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The Iberian Union and the Portuguese Overseas Empire, 1600-1625: Ormuz and the Persian Gulf in the Global Politics of the Hispanic Monarchy

Graça Almeida Borges¹

Abstract

This article analyzes how the Portuguese overseas empire was integrated into the global politics of the Hispanic monarchy. By studying the conflict of Ormuz in the period between 1600 and 1625 and by seeking parallels with other conflicts scattered throughout the different regions of the empire, it seeks to demonstrate that the evolution of the Portuguese overseas territories during the Iberian union largely depended on the geopolitical priorities of Castile, something which contradicts the thesis of Portuguese political autonomy that historiography has long defended.

Keywords

Iberian Union; Ormuz and the Persian Gulf; Portuguese Overseas Empire; Hispanic Monarchy.

Resumo

Este artigo procura demonstrar a forma como o império ultramarino português foi integrado na política global da Monarquia Hispânica. Analisando o conflito de Ormuz no período compreendido entre 1600 e 1625 e procurando paralelismos com outros conflitos dispersos pelos diferentes espaços do império, procura demonstrar que a evolução dos territórios ultramarinos portugueses durante a União Ibérica dependeu largamente das prioridades geopolíticas de Castela, algo que vem contradizer a tese da autonomia durante muito tempo defendida pela historiografia.

Palavras-chave

União Ibérica; Ormuz e o Golfo Pérsico; império ultramarino português; Monarquia Hispânica.

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Introduction

The conflict of Ormuz at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which resulted in the Portuguese defeat in 1622 and in the consequent loss of this important eastern fortress, is a topic that has been studied almost exclusively in terms of its direct relationship with the decline of the Portuguese empire in Asia. However, the integration of Portugal into the Hispanic monarchy (1580-1640) makes it necessary to consider the global equilibrium of the Habsburg Empire throughout this period. The main purpose of this article is therefore to demonstrate how the question of Ormuz was dealt with in Madrid, while also seeking to understand in what way the evolution of the Portuguese position in the Persian Gulf was conditioned by the perception of, and the importance attributed to, the region in the global politics of the Habsburgs.

For a long time, the effects of the Habsburg government on the politics of the Portuguese empire were generally disregarded by historiographies describing the Portuguese overseas empire and the union of Portugal and Castile. The privileges granted by the *Carta Patente* of the *Cortes de Tomar*, which stipulated that the two empires would be kept separate, and that the kingdom of Portugal would retain its autonomy, has led historians to believe that the different Portuguese colonial territories evolved in isolation from the overall evolution of the Hispanic monarchy.² Whenever the dynastic union was considered, it was only to find the Catholic monarchs responsible for all the empire's misfortunes. It is true, however, that the theses of both autonomy and negligence have started to be gradually questioned by an impartial historiography, a historiography that is concerned with the impact of the Habsburg government on the political, economic, social and cultural framework of Portugal and its empire, and which has devoted privileged attention to the Iberian Atlantic world.³ However, studies about the Portuguese overseas territories in Asia are far rarer, and it is generally still believed that the Habsburg government had no influence whatsoever on the politics of the *Estado da Índia* and the succession of events that occurred in many of its territories⁴ (something that is immediately contradicted by the very existence of works such as the 1582 *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas*).

² There are some authors who, exceptionally, followed the early works of Alice Canabrava, Charles Boxer, and Stuart B. Schwartz.

³ Pedro Cardim makes an excellent survey of the most important works about the Habsburg government and the Portuguese empire in the Atlantic Ocean in Cardim (2004). See also Studnicki-Gizbert (2007) and Marques (2009).

⁴ Consider the exceptions of Subrahmanyam (1993 and 2007), Boyajian (1993), Valladares (2001), and Costa (2002). Because of all their interactions with Manila, the Portuguese territories in the Far East developed a different dynamics from the Portuguese territories in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, so that they have

During the union of the Portuguese and Castilian crowns, the territories of the Portuguese empire were administered closely by Madrid, notwithstanding the existence of Portuguese institutions and actors in Lisbon and Madrid whose purpose was to guarantee Portuguese representation in the monarchy as a whole. The Portuguese territories became part of a strategy that had ramifications throughout Europe and the Mediterranean, the Americas and the Atlantic Ocean, the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. The reason is very simple: the complementarity between the spaces of the two empires was too closely intertwined, not only geographically, but also politically and economically, making it impossible for Madrid to exclude the Portuguese overseas territories from its global politics.⁵ This fact was particularly crucial at a time when the immense spread of the Habsburg realm was beginning to reveal certain weaknesses, and when the challenges presented by the growing competition of the North European maritime powers were gradually multiplying. Indeed, the administration of the Portuguese empire during the Habsburg government cannot be conceived of as existing outside the political and administrative framework of the Habsburgs, with all of their interests, strategies, and priorities.

However, the Portuguese overseas empire was a far-reaching structure, with territories scattered throughout several different regions in the Americas, Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, Southeast Asia, and the Far East. Some of these regions were naturally closer to the core interests of the monarchy, and it was only natural that Madrid concentrated most of its attention on those territories. When dealing with the many challenges of the Portuguese overseas territories, Madrid acted according to an informal hierarchy of priorities, dictated by the Castilian perception of each territory and the way in which they affected the central interests of the monarchy.

What was the place of Ormuz and the Persian Gulf in this hierarchy? How was this region perceived in Madrid? How was this perception expressed in the discussions and the specific policies developed for the region? These are the three questions that this article seeks to answer. In order to do so, it analyzes the conflict of Ormuz and examines how it was dealt with at the heart of the decision-making process, while seeking parallels with the way in which these same administrative centers regarded other Portuguese colonial

tended to receive greater attention from historians such as, for instance, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Manel Ollé, and Manuel Lobato, to give just a few examples.

⁵ This is not to say that there was not an inter-imperial complementarity both before and after the union of the Portuguese and Castilian crowns. However, viewed from the standpoint of the European balance of power at the end of the 16th century, by integrating Portugal and its empire into his already extensive realm, Filipe II was explicitly reinforcing the power of the monarchy and the integrity of his empire in all of its geographic extensions. See Bouza (2005: 39-51).

territories that were also under threat. The territories chosen for comparison are those of Macao and Bahia. Like Ormuz, these territories were extremely important strongholds within the Portuguese Overseas Empire in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and were also crucial for the strategic objectives of the North European overseas powers during the period in which the conflict of Ormuz evolved.

This article focuses on the decision-making process and the political discussions taking place in the centers of decision. This process was largely based on information that reached Madrid about imminent threats throughout the imperial world. Such threats frequently did not materialize, but this does not mean that they did not influence the policies adopted for the defense and administration of the different colonial territories.

A brief reference should be made to the way in which this article is organized: it begins by demonstrating the different perceptions and interests that the Portuguese and the Castilians had in relation to Ormuz and the Persian Gulf. It then analyzes some of the tensions that resulted from the different perceptions that were formed of the region, namely those that characterized the episodes relating to the embassies of Don García da Silva y Figueroa and Rui Freire de Andrade,⁶ which involved aspects such as the management of the available resources and the articulation of the political process between the different poles of the empire. Finally, it analyzes the debate about possible Portuguese and Castilian military cooperation in the defense and recovery of Ormuz when compared to its successes in other regions of the empire.

The Portuguese and Castilian perceptions of, and interests in, the Persian Gulf

The Portuguese and the Castilians undoubtedly had different perceptions of the Persian Gulf, just as their interests were also different. While the Portuguese were focused on the structure of the Portuguese presence in Asia, the Castilians were focused on the Mediterranean. For the Portuguese, Ormuz was an important part of the *Estado da Índia*.⁷ It was a crucial cornerstone of the commercial system that had enriched the Portuguese treasury during much of the sixteenth century. It is possible that the prosperity of the

⁶ Episodes such as the ambiguous involvement of the Sherley brothers, Anthony and Robert, the role of religious envoys such as Frei António de Gouveia or Frei Belchior dos Anjos, and the complex negotiations of the Persian silk trade, are also crucial for understanding this problematics (see Borges, 2009).

⁷ The political and economic importance of Ormuz in the 16th and early 17th century has been discussed by Borges (2009). One of the most important contributions regarding the kingdom of Ormuz still remains the article by Jean Aubin, who, among other aspects, has analyzed its relationship with Safavid Persia (Aubin, 2000). Excellent overviews of the political and economic relations between Safavid Persia and the Persian Gulf have been provided by Rudi Mathee (1999) and Willem Floor (2006).

Ormuzian customs house during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was exaggerated by contemporary observers or even by some historians, but, given the confluence here of the great riches of the most important Eurasian maritime and continental trade routes, the significance of its profits for the economic structure of the *Estado da Índia* was unquestionable. In the 1620s, the economic importance of Ormuz was still quite considerable, since it continued to play a central role in long-distance trade. Its connections with the other important ports in Eastern trade were quite considerable and the profits recorded at its customs house in 1610 and 1620 were indeed remarkable (Cunha, 1995: 118-120, 127, 129; Subrahmanyam, 1993: 222). It is also important to note that, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, when the *Estado da Índia* undertook a general sale of offices to generate money to cope with the multiple challenges and financial difficulties that it faced, the offices relating to Ormuz were still largely superior to all the other offices available, including those in Malacca, Goa or Diu. In 1614, for example, the office of captain of the fortress of Ormuz was sold to Dom Luís da Gama for 145,000 *xerafins*, whereas the same office at fortresses as important as Malacca, Goa or Diu was sold for 30,030, 10,500, and 53,000 *xerafins* respectively, which demonstrates that, by the second decade of the seventeenth century, when the situation of the Portuguese in the region was already being widely debated in Madrid, Ormuz was still considered one of the most important fortresses in the *Estado da Índia*.

Despite the high values put forward by historians such as João Teles e Cunha and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, which are in line with the estimates of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (Godinho, 1982: 44-50), the situation in Ormuz became more and more critical⁸. Several factors came together to increase the fears about its conservation and to raise doubts regarding its profitability. The fall in profits was due to the increased expenses associated with the fortress's maintenance (such as military expenses, for example), the decrease in commercial traffic caused by the general instability in the region, the increased taxes imposed by the Portuguese authorities on non-Portuguese merchants, the increase in smuggling, and the repeatedly reprehensible and corrupt behavior of the captain of Ormuz and other authorities at the customs house and the fortress,⁹ as demonstrated by several *assentos* of the *Conselho da Fazenda* of the *Estado da Índia*, in Goa (Cunha, 1995: 117-148).¹⁰

⁸ See the Letter from Matheo Duarte to the Duke of Villahermosa, Goa, in ANTT, SV, Caixa 19, fol. 76A.

⁹ As James Boyajian has demonstrated, the lively commercial activity of Ormuz enriched the *casado* merchants who orchestrated this trade, and the local authorities that frequently disregarded royal instructions (Boyajian 1993: 59-61).

¹⁰ In the Historical Archives of Goa, which I visited with the generous support of Fundação Oriente, I had the opportunity to find several documents that demonstrated the dubious behavior of the Portuguese

Thus, while it is true that the gross revenue of the customs house of Ormuz did not decrease, its overall balance certainly did.

However, whatever the true profits generated by Ormuz were, one cannot assess the fortress's real importance without considering its symbolic value, for it was a crucial factor in the Portuguese perceptions of the region and also explained some of the tensions that arose between the Portuguese and the Castilians.¹¹ Furthermore, this symbolic importance did not exist only in the collective Portuguese imagination. It was also present in that of the regional and Asian powers whose trade interests somehow intersected with those of Ormuz, as well as in the imagination of the other European overseas powers that vied with the Portuguese for control of the Asian region.¹² For example, in 1622, when the fortress had already been lost, the governor of the *Estado da Índia*, Fernão de Albuquerque warned the court that Ormuz was so renowned in the world that everyone had their eyes on it.¹³ According to the arguments of the English, who advocated the conquest of Ormuz, it was believed that, if the enterprise was successful, the English India Company would be certain of conquering the “*key to all India*,” something which would place the English in a stronger position than the Dutch and even the Muslims.¹⁴ Indeed, throughout the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Ormuz still enjoyed a prominent place in the European vision of the East. To the Portuguese, it was a motive for collective pride and imperial symbolism, which were being questioned by the various dynamics of a crisis that was gradually closing in on the Portuguese position in the region.

authorities in Ormuz. There was a set of manuscripts recording the meetings of the Conselho da Fazenda de Goa that was of particular interest for the study of these dynamics. See HAG, Cód. 1159.

¹¹ The “imperial symbolism” of Ormuz was a crucial part of the discourse of the separation movement of 1640, the *Restauração*, which blamed the Habsburg government for the loss of the fortress.

¹² Assento do Conselho de Estado, Goa, March 8, 1622, in *Assentos do Conselho de Estado*, Vol. I, Doc. 35, pp. 130-132. See also Herzig 1985: 6.

¹³ Letter from Fernão de Albuquerque, Governor of India, to the king, Goa, March 31, 1622, in ANTT, SV, Caixa 19, fol. 100. See also the report *Raões que ocorrem na perda de Ormuz que obrigam a que se intente cobrar-se, e as que confirmam o contrário*, in ANTT, ML, Livro 1116, Doc. 48, fol. 544.

¹⁴ Letter from President Fursland and the Council in Batavia to the East India Company, August 27, 1622, in Foster (1908: 116-118). Despite the importance of the fortress, acknowledged by the English when they decided to help the Persians to conquer Ormuz, historians such as Edmund Herzig, Willem Floor and Michael Pearson have already demonstrated that the English did not achieve much by helping Shah Abbas. Relations between the Shah and the English (as much as with any other hypothetical European partner) were full of ambiguities and tensions. According to Edward Monnox's report, the Shah forced the English into the alliance by threatening to confiscate their goods in Persia. Furthermore, after the profitable years of 1620-1623, the Persian silk trade proved to be less profitable than the English had believed when they agreed to the alliance, since the Shah's conditions were not very beneficial to them. This trade was even suspended in 1622. Furthermore, the English were also fooled by the promises of the division of all the profits from the Ormuz customs house, since, after the conquest, Shah Abbas transferred all of its commercial activity to the port of Bandar Abbas, in the Persian interior. See Edward Monnox's *História Geral da Tomada da Fortaleza de Ormuz*, in Craesbeeck (1940: 323-362); Herzig (1985); Floor (1996); Matthee (1999); and Pearson (2008).

To the Habsburgs, regardless of the many legends that had earned the Ormuzian markets their famous reputation, Ormuz in itself did not seem to be especially relevant for the interests and politics of the monarchy. It was not because of Ormuz or the lively activity of its customs house that making an approach to Safavid Persia was of interest to Madrid. The interests of the Habsburgs in having contacts with Persia dated from long before this, and involved the Papacy and other European princes. Since they represented the most declared rival of the Ottoman Empire to the west of the Mediterranean, the possibility of an alliance with the greatest enemy of the Sublime Porte to the east of its frontiers was believed to be quite profitable to the Habsburg interests in the Mediterranean, not only because of its claims to enjoy a hegemonic political status, but also because of its mission as a representative and spreader of Catholicism. Through the union with Portugal, and by extending his power as far as the Persian Gulf, the Catholic king attained a highly advantageous position in the region, since he now enjoyed new opportunities for approaching Persia and for engaging in a joint action on two fronts against the Ottoman Empire (Bouza, 2005: 43; Costa and Rodrigues, 1992: 322-323). Thus, through successive diplomatic efforts, the Habsburg monarchs promised to channel their forces into the Mediterranean and to attack the Ottomans through the Levant, simultaneously agreeing to garner the support of the European Catholic princes, who were their allies in this undertaking.¹⁵ As for the Safavid monarch, he would attack his Ottoman rival across the borders of both kingdoms. The Castilian kings believed that this would be the necessary strategy to bring an end to the Ottoman threat in the Mediterranean or, at least, to weaken it. In the instructions that the Catholic king gave to the ambassador Don García da Silva y Figueroa, the Habsburg priorities were made very clear and Ormuz appeared almost as a collateral objective of the embassy's true intentions.¹⁶ Indeed, if keeping the island under Portuguese control facilitated the Habsburg strategy in the Mediterranean region, its loss did not in any way jeopardize their making an approach to Persia, nor was it a direct threat to any Castilian colonial territory. Ormuz was not considered fundamental.

Nonetheless, in this first quarter of the seventeenth century, for the Portuguese, the obligation of using the *Estado da Índia*'s scarce military resources in a war that was not their

¹⁵ This was also a strategy that had been followed by the Portuguese right from the very first moment that they set foot on the island at the beginning of the 16th century, as the studies by Jean Aubin and Dejanirah Couto have demonstrated. In time, this became more of a rhetorical discourse and a strategy pursued in order to covet the Shah's goodwill towards the Portuguese presence in Ormuz and the Persian Gulf.

¹⁶ Royal instructions from Filipe III to the ambassador Don García de Silva y Figueroa, San Lorenzo, August 9, 1613, in *ED*, Doc. 14, pp. 183-185. See also Gil Fernández (2009: 260-267).

own did not seem a priority and it was not at all an appealing exercise. Despite the ideological opposition in matters of religion and after the Ottoman Empire's presumably expansionist movement towards the Indian Ocean, which had marked the relations between the two powers throughout the sixteenth century, the relations between the Portuguese and the Ottomans during the first two decades of the seventeenth century had remained neutral, if not actually positive. The joint undertaking, if carried out, would concentrate the Portuguese forces in the Persian Gulf, demanding their exclusive attention, when they were, in fact, needed everywhere in the *Estado da Índia* (Cunha 1995: 43).

Hence, as far as the Persian Gulf was concerned, there was a clear divergence between the priorities of the Portuguese and the priorities of the Castilians. While the attention of the former was directed towards the Indian Ocean and Asia, with Ormuz, because of its political and economic value, being crucial to the maintenance of the *Estado da Índia*; the Castilian interests were clearly concentrated in the Mediterranean region, and Ormuz was important only in the sense that it facilitated an approach to Persia, which was, in turn, fundamental to the balance of power in the Mediterranean. This divergence of interests and the different perceptions that they caused about regional circumstances were to be expressed in the policies adopted by the Habsburgs in the region and in the reactions of the Portuguese towards these same strategies. A reaction that was often negative.

The embassy of Don García de Silva y Figueroa

The growing instability in the region meant that the priorities and interests of both Portuguese and Castilians needed to be contemplated in the policies adopted by Madrid, but not without some considerable tensions. We could say that these tensions were related to two aspects that were, to a certain extent, contradictory. Tensions arose when, on the one hand, there was greater interference by Madrid in matters that the Portuguese considered should be their sole responsibility as far as the administration of their empire was concerned; and, on the other hand, when the Portuguese did not receive from Castile the desired response to the multiple and continuous appeals and cries for help issuing from the *Estado da Índia*.

Because it was a sensitive issue in the relations between the Portuguese and the Castilians, the conflict of Ormuz gave rise to a considerable amount of discussion at the court. A specific *junta* was even created to deal with matters relating to Ormuz and Persia

(García Hernán, 2010: 239). The *Junta da Pérsia*¹⁷ comprised two members of the *Consejo de Estado* and two members of the *Conselho de Portugal*, a move that was probably designed to reduce the divergences between the Portuguese and the Castilians. For this reason, one of the main issues that the *junta* had to deal with was the complex embassy of Don García de Silva y Figueroa, the Habsburg ambassador to Persia from 1614 to 1619.¹⁸

When Filipe III and his *Consejo de Estado* decided to send a Castilian nobleman as an ambassador to Persia, partly because Shah Abbas I, the ruler of Persia, did not want any more friars representing the Habsburgs at his court,¹⁹ the Portuguese reaction (in Madrid, Lisbon, and also Goa) was naturally extremely negative, causing reverberations throughout Don García's mission.

The initial intention of the *Consejo de Estado* was that this embassy should perform better than the previous one headed by Portuguese friars such as Dom António de Gouveia or Luís Pereira de Lacerda, in displaying the Habsburg power, and that the costs of the embassy would be shared by Castile and Portugal. Castile would pay the costs of the journey until Lisbon; and Portugal would pay the expenses of transporting the embassy from Lisbon to Goa. The *Conselho de Portugal*, however, refused to pay these expenses and even questioned the convenience of the embassy. The reason invoked by the Portuguese was the difficult financial situation in both Lisbon and India, but, regardless of the veracity of such complaints, the true motive for the *Conselho de Portugal's* refusal was undoubtedly the Castilian origins of the ambassador. The *Consejo de Estado*, in turn, seemed determined to send the embassy. It now proposed paying for all the initial costs and ordering the viceroy of India, Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, to provide Don García with all that was necessary after his arrival in Goa. However, as if already foreseeing the unwelcome reception that the Castilian diplomat would receive in Goa, where the viceroy did everything he could to hinder his mission, Dom Cristóvão de Moura suggested, at a meeting of the *Consejo de Estado* on October 27, 1613, that the envoy should take with him a secret credit, a proposal that was supported by the other members of the *Consejo de Estado*.

¹⁷ We do not know much about the *Junta da Pérsia*, and the little that it is known results from some fairly scattered documentation. See, for example, AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, Lg. 1467. Luis Gil Fernández gathered together some documents referring to the *Junta da Pérsia* in his *Epistolario Diplomático* – see, for instance, Documents 70, 75, 76, 77, and 78.

¹⁸ For a biographical synthesis of the life of Don García de Silva y Figueroa, see Gil (2011: 3-59). For more information about the embassy of Don García, besides the earlier works of Carlos Alonso and Luis Gil Fernández, see the more recent studies by Gil Fernández (2009: 241-358), and Loureiro and Resende (2011a). The Castilian nobleman also wrote an extensive report of his journey and his mission in Persia, *Comentários de Don García de Silva y Figueroa*. See also the recent edition by Loureiro, Gomes and Resende (2011b).

¹⁹ See *Relación de la consulta inclusa de la Junta que trata de las cosas de Persia*, March and April 1620, in *ED*, Doc. 77, pp. 281-282. See also Lockhart (1986: 392).

Don García should keep this credit secret so that the *Conselho de Portugal* would not suspect that it existed, and he should only resort to it in the event of extreme necessity, if the viceroy of India refused to comply with the payment instructions received from Madrid (Gil Fernández, 2009: 253-255).

Don García's passage through Goa was indeed a most troubled affair because of the difficult relationship that he had with the viceroy, Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, and the Portuguese authorities in general, who did not disguise the discomfort that they felt in accepting a Castilian nobleman to represent Portuguese interests in the *Estado da Índia* and Ormuz. In his correspondence with the kingdom, the Castilian ambassador often complained about the way in which he was treated.²⁰ It seems that Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo did everything he could to obstruct Don García's journey to Ormuz. The Castilian nobleman even requested that the viceroy of India should be punished for his disobedience and the lack of respect that he had shown towards Filipe III. This was yet another discussion that took place between the *Consejo de Estado* and the *Conselho de Portugal*, which once again highlighted the divergences between the two councils. The *Consejo de Estado* maintained that the behavior of Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo should be investigated and, if his misconduct was confirmed, that he should be punished. The *Conselho de Portugal*, in turn, believed that the viceroy of India had acted out of what he considered to be his duty and that, as such, he should not be reprehended (let alone punished).²¹

Don García continued to pursue his complaints, saying that Don Jerónimo de Azevedo did not provide him with enough money (nor with the sum that had previously been stipulated) to travel to Ormuz and Persia.²² The ambassador wrote to Madrid requesting financial support to either travel to Persia or return to Castile. Foreseeing the reluctance of the *Conselho de Portugal* to gather together the sum requested by Don García, the *Consejo de Estado* advised the king to take this money from the crown of Castile, so that the ambassador could proceed with his embassy and mission as urgently as possible.²³

²⁰ Report to the *Consejo de Estado* summarizing the letters exchanged between Don García de Silva y Figueroa and Frei Belchior dos Anjos, November-December 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 59, pp. 262-264.

²¹ Letter from Don García de Silva y Figueroa to Juan de Ciriza, Goa, December 24, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 38, p. 245; *Parecer* of the *Consejo de Estado* delivered to the king, April 27, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 50, pp. 255-256; Report to the *Consejo de Estado* about two *consultas* received from the *Conselho de Portugal*, October-November 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 57, pp. 260-261; *Parecer* of the *Consejo de Estado* delivered to the king, December 16, 1617, in *ED*, Doc. 67, p. 274; and *Parecer* of the *Consejo de Estado* delivered to the king, August 30, 1618, in *ED*, Doc. 69, pp. 275-276.

²² Letter from Don García de Silva y Figueroa to Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, Goa, October 28, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 33, pp. 233-234; and Letter from Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo to Don García de Silva y Figueroa, November 1, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 35, p. 236.

²³ *Parecer* of the *Consejo de Estado* delivered to the king, July 25, 1617, in *ED*, Doc. 62, pp. 270-271.

