

Vol. 15 · n.º 2 · December 2017

e-journal
of PORTUGUESE
HISTORY

Table of Contents

Volume 15, number 2, December 2017

[ARTICLES]

- Overseas elements in Portuguese armorials from the Modern Era** 1
Miguel Metelo de Seixas
- Bernardo de Brito—a misunderstood Portuguese chronicler** 30
Matthias Gloël
- Technologies of Government:** 45
Police Stations, Urban Space and Bureaucracy in Lisbon, c. 1850-1910
Gonçalo Rocha Gonçalves

[BOOK REVIEWS]

- Biedermann, Zoltán. *The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India:*** 67
Studies in the History of Diplomacy, Empire and Trade, 1500-1650.
Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014.
ISBN: 978-3-447-10062-5
Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto
- Martínez Peñin, Raquel (ed.). *Braga and its territory*** 71
between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries.
Braga: University of Minho – Archeology Unit; Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2015.
ISBN: 978-84-8409-750-1
Andreia Arezes
- Molesky, Mark C. *This Gulf of Fire:*** 78
The Destruction of Lisbon, or Apocalypse in the Age of Science and Reason.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015.
ISBN: 978-0-307-26762-7
Júnia Ferreira Furtado
- Albanese, Giulia. *Dittature mediterranee.*** 82
Soversioni fasciste e colpi di Stato in Italia, Spagna e Portogallo.
Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2016.
ISBN: 9788858119617
Annarita Gori

Overseas Elements in Portuguese Armorial from the Modern Era

Miguel Metelo de Seixas¹

Abstract

The aim of this article is to analyze the presence of overseas elements in the armorials compiled in Portugal between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Such representations frequently took the form of elements inserted into the coats of arms of families linked to overseas expansion, both through the addition of already existing insignia and the creation of new devices. However, from a certain time onwards, they also included the coats of arms attributed to the political entities exercising power in overseas territories that were either subject to the authority of the king of Portugal or subsidiary thereto. This was the case, for example, with some attempts at heraldic acculturation on the part of a restricted but significant group of municipalities.

Keywords

Heraldry; Overseas; Iconography of power; Visual culture; Modern Era

Resumo

O objectivo do presente artigo consiste em analisar a presença do Ultramar nos armoriais coligidos em Portugal entre os séculos XV e XVIII. Tais representações podem tomar a forma de elementos inseridos nas armas de famílias ligadas à expansão ultramarina, tanto por acrescentamento de insígnias já existentes, como por criação de emblemas novos. Mas abrangem também, a partir de certa altura, as armas atribuídas às próprias entidades políticas que exerciam o poder nos territórios ultramarinos submetidos à autoridade do rei de Portugal ou subsidiários a ela: caso de algumas tentativas de aculturação heráldica de organizações políticas autóctones e, sobretudo, de um conjunto restrito, mas significativo de municípios.

Palavras-chave

Heráldica; Ultramar; Representação do poder; Cultura visual; Idade Moderna

¹ Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Universidade Lusíada, Lisbon, Portugal. Researcher at IEM /FCSH/Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. *E-mail:* miguelmeteloseixas@gmail.com

This text seeks to assess the impact of the overseas elements found in Portuguese heraldry from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century through the study of their presence in the armorials produced at that time.² For this purpose, an attempt will be made, first of all, to define the research object from a heuristic point of view, enquiring into the nature of armorials and their role in the political culture of the time. Next, the armorials produced in this particular period will be characterized, in order to enumerate and analyze those coats of arms contained within them that displayed overseas motifs. Finally, an attempt will be made to ascertain the presence and the nature of the heraldry attributed to the overseas territories themselves through works of this kind.

Pastoureau drew attention to the need to undertake a study of the heraldic literature produced throughout the Modern and Contemporary Eras, highlighting the divorce that has taken place between our current heraldic science and this type of literature (Pastoureau 1985: 129). Erudite heraldry has thus tended to move away from a genre of literature that it has abandoned to the hands of bibliophiles, resulting in a remarkable divorce between heraldic studies such as they are understood by these “dilettantes” and such as they are practiced by researchers: the former kind of heraldry is characterized by theoretical and normative criteria, enclosing itself within a system of rules and didactic examples that it then seeks to pursue to exhaustion; the latter, on the contrary, is malleable and lively, and frequently transgresses these supposed rules that are meant to guide it.

Boudreau took the study of the relationship between treatises on armory and armorials a step further, stressing that they were both founded on the touchstone of the notion of justice. Coats of arms were intended to reward, to remember and to establish forever the merits of a person, in accordance with the unavoidable criterion of truth and justice (Boudreau 1997: 388). In the midst of this mission of justice, the armorial served as a work of reference, as a testimony for identifying the best. The treatises, on the other hand, laid down aged statutes, preserving ancient ordinances and teaching the true science of armory. The armorials, in their turn, recorded coats of arms expressing ancient deeds, fixed the history of lineages, and exalted the glories of ancestors. For their authors, each set of books fundamentally conveyed the same memory: that of people’s origins. They were instruments used for the elaboration, conservation, and transmission of a collective

² This present research was undertaken as part of the project “BAHIA 16-19. Salvador da Bahia: American, European and African forging of a colonial capital city,” Marie Curie Actions, reference PIRSES-GA-2012-318988. This article had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2013).

memory that lay at the very basis of the culture of the nobility (Menéndez Pidal 2008; Guillén Berrendero 2012).

In this way, armorials and treatises on armory, when used together, conveyed an original conception of the heraldic system. Through these two types of works, what was established, above all, was the honorary nature of coats of arms, as well as their integration into a system of common reference, organized according to hierarchic criteria (Savorelli 2013: 289-315). Viewing heraldry as a system of honorific emblems is the key to understanding both its role in modern society and its insertion into coetaneous cultural production (Menéndez Pidal 2014: 437-459). When one considers the envy existing between professional and lay people, in other words between those who were officers of arms and those who were not, the cause for such rivalry must be sought in the very idea that heraldry served to construct and conserve the genealogical memory not only of noble lineages, but also of all the other individuals and all the other institutions that used a coat of arms for their identification. The close association of heraldry with genealogy and nobility derived from these functions: the former made it possible to recognize the lineages and the latter established the role that each entity was allotted in the established order (Figueirôa-Rêgo 2008).

For the Portuguese case, characterizing the production of heraldic books in the Modern Era would require engaging in the rather complex prior work of drawing up a list of such works, first of all establishing those that are exclusively or mainly dedicated to heraldic matters (treatises and manuals of armory, but also armorials, glossaries and specialized bibliographies) and also comprising, at a secondary level, works with a more general scope that include chapters on heraldry. Such a task has been partly undertaken by some heraldic scholars (Cabral 1929; Norton 2006: III, 27-45) and two proposals have been made for their systematization and interpretation (Borges 2004: II, 1003-1006; Seixas 2010: 357-413). From the group of such treatises, however, only four have recently been published in fresh editions (*Livro de Arautos* 1977; Rodrigues 1931; Norton 2006: III, 25-335; Velho 1958-1963). As far as the armorials are concerned, stress should be placed, above all, on the editions of the two monumental sixteenth-century manuscripts (*Livro do Armeiro-mor* 1956; *Livro do Armeiro-mor* 2000; *Livro da nobreza e perfeição das armas*, Godinho 1987); to which one may add only two works from the seventeenth century (*Brasonário da Nobreza de Portugal* 1999; Morais 2013). The parsimonious nature of recently published works clearly reveals that this type of production has been condemned to a state of almost complete forgetfulness. And this stands in marked contrast to the great profusion of

manuscripts of this type—both armorials and treatises on armory—that were published from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century (Seixas 2011: 265-320).

In Portugal, it can be seen that the sudden appearance of these compilations and treatises coincided with the appropriation of heraldry by the Crown in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era. Heraldry was then placed at the service of a certain princely and noble ideal, functioning as an instrument for the centralization of power. Armorial and treatises thus combined to produce a series of legal provisions adopted by the Crown in heraldic matters, beginning with the letters granting the right to have or to add to coats of arms (Seixas & Galvão-Telles 2014: 257-284). The number of these instruments for the appropriation of heraldic rights continued to increase in the fifteenth century, in keeping with the implantation of the political model for royal centralization, of which they were simultaneously a consequence and an instrument. From the reign of Afonso V onwards, a systematic policy was followed of bestowing coats of arms on the servants of the Crown with augmentations. Such augmentations were sometimes made as a way of symbolically alluding to a certain feat that was intended to be remembered, or sometimes amounted to the concession of a part of the coat of arms of the sovereign himself, thus binding the recipient to a relationship of symbolically perpetuated and established dependence (Lopes 1960: 107-124; Oliveira & Seixas 2002: 31-56). The reign of Afonso V was also characterized by another circumstance that had quite weighty consequences: the issue of the first known legal provision in matters relating to heraldry, dated May 21, 1476. This document sought to restrict the heraldic authority to the main officer of arms in the service of the Crown, who at that time was given the title of the Portugal king of arms (São Payo 1927: 35).

This whole process took place simultaneously with the great exploits of Portugal's overseas discoveries and territorial expansion, which justifies the purpose of this present article: to assess how the elements alluding to the overseas dominions were incorporated into these imaginary edifices, serving as agents of a collective memory of the Portuguese monarchy and its nobility at the beginning of the Modern Era.

The two sixteenth-century armorials that have survived until the present-day, the already-mentioned *Livro do armeiro-mor* and *Livro da nobreza e perfeição das armas*, contained references to an overseas dimension in Portuguese heraldry. Some of this heraldry belonged to the category that heraldists have classified as “imaginary,” or, in other words, it consisted of arms that were attributed to entities that did not put them to any effective use (Pastoureau 2006). In these same two Portuguese armorials, imaginary heraldry is limited to

a series of arms disseminated through previous compilations, namely with regard to the insignia of imaginary kingdoms (Azevedo 1966: 103-120), a procedure that was expressed, above all, in a desire to convey a complete image of the world, being closely linked to *portolanos* (portolans) and all manner of cartographic and cosmographic instruments (Savorelli 2015: 101-136).

Even more interesting is the way in which, in these same armorials, we can find heraldic reflections of the feats that were performed overseas. Royal intervention in the heraldry of the lineages connected to the overseas conquests took a variety of forms. First of all, the creation of one's own insignia, granted by the king through a letter of arms. The cases were listed by Braamcamp Freire and later studied by various authors (Freire 1989; Cabral 1955: 361-374; Lopes 1960: 107-124; Borges & Borges 1987/1988: 5-28; Oliveira & Seixas 2002: 31-56; Seixas 2012: 1-37). The following reports on heraldic figures are based on the comparison and analysis of the data provided by these various studies. Many of these insignia involved the superimposition of ancient and modern devices: which was the case with "augmentations", which were placed on pre-existing arms; this was also the case with the new arms that recovered the figures of the lineages themselves, differentiating them in some way and combining them with others, invented for the purpose and alluding more directly either to the nature of the feats that had generated the award of this favor or to their geographical context. Thus, without completely doing away with the pre-existing insignia, the arms that were redesigned in this way once again formed part of the logic that was commonly found among those who performed services for the Crown, and which was intended to spread the fame and perpetuate the memory of the family's involvement in the overseas expansion.

In certain cases, the granted elements had no specific or evident relationship with the exploits performed overseas. This was the case with some traditional figures, which were associated only in an abstract fashion with certain warlike qualities or religious devotions that one wished to exalt: the lions of Gil and Vicente Simões, Fernão Luís, Rui Vasques, Nicolau Coelho (Fig. 1), Duarte Coelho, Lourenço de Oliva, Fernão Moreira Perangal and Bento Maciel Parente; the lion's heads of Gonçalo Vaz de Campos; the eagles of Fernão Gil de Monterroio, Lopo Esteves and Gabriel Gonçalves de Freitas; the cross of Álvaro Afonso Frade; and the Franciscan cord of Gabriel Gonçalves de Freitas. Other figures were merely canting in nature: the heron (*garça*) of João Garcês; the archer of João Fernandes do Arco; the tower and wolves (*lobos*) of João Gonçalves da Câmara de Lobos; the wild olive-tree (*azambujeiro*) of Gaspar Pacheco do Azambujal; the shoe of Wolfgang

Holtzschuher; and the citadel (*alcáçova*) of Pêro de Alcáçova. There were yet other figures whose interpretation was difficult: the crow of João Lopes; the antlers of Rui Vasques; the bezants of Filipe de Brito de Nicote; the door knockers of Vasco Fernandes Caminha; the indented chief of João Lourenço; the indented fess of Fernão Moreira Perangal.



Fig. 1 Arms of Nicolau Coelho (Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza. ANTT, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 21, fl. 58, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

At a second level, such a relationship was established in a clearer fashion without resorting to elements directly alluding to the overseas, as in the case of the figures traditionally associated with the symbolics of the victory over the Islamists (the crescents of Fernão Gil de Monterroio and Sebastião Gonçalves Pita; the stars of Álvaro Gonçalves de Cáceres, João Lourenço, João Garcês, Gonçalo Mendes Sacoto, Fernão Moreira Perangal, and André Caldeira) or in the concession of some of the royal emblems themselves (the bezant of Álvaro Afonso Frade, the escutcheon of Portugal-Antigo [the royal Portuguese arms without the bordure of castles] of Vasco da Gama [Fig. 2], the *quina* [escutcheon with bezants] of Nicolau Coelho [Fig. 1], the castle of João Lobo, the cross of the Order of Christ of Wolfgang Holtzschuher and João de Figueiredo).



Fig. 2 Traditional arms of Gama and arms of Vasco da Gama with their augmentation (António Godinho, *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeiçam das Armas dos Reis Christãos e Nobres Linhagens dos Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal*, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 20, fl. 18v, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/20, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

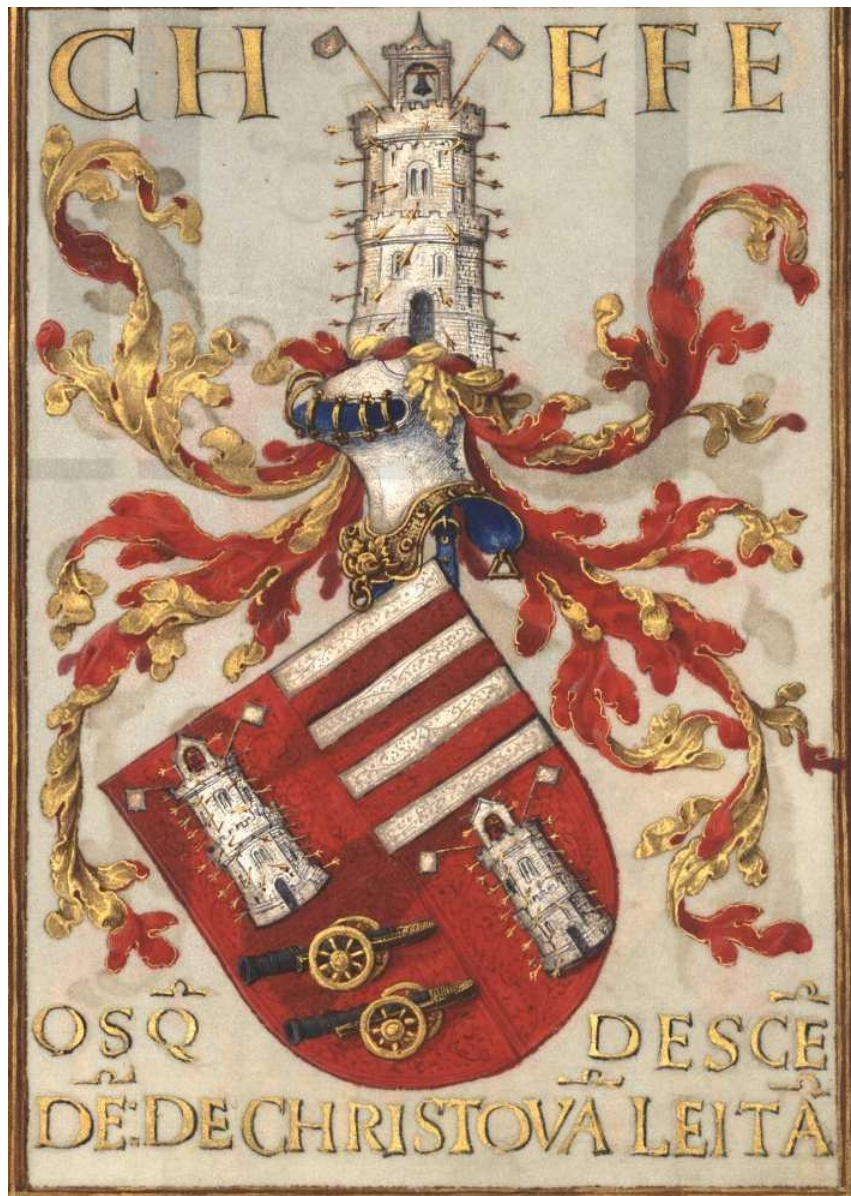


Fig. 3 Arms of Cristóvão Leitão (António Godinho, *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeiçam das Armas dos Reis Christãos e Nobres Linhagens dos Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal*, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 20, fl. 41, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/20, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)



Fig. 4 Arms of Diogo Fernandes do Carvalho Benfeito (Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 21, fl. 64, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

Finally, at a third level, the insignia might directly represent the circumstances of an overseas involvement. Most of these elements demonstrated warlike feats, displayed in the form of military constructions (the castles of Diogo de Azambuja, Álvaro do Couto and Filipe de Brito de Nicote; the towers of João Gonçalves da Câmara de Lobos, Martim Esteves Boto, Fernão Luís, Duarte Coelho, Cristóvão Leitão [Fig. 3], Lopo Barriga, João de Figueiredo, and Bento Maciel Parente; the walls of Manuel Mendes de Tânger and Francisco Monteiro de Pale; the bastions of Diogo Fernandes do Carvalho Benfeito [Fig. 4], Pedro Anes do Canto, and Belchior Vieira Ternate; the city of Luís de Loureiro), weapons (the lances of Manuel Mendes de Tânger, Diogo Fernandes do Carvalho Benfeito [Fig. 4], and Lourenço de Oliva; the cannons and arrows of Cristóvão Leitão [Fig. 3] and Francisco Monteiro de Pale; the sword of Belchior Vieira Ternate; the oval shield of Gaspar Pacheco do Azambujal; the scaling ladder of Luís de Loureiro), trophies (the flags

of Luís de Loureiro, Vasco Fernandes César, and Cristóvão Leitão [Fig. 3]), boats (the pinnaces of Vasco Fernandes César; the canoe of Bento Maciel Parente);

- As well as in the concrete representation of defeated enemies (the Moors' heads of Martim Esteves Boto, Gabriel Gonçalves de Freitas, Manuel Mendes de Tânger, Gonçalo Mendes Sacoto, Belchior Vieira Ternate, and Fernão Moreira Perangal; the Moors' busts of Wolfgang Holtzschuher, Diogo Fernandes do Carvalho Benfeito [Fig. 4], António Correia Barém, and Lourenço de Oliva; the full-bodied Moor of Francisco Monteiro de Pale; and the governor of Azamor in the timbre of Luís de Loureiro);
- Or in the representation of the hero himself (the armed arms of Vasco Fernandes Caminha and Belchior Vieira Ternate; the full-bodied warrior of Francisco Monteiro de Pale); More rarely, the figures alluded to navigation (the undy point of Álvaro Afonso Frade, Nicolau Coelho [Fig. 1], Álvaro do Couto, and Bento Maciel Parente; the azure point of Gaspar Pacheco do Azambujal; the undy quarter of Filipe de Brito de Nicote; the seahorse of André Caldeira) and to the discovery and appropriation of territories (the columns [*padrões*] of Diogo Cão and Nicolau Coelho [Fig. 1]; the cliffs of Diogo Cão and Lopo Barriga; the cave of Bento Maciel Parente; the cross of Duarte Coelho);
- Finally, they incorporated exotic elements (the palm trees of Álvaro Gonçalves de Cáceres and João Lopes; the African heads of Fernão Gomes da Mina [Fig. 5]; the leopards of Nuno Martins Garro and Sebastião Gonçalves Pita; the tiger of Bento Maciel Parente).



