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Structural Changes within the 16th-century Portuguese Military Orders¹

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Abstract

How and why the Portuguese Military Orders changed in the 16th century is the central topic of this paper. Three great 16th-century structural changes are analyzed: the process of the perpetual transfer of tutelage of the Orders to the Portuguese Crown; the introduction of individual service as a means of servants gaining access to the Military Orders; and the adoption of statutes dealing with purity of blood and occupation.

Keywords

Portuguese Military Orders; Castilian Military Orders; purity of blood; papacy; Portuguese nobility; ennoblement; Jews; crusade; North Africa; Portuguese Early Modern State.

The 16th century was a period of notable and far-reaching change within the Military Orders, which decisively marked their evolution over the following two centuries: between the reign of Manuel, at the same time sovereign and the administrator of the Order of Christ, and the period of Castilian Habsburg rule in Portugal, the face of these institutions was radically transformed.

The aim of this paper is to survey this process of transformation and analyze the importance of each of the changes as well as their overall effect. A synthetic approach will be adopted and the paper presented in essay form.

In view of the current state of research, this obviously involves a considerable degree of difficulty; firstly, because the research which has been carried out into each of these changes is incomplete and insufficient, due, among other reasons, to a lack of sources in Portuguese and

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this essay: ANTT - Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo; BN - Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.

Spanish archives, especially with regard to the Order of Christ (one can only hope that one day the study of the vast wealth of material held in the Secret Vatican Archive will shed new light on these issues); secondly, an analysis of how and why the Portuguese Military Orders changed in the 16th century cannot be carried out solely on the basis of knowledge about such institutions. Unfortunately, with the exception of topics associated with the Portuguese Discoveries and the resulting trade flows, little is known about Portugal itself (as opposed to the Empire) during the period before Alcácer-Quibir (1578) and a knowledge of domestic political structures and the impact that they had on society is essential for an understanding of the Military Orders.

For these reasons, the scope of this paper is limited to three structural changes which took place during the 16th century: the transfer of the perpetual tutelage of the Masterships to the Crown; the introduction of individual service as the usual means for obtaining habits and commanderies; and the adoption of statutes dealing with purity of blood.

1. From the administrators approved by the Pope to the perpetual tutelage of the three Orders by the Crown

In 1418, when the *Infante* John (the son of John I) was appointed Master and Governor of the Order of Santiago by the Papal Bull, *In Apostolice dignitatis*, a new stage in the governance of the Military Orders was initiated. In the 15th century, the sons and direct descendants of the sovereign had served as administrators of the Orders of Santiago, Christ (the *Infante* Henry from 1420) and Avis (Dom Fernando from 1434).

This policy had been largely established by John I, as early as 1417 when the Master of the Order of Christ, Lopo Dias de Sousa, died. The king suspended preparations for the following election (SILVA 1997: 76). From then on, Rome was presented with the Crown's candidate, whom the Pope was expected to merely approve.

However, Dom John (the future John II) was the first king to exercise direct control over the Masterships of Avis (1468-1490?) and Santiago (1472?-1490?). Historians, nevertheless, have little knowledge about this period. In 1482, due to pressure of affairs of the Crown (PIMENTA 2002: 61), John II delegated the administration of the Order of Avis to three figures (Lopo Vasques de Azevedo, a steward; Dom Pedro da Silva, Commander of Seda; and Lopo da Cunha, Commander of Albufeira). Meanwhile, at the Évora-Viana do Alentejo *Cortes* of 1481-1482, the commoners' delegation (*braço do povo*) indirectly voiced its concern about the importance of these two institutions remaining under the direct control of the sovereign (ALMEIDA 1967-1971: I, 347-348).

In turn, Manuel, Duke of Beja and the Administrator of the Order of Christ, kept his Mastership when he became king on the death of John II, and, from then on, the institution was never free of Crown control. Although John II made a will making provision for his bastard son Dom Jorge to inherit the Order, when Dom Manuel became king, he did not comply with John's wishes: in Manuel's will, he stated that the Masterships should remain in the hands of the sovereign, his sons or brothers, "as it is of great financial benefit and necessity to the Kingdom, for many reasons". With regard to the Order of Christ, he was more exacting: "It will never leave the control of the Crown, or the King, for this would be most harmful, and most inconvenient, both for the Kingdom and for the King" (SOUSA 1946-1954: II-1, 416).

When Dom Jorge died on 22nd July 1550, the news of his death took almost a month to reach Rome. Instructions were sent with the news that a request should be made to Pope Julius III for approval of the transfer of control of the Military Orders to John III, who was already the administrator of the Order of Christ. It is highly likely that, following the Castilian example, the king had already planned this move before the death of the bastard son of John II.

On 2nd September of that year, the Portuguese representative in Rome, Baltazar de Faria, sent John III an account of the success of negotiations with the papal authorities following the Portuguese request for the Orders to be placed under Crown control. In order to persuade the Pope to accede to the request, the following arguments had been employed: 1) “changes which were made in the past, both in Portugal and in Castile, as these Masterships had been beyond the control of the Crown”; 2) the fact that such a request had been made in the *Cortes*: “on a matter which is so important for the good governance of the kingdom and keeping the peace within it”; 3) John III had already gained control of the Order of Christ, for the same reasons; 4) the great expenditure borne by the Portuguese Crown “with continuing wars both in Africa and in India as well as other parts” (*Corpo Diplomatico...*1862-1959: VI, 413-414). In practice, the several points can be summed up in two main arguments: the pacification of the Kingdom and the maintenance of the Empire in the face of the threat from the infidel. Meanwhile, the pullout from the North African fortresses, which occurred in the 1540s, rendered this matter opportune. In the discussions involving Pope Julius III, Cardinal Crescencio and Baltazar de Faria, the subject of the withdrawal from Arzila, which had taken place shortly before, was broached. Baltazar de Faria defended the decision as a strategic option taken by the Portuguese Crown rather than a sign of weakness: “I shall seek to satisfy the Pope by informing him of the reasons why we have abandoned our fortress, it being more expedient to have other important places fortified at great cost, which can then be supplied all year round, unlike Arzila” (*Corpo Diplomatico...*1862-1959: VI, 414).

The Pope inquired as to the income of the three Masterships, and as the Portuguese king had such a great commitment to spreading the faith, according to Baltazar de Faria, “the pontiff declared that he would not refuse him any favor I might request, and that he would freely grant such favors without asking for anything in return, such as ecclesiastical posts or revenues” (*Corpo Diplomatico...*1862-1959: VI, 414).

Indeed, thanks to his record of colonial exploits in North Africa and in the East, John III was highly regarded by the Papacy, in what was an era of dissension and profound religious conflict in Europe and great tension between Henry II of France and Charles V of Spain and the Pope, who was therefore very favorably disposed towards Portugal.

The final issue as far as negotiations were concerned was what form the document granting papal approval was to take; there were two possibilities: the issue of a brief or a bull. The latter solution would endow the process with much more dignity than the former, but it would incur considerable expense: “a bull must be issued with a lead seal and there is a requirement for mention of the income of the Masterships at the Chancellery, and a half *anata* must be paid; if a bull is issued by the Secretariat and not by Chancellery, there is a requirement for the payment of a composition” (*Corpo Diplomatico...*1862-1959: VI, 415). Both the “composition” (contract) and the “half *anata*” (half of the income received in the first year) would involve the payment of a large sum of money, due to the fact that the revenues of the Masterships were so great; some years before,

Charles V had paid 30,000 ducats, or about 12,000 *contos* (1 *conto* = 1,000 *réis*) for the issue of a similar papal bull.

However, Baltazar de Faria managed to persuade the Pope to accede to the king's entreaty without incurring any expenses, arguing that the money would be better spent on "the pressing financial needs of Africa and other very urgent financial needs" (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: VI, 415), and, using the same argument, he set out to obtain the order granting this request. On 26th August, the day Julius III granted the king's request, Baltazar de Faria asked him to promulgate a bull but to waive the 'composition' payment.

These two favors sought from the Pope led to a great deal of controversy at the papal court². Many argued that an opportunity had been lost to serve the needs of clientele of the curia by exacting from the Portuguese king the payment of sums deriving from churches and religious houses. Even the Emperor had not been exempted from payment in a similar case. However, the entreaty of John III was quickly acceded to, at zero cost to the Portuguese Crown.

Having achieved great success in his negotiations with the Papacy, Baltazar de Faria ended his message to the king in Portugal by recommending that he should soon request that the Crown be allowed to assume perpetual control of the three Masterships. In his opinion, "there will be no difficulty, as they are already under Crown control, and as this is an extremely important matter, and the time is opportune; I would make a request (...) because a council may be held soon and other impediments may arise which stand in the way of strategy. Although it seems that the present position is satisfactory (...) bringing them perpetually under the tutelage of the Crown will render them more secure" (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: VI, 416). It was feared that the reforms in progress in the Church would produce significant and unforeseen changes.

We can deduce from a letter written by the Duke of Bragança that must date from the end of 1550 (30th December) that Baltazar de Faria's suggestion unsettled the king. In the duke's opinion, "Your Highness is duty bound by the authority of your Realms to seek to assume control of the Masterships for the Crown and perpetually so. In this matter I have no doubt, as it seems that I have already heard in the presence of Your Highness something to this effect: if Your Highness had not already made such a request it was because it had little chance of being granted or because there was a fearful financial cost involved" (ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part I, Mç. 89, doc. 43).

At this juncture, John III decided to offer a present of a ring, set with a diamond valued at 100,000 *cruzados*, to the Pope for benefices received. The Duke of Bragança noted in the letter referred to above that the ambassadors should try to "make the request following the gift of the ring Your Highness has sent"; he thought that the circumstances were favorable and that consequently the affair should not be put off. Thus an effort should be made to try to reach an agreement without any cost being borne by Portugal: "In my view, this is so fitting for both parties that it seems to me that Your Highness and the Pope can say to each other that they have nothing of value to offer each other but both will give up what they possess. I say this because, for our sins, perchance His Holiness

²On 1st September 1550, Cardinal Gaddi congratulated John III and also stressed in his letter the fact that the favor had been granted without expecting anything in return – ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part II, Mç. 242, doc. 25. This was not, however, the only document in which such surprise was expressed.

will have more power to grant the transfer of the ownership of masterships than to cure the sick, as he has always done and said" (ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Part I, Mç. 89, doc. 43).

In mid-1551, John III followed Bragança's advice, having previously advised the Nuncio in Lisbon (DE WITTE 1980-1986: I, 497-498) of his intentions. In John's instructions to the Ambassador in Rome, he advised him to first give the Pope the ring and then, with Julius III well-disposed as a result of receiving the present, to make a request regarding commanderies (this issue is dealt with *supra*, chap. 2) and finally the request regarding the granting of the tutelage of the Orders to the Portuguese Crown (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 50-52). Once again, Julius III acceded without delay, and the news was sent to Portugal in September (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 58-60).