Madrid's diligent financial sponsorship of Don García's embassy is even more revealing if we consider the contribution that the *Consejo de Estado* proposed to make to the efforts of recovering Ormuz after its capture by Anglo-Persian forces. Acknowledging the need to recover Ormuz, the council suggested that the treasury of Portugal should provide everything that it possibly could, and that there was no reason for Castile to contribute anything more than the remainder.²⁴ The difference in the amounts that the *Consejo de Estado* was prepared to contribute towards each of these two enterprises is more than evident.

Links between policies in Madrid, Lisbon, Goa and Ormuz

Don García's embassy was also hampered by the difficulty of harmonizing the decision-making processes throughout the empire. Indeed, despite the many orders sent from Madrid to Goa demanding that Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo should provide money to Don García, the viceroy of India ignored these as much as he could. Orders from the kingdom would arrive in India, where they often fell on deaf ears. Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, like other viceroys, governors and authorities in the *Estado da Índia*, often managed its finances according to his own interests, or at least according to the interests and issues that he considered most urgent. The viceroy, it would seem, reserved for Don García only a small part of what had been promised to the ambassador before he left the Habsburg court. The king's decision was limited by the relative freedom and autonomy enjoyed by the viceroy while exercising his power.²⁵ Undoubtedly, the difficulty of articulating royal decisions with the habits and *modus operandi* of the local authorities had always been a feature of the *Estado da Índia*'s way of working, and it tended to restrict the scope of metropolitan policies.

On the other hand, it was not infrequent for the decisions taken by the central political bodies to be far removed from the geopolitical realities of the various territories of the *Estado da Índia*. In spite of the circulation of information and the assiduous exchange of correspondence between the *Estado da Índia* and the metropolis, it is possible that the reality of life in Ormuz and the Persian Gulf was not fully known and

²⁴ *Parecer* of the Marquis de Aytona expressed in the *consulta* of the *Consejo de Estado*, Madrid, January 5, 1623, AGS, Lg. 2645.

²⁵ Letter from the viceroy of India, Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, to Don García de Silva y Figueroa, Goa, November 1, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 35, p. 236; letter from Don García de Silva y Figueroa to the viceroy of India, Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, Goa, November 28, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 36, pp. 237-238; letter from Don García de Silva y Figueroa to the king, Filipe III, Goa, December 24, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 37, pp. 238-244.

understood in the main metropolitan decision-making centers. The Iberian Union and the consequent imposition of Madrid as the center of political decision-making made the process even more complex.

In response to the alarming news that came from Goa about the deplorable state of the *Estado da Índia*, the increasingly explicit intentions of Shah Abbas I towards Ormuz, and the threatening maneuvers of the English ships in the Persian Gulf, Filipe III ordered a fleet to be sent to Ormuz. The commander-in-chief of this fleet was Rui Freire de Andrade.²⁶ The Habsburg monarch dispatched the Portuguese nobleman at a time when the relations between the Iberians and the Shah were visibly deteriorating, and when it was urgent to pacify them. Consequently, Filipe III was very explicit when he ordered that Rui Freire de Andrade should undertake careful management of such ticklish relations, and that he should fight only with European enemies, and not with the Persians or other vassals of the Shah, with whom friendly relations should be maintained.²⁷

But Rui Freire's royal instructions also included the ambiguous task of fortifying Qishm,²⁸ the fertile island in front of Ormuz, which was the main source of Ormuz's daily provisions and which was crucial to the maintenance of this fortress. These orders, however, had one particular aspect: they should be implemented without provoking the Shah. For those who were familiar with the ways in which the balance of power was maintained in those parts of the world, such as the then-governor of India, Fernão de Albuquerque, it was evident that fortifying the island of Qishm without provoking Shah Abbas would be an impossible task. For all intents and purposes, Qishm, which had been reoccupied by the Persian forces of Allaverdi Khan in 1608, was a Persian territory and the Portuguese presence on the island challenged and called into question the Shah's sovereignty over it. At such a delicate moment in the relations between the Iberians and the Persians, this provocation would almost certainly rekindle the flames of a long-standing dispute. The Portuguese did in fact recover Qishm in 1621, but this action only gave the Anglo-Persian alliance the pretext to attack the island, and the Portuguese were forced to surrender in February 1622. With Qishm back in the Shah's hands, the English and the

²⁶ On the episode involving Rui Freire de Andrade, see Couto and Loureiro (2007: 82-113), and Floor (2006: 226-230).

²⁷ Royal instructions of Filipe III to Rui Freire de Andrade, Madrid, January 15, 1619, in Craesbeeck (1940: 289-295).

²⁸ *Relación de la consulta inclusa de la Junta que trata de las cosas de Persia*, March and April, 1620, in ED, Doc. 77, pp. 281-282.

Persians could refocus their joint attention on Ormuz, defeating and expelling the Portuguese in May 1622.²⁹

In a situation of imminent conflict, building a fortress in the enemy's territory, which in itself was a provocative expression of warlike aggression, could only result in retaliation. It must therefore be asked: was Madrid so completely alienated from the regional reality that it did not foresee the consequences of attempting to establish a fortress on Qishm? It would seem so. There does appear to have been a certain lack of awareness on the part of the Castilian decision-making bodies that normally advised the king (namely the *Consejo de Estado*) about what was at stake in the Persian Gulf and about the way in which the regional balance of power was generally maintained (Couto and Loureiro, 2007: 99). There were certainly many factors contributing to this lack of awareness, such as the distance involved, the difficulty and slowness of communications between the empire's various political centers, and the lack of contact that the ministers at the courts of Madrid and Portugal had with the concrete reality of the different overseas territories (many of them had never actually stepped very far from the court itself), but also, undeniably, the relationship of mutual distrust between the Portuguese and the Castilians within the framework of the union of their two crowns.

Such distrust seems to have played an important role in the *Consejo de Estado's* difficulty in apprehending the true circumstances of the relationship between the Portuguese and the Persians in the region. It cannot be denied that, during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, news about the region arrived at the court in great abundance, through diverse channels and in a variety of forms. However, some of the members of the *Consejo de Estado* were wary about the truthfulness of the news that told of the opening of hostilities by the Shah. In a report produced by the *Consejo de Estado* about the news that had been provided by the *Conselho de Portugal*, and which discussed the obstacles faced by Don García throughout his embassy, Don Agustín Messía raised the possibility that the information was not in fact true.³⁰ At the same time, the governing elites of the *Estado da Índia* were aware of the mistrust expressed by the court's ministers. In a letter that he wrote to Fernão de Albuquerque, Dom Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa, the Archbishop of Goa between 1612 and 1622, criticized the endeavors of Rui Freire de Andrade and underlined how unnecessary it was to build a fortress in Qishm, a move that, in his opinion, would always be more harmful than beneficial. In the same letter, the

²⁹ For more information about the succession of events leading to the expedition to Qishm and the loss of Ormuz, see Couto and Loureiro (2007: 89-99), and Floor (2006: 227-229).

³⁰ *Parecer* of the *Consejo de Estado* delivered to the king, April 27, 1616, in *ED*, Doc. 50, pp. 255-256.

Archbishop revealed how displeased he was with the lack of confidence demonstrated by the king towards the authorities of the *Estado da Índia*, which contrasted with the overconfidence that he seemed to place in his advisers at the court.³¹ This mutual distrust was but one of the many obstacles faced by Ormuz in the efforts to ensure its defense.

Iberian Cooperation and the Defense of the Empire

This was, in fact, a difficult time for the Portuguese overseas territories as a whole. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese Empire faced several challenges, both in terms of guaranteeing sufficient resources and ensuring its own defense. The English alliance with the Shah was paralleled by the growing threat from the Dutch both in the Far East and in the Atlantic. In view of these multiple challenges, the notion of Luso-Castilian military cooperation overseas gradually grew in strength. The idea of bringing subjects of both crowns together to form a common military force was not new, and there were already precedents in the episodes of the Great Armada, and the dispatch of Portuguese troops to Flanders.

In the *Estado da Índia*, the weaknesses were particularly evident, and the Portuguese were now desperate for an initiative that could combine in the same fleet the Castilian military potential and the scarce Portuguese resources.³² However, in Madrid, the general feeling of ill will with which the Portuguese received Castilian military collaboration was well known. When the possibility of combining Portuguese and Castilian forces in the efforts to recover Ormuz was discussed in the *Consejo de Estado*, the ministers warned of the difficulties of bringing about such an endeavor.³³

Nonetheless, this cooperation was seen as the possible solution to a long-standing problem faced by the Portuguese Overseas Empire: the scarcity of resources dictated the fate of the empire. The financial and logistical constraints were greatly aggravated by the growing competition from North European countries overseas, which was a problem that not even the sponsorship of the Hispanic Monarchy could completely resolve, since its own resources were also being absorbed by the multiple tensions and conflicts that it faced in the Iberian Peninsula, in Europe, and overseas.

³¹ Letter from Dom Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa, the Archbishop of Goa, transcribed in Cordeiro (1896: 197-199). See also Boxer (1935: 77-78).

³² Letter from Fernão de Albuquerque, the Governor of India, to the king, Goa, March 31, 1622, ANTT, SV, Caixa 19, fol. 100.

³³ *Consulta* of the *Consejo de Estado*, Madrid, January 5, 1623, AGS, Lg. 2645.

Although there were abundant discussions held about such cooperation during this period, they rarely went much beyond pure rhetoric, something that proved to be particularly true as far as the defense of Ormuz was concerned. Despite the apparent willingness of Castile, Portugal and the *Estado da Índia* to assemble a Luso-Castilian fleet to retrieve the fortress, the enterprise was never carried out. In the efforts to recover Ormuz, it was the Portuguese treasury and the *Estado da Índia* that bore most of the expenses.³⁴

This is not to say, however, that it was impossible ever to implement a project of Iberian military cooperation overseas. It was not. Such an endeavor depended on the interests and priorities of the Hispanic monarchy. This is very clear when we look at other conflicts that occurred in the Portuguese Empire during the same period, and which offer a glimpse of how the different Portuguese overseas territories were integrated into the global politics of the Habsburgs.

This assumption has to be seen within the context of the historiographical understanding of the Iberian Union's effects on the evolution of the Portuguese Overseas Empire. For a long time, it was believed that the administration of each of the Portuguese overseas territories remained unaffected by their integration into the Hispanic Monarchy. Such a view may have been formed because historians have tended to place their faith in the thesis of negligence, according to which the Portuguese colonial territories did not mean much to the Habsburgs in political terms, or it may have been because they believed that the privileges of autonomy were actually fully enjoyed throughout this period, which would mean that the Portuguese alone decided on the policies affecting their empire, separately from Madrid. Although recent historiography has gradually begun to question these two premises, there are still only a few studies that consider the global dynamics of the integration of the Portuguese Empire into the Hispanic Monarchy. The global dynamics of this integration partly explains the failure to put together an Iberian fleet to bring relief to Ormuz, while also explaining the success of this initiative in other parts of the empire, such as Macao or Bahia.

Unlike what was long defended, the global stability of the Portuguese Empire became a very important issue for the monarchy's overall strategy. However, the various Portuguese colonial territories did not have the same importance individually for the policies developed by Madrid. There were some territories that were more central to Habsburg politics, and others that were more peripheral. Each of the Portuguese colonial

³⁴ See Apresentação da Contrariedade de Jorge de Albuquerque, Goa, September 10, 1624, and Certidão dos socorros enviados a Ormuz passada por António Saraiva de Lucena, escrivão da matrícula geral do Estado da Índia, Goa, September 23, 1622, in Cordeiro (1896: 183-184, 210-211).

territories had its own relative position in Castile's hierarchy of priorities, depending on its political and economic importance for the monarchy. Such a position could be influenced by the fact that they were geographically closer to the Castilian territories, and thus more important for their military defense or support, or it may have been influenced by the fact that they were essentially more profitable to the economy of the empire, and thus more important for the equilibrium of the monarchy, in the sense that these profits served to prevent Portugal and its many overseas difficulties from absorbing the monarchy's scarce resources. In other cases, it may have been because they were strategically located in regions where it was necessary to restrain the advances of the English, and especially the Dutch. The Portuguese, nonetheless, did not always perceive this central/peripheral "categorization" in the same way. In many ways, the different perceptions of some of the Portuguese overseas territories eventually limited the autonomy that the Portuguese enjoyed in the management of their overseas affairs.

In 1622, a Dutch fleet composed of 15 ships, two of which were English, launched a surprise attack on the Portuguese territory of Macao. Despite their superior numbers and the element of surprise, the Dutch were defeated. This was a great victory for the Portuguese and was lauded by contemporary chroniclers, who included in their narratives a mention of the Castilian support received from Manila. According to a contemporary account of the Portuguese victory, when Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, the governor of Macao, who was aware of the territory's lack of artillery, learned of the imminence of the Dutch attack, he sent a ship to Manila asking for urgent assistance from its governor. Support arrived in the form of a few pieces of artillery and one hundred Castilian soldiers.³⁵ Later on, at a meeting of the *Consejo de Estado*, the Castilian ministers suggested that the governor of the Philippines should be thanked for the support he had sent to Macao, adding that the Castilian assistance was the sole reason for its successful defense.³⁶

In 1624, a powerful Dutch fleet attacked Salvador da Bahia, the capital of Brazil, capturing the city from the Portuguese. When the news of the fall of Bahia reached Madrid, a fleet composed of Castilian and Portuguese ships was immediately put together and sent to Brazil. The number of Castilian ships was even greater than the number of Portuguese ships. Nearly one year later, Salvador da Bahia was recovered in what came to be known as the successful expedition of the "*Voyage of the Vassals*."³⁷ When the ministers of the *Consejo de Estado* and the *Conselho de Portugal* met in Madrid to decide what form of relief should be

³⁵ About the Dutch attack on Macao, see Boxer (1991).

³⁶ *Consulta* of the *Consejo de Estado*, Madrid, November 11, 1623, DUP II, Doc. 128, pp. 487-489.

³⁷ On the "*Voyage of the Vassals*", see Schwartz (1991); and Marques (2011).

sent to Bahia, they agreed that the enterprise did not exclusively concern the crown of Portugal. For the court's ministers, it was clear that the Dutch presence in Brazil would allow them to "*infest*" the Rio de la Plata, Buenos Aires, and even Peru, not only with "*arms*", but also with "*trade*". It was also feared that the Dutch advances into Brazil would, on the one hand, make it even harder to hinder illegal trade between the Castilians and the Dutch, and, on the other hand, that they would also ease their navigation through the Strait of Magellan.³⁸ This "*magnificent example of imperial association*" (Kamen, 2003: 372) mirrored the full potential of the union of Castilian and Portuguese military resources in the colonial world (Schwartz, 2008: 210). For this reason, the Count-Duke of Olivares used it as the model for his project for the "*union of arms*" (Brown and Elliott, 1980: 170-171; Schwartz, 1991: 736-737; and Oliveira, 2005: 274).

What is the explanation for the success of Portuguese and Castilian military cooperation in the relief of Macao and the recovery of Bahia, and yet its failure in Ormuz?

First of all, it cannot be denied that geographical proximity played an important part. It was considerably easier to relieve Macao or Bahia with the aid of Castilian resources, than to use them to relieve Ormuz. The proximity of Macao to the Philippines made the sending of Castilian support from Manila possible. The opposite was also expected, as the Habsburg monarchs repeatedly reminded the authorities of Macao.³⁹ As for Bahia, although the remarkable celerity of the endeavor cannot be denied, this territory was located on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean and was able to count on the prompt support of the Atlantic forces of the Habsburgs. The commander of the fleet, Don Fadrique de Toledo, was the Commander-in-Chief of the Castilian *Armada do Mar Oceano*. Furthermore, the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean did not require the same amount of time or pose the same dangers as the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope and the crossing of the Indian Ocean.

Secondly, in political terms, both Macao and Bahia complemented the Castilian imperial territories.⁴⁰ This was a crucial aspect, in the sense that, while such

³⁸ *Junta dos Conselheiros de Estado, Guerra e Portugal*, Madrid, August 2, 1624, DUP II, Doc. 157, pp. 523-531.

³⁹ See, for example, the letter from Filipe III to the governor of Macao, January 23, 1608, in Boxer (1991: 257-258).

⁴⁰ It is important to note that this political complementarity corresponded to the perceptions of the center, which, in themselves, were not free from tensions. In the Far East, the relations between the Portuguese and the Castilians were highly ambiguous. Episodes of military and logistical cooperation were permanently offset by episodes of rivalry dictated by the commercial and religious dynamics of the region. On the other hand, although the centers of decision-making (Madrid or Lisbon) had no intention of permitting trade between the Portuguese and Castilian territories of the Far East, the local and regional dynamics allowed for a strong Luso-Castilian commercial interaction. It was, as is known, the informal structures of the empire that were at work here, constantly contradicting the decisions taken in the center. See, for instance, Ollé (2013).

complementarity helped to reinforce the integrity of the Castilian colonial territories, it also had the ability to weaken them. The challenges faced by the Portuguese Overseas Empire were many and varied and Madrid had to prevent them from spreading to the Castilian domains. The loss of Macao would seriously endanger the Castilian territories in the Philippines.⁴¹ Through Macao and the Philippines both the Portuguese and the Castilians, respectively, were able to participate in the profitable regional trade.⁴² The Castilians were even able to link this system to their American trade,⁴³ since the Chinese went to Manila to exchange silk for American silver. Furthermore, the Portuguese fortress of Malacca, in Southeast Asia, was also under permanent threat, and its loss would jeopardize the Castilian position in the Moluccas, the so-called Spice Islands. Hence, Macao and Malacca were crucial for the political strategy of Madrid insofar as it was believed that their defense would not only prevent the Dutch from taking full possession of the Moluccas, but also from gaining control of the southern seas, from seizing all the privileges that resulted from their mediating role in the trade between China and Japan, and from acquiring an easy route of access to New Spain, and thus also threatening Spanish America via the Pacific Ocean.

As for Bahia, it was the capital of Brazil, and thus the most important Portuguese territory in the Atlantic region. The Atlantic potentialities of Portugal and its empire were of importance to the central interests and priorities of the Habsburg overseas policy in several ways:⁴⁴ the privileged location of Lisbon in relation to Europe and the Atlantic world; the importance of the Portuguese coastline for the defense of the Iberian Peninsula; the strategic location of the islands of Madeira and the Azores, the latter being particularly important as a safe and functional haven for the returning Spanish silver galleons; the role played by the Portuguese in the profitable Atlantic trade, through their territories on the coast of West Africa (gold and slaves) and in Brazil (Brazilian wood and sugar). In Madrid, it was feared that a strong presence in Brazil might end up bringing the Dutch closer to the Castilian West Indies, namely the silver mines of Mexico and Peru, since, at the time, the distances between the two Castilian colonies and Brazil were greatly underestimated by

⁴¹ On the relations between the *Estado da Índia* and the Philippines during the Habsburg government, see, for example, Lobato (2013).

⁴² Flynn and Giráldez (1996).

⁴³ Flynn and Giráldez (2002).

⁴⁴ The Habsburg period is often regarded as the time when the Portuguese Overseas Empire turned its attention to the Atlantic Ocean more intensely, although the awareness of the potentialities of Brazil can be seen to have existed some decades earlier (Schaub, 2001: 35; Subrahmanyam, 1993: 158-164). There was a gradual and decisive investment in the Brazilian territory and the way was opened for a profitable triangular trade between Portugal, Brazil and Africa (Costa, 2002: 41, 50).

contemporary cartography (Boxer, 1957: 15; Schwartz, 1991: 740; Cabral de Mello, 2010: 29). Thus, for Madrid, Brazil was perceived as representing a line of protection for the Castilian possessions: it was, on the one hand, an easier place to attack for the overseas powers that disputed Castilian supremacy over the Atlantic Ocean; and, on the other hand, it was a base from where Castile could expect to receive rapid reinforcements, whether in the Caribbean, the River Plate, or the Strait of Magellan, places from where the Castilian West Indies were more vulnerable to attack and more accessible.⁴⁵ Furthermore, in Madrid, there were several fears associated with the hypothetical Dutch advances into Brazil: the control of the Atlantic sugar trade, with all its inherent economic benefits; the assault on the West African coast and the consequent control of the slave trade; the seizure of yet another base from which to launch their privateering attacks on the Spanish silver galleons (not to mention the Portuguese ships of the *Carreira da Índia*).⁴⁶

The third aspect that determined the greater or lesser commitment towards resolving the challenges faced by the Portuguese Empire was the origin of the competition. In Macao or Bahia, the threat was Dutch; while in Ormuz, the threat came from the English. With the end of the Twelve Year Truce, the war for Dutch Independence was again being fought in Europe. The Dutch were again at the center of Madrid's political strategy and their attacks on the Iberian overseas territories were considerably more efficient, and also more threatening to the whole stability of the monarchy.

As for the English, the first quarter of the seventeenth century was a period of peace between Madrid and London (particularly after the Treaty of London, 1604). While the Portuguese sought to maintain control over Ormuz and to repel the Anglo-Persian threat in the Persian Gulf, in Europe, Castile and England negotiated a matrimonial alliance between the Infanta María Ana, the daughter of Filipe III and the sister of Filipe IV, and Charles, the son of King James I, and the Crown Prince of England. In the course of these negotiations, several aspects of the Anglo-Castilian relations in Europe and in the overseas world were discussed in Madrid, particularly the peace between the two powers, their military alliance against the Dutch overseas, and, among other things, the question of Ormuz.

⁴⁵ Letter from the governor of River Plate, Santiago, February 19, 1618, Doc. 73, in Salvado and Miranda (2001: 258-259).

⁴⁶ This does not mean, however, that the Dutch were not already threatening the Castilian position in the Atlantic Ocean. They did so in particular through their presence in the Caribbean and even in North America. See Emmer (2003) and Ribeiro da Silva (2011: 334). Although, as Peter Emmer has argued, the Dutch empire in the Atlantic, and even its involvement in Asia, proved to be far more modest and short-lived than its Castilian, Portuguese or English counterparts (Emmer, 2001; Emmer, 2003), by the early 1620s, the Dutch advance into Brazil was greatly feared in Madrid. It was regarded as a genuine threat, and it strongly influenced the decision-making process regarding the Portuguese Atlantic territories.

The presumable alliance with the English in Asia led to further tensions between the Portuguese and the Castilians. The governors of the kingdom and the councilors of state in Lisbon opposed any approximation between the Portuguese and the English in India. They maintained that the trade in India should not be opened up to the English, and that, instead, war should be waged against them. In allowing English trade in Asia, the Portuguese governors and councilors of state feared that damage would be inflicted on the trade between the *Estado da Índia* and Portugal, while also fearing that the Portuguese reputation in Asia would be severely affected.⁴⁷ In turn, the *Conselho de Portugal*, partly agreed with this position. However, although it preferred a common alliance between Portuguese and Castilian forces to any approximation to the English, it acknowledged the deplorable state of the finances of Portugal and Castile, as well as the difficulty in gathering enough resources to resist the power of the North European merchant companies in the *Estado da Índia*. It thus acknowledged that an alliance with the English would be the best way to preserve Portuguese trade in Asia and to cope with the ever greater threat from the Dutch that was developing in the region. Nevertheless, in order for this alliance to take place, the English would have to agree to certain conditions. At the top of the list was precisely the compensation that they should pay for the financial and symbolic damage that had been caused by the loss of Ormuz.⁴⁸

Conclusion

This article has sought to demonstrate that the conflict of Ormuz cannot be understood exclusively as being just part of the general decline of the Portuguese presence in Asia in the early seventeenth century. The conflict was the result of the changing global dynamics that were closely related with the incorporation of Portugal and its empire into the Hispanic monarchy. With the union of the two Iberian empires, the decision-making process of the Portuguese overseas territories became highly dependent on the geopolitical perceptions, interests and priorities of Madrid.

A key aspect dictating the way that the Habsburgs dealt with the different Portuguese colonial territories was their complementarity with the Castilian colonial territories, not only geographically, but also politically and economically. The Portuguese imperial structure as a whole was, indeed, fundamental to the global stability and integrity

⁴⁷ Letter from the councilors of state and governors of Portugal, Lisbon, February 28 1623, AGS, Lg. 2847.

⁴⁸ *Consulta* of the *Conselho de Portugal*, Madrid, March 10, 1623, AGS, Lg. 2847.

of the Hispanic monarchy, but there were some territories that were more important than others. In comparison with Ormuz, territories such as Macao or Bahia displayed strengths that were more important to Madrid or, at least, to the Castilian territories in the Philippines, the Atlantic or the Americas. In the same way, their weaknesses were more threatening. The perception of this importance was reflected in concrete political measures, such as, for example, the use of logistical and financial resources or the response adopted to the defensive needs of each territory.