Fig. 5 Arms of Fernão Gomes da Mina (António Godinho, *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeição das Armas dos Reis Christãos e Nobres Linhagens dos Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal*, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 20, fl. 26v, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/20, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

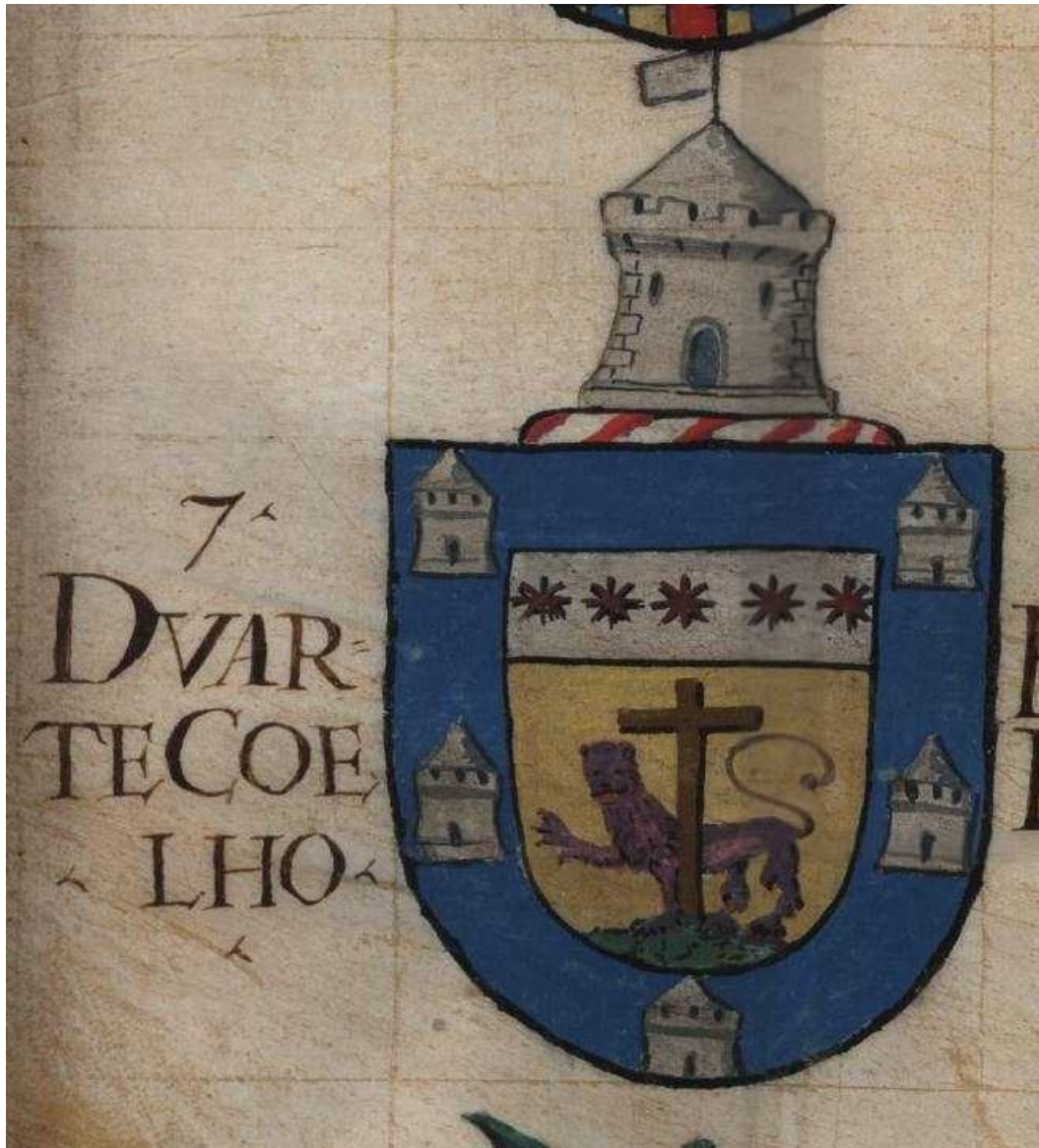


Fig. 6 Arms of Duarte Coelho (Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 21, fl. 51, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

Sometimes, the choice of figures alluding to overseas feats was combined with elements of pre-existing heraldry. One of the paradigmatic cases in this sense consisted in the coat of arms conceived by King João III for Duarte Coelho (Fig. 6), the first donatary captain of Pernambuco (Freire 1989: 145-146). Such arms, which were absent from the great Manueline armorials, are to be found in the *Livro Darmas da nobreza fidalgia do Reino de portugal* (fl. 91), compiled by Brás Pereira Brandão, with later additions by Brás Pereira de Miranda (Albuquerque 1988: 66-70).³ In these arms, elements of the ancient arms of Coelho (lion, bordure) were joined together with a series of new figures—a Latin cross

³ The author wishes to thank Martim de Albuquerque and João Portugal for allowing him to consult and reproduce a copy of this armorial.

standing on a hill and a chief charged with five stars and a bordure with five castles. The cross standing on the hill alluded to the invocation of the Holy Cross in the denomination of the land that was beginning to be colonized, while the stars represented the Southern Cross. As far as the bordure is concerned, it may also point to the visual mimicry that this implied as a way of drawing closer to the Portuguese royal arms. Although such a statement may seem rather bold in nature, the policy of augmentations granted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries expresses a clear desire to create visual links between those receiving the awards and the royal insignia. This amounted to yet another way of reinforcing the idea of this communion between the king and the nobility, or, to put it another way, expressed the pressing need to include the component of service to the Crown as the central axis of the new ideal of the nobility (Gomes 1998: 179-188).

With this combination of old and new elements, the coat of arms of Duarte Coelho (Fig. 6) clearly conveys the intervention of the Crown in the construction of the image of a nobility that, without denying its links to a long, ancient, and therefore glorious past, sought to project itself into the future through its service to the king in the country's overseas enterprise not only in the battlefields of North Africa or Asia, but also, from the reign of João III onwards, in the colonizing efforts being undertaken in Brazil. The identification of the illumination of the armorial of Brás Pereira is significant in this sense: beneath the name of Duarte Coelho is included the specification that he is "of the new Lusitania." Such a specification transmits the set of ideas that lay behind the refounding of the kingdom in those equatorial far reaches that Coelho had been allotted to govern and to where he sought to transfer a cultural model, in which, based on the principle of the Catholic faith, medieval traditions were merged together with the reinterpreted classical legacy (Mello 2002: 70-71). After all, it is this same message that his coat of arms ends up transmitting, with its fusion of pristine elements together with others alluding to the new dominions, framed by a bordure that imitated that of the royal coat of arms. This was a visual emblem of the project of New Lusitania as conceived by Duarte Coelho, and as stated on the coat of arms itself, where João III refers to the "many loyal services that Duarte Coelho, a nobleman of my household, has performed in the parts of India, where he has served for a long time in the war that I always have against the Moors and Infidels, as is the case in the captaincy of Fernão Buco of the New Lusitania in Brazil where, through my mandate, he is now my captain and governor" (Freire 1989: 146).

Generally speaking, however, in the heraldry of the nobility that was involved in overseas expansion, there was a fondness for traditional figures, corresponding to the

predominantly military and chivalrous nature of the feats alluded to in the grants of arms. Hence also the clear preponderance of the North African territory as the stage that lent itself to such feats; this was the quintessential field of combat against the infidel, in the pursuit of the ideals of the crusade and the *Reconquista*. Such a formal and spiritual connection made it possible to establish a real or imaginary link in genealogical terms with the notion of antiquity and the perpetuation of lineages, essential in the mentality of the nobility. And this same link was shaped in the construction of one's own highly chivalrous exploits based on heroic reports of a historical or mythical nature. This preference was in sharp contrast to what was taking place in the neighboring Spanish monarchy, where the expressive figures of "Americanness" began to establish their own important presence in the heraldry both of the conquerors of these territories and of the respective native elites that had been incorporated into their governance (López-Fanjul de Argüelles 2014: 151-178; 2015: 229-266).

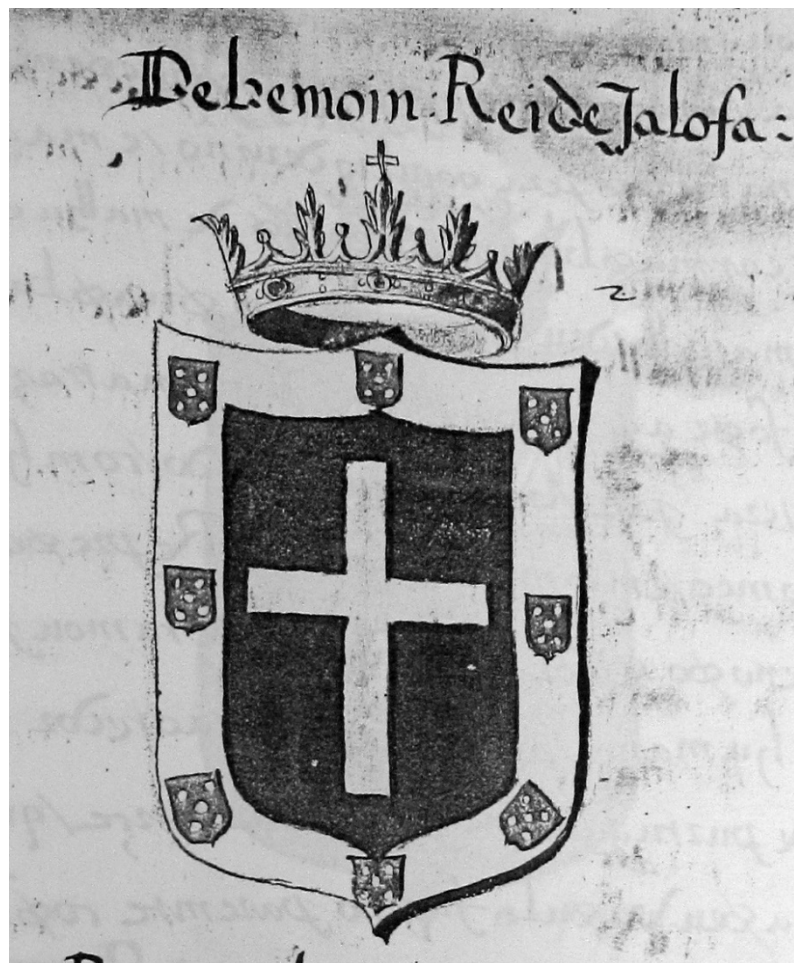


Fig. 7 Arms of Bemoim (Brás Pereira Brandão, *Livro da nobreza fidalgia do Reino de portugal*, fl. 95 bis)

The Portuguese Crown did, in fact, seek to transplant the same logic to some social and political organizations that it came across overseas. Thus, João II awarded a coat of arms to Bemoin, of the Kingdom of Jalofo, in which there was a combination of a cross and the *quinas* (Resende 1991: 116; Fig. 7)⁴. Even more significant was the award of a coat of arms to King Afonso I of Congo, in which all the symbolic and legendary elements relating to Ourique and the ideal of the crusade were boldly transposed to equatorial Africa (Rosa 2006: 19-36). The heraldic acculturation that was started at this time also included the sending of 20 grants of arms to the Congolese sovereign authorizing the setting up (and control) within his kingdom of a heraldic representation of the nobility, together with their respective titles (Seixas 1996: 330-334). It is revealing that the new coat of arms of the Congolese sovereign converted to Christianity was included in the chapters of both *Livro do Armeiro-mor* and *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeição das Armas* dedicated to the heraldry of all the kingdoms existing in the world. By including such insignia, the compiler incorporated into this list a kingdom that was assumed as a subsidiary of the Portuguese Crown, which, in this way, strengthened its imperial dimension (Fig. 8).

⁴ Note that the first known representation of these arms was to be found in *Livro Darmas da nobreza fidalgia do Reino de portugal*, fl. 95 bis,



Fig. 8 Arms of the King of Congo (António Godinho, *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeição das Armas dos Reis Christãos e Nobres Linhagens dos Reinos e Senhorios de Portugal*, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 20, fl. 7, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/20, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

One peculiar case was that of Duarte Pacheco Pereira. In the newly-discovered territories, the Portuguese did not find emblematic systems that were in any way similar to those of European heraldry (with the possible exception of the Japanese *mon*), but they sometimes applied the notion that those who were recognized as having the dignity of a sovereign should also have the power to grant arms. Thus, Duarte Pacheco was granted a new coat of arms by the king of Cochin (Fig. 9). Such insignia were organized, in every respect, according to the principles applied to the heraldry of the beneficiaries of grants of arms issued for exploits performed overseas: the shield comprised five crowns and a bordure charged with castles placed on ships and waves, surrounded by six banners placed beneath (Mattos 1936). Besides the allusion to the overseas exploits, the visual impact of the coat of arms was an obvious emulation of the Portuguese royal coat of arms, in the form of an imitation similar to that observed in the case of the arms of Duarte Coelho.



Fig. 9 Arms of Duarte Pacheco Pereira (*Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza*, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza, liv. 21, fl. 58, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

The group of coats of arms thus distinguished with elements relating to overseas themes appears in the two already-mentioned sixteenth-century armorials: they are to be found scattered among the manuscripts, thus providing, from the visual point of view, a fusion between the old and the new insignia. In this way, these armorials mirror the fusion between the old and the new aristocracy in the melting pot of the new ideal of the nobility linked to the service rendered to the Crown. And together with the *Sala dos Brasões* at the royal palace of Sintra, they confirm a hierarchy of nobles based precisely on the principle of loyalty to the Crown (Freire 1973: I, 39).

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, there was in Portugal an increase in the production of heraldic works. The first armorials compiled by private initiative began to appear, such as *Livro Darmas da nobreza fidalgia do Reino de portugal* by Brás Pereira Brandão, *Livro do Senhor Dom Duarte*, *Livro dos Braçoens das Famílias deste Reyno, com suas origens* by

António de Ataíde, and *Blasones* by Jorge de Montemor (Sousa 1745: I, 51-154). The initiative for the production of heraldic texts had ceased to be an exclusive privilege of officers of arms. What lay behind this reality? One possible answer may be the reaction to the rules that had been imposed by the willful intervention of the Crown since the times of Afonso V, culminating in the legislation of Manuel I. Works produced outside the scope of the authority of the officers of arms were a reaction against the idea of transforming heraldry into an instrument that remained at the sole service of the Crown and its purposes. Seen from this point of view, it is easy to understand the bitter discussions and controversy that arose in the late sixteenth century around the role played by private individuals in conserving the nation's memory, away from the state institutions, namely the *Cartório da Nobreza* (Nobility Registry Office, Figueirôa-Rêgo 2008: 185-6). Thereafter, in the heraldry of the Portuguese nobility, elements reflecting overseas service were perpetuated in the armorials successively compiled both by the officers of the Crown and by private individuals (Seixas 2010: 357-413).

Notably absent from the sixteenth-century armorials were, however, the coats of arms of the actual territories that were discovered, conquered or colonized by the Portuguese Crown, with the exception of the already-mentioned coat of arms of the kingdom of Congo. Such an absence may be considered surprising. All the more so since it is in sharp contrast to what was happening in the neighboring Spanish America, where there was an abundant concession of coats of arms to cities by Carlos V and Filipe II (Amerlinck 1993: 19-30).

The reasons for this absence may be rooted, first of all, in the lack of a tradition on the part of the Portuguese Crown in awarding municipal coats of arms, unlike other European monarchies: in Portugal, civic arms were established and changed at the initiative of the councils themselves (Seixas 2011: 189-222). When the overseas expansion took place, this scheme was partly transposed to the new territories. In the early days, when the Portuguese presence was limited to Northwest Africa and the Atlantic archipelagoes, the emblems that were to be found there tended to repeat the theme of the royal coat of arms (with the variations of the second-born sons, lords of these islands) and that of the cross of the Order of Christ. As the Crown began to completely appropriate the expansionist enterprise, royal arms and badges prevailed over all other signs. When Manuel I became simultaneously king and governor of the Order of Christ, a combination that was later made definitive by his son João III, the triad of the royal coat of arms/armillary

sphere/cross of the Order of Christ became a predominant, if not exclusive, feature of the Portuguese overseas territories.

Accordingly, there were few overseas institutions and territories that had their own heraldry, which was, in fact, perfectly in keeping with the centralization of the royal power. Further contributing to this outcome was the traditional absence of any intermediate bodies in the Portuguese monarchy: there was no other organ of sovereignty that could interpose itself between the municipalities and the king. Indeed, one had to wait until the seventeenth century for the Portuguese armorials to begin to mention any heraldry belonging solely to the overseas dominions themselves, all of which was of a municipal nature.

The first such manifestation occurred in roughly 1630, through the pen of António Soares Albergaria (Cabral 1929), who conceived and produced a quite unique heraldic work: not only did he set himself the task of compiling the coats of arms of all known entities, but he also set out to explain all of their symbolic meaning, thereby integrating them into a system of clearly defined symbolic values. This was an extremely vast and innovative project. Underlying Albergaria's armorial was the idea that all the entities that participated in the construction of the Portuguese monarchy should express their contribution through a symbolic manifestation, or, in other words, through their respective coat of arms (hence the inclusion of all types of heraldry: family, dynasty, state, ecclesiastic, university, corporative, military, municipal). This latter form of heraldry therefore illustrated the individuality of each municipality and demonstrated the contribution that each of these had made to constructing the edifice of the monarchy, as well as the importance of the efforts that they had all made to the achievement of this same purpose). Hence the inclusion of four overseas municipalities: Funchal, Ponta Delgada, Goa, and Malacca (Albergaria: 304v-308v). Albergaria revealed these overseas arms because they were effectively used by the municipalities, but they were also explicitly inscribed in the collective memory of the Portuguese monarchy (the symbolic importance of Goa, the political and religious center of the Portuguese dominions in Asia and on the east coast of Africa, and of Malacca, marked out as the strategic key for the control of the Indian Ocean).

The period around the time of the Restoration of Portuguese independence from Spanish rule in 1640 coincided with a previously unseen interest in civic heraldry (Seixas 2011: 385-390). It was then that the iconographic series of coats of arms of the cities began to be disseminated. In relation to this context, it is interesting to note that the richest

approaches were probably to be found in the works produced by two magistrates: João Pinto Ribeiro (Seixas 2006: 189-206) and Cristóvão Alão de Morais (Morais 2013). The first highlighted the ways in which the symbolics of municipal power was inserted into coetaneous political doctrine. The second sought to establish the corpus of heraldic emblems of that same power. Both of them worked with the clear purpose of building a political edifice in which sovereignty, although nominally held in an absolute form by the prince, was based on the idea of the composition of various historical bodies united under the auspices of the Crown. Among these, the municipalities were of prime importance, both in relation to the residual part of sovereignty that they held (and which did not fall under the king's power, to which they submitted voluntarily, reiterating their allegiance at certain special moments and rituals) and in regard to the role that they played in the effective administration of the territory. It is not, therefore, surprising that the most complete armorial of the municipalities in the Modern Era was compiled by a magistrate from the time of the Restoration of Portuguese rule in 1640.

The restoration of Portuguese independence was, in fact, a moment when the various bodies that composed the monarchy underwent a period of reconstruction and a re-equilibrium of the forces between them. In the same way that a debate was held over the relative merits of the pen versus the sword, so was questioned the relative contribution of the various institutions and social strata that strove to build, defend, maintain, and expand the whole edifice of the monarchy. In this multifaceted equilibrium, the municipalities played an important role, which various authors presented as the immemorial manifestation of sovereignty and of the administration of the territory. It was within the context of this same pact that, in turn, the learned scholars and civil servants claimed for themselves and played an increasingly leading role as agents linking together the forces in question and the bodies that were in the service of the Crown. The civic armorial compiled by Alão de Morais thus reflects this dual role of cultural and political construction. As far as the overseas territories were concerned, the author included the arms of two cities from the Atlantic archipelagoes (Angra and Funchal) and, for the first time, those of a city in Brazil: São Salvador da Bahia (Morais 2013: 27, 30, 41) (Fig. 10).

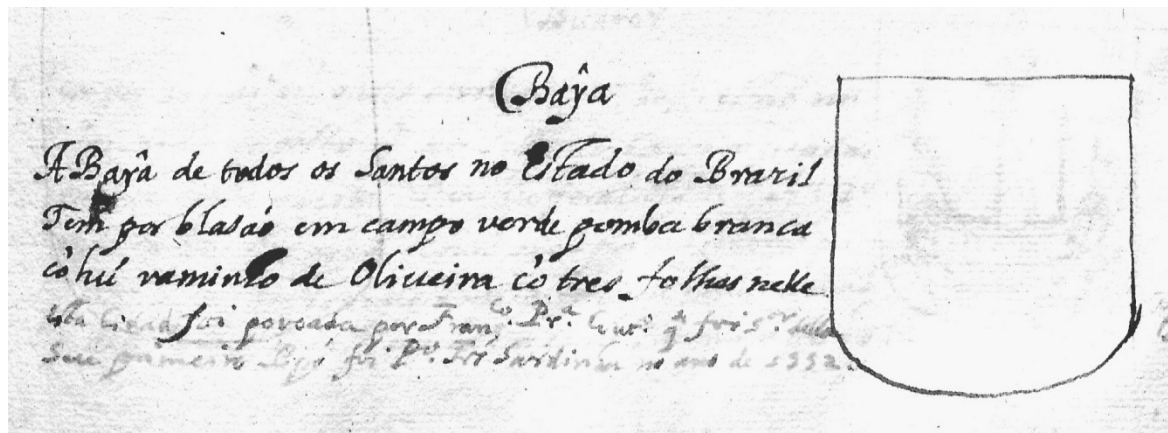


Fig. 10 Arms of the city of São Salvador da Bahia (Cristóvão Alão de Morais, *Compendio das Armas dos Reynos de Portugal & Algarve & das Cidades e Villas principaes delles*, fl. 41)

The reason why the arms of Bahia were included in Morais' civic armorial is the same as the one that had dictated the inclusion of those of Goa and Malacca in the earlier ones. Following the restoration of Bahia from its Dutch conquerors and the central role that the city played as the seat of the royal authority in Brazil, the city of Salvador had earned the legitimate right to be inscribed in the monarchy's register of epic feats not only in the Portuguese monarchy, it should be noted, but also in the Spanish monarchy. At the royal palace of Buen Retiro, the ceremonial hall displayed, on one side, the cycle of the labors of Hercules, and, on the other side, the heroic moments of the surrender of Breda and the restoration of Bahia (Sabatier 2003: 97). Just as had happened at the time of the debate about the reconfiguration of the royal coat of arms in the reign of João II, the principle of honesty dictated the possibility of certain arms being inscribed in the armorials as representative of the contribution that each body represented in this way rendered to the composite edifice of the monarchy (Seixas 2015: 285-309). Very much in keeping with the tastes of that time, privilege was given to the expression of that heraldry through a series of artistic and literary means, interlinked with one another through their common reference to the elements that composed the arms and the *ingenious* links that they made it possible to establish (Loskoutoff 2000).

In that sense, Bahia's arms mark a turning point in the understanding of heraldry. According to Morais, "the Bay of All Saints in the State of Brazil has as its blazon a dove argent on a field vert with an olive branch with three leaves" (Morais 2013: 30). These figures were not inspired by the traditional heraldic repertoire, nor did they include exotic elements alluding to the overseas dominions. The choice of a dove with an olive branch was an explicit reference to a biblical inspiration, with a highly symbolic and political charge, reinforced by the presence of the legend *Sic illa ad Arcam reversa est*. In fact, instead

of representing a particular military feat, the chosen sign was intended to symbolize the idea of the refounding of the kingdom in America, giving continuity to the project of New Lusitania generated in the sixteenth century by Duarte Coelho. This explains the choice of the dove with the olive branch, which in the biblical episode of the Flood returned to the ark to signal to Noah the world's redemption and the prospect of a New Alliance, upon which a newly implanted society would be built. Mention should be made of the exceptional nature of its composition inspired by the Old Testament, which only had a parallel in the heraldry of the town of Santa María de la Vera Paz, on what was at that time called Hispaniola, which had been the subject of a heraldic concession made by the Catholic Monarchs in 1508 (Herrera y Tordesillas 1601-1615: I, 225-226). This sign was justifiably adapted to the city of Salvador, the capital of the State of Brazil, all the more so after the definitive victory over the invading Dutch and French forces.



Fig. 11 Arms of the city of Goa (*Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza*, liv. 21, fl. 10, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

The plan for a universal armorial of the Portuguese monarchy conceived by Albergaria was also taken up once again by his contemporary António Coelho, the Portugal

king of arms (Norton 2006: III, 27-45), and later by his son Francisco Coelho, the India king of arms (Seixas 2011: 361-366). In the armorial compiled by the latter, an extensive chapter was written about the arms of the cities of Portugal, preceded by another somewhat shorter one entitled “Arms of Some Cities of the Conquests of Portugal” (Coelho: 10). This included the kingdom of the Algarve with its four cities (Tavira, Lagos, Silves, and Faro), the cities of Funchal and Goa (Fig. 11), and the islands of São Miguel and Terceira. Even more interesting, however, is the inclusion in this same folio of a shield of arms attributed to the State of Brazil, consisting of a tree surmounted by a cross (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12 Arms of the State of Brazil (*Tombo das Armas dos Reis e Titulares e de Todas as Famílias Nobres de Portugal intitulado com o Nome de Tesouro de Nobreza, Casa Real, Cartório da Nobreza*, liv. 21, fl. 10, PT/TT/CR/D-A/001/21, picture kindly made available by the Torre do Tombo)

This is a curious case in various senses, mainly because it constitutes an example of imaginary heraldry. As was said earlier, the royal authority in the Portuguese overseas territories was invariably represented by the figuration of the royal emblems, making use of

the coat of arms itself, the badge of the armillary sphere, and also the cross of the Order of Christ. All of the institutions and individuals who acted on behalf of the king thus made use of these royal insignia as a visual instrument for the legitimization and affirmation of their authority, whatever might be their rank, position (viceroy, governor-general, governor, etc.) or nature (municipal council, law court, military command, etc.). Even when there existed a central political and administrative entity, as was the case with the general government of Brazil, there were still no autonomous signs. The arms with the tree surmounted by a cross were therefore situated in the field of imaginary heraldry, since they were never used by any authority in the American dominions of the Portuguese Crown.