As was common under such circumstances, from this moment on other battles were to begin. Firstly, there were those close to the Pope who sought to gain advantage from the importance of the concession and obtain a share of the benefits. Secondly, the Portuguese emissary acted with a view to ensure that the details of the document were worked out favorably for the Crown before the final version was dispatched. The Ambassador had promised John III that he would examine the document before it was signed by the Pope in order to ensure that nothing had been altered or omitted. As was often the case, a draft document was sent to the king to reassure him that arrangements were going according to plan (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 80, 82, 86).

One point on which there was some doubt, around the beginning of December 1551, was how the Masterships should be governed should they fall into the hands of a woman. Dom Afonso de Lencastre answered the Pope's queries on this that "this would not be necessary to look into, that His Holiness should conduct the matter just as he had done with the Castilian bull" (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 86). The bull of 1523 dealing with the transfer of control of the Castilian masterships was well-known in Portugal and at the papal court, and on several occasions was pointed to as an example during the drawing up of the Portuguese bull; Lencastre even wrote to the king to tell him he had had a clause omitted: "with Your Highness's blessing I withdrew a point saying that the Portuguese Crown would pay the Holy See for rights, if payment was owed" (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 86). In the event this question did not appear in the Portuguese bull.

However, the text of the Portuguese bull does not consist of a mere collage of parts of the text contained in the bull issued to Charles V, but was written with the Portuguese context in mind³. While in the bull of 1523 the role of the Emperor had been extolled in the struggle against Protestantism and the Turks, here the Portuguese Crown was cited as waging war "on land and at sea" and spreading the faith "in different parts in the Indies, in Africa, Ethiopia and Brazil". The transfer to the Crown of tutelage of the Masterships *in perpetuum* was designed to lend support to this effort. The victory in the two sieges of Diu (1538 and 1546) was verbosely referred to in the text in a tone of encomiastic proselytizing.

In a provision also contained in the Castilian bull, the Master of the Orders was not allowed to sell off their patrimony. While the bull issued to Charles V stipulated that all matters pertaining

³A Castilian translation of the bull of union given to Charles V appears in POSTIGO CASTELLANOS 1988: 267-272. That of 1551 can be consulted in Portuguese in *Definicoens e Estatutos... 1671*: XXV-XLIII.

to the spiritual life of the Orders should be conducted by “religious persons of the said orders who must be appointed by the said kings”, the same safeguard was not included in the text of the bull issued in connection with the Portuguese Crown; John III and his successors were obliged to administer “spiritual and temporal matters in the manner described in our briefs, which were drawn up for the purpose.”

The transfer was also couched in terms of a concession made by Julius III on his “own initiative and without a request being made by the same King, John III, nor petition from another, which might be presented by him, but out of mere liberality, and *certa ciência*.” As has been shown, this was not exactly the case. John III had requested the granting of the favor, although not in writing. The request was not granted in return for anything (except for the ring referred to above), although the Nuncio in Lisbon (DE WITTE 1980-1986: I, 498), when he was informed of it, expressed the view that there was a need for retribution; besides this, some sections of the Roman curia expected *a posteriori* to receive something in return, and this was still the case in 1553, although such expectations were in vain (DE WITTE 1980-1986: I, 339, II, 717-718, 738).

Another peculiarity of the Portuguese bull is that it alludes not only to the inheriting of the Masterships by women acceding to the throne, but also minors, including girls: “even should a female accede to the throne of the same Kingdoms, or a minor of seven years, and though the said minor be a female, thus, the King, or by default the Queen, of the said Kingdoms who in times to come might be the perpetual administrator of each of the said Orders, and of their Masterships.” Thus, no risks were taken, allowance being made for all eventualities.

It should be noted, meanwhile, that, as with the Castilian bull, only the office of Master or Administrator was transferred to the possession of the Crown and not the Military Orders themselves. Their existing privileges and practices continued in place, and sovereigns had to swear to honor them before being allowed to govern the institutions, according to the bull of 1551, although in that of 1523 there had been no such provision. With regard to these arrangements, Masters continued to be dependent on Rome and the autonomy of the Orders was maintained; thus they did not truly become Crown property. For these reasons, Portuguese kings, when addressing the Military Orders, had to sign orders as ‘governors and perpetual administrators’, otherwise they would not be obeyed. This duality of status of the king and master, and the subordinate rank of the latter, being dependent on Rome, was a state of affairs that later arrangements would reinforce. It constituted a means of limiting the control sovereigns had over these institutions.

The move to transfer the tutelage of Orders to the Crown encountered opposition neither within the Military Orders themselves nor within the Upper Nobility. A degree of disaffection would have been expected from the Duke of Aveiro; however, there is no evidence demonstrating such a reaction on his part; following the transfer of the tutelage of the Masterships of Alcântara, Calatrava and Santiago to the Castilian Crown by Charles V (AYALA MARTÍNEZ 1997), one might have expected that a similar development was likely in Portugal.

The advantage that the sovereign gained in 1551 was the power to control these institutions, which possessed considerable material and symbolic resources. In about 1607 to 1611, their revenues were roughly equivalent to about 9% of the gross income of the Kingdom and the Empire put together (FALCÃO 1859: 5, 210). Besides this, the transfer of tutelage took place at a time

when the Crown, having asserted its role as the chief beneficiary of the profits of the maritime Expansion, was shaken by its first periods of serious economic crisis⁴.

The three Masterships possessed great resources. Masters approved by the Holy See had used the Military Orders to construct and satisfy their clienteles; from 1551, this capital passed into the hands of the Crown. The way in which they were brought under the sovereign's control acted as an extremely important means for the disciplining of the aristocracy and furthering the process of the social construction of the early modern Portuguese state. Besides providing a source of finance for the process of colonial expansion, it contributed towards transforming Portugal into one of the most centralized states in Western Europe (OLIVAL 2001).

2. From corporate service to individual service in exchange for reward

From the mid-15th century onwards, there were insistent appeals by some, including the Holy See itself, for the return of the Military Orders to the battlefield. Following a request by Alphonse V in 1463, the Papacy sought to oblige Portuguese knights to defend North Africa: Pius II ordered monasteries attached to the Orders to be founded in Ceuta, where a third of all knights were to reside for a year in rotation. However, this order was revoked in 1467, at a time when the Orders of Christ and Santiago were governed by Dom Fernando, the king's brother. In the sentence of the revocation, it was stressed that the knights of the Orders of Avis, Christ and Santiago were not bound to engage in combat abroad because these Orders had been established merely to defend the Iberian territory (ALMEIDA 1967: I, 348-349; BN, Cód. 13216: 48-48v).

At the *Cortes* of Coimbra-Évora of 1472-1473, the third estate demonstrated an interest in the knights of the Orders serving in Africa (SOUZA 1990: 433). At the *Cortes* of 1481-1482, it insisted on funding for expenses incurred in "*lugares dallem*" (North Africa) being derived from the revenues of the Orders of Christ and Santiago, together with the Order of Christ, on the death of the Duke of Viseu; it proposed that commanderies should be awarded in exchange for services rendered in places abroad to be stipulated by the Crown. In one of the chapters of the *Cortes*, the example was given of the knights of Rhodes, who won their commanderies in combat (ALMEIDA 1967-1971: I, 347-348).

As soon as Manuel became king and Master of the Order of Christ, he made efforts to ensure that there was a return to warfare, which was in the Crown's interest. At the General Chapter of the Order in 1503, he managed to establish a small number of commanderies for exclusive award to those performing four years' service in North Africa. He argued in favor of such requirements on the basis of the principle that the Order of Christ had been established to serve Our Lord in combat against the Moors and the enemies of the Catholic faith (*A regra e diffinições...*, 1506?, chap. LI). Thus, an identitary topic is brought to the fore, on the basis of which the king sought to establish a

⁴At the beginning of 1552, when the bull of union reached Portugal, poverty was widespread. In July of the same year, the Nuncio gave an account of the great changes caused by the entry into the port of Lisbon by several Flemish vessels: "hanno dato la vita a tutti questi regni et in particolare a questo re, il quale sendo stato un anno senza un carolino d'entrata dal alfandega et senza vender nulla di speciarie (...) era una pietà a vedere et sentire li modi com li quali si procurravano danari per li vitto quasi quotidiano della casa, oltra li pianti de questi mercanti et bottegai di questa cità" (DE WITTE 1980-1986: II, 717-718).

pattern of behavior in keeping with former times by those holding the habit of Christ, which might later influence the action of others. An attempt was made to put into practice the above-mentioned suggestion of the *Cortes*. In the same General Chapter, mention was also made of the creation of 30 commanderies in North Africa, each worth 10,000 *reals*, exclusively earmarked for “the residents of the fortresses of North Africa, who live in them and have their houses and wives there.” (*A regra e diffinições...*, 1506?, chap. LXIV).

Thus began a process that was extended in 1514 with the establishment of the “new commanderies” of this Order. By means of the Bull *Redemptor Noster Dominus Iesus Christus* (*As gavetas...*, 1960-1977: II, 472-478) of 29th April, King Manuel provided for 20,000 *cruzados* to be levied from monasteries, priories and parish churches for the establishment of commanderies reserved for those fighting for the Crown in North Africa or in other parts of the globe, on land and at sea, as the papal document states. Following the grandiose embassy of obedience to Leo X, and throughout his term as pontiff, good relations between the Portuguese Crown and the papacy enabled the king to obtain great favors, including this one (SALVATORE DE CUTIIS, 1899: 62-74). On 19th January 1516, the Pope authorized the creation of more new commanderies deriving from the revenues of 50 churches from royal patronage, and a deadline of one year was set for their establishment (*As gavetas...*, 1960-1977: II, 422-432).

Such papal concessions were part of a process of the allocation of resources deriving from the clergy for the financing of the war in Africa (SILVA 2002: 115-116, 286) that caused a degree of disquiet among ecclesiastics and made the creation of such rewards more difficult. The process of the establishment of new commanderies in Portugal was difficult: it was only achieved after a considerable time and after several rounds of negotiations, both in Portugal and in Rome, with those who considered their interests to have been harmed.

Meanwhile, six months after the promulgation of the bull of 29th April 1514, Manuel set out in a royal letter the conditions and criteria on the basis of which he would grant new commanderies: “although to some degree it might seem that the words of the bull are more open to interpretation.” (ANTT, *Gavetas*, VII, Mç.14, doc. 13). The aim was to interpret the papal document in the best interests of the Crown. Basically, it was established that new commanderies would be awarded to those who served for two years in Africa, as long as they had been issued with a royal letter of authorization indicating the place in which service was to be performed. The costs of rendering service were to borne by each individual but there was no requirement that one should have previously been awarded a habit in order to be able to request from the king the document authorizing “going and serving for a commandery in North Africa”, as this kind of behavior was later described. Thus, an effort was made to encourage as many as possible to apply for rewards. It was now patently possible to obtain a habit or a new commandery of the Order of Christ, the king’s blessing having been received, merely by performing military service. There was now no requirement either for religious formalities to be observed before embarking on such a course of action. The Order of Christ was set to become the prize for taking part in a series of battles with the Moors in the Maghreb, under the king’s orders.