This does not mean, however, that the Persian Gulf region was not important for the global equilibrium of the Habsburg monarchy. Good relations with Safavid Persia were perceived as necessary to the balance of power in the Mediterranean, but they were possible even without Ormuz. This partly explains why the Habsburg efforts in the defense of the region were essentially diplomatic and why, after the loss of Ormuz, they did not result in the formation of a fleet composed of Portuguese and Castilian vessels, as was so greatly desired by the Portuguese in the *Estado da Índia*. Furthermore, the different perceptions of Ormuz, its importance, and how it should be maintained and defended, led to several tensions between the Portuguese actors and institutions involved in the administration of the empire in Goa, Lisbon or Madrid, and the Castilian institutions and individuals who governed this incorporated empire. It was not that Ormuz, in itself, was not considered valuable either politically or economically. Despite the various expenses associated with its defense and the effects of the conflict itself in the early seventeenth century, both economically and symbolically, Ormuz was still one of the most important fortresses and customs houses of the Portuguese Empire, not only in Asia, but also in the Atlantic, since we must not forget that in the collective Portuguese imagination of the early seventeenth century, and notwithstanding their remarkable growth, the Portuguese overseas extensions in the Atlantic region had not yet achieved the same splendor and glory as their Asian counterparts.

The loss of Ormuz was one of the most controversial events that occurred during the period of union of the Portuguese and Castilian crowns. However, rather than trying to identify the Habsburgs as the ones to blame for such a dramatic event, as the rhetorical discourse of *Restauração* or the nationalist historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did, for example, it is pertinent to scrutinize and fully understand the global context in which the conflict took place. With the union of the Portuguese and Castilian Empires, there was a change in perceptions, interests and priorities, with both

positive and negative effects in all of the Portuguese overseas territories, in general, and in Ormuz and the Persian Gulf, in particular.

Acronyms, Abbreviations and Glossary

AGS: Archivo General de Simancas

ANTT: Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo

Consulta: Inquiry

Caixa: Box

Doc.: Documento

DUP: *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* (Rego 1960-1962, Volume II).

ED: *García de Silva y Figueroa, Epistolario diplomático* (Gil Fernández 1989)

Fol.: Fólio

Junta: Committee

Lg.: Legajo

Parecer: Opinion

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Illegitimate Children and High Society Families in the Social Hierarchies of Portuguese America: Rio de Janeiro, Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

This paper examines the relationship of local high society families in Portuguese America with their children conceived out of wedlock in terms of the inheritances left to the latter in wills. Special attention is given to the case of certain generations of the Sampaio e Almeida family, who belonged to the local high society in colonial Rio de Janeiro. From registers found in Catholic parishes, it was possible to reconstruct the social dynamics of that time, illustrating the agreements that were made and the logic that was involved in the acceptance of illegitimate children within a high society family, while simultaneously discovering the hierarchies that prevailed both within noble families and among the population living on their estates.

Keywords

Illegitimate children; Elites; Families; Rio de Janeiro; Portuguese America.

Resumo

Este artigo tem como proposta pensar a relação das famílias de elite local da América portuguesa com a sua prole natural e espúria no momento da transmissão testamentária ao atentar para algumas gerações da família Sampaio e Almeida, uma das famílias de elite do Rio de Janeiro colonial. A partir dos registros paroquiais foi possível recuperar as dinâmicas que apontam para os acordos e lógicas envolvidas na aceitação dos filhos naturais dentro de uma família de elite, descortinando as formas como se processavam as hierarquias tanto no interior das famílias senhoriais como também entre a população que vivia nos seus engenhos.

Palavras-chave

Filhos naturais; Elites; Famílias; Rio de Janeiro; América Portuguesa

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Among the different characters found in Brazil's colonial past, there were certain specific social types that can be said to have emerged quite distinctly and consequently became iconic figures: plantation owners who commanded slaves and dominated large sections of land; devout, submissive women who attended church on Sundays; African slaves who worked in gangs and were engaged in a daily fight for survival; as well as many other characters. As part of the basic practice of their work, historians contribute to the complexity of these stereotypes formed about the people and groups who appeared in the past. As far as colonial high society is concerned, recent research has been very productive in helping to identify the different dynamics that shaped social hierarchies in colonial Brazil.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro, studies of the city's first high society families have identified a close link between certain features from the Ancien Regime and the ethos of the social elite that came to settle in those lands, such as, for instance, the *economia de mercês*.² As a region that was initially disputed between the Portuguese and the French, the Portuguese conquest of Rio de Janeiro in the sixteenth century presented certain individuals with the opportunity to render service to the King at the risk of their own lives and those of their men, thus establishing the first families who vied with one another to win the favors granted by the monarch. Furthermore, the revenue and privileges to be gained from holding positions on the city council, and from certain royal offices, placed significant capital in the hands of the first conquerors, and their plantations and farms in Rio de Janeiro initiated the production of sugar cane as early as the sixteenth century. Together with the social and economic privileges that the first conquerors enjoyed access to, the local political sphere was also broadly dominated by this same group of people through the positions that they held in the city's administration. This political and economic culture helped to establish the conquering families as the elite group in Rio de Janeiro during the first centuries of colonization (Fragoso, 2001; 2003).

The favors and lands granted to the first colonizers, however, did not give them jurisdictional rights over the land that they held, nor did the local elite enjoy a legal status that differentiated them from farm workers. Their main distinguishing feature, as the historian Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva points out, was the fact that they mainly constituted

² The Economy of Favors (*economia das mercês*) is a concept used to describe modern Portugal by António Manuel Hespanha and Ângela Barreto Xavier based on the Gift Economy (*economia do dom*) described by Marcel Mauss, linking the moral reciprocities involved in the act of giving and receiving through service practices to the ideals of friendship and loyalty developed in the political and social context of the Ancien Regime in Portugal. Cf. Hespanha & Xavier. 1998. For the application of the Economy of Favors in the case of colonial Rio de Janeiro, cf. Fragoso, João. 2001.

a civil or political nobility, i.e., a nobility who had earned their titles as a reward for the services that they had provided to the Crown, occupying posts in the Church, commanding auxiliary troops, performing administrative duties or even engaging in highly profitable trade. Hence, Silva considers that the process through which individuals were admitted to the ranks of the elite is an important subject of research in the case of the colonial nobility, since their status as nobles frequently did not last, and was not even assured for future generations, as was the case in metropolitan Portugal. Therefore, her study does not provide us with a social portrait of this group, but instead discusses the way in which these individuals rose to the positions that granted them their noble distinction (Silva, 2005).

Nevertheless, studies on the elites of Portuguese America often follow a different path, seeking to understand the reproduction of the social hierarchies that, over several generations, continued to afford the same elite group the social prominence that they had enjoyed since the early days of colonization. Therefore, in addition to the administrative positions or privileges that they attained, it is also important to study the strategies that this group of people adopted in order to affirm their social superiority and subsequently to strengthen their position over time. This line of investigation suggests that the analysis of family behaviors is the best means for understanding the dynamics of elite groups. The strategies and actions adopted by these individuals have begun to be studied in a collective context, with the family now being seen as an entity whose preservation depended on its members, all of which meant that these individuals tended to accept positions and occupations that would help them to enhance their family's status and wealth. Thus, studies of the high society of colonial Brazil have been influenced by the work of Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, who have undertaken valuable research into the nobility in Portugal, illustrating how its members adhered to a model for social reproduction that later served as an example for other elite groups in the Portuguese Empire (Monteiro & Cunha, 2010).

One of the best examples of this trend is the recent study by Manoela Pedroza. While researching the elite families of Campo Grande, a rural parish in Rio de Janeiro, she identified a condition that she refers to as that of an *excluído senhorial* (someone who was excluded from the right of inheritance) in the social reproduction of such families. Those who found themselves in this condition were children whose rights to inherit their parents' estates were struck from their wills. This practice was designed to place the family property undivided and intact into the hands of just one male heir (Pedroza, 2011). Another example comes from Muriel Nazzari's work on the changes that were noted in the dowries offered

in colonial São Paulo. As a second-category region in Portuguese America, São Paulo developed an economy based on the capture of the local natives. Nazzari identified the great importance that this practice had in the seventeenth century when forming a dowry to help maintain and reproduce noble families in São Paulo. Dowries were assessed in terms of their capacity to increase the workforce belonging to a family or even to attract fiancés of a higher quality from Europe (Nazzari, 2001). As these two studies show, research into these elite groups has tended to dwell on matters relating to social history in the formation of dowries and in the systems developed for the transfer of property.

The analysis presented in this paper adheres to this line of study. This paper seeks to analyze the relations between a high society family and their illegitimate offspring, focusing on the moment of testamentary transfer. The intention is to discover the dynamics of the involvement of illegitimate children in the family businesses of a local elite over generations, and to explore the way in which these relations gave rise to various social hierarchies. The documentation that will be explored basically consists of wills and baptismal records taken from the parish registers of deaths and baptisms. The place investigated is Nossa Senhora do Loreto de Jacarepaguá, a rural parish in the surroundings of Rio de Janeiro. The analysis follows two main avenues: first, it focuses on the legal provisions governing the status of illegitimate children in matters of inheritance; second, an analysis is made of the actions and strategies adopted in the light of the legislation and social practice in this area. We will therefore be speaking about the rights and limitations established in relation to illegitimate children in the *Ordenações Filipinas*, the legal code that governed such matters in Portugal and Portuguese America.

Illegitimate children and testamentary transfer

During a long period of the Modern Age, the *Ordenações Filipinas* regulated the production of wills. In a society that was highly influenced by Catholic Christian theology, the will appeared as a powerful tool for the salvation of the deceased person's soul. One of the main functions of writing a will was to leave pious alms and to organize religious masses for the benefit of the soul of a person that was about to die. Therefore, in contrast to its present-day attention to worldly goods, in the past a will was full of religious and supernatural meaning. Most of the population was entitled to write their own wills. Restrictions were placed on the insane, males younger than 14 and females younger than 12, heretics, and deaf and/or dumb people, among many others. According to the

Ordenações, the process was apparently simple: a person went to the public notary with five witnesses over 14 years of age in order to dictate his will, which would be written down by the notary. There was also the “closed will,” written by the testator himself or, in the event of his being illiterate, written by a third person at the request of the testator. The pages containing the will were presented and confirmed by this person before a notary, who would then notarize it (Almeida, 1870).³

The division of a person’s estate among the heirs first took into account the matrimonial condition of the deceased. If this person was married under the system of community property (the most common form of marriage, which consisted of joining together the property of the husband and wife), the spouse that outlived the other received half of the couple’s estate, while the other half was divided into three parts: two thirds for the necessary heirs (legitimate, illegitimate and legitimized children), while the remaining third was to be spent according to the clauses of the will of the deceased person. This part was commonly known as “the third” and was usually destined to pay for the expenses incurred with the holding of masses and with donations for the soul of the deceased person. The will actually dealt with the testator’s property in the third, since this was the only part of his property that the testator could dispose of freely, unless he were single and had no offspring or living ancestors in a position to inherit his estate. In this case, the testator could freely give all of his property to whomsoever he wished.

One thing to bear in mind is that wills could give the false impression that everything they stated would actually happen; yet, the will of the deceased person could only be executed in accordance with the possibilities of his possessions. Another source of information on this subject is to be found in post-mortem inventories written after the person’s death. There we find a list of the items belonging to the couple (or the deceased person himself, if single), with the division of this property indicating which heir received what, and also including the costs and expenses incurred with the will itself. Unfortunately, in the case of colonial Rio de Janeiro, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this type of documentation is very rare; only a few inventories can be found in the National Archives of Rio de Janeiro.

“Necessary” heirs were basically the children of the deceased; if there were none, then these would become the grandchildren or living ancestors. A priori, only legitimate children born within wedlock were acknowledged as heirs. However, the *Ordenações Filipinas* had certain loopholes allowing illegitimate children to inherit part of their parents’ estate.

³ The different types of wills and testaments are quite complex and are clearly explained in the studies by Silva, 1998 and Furtado, 2011.

Terms such as “bastard” and “illegitimate” were not at all precise, as they concealed a series of categorizations that had different degrees of acceptance as far as inheritances were concerned. Among those who were considered illegitimate were the so-called “natural children”, born of a single father and mother, or in a situation that involved no impediments in terms of wedlock. These children could inherit property from the father as long as it could be proved that the mother had had sexual intercourse exclusively with the father of the child until it was born, thus giving rise to the status of a “legal concubine”. If the woman had had several partners prior to the birth of the child, leaving the respective paternity in doubt, then the natural child would not be able to inherit. It was also possible to legitimize natural children through the subsequent marriage of the parents, when neither of them had any legal impediment that prevented them from doing so (Lopes, 1998).

Such “natural children” represented a lesser scandal in society when compared to “spurious children”. These were the fruit of “damned coitus”, i.e. sexual intercourse in which one or both of the people involved were faced with some sort of impediment in terms of wedlock. Children of spurious origin were divided into more specific categories, such as sacrilegious children (when the father or mother was a member of the clergy), adulterous children (when one of those involved was married to another person) and incestuous children (involving relatives by blood, or by marriage of ancestors, up to a distance of four generations). Inheritance was forbidden for such children, and could only take place if the child was recognized by the father. Such affiliation could be acknowledged through a declaration made in the will, although it would still not necessarily guarantee access to the inheritance, since this would only happen if no damage was caused to the legitimate heirs, who could contest the statement made by the father or mother. Another means of legitimizing one’s heir was by obtaining letters of legitimization, requested from the *Desembargo do Paço*, which would then render spurious offspring legitimate. Once the letter was approved, the acknowledged children acquired the right to inherit, but could still face a number of limitations brought about by the inheritance rights of the legitimate children, who should not be damaged in any way, nor be subjected to any form of strife (Lopes, 1998: 167).

The parents’ duties towards children that were born out of wedlock, as well as the different possibilities existing for the legitimization of such children and their participation in the division of the family estate, have occupied a substantial part of Portuguese American historiography. Yet, one issue that has not yet been afforded much attention is the social status of the father of the child, which also led to differences in the way that the

heirs were treated. A recent study by Linda Lewin on the rights of illegitimate children in the inheritance of a family estate focused precisely on this aspect, highlighting the impediments and legal complications that such children of inferior status faced when they were fathered by nobles (Lewin, 2003).

The *Ordenações Filipinas* determined that “natural” children fathered by workmen (members of the common people who walked on foot and were neither noblemen nor horsemen) were entitled to be contemplated normally in the division of the inheritance, along with legitimate children. Even the children that a common workman had with his slave woman, should they have been freed on the death of their father or even previously, could be contemplated under normal inheritance procedures. The exclusion of “natural” children took place only when the father was of a superior status, as the *Ordenações* clearly stated: “If such (natural) children are born, fathered by a horseman, or a squire, or a person of a similar condition, a horseman, and not a common workman who may ride a horse, or a mechanical officer, who is not treated as a common workman, then these children may not inherit, nor take part in the division of property with legitimate children, nor with living legitimate ancestors” (Livro 4 – Título XCII, Almeida, 1870).

Even if such an exclusion of “natural” children could be made dependent on other factors, making it necessary to analyze their existing means in order to perceive their effective involvement in social practice, this privilege for men of distinction opened up the possibility of their placing the family estate at less risk, in the case of children born to their concubines. This prerogative did not remain as an idle legal provision that was never invoked; there are clear signs that frequent attempts were made to implement these clauses in Portuguese America. One such example appears in the will written by Francisco Ferreira Travassos. Deceased in 1737, Travassos had registered his will in the book of deaths in Candelária, one of the main urban parishes of Rio de Janeiro, where he acknowledged a natural daughter he had fathered with the mixed-race woman Ana da Costa when he was still single. Despite not having any legitimate heirs, he states that this “daughter is not my heiress, nor should she have any part in my estate, since I am a nobleman, like my father and all my relatives who have served in the Republic of this town and have always lived according to the Law of Nobility, just as I myself have, and I have never parted from it” (Deaths of Candelária, 1734-1744, f. 23v). The source of his nobility came from his way of life – possibly displaying symbols of nobility such as a horse and a sword – and the fact that his family normally occupied positions of responsibility in the Republic, probably in this case serving on the city council. In fact, his brother-in-law, who is mentioned in his

will, Bartolomeu da Siqueira Cordovil, was in charge of the royal treasury of Rio de Janeiro at that time.

Francisco Ferreira Travassos had no noble title, and did not declare any participation in any military order, nor even, at the time when he wrote his will, did he hold any position on the local council. He was merely a member of a traditional family responsible for the administration of the city, and this was enough to confer upon him the privileges of a nobleman. This explains why the reason that he invoked was of a collective nature, namely that he was a member of a family that belonged to the local nobility, and not one of an individual nature, claiming that he had any privilege or right of his own. What can be noted here is that local families belonging to high society easily met the criteria that recognized them as minimally noble. In addition to occupying positions of local government, it was common for them to also be military officers. According to the ordinances that had originated in the sixteenth century, ranks such as Captain, Ensign, Sergeant and others were intended for those serving in local government, except in the case of towns, villages or councils that were privately ruled by a lord of the manor. For all those who accepted these positions, King Sebastian of Portugal granted the privilege of their being deemed a horseman and enjoying all the benefits that stemmed from this status (Veríssimo, 1816). Therefore, since the leading families in the various parishes of Rio de Janeiro easily achieved such positions, it was natural for such privileges to be widespread among the local elite.

It is not unusual to find resolutions granting privileges to titled men through a body of legislation that provided for the creation of entailed estates, i.e. leading to instances in which the first-born son was the sole heir to all of his family's possessions. Yet, significantly, this was a title that distinguished the succession of common workmen from that of horsemen, and was awarded to the local nobility of Portuguese America. As far as the division of property was concerned, the *Ordenações Filipinas* were designed to maintain relative equality between heirs, including even the so-called "natural children" when these were fathered by commoners. The above-mentioned *Título 92* was clearly intended to prevent the illegitimate children of the local high society from becoming yet another element in the division of their wealth, establishing a privilege that, while it was not as powerful as that of entailed estates, at least prevented the number of possible sources for the dispersal of an estate from extending beyond those that were covered by the legislation, namely the legitimate children.

Perhaps the noble families in Portuguese America found it difficult to accept the rights enjoyed by those of inferior status, especially in a context in which it was often just enough to be white among a mass of African slaves, native South Americans, and people of mixed race to consider oneself as different and no longer belonging to the ranks of the common people. Nevertheless, the nobility to be found in South America was basically political in nature, i.e. a nobility that had been acquired through graces and favors bestowed by the Crown, and not as a result of belonging to a certain lineage. This political or landed nobility represented an expansion of the condition of nobility that highlighted the ability of the social organization in the Portuguese-speaking world to adapt to new situations, and demonstrated how the various agents involved did not fit precisely into the old social paradigm of the three medieval orders (Monteiro, 1998: 298-299). Besides those differences that were based on traditional hierarchies, and the fact that certain families retained their prestige and administrative positions on the council due to their earlier contributions in the conquest of the city, there still remained the possibility of being awarded certain privileges in some military order or of occupying certain positions of military command, which conferred the same privileges as those enjoyed by noble knights (Veríssimo, 1816: 21 and 61). More importantly, the social differences to be found in Portuguese-American elites were essentially based on local customs, so that it was not only the titles and prestige conferred by the Crown that guaranteed social distinction for certain families or individuals but also the relationships that these people built up with other smaller hierarchical groups, such as mechanical officers, poor freemen, natives and even slaves, forming clientele networks that sustained their prestige in the eyes of the local society (Fragoso, 2001; Krause, 2014).

While the local power enjoyed by the elites served to reinforce their rights and prerogatives, i.e. through the positions of prestige that they enjoyed or the administrative posts that they held on the city council, the public recognition of the quality and status of certain families was also important, since this meant that they could more easily be granted certain privileges as members of the local nobility (Krause, 2014: 228). An example of this is provided by the aforementioned will of Francisco Ferreira Travassos, who did not want his natural daughter to inherit from him, as he was a noble and his family had always held important positions in the Republic, which, at least in his own mind, had granted him this privilege. It therefore seems that the general definition outlined in *Título 92* applied perfectly to tropical noblemen, since it stated that any man who was “neither regarded nor treated as a workman” could cause his natural children to be excluded from his will. The

general tone of this law could easily be applied to the various elite groups that existed in the Portuguese overseas empire. Yet, this still remains more of a hypothesis than a certainty, which points to the need for further research in this area, as it is important for the study of the testamentary transfer systems developed by local elites in the old Portuguese empire.

The line of thought that has been developed so far suggests that the families belonging to the local high society did not need to worry about their “natural” children, since they could be easily excluded from the division of their estate. However, one question that might be asked is whether it was always worthwhile putting this exclusion into practice. Should illegitimate children be excluded from contact with and acknowledgement by the rest of the family? The analysis that follows of a high society family in colonial Rio de Janeiro, the Sampaio e Almeida family, leads us to think that this situation was of direct importance for the hierarchies and roles existing within a family power strategy, so that such questions represent a useful starting point for analyzing the microcosms of the relationships that existed on a plantation and within a family.

The Sampaio e Almeida family and their illegitimate offspring

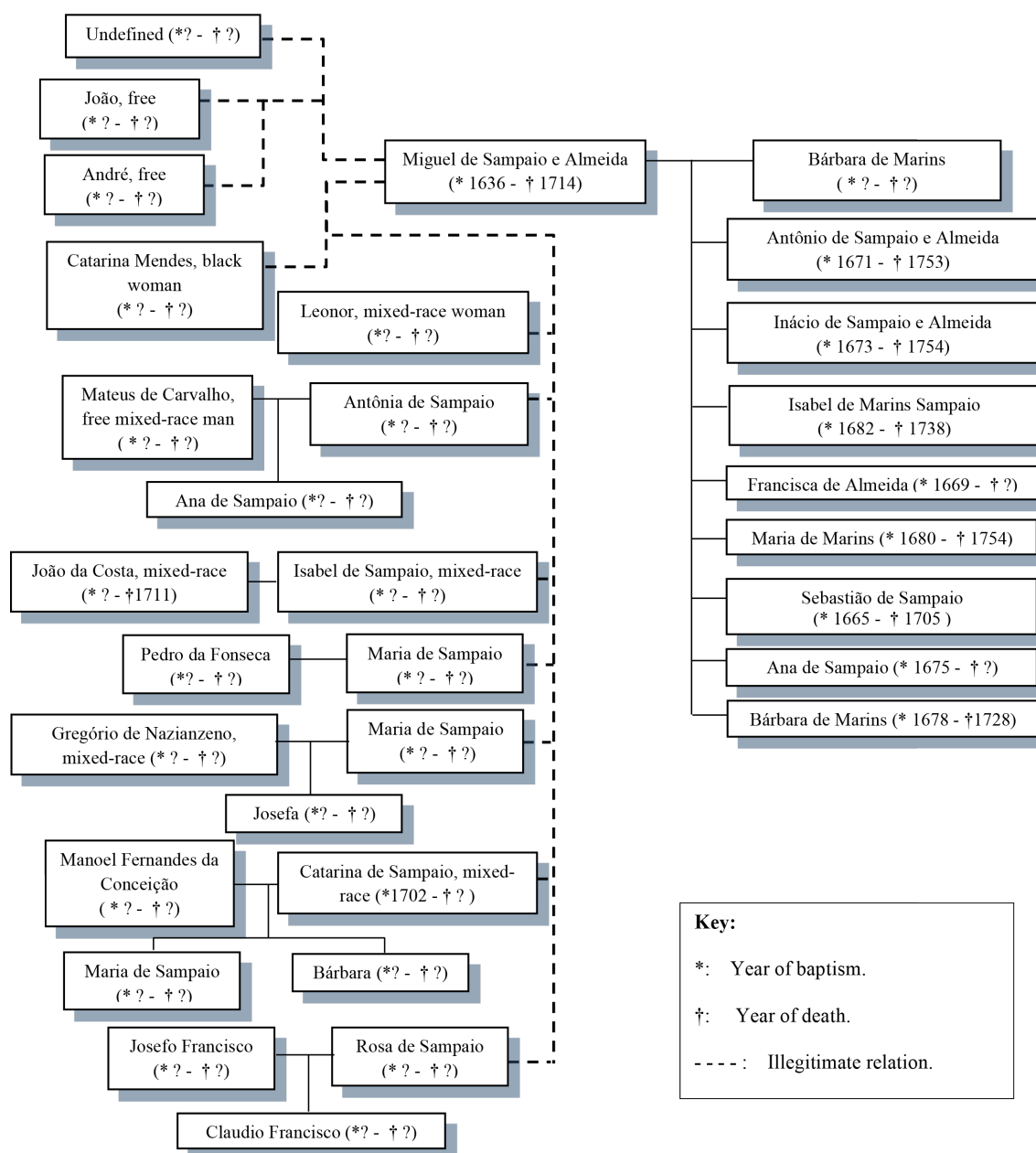
The Sampaio e Almeida family settled in Rio de Janeiro after Antônio de Sampaio had provided service to the King, leaving faraway Portugal and crossing the Atlantic Ocean. His own determination or madness had brought him to sixteenth-century Portuguese America. Upon his arrival in Rio de Janeiro in 1567 as an infantry captain, Antônio accompanied the Governor General of Brazil, Mem de Sá, who led a naval expedition to expel what remained of the French invaders in the area. Three years later, Antônio de Sampaio was appointed to the position of ordinary judge in Rio de Janeiro, and, in 1573, was granted three thousand *braças* (9,156 m²) of land in Paranaguape. He married Maria Coelho, with whom he started the Sampaio e Almeida lineage in South America (Belchior, 1965: 440-441). Thus, lying at the root of this family’s history, there were various battles, as well as the appointment to government positions legitimizing their social authority amid a larger group of men who formed the region’s first elite.