Secondly, the arms imputed by the king of arms to the State of Brazil are important for their typological characteristics. They were, in fact, a creation, in which the possible levels of interpretation were multiple and overlapping, indicating the heraldic culture of their creator. Indeed, the Latin cross was an evident allusion to the territory's name of Santa Cruz (Holy Cross), with which it had been christened at the time of its discovery; while the tree can be understood as a reference to the *pau-brasil* (Brazilwood), whose name ended up prevailing over the original religious invocation. In truth, in both cases, the antecedents of the chosen images are gathered together in the cartography, in which the identification of the Portuguese territory on the American continent was realized, through a Latin cross or a tree, among other images. The solution of the tree surmounted by the cross therefore joins the two models together. With the advantage that, by doing so, it amounted to the remission of a symbolically devalued toponymy: the replacement of the invocation of the Cross by the name arising from that of a simple tree with commercial interest (and, what is more, red in color) did not cease to have connotations with the devilish influences that were spreading across the American territories (Souza 1993).

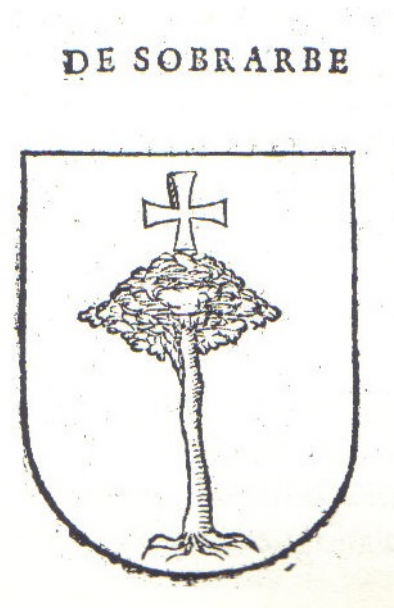


Fig. 13 Arms of the Kingdom of Sobrarbe (Gonzalo Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andalucía*, fl. 34v)

Nonetheless, the theme of the cross-tree also had its roots in an Iberian tradition of imaginary heraldry (Seixas & Galvão-Telles 2009: 205-217). Gonzalo Argote de Molina attributed this same figure to the mythical reign of Sobrarbe, explaining that there existed a communion of Iberian royal symbolics centered around the model of the cross, to which all the Peninsula's sovereigns linked their coats of arms in one way or another (Fig. 13). This same author thus defended the existence of a background shared by all Spanish monarchs, based on the principle of the crusades and the expansion of the Christian faith, guided by a common teleology that justified the Iberian political unity eventually achieved with Filipe II. Specifically in Portugal, however, the heraldic theme of the tree-cross was linked, above all, to the mythical explanation of the arms of the Pereira family, referring to the miraculous appearance of a luminous cross above a tree during various battles in which successive members of the family line had distinguished themselves, most notably at the Battle of Rio Salado in 1340, where the prior Gonçalo Álvares Pereira, father of the Constable Nuno Álvares Pereira, had fought. It was from this latter figure that the Dukes of Bragança were descended, becoming his genealogical representatives, and, from the Restoration onwards, through this same lineage, the kings of Portugal. In fact, the mythical origin of the heraldry of the Pereira lineage was placed in parallel with that of the royal coat of arms itself, insofar as they were both based on the same model of the miraculous appearance that originated the transmission of a visual sign (cross, *quinas*) that displayed the sacred dimension of the lineage and the mission that had been entrusted to it.



Fig. 14 Arms of the Viscount of Asseca (Abade de Vallemont, *Elementos da Historia*, here in the colored nineteenth century re-edition, p. 14)

Portuguese armorials in the eighteenth century do not present any particular innovation in relation to the previous century as far as the representation of overseas exploits is concerned. There is, however, one exception: in 1741, Pedro de Sousa de Castelo Branco published a translated version of *Les Eléments de l'Histoire* by Abbé Vallemont, which he sought to adapt to the Portuguese reality, namely in the part relating to heraldry (Vallemont 1741). For this purpose, the translator included in that chapter a series of additional engravings, among which was the coat of arms used at that time by the Viscounts of Asseca (Fig. 14). Inside the shield, these arms followed the customary quartered pattern that indicated the family's genealogical origins and the representation of its entailed heritage; but, outside the shield, the coat of arms introduced a novelty. On one side was an African king and, on the other, an Indian chief, standing on a terrace and supporting the shield. This was an allusion to the feats performed by Salvador Correia de Sá in the Portuguese dominions on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as to the perpetuation of this lineage in what had become transformed into the central axis of the Portuguese overseas dominions.

Sources

- Albergaria, António Soares. *Armaria*. BNP Cód. 1118.
Brasonário da Nobreza de Portugal. Anonymous manuscript from the seventeenth century (1999). Lisbon: Moreira & Almeida.
 Coelho, Francisco. *Thesouro da Nobreza*. ANTT, Casa Forte, n.º 169.
 Godinho, António (1987). *Livro da nobreza e perfeição das armas*. Lisbon: Inapa.
 Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de (1601-1615). *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano*. Madrid: Emprenta Real.
Livro de Arautos (1977). Lisbon: FLUL.
Livro do Armeiro-mor (2000). Lisbon: Inapa.
Livro do Armeiro-mor, organized and illuminated by Jean du Cros (1956). Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
 Morais, Cristóvão Alão de. *Compendio das Armas dos Reynos de Portugal & Algarve & das Cidades e Villas principaes delles*. Porto: 2013.
 Rodrigues, António (1931). *Tratado Geral de Nobreza*. Porto: Biblioteca Pública Municipal.
 Sousa, D. Antonio Caetano de (1735). *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Joseph Antonio da Sylva.
 Vallemont, Abade de (1741). *Elementos da Historia*. Lisbon: Miguel Rodrigues.
 Velho, António José Vaz (1958-1963). *Tesouro Heráldico de Portugal*. Lisbon: Gabinete de Estudos Heráldicos e Genealógicos.

Bibliography

- Albuquerque, Martim de (1988). *A expressão do poder em Luís de Camões*. Lisbon: INCM.
 Amerlinck, Teodoro (1993). “Heráldica municipal en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI.” In Menéndez Pidal (ed.). *Las armerías en Europa al comenzar la Edad Moderna y su proyección al Nuevo Mundo*. Madrid: Dirección de Archivos Estatales: 19-30.
 Azevedo, Francisco S.A. de (1966). *Uma interpretação histórico-cultural do Livro do Armeiro-Mor*. Lisbon: Author’s edition.
 Borges, J.G. Calvão (2004). “A Armaria em Portugal e na Cultura Portuguesa.” In Redondo Veintemillas (ed.). *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Emblemática General*. Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando el Católico»: II, 983-1011.
 Brault, Gerard (1997). *Early Blazon*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press.
 Borges, M.L. Calvão; Borges, J.G. Calvão (1987-1988). “Estudos de Heráldica Portuguesa – I – O Armorial das Conquistas e Descobrimentos e o Armorial da Távola Redonda.” In *Armas e Troféus*, VI, I, 5-28.
 Boudreau, Claire (2006). *L’Héritage symbolique des héralds d’armes*. Paris: Le Léopard d’Or.
 Boudreau, Claire (1997). “Traité de blason et armoriaux: pédagogie et mémoire.” In Holtz, Louis (ed.). *Les armoriaux médiévaux*. Paris: Le Léopard d’Or: 383-394.
 Cabral, António M.F.P. (1929). *António Soares de Albergaria heráldista do século XVII*. Lisbon: Tombo Histórico.
 Cabral, António M.F.P. (1955). “Simbolismo heráldico dos descobrimentos e conquistas portuguesas.” In *Comunicaciones y conclusiones del III Congreso Internacional de Genealogia y* Madrid: Instituto Internacional de Genealogia y Heráldica: 361-374.
 Figueirôa-Rêgo, João de (2008). *Reflexos de um poder discreto*. Lisbon: CHAM.
 Freire, A. Braamcamp (1989). *Armaria Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Cota d’Armas.
 Freire, A. Braamcamp (1973). *Brasões da Sala de Sintra*. Lisbon: INCM.
 Gomes, Rita Costa (1988). “A curialização da nobreza.” In Curto, D. Ramada (ed.). *O tempo de Vasco da Gama*. S.l.: Difel: 179-188.

- Guillén Berrendero, J.A. (2012). *La Edad de la Nobleza: identidad nobiliaria en Castilla y Portugal (1556-1621)*. Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo.
- Lopes, C. Silva (1960). “As conquistas e descobrimentos na heráldica portuguesa do século XVI.” In *Armas e Troféus*, II, I: 107-124.
- López-Fanjul de Argüelles, Carlos (2014). “Las armerías de los conquistadores de Indias.” In *Historia y Genealogía*, 4: 151-178.
- López-Fanjul de Argüelles, Carlos (2015). “La imaginación heráldica en la España del siglo XVI. Las armerías de los caciques y los muebles americanos.” In *Historia y Genealogía*, 5: 229-266.
- Loskoutoff, Yvan (2000). *L’armorial de Calliope*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Mattos, Armando de (1936). *As “armas-novas” de Duarte Pacheco Pereira*. Coimbra: Coimbra Editora.
- Mello, Evaldo Cabral (1987). *Imagens do Brasil holandês*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Nacional próMemória.
- Menéndez Pidal, Faustino (2008). *La nobleza en España: ideas, estructuras, historia*. Madrid: Fundación Cultural de la Nobleza Española.
- Menéndez Pidal, Faustino (2014). *Los emblemas heráldicos. Novecientos años de historia*. Seville: Real Maestranza de Caballería.
- Norton, Manuel Artur (2006). *A Heráldica em Portugal*. Lisbon: Dislivro Histórica.
- Oliveira, Humberto N.; Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2002). “As armas de D. Vasco da Gama e os acrescentamentos honrosos na heráldica portuguesa dos séculos XV e XVI.” In *Tabardo*, 1: 31-56.
- Paravicini, Werner (2008). “Signes et couleurs au Concile de Constance: le témoignage d’un héraut d’armes portugais.” In Denise Turrell (ed.). *Signes et couleurs des identités politiques. Du Moyen Age à nos jours*. Rennes: PUR: 155-188.
- Pastoureau, Michel (2006). *Armorial des chevaliers de la Table Ronde*. Paris: Le Léopard d’Or.
- Pastoureau, Michel (1985). “L’historien et les traités du blason. In Roger Harmignies (ed.). *Sources de l’Héraldique en Europe Occidentale*.” Brussels: Académie Internationale d’Héraldique: 129-139.
- Rosa, Maria de Lurdes (2006). “Velhos, novos e imutáveis sagrados... Um olhar antropológico sobre formas ‘religiosas’ de percepção e interpretação da conquista africana.” In *Lusitania Sacra*, 18: 13-85.
- Sabatier, Gérard (2003). “Le palais d’Etat en Europe.” In Marie-France Auzépy (ed.). *Palais et pouvoir. De Constantinople à Versailles*. Vincennes: PUV.
- São Payo, Conde de (1927). *Do Direito Heraldico Português*. Lisbon: Centro Tipografico Colonial.
- Savorelli, Alessandro (2013). “L’araldica per la storia: una fonte ausiliaria?” In Maria Pia Paoli (ed.). *Nel laboratorio della storia. Una guida alle fonti dell’età moderna*. Rome: Carocci: 289-315.
- Savorelli, Alessandro (2015). Atlanti simbolici dello spazio politico. I portolani e il Libro de Conocimiento de todos los Reinos. In *Armas e Troféus*, IX-XVII: 101-136
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (1996). As armas do rei do Congo. In *Os Descobrimentos e a Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*. Lisbon: Universidade Lusíada: 317-346.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2011). *Heráldica, representação do poder e memória da nação*. Lisbon: Universidade Lusíada.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2006). “João Pinto Ribeiro e a vexilologia municipal portuguesa. Em torno de uma polémica seiscentista.” In *Revista Lusófona de Genealogia e Heráldica*, 1: 189-206.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2010). “Qual pedra íman: a matéria heráldica na produção cultural do Antigo Regime.” In *Lusíada. Série de História*, II-7: 357-413.

- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2012). “Reflexos ultramarinos na heráldica da nobreza de Portugal.” In Miguel J. Rodrigues (ed.). *Pequena Nobreza e Impérios Ibéricos de Antigo Regime*. Lisbon: IICT: 1-37.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2010). “El simbolismo del territorio en la heráldica regia portuguesa. En torno a las armas del Reino Unido de Portugal, Brasil y Algarves.” In *Emblemata*, XVI: 285-330.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de (2015). « Art et héraldique au service de la représentation du pouvoir sous Jean II de Portugal (1481-1495). » In Matteo Ferrari (ed.). *L’Arme Segreta. Araldica e Storia dell’Arte nel Medioevo (secoli XIII-XV)*. Florence: Le Lettere, 285-309.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de; Galvão-Telles, João Bernardo (2009). “O condestável D. Nun’Álvares e as armas dos Pereiras revisitadas.” In Humberto N. Oliveira (ed.). *D. Nuno Álvares Pereira: homem, herói e santo*. Lisbon: Universidade Lusíada: 205-217.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de; Galvão-Telles, João Bernardo (2014). “Elementos de uma cultura visual e dinástica: os sinais heráldicos e emblemáticos do rei D. Duarte.” In Catarina F. Barreira (ed.). *D. Duarte e a sua época: arte, cultura, poder e espiritualidade*. Lisbon: IEM: 257-284.
- Seixas, Miguel Metelo de; Portugal, João (2012). “À sombra dos príncipes. A heráldica dos Sousas no mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória da Batalha.” In Pedro Redol (ed.). *A Capela dos Sousas no Mosteiro da Batalha*. Batalha: Município da Batalha: 27-63.
- Souza, Laura de Mello e (1989). *O Diabo e a Terra de Santa Cruz*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Souza, Laura de Mello e (1993). *Inferno Atlântico: demonologia e colonização*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

Received for publication: 27 September 2016

Accepted in revised form: 09 May 2017

Recebido para publicação: 27 de Setembro de 2016

Accete após revisão: 09 de Maio de 2017

Bernardo de Brito: A Misunderstood Portuguese Chronicler

Matthias Gloël¹

Abstract

This article on Bernardo de Brito seeks to analyze his historiographical work with the aim of refuting the traditional conclusion that he was opposed to the Habsburg kings ruling Portugal. I first describe the very close relationship Brito had with the court. Following this, I focus mainly on the four aspects of his work: the mythical population of the Iberian Peninsula, the ancient Spanish history, the splitting of the Portuguese County from the Leonese kingdom, and the Portuguese crisis of succession from 1383 to 1385, which ended with the enthronement of the Avis dynasty.

Keywords

Early Modern History, Portuguese chronicles, Bernardo de Brito, Portuguese History, Iberian Union

Resumo

Este artigo sobre Bernardo de Brito tem o objetivo de analisar a sua obra historiográfica para recusar a conclusão tradicional que se encontrava em oposição aos reis portugueses da casa de Habsburgo. Primeiro, descrevemos a relação próxima que Brito tinha com a corte. Depois, enfocamo-nos principalmente em quatro aspetos da sua obra: a população mítica da Península Ibérica, a história espanhola antiga, a separação do condado de Portugal do reino de Leão e a crise sucessória portuguesa de 1383 a 1385, que terminou com a entronização da dinastia de Avis.

Palavras-chave

História Moderna, Crónicas portuguesas, Bernardo de Brito, História portuguesa, União Ibérica

¹ Researcher at the Observatório Regional Universidad Católica de Temuco, Chile. *Convenio de Desempeño para la Educación Superior Regional UCT1302*. E-Mail: mgloel@uct.cl

Introduction

Most of Bernardo de Brito's (1568 or 1569-1617) adult life took place under the rule of the Habsburg kings Phillip I (II of Castile) and Phillip II (III of Castile) in the Portuguese kingdom. In 1580, the Avis dynasty was extinguished and King Phillip of Castile and Aragon inherited the Portuguese throne. Now all the Spanish kingdoms were dynastically united under one single ruler, although they did not form a United Kingdom of Spain.

Portuguese historiography has often described and analyzed the years from 1580 to 1640 as the rule of a foreign (Spanish) king, who occupied Portugal and tried to incorporate it into Spain (Rebello 1860; Sousa 1982; Rocha 1940; Queiroz 1946; Domingues 1965). This was the result of one of the fundamental concepts of nationalist historiography: the eternal nation, which had always existed in more or less the same territory since the beginning of time. This extremely nationalistic point of view dominated the nineteenth and large parts of the twentieth century of Portuguese historiography. Since the classic work of the Portuguese historian Magalhães Godinho, many recent studies have begun to alter the previously prevailing view of early modern Portugal, and especially of the years of the so-called Iberian Union (Magalhães Godinho 1968; Bouza Álvares 1986; Hespanha 1995; Valladares 2000; Cardim 2013). Portugal is now seen as part of a composite monarchy (Elliott 1992) or a polycentric monarchy (Herzog et al 2012), composed of several kingdoms and territories, each of them with their own privileges and particular relationship with the monarch.

The traditional interpretation of early modern Portugal also affected the historiographical view of the Portuguese writers of that time, particularly the historians or chroniclers. Many of these authors have not been revisited by current historiography in order to correct this image. One of these cases is certainly Bernardo de Brito, who published three important historiographical works during his lifetime: the first and the second part of the *Monarquia Lusitana* (1597 and 1609, respectively) and the *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal* (1603).

In 1806, the *Monarquia Lusitana* was republished as part of the *Collecção dos principaes autores da História Portuguesa* and António da Visitação Freire was given the task of writing an introductory study on Bernardo de Brito. His analysis was made within that traditional Portuguese view of the years from 1580 to 1640. He explained that the foreign occupation of Portugal sought to eliminate the memory of an independent past full of glory (Freire

1806: XII). In this context, Freire went on to say, Brito not only kept alive the language, but his strong patriotism also kept alive the glory and the spirit of independence during the Portuguese submission to Spanish rule (Freire 1806: XIII-XV).

This nationalist interpretation became even more prominent in the twentieth century, especially during the years of the Salazar dictatorship (1932-1968). In 1948, Hernani Cidade included Brito in what he called *literatura autonomista* (autonomist literature), a kind of literary resistance to the Spanish occupation. Among these writings, according to Cidade, Brito “se ergueria em oposição ao que no País vizinho, com igual intuito, Floriã de Ocampo ou Higuera, construíram em exaltação de Espanha” (Cidade 1948: 87-88).² Cidade anticipated the division of the Iberian Peninsula into two national states, which, in the end, was the historical outcome but was not predictable at least until the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, when the Spanish monarchy recognized the royalty of the dynasty of Bragança, which had been on the Portuguese throne since 1640. In the opposition that he created between Portugal and Spain, Cidade saw the occupation of one by the other, with which he justified the title of his work.

Also following the same line of argument, we find Alfredo Pimenta (1943), who wrote about the chroniclers of the Alcobaça monastery. Among these were Bernardo de Brito and António Brandão, the authors of the first four volumes of the *Monarquia Lusitana* (Brito of the first and second, Brandão of the third and fourth). Pimenta defined Brito’s nationalism as the same nationalism that all the authors of general histories displayed at that time (Pimenta 1963: 7).³

In 1973, the first part of the *Monarquia Lusitana* by Brito was republished as a facsimile version with a new introductory study, this time written by António da Silva Rego. The interpretation of the figure of Bernardo Brito had not changed. Portuguese nationalism was the guideline for his interpretation of Brito: “O seu acendrado patriotismo, por todos unanimemente reconhecido, visualizou uma história nacional, uma história de Portugal, a partir dos primórdios da humanidade” (Silva Rego 1973: XI).⁴ This patriotism, explained Silva, would be the leitmotif of his whole work (Silva Rego 1973: XX).

Since historiography on early modern history in general, and on Portugal in particular, has changed significantly, especially since the 1990s, it could also be expected

² “set himself up in opposition to what in the neighboring country, with the same determination, Florian de Ocampo or Higuera, had built for the exaltation of Spain.”

³ The first edition is from 1943. The term “general history” refers to chronicles, which tell the history of a territory of all times.

⁴ “His very strong patriotism, unanimously acknowledged by everybody, visualized a national history, a history of Portugal, from the beginnings of humanity.”

that particular authors such as Brito would be interpreted in new ways. Nevertheless, at least in Brito's case, this did not happen. In 1992, a rather short biography about Brito was finally published. However, looking at the title, one could see that the author, Álvaro Terreiro, was continuing along the same lines that Portuguese historians had followed for more than a century and a half. *Frei Bernardo de Brito, historiador profético da resistência* (Friar Bernardo de Brito, Prophetic Historian of the Resistance) was the title chosen by Terreiro. He took the idea of literary resistance already expressed very explicitly by Cidade and others. The term "prophetic" used in the title would later be directly related to the dynastic change (traditionally referred to as the *Restauração* [Restoration]) in 1640 from the Habsburgs to the Braganças. According to Terreiro, Brito was "talvez aquele que mais contribuiu para um despertar da consciência portuguesa que viria a eclodir no 1º de Dezembro de 1640, com a restauração e independência de Portugal" (Terreiro 1992: 18).⁵ This awakening would have been necessary, given that, by losing independence, the patriotic spirit of many Portuguese had been put to sleep and Brito could not remain indifferent to the concerns of the people that suffered from oppression (Terreiro 1992: 34-35).

There are also even newer studies following that line of interpretation. Similar to Terreiro, José d'Encarnação called Brito a visionary, part of the historiography of Alcobaça that wanted to show how much Portugal was losing by being united with Castile (Encarnação 2001: 387). However, sometimes it is very useful to investigate texts that have already been studied several times in order to reach different conclusions. This is what this article seeks to do in relation to the historiographical work of Bernardo de Brito.

