case. That aim can be achieved by leaving behind topics that emerge from national historiography and replacing them by topics that emerge from international concerns – as occurred with the authors that picked the ‘dependence’ question.

Because Portugal is a part of European history, there are many aspects of that history that can be clarified by Portugal’s experience. After all, in order to conclude about the relative importance of any list of factors which are posited to lay behind economic success in the more developed countries, we have to show that the absence of those factors was crucial to explain the poor performance of the countries that lagged behind.

The example of this small and poor country can highlight the relevance for successful industrialization of factors such as domestic markets, availability of cheap natural endowments in water and coal, or high levels of literacy and highly dynamic entrepreneurs. In the agrarian sector, Portugal’s case is useful for the debate on the importance of the constraints imposed by climate and soil conditions in determining factor productivity. The debate over the effects of tariff protection may also gain from the example of Portugal. In fact, we can ask whether protection was harmful to growth in the nineteenth century. If so, what explains the fact that Portugal’s growth performance improved as it did during the interwar period which was a highly protectionist period? Moreover, what explains the convergence of Portugal’s income per capita and productivity levels up to 1973 and the period of divergence that followed? Portugal’s economic history of this period illustrates how difficult it can be for less developed economies to converge during periods of slow growth in the core countries.

These are no doubt relevant questions in European economic history which could benefit from the study of the Portuguese case. The fact that it is a small country shows how important or not the size of domestic markets is for industrialization; the fact that it is a country not particularly favored in the typical natural endowments of the first industrializers highlights the importance of such resources; the fact that it remained persistently a country with low levels of literacy, reveals the importance of human capital; and the fact that its institutional development lagged behind developments elsewhere in Europe highlights the importance of institutions, such as banks or regulatory institutions.

One form of achieving a greater level of internationalization of Portuguese economic history is through the higher mobility of students and scholars on an international stage. As a growing number of Portuguese economic historians study abroad and participate in international conferences, the need for internationalization will develop naturally – because of the intrinsic international nature of the discipline and because of the many insights that Portugal’s experience can provide to international themes. The creation of conditions for that mobility is thus the single most important policy measure to be followed by those who have responsibilities in government and the universities. This leaves the choice of topics with international relevance and the act of submitting papers and book manuscripts to international publishers as the most important responsibilities of each one of us.

Portuguese Research Institutions in History

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The growth in historical research in Portugal over the last two decades is largely due to the conditions provided by public agencies and private bodies with direct responsibility for the funding of projects, programmes and research institutes.

A number of successful commercial initiatives that have involved the publication of history books and series, as well as some praiseworthy actions on the part of independent authors who have taken the risk of venturing into a relatively underdeveloped publishing market, should not allow us to overlook the crucial role played by university institutes that have supported two fundamental types of research projects. On the one hand, they have supported projects leading to the award of academic degrees or to advancement in the researcher's university career; on the other hand, there have been projects integrated into pluriannual research programmes that have included agreements for the presentation and publication of results.

Amongst the direct funders of the historical research undertaken by these university institutes, one should naturally highlight the role played by the Foundation for Science and Technology (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – FCT), which is a public agency belonging to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The funding guaranteed by the FCT results from funds allocated in the Portuguese state budget and from European funds and programmes designed to support scientific and technological development.

The research institutes currently accredited by the FCT in the field of history and archaeology are presented in an appendix. The aim of this presentation is merely to furnish the bare details about these units, providing those who are interested with the necessary information for establishing further contacts.

This appendix lists the research units that have applied in good time for pluriannual funding designed to consolidate their conditions for carrying out research projects. Although this list does not include all the institutes that support research projects in the field of History and Archaeology, we can safely consider them to be amongst the best equipped to provide a sound platform for promoting and undertaking research projects both at the present moment and in the near future.