Like so many others, this family gradually spread across the region of the Atlantic Forest, which became the location of the newly created city: Rio de Janeiro. One of the areas settled by the Portuguese was the parish of Jacarepaguá, where a branch of the Sampaio e Almeida family established itself over several centuries. The boundaries of this region were fixed more precisely in 1661, when the parish dedicated to Our Lady of Loreto

(*Nossa Senhora de Loreto*) and Saint Anthony (*Santo Antônio*) was founded. The elevation of this geographical area to a parish was a clear acknowledgement of its growing population and economic importance, since, like other rural parishes, Jacarepaguá had a thriving agricultural production based on sugar cane, which was exported through the port of Rio de Janeiro, and the planting of general food crops essential for the survival and trade of the small coastal village. According to a report produced by the government of the Viceroy Marquis de Lavradio (1769-1778), the parish of Jacarepaguá had eight mills producing 156 crates of sugar, and a production of 2,888 bushels of flour, making it one of the largest producers of sugar and flour in that district (Lavradio, 1913 [1779]). At the end of the eighteenth century, in 1797, a chart drawn up of the population and production of that parish confirmed the dominant role of sugar in the economic activities of Jacarepaguá: 9,292 *arrobas* (136,592.4 kg) were produced that year, 8,938 of which were exported, or, in other words, roughly 96% of the production. Other agricultural products also began to appear, such as rice, beans, corn, flour and coffee, which had similarly significant percentages of exports: 98% of the coffee produced was exported. The same chart provides more precise information about the population of the parish: in 1797, a total of 2,224 people lived there – a figure that included 1,235 slaves, i.e. almost 55% of the total population (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Rio de Janeiro, Caixa 165, Doc. 62). The few surviving records about that parish show a region that had a slave-worked sugar plantation, although its production is not considered to have been very large when compared with that of other sugar mills, such as the ones in Bahia (Schwartz, 1988).

Antônio de Sampaio's grandson, Miguel de Sampaio e Almeida, was born, raised, and died in that region. We know a little about his life from the will he wrote before his death in 1714. He married Bárbara de Marins, the daughter of a branch of another of the families that had helped in the conquest of Rio de Janeiro (Rheingantz, 1968), with whom he had eight legitimate children. His offspring were, however, greater in number, since he also had illegitimate children: two "natural" daughters, Isabel de Sampaio and Maria de Sampaio. Yet, by gathering information from other wills, it was possible to attribute yet more "natural" daughters to Miguel de Sampaio. Even though they are mentioned in the will, their status is not clearly identified as "natural", unlike the other two already mentioned. Figure 1 below details his offspring:

Figure 1: Miguel de Sampaio e Almeida's offspring



Seven “natural” daughters, all from the same mother, the black woman Catarina Mendes, and two sons, the name of whose mother is unclear due to the unfortunate deterioration of the document. Nevertheless, Miguel de Sampaio stated that these two men were freemen, since they were born after their mother was officially set free from slavery. Two of his eight legitimate children were already deceased when the father passed away in 1714. One of them, Sebastião de Sampaio, had left children who were, consequently, grandchildren to Miguel de Sampaio and were also his legal heirs. As far as the eventual division of his estate is concerned, which comprised the ample lands in Jacarepaguá and nine slaves, it is difficult

to discover how this actually turned out, as the inventory is not available. Still, it is important to highlight that his seven “natural” daughters were not forgotten: in his will, he left each of them one hundred thousand *reais*, even stating that part of that amount had already been given to Maria de Sampaio when she married Pedro da Fonseca.

This all indicates that Miguel de Sampaio acknowledged his illegitimate daughters, including them in the division of the “third” when he awarded them endowments in the form of money. Does this mean that they were legitimized? As stated earlier, at least two of them, Isabel de Sampaio and Maria de Sampaio, are mentioned in the will as his “natural” daughters. This probably did not bring them legitimacy, since even the testamentary acknowledgement of illegitimate children did not directly lead to legitimization in the case of the offspring of noblemen, making it necessary for the Crown to acknowledge them for these children to be granted rights in the division of assets (Lewin, 2003: 51-52).

Miguel de Sampaio e Almeida had reasons to regard himself as a distinguished person of his time. There is evidence of the services he provided to the city of Rio de Janeiro in a letter written by Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida Marins, Miguel de Sampaio’s grandson. In that letter, he asks for his rank of Ensign to be confirmed. In order to be awarded this rank, the applicant needed to obtain a certificate from the Rio de Janeiro Council that stated as follows: “We certify that Inácio de Sampaio de Almeida, Antônio de Sampaio de Almeida Marins’ father, is involved in the government of this city and has held in it honorable positions of the Republic, the same role having been fulfilled by Miguel de Sampaio, Antônio de Sampaio de Almeida e Marins’ paternal grandfather, as well as his maternal grandfather, João Pimenta de Moraes.” (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Rio de Janeiro, Caixa 36, Doc. 3.752).

Miguel held positions on the City Council, just as his son Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida would do later on. In addition to this grandson of Miguel’s, another grandson of his, Manoel Pimenta de Sampaio, also Inácio de Sampaio’s son, was a military officer in the parish of Jacarepaguá. Hence the prestige of the Sampaio e Almeida family continued to open doors to public positions for its members until, at least, the first half of the eighteenth century, indicating that their families were not commoners in the political context of the city.

Miguel de Sampaio seemed to be a caring father who sought to control the fate of his illegitimate daughters by imposing a condition for the endowments that he left them: these would only take place when each of them married. So, they had to lead their lives in accordance with Christian standards and, for this purpose, he would make them more

attractive in the matrimonial market by awarding them an endowment of one hundred thousand *reais* upon their marriage. Another wish that he expressed in his will was to establish a hierarchy between his legitimate and illegitimate children. Suffice to say that two of his executors (those who made sure his will would be fulfilled) were his legitimate sons: Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida and Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida (cf. Figure 1). Thus, the endowments, while admittedly amounting to financial benefits, ultimately served as a way of perpetuating the relationship of dependence between those who expected to receive the endowments and the legitimate children who had it in their power to grant them. Once more, Miguel de Sampaio's own words are highly illustrative: "I declare that these alms which I leave to these families will not necessarily come from the residue, as I believe my children will have plenty, since they are left under my sponsorship."

Although they were about to receive endowments, they nonetheless remained in a situation of dependence. If they followed Miguel de Sampaio's instructions, they could receive the alms; yet, they would continue under the influence of the Sampaio e Almeida family, as it was due to the latter's financial wealth that the illegitimate daughters would be able to arrange a dowry for their marriage that might otherwise be impossible. Such a situation indicates that, even though Miguel de Sampaio's illegitimate daughters did not take part in the division of his estate, this does not mean that they were excluded from the family: they would be afforded acknowledgement if they assumed their subordinate position in the family. Further information relating to this aspect can also be found in the will left by João de Sampaio e Almeida, Miguel de Sampaio's brother. João de Sampaio died four years after Miguel, in 1718, and, even though he married, he had no legitimate children. Among the executors of his will were his nephews Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida and Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida, Miguel de Sampaio's sons. In the division of property that he made with his wife, the following was decided: "I declare that I set free, by letter, Catarina, now the wife of Manoel de Fernandes, the father of my goddaughter and niece, albeit "natural", as well as her brothers [illegible] and João in order to raise them and to have with me the said family relationship, (...); and I have brought them into the division of my estate and included this amount in the division of property that I made with my said wife, and no one may interfere with such freed people."

João de Sampaio explicitly stated that Catarina and João were his "natural" niece and nephew, and that Catarina was his goddaughter. This same Catarina was probably the one that Miguel de Sampaio referred to in his will, to whom he left one hundred thousand *reais*. She was goddaughter to her uncle and had found a home and a place to grow up in

and to have a marriage arranged. In his will, her uncle did not forget his niece, leaving her fifty thousand *reais*, justified by “the acknowledgement and love with which I raised her.” The relationship of affection went both ways, as Catarina de Sampaio also asked her uncle to be the godfather to her own daughter, Maria de Sampaio. João de Sampaio showered this goddaughter with presents, leaving her one hundred and fifty thousand *reais* for a young black girl to be bought and given to her when she got married. He also left her a gold ring with an emerald stone, a gold Saint Benedict chain, two sets of fine-linen embroidered bed sheets, and three silver spoons. A second daughter of Catarina de Sampaio, named Bárbara, also received an endowment of fifty thousand *reais*.

The family solidarity shown towards “natural” children thus becomes much clearer. Miguel de Sampaio left some of his “natural” children to be raised at the house of his brother João de Sampaio, who may have been more of a father figure than Miguel himself. This was also a good option for enjoying access to a safer source of work; after all, João de Sampaio reminds us that he was the one who freed Catarina, João, and another nephew, which means that they came to him first as slaves. Nevertheless, these were slaves of the family, who were raised “with love” by João himself, as he himself confirms, which certainly distinguished them from the black slaves that came straight from Africa. The family ties and the different treatment that they were given made them more like relatives than slaves, which does not mean that they did not also work.

The acceptance of those illegitimate children into the bosom of the Sampaio e Almeida family was necessarily accompanied by a series of duties. João de Sampaio declared in his will that he was the owner of sugar cane plantations and houses in Irajá, a parish situated to the north of Jacarepaguá, where work was certainly needed and where he may well have raised his brother’s children. Those illegitimate children may have been integrated into the family through their work, even if that work was more specialized, and different from the hard physical labor that was reserved for most slaves. João de Sampaio may have been the ideal choice to receive some of Miguel’s illegitimate children, since he was married, but had no children of his own who would contribute with housework. An exchange of illegitimate children could therefore take place whenever they saw fit. Examples such as this show how important it is to question a child’s illegitimacy within a broader perspective rather than to analyze this within the context of the nuclear family itself, i.e. the relationship with the father, mother or siblings alone.

Other illegitimate daughters fathered by Miguel de Sampaio, such as Isabel and Maria de Sampaio, may have lived closer to their father in the parish of Jacarepaguá, and

hence may have been the only ones openly recognized as his “natural” daughters in his will; this information was probably open and public to the local parishioners. In fact, having children outside marriage was not a great outrage according to the standards of the parish of Jacarepaguá. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, 18.5% of the children born in that parish were illegitimate, practically all of them originating from relations between freemen and slaves or freedwomen (Venâncio, 1986: 12). As for the black woman Catarina Mendes, who was supposedly the mother of all these natural daughters that Miguel de Sampaio had, only one piece of information was found, provided by the freed man of mixed race João da Costa, his son-in-law, who was married to Isabel de Sampaio (cf. Figure 1). In his will, written in 1711, the year when he died, João da Costa states: “I declare that I was born in this city of Rio de Janeiro, the ‘natural’ son of Gonçalo da Costa and Leonor, a black slave woman belonging to the priest, Father Manoel da Fonseca, and that I am freed and married to Isabel de Sampaio, also freed, the ‘natural’ daughter of Miguel de Sampaio and Catarina, a black slave woman, belonging to Antônio de Sampaio.”

For the first time, Catarina Mendes appears linked to a social condition. Until 1711, at least, she was a black slave woman belonging to Antônio de Sampaio. Miguel de Sampaio had a brother named Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida, who may have been the owner of Catarina Mendes. The problem is that this Antônio de Sampaio died in 1703, so that João da Costa may be referring in the aforementioned fragment of his will to a situation that was already over (Catarina had been a slave) or that was still valid for Antônio de Sampaio’s heirs (in fact, one of his sons was also called Antônio de Sampaio) (Rheingantz, 1993: 138).

With this piece of information, the story of this “romance” acquires a more general appearance: Miguel de Sampaio took as his concubine a black slave woman who belonged to one of his brothers and placed some of the offspring she bore him, his illegitimate daughters, to be raised by another brother of his. The rights that Antônio de Sampaio or one of his descendants had over Catarina Mendes’s offspring, since she was his slave, remained unaltered, as the transfer of her children was made between family members. They had agreements to resolve these cases involving parents, brothers, uncles, nephews and their slaves. This also proves that, besides having the option of abandoning them, high society families could raise such illegitimate children and include them in their family in a hierarchically subordinate role, as Miguel de Sampaio sought to do in his will. One must bear in mind, however, that, even though they had been freed, these illegitimate children

would not inherit from the family, due to the *Ordenações Filipinas*, which prevented them from inheriting from noblemen. In this way, an environment was created that encouraged making such illegitimate children dependent on the goodwill of their relatives and consequently allowed them to be at least contemplated in the “third” of such wills.

Illegitimate children as godparents and the relational world of rural parishes

The relations that these illegitimate children formed in parishes with other people are a very important aspect for understanding how close their interaction could be with other groups in the region. From the analysis of the relationships of god parentage in the case of the illegitimate relatives of the Sampaio e Almeida family, it can be seen that the relations between the aristocratic family and its illegitimate children were frequently more complex than originally seemed to be the case.

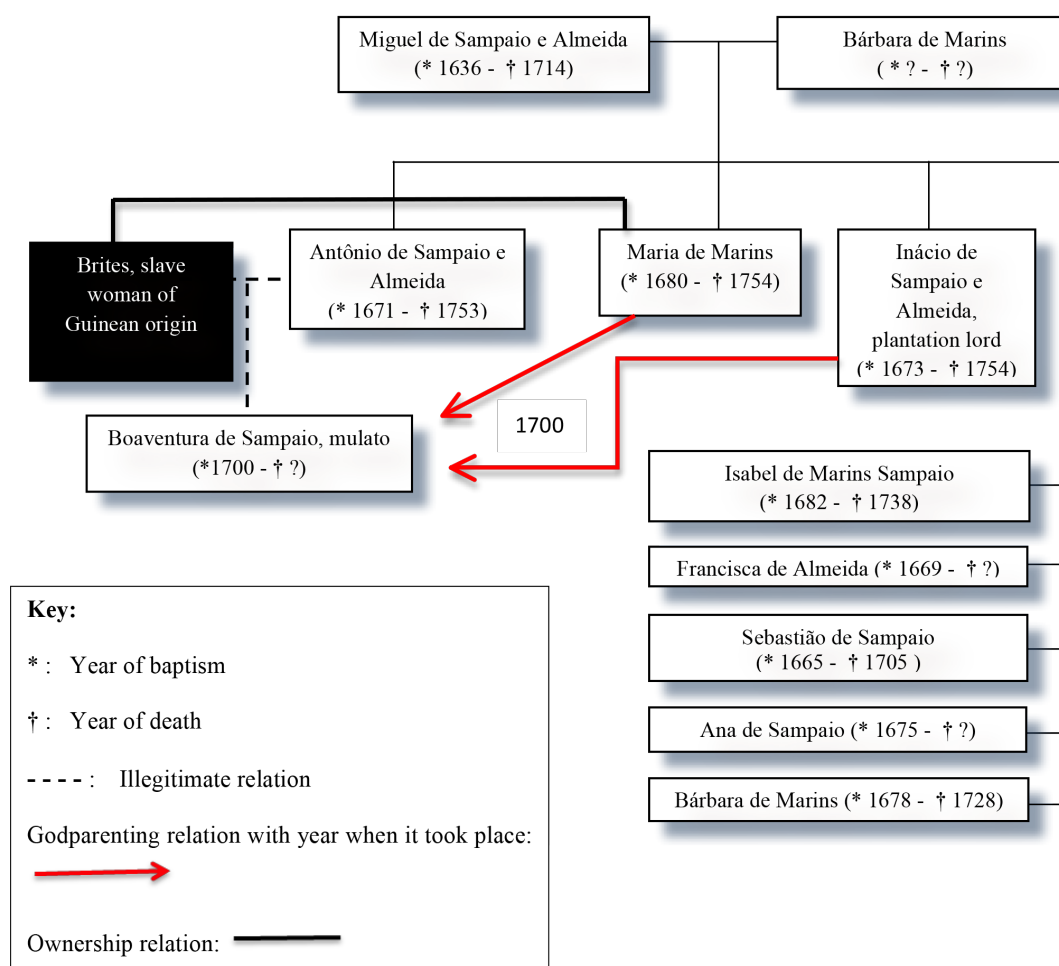
Baptizing children, either in large churches in the cities or in small rural chapels, was common practice among the population of colonial Brazil. The widespread nature of the sacrament of Baptism was also of great value to the Catholic Church. The act had wondrous effects, as it meant the remission of all of the sins of baptized people and their consequent integration into the Christian community. Its theological meaning also had social implications, as the parents of baptized children ended up forming spiritual relations with the chosen godparents (Vide, 2010). Hence the choice of godparents was seldom a matter of mere chance, adhering to criteria that were not only based on a relationship of affection between those involved, but were also linked to the interests and alliances that had been established between the godparents and the parents of the baptized child.

The most interesting case seems to be that of Boaventura de Sampaio, the “natural” son of Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida, Miguel de Sampaio’s son. This next generation of the family included plantation owners in the parish of Jacarepaguá, such as Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida, Antônio’s brother, who became the owner of the Rio Grande sugar plantation. Furthermore, Inácio followed in his father’s footsteps and also held positions on the Rio de Janeiro City Council. Some of the Sampaio e Almeida family therefore had a life that revolved around this plantation, which remained in the hands of that family until the early nineteenth century.

Indications left by parish registers clearly point out that Boaventura de Sampaio was Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida’s “natural” son. Antônio married Joana Quaresma, with whom he had no legitimate children, on October 3, 1718. Yet, before that marriage,

he had a mulatto son, Boaventura, registered in the book of baptisms of slaves on February 19, 1700. The mother of the child was Brites, a slave of Guinean origin belonging to Maria de Marins, Antônio de Sampaio's sister:

Figure 2: Antônio de Sampaio e Almeida's offspring



Once more, the sins of a family were resolved within it, as he was the son of Antônio de Sampaio and a slave belonging to his sister, Maria de Marins. In addition to owning Boaventura, she was also his godmother and probably helped his mother raise him. The slaves of sisters and brothers seem to have been the preferred consorts of the male members of the Sampaio e Almeida family, as Maria de Marins was not the only one to receive illegitimate nephews. Her sister, Isabel de Marins Sampaio, also went through a similar experience with a woman named Domingas, Isabel's slave, who was the mother of two little mulattoes. In her will, Isabel de Marins declared the two of them freed since they were recognized as "family," despite her not specifying who their father was.

It is most interesting to notice that the Sampaio e Almeida provided godparents for their illegitimate offspring through members of the legitimate family. In addition to his godmother aunt, Boaventura had his other uncle Inácio de Sampaio, the plantation owner, as his godfather. Rather than abandoning their illegitimate children with their slave women, the fathers accepted them into the family from a very early age, linking them to the family through ties that were strengthened through the Catholic rite of godparenting, as seen in the aforementioned case of Catarina de Sampaio, raised by her uncle and godfather, João de Sampaio; and Boaventura de Sampaio, brought up in the house of Maria de Marins, who was also his godmother. They looked after these children with different skin colors and illegitimate origins in the family from early childhood, raising them as family members who were considered inferior within the hierarchy of relatives, but who, nonetheless, were still integrated into their family, through either blood or ritual ties. This ambiguous social position made them valuable intermediaries in the labor field and in relations with other people of inferior status, and they therefore constitute a subject worthy of greater study.

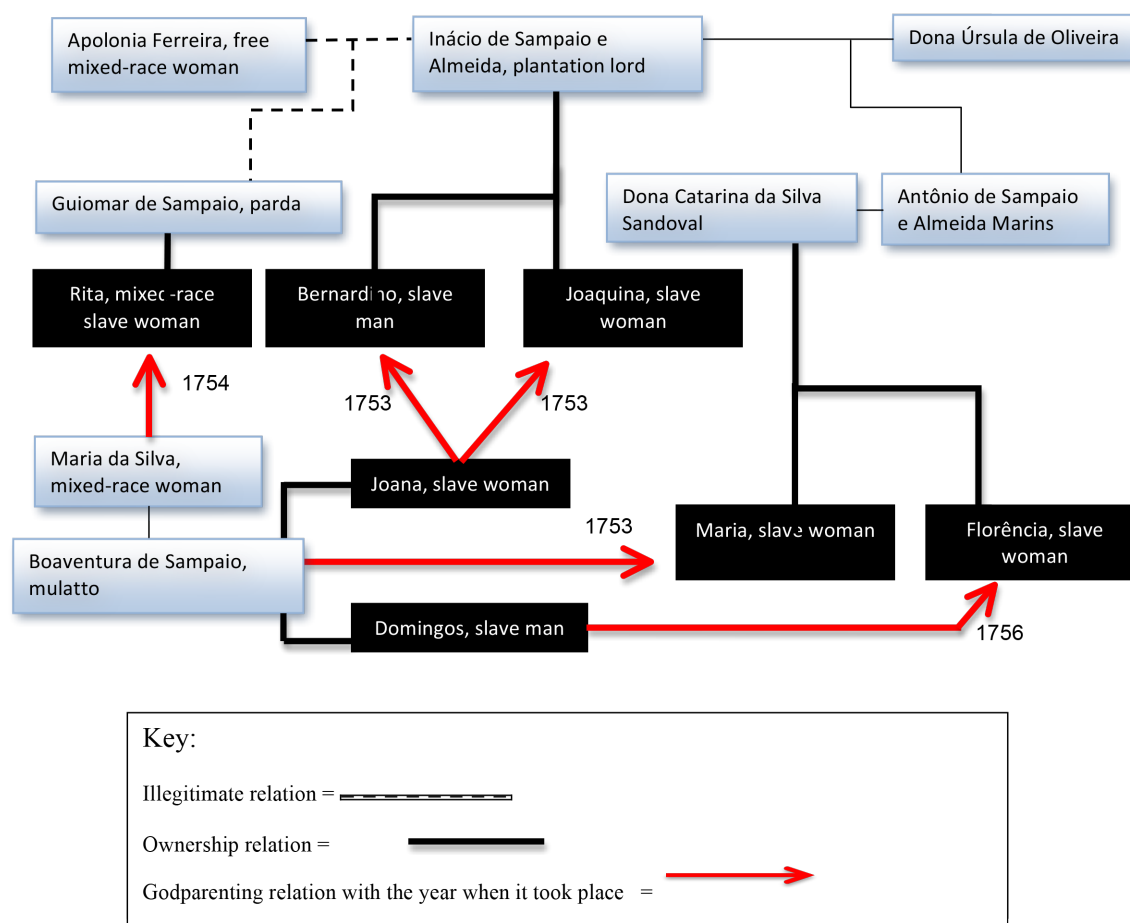
An example of this was the choice of Boaventura de Sampaio as one of the executors of the will of his aunt and godmother, Maria de Marins, who died on September 6, 1754. Maria never married and thus died a spinster, as stated in her will. In her list of endowments, she gave a slave to Francisco da Silva, the son of Boaventura de Sampaio, and left another slave to the same Boaventura, stating: "I declare that I leave my slave Miguel to Boaventura de Sampaio, to work for him and to pay with his work for the debts that he knows I owe, and, after paying him, to remain his slave. (...) I declare that I am a partner with Boaventura de Sampaio in a sugar cane business, and my share of this sugar cane I leave to the said Boaventura de Sampaio."

In this case, the inclusion of the illegitimate relations in the Sampaio e Almeida family through work or business is outlined more precisely. For Maria de Marins, this was of great importance, as she had no children and never married, so the formation of a partnership with a nephew of hers in order to run a sugar cane business made good sense. She probably offered him land and some slaves, since she declared five of them in her will, and Boaventura de Sampaio would contribute with his work, running the plantation and its related businesses (note that, in the aforementioned fragment, she states that Boaventura knew about the debts that she had). For her, this relationship with her illegitimate nephew could fill the gap left by the absence of a male figure such as a husband or a son, i.e. Boaventura de Sampaio may have been the link connecting Maria de Marins to the world of business and work, which may not have been accessible to her otherwise, as these were

regarded as male prerogatives in colonial Brazil. This situation was also beneficial for Boaventura, who was provided by his family with the necessary resources to develop his plantation and businesses. The fact that he was also appointed as the executor of the wills of Isabel de Marins Sampaio, his other aunt, and of Guiomar de Sampaio, his illegitimate cousin and the “natural” daughter of Inácio de Sampaio, the plantation owner, who was both uncle and godfather to Boaventura, shows that he was respected by both the legitimate and the illegitimate branches of his family.