Brito and the Habsburg Kings

The biographical facts on Brito, which have always been known to historians, lead us to the conclusion that Brito's relationship with the court in Madrid was not a distant one, and even less so a hostile one. Instead, it was rather close. He was the author of a poem called *Elogio de Felipe II de Castella*, which he offered to the monarch in 1591 during his stay at the court in Madrid. The same year his *Elogio a D. Christovão de Moura, I. Marquez de Castello Rodrigo* was also printed, dedicated to Phillip II's most important Portuguese diplomat during the Portuguese crisis of succession from 1578 to 1580.

⁵ "perhaps the one who most contributed to the awakening of the Portuguese consciousness that would burst forth on the first of December of 1640 with the restoration and independence of Portugal."

Furthermore, Brito's historiographical work was not written and published in defiance of the censorship of the Habsburg Kings nor in spite of their presence on the Portuguese throne, but very much with their approval. Phillip II and Phillip III encouraged, and even ordered, him to continue his historiographical work. Six years later, in 1597, Brito published the first volume of the *Monarquia Lusitana*, which he dedicated to Phillip I of Portugal, and was named *Chronista Geral* by the king in that very same year. The king wrote Brito a letter, thanking him for his work and dedication, and ordered him to continue his work⁶. The second volume of the *Monarquia Lusitana*, published in 1609, and also the *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal* in 1603, were dedicated to Phillip II of Portugal (III of Castile). The king even sent him 1,000 *cruzados* (a silver or gold coin used in Portugal during the seventeenth and eighteenth century) for the expenses of printing the first and second volume.

In 1614, the king made him *Chronista mór*, the official chronicler of the Portuguese kingdom, and a year later Brito traveled to Madrid to personally thank him for this appointment. The nomination of Brito also reflected the high standing that he enjoyed at the court, given that his predecessor, Francisco de Andrade, had a son who was also seeking to obtain the position after the death of his father. Furthermore, the court granted him several pensions, so that he could focus exclusively on his work as a chronicler.

It could be said (and, indeed, it has been) that all of this is somewhat secondary and actually of minor importance, and that perhaps even that Brito considered it a necessary evil to achieve what he really wanted—the awakening of the Portuguese consciousness. Freire stated that, although Brito seemed to give himself up to the “império das circunstâncias,”⁷ he never relinquished his true purposes (Freire 1806: LIII). Terreiro went even further, seeing Brito “como verdadeiro patriota, sentindo-se moralmente desvinculado das obrigações para com a Dinastia reinante dos Filipes” (Terreiro 1992: 36).⁸ Albin Eduard Beau even believed that the Spanish kings were naive when they ordered historical works out of habit and custom, but without any real interest, and without suspecting the counter forces that would be unleashed by these works (Beau 1945: 68).

We believe that the Habsburg dynasty had a very real interest in these chronicles. Usually, at times of dynastic change, there is more than one house seeking to obtain the vacant throne. Portugal in 1580 was no exception to this. So, especially in the first two

⁶ The letter was dated April 3, 1597; Brito published it at the end of his prologue in the second part of the *Monarquia Lusitana* in 1609.

⁷ “empire of circumstances”.

⁸ “as a true patriot, feeling himself to be morally released from any obligations to the ruling dynasty of the Phillips”.

generations, anything that could emphasize the legitimacy of their claims to royalty would be of use for Phillip I and II. Historiography could be one of these useful things. In his dedication to Phillip I in the first part of the *Monarquia Lusitana*, Brito explained to the king that in this book “verá vossa Magestade triumphos de seus antepassados” (Bruto 1597: 2).⁹ The same thing is to be read in the dedication to his successor Phillip II in *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*: “posso aparecer com este piqueno dom, diante de Vossa Magestade, pois levo para sanear as faltas nacidas de minha parte, não sô a lembrança do claríssimo tronco dos Reis de Portugal progenitores de Vossa Magestade, mas inda a figura e proporção de cada hum delles” (Bruto 1603).¹⁰

Portuguese Preeminence at the Beginning of History

According to Brito, Portuguese history began with Tubal’s arrival in Lusitania. The appearance of the Tubal myth was something new in Portuguese historiography. As is well-known, chroniclers all over Europe were searching for the ancient origins of their territories and people. In many cases, they looked for one of Noah’s sons or grandsons, who would have initiated the population of the region after the Flood (Allen 1949; Bizzocchi 1995). In the case of Spanish historians, they began by assuming that it was Tubal, the son of Japhet and the grandson of Noah, who had started the population of Spain (Ballester Rodríguez 2013; Gloël 2017). In Castilian chronicles, the myth was already present in the late Middle Ages, especially after being used in the famous *Historia de rebus hispaniae* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, the Archbishop of Toledo. From the second half of the fifteenth century, this myth was to be found in almost all Castilian chronicles.

In the fifteenth century, the myth also started to appear in Catalan chronicles, but with a different approach (Tomic 1495).¹¹ While Castilian authors used the myth to emphasize the antiquity of Spain as a whole, Tomic and his successors in Catalonia claimed that the arrival of Tubal and the first settlement on Spanish soil took place explicitly in Catalonia. This Catalan variety of the Tubal myth was not at all insignificant. In keeping with the belief that the more ancient something was, the more valuable and dignified it was

⁹ “Your Majesty will see the triumphs of your ancestors.”

¹⁰ “I trust that I can come to your Majesty with this little piece of work to clarify the parts I have been missing so far, not only the memory of the very clear trunk of the kings of Portugal, your Majesty’s progenitors, but also the figure and proportion of every one of them.” The dedication is without page numbers.

¹¹ The work was written in 1438.

considered to be (Fernández Albaladejo 2007: 124), the claim that, of all the Spanish territories, Catalonia was the first to be populated was of great importance.

During the Middle Ages, and for almost all of the sixteenth century, Portuguese historians did not take the Tubal myth into account. The traditionally important myth in Portugal used to be the foundation of Lisbon by Ulysses (Góis 1554). Now, the Trojan war and anything related to Ulysses clearly took place after the arrival of Tubal. This could be an important reason why a Portuguese chronicler writing in the context of his kingdom being part of the Catholic (Spanish) monarchy should seek to embrace this myth as well.

Brito's first volume of the *Monarchia Lusitana* was the first Portuguese chronicle to be published that included the myth of Tubal.¹² Brito neglected all other possible points of arrival for Tubal and stated that he came through the Mediterranean into the Atlantic Ocean, which would have led him to the Portuguese coast. What Brito wanted to point out was that “nosso Reyno foy o mais antigo na povoação, e Setubal o lugar, em que primeiro ordenarão vivenda e vecinhança comuna” (Brito 1597: 7).¹³ In this way, Brito placed Portugal in the midst of what Antoni Simon i Tarrés called “pre-eminential battles,” which were waged, at the level of literacy, between kingdoms (Simon i Tarrés 2005: 105). Therefore, what Brito wanted to show, especially to the common king, was that, among all the Spanish kingdoms, Portugal was the most ancient and therefore the most dignified.

The use of these founding myths of the nation in Spain and all over Europe shows that in early modern times nations were not considered to be eternal, but that they had a beginning. In any case, we have to bear in mind that in Early Modern Times the term “nation” did not define the population of a political entity, but instead referred to its birth or to a common origin, in other words to a natural state (Helmchen 2005).

Ancient Portuguese Singularity

In further chapters of his book, Brito used several themes and events in ancient Spanish history. This served, on the one hand, to place the Portuguese at the center of important historical events, and, on the other hand, to prove Portugal's independence and its lack of subjection to other kingdoms from very early stages. One example of this was when Brito wrote about the Carthaginians in Spain. Castilian, Aragonese, and Catalan

¹² Fernando de Oliveira used it before Brito in his *História de Portugal*, written between 1580 and 1582, but which remained unpublished until the year 2000.

¹³ “our kingdom was the most ancient one in terms of population, and Setúbal was the place where they first started a settlement and formed a neighborhood.”

chroniclers did not devote much space to Carthage in their works. In contrast, Brito dedicated a whole book (his second one, approximately 200 pages long) of his work to the Carthaginians and their history in Spain. Among the important things they did in Lusitania, Brito extensively described the foundation of Braga by a Carthaginian captain called Hymilcon (Brito 1597: 117v-119).

The real importance of the Carthaginians to Brito became clear when he described the confrontation between Carthage and Rome. The position of Spain in this matter and its subsequent division was, according to Brito, that “sendo quasi toda Espanha em favor dos Romanos, só a Lusitania lhe fez rosto e servio de refugio aos vencidos” (Brito 1597: 148).¹⁴ Brito explained that the relations between the Lusitanians and the Carthaginians became even closer when Hamilcar Barca, impressed by the majesty of the city of Lisbon, decided to marry a woman from this very city. This woman was to give birth to the famous Hannibal, who, in this way, was to have a Portuguese mother (Brito 1597: 148).¹⁵

While Castilian chroniclers pointed out the great importance of the Roman emperors of Spanish origin, mainly Trajan and Hadrian, these figures were completely absent in Brito's work and in the works of the other Portuguese chroniclers who were to come after him. They preferred to emphasize the Lusitanian resistance to Roman rule. Special importance has usually been given historically to Viriatus, an important Lusitanian leader in the second century BC. Brito dedicated the first part of his third book to him and his anti-Roman fight. Emphasis was placed on the heroic resistance of the Lusitanians against a very superior enemy and on the fact that only the Portuguese were able to fight against the Roman Empire, unlike the rest of the Iberian people. Brito also showed once more that, even at this very early stage in their history, the Portuguese had a clearly different attitude and identity to Castile.

Count Henrique and King Afonso Henriques

The conversion of Portugal from a county into a kingdom and its dissociation from the kingdom of Leon, to which it used to belong, was another crucial theme for Brito and other Portuguese historians. Historically, Henrique of Burgundy served the Leonese King Alfonso VI in the conquest of Galicia and, as a reward, he married Teresa, the king's daughter. In 1096, he received the County of Portucale from the king, becoming his direct

¹⁴ “with nearly the whole of Spain being on the side of Rome, only Lusitania stood against it and gave refuge to the defeated,” Brito, *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Primeira*, 148.

¹⁵ Hannibal's mother was in fact Iberian, although there is no evidence that he came from Lusitania.

vassal. His son, Afonso Henriques, became the first king of Portugal in 1139 and turned Portugal into a kingdom of its own, although the Pope only recognized it in 1179.

These origins were a problem for Portuguese historians, because it meant that initially Portugal was a subordinate part of Leon, which in the eyes of a sixteenth and seventeenth-century reader would make it less dignified than Castile, under whose crown the kingdom of Leon was continuing by then. This fear was a real one, which could be seen in the works of the Castilian chroniclers when they wrote about these events. Around 1470, Pedro de Escavías wrote in his *Repertorio de Príncipes* that, although Henrique was Lord of Portugal, he “todavía benía a las Cortes y llamamientos del rrey don Alonso de Castilla” and “le rreconosçía señorío e basallaje quando le mandaba llamar” (Escavías 1972: 219).¹⁶

Esteban de Garibay (1571) referred to the “perpetuo reconocimiento de vassallaje” that Henrique had to swear to the Leonese kings in exchange for the county (Garibay 1628: 54).¹⁷ According to Garibay, this vassalage continued after Afonso Henriques became king and even after the Pope’s confirmation of the new kingdom, which meant that Portugal would still not have been completely independent from the Kingdom of Leon. Gregorio López Madera went even further: he rejected any division of the Iberian Peninsula in legal terms. Only Pelayo would have been a legal successor to the Gothic kings. After his victory over the Moors at Covadonga, Pelayo initiated the Principality of the Asturias, which was to turn into the Kingdom of Leon and later into the Kingdom of Castile. All the other Iberian kings (in Aragon, Navarre, Catalonia, and Portugal) may have had good intentions, but “nunca fueron legitimos, porque aviendo ya Señor y Rey propio que sucedio en todo el derecho de los Godos, deste solo avia de ser el señorío verdadero, y por lo menos el supremo, qual siempre le pretendieron tener los Reyes de León, y Castilla successores de don Pelayo” (López Madera 1597: 71v.).¹⁸

Brito found himself confronted with this rhetorical scenario. His second part of the *Monarquia Lusitana* only went as far as Henrique's marriage to the king's daughter, Teresa. Brito first explained that, as part of the marriage, the king of Leon gave the territory around the town of Porto as a dowry (the south of what would later be the kingdom of Portugal was still ruled by the Moors). According to Brito, the decisive event occurred in 1094: Henrique had a son, the future king Afonso Henriques. Brito explained that the Leonese

¹⁶ “still came to the *Cortes* and answered the calls of King Alonso of Castile,” and “he recognized his rule and vassalage when he called him.”

¹⁷ “perpetual acknowledgement of vassalage.”

¹⁸ “they were never legitimate, because there was already a lord and king who succeeded the Goths, and only he could be the lord of this kingdom, or at least the supreme one, just as the kings of Leon and Castile had always claimed to be, as the successors of Don Pelayo.”

king was so touched by the birth of his grandson that he gave the land perpetually to Henrique and his descendants. That meant that, henceforth, “podemos chamar o Conde verdadeyro Señor de todo Portugal, por lhe ser dado em titulo de Condado” (Brito 1609: 388).¹⁹ Brito was unable to publish the third part²⁰ before his death in 1617, so it was left to his successor António Brandão to deal with the later years of Count Henrique and the acquisition of royal status by his son, Afonso Henriques.

However, Brito did write about Afonso Henriques in his *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, which actually starts with Count Henrique. This meant that Brito could have considered him as if he were already king, given that he started the first Portuguese royal dynasty. He described the conquest of Lisbon and the legendary victory over the Moorish kings at Ourique. Brito then gave a double legitimation for the royalty of Afonso Henriques: “vio a Christo crucificado, que lhe deu o escudo de armas, que usão os Reis de Portugal, e lhe mandou tomar titulo de Rey, como fez no seguinte dia, a petição de seus vassalos” (Brito 1603: 9).²¹ This gave Afonso Henriques a divine mandate, which certainly would have been much stronger than a dowry and any possible duties that may have existed as a vassal. Brito did not mention any of them in the *Monarquia Lusitana* nor in the *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, so it is to be assumed that, according to him, there were no such duties owed to the King of Leon.

The Succession of João I

Another complicated subject was the acceptance of João, Master of Avis and future king of Portugal²² after the well known meeting in Coimbra of the Portuguese Cortes, in April 1385. His situation as a bastard son of Pedro I made it legally impossible for him to occupy the Portuguese throne one day. After the death of his half-brother Fernando, the legitimate successor was his daughter Beatriz, who was married to Juan I, King of Castile. João started a civil war and was victorious, initiating the new dynasty of Avis.

The Castilian point of view on these facts is also clear. Garibay made it very clear that it was Princess Beatriz and the King of Castile who were the legitimate heirs to the

¹⁹ “we can call the Count the true lord of all Portugal, because it was given to him with the title of a county.”

²⁰ He was already talking about the future third part in 1603 in his *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal* (page 6), before he had even written the second one. This meant that he actually had a long-term plan to write several more parts of the *Monarquia Lusitana*.

²¹ “he saw the crucified Christ, who gave him the coat of arms, which is used by the kings of Portugal, and he commanded him to take the title of king, as he did the next day, at the request of his vassals”.

²² To avoid confusion between the contemporaries King John of Castile (Juan) and King John of Portugal (João), I decided to maintain the names in their original language.

Portuguese kingdom (Garibay 1628: 357). Escavías wrote of João of Avis as the one who “called himself King of Portugal” (Escavías 1972: 305). He stated clearly that he may have called himself king, but that this obviously did not mean that he was the legitimate heir, but rather a usurper.

As Brito did not get far enough in his history to write about these events in the *Monarquia Lusitana*, we only have João's biography included in the *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*, which, as is the case with all the biographies in this work, is rather short. He avoids terms like “bastard” or “illegitimate,” and does not mention the fact that João was not born within the confines of marriage. Brito emphasizes his very high and adequate education and his military merits, which in the fourteenth century were still an important aspect for a king. He also points out his nomination as “defensor do Reyno de Portugal, contra elRey dom João de Castella” (Bruto 1603: 56).²³ Brito does not directly question the legitimacy of Juan of Castile. He even calls Beatriz the sole heir to the kingdom. However, he does refer to “certas capitulações, feitas ao tempor do seu casamento” (Bruto 1603: 56),²⁴ which did not affect the rights of Beatriz, but those of Juan. In this way, the reader is pushed towards the conclusion that Juan actually had no rights to the Portuguese throne and that this would legitimize the defense of the kingdom and the nomination of a protector. There was, therefore, only one more step to take: summoning the *Cortes* (which he did in Coimbra), in order to become king himself.

When it came to the succession of Phillip I in 1580, Brito did not refer to any argument that could put in doubt the new king's rights to the throne, although the situation could be compared in a way to the one that existed in 1383. He actually stated that António, the rival bastard, “usava do nome e officio de Rey, batendo moeda, fazendo merces, e executando os mais poderes como se lhe conviera por direito” (Bruto 1603: 103).²⁵ Therefore, Brito clearly rejected the rights of António and did not even mention the Duchess Catarina of Bragança at all, who was, like Phillip of Castile, a grandchild of King Manuel I and possibly had a similar claim to the Portuguese throne. Unlike Juan's case in 1383, however, he considered Phillip of Habsburg to be the legitimate heir to the Portuguese kingdom.

²³ “defender of the kingdom of Portugal against King Juan of Castile.”

²⁴ “certain capitulations, made at the moment of the marriage.”

²⁵ “used the title of king, minting coins, giving graces and favors, and executing all the other powers, as if he had the legal right to do so.”

Conclusion: Denying Any Subordination

The Castilian political view on the monarchy can best be summarized in these words by Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos in his *Discurso Político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado* (1599):

Los Reinos de Castilla, que son sin duda la cabeza de esta monarquía, como Roma, Constantinopla, Macedonia y Persia lo fueron de las antiguas por excusarme de la envidia y competencia de las modernas, siendo éstos los que dan más gente, más dinero y más sustancia, es justo que considere Vuestra Majestad cómo están y cómo los tienen las guerras extranjeras y los servicios propios; porque todos los demás reinos de Vuestra Majestad tienen apariencia de señorío y hacen sombra de grandeza, pero dan poca gente y ningún dinero (Álamos de Barrientos 1990: 26).²⁶

A couple of lines further on, he insists: “del reino de Portugal, de la corona de Aragón, de los estados de Italia, ningún dinero sacamos, y antes gastamos con el sustento de ellas, y aunque dan gentes, es por el dinero de Castilla, que también la diera cualquier nación extranjera” (Álamos de Barrientos 1990: 26).²⁷

So, in addition to a historical rejection of the Portuguese kings by authors like López Madera, which justified Castile’s historical preeminence, we find contemporary views on the monarchy, such as those of Álamos de Barrientos. He also emphasized the Castilian leadership within the monarchy and relegated the other kingdoms, including Portugal, to a second or even third level of importance, given that Castile could almost sustain the monarchy by itself.

Brito's work was a reaction to this Castilian view of the monarchy (present and past), and other Portuguese authors were to follow him in the first decades of the seventeenth century (Gloël 2016). Nevertheless, there is no evidence or reason to interpret

²⁶ “The kingdoms of Castile, which are without any doubt the head of this monarchy, just as Rome, Constantinople, Macedonia and Persia were in the ancient ones, to excuse myself from the envy and competition of the modern ones. These are the ones which give more people, more money and more substance, so it is fair that Your Majesty should consider the way they are because of the foreign wars and their own services; because all of the other kingdoms of Your Majesty have the appearance of a lordship and the shadow of greatness, but they give few people and no money.”

²⁷ “from the kingdom of Portugal, from the Crown of Aragon, and from the Italian states, we get no money, and instead we spend it on sustaining them and, even if they give people, it is in return for Castilian money and, in this way, any foreign nation would give them as well.”

his writings in the traditional way. Brito did not seek for Portugal to leave the Spanish monarchy. His main purpose was to deny the subordination of Portugal in his time to Castilian rule, for historical reasons. This was why, on the one hand, he rejected any suggestion of dependence (on the part of Count Henrique and his son, the first Portuguese king, Afonso Henriques) on the Leonese king. On the other hand, and for the very same reason, he did not recognize the rights of the Castilian king Juan I to the Portuguese throne in 1383, which indirectly justified the ascendancy of a bastard line, the dynasty of Avis.

Any subordination in the past would have had implications for Brito's perception of the relationship between Portugal and Castile in the present. This can be easily seen in the Castilian chronicles, which considered Portugal (and other Iberian kingdoms) to be subordinate to Castile, especially because of their origins as a part of the Leonese kingdom, as well as recognizing the further vassalage of Count Henrique to the Castilian king, and also because, in 1383, Juan I of Castile was already the legitimate heir to the Portuguese kingdom. This was what Brito and other Portuguese authors were not willing to accept.

Beyond denying any subordination to Castilian rule, Brito used very ancient history to emphasize the Portuguese preeminence among the Spanish kingdoms by pointing out that the first settlement in Iberia after the Flood had occurred in Portugal, which would make his kingdom the most ancient territory within the Iberian Peninsula. In the same way, the Portuguese singularity was emphasized by other historical events, for example in the predominant role that the Portuguese played in leading the resistance to the Roman Empire.

Therefore, all of Brito's arguments and purposes were to be understood within the context of the Spanish monarchy. Despite the fact that it was only possible to analyze parts of Brito's work in this paper, I argue that these parts portray Brito's attitude and purposes very clearly, which is why these particular aspects were chosen. As I have already pointed out, he did not want Portugal to be considered a kingdom of a second or third level of importance within the monarchy. However, his conclusion was not that his kingdom should leave the Spanish monarchy, but instead that it deserved far greater recognition, which was why he created, on the one hand, arguments that supported a preeminent role for Portugal, and, on the other hand, arguments to deny a historical subordination under the rule of Castile, which would have had its continuation in Brito's time. Brito's attitude was to enjoy its followers and continuers not only in chronicles (Faria e Sousa 1628) and geographical treatises (Nunes do Leão 1610), but also in works on the Portuguese language (Sousa de Macedo 1631). There were even suggestions that the king should be persuaded to move his court permanently to Lisbon and to rule his vast monarchy from there (Mendes de Vasconcelos 1608).