The royal letter of 29th October 1514 also set out a series of advantages for residents at the Royal Court (*moradores da Casa Real*), in order to impel such individuals to go to war: firstly, they would continue to receive dwellings (*moradias*) and barley, as they did at Court; and secondly, as soon as they started to render service they could receive the said commanderies, without having to

have previously fulfilled the requirement for two years' service (meanwhile, those who were deemed to have qualified under such circumstances would have to continue to render service in order to complete the specified period, and they could not leave beforehand).

Those who finished the two-year period without receiving a commandery would have to present the sovereign with a certificate signed by the captain (*capitão*), bookkeeper (*contador*) and military chief (*adail*) of the place in which service had been rendered, stating the period of service, the number of horses and the number of auxiliary staff whom the individual in question had engaged at his own cost, as well as the relevant deeds performed, wounds suffered, periods of captivity experienced, and the loss of horses or other possessions that had been suffered during the rendering of service. The reason for these details was that: "with more reason and justice, they should be provided with the said commanderies sooner and also possibly with improved terms and increased income." At the end of the royal letter, it was stressed that "the power to grant the said commanderies will always be reserved for us, the king, and the kings who follow us, in accordance with the worthiness of each one".

Thus, both before and after 1551, the sovereign made a continuous effort to steer the Military Orders back to war – not an easy task.

As early as 1550, when the Crown managed to gain control of the three Military Orders, it immediately sought to reinforce the logic of exchange implied in the rule of service and the granting of commanderies. Towards the end of the letter of 2nd September 1550 in which he gave an account of the successful granting to John III of control of the Masterships of Avis and Santiago for life, Baltazar de Faria mentioned an episode which served to shed light on the subtle type of resistance that might be encountered. Carrying out orders he had received from Lisbon, he visited the different issuing offices of the Holy See in order to make sure that orders in connection with rewards which might go against the interests of the new administrator would not be issued in the future. He discovered a request, which had already been approved, in connection with the commandery of Mora of the Order of Avis, whose revenues were assessed at 1,500 *cruzados*, regarding the following: Luís de Mendonça had requested the approval of the renunciation of the commandery with respect to a six-year-old son of his, with the consent, prior to his death, of Dom Jorge, who had given his permission for the transfer of the commandery during the father's lifetime. Baltazar de Faria managed to block the process by citing the minority of the renounced child (who should have been aged 15 according to the statutes of the era in order to become a member of the Order) stating that "it would be such a harmful thing to make this exception, thereby ignoring the safeguard that the award of commanderies should only be made in return for services rendered; this would destroy the Orders." (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VI, 417-418).

In the letter of 1551 containing instructions to the ambassador, Dom Afonso de Lencastre, regarding the request to be made to the Pope with a view to achieving the transfer of the tutelage of the three Masterships to the Crown, John III delegated another task to him: it concerned commanderies, a matter which he considered "a question of my conscience, which neither can nor should be clear if His Holiness does not accede to my request on this matter." (*Corpo Diplomático...1862-1959*: VII, 50). The ambassador was instructed to present the question of the commanderies to the Pope before broaching the issue of the transfer *in perpetuum* of the Masterships to Crown possession. Two papal briefs were granted on 7th October of that year: in *Exponi nobis*, Julius III made provision for the king-master to oblige commanders of any of the three Orders to

fight the Moors, in person and accompanied by a certain number of horses and foot-soldiers dependent on the revenue of the commandery; if they did not go to war, they had to pay for it. In the other brief, it was stated that wherever the revenues of new commanderies of the Order of Christ were not sufficient for commanders to go to war, they should be exempted from requirements involving the presentation of documentary proof, and their revenues should be used by the king for financing the war (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: VII, 67-71).

In fact, in 1551, John III sought not only to transfer the Orders to the perpetual tutelage of the Crown but also to introduce the rendering of service in exchange for the granting of commanderies. However, in practice, he only rapidly achieved the latter aim with regard to the new commanderies of the Order of Christ. Despite the efforts of successive kings, only in the reign of Sebastian did the king manage to impose a similar obligation on those seeking commanderies of the Orders of Santiago and Avis, in addition to candidates for the “old commanderies” of the Order of Christ.

In the 1560s and 1570s, King Sebastian personified the values of the Christian knight, brought up to believe in the ideals of the crusades; and, indeed, he regarded the struggle in North Africa as a crusade.

Apparently, one of the reasons why the General Chapter of the Order of Christ was called in 1573 was the need to build a monastery for the Order at Cape St Vincent in the Algarve, “in which the Order of Christ should be based, in order to defend the whole of the Algarve against the Moors and the Turks, who every year pillage and enslave Christians” (SERRÃO 1960: 228). Such an undertaking would make it possible for commanderies to be obtained, such as those of the Order of Malta, by rendering service as a combat soldier of the Order. However, it did not produce any practical results.

Meanwhile, in connection with the concessions that Sebastian sought from Rome throughout his reign, he did not always request that all the knights of the Military Orders should be required to take part in combat, as though they all belonged to a unitary body.

In fact, it was during this era that the idea of individual service to the Crown was truly established as a means for individuals to obtain a habit or commandery of any of the three Military Orders. In papal orders issued from 1568 to 1569, there is also evidence of an attempt to make the granting of the commanderies of the Orders of Avis and Santiago dependent on the performance of service in the war in North Africa, as had been established in connection with the new commanderies of the Order of Christ⁵. Such requirements were established mainly in the 1570s. On 18th January 1570, the papal Brief *praeclara tua* artfully introduced a minimum age requirement of 18 years for the granting of a commandery (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: X, 360-363). Seven months later, the bull of 18th August (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: XI, 630-640). revoked the exemptions from combat and associated exemption rights which could be invoked, as had often been the case in the past. In order to obtain an ordinary habit of any of the Military Orders, it was essential that an individual should have performed three years' service in

⁵See the briefs: *Circumspecta Romani*, of 5th June 1568; *Quamvis Majestas*, of 28th June 1569 (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: X, 311-313, 326-327). On this matter, the following briefs are also relevant: *Praeclara tua*, of 18th January 1570; *Cogit nos*, of 8th July 1570 (*Corpo Diplomático*...1862-1959: X,).

North Africa. For commanderies, the requirement was greater (seven years) and a royal license was required granting authorization for the performance of service, or alternatively an individual could serve for a greater length of time (nine years) without previously having obtained authorization. The king, as Master of the Orders, now clearly exercised control over which services could be rewarded by the granting of such distinctions. An individual could only qualify for a fifth-ranking commandery (*quinta comenda*) without the requirement for having performed service in Africa. Besides the above-mentioned bull, various other papal orders issued during the era attempted to regulate the length of time of combat service required and establish where service could be rendered.

In 1572, the *Regimento & estatutos sobre a reformação das tres orde[n]s militares* (Regulations and Statutes Regarding the Reform of the Three Military Orders) was printed and approved the same year by Gregory XIII at the request of King Sebastian (*Corpo Diplomático...* 1862-1959: X, 454-464; ANTT, *Gaveta* 24, Mç.1, no. 23). The aim was basically to attenuate the excesses of the previous bull. In the provisions of the new statutes (this was one of the few occasions on which a king was responsible for the issue of new statutes without recourse to the General Chapter), dealing with the three Military Orders as one, it was made clear that a habit granted would become the personal possession of the grantee (and thus would not involve remuneration or pension rights) until such time as he might be granted a commandery. Acceptable spaces for the performance of services included not only North Africa but also, for the first time, India (where, however, exceptional deeds of service were required) as well as the galleys of the Algarve coast. While the number of years' service required for the granting of a habit was not changed, the same is not true with regard to commanderies: for those worth less than 800,000 *réis*, five years' service was required; above this value, a further year's service was required. At the same time, only commanderies with a net value of up to 100,000 *réis* could be obtained without a royal letter authorizing the performance of service, in contrast to the other aforementioned cases, where this was essential.

A new papal order, issued by Gregory XIII on 25th August 1575, introduced some important alterations: the length of service in Africa required for the granting of habits was reduced to two years, or three years in the case of India⁶, for which exceptional deeds continued to be required; in order to receive a commandery of any rank or value, one would have to have performed 3 or 4 years' service in Africa and to have obtained a royal letter of approval; performance of service in the galleys was also acceptable (a year's service was equivalent to three summers of four months) (BN, Cód. 13216: 50-51).

In another brief issued on 11th June 1577 by Gregory XIII, *Exponi nobis* (*Bullarium Patronatus...* 1868-1879: I, 246-247), further changes were introduced: services performed in the service of the armadas on the high seas involving combat with "Turks, pirates, heretics and the

⁶This requirement for "services in Africa" to be performed for the reward of an ordinary habit to be granted was only abolished by royal order on 11th January 1592 (CARVALHO 1693-1699: I, *Enucl.* III, *comp.* VI, § 382), which gave Philip II the power to alter the statutes of the Orders (GUERRA 1772: I, 293).

infidel” were deemed equivalent to those performed in North Africa or in the service of the Algarve galleys⁷.

During the 1570s, the Crown managed to persuade Rome to demarcate North Africa, India, the galleys of the Algarve coast and the armadas of the high seas as spaces for possible combat service in connection with the granting of the distinctions of the Military Orders, and relative stability in this connection was achieved following the bull of 11th June 1577. Thus the interests of the Crown were largely safeguarded in an era during which it was forced to come to terms with the pullout from Morocco, increasing competition on the high seas and dependence on the Cape route, which was already experiencing a crisis. Besides this, the enemy encountered on the high seas and in the other above-mentioned spaces was not generally Roman Catholic, which meant that popes were well disposed to considering Portuguese interests.

Papal orders issued from 1570 onwards provided for a minimum age of 18 for becoming a member of any of the three Orders. Aimed at reinforcing the concept of service, this measure caused some disquiet and was in clear contrast with the minimum age of 16 for an individual to become a confirmed member of any religion, a professed person. Many of those who left for India as soldiers were aged only 15 or 16⁸ and the aim was to ensure that those who sought habits could comply with the stipulated length of service to the Crown: one obtained reward because one had qualified for such through the performance of personal service. In general, this was in stark contrast with previous arrangements, based on the principle that a knight should fight for the king because he held a habit.

However, the rules of service were not strictly enforced, even in the time of King Sebastian. Meanwhile, the advantage of the system was that service was theoretically required to be performed by the individual rather than being based on statutory or other requirements imposed on the Military Orders as a unitary body. The performance of personal service now constituted the main condition for becoming a member of the Military Orders; it was not, in the final analysis, an obligation in the feudal manner. While up until the 1570s, the aim was that knights should serve because they held habits, the opposite was now the case: whoever was the beneficiary of services which could be rewarded by the Crown had the opportunity to obtain a habit of the Military Orders and eventually even obtaining further distinctions if he continued to serve. Whoever performed services acquired rights which he could use for his own benefit, even if he were to seek reward outside the Masterships.

Throughout the 16th century in Portugal, the status of service as patrimony, which could be dealt with just like any other good, was consolidated: it could be tested, divided up and, if necessary, disposed of in any way even if the protagonist was a knight who belonged to a Military Order. The Crown had to reward service in order to retain vassals at its bidding who were prepared to carry out the various tasks involved in the *res publica*. As in general it had vast resources at its

⁷In the *definitórios* of 1619, first published in 1628, the period of service for the armadas and galleys was fixed at 5 years. The duration of each year was equivalent to the period from when a vessel left port to when it returned to port (*Definicoens e Estatutos...* 1671 [1628]: II Parte - tít. I, § I).