Looking at Figure 3 below, it can be seen that the networks that developed around Boaventura de Sampaio and his wife, the mixed-race woman Maria da Silva, were rather complex, even involving his slaves. It can also be seen that his legitimate relatives’ slaves sought Boaventura de Sampaio’s slaves or family to be the godparents to their children, showing evident trust and affinity with the family core, which was an illegitimate branch of the aristocratic stem. As previously shown, Boaventura worked on his aunt’s lands, which were probably located in the Rio Grande plantation, whose owner was his uncle and godfather Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida. There, he probably coordinated the slaves’ work or performed less tiring work, but it is certain that he functioned as the eyes and ears of both the masters in relation to the slaves and of the slaves in relation to the masters. After all, if he was chosen as the godfather by the slaves, that meant that they looked upon Boaventura to support them in moments of difficulty or tension with their masters.

Figure 3: godparenting relation of Boaventura de Sampaio's family and slaves



The Sampaio e Almeida family raised their illegitimate children due to reasons of conscience, and perhaps even as a way of diminishing their guilt in relation to this sin. As these children grew up, they certainly enjoyed more trust from the Sampaio e Almeida family (who gave them responsibility for overseeing part of the plantations and the slaves) than did the foremen from outside the family, who were unrelated to their slaves. Thus, they were able to perform a strategic role if they accepted this subordinate position reserved for them in family businesses. The constant arrival of foreign slaves from Africa and the need to supervise their work brought with it the need for trustworthy communicators. In a way, the Atlantic slave traffic may have encouraged the integration of illegitimate offspring into the bosom of plantation-owning families, since they were accepted and, supposedly, also took interest in developing their businesses.

Conclusion

It is too early to make a precise judgment about the role of illegitimate children in high society families in Portuguese America. Nevertheless, they might be considered to belong to the broader social category of the so-called *excluídos senhoriais*, as defined by Manoela Pedroza. In such elites, the problem of dividing lands and plantations over various generations was a difficult one, bringing with it serious risks that could weaken the family structure and lead to the break-up of the plantations. So, the elite groups of Rio de Janeiro studied by Pedroza opted to omit some children from the division of property, leaving them with few lands or even with none at all. This did not mean, however, that they were excluded from the family. Many of them lived on the family's plantations, performing small services, working on subsistence smallholdings, or even serving as trusted intermediaries for the plantation owners, who were actually their relatives. Pedroza also points out that it is possible that these relatives who were excluded from the inheritance of the plantation owners' estate acted as bridges between the world of the masters and the poor farm workers (Pedroza, 2012: 186-191).

On the other hand, the illegitimate children of elite families, mostly arising from the relations that the lords of the manor had with slave women and free mixed-race women, were therefore born with a legal status that considered them to be hierarchically inferior to a legitimate relative. This is how they appeared to differ from their legitimate relatives who were excluded from the testamentary transfer within their own families: unlike these legitimate relatives, illegitimate children were excluded by specific legislation from inheriting the estate of the prestigious families exerting local power. As a result, they ended up representing an extreme group within the *excluídos senhoriais*, in terms of testamentary transfer.

However, what initially seemed to be an insurmountable legal exclusion may not have appeared as such in actual social practice. There was a logic behind the acceptance of illegitimate children in prestigious families: the logic of their inclusion in the division of family property arose from their willingness to accept the family hierarchy and the positions dictated by the legitimate relatives. Since these illegitimate children had no legal right to claim any inheritance, they were inclined to be even more obedient of family commands than those legitimate children that were disinherited in the division of property, but who were better placed to make family agreements through which they could obtain other benefits. The respect and obedience that illegitimate children showed to their lineage

could entitle them to endowments in family wills, better working and living conditions, and, perhaps, even social ascension.

But what kind of nobility is this that has natural children with slaves and then incorporates them into the family's life? The example of the Sampaio e Almeida family is certainly not a paradigm among elite families in Portuguese America, although recent research describing the nobility in the region of Rio de Janeiro has highlighted the increasing tendency for elite families to have relationships with mixed-race individuals with whom they often shared a family, including mulatto relatives who reached positions of ecclesiastic or military prominence, through the influence of their elite families (Fragoso, 2010; Aguiar, 2012). In fact, the acceptance of natural children was also seen as a valuable asset within that context in which there were vast lands to be occupied and much work to be done, i.e., even though they were natural children, they could be useful for their families by providing some specialized work, serving as intermediaries in business or even occupying those lands, so as to keep them in the family. In this way, they could contribute to the family's material well-being, which was one of the main factors determining the social quality of the family. Thus, for reasons of conscience or even for financial reasons, the exclusion of mixed-race and natural children was not necessarily the norm among all local elite families, even if, legally, they could effectively reject or even disown their natural children.

As previously pointed out, both the use that was made of this legal entitlement that elite families enjoyed to exclude mixed-race and natural children from inheritance and the effectiveness of such a ban is a topic that requires further research through the observation of other cases. Nevertheless, this mechanism may reveal itself to have been one of the key aspects in the reinforcement of the hierarchical relations existing between legitimate and illegitimate relatives within socially acknowledged noble families, thus creating a situation in which relationships of dependence were created between the two sides. It is therefore possible to form a picture that sees illegitimate relatives as enjoying a social condition that extended beyond their particularities as a hierarchically inferior social group, while also reflecting on their role in the formation of hierarchies and the status of an old social elite in Portuguese America.

Documentation

Arquivo da Cúria Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro

Livro de Batismo de Escravos de Jacarepaguá, 1752-1795.

Will and Testament of Isabel de Marins Sampaio, 16/11/1738. *Livro de Óbitos de Livres de Jacarepaguá, 1734 – 1796.*

Will and Testament of Inácio de Sampaio e Almeida, 28/09/1748. *Livro de Óbitos de Livres de Jacarepaguá, 1734 – 1796.*

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

REQUERIMENTO do alferes de uma das Companhias da Nobreza do Rio de Janeiro, Antônio de Sampaio de Almeida Moraes, ao rei [D. João V], solicitando alvará para que os escrivães lhe passassem sua folha de culpas, necessária para poder receber a respectiva carta patente. Rio de Janeiro, 19 de setembro de 1743, Caixa 36, Doc. 3.752, Projeto Resgate (Centro de Memória Digital, Universidade de Brasília, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>)

MAPAS descritivos da população das freguesias de Campo Grande, Jacarepaguá, Guaratiba, Marapicú, Jacutinga, Aguaiú e Taguai do distrito de Guaratiba, capitania do Rio de Janeiro, feitos por ordem do vice-rei do Estado do Brasil, conde de Resende [1797]. AHU, Rio de Janeiro, Caixa 165, Doc. 62. Projeto Resgate (Centro de Memória Digital, Universidade de Brasília, <http://www.cmd.unb.br/biblioteca.html>).

Family Search Digital Collection – www.familysearch.org

Livro de Batismos de Escravos de Jacarepaguá, 1691-1721. Visualized through the website www.familysearch.org.

Will and Testament of Bárbara de Marins, 28/04/1728. *Livro de Óbitos de Livres e Escravos de Jacarepaguá, 1667-1738.* Visualized through the website www.familysearch.org.

Will and Testament of João de Sampaio e Almeida, 07/04/1718. *Livro de Óbitos de Livres do Santíssimo Sacramento, 1714-1719.* Visualized through the website www.familysearch.org.

Will and Testament of João da Costa, 19/07/1711. *Livro de Óbitos de Livres e Escravos de Jacarepaguá, 1667-1738.* Visualized through the website www.familysearch.org.

Will and Testament of Miguel de Sampaio e Almeida, 01/02/1714. *Livro de Óbitos da Candelária, 1736-1744.* Visualized through the website www.familysearch.org.

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A.H. de Oliveira Marques: medieval views¹

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In a passage taken from a well-known interview, A. H. de Oliveira Marques considered that his work was always based on sources and that it reflects an interpretive view of historical realities (Ferro, 1994: 169). This is, in fact, completely true, but his modesty prevented him from adding some of the consequences that his work had among the community of historians, in this case the medievalists.³ Fortunately, the importance of his legacy has been strongly recognized, and it is very rewarding to see that some of the latest comments on the significance of Oliveira Marques' many assets draw our attention to *his capacity for synthesis, his facility for leading group projects and his propensity for "creating a School," for leaving a historiographical legacy* (Homem, 2007: 3).

In my view, and in total accordance with this approach, it is very easy to justify such compliments by taking some features of his work into account. In fact, in 1956, he completed his university degree with a dissertation on *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa (aspectos da vida quotidiana)*⁴, while he also adopted among his topics of study, themes like an important law issued by the Portuguese king Afonso IV in 1340; the Portuguese population in the thirteenth century or the medieval currency and navigation between Prussia and Portugal in the fourteenth century (Marques, 1959). This was undoubtedly innovative, and certainly quite daring. As far as medieval studies are concerned, the historiographical profile of that epoch may be defined by mentioning Oliveira Marques' major contributions on those themes, as they were all relevant and full of novelty. So, it is not surprising that the author continued to choose other striking themes, as in the case of his PhD thesis, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média* (Marques, 1959) or *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal* (1962). In less than ten years, this historian firmly established one of the directions of his research, doing justice to his methodological proximity to Virginia Rau, and, of course, in the case of the economic dimension, also to the influence of Magalhães Godinho's ideals. Nevertheless, these works reveal, at the same time, a particular concern with enhancing

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³ An approach to Oliveira Marques' contemporary historical studies was presented by Meneses, 2013.

⁴ Only published in 1964a.

important characteristics of the Middle Ages, which, up to then, had not been divulged by Portuguese medieval historiography (see Coelho, 2007: 2).

To mention what the author said about his work on the Portuguese rural economy, Oliveira Marques wrote years later that the book *deals especially with the problem of cereals* (Marques, 1988: 77). Its impact did in fact go far beyond this: it opened a wide range of possibilities for research by future generations, and it still stands as a benchmark for how a documentary source - the *Livro do Proviminto do Pão* - appeared as the point of departure that, in conjunction with other available documents, paved the way for fresh insights about medieval economic structures. As far as this option is concerned, Oliveira Marques seems to *prefer being one step ahead of his time* (Coelho, 2006) and announces here many of his forthcoming preferences.

And the same applies to *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa*, the study of both ordinary people and elites, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, analyzed from the point of view of a rigorous, but, at the same time, emotional and caring historian able to stress the importance of themes like food, dress, housing, work, welfare, distractions, beliefs, spiritual life, funerals, courtship, love, culture, and education. The book is a remarkable portrait of medieval society. Furthermore, as Wheeler wrote: *the work is handsomely illustrated, too, with reproductions of engravings from manuscripts and books* (2007: 3). In a recent comment, Rodrigues da Silva emphasized the pioneering nature of this approach (2007: 7).

These *premature* views regarding Portuguese historiography foreshadowed some problems that were only to be expected, especially if we recall that, also in Portugal, the 1960s were famous for periods of *academic crisis*.⁵ Later, when Oliveira Marques was already back in Portugal, urban history, which was, in fact, to become an everlasting topic throughout his life, came to light with a renewed visibility. He conceived his own methodology for studying urbanism, and there was an immense adherence by other scholars to his views about medieval cities.⁶ Within this specific *milieu*, postgraduate courses at the New University of Lisbon included a seminar totally dedicated to this theme, which was held under his guidance, and the book *Novos Ensaios de História Portuguesa* (1988) was also published, testifying to the importance of the theme. Because of the attention that was being paid to this important area, several master's degree dissertations were presented, and the time was considered appropriate for aiming even higher: he supervised the edition of

⁵ Oliveira Marques left Portugal and was welcomed in the United States. He was a professor at Auburn, (Alabama) and Florida, and gave lectures in many other universities across the country.

⁶ For a detailed analysis, see Coelho (2003:31-34); Freitas (2009: 193-195).

an *Atlas de Cidades Medievais Portuguesas* (1990), a book that, indeed, filled a noticeable gap in Portuguese Studies.⁷

It is thus clear that writing about Oliveira Marques urges us to remember the novelty of the issues studied, but it also compels us to stress that the historian, because he was also a teacher, did not ignore students' most particular interests. This commitment led him (together with other colleagues) to edit an album of paleography and diplomacy (1987) and to engage in a complex and arduous task: to provide students with a guide to medieval history (first published in 1964, but followed by constantly revised editions), a book he dedicated "*To my students.*" This last work had, as I understand it, an immense influence on the subsequent advance of Medieval Studies in Portugal. It is sufficient to add that it was updated in the second and third editions, precisely due to the increase in the number of studies that had been written on the epoch, especially during the 1980s. This fact justified *additions and corrections nearly page by page*, as the author himself wrote (1988: 25). The publication of the *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa*, which included several suggestions for enhancing new medieval research work, is, perhaps, one of the best examples for explaining his belief in future generations. The author stated that this book was a choice that he had made on his own, and not in response to any request. He called it a spontaneous choice. We just have to thank him for having followed his instinct.

Due to his dedication to a *school*, his willingness to develop collaborative projects and to follow a coherent program of publishing primary sources from the medieval and early modern period is well known, especially at the *Centro de Estudos Históricos* (Lisbon). This goal included an intense program of publication of the records of the royal courts and chanceries, and, fortunately, some of his pupils have continued this practice with publications on a regular basis⁸: seven volumes of *Cortes Portuguesas* and fourteen volumes of the *Chancelarias Régias* of the kings Afonso IV, Pedro I, João I and Duarte, are remarkable examples attesting to his commitment in these areas.

Besides recognizing the extreme importance of all these works, we need to continue our pursuit of the historian in order to highlight his other skills. His almost unique capacity for synthesis⁹ is certainly one of them. This ability placed Oliveira Marques at another level of success, certainly one that was more visible and had greater impact,

⁷ An option that Oliveira Marques continued in 2003 with the co-edition of *Atlas histórico de Portugal e do Ultramar português*.

⁸ To consult the complete list of published works, see http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/ceh/publicacoes_cortes.html and http://www2.fcsh.unl.pt/ceh/publicacoes_chancelarias.html (accessed on Nov 20, 2014).

⁹ The precise meaning of this word was well expressed and understood by Duarte (2003: 160).

resulting in his own conception of a *História de Portugal*,¹⁰ an attempt to assemble a new vision of Portuguese History. This was written in the United States (where he lived and taught from 1965 until 1970), after the author had recognized “...that there was nothing commendable, nothing, indeed, that a professor of history of Portugal could advise to the students...” (Marques, 1972: XIII). The book was also published in English (1972) and translated into several languages, so that it is reasonable to think that, among other aims, this initiative could have had the purpose of filling a gap felt by the historian and also by the academic community that surrounded him at that time. We cannot help wondering if this option could also be considered, in a way, as an attempt to return home, expressed in each line he wrote.

The way he planned this work was, once again, innovative. Oliveira Marques went beyond the traditional model that had been used until then, as expected, giving us his views along a lengthy timeline (from *remote times* to the contemporary Portuguese reality).¹¹ It presents a harmonious symbiosis between facts, chronology, and interpretation. It also focuses more frequently on economic and social history rather than on political points of view. This project was further enriched by the historian’s including a precise cartography, selected bibliography, and a very useful index, as Gomes has already noticed (2007).

About this major contribution, António Costa Pinto wrote that it is *one of the most readable, balanced and scholarly histories of the country written in the twentieth century, almost unique among those addressed to the average reader* (Pinto, 2007: 56). Perhaps in continuation of a previous substantial, and also remarkable, collaboration with Joel Serrão on the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (1963-1971),¹² both historians returned to the idea of embarking on a *Nova História de Portugal*¹³ (ten volumes published between 1987 and 2004), and also a *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa* (8 volumes between 1986 and 2006). Oliveira Marques could not conceive of one without the other, as he confessed to João Pedro Ferro, just as his belief in the need to provide an insight into Portuguese expansion, in which civilizations

¹⁰ Published in English by Columbia University Press in 1972, and in Portuguese in 1972-1974 (with roughly 18 successive updated editions, even in other languages: see Freitas (2011: 612, footnote 22)). The author also organized the *Breve História de Portugal*, 1995, translated into French, English, Chinese, Romanian, German, and Italian (Coelho, 2007a).

¹¹ The subtitle was to change - from 1972 to 1981 - according to the political rulers of the Portuguese Government: Marcelo Caetano, Palma Carlos, Pinheiro de Azevedo, and Ramalho Eanes.

¹² On Oliveira Marques’ contributions to this important Dictionary, Freitas (2011: 612) chooses to mention only three articles within the medieval epoch: *Pesos e Medidas*; *Diplomática* and *Paleografia*. In fact, the historian had 85 articles published in this Dictionary (Coelho, 2003: 37).

¹³ In fact, Oliveira Marques recognized that his commitment to organizing a “new” collection on Portuguese history was anchored in a previous project, in which Magalhães Godinho had played a crucial role, back in the 1960s (Ferro, 1994: 181-182).

and local ethnic groups had a prominent place, made the author defend an autonomous organization of the two collections (Ferro, 1994: 181 and 183).

Despite his many contributions to these new editorial projects, one should also stress his personal choice to write an entire volume about Portuguese history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*). Of the whole collection, this one was the first volume to be published (number 4), dealing with late medieval chronologies. It still remains, and will continue to be, difficult to surpass this volume in terms of its historical accuracy.

Offering new views on that epoch, at the end of the 1980s, proved to be possible, and was therefore not surprising: to say the least, Oliveira Marques was undoubtedly both directly and indirectly responsible for much of the research carried out up to that point. He was able to provide us, in a very coherent and precise style, with all the fundamental data about a topic. Paying attention to some of his own words written in the preamble to the book, even the page layout is new for 1987: we all recall those intertextual insertions with a different letter size to read if you are interested in all the details about a specific topic (Marques, 1987: 10; Duarte, 2003: 163, footnote 18). Also his self-confessed preference for using expressions such as *it seems that, probably, as far as we know* paved the way for future works promoted by the following generation. It is thus a prospective book. That is why, for medievalists, that thick green volume will always be a reference work that is always close at hand.

The truth is that he left us with an enormous legacy, full of ideas that fortunately many of us have since taken into account. If we recall Oliveira Marques' integration into a complex academic universe that may have compelled him to make some of his particular choices, his effort, in the pursuit of excellence, however painful it may have been, still prevails in his concern with leaving us a real example. An effort that has been justifiably recognized, it must be stressed. In fact, this historian is still very highly valued by many of his disciples, and he was able to see for himself the result of such dedication.

First of all, 25 years after the publication of his very first article – *A Pragmática de 1340* – some former students organized the publication of two volumes (*Estudos de História de Portugal*, 1982-1983). The first one comprises 13 articles on medieval topics. If we recall the authors who were invited to collaborate or voluntarily provided their own contributions to this homage, there are one or two things that may be worth mentioning: some were very close friends and colleagues from the time when they had studied together; others were pupils who began their career selecting the medieval epoch to focus on in their

research (some continued, some did not); and, finally, some were non-Portuguese authors, who were interested in Portuguese themes and who knew Oliveira Marques personally.

Secondly, in 2003, on the occasion of his retirement (*Na Jubilação Universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*), another tribute was prepared and published in what we might describe as a “joint venture” between the Universities of Coimbra and Porto, in which some of Oliveira Marques’ most prestigious disciples were again present. Nine authors presented nine themes that interested our author, and the book was completed with an updated list of his publications between 1982 and 2003. This was the scheme of this book; undoubtedly a simple structure that turned out to be coherent and was certainly helpful for understanding the work of the historian.

Thirdly, after his death in 2007, it was very easy to find obituaries and eulogies to the man, the professor, the historian, and the citizen. Among many other tributes, it was the e-JPH editor’s privilege to organize such a contribution (Homem, 2007; Coelho, 2007; and Wheeler, 2007), where two of his disciples, once again, bore testimony to his work, along with a stimulating article by Douglas Wheeler, who wrote *A Foreign Historian’s Perspective on Oliveira Marques’ Principal Historical Studies in English*.

Lastly, in 2009, in continuation of an already published previous volume, Brepols invested in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, compiled under the coordination of Martin Aurell and Julia Pavón. Some key medievalists of that time were selected, and Oliveira Marques, surrounded by such authors as Runcimann, Huizinga, Gourevitch, Forey, among others, is presented to us through the hand of a researcher of my generation, Judite Freitas.

These examples have merely been used to draw attention to something that Oliveira Marques as a teacher, researcher and historian most definitely achieved: the ability to gather together a vast *consensus* around his work.

His legacy is enormous and, to a certain extent, some of his historical interpretations were to alter a frequently ignored understanding of the Middle Ages by stressing the need to observe this period through the complexity of all the different elements that had contributed to its evolution. The explicitness of his discourse, his objectiveness, his appeal to a precise vocabulary, and his systematic use of primary sources helped to introduce some novelty into the perception of such themes as the concept of *feudal society*...as far as he understood it. Contrary to what had generally been thought until then, by giving the title of *The Feudal Era* to one of the chapters of *História de Portugal*,

Oliveira Marques clearly stated his view about *Feudalism* (Mendes, 1996: 322).¹⁴ Furthermore, his admiration for the Muslim civilization and culture, highlighting its role in the formation of Portugal (Coelho, 2003: 39), led many historians to revise their positions on the subject of the “reconquest.”

To finish this brief survey, I should like to mention two particular moments in Oliveira Marques’ writing that enchanted me on account of their acuity and subtlety. Firstly, his great humility when stating, in an opening note to the 4th edition of his *History of Portugal*, that *the success of this book does not make me forget the sadness I feel over the lack of book reviews. Only Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos published one in Brotéria, in 1973*, as Mendes reminded us (1996: 323). Secondly, the enormous challenge for today’s historiographers in following in his footsteps regarding the simplicity of expounding an idea: *I believe that one of the missions of the historian is to transform the difficult into the easy* (Ferro, 1994: 170).

Complementing these views it occurred to me to consult the recent book *Historiography of Medieval Portugal c. 1950-2010*. This comprises twenty-eight articles by different authors. Disregarding five papers that deal with themes that Oliveira Marques did not especially dedicate his attention to, all the others include several references to the historian. Many express positive opinions about his work, others contradict some of his views. That is the way the story goes, especially if you are able to use the results of new research that our historian could not possibly have known about in his time. His views have a date, which corresponds to a precise historiographical moment in Portuguese erudition. He presents his conclusions and analysis based on the state of the art at the time when he was writing his books (just like any of us). That is why, in the aftermath of new research, it is likely that some of his ideas may need some adjustment.¹⁵

This is, indeed, the right way for history to evolve. All those who had the privilege of knowing Oliveira Marques’ work will never doubt that he would like history to find its own path: *The history of any country finds itself constantly evolving. Hypotheses, assumptions and truths*

¹⁴ The author gives many other examples. See Mendes (1996: 318-324).

¹⁵ Duarte mentioned precisely this when he wrote: “When Oliveira Marques insisted, in his classic *Introduction to the History of Agriculture*, on the chronic shortage of cereals in medieval Portugal, was he not generalizing to the country a situation that was felt in Lisbon and which was, to a lesser extent, also felt in Porto? Recent studies advise us that, we should at least, keep the question open.” Available at http://www.usc.es/estaticos/congresos/histec05/b24_duarte.pdf.

of a time are constantly modified, according to new studies. [...] The work of making history is continuous and often involves complete and permanent renewal (Marques, 1999: 35).

But, much more important than this is the enormous challenge that he has left for today's historiography: those who have received such a legacy have no excuses for not doing their work properly. By doing so, it will be possible to do justice to the huge contribution that he made throughout his academic life.

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Vitorino Magalhães Godinho¹

Luís Adão da Fonseca²

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho was born in Lisbon, in June 1918, into a family with republican traditions, and he died in April 2011. Early in his life, he made frequent contact in Lisbon with leading figures from the Portuguese culture of that time, such as Newton de Macedo, Delfim Santos, António Sérgio and the staff of the journal *Seara Nova* (Magalhães, 1988: 2).

As a student, he attended the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, although he did not really fit in there, such that, intellectually speaking, he can be considered to have been largely self-taught, as has already been noted (Magalhães, 1988: 2). This author considered this circumstance to be the starting point for Godinho's own self-education, which (and I quote) obliged him to read the “great masters - Henri Pirenne, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, Vidal de la Blanche, Gordon Childe, Léon Brunschvicg, Edmond Goblot, Pierre Janet, Jean Piaget, Paul Guillaume, [and the Portuguese] Jaime Cortesão, António Sérgio, Duarte Leite and Veiga Simões” (Magalhães, 1988: 2).

Having graduated in Philosophy and History, his first work of major importance was entitled *Reason and History* [*Razão e história (introdução a um problema)*] (1940). Years later, shortly before he died, he spoke about this first book in an interview, saying, “I still think that history is a science, or a scientifically conducted activity, but it is important that it should be further complemented by philosophical reflection, and indeed by the study of all the humanities. Philosophical reflection enlightens us and guides us; it shows us the deeper meaning of things” (GODINHO, 2011).