References

- Álamos de Barrientos, Baltasar (1990). *Discurso Político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado*. Barcelona: Anthropos.
- Allen, Don Cameron (1949). *The legend of Noah: Renaissance rationalism in art, science and letters*. Urbana: University of Illinois.
- Ballester Rodríguez, Mateo (2013). La estirpe de Tubal: relato bíblico e identidad nacional en España. *Historia y Política*, 29: 219-246.
- Beau, Eduard Albin (1945). *Die Entwicklung des Portugiesischen Nationalbewusstseins*. Hamburg: Verlag Conrad Behre.
- Bizzocchi, Roberto (1995). *Genealogie incredibili: scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Bouza Álvarez, Fernando (1986). *Portugal en la monarquía hispánica: Felipe II, las cortes de Tomar y la genesis del Portugal católico*. Madrid (PhD thesis unpublished).
- Brito, Bernardo de (1597). *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Primeira*. Alcobaça, Mosteiro de Alcobaça.
- Brito, Bernardo de (1603). *Elogios dos Reis de Portugal*. Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck.
- Brito, Bernardo de (1609). *Segunda Parte da Monarquia Lusytana*. Alcobaça, Mosteiro de Alcobaça.
- Cardim, Pedro (2013). *Portugal na monarquia hispánica: dinâmicas de integração e conflito*. Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar.
- Cidade, Hernani (1948). *A literatura autonomista sob os Filipes*. Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa.
- Domingues, Mário (1965). *O Prior do Crato contra Filipe II*. Lisbon: Torres; Lemos.
- Elliott, John H. (1992). A Europe of composite monarchies, *Past and Present*, 137: 48-81.
- Encarnação, José de (2001/2002). Da imaginação e do rigor, *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, 10: 387-404.
- Escaviás, Pedro de (1972). "Repertorio de Príncipes." In Michel García (ed.), *Repertorio de Príncipes de España y obra poética del Alcaide Pedro de Escaviás*. Jaén: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses del CSIC.
- Faria e Sousa, Manuel (1628). *Epítome de las historias portuguesas*. Madrid: Francisco Martínez.
- Fernández Albaladejo, Pablo (2007). "Entre 'godos' y 'montañeses.'" Avatares de una primera identidad española. In Alain Tallon (ed.) *Le sentiment national dans l'Europe méridionale aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*. Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 123-154.
- Freire, António da Visitação (1806). "Vida de Fr. Bernardo de Brito, monge cisterciense e chronista mór do reino." In Académia Real das Ciências (ed.), *Collecção dos principaes autores da História Portuguesa, tomo I*. Lisbon: Académia Real das Ciências, I-LVI.
- Garibay, Esteban de (1628). *Compendio historial de las chronicas y universal historia de todos los Reynos de España. Tomo Segundo*. Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas.
- Gloël, Matthias (2016). "Los autores portugueses entre 1580 y 1640: una lucha literaria por la preeminencia en la monarquía hispánica." *Revista Historia*, 23: 29-51.
- Gloël, Matthias (2017). "The Tubal figure in early modern Iberian historiography." *Imago Temporis*, 11: 27-51.
- Góis, Damião de (1554). *Urbis Olisiponis Descriptio*. Évora.
- Helmchen, Annette (2005). *Die Entstehung der Nationen im Europa de Frühen Neuzeit. Ein integraler Ansatz aus humanistischer Sicht*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Herzog, Tamar et al (eds.) (2012). *Polycentric monarchies. How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal achieve and maintain a global hegemony?* Eastbourne, Portland: Sussex Academic Press.
- Hespanha, António (1995). *História de Portugal moderno: politico e institucional*. Lisbon: Universidade Aberta.

- López Madera, Gregorio (1597). *Excelencias de la Monarchia y Reyno de España*. Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba.
- Magalhães Godinho, Vitorino (1968). *Ensaio de História de Portugal*. Lisbon: Sá de Costa.
- Mendes de Vasconcelos, Luis (1608). *Do sítio de Lisboa. Diálogo*. Lisbon: Luis Estupiñan.
- Nunes do Leão, Duarte (1610). *Descrição do Reino de Portugal*. Lisbon: Jorge Rodríguez.
- Pimenta, Alfredo (1963). *Os historiógrafos de Alcobaça*. Lisbon: A.M.Texeira.
- Queiroz, José (1946). *A perda da independência*. Lisbon: Empr. Nacional de Publicidade.
- Rebello, Luiz (1860-1871). *História de Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII*. Lisbon: Impr. Nacional.
- Rocha, Francisco (1940). *Os grandes vultos da restauração de Portugal*. Lisbon: Ed. Da Empresa Nac. de Pub.
- Silva Rego, António da (1973). "Introdução." In *Monarquia Lusitana. Parte Primeira*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, XI-XXX.
- Simon i Tarrés, Antoni (2005). *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.
- Sousa, António (1982). *Origens do Sebastianismo. História e prefiguração dramática*. Lisbon: Ed. Rolim.
- Sousa de Macedo, António de (1631). *Flores de España, excelencias de Portugal*. Lisbon: Jorge Rodríguez.
- Terreiro, Álvaro (1992). *Frei Bernardo de Brito. Historiador profético da resistência*. Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Almeida.
- Tomic, Pere (1495). *Histories e conquestes de Cathalunya*. Barcelona: Johan Rosembach.
- Valladares, Rafael (2000). *Portugal y la Monarquía Hispánica, 1580-1668*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.

Received for publication: 05 April 2017

Accepted in revised form: 17 October 2017

Recebido para publicação: 05 de Abril de 2017

Acceite após revisão: 17 de Outubro de 2017

Technologies of Government: Police Stations, Urban Space, and Bureaucracy in Lisbon, c. 1850-1910

Gonçalo Rocha Gonçalves¹

Abstract

The evolution of police stations reveals crucial aspects in the modern development of the police force and of policing practices in general. The spatial rationalities involved in the territorialization of the State, the formation of different spaces where the sociocultural and technical dynamics of the police were engendered, and the emergence of places through which communities could visualize and interact with the State were all major components of this process. This article seeks to examine these issues, assessing their significance for the working lives of policemen and for the interactions between the police and the local population in Lisbon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Keywords

Police; State-Building; Territorialization; Bureaucracy; Lisbon

Resumo

As esquadras de polícia sinalizam aspetos cruciais do moderno desenvolvimento da polícia e do policiamento. As racionalidades espaciais na territorialização do Estado, o engendramento das dinâmicas socioculturais e técnicas que marcaram as forças policiais e o surgimento de "lugares" através dos quais a sociedade visualizou e interagiu com o Estado foram componentes essenciais deste processo. Este artigo procura examinar estas questões, avaliando sua importância nas vidas de trabalho dos polícias e nas interações entre a polícia e a população em Lisboa no final do século XIX e início do século XX.

Palavras-Chave

Polícia; Construção do Estado; Territorialização; Burocracia; Lisboa

¹ Department of History. Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. *E-mail:* goncalo.goncalves81@gmail.com

In Portuguese, the name given to urban police stations is *esquadra*—*esquadra de polícia*. Etymologically, this word has two different roots. As a noun, it stems from the Italian word *squadra*, commonly used in naval and army contexts to refer to a set of ships or part of a battalion. Today, in Italian, this word means “team,” among other things. A second origin of the word lies in the Latin verb *squadrare*, which means “to reduce to squares” (Machado 1977: 470). The latest official dictionary of the Portuguese language attributes the word *esquadra* with two meanings relating to the police: a geographic section within a police division; and a police station. To illustrate its current usage, the dictionary provides the word in context: “He/she complained at the nearest *esquadra* (police station)” (AAVV 2001: 1551). There are thus two current meanings for the word *esquadra* when associated with the police - one has a territorial sense, denoting a police zone, a spatial portion of the city, while the other sense refers to a physical place, a building, the place where police services are located, and which also conveys a sense of spaciality.

The association between the word *esquadra* and the police is directly linked to the foundation and development of the *Polícia Civil* from the 1860s onwards, since it had never previously been used by any other police force. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Portuguese language dictionaries only stated the naval and military meanings of the word – a group of ships or men. In 1877, the 7th Edition of the Moraes da Silva dictionary, the most important dictionary of that period, still indicated only the naval and military meanings (Silva 1877: 723). Only in its 8th Edition, published in 1890, did the entry ‘*Esquadra*’ incorporate its connotations with the police, both in its territorial sense, as in belonging to someone/something, and in its reference to a physical place (Silva 1890: 839). Its meaning as a place must have gained ground very rapidly, as another dictionary, published in 1911, attributes only one meaning to the word *esquadra*—that of the police station (Figueiredo, 1911: 802). Nevertheless, in the official discourse of the time, *esquadra* was still used primarily to refer to a body of men allocated to a designated police area, thus mainly reflecting an administrative concept of territorial circumscription. In fact, police regulations rarely used the word *esquadra* to designate the place where police services were located. “Stations” (*estações*) and “headquarters” (*quartel das esquadras*) were the terms most commonly used to refer to the place where the police services were housed.

This article therefore focuses on the political and sociocultural process whereby a word was appropriated by the police in the course of its organization, initially being used to designate a body of men attached to a territorial district and ending up referring mainly to a

physical place, the police station.² By examining the processes involved in the organization of the police force and the management of its daily life, I seek to describe the development of the technologies of government used to control the population of the country's capital. In the wake of the founding of the constitutional monarchy in 1834, a new police force was set up—the *Guarda Municipal*. In the 1860s, however, a new movement of police reform, underpinned by concepts of professionalization and bureaucratic rationalization, led to the launch of the *Polícia Civil*, which was designed to serve as a modern, urban, and civilian police force engaged in the duties of crime prevention and the 'domestication' of the public space. In the following decades, the two forces co-existed in the city and the process of police modernization continued (Gonçalves 2016). The *Polícia Civil* became responsible for the activities of day-to-day policing and the *Guarda Municipal* specialized in the growing demands for the maintenance of public order (Palácios Cerezales 2011; Gonçalves 2014).

There were also other institutions entrusted with the role of enforcing the law and public order in the city, most notably the local government bodies known as *regedorias*, with their *regedores* and *cabos de polícia* (Santos 2001). Although they still continued to perform an active and important role until the end of the century, the voluntary and non-professional nature of these assemblies ultimately led to a fall in the number of both their agents and physical establishments (the *regedoria* offices or stations) and consequently diminished their relevance in the city's policing arrangements (Gonçalves 2015: 478). In territorial terms, the areas covered by the *regedores* and the *Polícia Civil* were the same. However, while in other Portuguese cities *regedorias* still performed numerous police services, in Lisbon they were increasingly seen as a complementary form of policing, with the *Polícia Civil* playing the major role (Gonçalves 2012). This article thus focuses its attention on the professional police force, which was more directly controlled by the central government.

The study of the organizational history of the police force more frequently dwells on the question of what it should have been, rather than on how it actually functioned at the day-to-day level. The sources used in this work propose a bottom-up approach, aiming to discover what happened at this everyday level. Therefore, besides government reports and other administrative documents, the *Polícia Civil*'s daily orders are the main source used here. This source constitutes a true 'diary' of a police force; through it, we can uncover an organization in the making. The daily orders were written by the general commissioner and distributed to all police stations. Since they were posted on the police station notice board

² We follow here the concept of 'place' as used in the field of human geography, which defines 'place' as "a context or setting, in relational terms, as an outcome or product of processes, and as something active and dynamic" (Staeheli. 2003: 159).

and read out loud to the men on parade, every policeman would be aware of the contents of these orders before being assigned their own specific duties. Through these rules and regulations, not only can we form a picture of what the upper police hierarchy envisaged as the ideal procedure, but we can also understand how things actually happened on the ground. The next section of this study examines the spatial rationalities that existed within the old *Guarda Municipal*. The two subsequent sections are then devoted to tracing the evolution in the organizational structure of the new police force over the following decades. First, we consider how the growing number of police stations developed into a genuine network with the help of new technological devices. Finally, we examine the physical design of police stations and consider how this, in turn, impacted on the public visibility of the police's authority.

Changing Spatial Rationalities

Until the 1860s, the term police station (*estação policial*) referred to those places where the *Guarda Municipal* deployed some of its men to stand on watch. From the correspondence addressed to the Ministry of the Interior, we can see how the *Guarda* stations and police patrols (conducted either by the cavalry or the infantry) were conceived of as complementary but opposite forms of policing. Men assigned to work at the stations remained there throughout their entire shifts, while those assigned to conduct patrols did not report back to the stations, but instead to the central barracks. Only on occasion, and always at night-time, were the men assigned to the stations also required to perform patrolling duties.³ When asked by the Ministry about the appropriateness of establishing a station at the city's *Escola Politécnica* in August 1862, the *Guarda* commander stated that "the number of stations is already very large in relation to the available *Guarda* force, and this means reducing the number of patrols, which remain absolutely essential."⁴ On another occasion, when the inhabitants of a few farms on the outskirts of the city requested the reopening of a station that had recently been closed down, the *Guarda* commander argued that "the greater the number of stations, the smaller the number of patrols, which are still recognized as being necessary."⁵ As these stations implied the assignment of one man to one place, they were regarded as a better means of protecting that specific place, whilst

³ Portuguese National Archives / Archive of the Ministry of the Interior [IAN/TT-MR], [Maço] Mç.3015, Livro [Lº] 14, Number [Nº] 375.

⁴ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3023, Lº14, Nº1325.

⁵ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3021, Lº14, Nº1039.

patrols being carried out over a defined area were in turn perceived as less effective but inevitable, given the resources available. Particularly in the city's more central areas, the so-called stations were little more than sentry-boxes manned by one or two guards and were not designed for the completion of any paperwork, for example. The number of guards most commonly assigned to these stations ranged from six to ten. With the men working shifts lasting a maximum of six hours, each station would have had two or three policemen on duty at each moment of the day. Stations and patrols were sometimes complementary, but intrinsically they represented different forms of policing. An area would either have a station or be patrolled by the infantry or the cavalry. More importantly, however, they revealed two different spatial rationalities in terms of policing: one based on a static position and another based on the mobility of surveillance.

The role of observation that was performed by the *Guarda* stations was clearly conveyed in May 1869, when the owners of a tobacco factory located in a working-class area of the city near the waterfront requested that the Ministry establish a *Guarda* station there by transferring another one from a nearby location. Called on to express his opinion, the commander opposed the transfer, stating that the existing station "is one of the best located [of all stations] because, with its view, it overlooks a large area of land occupied by streets and alleys" and, furthermore, it "keeps many sailors and other individuals who continually flock to the public houses nearby under surveillance."⁶ The visibility and coverage that the location provided of a certain territorial district, coupled with its proximity to areas of greater risk, proved to be the most important factors in determining the geographic positioning of the station.

One important characteristic of the *Guarda* stations, which clearly demonstrated their significance in the establishment of policing strategies, was their constant instability. They were frequently established, disbanded, and then set up again in a completely different location. A good indication of this volatility is provided by the great difficulty encountered in ascertaining just how many stations actually existed or discovering how this number evolved over the course of time. The decision to open, close or move *Guarda* stations from one place to another seemed to be based more on the always precarious existence of such premises (particularly when these were provided free of charge) and on the resources and men that were available in a particular area rather than on any pre-established assessment of the city's territory or the devising of a policing strategy for the city as a whole. In Porto, in 1863, a shortage of manpower was the argument invoked by

⁶ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3071, L°19, N°581.

the commander for closing two stations near to the city gates and consequently, in the words of someone who wrote to complain to the Minister of the Interior, leaving the “inhabitants of one of the city’s outlying districts completely abandoned and without any help.”⁷ On the contrary, in August 1864, the outbreak of a conflict between a tobacco factory’s workers and its owners, and the municipal authorities in general, led to the opening of a station composed of one sergeant and six guards in order to “provide protection to employees” and “maintain the workers in peace and good order.” This station was removed after just a few days and re-established at its original location, later being removed again at the beginning of 1865.⁸ The concept of a police station that prevailed in the thinking of the police authorities derived purely from the military concept of a static distribution of the force throughout the territory, in an arrangement that allowed for its redeployment according to the changing circumstances.

In Lisbon, in March 1864, the *Hospital São José* requested the opening of a *Guarda* station on its premises. The institution’s director argued that a municipal police station at a hospital was more than justified on the grounds that people injured in brawls, as well as demented persons, often attracted tumultuous crowds, and, furthermore, that criminals undergoing hospital treatment could easily escape. Reluctantly, the commander agreed to open a station there, but only by transferring one that already existed in a semi-rural area on the outskirts of the city, *Sete Rios*.⁹ This station already had a long history, having been housed on a nearby farm since January 1852. The farmhouse had originally been provided rent-free by the landlord, for the use of the police. However, in December 1859, the landlord met with the commander to inform him that he now needed the house for his own business, but that he would be prepared to let the station remain there were the *Guarda* to agree to pay an annual rent. For reasons that still remain unclear, this matter was only resolved in August 1860 when the Ministry agreed to pay the rent. By that time, however, the landlord was no longer prepared to rent out the house and the *Guarda* had to start searching for a new station in the vicinity. At the end of August, the commander wrote to the Ministry, saying that he had found the only house available in that area and requesting permission to rent it. The Ministry concurred, and the station was moved to a site near the terminus of a newly-established omnibus line.¹⁰ More than three years later, in December 1863, the new landlord of the same farm requested the Ministry to re-establish

⁷ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3015, L°14, N°333.

⁸ IAN/TT-MR, Liv.1686-A, fl.5-8, 56-57.

⁹ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3025, L°14, N°1794.

¹⁰ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.2981, L°12, N°701.

the station on the farm's premises, once again rent-free. He complained that the farm had been regularly targeted by thieves because it was isolated, without any neighbors nearby. The Ministry consulted the Civil Governor of the Lisbon District, who was opposed to transferring the station to its previous location. He argued that the farm's land was already being patrolled during the night and that the station's current location was a very favorable one, since it was in a "central place" for that whole area.¹¹ Thus, the station stayed where it was, even though, just a few months later, it was summarily removed to *Hospital São José* in a totally different part of the city. Hence, the existence of a station in one particular area did not amount to any previous systematic plan, but instead resulted from a process of negotiation between the authorities and other institutional and private actors in what amounted to a relatively uncertain and unpredictable process. The various contingencies that were involved in this process often dictated solutions that ran counter to whatever the authorities may have originally intended as the ideal organizational arrangement for policing purposes.

Another example of this instability occurred a couple of decades later. In 1885, a group of residents in a rapidly expanding neighborhood on the outskirts of the city, *Campo de Ourique*, successfully petitioned the Ministry to establish a *Guarda* station in one of the neighborhood's new buildings, with the rent being paid by this group of citizens. Two years later, a member of this same group, Firmino Lopes, who had been named as the guarantor of the rent to be paid to the landlord, wrote to the Ministry, complaining that he alone was now paying all of the rent for the property where the station was housed. According to Firmino, many of the residents who had promised to pay part of the rent had left the neighborhood, and so Firmino was left to pay the rent by himself. For the commander, even though the station was "not very well located in relation to the area it was meant to police," it nonetheless represented a useful station in an expanding part of the city, which, moreover, was not yet covered by the *Polícia*. In the end, the Ministry checked the funds that were available to pay station rents and agreed to meet the costs of this respective rent.¹² The spatial rationality behind the *Guarda*'s structure was, as already noted, based not only on a combination of static and mobile strategies, but also on a process of territorialization. Thus, the whole structure was shaped by decisions made in the course of negotiations, in which the State did not necessarily take the first step, and inevitably resulted in an unstable territorial arrangement.

¹¹ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3023, L°14, N°1440.

¹² IAN/TT-MR, Mç.2837, L°37, N°344.

In late 1861, in an exceptionally rare situation when the policing system actually came to be discussed as a whole, the commander of the Porto *Guarda* voiced his concerns about the city's growth, being aware of the extent of its expansion, the development of its thoroughfares and the size of its population, and raised the question of the overall "organization of a police system." In addition to outlining the need to increase police numbers, he also proposed setting up stations on sites to be agreed upon mutually between the police commander, the Civil Governor and the city council. The stations had to remain in the same place for as long as possible in order to "obtain an accurate knowledge of the people circulating in that place." Furthermore, the location of these stations had to be made public by posting notices all around the city.¹³ These recommendations were never actually implemented and the discussions that did take place between the Ministry of the Interior and the senior *Guarda* management clearly focused, instead, on the need to acquire more horses to deal with the growing threats to public order.

However, the proposals made by the commander of the Porto *Guarda Municipal* were not forgotten and were incorporated into the organization of the new police force. In the latter half of 1867, a series of operations took place in Lisbon as part of the process for setting up the actual body of the police, which involved the territorialization of the new police force. On July 8, less than a week after the publication of the law of July 2, the Ministry requested the Civil Governments of Lisbon and Porto to indicate the areas that would constitute the new police precincts. On July 25, these precincts were officially created.¹⁴ If the term "bureaucratic rationalization" can be used to describe specific actions and contexts, then it is ideal for describing operations such as this one. Resorting to an old form of spatial representation, the stations were divided into a hierarchy of separate spaces and described according to an inventory of different places. In a city still without avenues, this list of places amounted to thirty-five different classifications (street, square, alley, etc.). There were thus a total of 917 spaces distributed across 3 divisions. These divisions were subdivided into 12 *esquadras* and then each of these was further subdivided into another 39 sections.

The notion of an *esquadra* or *circunscrição de esquadra* implied here the body of men allocated to a designated area (and not the headquarters of the police services, which were given the name of '*postos*'). Although the territorial component could be more directly attributed to the word *circunscrição*, the official use of the word *esquadra* (which was not

¹³ IAN/TT-MR, Mç.3007, L°12, N°2042.

¹⁴ Diário de Lisboa, N°167, 29-07-1867.

always uniform) and the broader sense attributed to the word—as shown by the dictionary entries quoted above—denoted a meaning in which *esquadra* was associated with the component of a body of men and conveyed an intrinsic territorial sense.

The aim of rationally distributing the men throughout the urban space was clearly visible here. The geographic delimitation of the *esquadras* conveyed a notion in which the State played a much more active and systematic role in controlling and managing the urban territory. In comparison with the earlier systems, policing now demonstrated a much more active concern with guaranteeing the systematic surveillance of the space of the city.

Nodes in a Network

Who were the old and who were the new police? And just how ‘new’ were the ‘new’ police? When and where did they emerge? These are the questions that police historians have been continually discussing (Emsley 2007). While still incorporating characteristics of the old police, the *Polícia Civil* introduced innovations into the police’s relationship with the urban space and its impact on the organization and public visibility of the police authority. In the next two sections of this study, we examine the common links between these two processes—the more systematic spatial deployment of the police force and the construction of the tools and techniques needed for its internal supervision and control—while all the time stressing the centrality of the police station.