In the period from 2000 to 2002, the overall funding given to these units was roughly 2,650,000 euros. The amount allocated to each unit depends on the qualitative classification awarded by an assessment panel that periodically analyses the results of their activity. Further information about these units can be found at:

<http://www.fct.mces.pt/unidades/index.asp?dados=true&listaArea=true&area=21>

Besides this form of structural funding, the research units also benefit from funding that is given to specific research projects, selected after an open request for applications in which the merits of the respective projects are assessed in the light of their aims and expected results.

The following table indicates the evolution in both the number of accepted research projects and the amount of funding.

Year of application	# projects approved	Total funding (€)
1992/1993	16	367.763,68
1995	12	403.936,51
1997	9	529.648,54
1999	12	522.595,54
2000	23	1.311.838,00
2001	10	805.190,00

This table shows a considerable increase in 2000, which was not sustained in the following year. Over the period in question, the amount of funding granted corresponds to circa 20-25% of the total amount requested by the applicants. For more information about projects in progress and a general listing of the projects undertaken in the field of historical and archaeological research since 1995, consult the following site:

<http://www.fct.mces.pt/projectos/pub/2002/eng/>

Another important indicator of the successful creation of conditions favouring a continued growth in research is the number of awards made by the FCT, not only for master's degrees, doctorates or post-doctorate research, but also for temporary recruitments made under the scope of projects undertaken by research units. In the area of History and Archaeology, 403 individual awards have been made over the last ten years, with roughly half of these being awarded for Ph.D. theses. Further information can be obtained at:

<http://www.fct.mces.pt/pt/apoios/bolsas/bolseiros/>

By way of an overall appreciation of the quantitative data gathered together here, it should be stressed that the incentives provided in both individual and institutional terms have been decisive for ensuring the sustained development of research in History. The results of such incentives are visible in the growing number of publications made in the form of books, conference proceedings and articles in national journals. A less visible reflection of the usefulness of these incentives can be found in the increased number of publications in international journals, as is proved by the statistical data analysed in Rui Santos' brief comment on the internationalisation of Portuguese historiography.

Such limitations may, however, be overcome, provided that the research institutes are better and more systematically assessed on the basis of their performance, and also by virtue of their highly desirable and greater involvement in international networks of excellence.

Appendix – List of Portuguese Research Units in History and Archaeology

Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Affiliation: Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas

Director: José Esteves Pereira

Keywords: Culture; Politics; Society; Religion

URL: <http://chc-unl.planetaclix.pt>

e-mail address: chcunl@clix.pt

CEPESE - Centro de Estudos da População, Economia e Sociedade

Affiliation: Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras

Director: Fernando Alberto Pereira de Sousa

Keywords: Population; Society; Economy; Education

URL: <http://www.cepese.pt/>

e-mail address: cepese@cepese.pt

Centro Interuniversitário de História da Espiritualidade

Affiliation: Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras

Director: José Adriano Moreira de Freitas Carvalho

Keywords: Spirituality; Religious History; Literary History

URL: <http://homepage.esoterica.pt/~ciuhe>

e-mail address: ciuhe@esoterica.pt

GEHVID - Grupo de Estudos de História da Viticultura Duriense e do Vinho do Porto

Affiliation: Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras

Director: Francisco Ribeiro da Silva

Keywords: Wine; Vine; Region

URL: <http://www.lettras.up.pt/gehvid>

e-mail address: gehvid@lettras.up.pt

Centro de Estudos Históricos

Affiliation: Universidade Nova de Lisboa - Reitoria

Director: João Alves Dias

Keywords: History of Portugal; Palaeography and Diplomatic

URL: <http://members.tripod.com.br/CEH/>

e-mail address: CEH@fcsh.unl.pt

CIDEHUS-UE - Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades da Universidade de Évora

Affiliation: Universidade de Évora

Director: Mafalda Soares da Cunha

Keywords: Southern Europe and Mediterranean History; Material Culture and Archaeology; Social and Political Elites; Social-Cultural Identities