⁸In the Committee of the Order of Christ, which finished meeting in 1589, there was a protest against such a high age limit; 15 years was indicated as sufficient (BN, Cód.13216: 25).

disposal, and granted them only in life or for life, the returns were guaranteed and the system was thus viable. One of the main advantages of the perpetual transfer of the tutelage of the Orders to the Crown was to engage them in this system of exchange with the sovereign. Thus, habits and commanderies were granted to individuals, along with almost all their revenues. In practice, in Portugal, whoever served did so in the expectancy to obtain reward and the king, who was willing to grant benefits, aimed to foster the continuation of the performance of services and encourage the performance of further services: this was the economy of reward, which was increasingly the basis of the relationship between the Crown and its vassals.

Unlike in Castile, no literature was produced in the 16th and 17th centuries either within or outside the Military Orders portraying the service performed by knights as being in the manner of a crusade (POSTIGO CASTELLANOS 1995). The obligation to perform combat service derived only from the tradition of the Orders. If members did not do so, this would merely lower the prestige of the Orders. Individual service to the Crown, however, was accepted as natural. It meant that a habit was merited, even if the space in which service had been performed was not mentioned in the bulls promulgated by Pius V and Gregory XIII. In fact, these orders were never completely put into practice; following the events of 1580-1581, they were quickly forgotten. Philip II of Spain made great use of the three Orders as a means of attracting individuals to his camp, and many of the services he rewarded were merely equivalent to the purchasing of political support. A good example of this was the awards made to the procurators of the *Cortes* of Tomar of 1581, many of whom received habits of the Military Orders (OLIVAL 1988: I, 71-75).

If military service becoming the norm was more generally acceptable, the process of establishing the system generated some opposition. At the General Chapter of 1573, a request was made to the Master to slow down the rate at which changes were being made. The fact that commanderies could only be granted on the basis of combat service against the infidel, except for fifth-ranking rewards (*quinta comenda*), was regarded negatively. According to a later account, “this would result in great harm being done to the King’s exchequer, by virtue of his obligation to pay candidates for services rendered, and to his authority and jurisdiction, which should be taken into account when granting a favor with regard to the said commanderies, with the liberty previously enjoyed by his ancestors” (BN, Cód. 13216: 52-52v). Thus it was stressed that the sovereign’s power would be reduced in two ways: firstly, by allowing the obligation to pay for these services to become the norm; and secondly, by losing the faculty thus far enjoyed to grant commanderies as and when he wished.

In December 1589, an Order of Christ reform committee (*junta*) completed its work (OLIVAL 2004: 97-104). The reforms not only reflected the above-mentioned step taken by the General Chapter of 1573, but also made reference to the fact that Gregory XIII had invested the Master with the power to alter the statutes and encouraged Philip II to do this. In order to stress the dependence and inoperability of the normative texts of Pius V and Gregory XIII that were cited, the committee advised that a request should be made, “in order to safeguard his conscience, and likewise that of those to whom he granted the said rewards,” to the Pope for “exemption for rewards, which he has done for habits and commanderies for many in these Kingdoms, and abroad, who do not present the qualifications or have not performed services that the holy apostolic statutes require”; this he should do for those which had been awarded from 23rd December 1581, because permission had been granted for those granted up until that time (BN, Cód. 13216: 53v). Thus, the power of

the king was greatly dependent on Rome. An appeal was made for the reform of the arrangements established by popes in the early 1570s “because it is not against the institution of this Order, and its aims, to receive people into the Order if they are granted only a habit, without having performed services, although after becoming a member of the Order they are obliged to comply with service requirements, when His Majesty and his successors might order them to do this. And thus it seems, that, from now on, His Majesty and his successors may freely award the ordinary habit of this Order of Christ to whoever they please, for any services, of any rank, and for whatever length of time, even if these are not granted in return for combat service against the infidel, providing they are people from whom the order receives honor and advantage” (BN, Cód. 13216: 53v-54). With regard to habits, this request summed up the situation which applied at the end of the 16th century. In fact, few of the provisions established from 1570 to 1575 were complied with. The Alcácer-Quibir defeat and the dispute regarding the throne threw the question of normative precepts into confusion. These circumstances also affected commanderies, many of which fell vacant in 1578 and ended up being given to sons who were minors (BN, Cód. 498: 1v), or even as a means of helping relatives in financial difficulties, or as a solution in other similar situations, for example, obtaining the release of relatives who had been captured in North Africa.

In social terms, the obligation to fight the infidel was a costly enterprise that few were prepared to undertake. In 1570 and 1580, the tension could be felt between, on the one hand, the statutory requirements acquired by king-masters, harking back to the bull which established the Order of Christ and provided for the transfer of the tutelage of the three Orders to the Crown and the combat tradition of the Orders, and, on the other hand, the social interest in obtaining these distinctions with ease. Following the events of 1580, the latter set of circumstances prevailed. In 1582, 205 new insignia of the Order of Christ alone were awarded, an extremely large number (OLIVAL 1988: I, 71), in fact the largest number in the history of the Order until the reforms made by Queen Mary I in 1789. In 1592, following the papal brief of 1591 which endowed Philip II with the power to alter the statutes of the Orders, a royal license issued on 11th January 1592 (CARVALHO 1693-1699: I, *Enucl.* III, *comp.* VI, § 382) abolished the obligation regarding the performance of “services in Africa”⁹ for the granting of habits. Henceforth, in practice, the principle was established that a habit could be awarded for any kind of service, whether personal or not (habits could also be granted to those who held the respective rights).

The requirement for “services in Africa” to be performed for the granting of a commandery was retained until 1834; though by the end of the 16th century it was not enforced in the majority of cases. The normal procedure was that a request would be made to Rome for dispensation, even in the case of a new commandery. In fact, from this time on, commanderies were awarded in exchange for the performance of all kinds of services, or occasionally even without such a requirement.

At the above-mentioned committee of 1589, a proposal was also put forward for the awarding of new or old commanderies to those who had served with royal authorization; this was aimed at avoiding applications for commanderies in exchange for services of any kind, and it was argued that for deserving cases there were other rewards (BN, Cód. 13216: 57-59V). None of this had any effect. At the end of the 16th century, the idea prevailed that the Orders constituted above

⁹A synecdoche which covered services in North Africa, India and the armadas as a whole or any one of these stages.

all a source of reward for good servants of the Crown, whether they were political supporters, efficient administrators or soldiers providing military service either at home or in the Empire. Those who held rights over services rendered increasingly felt that theoretically they enjoyed rights to privileges which could be sought from the king. Thus, service represented a source of power rather than a form of obligation. This certainly facilitated the spread of a pattern of behavior that ultimately benefited the Crown, which was thus able to increase the number of good servants.

3. From the relative opening up of access to the Orders to the statutes defining purity of blood and occupation

In the time of Dom Jorge de Lencastre, a candidate was subject to certain tests in order to become a member of the Military Orders of Avis and Santiago. While this is clearly documented from 1523 onwards, it would also have been common practice before that. Above all, candidates' means were tested in terms of patrimony or income (just as in the case of qualifications *de genere*, which applied to the secular clergy), as well as their capacity to serve, and proof was required that they were not involved in any judicial proceedings (PIMENTA 2002: 230-231). An inquiry was held and witnesses called by the candidate.

The statutes of the Order of Santiago of 1542 introduced stricter rules. For the first time, people were excluded if they themselves, their parents, and their four grandparents were practicing Jews or Moslems, although converts were not covered by the exclusion: "but if by the grace of God any enlightened soul should convert to our holy faith, and if that person should be served or honored by the Order, in such a case the Master may receive him" (*Regra et statutos...* 1542: chap. IV). Also excluded from the Order were 'mechanics' (manual workers) and laborers, and the means for qualification was set at 400,000 *reals* in kind or 20,000 *reals* in income (*Regra et statutos...* 1542: chap. IV). There is evidence that the same rules were applied to the Order of Avis during the rest of the 1540s (See for example ANTT, *Habilitações da Ordem de Avis*, Letter A, Mç.3, no. 20).

Such rules, however, were not rigorously applied. Only when the bull, *Ad Regie Maiestatis*, was promulgated by Pius V on 18th August 1570 were statutes truly regulating purity of blood and occupation introduced for the Portuguese Military Orders. These were some of the first institutions in Portugal to adopt statutes of purity of blood, although such rules had long been in force in Castile. Against a background of efforts by kings to encourage their servants to fight, it was no surprise that three aspects which decisively contributed towards shaping the Orders in the period of the *Ancien Régime* came to the fore at this time: services, purity of blood and noble credentials.

Regarding the last of these, it should be noted that noble blood (*fidalguidia*) was not required of those who applied for a habit; all that was required was 'purity of occupation' since the generation of the candidate's grandparents. This was very different from belonging to noble lineage. The situation was different for the Castilian Orders: status of blood nobility was required. Purity of occupation was much easier to prove.

However, in the last three decades of the 16th century, candidates for habits were not subjected to rigorous examination. It is highly probable that the consequences of Alcácer-Quibir and the accession to the throne of the Castilian Habsburgs were largely the cause of this.

In 1589, when the Reform Committee of the Order of Christ finished its work, the deliberations recorded regarding the provisions to be complied with by new applicants were still

very flexible. Here is an extract: “those of the Moorish race or of the Jewish race, or the sons or grandsons of mechanics, and in all these cases even if someone proves that he has noble blood or noble ancestors, or be a knight, or an esquire known as a good man, and who has more qualities which the statutes of the Order require, they are not received into the Order. However, if the son of a mechanic who has performed significant service, and the bastard son of a noble, even if he has performed no service, if they are written in His Majesty’s Books as nobles, in such cases they may be awarded a habit without dispensation; this may also be done in the case of the grandson of a mechanic who has performed significant service, and His Majesty or his successors may regard him as being extremely worthy of a habit, even though he does not appear as a noble in his books.” (BN, Cód. 13216: 23). Thus a series of exceptions could be made regarding social status. Firstly, mechanic parentage was exempted by virtue of noble privilege (*fôro da Casa Real*) obtained by services: such a candidate enjoyed the same status as that of a bastard of a noble attached to the Royal Household; having mechanic grandparents posed fewer difficulties: as long as one had rendered considerable service, noble privilege was not required in order to qualify for the award of a habit. It should be noted that these exceptions were much more important when they were made in connection with the award of habits without dispensation. In practice, they were regarded as being of noble status just like the others.