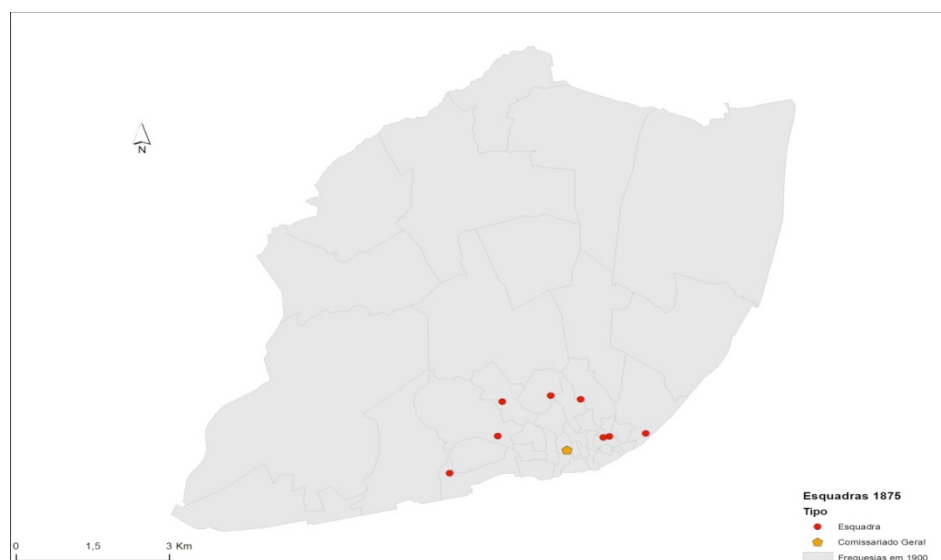
Particularly from the last decade of the century onwards, the number of police stations grew continuously. Even though the legal framework introduced in 1867 established a structure that was based on twelve police stations for the entire city of Lisbon, it was only after the 1876 reform that this number of stations was effectively implemented. Until then, and despite what was provided for in the law, there were, in fact, only nine stations.¹⁵ The reasons for this decision were not completely clear in the documentation that we consulted, but it was probably related with the lack of manpower and the lack of demand for policing in those areas where the stations were not established, namely the sparsely populated neighborhoods on the city’s periphery. However, from the mid-1880s onwards, the number of police stations increased significantly. In 1887, two stations and four of the newly-created *postos* (a smaller-scale version of the police station, which was under the command of the nearest station) were added to the original plan. This strategy

¹⁵ Portuguese National Archives, Archive of the *Polícia Civil de Lisboa*, Transfer Number [NT] 215 Provisional Number [NP]077, Daily Order [DO] Number.[N.] 296, 22-10-1876, Point [P.]1.

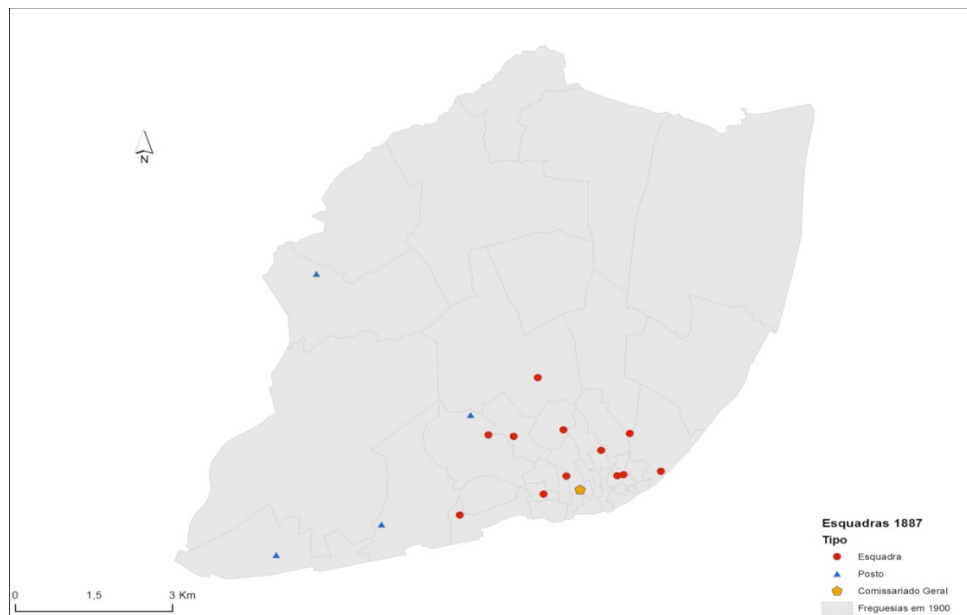
then continued with the setting up of the *postos*: in 1895, there were fourteen of them, which were soon upgraded to the category of a station, along with another fourteen stations. On the eve of the Republican revolution, in 1909, there were twenty-four police stations and eight *postos* spread across the city. This growth in the number of stations was clearly linked to the evolution of the city's population, which, from the mid-1880s until the 1930s, registered its highest levels of modern growth, rising from 227,674 inhabitants in 1878 to 594,390 in 1930 (Silva, 1997: 35).

This station structure was applied both to the sparsely populated, but increasingly urbanized, outskirts of the city (neighborhoods such as *Benfica*, *Campo Grande*, or *Marvila*) and to its densely populated centre (*Bica* and *Bairro Alto*, *Alfama* and *Mouraria* for example). From the police stations' addresses, we can conclude that they appeared mainly in working-class neighborhoods located near the city centre and along the city's waterfront. *Postos*, on the other hand, appeared in areas on the outskirts, such as *Benfica*, *Laranjeiras*, or *Campo Grande*, and, as these areas became more intensely urbanized, the *postos* were upgraded to full-scale *esquadras*. Each of these stations corresponded to a political and organizational exercise of mapping the city both in geographic and social terms. The establishment of each station was based on an assessment made by the police leaders of the human geography of the city, in keeping with its continuous transformation (see Maps 1, 2, 3, and 4).

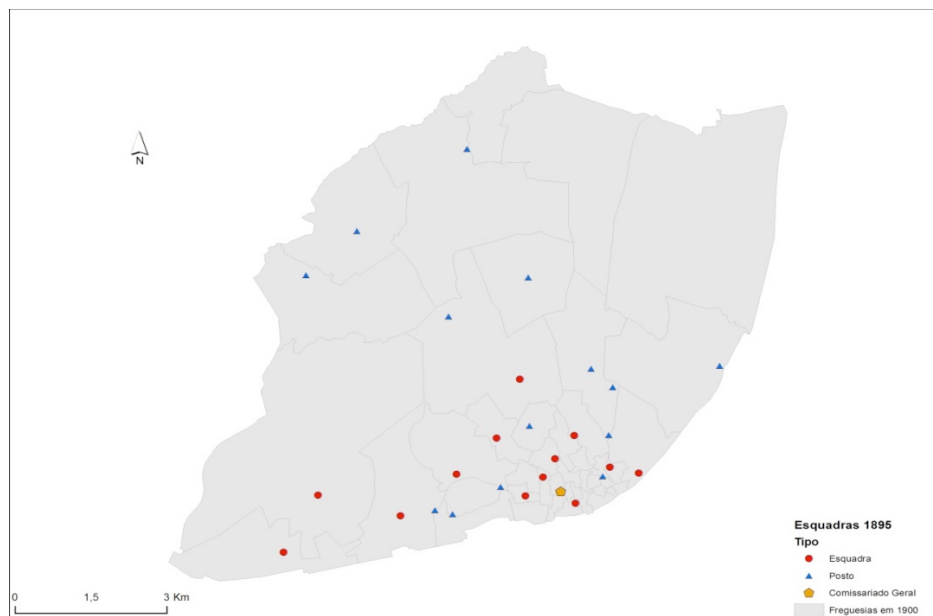
Map 1 – Location of the *Polícia Civil* stations in 1875.



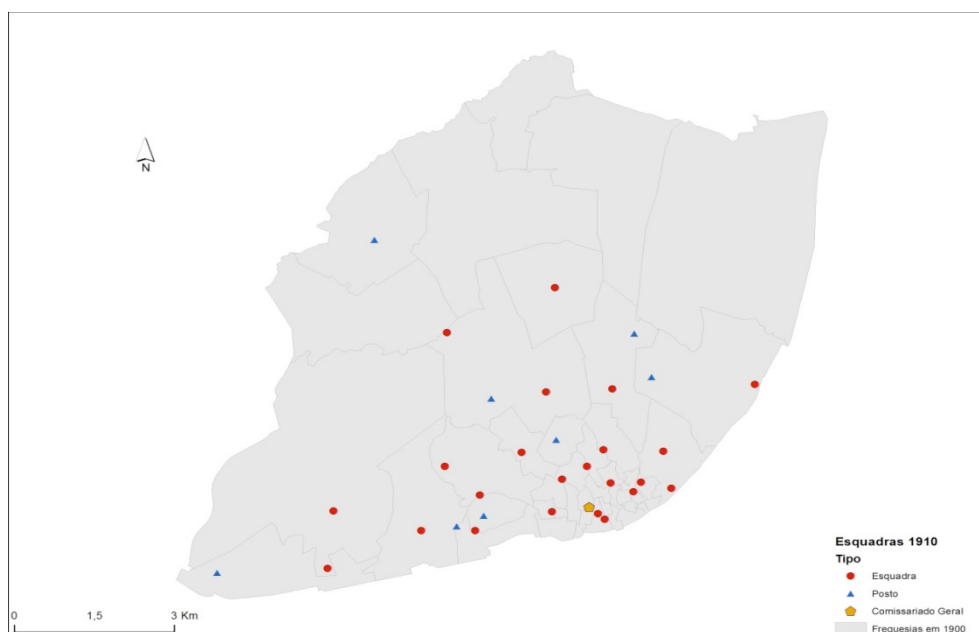
Source: All maps were made by the author with the assistance of Daniel Alves from the Faculty of History of the Nova University of Lisbon, using GIS software and based on the data of the *Almanach Burocrático Geral, Distrital e Concelbio para 1875*, which contains the addresses of the stations (Lisbon: Empresa Editora Carvalho, 1874), pp. 296-297.

Map 2 - Location of the *Polícia Civil* stations in 1887.

Source: Almanach Burocrático Comercial da Empresa Literária de Lisboa para 1887 (Lisbon: Empresa Literária de Lisboa, 1887), pp. 375-377.

Map 3 - Location of the *Polícia Civil* stations in 1895.

Source: Alexandre Morgado *Guia do Forasteiro nas Festas Antonianas* (Lisbon: Typ. Comércio, 1895), p.83.

Map 4 – Location of the *Polícia Civil* stations in 1909.

Source: Almanach Palhares para 1909: burocrático, comercial, ilustrado e literário (Lisbon: Palhares & C.^a, 1909), pp. 871-872.

The police reforms introduced over this period merely increased the organizational importance of police stations. In August 1893, the government embarked on the most extensive reform of the *Polícia Civil* that the force had yet experienced. Emulating the foreign police models already seen in previous decades (Gonçalves 2014, 2016), in the preamble to the text of this reorganization, the Minister of the Interior, João Franco, referred to the recent reform of the Parisian police force undertaken by the *Préfet Lépine* as a model for the reform he himself was implementing with the Lisbon police. One of the key decisions contained in this reform involved the organizational restructuring, centered primarily around functional specializations. The launching of three different divisions—“Public Safety,” “Administrative Police,” and “Criminal Investigation”—meant that the organization of the force effectively evolved from one that was predominantly structured on a territorial basis to one where the actual functions of the police were placed at the center of how these services were organized. The implementation of these new functional divisions was accompanied by the closure of the “Police Divisions” and their Commissariat buildings. Police stations, which formed the “public safety branch,” came under the direct command of the General Commissariat. The end of the commissariats reflected a clear indication of the growing importance of police stations.

Their increasing number and their growing importance as organizational units could have led to dangerous levels of autonomy of police stations and their independence

from centralized control. This risk was however partly avoided by fostering the network nature of police stations through the adoption of the telephone. Before this, police communications were carried out by men circulating between stations. The daily orders, for example, were delivered each morning by a policeman who, on his way back to the headquarters, carried messages from the stations to the general police commissioner. The adoption by State institutions of the new communication technologies, such as the telegraph and the telephone, reveals a crucial aspect of the newly-emerging networked city in its response to urban growth and the outbreak of situations of crisis, such as epidemics, fires, and riots. This strategy represented both a technique to improve police response times whilst also increasing bureaucratic control over the men on duty. As in the United States, firefighters in Lisbon reacted more quickly than the police did in adopting the telegraph (Camelo 1971). Although the police also adopted the telegraph, it was the telephone that gained greater prominence within the organization. Unlike London, where the use of the telephone always remained limited (Williams 2014: 128), but rather like many American cities (Tarr 1992: 13), the telephone was adopted in Lisbon with an impressive rapidity soon after its invention and commercialization in the late 1870s; it did, after all, enable richer communication and made it possible to transmit more information than the telegraph.

The telephone gained greater prominence in Lisbon police stations as the “telephone room” rapidly began to play an important role at police stations. Together with shops, companies, banks, theatres, fire stations, and some private houses, police stations were among the earliest adopters of the telephone in Portugal. This was not the police’s first encounter with new communication devices. The telegraph had already been deployed previously, but was mainly used for communications between the General Commissariat and other authorities. Indeed, the telephone had been in use by the police since at least 1880 with the first daily order about telephone use being dated December of that same year.

During these early years, police telephones functioned more as a kind of intercom device, at first linking the general commissariat to fifteen police stations, and then subsequently being rolled out to all of them. Years later, a second contract signed between the police and the telephone company connected the police to the public network, so that the public could now also phone police stations. The telephone was rapidly perceived as a valuable instrument “in the event of disorders or fires... giving immediate warning signs at

those points from which help must come,”¹⁶ and correspondingly embodying one of the rationales behind police reform: the emergency response capacity. If it is possible to measure the importance of an aspect of police management by the number and length of the daily orders that were issued, then it is fair to say that the telephone played a major role in police procedure over the period from 1885 to 1895. From just a few of the more comprehensive orders, we can see that these dealt with such issues as: limiting the presence of strangers in the telephone room;¹⁷ the need to always have one guard close to the telephone and the importance of the information conveyed;¹⁸ reorganizing procedures by incorporating the telephone into instances of fires and medical emergencies.¹⁹ The failure to comply with these procedures was also subject to a reprimand by the general commissioner, as, for example, in those cases when stations failed to report cases of suicides, medical emergencies, and instances of serious public disorder.²⁰

The telephone enabled information to circulate more rapidly and thus allowed for faster decision-making. In 1895, when establishing the rules relating to the presence of policemen in the telephone room, the general commissioner also drew attention to the confidential nature of all police information.²¹ News of threats to public order, more serious crimes or any significant incidents disrupting the routine of the city was thus reported more rapidly to the general commissioner, as well as to other authorities and the government. The telephone did not, however, serve only as an instrument for police surveillance and information gathering. One of the first and most important functions of the telephone was to transmit information about the work of police administration. In December 1880, the first daily order regarding the use of the telephone dealt precisely with organizational issues: what items of uniform should men wear when beginning each shift?²² In subsequent years, failing to promptly convey information via the telephone constituted grounds for the severe punishment of some guards.²³ The installation of telephones enhanced the transformation of police stations into central hubs of information at the neighborhood level. The police were able to provide a more systematic coverage of the full extent of the city’s territory and, moreover, to do so in a more cohesive manner.

¹⁶ Comércio do Porto, 02-07-1882.

¹⁷ NT219 NP082, DO N.13, 13-01-1885, P.4.

¹⁸ NT219 NP082, DO N.202, 21-07-1885, P.8.

¹⁹ NT225 NP087, DO N.315, 11-11-1889, P.6.

²⁰ NT229 NP091, DO N.330, 25-11-1892, P.5.

²¹ NT230 NP092, DO N.13, 13-01-1895, P.1.

²² NT218 NP081, DO N.344, 09-12-1880, P.6.

²³ NT220 NP083, DO N.340, 06-12-1885, P.4.

A Place in the Making

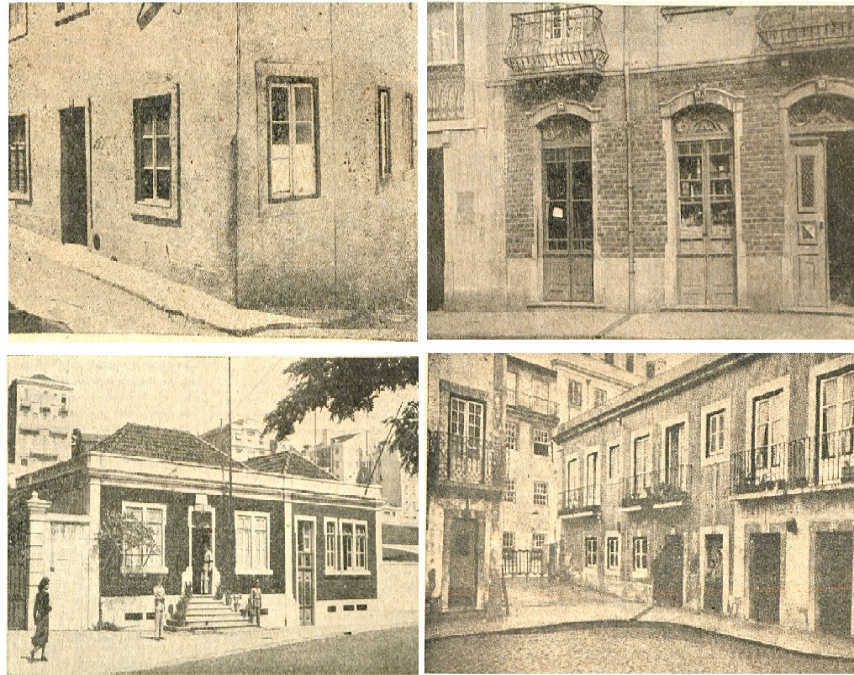
Gradually, police stations became more stable and visible places. One privileged source for understanding this transformation is the almanacs, the directories of the main public and private services available in the city. By the end of the century, these practical city-guides began to contain the addresses, telephone numbers, and names of each station head (Morgado 1895). The development of stations as concrete, physical places is therefore crucial for understanding the notion of proximity and visibility that lay at the core of their *raison d'être*.

Although they were not as important as city halls or central law courts, police stations also underwent major developments in terms of their architectural form and function. The end of the nineteenth century was marked by a greater volume of public building works, with the architectural styles and interior designs of these new buildings being intended to serve as symbols of civic consciousness and pride and as an indicator of the State's presence and integration into local communities (Lane 1983; Ewen 2003: 207-240). The aforementioned police reform of 1893 paid special attention to two considerations: visibility and time. In seeking to afford continuation to one particular aspect that had already been contained in the 1876 reform,²⁴ the police reformers stressed the need for police stations to be given greater public visibility, suggesting that each station should display a public sign in its front doorway with the words "*Esquadra—Estação*," which was to be illuminated at night with gas lighting. Given that police stations were frequently rented premises, and thus barely distinguishable from the rest of the cityscape, the authorities were concerned about their visibility within the neighborhood; especially when compared with Britain, where the newly constructed police stations were more easily recognized and stood out from the rest of the urban landscape. In Lisbon, however, the most frequent solution was to situate police stations in rented shops, which resulted in the police and the neighborhood being more closely interwoven. Even more significantly, reformers drew attention to the question of time. The 1893 police regulations formally increased the opening hours of the stations, stating clearly that these should be "open permanently, both by day and by night." This did not mean that stations had not previously been open continuously, but instead it revealed the need to state this formally in the letter

²⁴ Regulamento dos Corpos de Polícia Civil (21-12-1876), Diário do Governo, N° 295, 30-12-1876, Capítulo IV, Artigo 27°.

of the law. Accessibility was now regarded as a major feature in the planning of new government buildings, being incorporated into the design and physical appearance of police stations (see Image 1).

Image 1 - Police Stations



Source: Ribeiro, Armando (194[?]). *Subsídios para a História da Localização das Esquadras da Polícia de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Tip. Severo Freitas.

As police stations were generally housed in the ground floors of residential buildings, there was never any discussion regarding their architectural styles or their interior design. Although there is some evidence that, in the 1890s, the premises were refurbished before being opened as police stations in order to comply with certain police requirements. Generally speaking, the different services had to adapt to the space that was afforded by the properties available on the rental market. Some reflections were, however, made about how best to organize the space available inside police stations, with measures being taken to rationalize their use. One of the first tasks was to determine who should or should not be allowed to frequent specific places within police stations and under what conditions such access should be permitted. In October 1881, for example, the General Commissioner emphatically voiced his opposition to the enormous numbers of different people who were to be found in the corridors of the commissariats and police stations. He ordered that this practice should cease, authorizing only policemen or people accompanied by them to

circulate on police premises.²⁵ Controlling entry into the station thus became one of the main tasks of the guard stationed at the door, who decided exactly who should or should not be allowed to enter the building. Hence, while it is difficult to note a clear distinction between a public area at the front of the building, to which the general public were allowed access, and a private area, where policemen could socialize, hold detainees, and perform interrogations (Holdaway 1980), this distinction did, in fact, exist and was enforced despite the spatial contingencies.

The routines inside police stations were characterized by a dynamic tension between a disordered and unorganized space, arising from the contingent physical conditions and the concern that was paid to rationalizing space and procedures. Some clearly defined spaces and practices did emerge from this tension. The station chief's office had already begun to be established within police stations as a particular demarcated space. On several occasions over the years, certain items stated in the daily orders issued directly to station chiefs clearly specified that certain tasks had to be performed in their offices. Notably, this included the lectures given to policemen in order to inculcate the ideal forms of police performance and discipline. However, the growing demand for written information represented another aspect that rendered the chief's office an identifiable space. These written records included all the information sent to police headquarters and to other authorities, as well as the paperwork directly related with the station's day-to-day management. The first type of information, for example, included the "daily service schedules,"²⁶ the "fortnightly charts"²⁷ relating to salary payments, the reports of occurrences, and other reports that were compiled about specific issues.²⁸ The second type consisted of copies of the daily orders and other useful information for policemen, or the details of "paid services."²⁹ Altogether, they turned the chief's office into a distinct site for the keeping of bureaucratic records. One consequence of the growing bureaucracy involved in police work was the accumulation of paper, which therefore brought filing and storage procedures to police stations. Those papers that had to be kept for later reference were normally stored in the chief's office. The daily orders are just one example of this requirement. In 1890, the general commissioner reminded station chiefs of the need to take "extreme care" with the ledgers of daily orders, which had to be carefully stored and kept

²⁵ NT218 NP081, DO N.289, 16-10-1881, P.4.

²⁶ NT213 NP075, DO N.295, 22-10-1873, P.1.

²⁷ NT213 NP075, DO N.297, 24-10-1873, P.1.

²⁸ NT223 NP086, DO N.197, 15-07-1888, P.7.