Vitorino Magalhães Godinho then became a teacher at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, where he lectured from 1942 to 1944. Although he was required to teach a wide variety of different subjects (as was the common practice at that time) (Magalhães, 1988: 3; Sousa, 2012: 155), in 1943, he published the first volume of *Documents on the Portuguese Expansion* (*Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa*), which was followed by two further volumes in 1945 and 1956. This work is remarkable for its selection of sources and the critical comments which accompany these, and it is still considered today to be an

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indispensable tool for study, being widely used by both scholars and students alike. It is the text of a youthful author, but nonetheless reveals a surprising maturity, expressing two major concerns that were to accompany the author throughout his life: the topic of the discoveries and the importance given to historical sources. As he wrote in another text published in the same year (1943), “history should, if possible, be based predominantly on published sources, and ideally it should use these exclusively, so that everyone can check the interpretations made (in science, it is essential to be able to verify all claims that are made).³

However, he soon left the University of Lisbon to give free lessons at the Ateneu Comercial de Lisboa (1944-1946), where his courses were attended by many leading figures who later became important names in Portuguese historiography: Jorge de Macedo, Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, and Joel Serrão, among others (Magalhães, 1988: 4).

He published *The Crisis of History and its New Guidelines* (*A crise da história e as suas novas directrizes* [1946]), which is a very critical text, although it was largely conditioned by the characteristics of that time, so that it is now rather dated (Magalhães, 1988: 4-6). Godinho does, however, raise some fundamental issues in this book, such as the social function of science. And he once again asks the same question that had been raised a few years earlier by Marc Bloch: What is the Use of History? (Magalhães, 1988: 6). The authors he referred to in those years were major figures in that field: Henri Pirenne, Afonso Dopsch, Marc Bloch, and Gordon Childe (Magalhães, 1988: 5). He attached great importance to economic history and the history of technology (the influence of Gordon Childe perhaps?), as well as to the study of a cultural history that already pointed to the future history of mentalities. He was fascinated by Lucien Febvre’s *Religion of Rabelais*, according to Braudel (Magalhães, 1988: 5; Braudel, 1949: 197).

To make ends meet, Godinho worked at a private publishing company, where he was responsible for the publication of important texts, such as the collection known as “The March of Humanity,” published in Portugal by Cosmos. At that time, there was great interest in the dissemination of major historical texts in Portugal. In general, these texts were the ones that had accompanied him since his days at the University. On the back cover of one of these, *The World We Have Lost* by Peter Laslett, published in this collection in 1975, there is a list of other authors, including Gustav Glotz, Vidal de la Blanche, Gordon Childe, Paul Hazard, and E. J. Hobsbawm. But there were also other authors of works that today have become major references in Portuguese historiography (A. H. de

³ Stated for the first time in *Dúvidas e problemas acerca de algumas teses da História da Expansão*, Lisbon, Edições da Gazeta de Filosofia, 1943, p. 4, this was later reproduced in GODINHO (1962), p. 9.

Oliveira Marques, Romero de Magalhães, Miriam Halpern Pereira). This collection was advertised as tackling *History envisaged sociologically*. At the time when the series was created (in the 1940s), the most obvious influence was that of the French collection *L'évolution de l'Humanité*, founded by Henri Berr in the 1920s. The feeling one gets is that, in the mid-1940s, Godinho was very close to the universe of historians who worked with the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*. It is interesting to note that, in what was later to become a fundamental work in his intellectual process (*The Economy of the Discoveries with Prince Henry the Navigator* [*A Economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos* (1962)], the non-Portuguese authors that are quoted in the introduction to the book are Henri Berr, Henri Focillon, Fernand Braudel and Lucien Febvre (Godinho, 1962: XII-XIII).

In 1947, he moved to Paris to work as a researcher with the CNRS. There, in 1955, he published his first work on economic history (*Prices and money in Portugal. 1750-1850* [*Prix et monnaies au Portugal, 1750-1850*]), with a foreword by Lucien Febvre, and came into direct contact with the *Annales School*. Starting with prices, he moved on to money and from there to the commercial network (Magalhães, 1988: 7-9). At the same time, he began to prepare his doctoral thesis. As he himself said, he became acquainted with figures such as Fernand Braudel, Marcel Bataillon and Georges Gurvitch (Godinho, 2011). Braudel himself recognizes this when, in a text entitled *Au Portugal: avant et après les grandes découvertes*, he wrote:

All these problems of the Portuguese fate have not escaped the imperialism of our young friend and colleague [...]. He takes them up, transforms them and enlightens us with a taste that his predecessors have almost never applied to economic and social realities. From now on, we can see the vastness and novelty of his work. For this tireless researcher, Portugal is a wonderful tool for understanding more about the history of the world between the so-called Middle Ages and modern times. (Braudel, 1949: 196)

I believe that here we can define the universe in which, in historiographical terms, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho lived his cultural and scientific life. There is an interesting statement, made at the end of his life, that explains this very clearly: “The key is to have a good bibliography, and, in that respect, I have no fear of being ‘out of date’. The latest is not necessarily the best. It is important to understand that some works from the 1960s and 1970s are insurmountable” (Godinho, 2011).

He received his PhD in Paris, in 1969, with a dissertation entitled *The Economy of the Portuguese Empire, 15th and 16th Centuries* (*L'Économie de l'empire portugais aux XVe-XVIe siècles. L'or et le poivre. Route de Guinée et Route du Cap*), published in Portuguese, with later additions in 1963-1971 (*The Discoveries and the World Economy*). It is a text with a Braudelian inspiration, which should, in my view, be placed alongside many other texts written in those middle years of the twentieth century in the wake of Braudel's *The Mediterranean*. I am thinking, for example, of Pierre Chaunu (Chaunu, 1955-1960; Chaunu, 1960-1966), Frédéric Mauro (Mauro, 1960), and later, K. N. Chaudhuri (Chaudhuri, 1990), a book whose introduction is significantly entitled: *Fernand Braudel and 'Asia Before Europe': a tribute, recollections and a dialogue*.

Godinho returned to Portugal for a short time, but again encountered political problems and was obliged to give up teaching (1962). In those years, he published a book (*The Economy of the Discoveries with Prince Henry the Navigator* [*A economia dos Descobrimentos Henriquinos*, 1962], already quoted), which, in my view, is fundamental for understanding his intellectual trajectory. Written in the context of the 1960 celebrations (Sousa, 2012: 72-79), he seizes upon an old text, *The Fifteenth-century Portuguese Expansion* (*A expansão quatrocentista portuguesa: problemas das origens e da linha de evolução* [1945]), and the three volumes of the *Documents*, mentioned earlier. It was an editorial failure - if I may use this expression (the publication of the text was rejected by the committee that had commissioned it) - but it constituted both a scientific and a personal success. After the publication of this work, it was difficult to write any study of the origins of the Portuguese expansion without taking into account what Vitorino Magalhães Godinho had written in that book.

He had, however, also published (in 1956) a significant reconstruction of the African civilizations before the arrival of the Portuguese (the "*Mediterranean Sahara*" and the *caravans of gold - from the eleventh century to the sixteenth century* [*O 'Mediterrâneo Saariano' e as Caravanas do Ouro. Geografia económica e social do Sáara Ocidental e Central do XI ao XVI século*]). This is an offprint from the *Revista de História* of São Paulo, and it is a fundamental text, in which we can see the author's conviction that only through the combination of two levels of research (European and local) can we correctly understand the true dimension of the Portuguese expansion.

In the meantime, he returned to his work with private publishers, and he prepared the Portuguese edition of his doctoral thesis, mentioned earlier. At the same time, he apparently began to consider writing a History of Portugal. Romero de Magalhães has

looked at other texts by the author and has tried to work out what the main lines of this book's argument would have been:

Portugal, first of all, is a port, where the men came down from the mountains and then began to spread throughout the world. By analyzing the structure, conjuncture and periodization of this country's activity, from the historical and geographical complex, he will conclude that there was not just one Portuguese empire, but several, enlivening our history through colonizations and decolonizations, while, as a result of the persistence of internal diversities, the country lost its balance. And the State, installed in the macrocephalous city of Lisbon, full of towns and villages, looked outwards, from where it received the bulk of its revenues. Modernization – achieved through improved technology – always came late, or else did not come at all, failing without utilization of outbreaks industrializers, settled by commercial recoveries. The weakness of our bourgeoisie, competing with the commodified Church and peerage, prevented them from becoming the driving force for growth that would enable the land to cease to act as a stepmother and make it possible for the Portuguese to achieve their desires. This took place in a world where they were spread far and wide, to which they had adapted, and that they would help to transform and mold to their way of feeling and being. And, through these contacts, the Portuguese themselves would also be transformed. (Magalhães, 1988: 13–14)

After a fairly lengthy stay in Clermont-Ferrand (1970-1974), Vitorino Magalhães Godinho returned to Portugal.

Taking advantage of the change in regime in 1974, he tried to introduce a new educational policy in the country. He was appointed Minister of Education and Culture, and, in this capacity, he published a book with his vision of what he considered should be the reform of the Portuguese education system (*A direction for education* [*Um rumo para a educação*, 1974]). The results of his activity were fairly reduced (having taken office in July, he resigned in November) (Godinho, 2009). And he only returned to public office ten years later, in 1984, as the Director of the National Library in Lisbon.

He himself stated - with some disappointment - that he had always believed in the gestation of a *new* man and a *new* Portugal (Godinho, 2004; Godinho, 2011). To some

extent, it was these two convictions that dictated the positions of citizenship that he adopted throughout his life, and led him to hold various public offices. He was the founder of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the New University of Lisbon, the school where he spent the last phase of his academic life with a large group of his disciples gathered around him (Magalhães, 1988: 15), and where he was able to offer some very important teachings in the cultural and historiographical field.

In this sense, he remained faithful to his youthful belief that the solution to the problems of the contemporary Portuguese reality were to be found in the study of the country's historical process. In other words, it was essential to understand the circumstances that lay behind the formation of these problems, in this way linking historical analysis to the affirmation of citizenship (Sousa, 2012), and thus, simultaneously, illustrating the prospective dimension of his historical thinking. As he wrote: "today [...] the perspective deriving from the historical problems that are imposed on us is an indispensable analytical tool, particularly when we are looking, as we should be, for foresight" (Godinho, [1969]: 9).

The limited success of some of these experiences left him with clear signs of bitterness. It was a personal feeling, but it was also an experience that, in general, many Braudelians felt. In 1984, Braudel himself had confessed, in an interview with the journal *Magazine Littéraire*, that he felt intellectually alone (Ribeiro, 2010: 132). It would be interesting to compare some of these assertions with others, for example those made by David Romano (Romano, 1997). The aim would be to assess to what extent that bitterness is, deep down, an expression of the failure of the direct disciples of Braudel to adjust to the *third phase* of the *Annales school*. There is, indeed, on the part of Godinho, a clear connection to this moment of the *Annales School*, a connection that has been widely emphasized by all who have studied his work (Cardoso, 2011).

In 1978, he founded, a regular publication, the *Journal of Social and Economic History* [*Revista de História Económica e Social*], where, over the years, he published a number of relevant papers. This journal quickly became a benchmark for high-quality research, while he himself continued to publish a number of other important studies. For example: *Myth and merchandise, the utopia and practice of navigating, 13th-18th centuries* (*Mito e Mercadoria, utopia e arte de navegar. Séculos XIII a XVIII*, 1990); *The opening up of the world: from the plurality of spaces to the global space of humanity (15th-16th centuries)* (*Le devisement du monde: de la pluralité des espaces à l'espace global de l'humanité. XVème-XVIème siècles*, 2000).

What, in short, are the fundamental issues in the work of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho? I think there is one basic belief: the idea of global spaces, differentiated typologically and chronologically. This is clearly visible, for example, in the article entitled *Historical-Geographical Complex (Complexo histórico-geográfico)*, published in the *Dictionary of the History of Portugal* (1963). I think the perspective developed in this text plays a foundational role in the future evolution of the thought of this author. Indeed, the concepts of Global Space and Maritime Empire can be considered to be two of the central ideas of his historical production (Munteal, 1999).

Linked to the concept of the Maritime Empire and his contributions to the understanding of the evolution of the world-economy, based on other concepts used by Godinho and directly derived from his Braudelian influences, are the geographical dimension of history, the articulation of the multidimensionality and uniqueness of the historical process, and the close links between the past and the present. Clearly, what was said has theoretical implications and related methodological considerations, which are also not far removed from his reflections on the contemporary crisis of the Humanities. Rui Santos, a teacher at the New University of Lisbon, has produced an excellent paper on this topic (entitled *With a Mind to Science: Theoretical Underpinnings of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho's Historical Work*) (Santos, 2005)⁴. Meanwhile, there are several titles that are devoted to the analysis of the problems of the present era from the perspective of the humanities. For example: *Scientific Humanism and philosophical reflection: essays (Humanismo Científico e Reflexão Filosófica* [1971b]; *Humanities and the changing world: non-current reflections (Les sciences humaines et la mutation du monde: réflexions inactuelles* [1998]).

In short, I believe that we can say that the space of geography and its relationship (or not) with different temporal rhythms, the importance given to certain conceptual categories (capitalism, civilization, global/total), which are typical of Braudelian historiography, are also directly related to the central themes of the historical thought of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. When, in a paper published in the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, José Luís Cardoso draws attention to this influence, he highlights the following aspects: 1] The interdisciplinarity and total unified history; 2] History as a conceptual elaboration (historical-geographical complex, Portugal as a “blocked society”, 3] History as a reading of the present and the future, in the light of the past (Cardoso, 2011). I believe

⁴ There are also some particularly interesting issues of journals devoted to Vitorino Magalhães Godinho in 2005: *Review of the Fernand Braudel Center* (Binghamton University) (XXVIII, 4), which, besides the text quoted from Rui Santos, also includes papers by Dale Tomich and Immanuel Wallerstein, and *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* (papers by Immanuel Wallerstein, Rita Costa Gomes, João Fragoso and Maria de Fátima Silva Gouvêa, Leonor Freire Costa, and Nuno Valério).

that, despite an apparent difference in the formulation of ideas, the aspects selected by this author are not far behind those that I have pointed out.

In conclusion, therefore, I believe that the work of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho still continues to be of major interest to historians. Certainly, with the evolution of our knowledge, there is much to reflect upon and much that needs to be reformulated. This is only natural. But his reflections, firstly because they are intelligent and secondly because they are stimulating, still remain very much alive and, as such, represent a constant challenge. As he wrote in the third volume of his *Essays*, “we are contemporaries of all ages, living in all countries. History is essentially a continuation - although it contains so many breaks - and a form of solidarity, which is sometimes desperately denied” (Godinho, 1971a: 152).

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Alberto Luiz Schneider¹

Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen: The Man and His Times

The new work *Varnhagen no Caleidoscópio* [*Varnhagen in the Kaleidoscope*] was edited by Professors Lucia Maria Paschoal Guimarães and Raquel Glezer and published by the Miguel de Cervantes Foundation. It is a collection dedicated to the life and work of the historian Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen (1816-1878), from the Memory of Knowledge [*Memória do Saber*] project, funded by the CNPq. In addition to the articles written by the organizers of the volume, there are other important contributions by Lucia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves, Guilherme Pereira das Neves, Arno Wehling and Themistocles Cezar, in addition to some previously unpublished or little-known texts by the nineteenth-century historian.

Knowledge of the “minor” Varnhagen texts that are explored here provides readers with a twin benefit: on the one hand, it describes the historical context and circumstances surrounding the life of the first Brazilian historian to produce a systematic history of Brazil, guided by documentation and scientific method, as well as offering a taste of the century of Leopold von Ranke; on the other hand, it allows us to understand the political agenda of the Empire, through the pen of Varnhagen, an educated man devoted to the consolidation of the country's unity and a diplomat in the service of Pedro II. Varnhagen's work – somewhat comparable in style to that of his contemporary Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877) – occupies a canonical position in Brazilian historiography, which is only now being studied more systematically.

A biographical introduction – written by Raquel Glezer and Lucia Maria Paschoal Guimarães – is an effective prefatory note. Varnhagen's parents – his father a German military man based in Portugal and his mother Portuguese – arrived in Sorocaba, in the heartland of the captaincy (now state) of São Paulo in 1809 to work in the existing regional

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iron mine and later returned to Portugal at the beginning of the 1820s, where the young Francis grew up. In Lisbon, he attended the Royal Military College in Luz, beginning his military career by participating in the fight against the absolutist forces of Dom Miguel. His liberal involvement is somewhat surprising in view of the widely recognized conservatism of the mature historian.

This biographical journey certainly does not explain the work, but it helps us to understand the monarchism and Lusophilia in his writings, which were produced at a time of anti-Lusitanian nativism and clearly left their mark on some of his contemporaries, such as Gonçalves Dias or even José de Alencar. Incidentally, it is important to remember that in 1844 the Emperor Dom Pedro II had converted Varnhagen's legal status (who was a Portuguese citizen, although born in Brazil) into that of a Brazilian with full rights. The exceptional nature of this act made it possible for him to join the diplomatic service, which opened the door for his activity in Europe, especially in Lisbon and Madrid, and enabled him to access books, old maps and documents. His research and scholarship culminated in his *General History of Brazil*, published in 1854 and 1857, securing Varnhagen an important place in the Brazilian literature of the nineteenth century.

The historiographical operation—as Michel de Certeau says – presents the historian as an agent who manipulates selections (from different sources, episodes, and newspaper clippings, according to his focus and perspective, etc.), in order to generate meaning and intelligibility for his narrative. *Varnhagen in the Kaleidoscope* has the merit of investigating the conditions of the historian. If we look beyond the *General History of Brazil* and contemplate “minor” texts, there emerge clear perspectives that enliven the whole of his work, marked by the circumstances of the nineteenth century, including one of his greatest obsessions: the construction of the nation-state. The book provides a glimpse of the links between the historiographical work and the route followed by the individual who wrote it, ranging from the author's youthful interests—his jobs, his prestige, and his subsequent appointment – to more substantive issues, such as his political beliefs. Varnhagen wanted to tell the history of Brazil, the State and the Brazilian people as much as possible, whose risk of breakup was uppermost in the minds of those who lived through the consolidation of the Empire.

Raquel Glezer explores Varnhagen's epistolography, in particular the letters exchanged between him and Cunha Rivara. This was a time marked by an awareness of

Portuguese decadence and the deep political and economic crisis that affected the first half of the nineteenth century. In her article, we are introduced to a young man with liberal tendencies, a reader of Herculano and then Cardinal Saraiva – an ecclesiastical liberal interested in historical documents and the Portuguese past. All were members of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, including Varnhagen, who was accepted into its fold in 1839, just one year before crossing the Atlantic. Glezer notes that “after experiencing the political and economic chaos of a kingdom in turmoil, public employment seemed the best opportunity for him to be able to do what he liked most—reading manuscripts, visiting archives and libraries [...], traveling the world” (pp. 53-54). The author suggests that while there was a shrewd sense of timing in his application for public employment in Brazil, there was also legitimacy in the request that he made.

Resident in Madrid between 1847 and 1858, Varnhagen acted more as a scholar and an historian than as a diplomat. The same did not happen in subsequent years, when he held diplomatic posts in Paraguay, Venezuela, Peru, and especially Chile. In looking at Varnhagen’s South American years, Lucia Maria Bastos das Neves Pereira and Guilherme Pereira das Neves insist on the difference in perspective between the Brazilian and Spanish-American scholars, including Diego Barros Arana in particular (1830–1906) – the author of the 16-volume *General History of Chile* – with whom Varnhagen exchanged letters and publications, and commented on the work in question. While the Brazilian historian – a *Pombalino* and an opponent of the Jesuits, with whom Brazil had joined forces against the Braganças – gave no importance to Independence, the break with Spain was the climax of the Chilean’s work. Varnhagen did not see the need for an absolute break with the colonial past, unlike the Spanish-American liberals, who were ardent critics of Spanish despotism (p. 95). The reason for this was that Varnhagen defended a monarchic liberalism that was at odds with the hegemonic republican traditions of Hispanic America, as in the case of Arana, but also of the Argentine Bartolomé Mitre and many other intellectuals involved in the public debate at the time. More than mere intellectual disagreement, the divergence illustrates the particularities of the Brazilian experience, which Varnhagen assumed the task of narrating (and defending).

Lucia Maria Paschoal Guimarães comments on a previously unpublished text, entitled “Great Journey by Steam – Fifteen States Traveled in 14 Days.” Found at the Historical Archive of Itamaraty in 2005, the handwritten text reports Varnhagen’s impressions of a quick trip (for the time) to the United States in 1867, when he left

Guayaquil and headed for Rio de Janeiro. The journey was not sanctioned by his superiors in the Brazilian government, and perhaps this is why the text was never published.

Engaging in a dialogue with the work of de Tocqueville, Varnhagen was stunned by the “progress” of American cities and the freedom that people displayed in the clothes they wore, including women. He made clear his fondness for the wide avenues of New York, the organized nature of the hotels and the efficiency of a shipping company that connected the city to Albany. But he was not embarrassed to express his shock at learning that single women could be by themselves on the streets and at the theater, and that they could even travel alone with a single man. Youths were forced to “migrate to the Far West or California,” since the boys could face the “father’s revolver or her brother,” Varnhagen records. With a decidedly professorial tone he did not fail to prescribe changes:

Lately many mothers have educated their daughters in a manner that is inappropriate for patriarchal times, but not for our time [...]. It is necessary, however, to better introduce this reform in order to slightly change the educational system for girls, to prevent them from entering boarding houses, and from doing so before they have begun to learn how to be modest and religious, and to be good housewives rather than fanciful ladies, thinking only of the apparatus of knowledge and languages, displaying the rudiments not only of physical and natural science, but also of mathematics, and becoming slaves to extravagant ways of dressing as extreme as the North Americans, and always in need of more from their husbands than the dowry that they brought with them. (p. 147)

Varnhagen’s perception, which was conservative in comparison with the general morality of the liberal elites of his time, is a striking feature of his personality. On another topic, Lucia Maria notes how his antipathy toward the Indians, which is evident in the *General History of Brazil*, reappears matter-of-factly on the trip, when he criticizes tobacco shops for their “display of cigar store Indians,” their extravagance and their bad taste in representing “wild Indians” with “stern faces and colored feather headdresses” (p. 123).

In one of the finest sections of the book, Arno Wehling explores *Memorial Orgânico* (*Organic Memorial*), the text that Varnhagen published in Spain in 1849, with a slightly altered second edition in 1851, and which was also published in the magazine *Guanabara*. In *Memorial Orgânico* – published here with Wehling’s notes – Varnhagen proposes political and economic reforms in order to ensure progress and nationality, two of the most desirable agendas of the nineteenth century, even suggesting the transfer of the capital to a

place in the center of Brazil. Despite the reformist tone—evident in his criticism of the slave trade – the political direction of Varnhagen's work is always toward “order,” social stability and ethnic homogenization. The issue of slavery is paradigmatic. He refers to the defenders of slave trafficking as:

Selfish fools! And sacrificing the future of your country for a bag of change for the taxman! [...] Do you want your Brazil, centuries from now, to be equal to the frontier of an African continent, and your grandchildren reduced to the condition of the grandchildren of African slaves? (p. 254)

It is not the fate of the Africans that matters, but Brazil. The maintenance of slave traffic would conflict with a desirable future, in line with modern western civilization. Varnhagen does, however, consider slavery in some cases to be legitimate, backed by the Gospels and by classical authors, and he criticizes the “philanthropists,” a term that historians identified, politically, with Robespierre and Marat, and in a philosophical sense with Voltaire and Rousseau.

From his conservative liberalist viewpoint, the problem is less the institution of slavery and more the presence of Africans. He wants to see them replaced by European immigrants, because, he argues, “the European worker dares, not without shame, to take up the hoe beside the slave” (p. 255). To Varnhagen, the issue of slaves should be viewed not “out of sentimentality, but out of patriotism; not because we think the traffic infamous, but because we fear for the future of Brazil [...]” (p. 257). In keeping with this view, he defended the temporary enslavement of “wild Indians” through a “targeting system.” The capture of the Indians “does not have to be at the expense of the government,” but should be undertaken by private agents, who would be rewarded for supervising the work of the captives for a specified period:

Now, to preserve the land already won from barbarism, it is necessary to take prisoners of its inhabitants and, since the government cannot take charge of their education and maintenance, this should become the basis for rewarding the services of the leaders of the bands (and of their partners), providing them, as their prisoners, with mentoring and protection for 15 years, being forced to treat them well, indoctrinate them in our religion, etc., etc. (pp. 261-262)

The proposition behind this obviously “colonial” tone was harshly criticized by João Francisco Lisboa and Gonçalves de Magalhães, who called him “a pseudo-philanthropist” and a “Tapuia lover.” Varnhagen was fully aware that what he was proposing amounted to

criticism of the legal rationalism imported from France in support of the inherited legal experience of the colony. He cites the United States as an example of “cruelty” through its “extermination of the red race.” His proposal would be more lenient, he brags, and would therefore not result in a physical extermination but rather a cultural one. In keeping with the ideals of nineteenth-century nationalists, Varnhagen pleaded in favor of the homogeneity of the population, arguing that the existence of different unassimilated “races” weakens national unity and the homogeneity of the population. The “whitening of the race,” which was the subject of scientific forums in the late nineteenth century, is already perfectly evident here.