The committee of 1589 went further: it allowed the “residents of the Places of Africa” (Ceuta, Tangier and Mazagão) who had accumulated service rights to be awarded the habit of the Order of Christ, the most sought-after in Portugal, even though they were the descendents of Moors or even Moors themselves, provided that they had converted to Roman Catholicism. Similarly, mechanic ancestry was exempted from the rules, even in the case of the sons of mechanics. However, such individuals attached to North Africa were required to apply for a dispensation containing details of their occupation and blood status: “And the residents of the places of Africa, who live there, and have their houses and wives there, and who are granted by the King, Dom Manuel, thirty habits and commanderies worth ten thousand *réis* each, even though they are of the Moorish race, or any of them has been a Moor, and who has been newly converted and has become a Christian, if by their services in the said parts they show that they are worthy of the habit and commanderies intended for them, then they should be granted a habit by means of dispensation. This should make mention of their defect and the reason why dispensation is being made. This should be done even if they are the sons of mechanics.” (BN, Cód. 13216: 23-23v). Not even the commanderies of North Africa were denied them.

Thus those who sat on the committee, dominated by people close to interests at the political center, clearly identified with the tendency to associate habits with service. In North Africa, not even Moorish blood in the case of the candidate himself need pose an obstacle. Only the Jews were totally excluded. Apparently, low status could be comparatively easily exempted if important service had been performed in parts of the Empire to which it was difficult to attract servants, like North Africa.

Only in 1592, did Philip II reserve for Rome the dispensation for the defects of Jewish and Moorish blood (CARVALHO 1693-1699: I, *Enucl.* III, *comp.* VI, § 382). Before this, despite the bull of Pius V of 1570, sovereigns had continued to exempt defects. For this purpose, they used a clause “of my certain science and absolute power”, which was included in the provisions of the awarding of habits.

In 1592, only this kind of situation was covered by the jurisdiction of the Holy See. In matters of pagans or heathens (natives of Africa, America and Asia), kings continued to grant dispensation, although sometimes reluctantly. This is an important point, with regard to a monarchy with a huge colonial empire, whose defense was always difficult and sometimes involved the important contribution of native human resources, as in the case of the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil in the 17th century¹⁰.

The rules governing access to the distinctions of the Orders were applied more strictly when in 1597 the requirement was introduced for inquiry to be undertaken in the place of birth of a candidate, his parents and grandparents¹¹; a knight of the respective habit was specially sent out to serve on the inquiry and had to produce a report on the candidate; a legal official, the *corregedor da comarca*, was responsible for conducting the inquiry; if he or his wife did not qualify because of purity of blood impediments, the onus was on the head of the *provedor* or on the head of the *juiz de fora*¹².

The effort made during the last thirty years of the 16th century to produce statutes governing purity of blood and occupation led to an increase in the value of habits and raised standards as far as the strict application of the background investigations was concerned. All this changed the social status of habits. Here is a clear example: Cristóvão Esteves, one of the compilers of the latest version of the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, who was of Jewish ancestry, had been a Knight of the Order of Christ since 1515, but rarely used the title. In many letters issued by the Royal Chancellery dating from the late 1540s, he is referred to merely as Doctor Cristóvão Esteves da Espargosa, “*fidalgo* of the Royal Household and chaplain to the Royal Household, from the Council of State and *Desembargador do Paço*” (ANTT, *Perdões e Legitimações de D. João III*, L^o 1: 13v-14, 20, 20v, *passim*; L^o IV: 24, 25v, 94v, 95, *passim*). A century later, in the same circumstances, reference to a habit of the Order of Christ would never have been omitted. In the intervening period, the distinction had taken on a new significance and a new symbolic meaning.

Such a transformation was largely due to the Crown’s intervention in the affairs of the Orders with a view to bringing them under its control. If it had not done this, how could it have rewarded services rendered and drawn advantage from such circumstances? The Crown transformed the habit into a distinct means of rewarding service and granting privilege to its servants. Receiving a

¹⁰This does not mean that many blacks were awarded habits (DUTRA 1977-1979: 25-35; DUTRA 1999: 91-113).

¹¹Inquiries were even held in Lisbon, at the house of the General Judge (*Juiz Geral*) of the Military Orders, who called 2 to 4 witnesses - see ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência - Ordens Militares - Papéis Diversos*, Mç. 22, doc. 126.

¹²ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência*, L^o 310: 62-64. Only after the *definitórios* left the General Chapter of 1619 were commissars created, which reflected the practice that was current in Castile.

habit was not the same as acquiring pension rights. Likewise, for the Crown, rewarding services rendered with a pension or with a habit was not the same thing. From a strictly financial standpoint it would have been cheaper to take the latter course, even though a habit was rarely granted without a pension. The so-called 'habit pension' did not involve a large amount of money: 20,000 *réis* in the last quarter of the 16th century and 12,000 *réis* from the 1660s onwards.

In short, by the end of the 16th century, membership in one of the Military Orders was a very different prospect from similar circumstances at the beginning of the century. In connection with the past, they only tended to exploit the traditional ideals bound up with performing military service. By the end of the century, the Military Orders remained a feature of society, but were endowed with a completely new social and political connotation. They became essential instruments used by the Crown for ensuring the maintenance of discipline and for awarding social distinction.

For all these reasons, the perpetual transfer of tutelage of the Masterships to the Crown represented a crucial step towards consolidating the economy of reward. It was also a significant feature of the process of the construction of the Early Modern State. In order for this to be accepted without serious conflict between the Crown and elite groups, they had to be rewarded with distinctions they regarded as relevant, such as habits and commanderies.

These dynamic processes were closely linked. In the 16th century, the Crown managed to bring the Masterships under its perpetual control, gradually ensure that individual service constituted the means of access to these institutions and also increase the value of habits, endowing them with the status of purity of blood and occupation. However, in practice, the Crown admitted many exceptions to the established rules, showing a degree of flexibility which acted in its interest. Without pitting the Crown against its subjects, how was all this managed? The introduction of services, although it had its supporters, did encounter some resistance, which has not been dealt with in this paper. It was no accident that the new system was only gradually put in place. No great obstacles were placed in the way of the other two great changes, especially the introduction of the statutes. This appears to be explained by the fact that, firstly, during the era, Portuguese noble houses were not very wealthy or powerful and, secondly, the fact that, on various occasions, the *Cortes* called for the introduction of service as a means of achieving noble distinctions, following the example of the Order of Malta. The Crown appears to have enjoyed a strong bargaining position both in relation to Rome and on the domestic front; such power produced a capacity on the part of the Crown to often make exceptions (which took on the status of privileges) without undermining the overall system.

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Micro-Historical Perspectives on Moral Choices: Case Studies from Early Modern Portugal

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Abstract

Moral choice is often discussed in the context of conforming to religious norms, with immoral behavior explained as a consequence of imperfect indoctrination or a lack of control and dissuasion mechanisms by the church and other institutions that promote moral concepts. Our findings point in a different direction: moral choice in sexual matters seems to be the result of an equation that relates the perception of the alternative paths of action, the place of the individual in networks of relations and resources and various trade-offs. It is a question of strategy, at a personal or small group level, and less a question of belief. We use intensive cross-linking of sources to reconstruct individual biographies and networks of relations to gain a micro-historical view on a set of case studies involving public sinners in a Portuguese parish in the 17th and 18th centuries. By placing individual cases in the context of individual life cycles and in the context of family and social relations, we gain relevant insights into motivations for immoral behavior and its role in personal strategies.

Keywords

Moral behavior; Episcopal Visitations; Network Analysis; Micro-history

Introduction

The study of moral conformism in past populations is an important field for the comprehension of pre-industrial societies, especially in the area of demographic behavior. To pose the problem succinctly, the existence of the European Marriage Pattern, characterized by late marriage and high levels of definitive celibacy, implies that past populations had the capacity to control sexual behavior in the period between puberty and late marriage (Hajnal, 1965). The most cost-efficient way to control the behavior of millions of persons was to have them believe that it was fundamentally wrong to engage in sexual activities before marriage and thus obtain the self-control and restraint necessary for the late marriage system to work as a regulator of demographic growth, in an epoch when contraception was not diffused. Moral conformism was therefore an integral part of pre-industrial societies. Church and civil authorities provided the concepts, control and repression necessary to shape

individual behavior in the necessary direction. Industrialization would melt the cement that held together this self-regulating mechanism. Free from the economic, social and mental constraints of traditional peasant societies, the new generations adopted behaviors that made illegitimacy ratios increase all over Europe, until the decline of fertility brought by contraception (Shorter, 1975).

It has been argued that a significant part of the immoral behavior that did occur in pre-industrial Portugal was in fact part of a process that had marriage as the ultimate goal (Laslett, 1980a: 1-65). Couples would engage in sexual contact in contexts where they were hoping that a marriage would follow and abstain in other circumstances. This would explain the mysterious relationship between nuptiality and illegitimacy: the more intense the marriage activity the more illegitimate births occurred because the probability of a couple having sex was linked to the perceived probability that marriage was possible, thus increasing competition between candidates, while if marriage was difficult due to economic circumstances couples would abstain from risky behavior, resulting in low nuptiality and low illegitimacy. There is strong statistical evidence to support this (Schellekens, Jona, 1995). But many situations of illegitimacy cannot be traced to courtship practices, nor can pre-nuptial relations be considered a widespread behavior across all social strata. This leads to a central question: was there a “bastardy prone sub society”, or, in other words, can moral misconduct be linked to specific social groups (Laslett, 1980b)?

We examine these questions with a micro-historical approach that is intended to look in detail into cases of immoral sexual behavior that have reached us through documentation from the ecclesiastical judiciary. Our purpose is to inquire into moral choice among individuals in an Early Modern Portuguese parish. Our starting point is the cases of moral misbehavior brought before episcopal justice during episcopal visitations. We then retrace the persons involved through a variety of sources, the most relevant of which are the parish registers. As much biographical and relational information as possible was collected to shed light on the context in which the observed behavior took place. The results are, for some of the cases, detailed biographies and networks of relations that provide insights into patterns of behavior and allow us to gain unexpected perspectives on individual and group strategies. The close-up view of individual trajectories and networks does not fit easily into the macro-level explanatory framework outlined above. As with other micro-historical studies, it is hard to find the great causal mechanisms of history at work and the problem of articulating micro and macro level explanations becomes central.

Defining and assessing moral conformism

Episcopal visitations (*Visitas Pastorais*) in Portugal provide abundant source material for studying moral behavior. For centuries, the episcopal visitors traveled to the most remote parishes of Portuguese dioceses and, with great ceremony, would gather the population together, select a number of them, seemingly at random, and ask them, under oath and threat of excommunication, to denounce the public sinners they knew of. The transcripts of these interrogations, sometimes full of exuberant detail, have survived in large numbers in the diocese of Coimbra, and are known as *devassas*, from the juridical term applied to an inquiry that is undertaken without prior knowledge that a crime has been committed. It is a unique form of documentation, as far as we know, in the European context, mainly because of its *ex officio* nature and the random nature of the interrogations (Carvalho 1990).

The uniqueness of the *Visitas Pastorais* in Portugal, far from being the bureaucratic and administrative exercise they became in other countries, can be traced to a jurisdictional division of labor, between the bishops and secular judiciary. A series of circumstances and political contexts developing the reception of the Tridentine decrees in Portugal created the figure of the *mixti fori* case, a crime that simultaneously fell under ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction and that was to be handled by the juridical system that first learned of the event. Among these, moral cases were, for many decades, the most frequently denounced. Within this category, we find mainly illicit relationships, couples living together or having occasional intercourse without being married, but also prostitution, encouraging or facilitating prostitution (panderism), and consenting to the immoral behavior of those under one's responsibility (e.g. parents allowing the misbehavior of daughters). Note that other more relevant moral or sexual crimes, such as bigamy or sodomy, were not within the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts, but rather came under the compass of the Inquisition.