²⁹ NT229 NP091, DO N.254, 11-09-1893, N.6.

safe in their offices. He finished the order with the threat: “an employee of the general commissariat will shortly be assigned to supervise whether or not this order has been fulfilled.”³⁰

These various writing tasks were not limited to the station chief. In November 1907, Aquilino Ribeiro, by then a radical republican, was arrested after an unintended explosion killed two of his comrades. In his memoirs, he claimed that the police’s “bureaucratic landscape” had become ingrained in his mind after the time that he spent at a police station (Ribeiro 2008: 220). In his description of the police station where he was detained and from where he would escape—a description based on “a careful study of the place and the policemen”—one of the spaces that Ribeiro identified was a room that served as a clerical office. With “two straw chairs and a pinewood table,” it was a central space in the station around which much of the policemen’s everyday life was structured (Ribeiro 2008: 200, 228). This image shows how policemen were increasingly given written tasks to perform, with the daily orders routinely containing instructions on how to fill in forms or write reports. The closure of the commissariat buildings in 1893, which had previously dealt with these written tasks and where painstaking attention had long been paid to both the form and techniques of bureaucracy (Regulamento 1875), meant that these bureaucratic procedures were transferred to the police stations. Furthermore, the police simultaneously stopped hiring civilian clerks to perform the writing tasks. Writing out the notices for fines, compiling maps of occurrences, public health bulletins, details of arrests, and the reporting of crimes were now an important part of the increasingly heavy bureaucratic workload of policemen. These tasks were mainly performed at the police station and led to the development of the policemen’s skills as bureaucratic clerks.

Police stations became increasingly important places, not because they were restricted entirely to policemen but because they were regularly frequented by the local population. Most notably, stations were frequented by individuals who had been arrested. Though detainees did not stay long at the police stations, actual arrests began to take place more frequently at the stations than in the street. The intimate atmosphere of police stations was soon understood to offer a more protected space that was better suited to formally arresting people than the street. Policemen were advised that they should only issue “arrest orders” in the street and that all further inquiries should be completed inside the station.³¹ The aim was clear: to prevent crowds from surrounding the policeman and

³⁰ NT225 NP087, DO N.281, 08-10-1890, P.10.

³¹ NT218 NP081, DO N.289, 16-10-1881, N.5.

the individual, which often tended to trigger even greater conflict. This clearly shows just how the police station increasingly became the central location for interactions between the police and the public.

The population did not use police stations only because they were coerced to do so. Indeed, one essential aspect for understanding the progressive evolution of the meaning of the word *esquadra* to denote the police station itself was the way in which it was increasingly used by the population as a way of describing the place that they could resort to when they needed help. Eric Monkkonen (2004: 86-109) draws attention to the use of police stations as overnight lodgings for the homeless in urban America. In Lisbon, police stations evolved into places where help might be requested in medical emergencies, for example, and where stretchers were available for the transport of poor people to hospital (Almeida 1959: 53). The prevention of crime, the detection of criminals, and the maintenance of public order represented just a fraction of police work; emergency services also constituted a relevant proportion of police duties. Whether people were requesting a service or complaining about a theft, the dynamics of the police station were clearly affected by the fact that people had recourse to them on a voluntary basis.

Conclusion

This article has shown how police stations gradually evolved in their organizational procedures as government technologies were translated into concrete processes of territorialization and bureaucratic rationalization. From an organizational point of view, police stations were the cornerstones in the process that transformed police forces into standardized bureaucracies. The adoption of devices such as the telephone and the evolution in bureaucracy turned the police station into the main center of police operations. Contrary to what was to happen in the twentieth century, when such technological devices as the radio and the automobile brought further changes in the relationship between police forces and the surrounding urban space, the need for more intense physical proximity was the main rationale behind the police's organizational structure. The police station assumed the role of an anchor, becoming a central hub for communication as well as for disciplining and controlling the behavior of policemen.

This only happened after the interiors of police stations evolved into different functional spaces. Even though nothing resembling a standardized design for police stations ever emerged, there were evident demarcations of the internal spaces. The

enforcement of rules of access produced a clearer demarcation between the public and private spaces inside the station. The private areas of the stations—spaces such as the chief's office, the telephone room, and the office used for clerical purposes—were clearly identified according to their respective nature and function. However, this was not only a top-down process. In Portugal, State-building was marked by unstable processes, riddled with political and social resistances and conflicts. As could be seen from the way that the police stations were set up, this ended up being more of a process of negotiation than an imposition upon urban communities. The relationship between the police and the city was marked by a dynamic interaction with other institutions, communities and the rental property market. The public visibility of the police steadily increased due to the fact that the police stations acquired a more stable status, whilst emerging as anchors of the State within urban communities.

References

- AAVV (2001). *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Verbo, vol. I.
- Almeida, Fialho (1959 [1882]). *A Cidade do Vício*. Lisbon: Livraria Clássica Editora.
- Camelo, Hermes (1971). *História do Serviço Telefónico do Batalhão de Sapadores Bombeiros*. Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa.
- Emsley, Clive (2007). *Crime, Police & Penal Policy: European Experiences, 1750-1940*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Ewen, Shane (2003). *Power and administration in two midland cities c. 1870-1938*. Leicester: PhD Thesis, U of Leicester.
- Figueiredo, Cândido (1911). *Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Portugal-Brasil Limitada, vol. I.
- Gonçalves, Gonçalo Rocha (2012). *Civilizing the police(man): police reform, culture and practice in Lisbon, c. 1860-1910*. Milton Keynes: Open University, Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Gonçalves, Gonçalo Rocha (2014). Police reform and the transnational circulation of police models: The Portuguese case in the 1860s. *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies*, 18(1): 5-29.
- Gonçalves, Gonçalo Rocha (2015). O aparelho policial e a construção do Estado em Portugal, c. 1870-1900. *Análise Social*, I, 3º (216): 470-493.
- Gonçalves, Gonçalo Rocha (2016). Biografias transnacionais, cosmopolitismo e modernidade urbana: Cristóvão Morais Sarmiento e a polícia portuguesa no final do século XIX. *Iberoamericana. América Latina – España – Portugal*, vol. 16, Nº 64.
- Holdaway, Simon (1980). The Police Station. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 79: 79-100.
- Lane, Barbara (1983). Government Buildings in European Capitals, 1870-1914. In J. Teuteberg (ed.), *Urbanisierung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Historische und geographische aspekte*. Cologne, Böhlau, 517-560.
- Machado, José P. (1977). *Dicionário Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, vol. II.
- Monkkonen, Eric (2004). *Police in Urban America, 1860-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004.
- Morgado, Alexandre (1895). *Guia do Forasteiro nas Festas Antonianas*. Lisbon: Typ. Comércio.
- Palácios Cerezas, Diego (2011). *Portugal à Coronhada: Protesto Popular e Ordem Pública nos séculos XIX e XX*. Lisbon: Tinta da China.
- Regulamento das Secretarias do Commissariado Geral e das Divisões da Polícia de Lisboa (1875)*. Lisbon: Typographia Universal.
- Ribeiro, Aquilino (2008 [1972]). *Um escritor confessa-se*. Lisbon: Bertrand.
- Santos, Maria José Moutinho Santos (2001). Bonfim – Séc. XIX: a regedoria na segurança urbana. *Cadernos do Bonfim*, vol. 1, 1-25.
- Silva, Álvaro Ferreira da (1997). *Crescimento Urbano, Regulação e Oportunidades Empresariais: A construção residencial em Lisboa, 1860-1930*. Florence: European University Institute, Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- Silva, António M. (1877). *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Typographia Joaquim Germano de Souza Neves, vol. I.
- Silva, António M. (1890). *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Empresa Literária Fluminense, vol. I.
- Staeheli, Lynn A. (2003). Place. In John Agnew et al (eds.), *A Companion to Political Geography*. Malden, MA, Blackwell, 158-170.
- Tarr, Joel (1992). The municipal telegraph network: origins of the fire and police alarm systems in American cities. *Flux*, 9: 5-18.

Williams, Chris A. (2014). *Police Control Systems in Britain, 1775-1975*. Manchester: Manchester UP.

Received for publication: 11 November 2015

Accepted in revised form: 20 January 2017

Recebido para publicação: 11 de Novembro de 2015

Aceite após revisão: 20 de Janeiro de 2017

Biedermann, Zoltán. The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India – Studies in the History of Diplomacy, Empire and Trade, 1500-1650, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014, 205 pp. ISBN: 978-3-447-10062-5

Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto¹

Zoltán Biedermann is a Senior Lecturer in Luso-Brazilian Studies at the Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University College, London. He has conducted extensive research into the Portuguese Empire in Asia, focusing his attention on diplomacy, imperial literature, and the politics of space. In Portuguese academic circles, he is mostly known as an expert on Sri Lanka, studying the European (mainly Portuguese and Dutch) presence and influence on local politics and diplomacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He recently co-edited a volume on Sri Lankan studies (Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History [ed. Z. Biedermann and A. Strathern], London, UCL Press, 2017), resulting from a series of seminars and workshops on the subject.

The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India is not a single work, but instead consists of a series of revised and expanded articles and book chapters published between 2005 and 2010. Despite its apparent imbalance, the final result is quite interesting, since it provides a fresh, in-depth approach to Portuguese-Sri Lankan relations, going far beyond the traditional views of “the Portuguese presence in...” Chapter One (“Studying the Portuguese in South Asia and Beyond”) introduces the reader to the general theme of the book and presents the author’s view about recent developments in Portuguese historiography on the subject of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Chapter Two (“Negotiating Empire: Portuguese Diplomacy in Asia in the Sixteenth Century”) presents a broad perspective on the diplomatic strategies and activities followed by the Portuguese in Asia, examining both their formal and informal features. Biedermann underlines the complex and ambiguous diplomacy of the sixteenth-century Portuguese Estado da Índia, stressing the process followed by viceroys and political decision-makers in learning about and adapting to Asian diplomatic rituals and practices, as well as the role played by individuals in establishing connections and relations with Asian powers.

¹ CHAM (FCSH-Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/Universidade dos Açores, Portugal). E-Mail: paulo.pinto@fcs.unl.pt

A close study of the Sri Lankan political balance and the strategies followed by the Portuguese throughout the sixteenth century is presented in Chapter Three (“From Diplomacy to Conquest: The ‘Matrioshka Principle’ and How it was Overcome in Sri Lanka”). Closely following the political alignments between the Sri Lankan kingdoms and the Portuguese, the “imperial” pretensions of the kingdom of Kotte in relation to smaller political formations, and similar projects developed by the Estado, the author builds up the notion of the ‘Matrioshka Principle,’ including its mechanisms and evolution, until the ‘donation’ made by Dom João Dharmapala and the definitive change in patterns that led to the rupture and the attempts at territorial conquest in the seventeenth century. The debate over a specific moment and episode in this process of transition to “colonial rule,” the so-called Malwana Convention of 1597, is presented and enlarged upon by the author in Chapter Five (“Imperial Incorporation: The ‘Malwana Convention’ and the Lankan Transition to Colonial Rule”).

Previously, Chapter Four (“Imagining Space before Conquest: Two Contrasting Maps of Sri Lanka, 1568–1606”) presents a brief, although stimulating, comparative approach to two different and contrasting views of Sri Lanka: the map of Fernão Vaz Durado (c. 1568); and the Jodocus Hondius print for the Mercator Atlas (1606). The political significance of the different cartographic spaces and their dissimilar visual representations is the main subject here. Chapter Six (“Colonialism and Cosmopolitanism: Colombo, Cannanore, and the Chimera of the Multi-Ethnic Melting-Po(r)t in South Asia”) is the longest text in the book, a comparative view of Cannanore and Colombo and an explanation of their political and social dimensions. The book ends with a final chapter about the role of elephants in colonial Sri Lanka (Chapter 7: “Change and Resilience under Colonial Rule: The Hunting and Trading of Elephants in Sri Lanka, 1500–1800”). An extensive bibliography, an index, and sixteen illustrations complete the volume.

Zoltán Biedermann’s work is a perceptive and accurate look at Portuguese-Sri Lankan relations. It starts from the “Portuguese point of view”—the Portuguese sources—explained within the framework of a “regional history” to unveil the complex political balance of the island and show how it was possible for the Estado da Índia to influence and take advantage of local conditions. It also raises important questions about the Portuguese system itself: What was the role played by informal diplomacy? What arose from the tensions between individual actions and official positions? How effective and durable was the strategy of accommodation to Asian realities? The ambiguous and unclear definition of “empire” (clearly summarized in a single sentence: “the Portuguese empire in

Asia carries in itself a superb principle of uncertainty,” pp. 33-34), the shift that occurred in the 1580s with the contamination of the “Improvised Empire” by the Habsburg model of conquest and dominion, and the way in which the Portuguese and Sri Lankan kingdoms used their own “imperial” traditions are just some of the interesting issues that Biedermann introduces to the reader.

The book is of obvious interest not only to historians studying the Portuguese presence in Asia—both “the empire” and “the expansion”—but also to South Asian scholars, for it provides a fertile combination of new issues and fresh insights into old ones. Moreover, it has an appropriate size and a sufficient number of supportive footnotes, sources, and bibliography. The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India is also recommended reading for the general public: it never goes too far in terms of academic detail or tedious description. On the contrary, the author has the ability to focus on what is fundamental and meaningful, and his writing is lively and fresh, ironic, and often surprising and humorous.

There are obviously some points that need to be commented upon. The most important one is, perhaps, perfectly visible: a real “book,” i.e. a coordinated and organized work, written from the beginning to the end, would be more useful and clearer than a series of articles, albeit revised and expanded. There is a sense of imbalance when, for instance, one compares Chapters Three and Six with the rest of the book. Secondly, a chapter providing a wider view and offering a broader context for examining some of the issues presented in the “core” of the work would have been interesting. For instance, the questions involving the “conquest” in the Sri Lankan landscape call for a deeper insight into the ideological framework of the Portuguese expansion, its horizons, expectations, and practices, pre- and post-1580. The work of G. Marcocci, *A Consciência de um Império* (Coimbra, 2012), could have been a useful example and a suggestion to be followed. Inserting the “Lankan experience” into other similar (and dissimilar) contexts of the *Estado da Índia* would also have been valuable, offering a comparative approach.

There are also some minor inaccuracies to be found. For instance, the author insists on the incorrect notion that the division of the world through the Treaty signed at Tordesillas gave Portugal the right of conquest granted “by papal decree” (pp. 15, 35). However, the Treaty was a strictly bilateral deal and the Portuguese King claimed his rights upon “the Grace of God” and not as the result of any permission granted by the Pope. Biedermann also suggests that presenting the King of Portugal as more powerful than he was in reality was a universal and advisable strategy in Asia (p. 22), but that this could

actually be quite counterproductive and not at all advisable in Ming China or in Hideyoshi's Japan, for instance.

These are just minor issues. The Portuguese in Sri Lanka and South India is a reliable, stimulating and highly recommended work about the Portuguese presence in Asia, standing as a landmark in the recent historiography about Sri Lanka in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

***Braga and its territory between the fifth and the fifteenth centuries.* Raquel Martínez Peñín (ed.). Braga: University of Minho – Archeology Unit/Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2015, 98 pp. ISBN:978-84-8409-760-0/978-84-8409-750-1**

Andreia Arezes¹

This collective work, edited by Raquel Martínez Peñín, focuses on the city of Braga, founded *ex novo*, in the first century AD, as *Bracara Augusta*. With the contribution of several authors, this work reflects the current state of knowledge about the city and the respective territory from the times of late antiquity to the late Middle Ages. This extended timeframe is crucial for better understanding not only the city's concrete reality, but also the transformation processes that were similarly found in other urban contexts.

The archeological data collected during almost four decades of “rescue” work undertaken by the Archeology Unit of the University of Minho have considerably increased the number of studies that have been conducted about the city in recent years, especially in the areas of urbanism, architecture, and the economy. This work is therefore an analysis and a systematization of the archeological evidence collected so far. At the same time, it also highlights the new research topics, methodologies, and directions that are made possible through the different sources, both documentary and cartographic, and which all serve the same purpose: understanding the evolution of the city's space, people, activities, and powers. This interdisciplinary work consists of five articles.

The first article, by Manuela Martins, Jorge Ribeiro, Fernanda Magalhães, and Raquel Martínez Peñín, is about Braga's Roman Theater and its surroundings. The theater was built, in the second century, close to the public baths, at a time of great prosperity and rapid economic development, corresponding to the apogee of urbanism in the city, and was subsequently abandoned in the fourth century. Dismantled and subjected to different uses in the fifth and sixth centuries, the theater is an essential building for better understanding the changes taking place in an area that, despite its occupation by both the Suevi and the Visigoths, remained untouched in the medieval era. The available archeological evidence also demonstrates that, far from this being a period of stagnation and decline, there was intense building activity (both within and outside the town walls) during the fifth and sixth

¹ Department of Heritage Science and Techniques (DCTP) and CITCEM Researcher. Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, Portugal. E-Mail: aarezes@letras.up.pt; andreia.arezes@gmail.com

centuries, just as there had been in the fourth century. Evidence also points to the substantial presence of imported materials, confirming the maintenance of the Atlantic trade networks. In practical terms, this meant that the occupation of the city by the Suevi did not lead to the economic and civil collapse of the capital; it simply redefined its centralities and the subsequent desertion (or transformation) of part of the existing Roman public monuments, such as the sites used for entertainment and leisure activities. In fact, facilities such as theaters and amphitheaters lost their significance with the rise of Christianity (the new legitimating force that also restricted the development of the city's urban topography) and were dismantled. At this point, the northwestern area of the once monumental *forum* became a peripheral territory, but it also began to house structures that served other purposes, essentially ones that were residential and productive in nature. There was a shift from the foundational orthogonal layout to an organic organization of the buildings, adapted to the land's morphology and its already existing constructions. This break had already been seen with the construction of the theater and public baths, which led to the destruction of the *cardines* and the *decumani*. Nonetheless, the abandonment of the primary function of these sites opened up other possibilities, such as their adaptation and use for new purposes; taking advantage of part of their walls or using pieces of the buildings as construction materials for other structures, often resorting to different techniques. It should be noted, however, that the tendency to renovate public and private buildings in fourth-century *Bracara* was not exclusive to this area and, above all, that archeological records show that such remodeling coincided with a period of considerable construction activity. What is enlightening, however, is the fact that the stone foundations of the new structures were smaller in height and weaker in consistency, thus, they could only support roofs and brickwork of a perishable nature.

It should also be emphasized that the different constructions found in the area previously occupied by the theater are associated with ceramic sets that can be linked to the period of late antiquity. This evidence made it possible to date the different phases of the theater's abandonment and occupancy. Regardless of its being located either within or outside the city, these ceramics are identical to materials that have already been retrieved from other contemporary archaeological contexts, in several sites. The archeological data thus suggest that the urban population was maintained in this area, although it was subsequently organized according to a new concept of *civitates*. In fact, as was the case in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, these *civitates* were gradually transformed into episcopal centers.

There are yet other realities that have been documented in Braga as dating from between late antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages. The approach adopted in the second text, by Maria do Carmo Ribeiro and Luís Fontes, results from the cross-linking of iconographic, cartographic, documentary, and archeological data. Although they are limited in nature, these data allow us to peer into the city and conclude that Braga's urban morphology was characterized by the significant changes taking place between the fifth and fifteenth centuries (which we have subdivided here into three main periods).

The first period, between the fifth and eighth centuries (coinciding with the region's domination by the Suevi and Visigoths), is characterized by the reuse of several structures for different purposes – mostly public structures – and by important topographic changes, following the final decline of the original Roman urban model. In fact, new constructions were built in areas previously occupied by main streets, leading to a reorganization of the layout of the residential areas, which gradually began to be composed of more and more small-sized housing units. Furthermore, at the end of the sixth century, the city lost its political significance following the breakdown of the region's control by the Suevi and the subsequent integration of *Bracara* into the Visigothic Kingdom. However, *Bracara* remained a primary ecclesiastical see, which preserved its urban character. *Bracara* could no longer be regarded as a Roman city, but rather as a Christian city, closely linked to the new political, administrative, and religious powers. Concurrently, a new center began to be developed in the northeastern part of the city, around the original Paleo-Christian basilica, pushing other areas of the Roman city towards the periphery, which gradually became ruralized. In the meantime, on the outskirts of the city – where the Roman necropolis had been erected by the side of the roads that linked the different parts of the territory of *Bracara* cemetery basilicas appeared, associated with martyrial cults (*martyria*). The monasteries of Dume and São Salvador de Montélios were built on the outskirts of the city during the sixth and seventh centuries; the first was commissioned by São Martinho, and the second by São Frutuoso, the bishops of Braga and Dume respectively. As far as the eighth century is concerned, archeology has yet to provide sufficient data for a complete assessment of the disorder caused by the Muslim incursions; existing information is based mostly on documentary sources.

The second period ranges from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the process of urban reorganization, which clearly had implications for the limits of the city and its territory, was implemented by the kings of the Asturias and Leon. There is evidence of measures being introduced for the city's

revitalization, such as the renovation works at the original basilica and the creation of a new walled area in the southern part of the city, albeit far more modest in its scope and design than the imperial area. In the second half of the eleventh century, following the restoration of the archdiocese, the bishop Dom Pedro began the building of a new and extensive church — the cathedral. Built in the Romanesque style, the cathedral played a vital role in the reorganization and greater dignification of the urban center, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, once again significantly enhancing the city's ecclesiastical and political importance. It should, however, be noted that there are only scanty data available about Braga's topography between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, partly because the current urban fabric overlaps with the medieval borough. It is generally assumed that Braga's urban layout might have been organized along the same lines as other contemporary urban centers: one-story houses, with a backyard, built by the side of the road.

The last period encompasses the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The demographic and economic growth experienced in the thirteenth century (closely linked to the newly revitalized trade), resulted in a more complex road system, as suggested by the construction of new buildings and a new walled area. These walls, completed in the fourteenth century, encompassed suburban zones, doubling the area of the urban nucleus (compared to the early Middle Ages) and being complemented with the construction of a castle, built near one of the old imperial roads. The growth of the city's perimeter, compared with the early medieval period, is suggested not only by archeological discoveries: documentary and cartographic references also give an account of this phenomenon. Without the cross-linking of data from different types of sources, it would not have been possible to understand such dynamics, nor the relationship between the intramural arteries, such as those connecting the city with the centers that were to emerge in its surrounding area, namely in the vicinity of the old necropolises or Paleo-Christian basilicas, which were converted into churches. By cross-linking data in this way, the authors were able to conclude that, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Braga had two core urban morphologies: a more regular one, which, despite the transformations and the renovation work, inherited the original Roman layout; and a more sinuous one, which resulted from the integration of predominantly agricultural suburban areas. This suggests that, until then, Braga had passed through a series of different stages, marked either by urban retraction or by growth “programs.”

Let us now focus on the article by Raquel Martínez Peñín about locally produced ceramics dating back to late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, with particular emphasis on the “cerâmica cinzenta” (grey ware). The study focuses on the technical, morphological, and decorative aspects of these manufactures and their evolution. At the same time, it also seeks to demonstrate the advances in our knowledge about this subject, reviewing some iconic sites that have provided stratigraphically located data and pointing out the most relevant publications on the subject.