Besides his support for the “reform” of the population, another set of proposals outlined by Varnhagen’s liberal-conservative reformism was the restructuring of the state and government. One of his most significant proposals was for the complete reorganization of the provinces, with the creation of new units and the merger of others, redesigning their entire administrative and political organization, so that in terms of their size, population and economies they would be minimally comparable. At the southern end of the Empire the “Department of the Southern Border” would be created, with its capital in Bagé, separating it from Rio Grande do Sul. São Paulo would be divided, and its southern part would be replaced by a department that could be called “Curitiba,” whose capital would be in Ponta Grossa (the only proposal that roughly materialized, albeit with another name and another capital). The department of San Sebastian would join the department of Rio de Janeiro with the “former district of the Rio das Mortes,” extending from Guanabara to Goiás. What was at that time Northern and Northeastern Brazil would also be reorganized. This would lead to the creation, for example, of the “department that we propose be called the Star of the North,” and the joining together of Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba, centered on the “well-situated village of Souza (Paraíba)” (p. 243). In the Amazon, there would be the “Department of Greater-Pombal” in “memory of the statesman, to whom Brazil, and especially Greater-Pará, are both in debt.” These were just some of the nineteen departments proposed by Varnhagen.

Another proposal was to build a “new capital,” which should be built from scratch (and, Varnhagen specifies, not in an existing place). It would be called Imperator, located in the geographic center of the country, where “the sources of the Tocantins and Parana rivers can be found, two of the major rivers that embrace the Empire.” He makes it clear that the new capital should be linked to the coast by railways and serve as a defensive strategy, leading to the movement of the population inland. This was reminiscent of the

example of Philip II, who, in the sixteenth century, established the capital of Madrid in the center of Spain.

In the mid-nineteenth century – when Varnhagen wrote *Memorial Orgânico* (1849-1851) and was preparing to write his *General History of Brazil* (1854-1857) – the idea of Independence was still very much alive in the memory of the men of that time, as was also the memory of the various European revolutions – particularly the French Revolution. The liberal paradigm and a nationalist perspective were both flourishing in the West. Varnhagen interpreted the present and the past from a modern standpoint. Therefore, his commitment to facilitating the development of the national identity – not only in literature and the arts, but also in individuals' minds and consciousness – was linked to his efforts to contribute to the formation of a people identified with civilization, hence his opposition to everything that seemed either Indian or African. It is worth remembering that, in Europe at that time, evolution and scientific discourse were directed toward justifying the supremacy of the European man. In the United States, the campaigns against the Indians were in full swing, and, in Argentina a few years later – in the name of progress, civilization and nation – the Conquista del Desierto took place (1878-1885), led by General Rocca. It was the National State mobilized against the indigenous American, in order to impose Western temporality. It was also this that Varnhagen proposed, although his ideas retained a colonial tone.

Varnhagen advocated a “compact population,” a single, integral, and ethnically homogeneous nation, or at least one that was hegemonically white and western. As Brazil would later be the face of modernity (the idea being deeply identified with the notion of progress, it would be necessary to avoid the outright copying of British laws and French ideas, and instead emulate “the measures of the age in which there came into being [...] the civilization that carried the Orb. We study the progress of the peoples of Europe from the ninth to the fourteenth century, since this was when their various nationalities, and different languages and literatures were constituted and hardened in such a way as to endure until now” (p. 313). This is a liberal and historicist consciousness that, deep down, seeks to accelerate the pace of Brazilian history, whose teleological destiny is modern, white, and Western civilization. Although a liberal and a reformer, Varnhagen is conservative, identified with the constitutional monarchy and partisan order, proposing reforms led by the patrician class, in which the fear of the “case of Haiti” inhabited the conscience of a country with a long slave tradition. The *Memorial Orgânico* – Arno Wehling emphasizes – should not be understood as a government program but as a work wherein it is “the perspective of the state and the definition of public policies that transcend the

cyclical character of governments” (p. 197). It is a work that deals with a project for society, that is to say, one that has already largely occurred.

Themistocles Cezar analyzes “The Turanian origin of the Tupi and the ancient Egyptians,” Varnhagen’s text that was originally published in French in 1876. Here the old historian explores the question: are there “savage” offspring from older times? Did the ancients know America? Were the Indians indigenous? The question, Themistocles demonstrates, occupied the attention of scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Similar intellectual explorations also appeared in the nineteenth century. Carl Friedrich von Martius returns to this issue, as well as that of the romantic writers of the mid-century Brazil. Incidentally, Varnhagen received much criticism and antipathy from writers who identified with the literary Indianism, due to his pronounced anti-indigenous sentiment, in keeping with his image of being “less Brazilian and very monarchist.” The historian himself confessed: “the horror of savagery, and its presence in the middle of our hinterland, gave birth, let us say, to this same savagery in me” (p. 327). This is a reference to the threat of an attack he suffered in 1840, in the province of São Paulo, while traveling to Sorocaba. A fierce critic of the Enlightenment, especially Rousseau (and of revolutionaries like Robespierre and Marat), he also – from the 1840s onwards – bitterly criticized Indian romanticism, or, as he preferred to call it, the “Brazilian mestizo.” Not only in *Memorial Orgânico* (1849-1851), but also in his *General History of Brazil* (1854-1857), he had referred to the Indians as “false and unfaithful; fickle and ungrateful, and rather suspicious [...]; endowed with an almost stupid brutality, and difficult to shake from their phlegmatic nature.”

Themistocles Cezar explores the terminology of “old,” “modern” and “savages.” Nineteenth-century Brazil, where the opposition between “modern” and “wild” was a prevailing concern, the debate was intertwined with the rhetoric of nationality. It was necessary to find a place for the Indians, so that the Brazilians could convince themselves of their common past (and future). Were they indigenous or “immigrants”? Themistocles cites the response of the historian Gonçalves de Magalhães, in “The Indians Prior to Brazilian Nationality,” a text published in the second volume of the *General History of Brazil*, 1857: “The Tupi were only the last people to invade the territory that is today Brazilian” (p. 329). Basically, Varnhagen wanted to question the argument that the Indians were the rightful owners of the land.

In “The Turanian origin of the Tupi and the ancient Egyptians,” the historian presents the Amerindians as “invaders,” i.e. remote immigrants originating from the old

world. The Tupi, like the Basques, Turks, Hungarians, and Egyptians, were descendants of “the Ural-Altaic,” or “Turanian,” peoples. The Tupi therefore had their origin among the old Mediterranean peoples and were also invaders in America (just as the Portuguese and the Spaniards would later be):

In the Tupi language, there are a large number of words originating from the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean, which could only be the consequence of immigration, other than a belief in a miracle, or an impossible competition of articulated dead ends that have induced mankind to error. (p. 447)

[¹ VARNHAGEN, Francisco. Adolfo de. *História Geral do Brazil*. Madrid/España: Imprensa da Viúva de Dominguez, 1854.]

The savagery of the Indians—by which Varnhagen meant that he couldn’t understand how sympathy for “philosophers” and “poets” could be awakened—would have to be faced by the State, a vision arising from his interpretation of the history of the country, as Themistocles summarizes very clearly:

Brazil is thus the inheritor of the civilization translated from the Portuguese empire, whose civilizational origins can be found in the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans. Civilization was not exactly an option for society, but the effect of a long journey that has been passed on as a mnemonic heritage of human beings, as a cultural and political heritage, without which it could not live. (p. 324)

It is not easy to assess a collective work that, for obvious reasons, is not stylistically and conceptually unified, a situation that is, simultaneously, both a liability and an asset. If the cost is a certain imbalance between the parts, the benefit is a plurality not only of objects, but also of ways of looking at questions. *Varnhagen in the Kaleidoscope* is a remarkable contribution to the understanding of the political, institutional and existential conditions that led to the development of the *General History of Brazil* (1854-57), and therein lies the best contribution of the book under review. The historian, by definition, speaks from a variety of positions – political, cultural, institutional, national/regional, class, gender, ethnicity – issues that are compared in this set of texts and which illuminate the *unsaid* [the implicit] (Michel de Certeau) that inhabits any text written under the auspices of Clio.

Bernecker, Walther L. and Klaus Herbers.
***Geschichte Portugals*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer,**
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Thomas Horst¹

The eventful history of Portugal and its culture is a topic of interest not just for historians of the Iberian Peninsula but also for those from a number of foreign countries, including Germany. Until recently, a comprehensive overview of the history of Portugal was not available.² However, two German professors of the University Erlangen-Nuremberg have taken an impressive stab at it – and they have done so in a clearly organized fashion. In 354 pages, they succeeded in publishing a relatively short but extremely informative outline of Portuguese history, from the country's beginnings to modern times, which can be used as a handbook for German readers. The paperback edition includes two historical parts, a short foreword (pp. 9–13), a bibliography of both parts (pp. 330–344), four genealogies (pp. 345–347), two maps and an index of names (pp. 348–354).

The first part of the book (pp. 15–131), written by the German medievalist Klaus Herbers, deals in four chapters with the beginning of Portuguese history through the end of the Middle Ages. Professor Herbers is an expert in the history of the Iberian Peninsula and has extensively studied medieval pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela. His primary focus is the history of the Roman Catholic Church in medieval times. This is why his part of the book sometimes refers to important aspects of Church history in general, which cannot be neglected when looking at the political history of the Middle Ages (cf. the reference to Petrus Hispanus, who was the only Portuguese Pope [John XXI, 1276–1277], p. 88).

The first chapter starts with the origins of Iberia predating history and illustrates the antique cultural imprints. It speaks about the Romanization of the Provinces “Hispania Citerior” and “Hispania Ulterior”, about Christianization and the various Christian doctrines developed in the Iberian Peninsula (Priscillianism), and explains the Germanic

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² Important here are the older studies by the German geographer Hermann Lautensach (1886–1971), together with the German translation (2001) of the *Breve História de Portugal* by António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques (1933–2007).

Invasions, where the Suevi (409–585) and Visigoths (507–711) formed their kingdoms in Iberia. With the Muslim conquest of Gibraltar in 711, the Iberian Peninsula became part of the Umayyad Caliphate's empire of Damascus. Some Arabic words like “alfarroba” (carob), “azeitona” (olive), “albufeira” (lake) or “armazém” (store) in current use in Portuguese date back to this time, when Portugal, which was sparsely populated, was under Muslim domination (pp. 25–27). But the Christian Empires in the North of Lusitania were important for the *Reconquista* (Conquest of Coimbra by Fernando I of León and Castile in 1064) – and for the establishment and stabilization of an independent Portuguese kingdom in the High Middle Ages, which started with the Burgundian Knight Henrique († 1112), who became Count of Portugal at the end of the eleventh century.

The second chapter deals with the time of his successors, the Burgundian Dynasty. One of the principal agents in the reorganization of the Portuguese Church was Maurice Bourdin from Occitania (Bishop of Coimbra from 1098/1099, Archbishop of Braga from 1111), who was for a short time Antipope (Gregor [VIII], 1118–1121), but had to flee from Rome after his deposition riding backwards on a jackass. This is why he was given the name “Burdinus” (little jackass, p. 47). After the victory over the Muslims at the Battle of Ourique (25 July 1139), Afonso Henrique “o Fundador” (Afonso I, “the Founder”, † 1185) became king of Portugal. Under his long reign, Lisbon was recaptured in 1147 with the help of foreign soldiers (pp. 56–63). In the time of the crusades, new orders of knights were founded (pp. 63–66), but the Portuguese *Reconquista* only ended in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The political development of Lusitania is described in the third chapter, which deals with the consolidation of the Portuguese Kingdom (first Assembly of the Estates in 1211) and its crisis until the end of the Burgundian Dynasty. During this time, important monasteries (Cistercian in Alcobaça, Franciscan in Santa Cruz de Coimbra, and Dominican in Batalha) and the first universities were founded in Portugal. In order to understand the socio-economic structures, details regarding the Black Death, which caused a pandemic in the whole of Europe in the years 1347 to 1351, are as important as the fruitful coming together of various traditions: in medieval Portugal you can find Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Mozarab and Central European traditions (p. 81 f.). And the international trade contacts demonstrate that Italian merchants had already settled in Lisbon by 1270 and the Portuguese had factories in London, Cologne and Bruges (p. 84 f.). Interestingly, the author does not mention the important fact that there were also close contacts with the Hanseatic League.

The last chapter of the first part concerns itself with the Portuguese history during the time of the European Expansion towards the end of the Middle Ages. After the crisis of the succession (1383–1385), as is well known, the House of Avis established the second dynasty of kings in Portugal (1385–1580). Herbers here gives a short overview of the Portuguese discoveries in a summary from King João I (1385–1433) to João II (1481–1495) but could have made more mention of the connections to the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation. Indeed, Infante Pedro, Duke of Coimbra (1392–1449), the brother of the Portuguese King Duarte I (1433–1438) had traveled throughout Europe since 1425 and had lived at the Habsburg Court from 1426 to 1428,³ which is also documented in the “Kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik” (short chronicle of the Austrian monastery Klosterneuburg), where his arrival in Vienna on March 28, 1426, is described.⁴ Pedro was the uncle of Infanta Leonor (1434–1467), who married the Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich III (1415–1493) in 1452. He died at the Battle of Alfarrobeira (May 20, 1449), where he fought against the troops of his nephew Afonso V of Portugal (“o Africano,” 1432–1481). In the time of Afonso’s son João II, who ruled the country between 1481 and 1495, important arrangements were made with the Catholic kings of Spain (Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494) to control the territories overseas.⁵ For the Portuguese expeditions, Infante Henrique (“o Navegador,” 1394–1460) played a significant role, as did the technical advances in science and technology (navigation and cartography). However, the motives for the Portuguese Expansion, which are listed here (search for Prester John, continuation of the *Reconquista*, economic causes, p. 110 f.) are not sufficient to explain the start of the voyages of discovery from nowhere, which are described in general (Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Diaz, Pero de Covilhã, Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral).

The second part of the book – much larger in size (pp. 133–329) – is written by Walther Ludwig Bernecker, a German professor who has published numerous works about the Spanish and Latin American history of modern times. He continues to describe the history of Portugal from the early modern times until our present age in nine chapters:

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese expanded – under the reign of King Manuel I (“o Venturoso”, 1495–1521) into Africa and India – with the help inter alia of German and Flemish mercenaries (p. 141). The first circumnavigation of the Earth in search of a westward route to the “Spice Islands” (Molucca Islands in Indonesia) from

3 Santos, “O Infante D. Pedro na Austria-Hungria”.

4 Cf. the edition by Zeibig, “Die kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik”, 250.

5 Herbers also mentions here the *Oração de Obediência* (December 11, 1485), which is an important document for the History of the Discoveries. See also the new study by Luís, *O Portugal Messiânico e Imperial de D. João II na Oração de Obediência dirigida a Inocêncio VIII em 1485*.

1519 to 1521, under the direction of the Portuguese explorer Fernão de Magalhães, led to disputes with Spain about the borders at the Indian Ocean, which were resolved in the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529. Besides new trade contacts overseas, the Society of Jesus not only had a strong impact on the cultural life in Portugal (founding of the university of Évora in 1559),⁶ but also on the proselytization taking place in China and Japan (Francisco Xavier, Alessandro Valignano, Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, pp. 147–150); the Jesuits played a major role in disseminating European knowledge to Asia until their expulsion from Japan in 1639. Moreover, the Jesuits also evangelized in Brazil, which soon became part of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (Tomé de Sousa was the first governor-general from 1549 to 1553).

So, it is remarkable that this small country in Western Iberia was able to acquire an overseas empire of such vast proportions – and this in only the relatively short space of a few decades! But the government spending on the new colonies was greater than the public revenue, so this was also the beginning of a gradual economic decline, as Bernecker emphasizes (p. 156). In cultural respects, the Renaissance in Portugal was very magnificent, a fact that is documented in the unique *Estilo Manuelino* (the Portuguese style of architectural ornamentation, exemplified by the famous tower and the Jerónimos Monastery of Belém, the Convent of the Order of Christ at Tomar and the royal funerary chapel of the Monastery of Batalha), as well as in the scientific opus of humanists like García de Orta (1500–1568) or the Portuguese national poet Luís de Camões (1524/25–1579/80). In relation to this topic, it would have been appropriate to mention important contemporary figures like Valentim Fernandes from Moravia (a German-speaking printer, who moved to Lisbon in 1495, where he died in around 1518), the well-connected and famous humanist Damião de Góis (1502–1574) or Pedro Nunes (1502–1578), who was an outstanding Portuguese mathematician and a royal cosmographer of European fame.

The reign of the House of Avis ended with the death of Cardinal-King Henrique (1578–1580), who had no descendants and had only come to the throne because his grandnephew, King Sebastião of Portugal (“o Desejado,” 1554–1578), had disappeared (and was presumably killed in action) at the disastrous Battle of Alcácer Quibir in Morocco (August 4, 1578), where soldiers from all over Europe were enlisted. There is a legend saying that this hero could return again at any time. This led to the so-called *Sebastianism* (pp. 167 and 171). After the War of the Portuguese Succession, the monarchy of Portugal combined with the Spanish branch of the Habsburg monarchy to form a political union in

⁶ Unfortunately Bernecker does not mention here the important “*Aula da Esfera*” in Lisbon.

the Iberian Peninsula (1580–1640). But the struggles for national liberty were powerful (pp. 174–177). This led to the rise of the Dynasty of Braganza, even though the Portuguese War of Restoration against Spain did not end until 1668 (Peace Treaty of Lisbon). In this chapter, which focuses on political history, Bernecker could also have mentioned the cosmographer and military engineer Luís Serrão Pimentel (1613–1679), who was professor at the “Aula de Fortificação e Arquitetura Militar,” which was founded in 1647 and was instrumental in training military engineers for the war against Spain.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the gradual decline was appreciable. Portuguese trade was exclusively aligned with the English kingdom (defensive alliance of 1661), which was – as Bernecker (pp. 187–193) emphasizes – one of the reasons for the economic decline. But, on the other hand, new discoveries of gold were made in Brazil around 1698, which led to a period of some abundance. This was the time of King João V (“o Magnânimo,” 1706–1750), when the National Palace of Mafra was constructed and Italian artists flourished, like Giorgio Domenico Duprà (1689–1770), who became a rococo court painter (1719–1770), while many art works were acquired from the best artists abroad. A little later, during the period of Absolutism and Mercantilism, Dom Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Marquis of Pombal, 1699–1782) consolidated the state. He was secretary of state in the government of King José I (“o Reformador”) from 1750 to 1777. His ministry is associated with sweeping reforms (particularly in the field of education), a distinctive anti-Jesuitism (banishment of the Societas Iesus in 1759). But with the disastrous earthquake in Lisbon on All Saints’ Day 1755, which destroyed many important cultural features, a mastermind like him was required to reconstruct the city (pp. 199–201).

After the end of his despotism, more reforms were made in the Age of the Enlightenment and, in 1779, the Academy of Sciences was created in Lisbon. But – as Bernecker mentions in his fifth chapter – the years from 1770 onwards were affected by a period of “continuous prosperity” (p. 205): The country was occupied by French and British troops in the era of the French Revolution. To escape from the invaders, in November 1807, the Braganza royal family and its court of nearly 15,000 people escaped to Brazil, where Rio de Janeiro served as the nation’s capital until the return of João VI, who acclaimed the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves in 1818 and came back to Lisbon in 1821. In the following year, Brazil gained independence and João’s son, Pedro I († 1834), who was married to Maria Leopoldina of Austria (1797–1826), became its first monarch. In fact, it was Leopoldina’s daughter Maria II da Glória (born 1819 in Rio de

Janeiro), who was Queen Regent of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves from 1826 to 1828 and (after the Liberal Wars) again from 1834 until her death in 1853.

The transfer from the Ancien Régime to the period of Liberal Constitutionalism lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. In the sixth chapter (pp. 233–250), Bernecker summarizes the years from 1850 until the Regicide and the Fall of the Monarchy in October 1910. This era is characterized by the existence of an oligarchic leadership between the period of economic prosperity and the subsequent crisis of the system. After the deposition of Manuel II, the last king of Portugal, who died in exile in 1932, the First Republic was installed. But a military uprising led to an unstable transitional dictatorship (1926–1933), which was replaced – as is well known – by the “Estado Novo”, shaped by António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970, cf. the so-called *Salazarism* until the Carnation Revolution in 1974; colonial wars and the breakup of the overseas colonies in the years 1974 to 1976).

In the last two chapters (pp. 292–329), Bernecker sums up the last forty years until today. He interprets the process of Democratization and Europeanization (accession of Portugal to the European Community in 1986, Expo 1998, restoration of Macau to China in 1999) and illustrates the challenges faced by Portugal in the twenty-first century (from decolonization to the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries; from the economic boom through to the international debt crisis).

Overall, both parts complement each other, and so the German reader gains fresh insights into the history of Portugal. The texts are well written and easy to understand and give a balanced view of Portuguese history, even if the description of medieval Portugal could have been a little longer. The book is not intended to provide detailed analysis, but the two bibliographies at the end help to get the basic resources to study each historical era in depth. Even if the bibliographical information provided by Bernecker is not complete, the study, to which a chronological table is accessible online,⁷ can be recommended for everyone who wishes to have a general overview of the history of Portugal, especially for German students who will surely benefit from reading this book.

⁷ <http://www.kohlhammer.de/wms/instances/KOB/appDE/Geschichte/Laendergeschichte/Geschichte-Portugals/>

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Given the importance of early modern Portuguese expansion in the history of the slave trade, economic globalization and the development of international law, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the juridical and ideological foundations of Portugal's transcontinental empire. This is especially apparent when compared to the rich historiography on the imperial ideologies of early modern Spain and Britain.² And although there is a vast literature on the economic, political and cultural history of Portugal's expansion, few authors have directly analyzed its ideological aspects in a comprehensive way over the long term.³

Historians have long been attentive to the important role of missionaries, especially the Jesuits, in Portugal's early expansion overseas.⁴ Yet the majority of research has focused on economic aspects of Portuguese expansion, with religious, moral and ideological concerns as secondary, or portrayed as having served simply to justify a profit-driven imperial enterprise. In *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo (Sécs. XV-XVII)*, Giuseppe Marcocci helps balance this historiographical tendency and presents a wealth of

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² See, for example, James Muldoon, *The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire: Ideas in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), and Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

³ A handful of authors have analyzed ideological features of Portuguese imperialism, but have focused specifically on either literary or juridical aspects, or on specific time periods. See Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, "L'idée impériale manuéline," in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe: Actes du Colloque*, edited by Jean Aubin, 35-103 (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1990), Diogo Ramada Curto, "A literatura e o império: Entre o espírito cavaleiroso, as trocas da corte e o humanismo cívico," in *História da Expansão Portuguesa, Vol. I: A Formação do Império, 1415-1570*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, 434-454 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Iustum imperium: Dos tratados como fundamento do Império dos portugueses no oriente. Estudo de história do Direito internacional e do Direito português* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 2004), and Pedro Cardim, "La aspiración imperial de la monarquía portuguesa (siglos XVI y XVII)," in *Comprendere le monarchie iberiche: Risorse materiali e rappresentazioni del potere. Atti del Seminario Internazionale. Roma, 8-9 novembre 2007*, edited by Gaetano Sabatini, 37-72 (Rome: Viella, 2010).

⁴ The key work on the subject remains Dauril Alden's, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Role of the Jesuits in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

new evidence to demonstrate the mutually constitutive role of religion and commerce in Portugal's early expansion. Most importantly, Marcocci's work represents the first sustained, systematic analysis of contemporary moral critiques of Portugal's imperial project and how the crown and court theologians attempted to deflect these criticisms in justifying Portuguese claims to dominion over newly incorporated subject populations in the rapidly expanding colonial world.

In *A consciência de um império*, Marcocci expands on the preliminary arguments set out in his shorter book, *L'invenzione di un impero: Politica e cultura nel mondo portoghese (1450-1600)*, published in Italian in 2011.⁵ Marcocci's familiarity with the rich Italian legal historiography on the medieval juridical concept of "conscience,"⁶ and his expertise as a historian of the Portuguese Inquisition,⁷ makes his approach innovative and enables him to examine with particular skill the often fraught relationship between the Portuguese crown in Lisbon and Papal authorities in Rome, and their collective role in the early development of a juridical-theological defense of Portuguese claims to dominion overseas. He divides the book neatly into four theme-based parts of three chapters each, capped by a prologue and conclusion, and adopts a global frame in tracing the complex development of a Portuguese imperial "conscience" from the early fifteenth century to the union of the Iberian crowns in the late sixteenth century.