The jurisdictional context and the ritualized practice of the visitation imply that the question of the definition of moral behavior can be taken for granted. Individuals would know which practices were being targeted by ecclesiastical justice. The list of cases that would be subject to interrogation during the visitation was announced at mass on the previous Sunday and the list would be posted on the church door, according to ecclesiastical manuals. We also know from the transcripts that people denouncing cases mentioned that the guilty parties had been caught in previous visitations, whenever that was the case.

In fact, the whole point of the *devassa* was to find out, through interrogation of randomly selected persons, what was *believed* to be wrong in the parish. Central to the content and form of the episcopal visitation was the idea of *public sinners*, those that publicly defied the accepted norms of behavior. The public sinners were a danger to the salvation of the souls of their fellow parishioners because the spectacle of unpunished crime drove the spectators to misbehave themselves. So, public sins required public punishment, and that was the main purpose of the *devassa*, also called the "temporal visitation".

From our point of view, it is relevant to note that the people we will be talking about had a clear awareness of the normative position of their behavior. They were neither involuntary sinners, nor people without a clear awareness of the fact that they were doing wrong. They were fully aware of the normative significance of their behavior and so they consequently constitute a significant sample for the inquiry into the logic of moral choice.

Methodology

The episcopal visitations were the sources that provided us with the original cases to explore. But the essence of the methodology used relied on the cross-linking of information from various origins, with parish registers playing a major role as providers of biographical fragments. The cases analyzed in this study are thus based on information from episcopal visitations, parish registers, notarial records, varied documentation related to the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, marriage processes (normally brought about by impediments raised to marriages banns) and municipal sources. Although the time frame of the series varied according to the source type, the greatest concentration of information was found for the period from 1680 to 1720, and our cases are located inside that time frame. The various sources were introduced into a nominal database managed by specially designed

software, which allowed for the reconstruction of individual biographies and the analysis of networks of relations (Carvalho, 1997: 287-536). The methodology has since been used in other studies with similarly rewarding results (Castiço, 2003, Ribeiro, 2003).

The setting: Soure, a Portuguese parish in the eighteenth century

Soure is a parish in the center of Portugal, 30 kilometers south of Coimbra, which is the see of the diocese. The population numbered around 3000 in the mid-18th century. Until the 19th century, Soure was also a municipality (*concelho*), with a significant set of local offices in military and civil administration. There was also a parish chapter (*colegiada*) with six clergymen (*beneficiados*).

The parish covered a considerable area by the standards of the center of Portugal: around 90 square kilometers. Two rivers cut across the territory, running South to North, joining together and merging into the Mondego river to the north of the parish. Most of the parish is thus a secondary system of gentle valleys that reproduce the great plain of the Mondego on a smaller scale, forming some of Portugal's more fertile land. The region consists of a series of gentle hills, rarely over 100 meters high and separated by the wide valleys of the rivers and their offshoots.

Down in the plains, the land is of excellent quality, fertilized by periodic floods, which, despite being considerably disruptive of everyday life, leave behind a nutrient-rich deposit that in some places allows for the continuous cultivation of crops without the normal rotational fallow period.

Hamlets were scattered midway between the river plain and the pine forests that crowned the hills. The population was highly dispersed in these small agglomerates: we found almost 500 toponymical forms for inhabited places inside the parish in the 17th and 18th-century sources.

This territory was donated to the Knights Templar in 1128, at a time when Portugal was yet to be born as a nation. Soure was part of the frontier of Christianity in the 12th century and it was the Templars' first base in the West of the Iberian Peninsula. The Templars subsequently received jurisdiction and land from the Portuguese kings, which they completed through acquisition and exchanges with other seigniorial lords. With the extinction of the Templars, the land and the acquired rights were transferred to the Portuguese *Ordem de Cristo*, which progressively gravitated to the king's direct control. From the 16th century onwards, the original Templar possessions in Soure became resources that the Portuguese kings used to reward services or ensure loyalties. Together with the possessions of other former military orders, they constituted an essential element of the monarch's policy under the name of *comendas*.

Comendas would be given to the nobility in exchange for distinguished services, especially those related to the overseas affairs of the kingdom. It is important to understand that a *comenda* was not, in this context, a clear physical entity composed of land and associated structures. It was rather a patchwork of rights, taxes, pieces of land, percentages on production, means of production such as mills or waterworks, brought together on an ad hoc basis, seemingly with the sole objective of constituting a round total of revenue that had to be awarded at some moment in time.

In this setting, we can distinguish several modes of resource appropriation that help us to understand the main social strata.

At the first level, we find those who appropriated the prime resources generated by the *comendas*: the *comendadores*. These were typically non-resident members of the administrative nobility who received *comendas* in Soure as payment for services rendered or loyalty shown to the king. Soure's

resources would often be part of a larger package that would add up to the amount awarded for a particular service. This meant that the *comendadores* had a very distant relationship with the community: they did not live there; there was hardly any trace of their physical presence in the territory. They collected their income through intermediaries, *rendeiros*, who might in turn further hire out to local residents the complex work of levying the rights, dues and taxes. The *rendeiros* offered the *comendador* a fixed cash amount for the *comenda*. Their profit was proportional to their ability to collect as much as possible from the peasants living within the bounds of the *comenda*.

This social and geographical distance of the *comendadores* created a space for a local elite. At this second level, we find families with seigniorial mansions as their main residence. They were locally based and Soure played an important role in their long-term strategies. Their economic ambitions were centered on occupying the posts of the local administration, enjoying ecclesiastical careers and engaging in traditional landowning with related income from rents. The exercise of prestigious local positions was important, not just because of the income they provided and, sometimes, the exemptions and other privileges associated with them, but also because this activity strengthened the inclusion of those that held these positions amongst the restricted set of those that governed a *governança*. A significant number of the holders of these positions therefore obtained degrees from the University of Coimbra that allowed them to serve in both the local and, hopefully, central administrations. Others entered holy orders because their families were thus able to obtain ecclesiastical sources of income, either through influence or by direct right of nomination. Amongst the more important of these, we can find some families from the local nobility, not very far removed in status from the *comendadores* (they might have their own *comendas* elsewhere): these people stayed for long periods in Lisbon in the royal entourage and kept themselves at a distance from local administrative tasks, except, occasionally, for the specific role of *provedor da Misericórdia* (head of the local charitable institution). But most of them were really locally based, extending their sphere of influence through marriage outside the municipality.

Just below the local elite belonging to the *governança* we find wealthy farmers (*lavradores*), who managed to send their sons into holy orders and, occasionally, to marry their daughters into the local nobility. Some of these farmers were closely related to the collection of rents and taxes of the *comendas* and played an important role in the social networks through which resources flowed.

Below them, we find the laborers (*seareiros*, *trabalhadores de enxada*), and poor farmers, who provided the underlying labor force.

Artisans and local commerce existed on a limited scale (barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, pharmacists/*boticas*, tailors, shoemakers) with individuals often combining some sort of agricultural economic activity with the exercise of a craft or trade. Of some specific importance in terms of resource flow were the “*almocreves*”, men that transported goods on carts or horseback and constituted a well-defined group inside the community.

The cases

Our set of case studies is based on a number of illicit couples denounced in the course of episcopal visitations. Some cases stand on their own; others form a cluster of situations with recurrent patterns of behavior. In all the cases, the cross-linking of sources and the reconstruction of networks

allowed for insights into strategies that involved immoral behavior, either at the individual level or as part of what seem to be shared strategies in some social groups.

Concubines and Godfathers, resources and immorality

Our first example attempts to clarify a recurrent pattern that emerges when reconstructing the network that existed around some illicit couples: where we have an illicit relationship between a man and a woman we often find that someone in the man's family was godfather or godmother to someone in the woman's family. This interesting phenomenon allows us to propose that immoral behavior can be understood as part of wider relational strategies that allowed for the flow of resources between different social groups.

Figure 1 shows couples involved in concubinage and adultery in the context of their immediate kin. It also shows spiritual kinship ties created in baptism through the "godfathering" or "godmothering" of children. Locating the illicit couples (gray symbols connected by U-shaped arrows) and the "godparenthood" relations (dotted lines) should make the pattern easily observable.

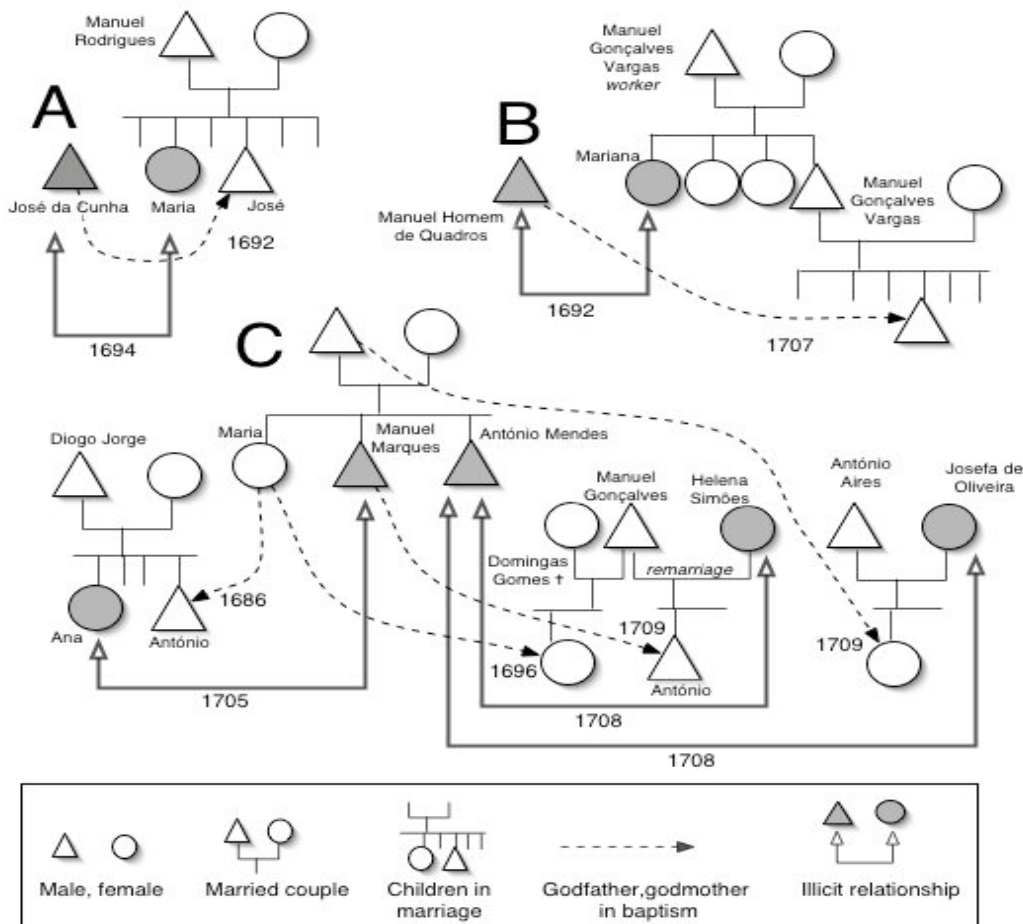


Figure 1: Illicit relationships in the context of close kin. A recurring pattern can be observed: where we have an illicit relation between a man and a woman we often find that someone in the man's family was godfather or godmother of someone in the woman's family

These spiritual kinship relations have a specific direction: they always connect a godfather or godmother in the family of the man involved in the illicit relationship to a child in the family of his female partner. It is important to note this fact because the reverse never happens: we never find a person in the family of a woman involved in an illicit relationship who is either godfather or godmother to someone in her lover's family.