The article tracks the work developed by Alexandra Gaspar and applies to material collected from archeological sites in Braga. The ceramic ware is divided into three main groups that have a common denominator—they were fired in reducing atmospheres. The first group comprises imitations of imported foreign shapes (late antiquity grey ware), with smooth surfaces and manufactured on a fast wheel, denoting the use of reasonably purified clays with small amounts of non-plastic inclusions. The second group comprises “typical late antiquity grey ware,” where the ceramic paste includes more and larger non-plastic elements. These productions indicate the use of a wheel with a manual finish (hence the slight irregularity of the shapes, with only a limited repertoire), with smooth surfaces and a soft feel. The third and last group (early medieval ware) comprises vessels designed mostly for cooking purposes, made of minimally polished pastes and using identical technical procedures to those of the second group. In the author’s view, some of the shapes identified from the early medieval period indicate continuity in the production of the late antiquity grey ware. In turn, they seem to have some of the defining characteristics of “red engobes.” In view of this information, the author maintains that there was no discontinuity (in spite of the stagnation) in the production of ceramics in Braga. She also suggests that there was a correlation between the visible technological changes and the need to adapt the materials to the socioeconomic changes experienced by the city, a vast arena of transformations where a multitude of functions took place.

Ana Sofia Cunha and Arnaldo Sousa Melo’s contribution highlights the clear interconnection between productive activities and Braga’s urban specificities. Such manufactures played a pivotal role in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, not only in the development of trade and the provision of consumer goods, but also with regard to social and spatial planning. How, therefore, was this space shaped to meet the productive dynamics of the city? Some of the handicraft and industrial structures were located within the fourteenth-century enclosure, excepting those that required a specific location. Examples of the latter included water mills, slaughterhouses, and tanneries, which required

abundant supplies of water and were thus located in the suburbs. Within the city walls, the distribution of manufacturing facilities appears to have been uneven, with some areas having a significant concentration of buildings and others being almost completely devoid of constructions.

To outline the location of such facilities, the authors resorted to toponymy, as some of the terms found in rental contracts and other types of documents may serve as indicators of their location. As it is not possible to cover all sites and infrastructures, the authors focused their attention on squares, stalls, stores (*boticas*), and the abovementioned slaughterhouses (*açougues*) and tanneries (*pelames*). As an example of the results that they presented, we highlight the “Cathedral Square,” which was the most important square in Braga, where many collective structures were found and where numerous activities took place, including both political and business activities. There were, however, other densely crowded sites, both inside the city walls and on the outskirts, revealing a definite vibrancy, which is highlighted in the authors’ study.

Let us now look at the last contribution, by Raquel de Oliveira Martins, which focuses on the power networks that existed in Braga during the fifteenth century. Reviewing the existing historiography about elites, medieval municipalities, and power networks, the author highlights the major progress that has been made in the study of this subject in recent decades, although there are still some gaps in our knowledge at the local and regional level.

In order to analyze the medieval power networks in Braga, we must look at the city’s political elite, as well as the relationships between the Borough, the Chapter, the Cathedral, and the Archbishopric. There was a well-defined oligarchy that exerted an influence over the main structures of the city; this system was controlled by the citizens and *homens bons* (“good men”), who were responsible for the government of the borough as well as the management and administration of its key institutions. Moreover, the citizens and good men of the city often maintained close links with the Archbishopric and the Cathedral Chapter, where important activities were frequently carried out. However, to better understand the links established in the fifteenth century, it is crucial to stress the fact that, over 70 years (from 1402 to 1472), the jurisdiction of Braga shifted from the Archbishopric and the Cathedral (which had exercised this jurisdiction since 1112) to the Crown, resulting from a deal that was negotiated during the more centralizing reign of Dom João I, the first king of the House of Aviz.

There were, therefore, different types of powers coming together in medieval cities, and the transformations that fostered urban growth and economic development gradually concentrated the exercise of power in the hands of a small number of people. The same phenomenon could be seen in Braga in the fifteenth century, whose political elite was strongly endemic. Although it might be premature to identify power lineages within Braga's oligarchy, it nonetheless appears that certain families, linked to both spheres, maintained their members in the top positions of government over many generations.

Conversely, the study demonstrates that the Archbishopric and the Cathedral Chapter did not exercise power on an equal basis, nor did the powers that they enjoyed resemble those that have been observed in other contemporary boroughs. It is also suggested that the relationship between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers was pivotal in Braga, despite the normal conflict that existed between the two parties. Nevertheless, the author considers that the men of eminently urban origin who controlled the municipal government during the second half of the fifteenth century maintained links with welfare organizations, as well as with the Archbishopric and the Cathedral Chapter. In short, the author seeks to demonstrate that institutions were embodied by individuals, united by an important network of relations, and that the members of the oligarchy enjoyed a dominant position in society.

We thus conclude that the contents of this collective work are not only an interesting synthesis of the research carried out into an iconic city over several years (by several researchers), but they also identify the inspiring progress that has been made in relation to topics that previously were insufficiently explored. We therefore hope that the data presented about the evolution of *Bracara Augusta* will facilitate comparisons and the cross-checking of information with other contexts and case studies. We also consider that the transformation processes that occurred between the period of late antiquity and the medieval era represent an unquestionably important object of study, which will require yet further investigation.

Molesky, Mark. *This Gulf of Fire: the Destruction of Lisbon, or Apocalypse in the Age of Science and Reason*. New York: Knopf, 2015, 500pp. ISBN: 978-0-307-26762-7

Júnia Ferreira Furtado¹

Lisbon awoke on Saturday, November 1 1755, the All Saints Day holiday, to a clear day and a blue sky. Shortly after nine in the morning, when the ground began to shake, thereby announcing one of the greatest catastrophes of the Modern Age, a large part of its residents were on their way to—or had already been in—the churches, all across the city, to commemorate the day. Trapped in churches or in narrow streets, thousands died, crushed under the mass of rubble to which the once effulgent city was reduced in a matter of minutes. Various tremors followed, causing a tidal wave; the Tagus River rose up from its bed and a gigantic wave hit the lower city. Finally, a terrible fire destroyed many of the buildings that had somehow managed to remain upright. The image of the city was terrifying, and, according to one chronicler, what he saw was “the work of a thousand years [being] destroyed in two minutes.” “Lisbon had been razed, burnt, and turned to ash: Lisbon had fallen on Lisbon.”² This is the scenario that Mark Molesky examines in *Gulf of Fire*.

The character who introduces the reader to this cataclysm is the Jesuit priest Gabriel Malagrida, who, first from improvised pulpits in the city and afterwards in his book entitled *Juízo da Verdadeira Causa do Terramoto*, boasted to the Portuguese of his apocalyptic vision of the earthquake and urged them to repent their sins. *Gulf of Fire* reveals a paradoxical figure—he was, at the same time, both the maximum exponent of the religious interpretation of the earthquake and the final fatal victim of the Lisbon Inquisition. Even though the basis for his condemnation was religious in nature, since the designs of God are unfathomable and it is not for men to boast of interpreting them, it cannot be denied that, officially, one of the central bodies for the implementation of cultural policy operating under the aegis of Marquis de Pombal publicly stated that it was in favor of the explanation

¹ Postgraduate Program. History. UFMG -Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil. E-Mail: juniaff@gmail.com

² Apud: Charles Brooks. *Disaster at Lisbon, the Great Earthquake of 1755*. Long Beach: Longley Press, 1994, p. 24.

of natural causes as being responsible for the event.³ In this way, it expressed the anxieties of the Portuguese intellectual elite, amongst whom the predominant belief was that natural causes were the explanation for the earthquake.

However, *Gulf of Fire* does not limit itself to examining Malagrida's view of events. Numerous characters—many of them foreigners—serve as guides for Molesky to describe and examine how the residents of Lisbon experienced what they perceived to be the three horsemen of the apocalypse—the earth in fury, water, and fire—crashing into the city. The chronology is extensive: it starts at the (apparently interminable) moment of the event itself and continues for days, months, and then years as Lisbon finds itself still experiencing its fatal consequences. It was a traumatic experience for the survivors. The wealth and glory accumulated over so many centuries, and which made the city the mirror of this power, especially after the discovery of gold and diamonds in Brazil, was swept away in just a few minutes. While the residents of Lisbon had felt terror, the reactions that the earthquake aroused in the European and American public were ones of amazement and disbelief. Molesky reveals how newspapers were efficient vehicles for communicating the tragedy and how they molded a certain version of it, sometimes distorting, and frequently exaggerating, its devastating effects. However, they also encouraged gestures of solidarity, which came from all sides, and produced a profusion of written discourses of a literary, poetic, and scientific nature.

The book also focuses on the reactions of the authorities to the catastrophe which hit the city, most notably the role played by the king, José I, and by the Marquis of Pombal. The latter's attentions were directed towards pragmatic questions, immortalized in the famous phrase attributed to him that it was necessary, before anything else, to bury the dead and look after the living, and not to pray for the souls of those who had been taken. He demonstrated his ability to exploit "the talents and resources of the most powerful and capable people in the kingdom" (189) in order to restore order.

While, to a large extent, life in the city was heavily marked by business, it was the time dedicated to God that shaped the essence of daily life. The many churches and the constant ringing of their bells, the religious processions and festivities, the convents scattered all across the city, the constant proximity between the profane and the sacred, all served to remind everyone that the world was ruled and governed by God but that life was lived according to their own dictates. Thus, in reaction to the gigantic catastrophe that had

³ In relation to Joaquim de Santana's censorship of Malagrida's pamphlet, see: Rui Tavares. "Lembrar, esquecer, censurar." *Estudos Avançados*, São Paulo, vol. 13, no. 37, 1999.

befallen Lisbon, it was natural that such manifestations of religious devotion and mysticism should intensify among the city's residents. Being accustomed to this proximity between the terrestrial and the celestial spheres, at that moment of extreme affliction the stunned residents of Lisbon sought protection from what seemed to them to be an inexplicable misfortune in the Lord, the Virgin Mary, Jesus, the angels, and the numerous saints of the celestial court. It was therefore understandable, amid the rubble of buildings and churches that hindered the return to normal daily routines, the small aftershocks, and the terrible winter that followed, that expressions of true faith should spontaneously arise among the citizens who remained scattered in the fields, living in canvas tents, afraid that their roofs might once again fall on their heads. It was their way of mitigating the incalculable pain and losses that they had suffered in terms of both life and property.⁴ However, Molesky does not fall into the trap of crediting this recourse to religion to the Portuguese alone, as is the case with a significant part of the historiography.⁵ He argues that it was not only the Portuguese who initially ascribed religious causes to the earthquake, pointing out that this was widely believed and commonly used as an explanation at that time (including among Protestants), and that the same belief was also frequently voiced in various parts of Europe. As Charles B. Brooks notes, while the principle of religious fervor seriously interfered with the city's recovery from the catastrophe, it nonetheless helped to forge an important connection between people, making them sensitive to the orders of the clergy, who played such an important role in the reorganization of the disordered reality that followed the tremor.⁶

The text reveals that this reinforcement of Catholic religiosity was associated with the process of the naturalization and rationalization of knowledge, in which studies designed to understand the seismological phenomenon in Lisbon played a significant role. Reading Molesky's arguments, we can understand that the impact of the earthquake on Western thought enabled people to focus their attention on the new configurations in the relationship between religion and science. As Molesky himself points out, the religious fervor unleashed by the tremor was associated with, and not excluded from, the division between religion and nature that was already being made in the context of the Enlightenment, in Portugal just as much as in other European countries, a movement to

⁴ Júnia F. Furtado "A santa, o terramoto e os diamantes." In: Ana Cristina Araújo; José Luis Cardoso, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, Walter Rossa, José Vicente Serrão. (eds.) *O terramoto de 1755: impactos históricos*. Lisboa: Livros Horizontes, 2007, pp. 345-353.

⁵ I draw attention, in particular, to Mary del Priori. *O Mal sobre a Terra: uma História do Terramoto de Lisboa*. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2003.

⁶ Charles Brooks. *Disaster at Lisbon, the Great Earthquake of 1755*, p. 97.

which studies about the earthquake made a significant contribution. The earthquake represented a crucial moment in the search for rational causes and explanations for natural events, to which men of science, particularly Portuguese intellectuals, contributed decisively. In this sense, with its power of destruction and renewal, it encapsulated the new times that were approaching, more so than any other event could ever do.

Giulia Albanese, *Dittature Mediterranee. Sovversioni fasciste e colpi di Stato in Italia, Spagna e Portogallo*, Laterza, 248 pp, 2016, ISBN: 978-88-581-1961-7

Annarita Gori¹

“In the midst of the political and social disorder that was everywhere, and which undermined the cohesion of the Portuguese people and destroyed the national consciousness, or, more specifically, the essence, and the reason for being, of a Nation [...], attempts to re-establish some kind of political system that had already been tried and failed would be useless for the future of Portugal. In the mental and moral anarchy of the century to which we had adhered [...], what really mattered was to reconstruct the lost meaning of human life and instill it into the family and society, into the political organization, into the administration, into the private and public economy, into the moral education of men.”²

In 1936, during his well-known speech in Braga, given on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the dictatorship, Salazar clearly stated that in the light of the political and moral disorder that had characterized the years immediately after World War I, the old political systems needed to be shelved and a new order built. This kind of assertion was not an isolated case in interwar Europe, as many other nations, namely Italy, Poland, Spain, Romania, and Hungary, also sought to introduce a system of authoritarian stabilization during this period.

The main topics of Giulia Albanese’s new book include the search for an alternative solution to the enduring crisis of parliamentary and constitutional liberalism during the 1920s as well as the construction of authoritarian regimes as inspired by a reactionary ideology and openly shaped by Italian fascism, which provided an example and a model to be imitated.

Dittature mediterranee. Sovversioni fasciste e colpi di Stato in Italia, Spagna e Portogallo (Mediterranean Dictatorships. Fascist Rebellions and Coups D’états in Italy, Spain and Portugal) examines the theme of nationalist dictatorships, focusing on those countries – Italy, Portugal and Spain – that Albanese has categorized as “Mediterranean”. An expression, and a title, that might sound less ambiguous if the author would have been

¹ Universidade de Lisboa. Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS), Portugal. E-Mail: annarita.gori@ics.ulisboa.pt

² Salazar, António Oliveira, *As grandes certezas da Revolução Nacional. Discursos*, Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, II (1935-1937), 1936, 128-129.

chosen to use the term southern Europe instead. As a chronological framework, Albanese chose to focus her attention on the period between the outbreak of World War I and 1926, the year in which a coup d'état ended the Portuguese First Republic. *Dittature Mediterranee* is not strictly a book about regimes, but it deals with the rebellions and violence that characterized the interwar period and promoted the rise of dictatorships in Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

Focusing its attention on some crucial turning points in history, specifically World War I and the *Marcia su Roma*, the book traces the political paths that these three countries followed in arriving at the nationalist authoritarian solutions which supplanted the previous liberal governments accused of failure. It also describes how these movements presented themselves both to the political institutions, the monarchy in the case of Italy and Spain and the Republic in the case of Portugal, and to the populations, in particular their middle-class segment, as the saviors of the nation.

The book is divided into four sections presented chronologically: World War I; the immediate postwar period; the conquest of power; and its subsequent stabilization. In the last three chapters, Albanese deliberately chose to follow the same pattern in order to offer her readers a “parallel, comparative and transnational observation” (XX). First, she describes the Italian framework, after which she analyzes the Spanish context, and, finally, she narrates the Portuguese history. At the end of each chapter, there are a few pages offering a conclusion in which the author stresses the aforementioned similarities and differences between the three countries.

The first chapter provides an overview of this model and analyzes the impact that the various phases of World War I had on Italy, Portugal, and Spain: the outbreak; the dilemma in choosing between intervention and neutrality; the significance of 1917; and the end of the war. This stylistic choice helps to make this chapter the most successful one in the whole book. Besides the narrative dynamism, these pages provide a fresh perspective on the significance of World War I in the Iberian Peninsula. The importance of the war in the European context has already been underlined by historians, and Albanese, starting from these reflections, analyzes the repercussions that the conflict had on the formation of the three dictatorships, thereby offering her audience—in particular the Italian one—an innovative point of view. This becomes particularly stimulating when the book scrutinizes the case of Spain. The author is indeed able to view the Spanish case within the more general framework of World War I and to show her readers that although the Iberian nation did not participate directly in the conflict, it was touched by the war and suffered its

consequences. In the three countries, a pivotal role was played by the “evolution of the practices of violence and the militarization of politics” (XXI) that affected them in subsequent years and led to a “brutalization of politics” (4). Interwar violence is a recurrent topic in Giulia Albanese’s study. She started during the late 90s researching the political violence in Venice during the years 1919-1921 and she continued with her Ph.D. dissertation, which focused on the violence perpetrated in the Italian peninsula during the Liberal State Crisis, and specifically scrutinized the phenomenon of the March on Rome.³ Lately, she has been continuing her studies on this topic in her recent publications in which Albanese gradually expanded the reflection on the Italian case on the southern Europe as a whole⁴. In particular, *Dittature Mediterranee* could be seen as an enlargement, on a European scale, of her PhD dissertation, which was transformed into her book *La Marcia su Roma*, published by Laterza in 2006. In both books, Albanese investigates how the use of violence increased after World War I, stressing, in particular, the decisive role played by the aggressive procedures inherited from the war, which spread across the whole continent, and showing how force was used and re-adapted in different national scenarios during the 1920s (106). The “brutalization of politics”—a concept that can be attributed to George L. Mosse⁵, one of its pioneers—increased, due largely to factors such as the radicalization of the middle class, the militarization of politics through the formation of paramilitary forces, and the demonization of the enemy. Directly linked to this last point, it is remarkable that, in all these countries, the internal adversaries—namely the anarchists, the socialists, and the previously liberal lay government, as was the case in Portugal—were depicted as the enemy of the nation and sometimes associated with the anticlerical and “red” danger coming from Moscow. This sense of hostility, which was propagated during the years of the respective governments’ consolidation of power, continued to permeate Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese societies during the 1930s, as demonstrated by the way in which the other political forces were represented during some of the “political exhibitions” organized in these nations. The *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* held in Rome 1932, the *Exposição da obra da ditadura* held in Lisbon in 1934, and the *Exposición de material de guerra tomado al enemigo*

³ Albanese, Giulia, *Alle origini del fascismo. La violenza politica a Venezia, 1919-1922*. Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2001; *La marcia su Roma: politica e violenza nella crisi dello stato liberale*. Ph.D. Thesis, EUI, 2004; *La marcia su Roma*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2006.

⁴ See, among others: Comparare i fascismi. Una riflessione storiografica. Special issue of *Storica*, nn. 43-45, 2009; Political violence and institutional crisis: Italy, Spain and Portugal. In Antonio Costa Pinto, (ed.), *The nature of fascism*, Palgrave, 2011, 186-195; Dittature. La creazione di un nuovo regime in Italia, Spagna e Portogallo. In E. Betta, D.L. Caglioti, E. Papadia (eds.), *Le forme del politico. Studi di storia per Raffaele Romanelli*. Roma: Viella, 2012, 97-116.

⁵ Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990.

held in San Sebastián in 1938 were all designed to show how the victory obtained over the internal enemies and the consequent political change had led to an orderly and flourishing society.

The third main theme of the book is closely linked to the March on Rome and examines the “role played by Italy as the trigger of the crisis, but also its function as an example of a new political model that was applicable, with some adaptations, in other countries” (XXI). The Italian case, “an element of great innovation within the European political framework” (310) and a feasible alternative to the dualism of Democracy/Bolshevism, quickly became a lesson and an inspiration for other countries during the interwar period. Following the path already traced by Fascism, the right-wing members of Spanish and Portuguese society—who were to be found among politicians, intellectuals, the military, and a large part of the population (most conspicuously within its middle-class segment)—successfully seized power and presented themselves as a new solution within the political landscape resulting from the war and, at the same time, as the guarantors of institutional continuity (176). *Dittature Mediterranee* can therefore be inserted into the already consolidated historiographical tendency that recognized the pivotal role played by Fascism during the interwar period in a broader European scenario. In the four chapters, the Italian dictatorship is often presented as a model for Spain and Portugal, with the author frequently stressing, in a rather witty fashion, how the Iberian countries maintained their specificity and adapted the Italian example to their political, economic, and cultural backgrounds. The provision of more details about the reactions that the March on Rome provoked in Spain and Portugal, as well as the presentation of the discussions that were held about this topic in the newspapers and in the private correspondence of intellectuals and politicians, could have helped readers to better understand the circulation of ideas between the three countries. Instead, the author decided to deal with this aspect by presenting a fourth and external point of view—that of the Vatican—on both the impact that the events in Italy had on the Iberian Countries and on the Spanish and Portuguese situations.

As previously mentioned, the book ends with the Portuguese coup d'état of 1926 and the author clearly states in the introduction that *Dittature Mediterranee* “seeks to deepen our knowledge of the reasons why, in the 1920s, parliamentary and representative political regimes failed, and were replaced with dictatorships or authoritarian and repressive institutions” (XIX). Another book by Albanese about the subsequent period would surely provide a stimulating new perspective and would be most welcomed by the academic

community. Beginning with the relevant results already achieved in this volume, it would, indeed, be interesting to see if, with the complete stabilization of power in Italy and Portugal and the rise of Francoism in Spain, Italian Fascism still remained the main model to be followed during the 1930s or, as suggested by Simon Kuin in the case of the *Liga de acção corporativa*, some alternative patterns were proposed and introduced⁶.

Finally, *Dittature Mediterranee* is a solid and well-constructed book based on a long-lasting historiographical tradition and with an appealing methodological approach resulting from the parallel structure afforded to the chapters. In addition to this dimension, others important themes of the book, already mentioned earlier, deserve to be highlighted as innovative aspects: the original perspective about the impact of World War I on the Iberian Peninsula and the Vatican's opinions on the events that occurred in the three Southern European countries. The reflections on Spain, a nation that did not directly participate in the war but that reacted to the effects generated by the conflict by dismantling the liberal government, form one of the most innovative parts of the book. The use of the documents found in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, in particular the nuncios' letters, provide the readers with a sort of *fil rouge* that links the various steps in the formation of the dictatorships and relates them to the Church's reflections on the political situation in Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Vatican documents used by Albanese are particularly interesting as they provide a valuable foreign perspective. In particular they shown the ambivalence of the Church divided between understanding the uncertainty of the situation and seizing the opportunity provided by the consolidation of these movements that openly declared themselves to be anti-communist, and to be the restorers of the previous order, which had been endangered by the introduction of lay ideals.

In conclusion *Dittature Mediterranee* is a book in which Giulia Albanese has condensed over a fifteen years of researches on political violence; it is a good analysis of the crisis of the Liberal States in Italy, Spain and Portugal, and, above all, it is a valuable tool both for postgraduate and undergraduate students, and, more generally, for the academic audience. In particular, this work is especially fruitful for readers, who, through these pages, can obtain a complete and comparative overview of the formation of the southern European dictatorships.

⁶ Kuin, Simon, O braço longo de Mussolini. Os 'Comitatos per l'Azione Universale di Roma' em Portugal. *Penélope*, 11(1993), 7-20.