In part 1, *A Vocação imperial portuguesa*, Marcocci examines the role of the slave trade in the early phase of Portuguese expansion along the West African coast, the joint importance of commerce and religion in the first official articulations of a Portuguese imperial mission, and the evolving relationship between the king and the pope during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It is across these first three chapters constituting part 1 that Marcocci sets out two of the book's most innovative themes: the importance of the African slave trade in spurring the earliest and sharpest debates about the morality of the Portuguese imperial endeavor, and the largely overlooked significance of the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, founded in 1532, in fusing political and ecclesiastical power and serving as the central body of adjudication for all matters regarding the moral conscience of the empire.⁸

⁵ Giuseppe Marcocci, *L'invenzione di un impero: Politica e cultura nel mondo portoghese, 1450-1600* (Rome: Carocci, 2011), 191 pp.).

⁶ Giuseppe Marcocci, *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo, Séculos XV-XVII* (Coimbra, Portugal: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012) 24.

⁷ Giuseppe Marcocci and José Pedro Paiva, *História da Inquisição portuguesa, 1536-1821* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013).

⁸ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 39.

Part 2, *A Etiópia, prisma do império*, contains a fascinating discussion on the prominence of Ethiopia and the myth of Prester John in the Portuguese imperial imaginary. Reaching back into the mid-fifteenth century, Marcocci argues that the potential discovery of Prester John's Ethiopia was intended to signify for Portugal what the discovery of America had meant for Spain. Religious and political interests were combined amidst the millenarian dreams of unifying the Roman and Ethiopian churches, of building a pan-Christian alliance to reverse Ottoman expansion, and of bringing about a universal conversion to Christianity. But as these hopes slowly faded with the inability to locate the mythical Christian ruler, literature on Ethiopia became the subject of acute censorship by the Portuguese crown. According to Marcocci, the growing censorship establishment combined with the recently founded Mesa da Consciência (1532) and Inquisition (1536) to become the prime arbiters of the Portuguese Catholic imperial conscience.⁹

In part 3, *Conquista, comércio, navegação: Um senhorio disputado*, Marcocci moves into the mid-sixteenth century. He explains that Portuguese observers, including João de Barros, drew on Machiavelli to highlight continuities between the virtue of Roman and Portuguese soldiers, and how the Portuguese, like the Romans, might tolerate the religious and cultural diversity of subject populations across their expanded composite empire. Yet Marcocci also emphasizes that other figures, like the jurist Jerónimo Osório, criticized Machiavelli for his marginalization of religion in the promotion of civic and military virtue.¹⁰ As the balance of imperial power shifted with the sixteenth-century rise of French and English sea power in the Atlantic, Portuguese justifications of overseas *imperium* based on the fifteenth-century papal bulls lost prominence, slowly replaced by a debate among Iberian jurist-theologians, including some serving on the Mesa da Consciência, over the issue of commercial monopoly. Expanding on Vitoria's doctrine of the natural rights of men, Castilian jurist Vazquez de Menchaca applied it to oceanic space and was the first to argue against Portugal's right to monopolistic empire, a point which Grotius later famously extended.¹¹ Yet, surprisingly, the sharp internal Iberian discussion failed to generate any substantial international juridical debate, and the conflict instead remained restricted to a closed group of councilors and foreign diplomats in the Portuguese royal court.¹²

Lastly, in part 4, *Conversões imperiais: Para uma sociedade nos trópicos?* Marcocci turns to the issue of conversion and its role in the formation of unified yet hierarchical Lusophone

⁹ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 215.

¹⁰ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 268.

¹¹ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 359.

¹² Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 338.

colonial societies. He examines the methods and significance of the conversion of Indians around Goa, African slaves across the empire, and the native peoples of Brazil. The Portuguese used conversion to incorporate these newly subjected populations into the Catholic faith, while at the same time subjugating them within colonial society using the famous purity of blood statutes (*limpeza do sangue*) to deprive them of their absolute freedom. Marcocci argues that the justification of this process was the most ancient juridical foundation of the Portuguese empire.¹³ The conversion of African slaves, for instance, was itself seen as providing a sort of freedom, promising eternal salvation in the afterlife. But this rosy view contrasted sharply with the harsh realities of slavery, which eventually came to elicit the harshest moral critiques that the empire would ever endure.¹⁴

Despite his specific focus on ideological debates within the Portuguese empire, Marcocci does well to set these debates within larger political contexts, with attention being paid to the influence of rival European powers, as well as an array of non-European polities, especially in Asia, in determining the nature of the Portuguese presence in each place. And although depending far more on printed sources than archival ones, Marcocci has nonetheless produced a work of impressive depth and erudition. He pays sufficient due to frequently cited authors such as João de Barros, Damião de Góis and Manuel da Nóbrega, while at the same time demonstrating the importance of lesser-known figures like Pedro Margalho, Fernando Oliveira and António Pinheiro, among many others.

Marcocci is most persuasive in analyzing the decisions set down by the Mesa da Consciência and in arguing for the rising power of court theologians, especially Jesuits, in the Portuguese empire over the sixteenth century. But what do the critiques of Oliveira and Nóbrega on African and Indian slavery, for instance, say about the conscience of royal authority itself? So little of the Mesa's official documentation survived the 1755 Lisbon earthquake that it is often difficult to assess the impact of external criticism on the ultimate decisions taken by imperial officials on each specific issue. Yet Marcocci makes a strong case that these debates slowly coalesced into an increasingly defined set of internal justifications of Portuguese imperial practice.

For a work focused specifically on the Portuguese imperial conscience, Marcocci dedicates considerable attention to Spanish authors, including Menchaca, Tomás de Mercado and Luis de Molina. While these and an array of other Spaniards leveled penetrating critiques against the Portuguese empire, often from within Portugal, Marcocci

¹³ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 371.

¹⁴ Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 405.

would do well to expound even further on the deep imbrication between the Spanish and Portuguese juridical-theological traditions in explaining the impact of Spanish critiques on the policy of the Portuguese empire, both in theory and in practice. This is a minor criticism, however, more a question of emphasis than interpretation, and hardly detracts from the merits of Marcocci's impressive work.

Perhaps the book's prime virtue is its potential as a platform for further research. Rather than arguing for the development of an oversimplified, consistently uniform Portuguese imperial ideology, Marcocci highlights how commercial monopoly, the slave trade and conversion took center stage as issues in polyphonic debates over the morality of the Portuguese empire. Drawing on the basis set out by Marcocci, further studies might analyze how these debates compared to contemporaneous ones in the Spanish Monarchy. Although the Iberians drew on similar juridical and theological traditions, how did the specific circumstances and methods of Spanish expansion contribute to the development of an imperial conscience that was distinct from that of the Portuguese? What impact did the union of the Iberian crowns from 1581 to 1640 have on debates over the morality of the Portuguese empire, and to what extent, if at all, is it possible to speak of a common Iberian imperial conscience before, during or after that period? Finally, further studies might build on Marcocci's fine analysis of debates over the morality of commerce, the subjugation of vassals and the development of new colonial societies, to show what legal instruments the crown used to justify its territorial dominion, thereby providing an even fuller vision of the complex juridical and ideological foundations of Portuguese *imperium*.

Marcocci's work is a major contribution to the already rich literature on the Portuguese empire. One only hopes it will be made available in English in order to gain the wide readership it deserves and to help enhance our understanding of how critiques and justifications of Portuguese *imperium* compared to those of the contemporaneous empires of Britain, France and Spain.

José Medeiros Ferreira, an undisputable reference in European Studies in Portugal

Alice Cunha¹

For all of those who study and research European Studies in Portugal, the late Professor José Medeiros Ferreira (1942-2014) is an undisputable reference - both as a scholar and as the politician responsible for Portugal's presentation of its request for accession to the European Economic Community (EEC), back in 1977. Thereafter, he never stopped thinking about European affairs and the role that Portugal should play in the European Union (EU).

José Medeiros Ferreira graduated in Social Sciences at the University of Geneva and received a PhD in history at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, which he joined in 1981, and where he became professor and historian, as well as one of the founding members of the Instituto de História Contemporânea back in 1995. As a historian, he cemented his place over the years as one of the most important names in Portuguese historiography, while also devoting his research work to the study of contemporary history and becoming an expert in international relations and international politics.

His first publications date back to the 1980s and include *Elementos para a Política Externa do Portugal Democrático* (1976); *Estudos de Estratégia e Relações Internacionais* (1981); *Portugal, Os Próximos Vinte Anos: A Posição de Portugal no Mundo* (1988); *Um Século de Problemas: As Relações Luso-espanholas da União Ibérica à Comunidade Europeia* (1989), where he outlines the most significant moments of the bilateral relationship between the two peninsular states in the past 100 years; and the essay *Ensaio Histórico sobre a Revolução do 25 de Abril*, dedicated to the military coup of April 25, 1974 and following the pre-constitutional period (1989-1992).

His seminal work on the political behavior of the military (1992), which was his PhD thesis, and the ensuing *O Comportamento Político dos Militares: Forças Armadas e Regimes Políticos em Portugal no Século XX* (2001), are dedicated to the analysis of the behavior of the military in the face of different political regimes in Portugal during the twentieth century. Rather than focusing on the establishment and overthrow of political regimes, the author highlights the relationship between the political power and the military power.

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Another book considered to be one of his best works is the eighth volume of the *História de Portugal*, coordinated by José Mattoso, entitled *Portugal em Transe* (1995), where the author thoroughly analyzes the period between April 25, 1974, and Portugal's accession to the EEC, comprising all sorts of political, economic, social and institutional changes which the country went through. This volume, as well as the whole collection, is still considered to be a major reference in the literature of Portuguese history and demonstrates that Professor Medeiros Ferreira was one of the first historians to research the Portuguese democratic transition in a more academic fashion.

More recently, he had published *Cinco Regimes na Política Internacional* (2006), in which he demonstrated how the five distinct political regimes that ruled Portugal over time from 1890 until after the April 25 military coup - the Constitutional Monarchy, the First Republic, the military dictatorship, the *Estado Novo* and the democratic Republic - influenced Portuguese international relations in the twentieth century, and *Os Açores na Política Internacional* (2011), in which he concentrated on the insertion of the Azores archipelago into the Euro-Atlantic area, its important strategic and military role, mainly in the interwar period, and also the history of the geostrategic developments of the archipelago, projecting its future as well as analyzing its intervention in the field of science and technology. All in all, the book presents a new way of thinking about the region and its place in the contemporary world.

In 2008, when he retired from teaching at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, a special volume (*O Longo Curso: Estudos em Homenagem a José Medeiros Ferreira*, 2011), which included several academic contributions about contemporary Portugal, was published in honor of the great historian and professor and his work.

Indeed, the work of Medeiros Ferreira affords him a prominent position in Portuguese historiography, especially in the fields of international relations and European studies. Although his work primarily reflects the institutionalist bias in his historical analysis, without however neglecting the economic and social aspects, Professor Medeiros Ferreira's research interests were related to the study of foreign policy, security, the military and politics, as well as European integration. In this respect, he even played a pioneering role in the study of Portuguese international relations and foreign policy.

Specifically in the field of European integration, besides his having written several articles and chapters for books, his final publication was *Não Há Mapa Cor-de-Rosa: A História (Mal)Dita da Integração Europeia*. The title itself is both curious and offers a double reading. The title (*Não Há Mapa Cor-de-Rosa*) is a reference to the clear absence of any kind

of overall Portuguese strategy towards the question of European integration, a posture that all governments have repeated. As José Medeiros himself once told² the author of this book review, since the First Constitutional Government, in which he himself was involved as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, no government has demonstrated either a clear understanding or a well-prepared plan about the country's EU membership. As for the subtitle (*A História (Mal)Dita da Integração Europeia*), one can but wonder whether the European integration narrative has been well told or if in fact it has become an unfortunate burden.

The book itself is a narrative describing several political and diplomatic maneuvers (both successful and unsuccessful), all aimed at creating understanding between European states, in which it is argued that no one can fully understand the history of European integration without having formed a clear picture of the twentieth century in Europe. In order to do this, the author uses some of his own reflections about the past, to remember World War I, the League of Nations, the Briand Plan and World War II. The final chapter is dedicated solely to the question of Portugal in the EU, in which the author revisits the relationship between Portugal and Europe/European integration from 1890 until the present, focusing on the permanent negotiations taking place in European institutions.

Although José Medeiros Ferreira acknowledged that Portugal became a member state of the EU during its best years, he also believed that it is now time to reconsider the principles of European integration, clearly explaining all his doubts about the path that Portugal is paving for itself, while almost crying out for Portugal to regain its national pride.

Once again he recalls that there still remains the need for a study to be made about shared governance and the major decisions taken by Portugal within the EU. Perhaps one of his pupils will one day embrace this challenge and prove (or not) that the only persistent feature of Portuguese membership has been a “strategic anemia.”

Even though he considered that he “was never a United States of Europe pietist,”³ the whole book illustrates the intention that had existed since World War I to form a united Europe and, in a sense, this work may be considered as a testimony to the men who were partly responsible for Portugal's accession to the EU, but who recently witnessed the

² Interview, November 26, 2011.

³ “A União Europeia pode desaparecer sem darmos por ela”, available at <http://www.publico.pt/temas/jornal/a-uniao-europeia-pode-desaparecer-sem-darmos-por-ela-27394081>, accessed on 07/04/2014.

decline in European solidarity with Portugal and the lack of vision on the part of several Portuguese governments regarding the EU.

The professor, historian, politician and intellectual has graciously presented us with this last work, which should definitely be read and savored by students, practitioners, and any audience looking for a good book and an innovative vision from an exceptional historian of renowned merit.

A freeborn Azorean who chronicled Portugal's contemporary politics

Pedro Aires Oliveira¹

The historian José Medeiros Ferreira, who left us this year at the age of 72, will be remembered as one of the most remarkable figures of the “1962 generation,” as one of the chief architects of the pro-European reorientation of post-revolutionary Portugal, as well as someone who intervened in the academic and public debates of his country with a spirit of unflinching rationalism.

Raised in Ponta Delgada, Medeiros Ferreira (b. 1942) was a Philosophy student at the Faculty of Letters when he joined the student struggles that in 1962 defied the Estado Novo regime in a series of memorable protests. He proved to be a courageous and charismatic spokesman of the students' movement, succeeding Jorge Sampaio (the future leader of the Socialist Party and later President of the Republic) as the Secretary of the Inter-Association Conference. This notoriety, however, came at a price. In November of that same year, he was detained by the secret police, PIDE, and held in isolation in the Aljube jail for a short period. Having joined the Democratic Opposition lists for the 1965 elections, he would once again be punished by Salazar's regime—this time, he was expelled from all Portuguese universities for a period of three years. Medeiros Ferreira later claimed that this suspension was a kind of blessing in disguise, since it encouraged him to look for a new life in a free and democratic society. In 1968, the prospect of having to fulfill his military service in Africa, fighting a war to which he was opposed, persuaded him that the time had come to leave Portugal. With the encouragement of other oppositionist friends, he settled in Switzerland and managed to secure the status of a political refugee, as well as gaining a university fellowship.² Four years later, he graduated from the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of Geneva University (1972) in History, and he was immediately offered a teaching position. The cosmopolitan traditions of the city, as well as the accessibility of several archives, were important stimuli for his engagement in the study

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² For his Swiss experience, see Victor Pereira's article in Medeiros Ferreira's *festschrift*, “O exílio português na Suíça.” In Maria Inácia Rezola and Pedro Aires Oliveira (eds.), *O Longo Curso. Estudos em Homenagem a José Medeiros Ferreira*, Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2010: 305-330, as well as António Barreto et al., *Pátria Utópica. O Grupo de Genebra Revisitado*, Lisbon: Bizâncio, 2011.

of International History, a field that had been undergoing a significant methodological renovation since the 1950s. With a relatively light teaching burden, he was able to carry out some research related to the topic of his planned PhD dissertation—a history of the League of Nations in the interwar period—but events in Portugal soon led him to change his plans. On April 25, 1974, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA in the Portuguese acronym) deposed Marcelo Caetano's regime and created the conditions for the restoration of democratic freedoms in Portugal. Interestingly (and he never missed an opportunity to remind everyone of his prescience), Medeiros Ferreira had already anticipated the demise of the dictatorship in a remarkably accurate way in April 1973, when the paper that he presented to the 3rd Democratic Opposition Congress in Aveiro ("Da Necessidade de um Plano para a Nação") postulated that the armed forces, given their "inter-classist" and "national" characteristics, were the only institution capable of acting as the catalyst of a decisive political change in Portugal.³ His paper (or "thesis") also laid out the fundamental steps needed to solve the nation's basic impasses—"democratization," "development," "decolonization," and "socialization." The first three of these struck a chord with leading elements from the nascent MFA (whose existence Medeiros Ferreira was unaware of at the time), who were keen to convert them into their slogan "*Democratizar, Descolonizar, Desenvolver*."

The appeal of the Carnation Revolution proved too strong to be resisted and, along with his family (his wife Maria Emília Brederode dos Santos and their only son Miguel), Medeiros Ferreira decided to make a fresh start in Portugal. His return to the academic world, however, would be postponed for a couple of years. Until it happened, he was actively engaged in the politics of Portugal's democratic transition, first as a member of the Constituent Assembly, and then as a Secretary of State (1975-76) and then Minister for Foreign Affairs (1976-77). In this latter capacity, he worked closely with Mário Soares on developing the diplomatic strategy that would allow Portugal to put forward its application for full EEC membership in March 1977 (in the latter part of his life, which coincided with the cooling off of Portugal's "Euro-enthusiasm," he would confess, in a somewhat ironic tone, that he no longer felt sure if this decision, in which he still took great pride, would be looked upon in such a favorable light in years to come).

His re-immersion in historical research was to take place in the late 1970s, after leaving the government, following political and personal differences with Soares. He accepted an invitation from A. H. de Oliveira Marques to join the History Department of

³ José Medeiros Ferreira, "Da Necessidade de um Plano para a Nação". In *III Congresso Republicano da Oposição Democrática*, Tese, 8ª secção, Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1974: 11-22.

the recently founded Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of Lisbon's New University, from which he retired in 2008 (although with some "sabbatical leaves" every once in a while, due to his spells as both a European and national member of parliament). He was also able to benefit from an invitation by Mário Pinto, of the Catholic University, to embark on a study of the April 25 revolution, the result of which would be his *Ensaio Histórico sobre a Revolução do 25 de Abril: o período pré-constitucional* (1983), one of the first scholarly analyses of the political struggles of the period to be written by a Portuguese historian. This became the bedrock for his contribution to José Mattoso's *História de Portugal*, the volume *Portugal em Transe*, published in 1994. There we can find some of the distinct features of Medeiros Ferreira's historical approach. No longer influenced by the kind of "soft-Marxist" analysis that had been the hallmark of his first writings (in journals like *Polémica*, published in Switzerland with other fellow exiles, such as António Barreto, Ana Benavente, Carlos de Almeida, Eurico de Figueiredo, and others), he now favored a more institutionalist and elitist reading of the social and political processes. The MFA and the political parties, as well as other actors supported by such bodies as the Church or the Masonry, were presented as the fundamental protagonists of the revolution's critical phase, quickly filling the void created by the sudden collapse of the dictatorship. His perspective was clearly a top-down one, with nearly all the landmark events and decisions being shaped by those institutional actors, leaving little room for "grass-roots" activity. In *Portugal em Transe* he expanded the scope of his account, both in chronological terms (1974 to c. 1986) and in terms of the themes he chose to dissect—the social and economic aspects of the revolution, the setting up of the new autonomous regimes in the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, the emergence of a strong municipal system, the role of the Church, as well as a brief reference to collective behaviors and mentalities. Important sections were also devoted to the decolonization process (the rationale of which he attributed to the will of "European Portugal" to divest itself of its "overseas constraints"), and to the interplay of domestic and international factors in some of the outcomes of the revolution's struggles. With his penchant for aphoristic formulas, he described the balance of power of post-authoritarian Portugal, in terms of social dominance, as "a Republic of revolutionaries between 1974 and 1975, a Republic of politicians between 1976 and 1982, a Republic of businessmen between 1982 and 1990, and a Republic of bankers and journalists from 1990 to the present day."⁴

⁴ José Medeiros Ferreira, *Portugal em Transe*. In *História de Portugal*, José Mattoso (ed.), vol. VIII, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores/Editorial Estampa, 1994: 277.

While, in Braudelian terms, the focus of *Portugal em Transe* might be situated somewhere between the *événement* and the *conjuncture*, his previous work, *O Comportamento Político dos Militares: Forças Armadas e Regimes Políticos em Portugal no Século XX* (1992), based on his doctoral dissertation, offers a long view of the political behavior of the armed forces in the twentieth century. Although his style might appear somewhat dry, it would be misleading to equate this with some sort of positivism—the quest for an approach based on concrete problems is evident in this, as well as in many of his other historical works. The guiding question of this particular inquiry was the nature of the relationship between the military institution and the various political regimes that shaped contemporary Portugal, from the last days of the liberal monarchy to the post-revolutionary democracy of 1976. Among its key insights is the rebuttal of what can be dubbed the myth of an endemic intervention of the armed forces in the nation's politics, with a bias for authoritarian solutions. The main conclusion of his research was that it would be wrong to look for a long-term “pattern” in the *pronunciamentos* that took place in the twentieth century; against this “essentialist” background, he argued, the historian should make an effort to situate each crisis in its proper political and social context. Based on an ample variety of sources (including many international archives), the book provided a number of original interpretations for some of the key episodes of Portugal's contemporary politics in which the military were implicated, in particular during the authoritarian regime of Salazar and Caetano. While he cautioned his readers against the perils of “essentialist”/teleological approaches, he put forward the case that, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the armed forces had evolved into something that could be described as the guarantor of the state's continuity and were compelled to intervene against civilian governments not for ideological reasons but whenever they perceived a serious threat to the national interest. For this reason he suggested that the junior officers' movement that carried out the April 25 revolution should be seen as a “metamorphosis of the military institution,”⁵ the expression of a muted but widespread dissatisfaction in its ranks with the stalemate created by the Estado Novo's refusal to accept the inevitability of decolonization.

For many readers, however, Medeiros Ferreira's name will perhaps be mostly associated with the field of international affairs. He was regularly called upon to comment on such matters in the Portuguese media, not only on account of his communication skills (he had a captivating television presence) and vast political experience but also due to his scholarly expertise.

⁵ José Medeiros Ferreira, *O Comportamento Político dos Militares: Forças Armadas e Regimes Políticos em Portugal no Século XX*, Lisbon: Estampa, 1992: 335.

His appetite for international politics can be dated back to his years of exile in Geneva, where he was able to collect data for a short and groundbreaking study on Portugal and the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.⁶ After resuming his academic career in the late 1970s, he conducted an open seminar specially dedicated to the study of foreign policy, which helped to encourage the revival of this subfield. Even though many of his reflections on international and security matters appeared in the mainstream press (he was for many years a regular contributor to *Diário de Notícias*), he soon began to publish research articles in scholarly journals when such academic outlets became more common in Portugal in the 1990s. Some of his pieces concerning the history of Portugal's foreign policy were full of refreshing intuitions and thought-provoking insights, which opened up new perspectives for a younger generation of historians.⁷ Although his intermittent presence in the academic world prevented him from becoming a more active supervisor of postgraduate students, he was nevertheless able to inspire and guide a significant number of dissertations that dealt with original topics related to the history of Portugal's foreign policy. For those of us who had the good fortune of having Medeiros Ferreira as a teacher, it was a sheer pleasure to watch him fighting against the unquestioned assumptions and easy consensuses that still permeated much historical analysis, a critical attitude that is evident in his book *Cinco Regimes em Política Internacional* (2006).

Even though his health had suffered a serious deterioration since 2011, he remained incredibly active and full of plans for the future. His final book, published shortly before his death, *Não Há Mapa Cor-de-Rosa—A História (Mal)Dita da Integração Europeia* (2013), a 164-page essay based on a series of academic lectures delivered after his retirement, is a wonderful summary of his reflections on the history of European integration and of Portugal's role in such a process, as was recognized by many.⁸ His ability to blend historical analysis with shrewd comments on the present condition of the European project was unique among Portuguese intellectuals. We will all miss him very much.

⁶ José Medeiros Ferreira, *Portugal na Conferência da Paz: Paris 1919*, Lisbon, Quetzal, 1992.

⁷ See, for example, "Características históricas da Política Externa Portuguesa entre 1890 e a Entrada na ONU". *Política Internacional*, 6, 1993: 113-156, and "Os Regimes Políticos em Portugal e a Organização Internacional da Europa". *Política Internacional*, 22, 1995: 5-39.

⁸ See Pedro Lains' review, "Para a História da Integração Europeia no Século XX", *Relações Internacionais*, 40, 2013, pp. 217-220.