URL: <http://www.cidehus.uevora.pt>

e-mail address: cidehus@uevora.pt

Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa

Affiliation: Universidade de Lisboa – Faculdade de Letras

Director: João Medina

Keywords: Institutions; Heritage; Society; Economy

URL: http://www.fl.ul.pt/unidades/centros/c_historia/index.htm

e-mail address: centro.historia@mail.fl.ul.pt

Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos das Universidades de Coimbra e Porto

Affiliation: Universidade de Coimbra – Faculdade de Letras

Director: Conceição Lopes

Keywords: Archaeology; Epigraphy; Numismatics; Landscape

URL: <http://www.uc.pt/iauc/cea/>

e-mail address: iarq@ci.uc.pt

Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura

Affiliation: Universidade de Coimbra – Faculdade de Letras

Director: João Marinho dos Santos

Keywords: Economies and Societies; Cultures and Ideologies; Theories and Practices of Political Power; Analysis and Publication of Sources

URL: <http://www.uc.pt/chsc>

e-mail address: chsc@ci.uc.pt

Instituto de História Contemporânea

Affiliation: Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas

Director: Fernando José Mendes Rosas

Keywords: Contemporary History; History of Portugal; History Research; Education

URL: <http://ihc.fcsh.unl.pt>

e-mail address: ihcfcsh@mail.telepac.pt

Gabinete de História Económica e Social
Affiliation: Universidade Técnica de Lisboa – ISEG
Director: Nuno João de Oliveira Valério
Keywords: History; Economics; Social; Portugal
URL: <http://pascal.iseg.utl.pt/~ghes/>
e-mail address: ghes@iseg.utl.pt

Centro de História de Além-Mar
Affiliation: Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Director: João Paulo Azevedo de Oliveira e Costa
Keywords: History; Colonization; Discoveries; Globalization
URL: <http://cham.fcsh.unl.pt/>
e-mail address: cham@fcsh.unl.pt

Centro de Estudos Interdisciplinares do Século XX da Universidade de Coimbra - CEIS20
Affiliation: Universidade de Coimbra
Director: Luís Manuel Soares dos Reis Torgal
Keywords: Twentieth-Century; History of Science; Contemporary History; Portugal - Europe
URL: <http://www.uc.pt/ceis20>
e-mail address: ceis20@ci.uc.pt

Instituto de História Moderna da Universidade do Porto
Affiliation: Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras
Director: Luís António de Oliveira Ramos
Keywords: Territorial planning; Seaboard resources; North-western seaports; International relations
URL: <http://www.lettras.up.pt/dh/ihm-up/default.htm>
e-mail address: ihm-up@letras.up.pt

Centro de Estudos de História e Filosofia da Ciência
Affiliation: Universidade de Évora
Director: Augusto José dos Santos Fitas
Keywords: History of Science; History of Technology; Philosophy of Science; Education and Science
URL: <http://www.cehfc.uevora.pt>
e-mail address: cehfc@uevora.pt

Centro Português de Estudos do Sudeste Asiático
Director: Ivo Manuel Veiga Carneiro de Sousa
Keywords: Southeast Asia; Human, Political and Social Sciences
URL: <http://www.cepesa.pa-net.pt/>
e-mail address: cepesa@mail.telepac.pt

Núcleo de Arqueologia da Universidade do Minho
Affiliation: Universidade do Minho
Director: Maria Manuela dos Reis Martins
Keywords: Landscape Archaeology; Archaeology and Urban History; Settlement Archaeology; History of Technologies
URL: <http://www.uminho.pt>
e-mail address: narq@uaum.uminho.pt

Centro de Estudos de Património
Affiliation: Universidade do Algarve – Faculdade de Ciências Humanas e Sociais
Director: Nuno Gonçalo Viana Pereira Ferreira Bicho
Keywords: Cultural Heritage of the Algarve; History; Archaeology; Art History
URL: <http://www.ualg.pt/fchs/hap/cep>

e-mail address: cep@ualg.pt

Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa

Affiliation: Universidade Católica Portuguesa

Director: Manuel José Macário do Nascimento Clemente

Keywords: Church History; Religiosity; Christianity; Religion and Society

URL: <http://www.ucp.pt/cehr>

e-mail address: cehr@cehr.ucp.pt

Centro de História das Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa

Affiliation: Universidade de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências

Director: Ana Isabel da Silva Araújo Simões

Keywords: History of Science; History of Technology; History of the Nautical Sciences; History of Health Sciences

URL: <http://scientia.artenumérica.org/centroUL.html>

e-mail address: asimoes@fc.ul.pt

Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa

Affiliation: Universidade de Lisboa – Faculdade de Letras

Director: Victor Manuel dos Santos Gonçalves

Keywords: Prehistory and Protohistory; Ancient World

e-mail address: vsgrm@mail.telepac.pt

Campo Arqueológico de Mértola

Director: Cláudio Figueiredo Torres

Keywords: History; Archaeology; Middle Ages; Islam

e-mail address: reva.camertola@mail.telepac.pt

Centro de Investigação Histórica – Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto

Affiliation: Universidade do Porto – Faculdade de Letras

Director: Armando Luís Gomes de Carvalho Homem

Keywords: Society, Politics and Power in the Middle Ages; Military Orders

URL: <http://www.letras.up.pt/dh>

e-mail address: dh@letras.up.pt

Instituto de Estudos Medievais

Affiliation: Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas

Director: Luis Filipe Llach Krus

Keywords: Middle Ages; Interdisciplinarity; Hispanic Studies; Cultural Heritage

URL: <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/iem>

e-mail address: estudosmedievais@fcsh.unl.pt

Centro de Estudos de História Contemporânea Portuguesa

Affiliation: Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa

Director: Magda de Avelar Pinheiro

Keywords: Economic History; Political and Institutional History; Social History; Cultural History

URL: http://www.iscte.pt/investigacao.php?tipo=centros_cehcp

e-mail address: magda.pinheiro@iscte.pt

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Masters Courses and Dissertations in Modern and Contemporary History at Portuguese Universities

The offering of Masters Degree courses in Modern and Contemporary Portuguese History (nineteenth and twentieth centuries) began in the 1980s, when several Portuguese universities created a considerable number of graduate programs in various fields. The list of dissertations presented below provides an overall view of the results of the addition of courses devoted to Modern and Contemporary History, with the exception of courses organized by the Faculty of Letters at the University of Coimbra and by both the Sociology Department and Philosophy Department at the New University of Lisbon, which will be added to this list in due course.

Dissertations in Modern and Contemporary History have also been produced in the context of graduation programs in other fields, such as European Studies, African Studies, International Relations, Political Science and Sociology.

The dissertations cover a wide variety of themes, and deal with several sub-disciplinary approaches, focusing on areas such as historical demography, social, economic, urban and rural, military, religious, political, and cultural history. This collection of dissertations on the whole represents a well-balanced, accumulated body of knowledge that has indisputably contributed to the development and enhancement of the historiographical field of Modern and Contemporary Portuguese History.

By listing these dissertations it is our purpose to better acquaint the reader with works that in many cases have not been published. The list is organized in alphabetical order by the author's name, indicating both the year and university of origin. When applicable, the reference to publication is also included.

The editors of *e-JPH* gratefully acknowledge the information provided by Fernando Rosas (Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, New University of Lisbon), Jorge Fernandes Alves (Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto), Sérgio Campos de Matos (Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon), Norberta Amorim, José Capela and Lúcia Azevedo (University of Minho), Maria de Fátima Nunes (University of Évora), and José Pedro Paiva (Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra), Maria Isabel João (Open University) and João Luís Lisboa (CHC, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, New University of Lisbon)

List of Dissertations in Modern and Contemporary Portuguese History

Adrião, Alexandra Antunes e, *A arquitectura de veraneio e o palácio Anjos em Algés, perspectivas de intervenção e reutilização*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003.

Afonso, Aniceto, *Sinel de Cordes, um general conspirador: 1923-1926*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1990.

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- Araújo, Maria Carla Faria, *Direito Português e populações indígenas. Macau (1846-1927)*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2000.
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