To make the pattern clear, let us go through the three networks shown in Figure 1, describing the underlying cases. Case A involves José da Cunha, a married man from a well-known family of the community, and Maria, the daughter of Manuel Rodrigues, the barber of the small hamlet close to Jose's house. They were denounced during the visitation of 1694. Neighbors declared that he was frequently seen in the barber's house at night, making a loud noise with guitars, the reason for this behavior being Maria. There were rumors that she was pregnant with his child and had decided of her own free will to leave for Lisbon (Carvalho, 1997: 53-107).

When the case was brought to the attention of the *visitador* in 1694, the witnesses were describing events that had occurred some time earlier, one or two years before, probably. In 1692, José was godfather to Maria's most recent brother, named José after the godfather. The presence of José da Cunha at the baptism of the young José is either contemporary to the affair he was having with Maria or it could be, if we accept some historical guesswork, the event that triggered Jose's interest. Obviously we will never know, but the point is not the role of this baptism in the sequence of events that originated an illicit relationship. The point is rather the *topos*, the simultaneous presence of an illicit couple and a kinship relation of that type. As we move to other cases, we see that the details vary greatly but that a basic pattern emerges.

Moving to case B, we see the same structural pattern in another situation, which is very different in its details. In 1692, António Cordeiro and his wife Francisca Nunes (not shown in Figure 1) were denounced for panderism. They "provided" women to various men of the community in their own house or in the residence of the clients. Men named by the witnesses included wealthy and important persons of Soure.

Among the witnesses, there appears a certain Maria de Jesus, aged 22, telling a strange story: her sister, Madalena, was abducted by António Cordeiro and taken to Manuel Homem de Quadros, a member of the local gentry, with whom she remained for 11 or 12 days. Cordeiro broke a lock of a door behind which Madalena's father had shut Madalena, "to avoid her being deceived (*enganada*)". Another sister of Madalena and Maria de Jesus, named Juliana, who also testified in the *devassa*, confirmed these facts. The *visitador* then called the father of the three girls, Manuel Gonçalves Vargas, who confirmed the disappearance of his daughter for a period of time but carefully avoided direct denunciation of either António Cordeiro or Manuel Homem de Quadros, saying that he had heard those names in relation to the girl's absence but could not remember from whom he had heard them, and that he had no further information. He stated his profession as a laborer (*trabalhador*) and could hardly write his name at the bottom of the testimony.

Why was Madalena locked up by her father? Because it was not the first time she had been involved in scandal and denunciations in visitations. In 1686, six years before the episode of the broken lock, Madalena had been denounced as a woman of bad behavior (*mal procedida*) and promiscuous relations (*devassa do seu corpo*). Six years later, her father kept her locked inside the house, but in vain.

We know that we are, again, confronted with a situation of social imbalance. Manuel Homem de Quadros belonged to one of the families of the local gentry. He was single at the time of his involvement with Madalena and had registered an illegitimate child from another girl shortly before that. Soon afterwards, in 1693, he was to marry a woman of good family and become one of the more prominent men of Soure. Just like José da Cunha in the previous case, this was a case of a young male from an important family found engaging in illicit relations with women of a lower status.

We can find no trace of spiritual kinship between Manuel Homem de Quadros and Madalena's family before the case appeared in the *devassa*. But we find the link later on. Madalena had a brother, with the same name as their father: Manuel Gonçalves Vargas. Manuel is an interesting case of social mobility (analyzed in Carvalho, 1997: 139-150). He was to nurture a close relationship with another important family of Soure, the Soares Coelho family, and under their patronage succeed in accessing increasingly elevated posts in local administration. Manuel chose the godparents of his seven children carefully, consolidating a network of spiritual kinship with the Soares Coelho family, present at every one of their baptisms. But he occasionally diversified his alliances and selected Manuel Homem de Quadros as godfather to his son, António, in 1707. The person alleged to have entertained his sister for 12 days in 1692 became the spiritual kin of Manuel. So, here the pattern assumes the following form: a man involved in an illicit relationship with a woman was godfather to her nephew.

Case C provides more complex variants of the same theme. Two brothers, Manuel Marques and António Mendes, were involved with three women, two of them married. The denunciations occurred in 1705 (Manuel) and 1708 (António). Manuel and António's family was part of the local *governança* and the two young men played an important role in the collection of the *comendas*' income.

We find here the complex network of dependencies that emerged around the collection of the *comendas*' rents on behalf of the *comendadores*. António was the *rendeiro* of one of the *comendas* and his brother had close relations with other *rendeiros*, one of whom was godfather to his illegitimate son. On the other side of the illicit relationship, we have women who were the daughters or wives of *almocreves* and laborers. *Almocreves* and laborers would naturally be employed by the *rendeiro* to collect and transport the goods that constituted the rents. Factual information on this is found in the denunciations: António Mendes, *rendeiro*, was accused of sending Manuel Gonçalves, *almocreve*, to do business on his behalf, so that he (António Mendes) could illicitly visit the wife of Manuel Gonçalves without difficulty.

We find in our sources varied traces of the networks that connected *rendeiros*, *almocreves* and plain *trabalhadores de enxada* (hoers). It was through these networks that the drainage of the local resources towards the absent *comendadores* occurred. But the outward flow of resources coincided with a counter flow in which the *rendeiros* got their share of the rents, and paid the *almocreves* and the laborers. Their contract with the *comendadores* would have set a fixed amount of money. If they collected more, it was their profit; if they collected less, it might spell ruin. So it was crucial to collect and sell: that was where laborers and *almocreves* became crucial.

The business of collecting rents was a hazardous one. Every year the *comendadores* could put up new contracts, asking for new bids from *rendeiros*. The profitability of the process was closely dependent on unpredictable natural, and sometimes social, events. Efficiency in collecting the fruits of the land and selling them quickly was crucial for the *rendeiros*, and hence their dependency on a network of reliable *almocreves* and *trabalhadores*. The former, on the other hand, could not afford to be left out of the circuit and would naturally cherish good relations with the latter.

It is a fragment of these networks that we have captured in case C of Figure 1. Again, spiritual kinship is found between the families of the persons involved in concubinage and adultery. Again, the direction of the spiritual kinship is the same: someone in the close family of the man's godfather or godmother to a child in the close family of the woman. We see an overlap between the spiritual kinship network and the flow of resources. "Godfatherhood" and "godmotherhood" go in the same direction as the part of the rents that stays in the community, what we could call the "local margin". Women in concubinage and adultery move in the opposite direction.

This is more than just an elaborate way to say that affluent men attracted, or forced themselves upon, women in economic need. The fact that spiritual kinship links matched the flow of resources and the provision of women for illicit relations introduced a dimension of symmetry or reciprocity. We take it for granted that asking someone to be the godfather or godmother of one's child was a voluntary act that arose from the desire to formalize an existing relationship or to propitiate a desired one. We also take it for granted and proved by the available data, that no one chose as godfather or godmother to their child someone that they considered of inferior status. It was either a horizontal choice or an "upward-looking choice". This is a pattern that we find in several countries and epochs (Gunnlaugsson and Guttormsson, 2000; Ericsson, 2000), but not everywhere at all times. For instance, in Renaissance Florence, it was the other way around (Haas, 1995). So the bond that was created or reinforced in that way was a voluntary expression of relative social positioning. In a way, the father of the child was saying to the family from which he was asking for a godparent: "we know that we are less than you are and therefore we put ourselves under your protection by offering our services." The traditional ritual of saluting a godfather, by kissing his hand and asking for benediction, was clearly a symbol of submission (Silva, 1989: 866). Used in this way, spiritual kinship could be considered a compensating phenomenon, that diminished social distances by creating a link of protection and dependency (Calliert-Boisvert, 1968: 99). The channel that was thus opened was bi-directional: there was value or gratification flowing in both directions.

There was obviously no causal relationship between spiritual kinship and illicit relations. They were both expressions of a reciprocal process by which actors at different levels in the social hierarchy established channels that propitiated an exchange of resources.

If we consider the nature of the illicit relations that we have before us in the context of the recurrent pattern of reciprocal flows, we must conclude that "morality" was not really a central concern here. What was happening at the moral level was closely linked to the fabric of social strategies in the struggle to obtain the best possible position in networks through which resources flowed.

To sin or not to sin: a tale of two sisters

The previous examples and their context seem to point to a socially determined behavior regarding sexual mores: men from higher social strata engaged in relationships with women of lower status and the context seems to indicate that these relationships were part of a plethora of reciprocal exchanges. In our interpretation, however, it is rather the way an immoral behavior was used as part of an overall strategy that is relevant. The social imbalance of the people involved constitutes one specific background, among others, against which strategies were deployed. We can find illicit relations as a strategy in socially horizontal situations. The case we are about to present is apparently a confirmation

of Laslett's "courtship hypothesis", but at the same time it suggests that the same social and family context can produce very different behavior.

The case consists of a triangular relationship between a José Rodrigues, Josefa Espírito Santo and Maria Francisca. José had promised to marry Josefa, but changed his mind and decided to wed Maria instead. The story reaches us through the legal proceeding started by Josefa to prevent José from marrying the other girl in 1716 (Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, *Processos de casamento*, José Rodrigues e Maria Francisca, 1716). She came forward with a complaint made on the basis of "public honesty". Her argument was that José had publicly promised to marry her, not Maria. By failing to keep his promises, he was obliged to compensate her, as stipulated by Canon Law (Bride, 1965).

The episode is interesting for our argument for two reasons: firstly because we obtain from the process, mainly through Josefa's own testimony, an insight into how sexual activity was associated with the process leading to marriage; secondly, by reconstructing Josefa's social background, we gain an understanding of the constraints that led Josefa to fall into José's seductive trap.

According to Josefa's allegations in the case, José had promised marriage to her and with that promise had had "all he wanted" from her ("*teve dela o que quiz*"). Witnesses heard in the inquiry declared that they knew they had an illicit relationship, using the expression "*tracto ilícito*". No one actually witnessed the promise of marriage but it was assumed that marriage was what the couple had in mind because they were "both equal in blood and wealth". Although José denied ever making promises to Josefa, another witness stated that "it was understood that if they had copulated with one another the plaintiff would not have consented [to that] without a promise of marriage".

Josefa described her relationship with José to the parish priest who was registering the complaint. She talked about how she believed José, how she had given herself to him, how he would come and go from her house as he wanted. She also detailed the successive excuses that José gave to delay the promised marriage: "he said he didn't have a proper coat and needed to borrow money from an uncle to buy one"; months later "he said the price of grain was too high", and so on. It is hard to avoid the thought, just by reading the transcript, that one believes what one wants to believe.

The marriage process does not give much information about the context of Josefa or José. But by cross-linking it with other sources we are able to reconstruct enough fragments of Josefa's life. Josefa's father died in 1700 when Josefa was 14. She had a younger sister named Joana, who was 11 at the time. In 1712, Joana applied for the dowry of the *Misericórdia*, a prize of 15,000 *réis* that the confraternity awarded each year to a female orphan of poor origin in order to facilitate her marriage. She got the dowry and married that same year, at the age of 23. Josefa remained single at the age of 26.

Four years went by and Josefa was still unmarried. She would never get the dowry of the *Misericórdia* for herself because the confraternity would not give twice to the same family. So the fortune of her sister was, in a way, her misfortune. When José appeared in her life, she was a poor woman, aged 30, whose chances of marriage were quickly disappearing. She believed José's promises and accepted pre-marital sex clearly because in her mind, and in the minds of her neighbors who came to testify, it cemented the bond and made the promise stronger.

This case is illustrative of the factors that affect moral choice in two areas. The first one relates to the social environment of the actors involved. Both Joana and Josefa had the same social position. They shared the same difficulties, needs and constraints. But their trajectory was very different from the point of view of an observer of moral behavior. One followed the path of virtue, marrying, with the pious dowry, in the church of the *Misericórdia*, where no other marriages took place. Josefa, on the

other hand, was seduced and abandoned, sinning publicly and confessing everything to the priest after hearing the announcement of her misfortune in the banns of another girl's marriage. Yet, as individuals, they were doing the same thing: fighting against the curse of celibacy inexorably attracted by poor orphan girls. We can think of them as interchangeable, if chance had decreed otherwise: if Josefa had gotten the dowry, maybe Joana would have ended up with the alternative of less than strict morals.

The second factor that it is interesting to note is how institutions like the *Misericórdia* and the church courts operated in this environment. The dowry of the *Misericórdia* is seen here to fulfil its role perfectly: by endowing orphan girls they would preserve their virtue and keep them away from sin. The dowry seems to have been created in a social context in which the upper class, which created the dowry by donation, was fully aware of what lay in store for a poor orphan girl in terms of a strategy for survival. Their virtue was at stake and the cases we have described so far fully confirm this: immoral behavior was an integral part of strategies that bridged the gap between classes and allowed for some flow of resources towards the more needy. The betrothal and the related impeachment of "public honesty" was also a strategy to secure acceptable moral behavior in a context of late marriage, where conformity to moral rules required a very long period of sexual abstinence and a related risk of remaining single. The betrothal reduced the risk associated with the late age of marriage, by creating a commitment between two persons who were not able to marry, normally for economic reasons. It also provided a setting where some forms of intimacy might occur more easily, but our impression here is that pre-marital sex occurred in contexts where marriage was believed to be imminent.

The view from above: the toleration of immoral behavior in the upper classes

In the cases above that linked spiritual kinship to immoral behavior, we not only obtained insights into the relational strategies of the lower social groups, but also formed the impression that social inequalities were exploited by men from wealthy families in order to obtain sexual favors. It is important to mention now that this type of behavior did not seem to meet with any significant condemnation from inside the "community". Evidence shows that instead it amounted to public, and indeed not infrequent, behavior.

One of the most striking examples of how, up to a point, the immoral conduct of an upper-class man was accepted by his family was the case of José da Cunha (mentioned above in another context) and Isabel Rodrigues. Their relationship left a long trail in the sources, from their initial denunciation in a visitation of 1692 to their final sentencing to imprisonment in 1737. José was a member of the local nobility and Isabel, the daughter of a laborer, was designated a "poor girl" in the sources. In 1692, José was denounced for keeping Isabel in a house at his own expense, "with all that is necessary", for more than 6 years. They were both single at the time and had baptized a child in 1691, with José acknowledging paternity. As we have seen before, José was involved in other cases around that time.

José married Inês Galvão de Melo, the daughter of a member of the *governança* in 1693, shortly after his first incrimination with Isabel. But his behavior did not change with marriage and, as we have seen above, he was denounced in the visitation of 1694 for his relationship with Maria, the daughter of the local barber. He was also denounced again in the same visitation for continuing his relationship with Isabel, "who he keeps at hand in some houses of his, close to this estate, at his

expense, buying her clothes, shoes, everything she needs...’ In the visitation of September 1694, the witnesses talked about the existence of three children of the couple, and one Jorge Luís informed the *visitador* that “the accused is said to have arranged for her marriage with a kinsman of hers and was obtaining a dispensation in Rome for that purpose”.

We can confirm the denunciations of an eminent “arranged” marriage for Isabel. In the parish registers, we find that Isabel married a certain António Francisco, a few months later, on December 22nd, 1694. And we also find that Isabel married pregnant with a child that would be baptized on May 8th, 1695, and that the father of the child was José da Cunha. He had baptized his first legitimate child two months before in March of the same year. So, Isabel was five months pregnant with José’s child when she married António in December 1694.

The interesting point here is that José assumed paternity in the child’s baptismal register. This implies that the purpose of the arranged marriage was not to conceal the relationship, which would have been the main priority in England at that time (Quaife, 1979: 104-123). But even more striking are the names of the other people present at the baptism of this illegitimate child of two married persons: the godmother was D. Maria da Cunha, the mother of José da Cunha, and the priest who celebrated the act was Teodósio Mendes, the brother of José’s wife.¹ Teodósio was not the vicar of the parish and just took part in ceremonies involving closely related kin, at the commission of the vicar. It was also he who had baptized José’s legitimate child two months earlier. In the same spirit of non-concealment of the true nature of the relations involved, a distinguished member of José’s family, D. Tomás de Moscoso, was witness to the arranged marriage between Isabel and António.

From 1695 onwards, José and Inês, on the one hand, and Isabel and António, on the other, baptized successive children, with there being no confusion about Antonio’s paternity, at least in the baptism records. The next visitations brought no further denunciations.

But, behind the apparent normality, we have occasional evidence that the distance between the two worlds was not that great. In 1700, José would be a witness to the marriages of Catarina and Manuel, Isabel’s sister and brother. And we know almost for certain that they were together at least once at the baptism of the illegitimate child of a foreign couple, in September, 1707, when Isabel was the godmother and Rodrigo, the 12 year-old son of José and Inês, was the godfather.

The story of José and Isabel does not end here. In 1708, they were widowed within a few months of each other. And a troubled new period of their lives began because they decided to marry, a decision that would trigger an impeachment process from both José’s family and his late wife’s

¹ The baptism says: *Aos oito dias do mes de maio de 1695 baptizou de minha comissão o p.e Theodosio Mendes desta vila a M.a filha de Isabel Rodrigues e de Joseph da Cunha de Çã o qual a mandou baptizar por sua filha forão pp. Fr. Mel Cristovão aqui beneficiado e D.M.a da Cunha m.ora na sua quinta do Sobral e a may desta menina batisada mora no sobra de q fiz este q assignei dia e era ut supra.* (On May 8th, 1695, the priest Theodosio Mendes of Soure, commissioned by me, baptized Mary, the daughter of Isabel Rodrigues and Joseph da Cunha de Sá, who had her baptized as his daughter, the godparents were friar Manuel Cristovão, *beneficiado* [clergyman member of the parish chapter] and Maria da Cunha, living at her farm/estate of Sobral and the mother of this baptized child lives at Sobral, from which I made this register, day and month ut supra). A.U.C., Baptismos de Soure, 1681-1720. The true meaning of this simple baptism could easily pass unnoticed if it was not for the cross-linking of sources that allows us to grasp the nature of the relationship between Isabel and José, the fact that the priest was the brother of José’s wife, that Maria was José’s mother, and also the fact that Isabel had married another man five months earlier. The pieces of this puzzle were scattered throughout parish registers, genealogies, notarial records, episcopal visitations and the holy order records of Teodósio Mendes. There is no such thing as irrelevant information.

relatives. One of his nephews and his father-in-law came forward when the banns were published saying that the marriage was impossible because it was incestuous.

The argument of the impeachment was that José had fornicated with one of Isabel's sisters and also with Isabel's mother. If this was true, there was incest in the first degree of affinity, raising an impediment that prevented the marriage. The case was long and full of episodes, but it is clear that José and Isabel had openly resumed their relationship (if they had ever really interrupted it). They were not able to marry because the ecclesiastical court decided against them. The case became public and they were denounced again in the visitations of 1712 and 1713.

In 1718, another striking event left its mark in the parish registers: a son of José and Isabel, named João Homem da Cunha, married a girl who was the godchild of his father. The new couple had a child five months after marriage. José and Isabel were now grandparents. The interesting point is that the godfather of this child would be José's legitimate son, Manuel. Again José closes the circle, using spiritual kinship to knit his two separate worlds closer together.

We find José and Isabel still being denounced in 1736, 44 years after the first time that their story had been registered in a *devassa*. In 1737, the Episcopal Court aggregated all the accumulated sins and sentenced both of them to be expelled from Soure, she to Miranda in the north-east and he to the Algarve in the extreme south. They could not be further apart now, and at this point we lose them from our sources.

There are many interesting dimensions in this long story, very much abbreviated here, but the one that most interests us is the way in which José and Isabel were integrated into the social networks to which they belonged. We have seen the family of José participating in acts relating to his parallel life with Isabel and symmetrically José and his relatives being present as godparents and witnesses at baptisms and marriages of Isabel's family. We have seen not only José's family but also his wife's family involved in ceremonies related to his other immoral life. In all this, we find no sign of condemnation or distancing from the "community". Punishment comes from the outside world, through the visitations.

The problems started with the attempted marriage. It was not the illicit relationship that was a problem; it was the idea of making it legitimate that was scandalous. José's lawyer, in the impeachment process, would argue that by marrying Isabel he was saving his soul and repairing the great damage he had done to her honor and virtue over the years. But that virtuous interpretation was certainly completely irrelevant to José's family and to the family of his late wife.

To make sense of this, one has to look into the legal framework regulating the transmission of property inside and outside marriage (for an overview in English, see Brettell, 1991). In Portugal, unless otherwise established by pre-nuptial agreement, there was community of property in a marriage and everything brought into it, and all that was acquired afterwards, became the joint property of the couple. Each of the spouses could dispose freely of a third of his/her half of the common property to donate or leave in a will. The other two thirds would be divided between the existing children or, in the absence of these, amongst the next of kin. When one of the spouses died, the surviving one remained as head of the household, managing the common property, distributing the half corresponding to the deceased amongst the respective heirs. (*Ordenações Filipinas*, liv. IV, tit. XLVI, XCV).

The law also regulated the transmission of property either to concubines (*barregãs* in the terminology of the *Ordenações*) or to illegitimate offspring. If a married man transmitted any type of

good to a woman (as a gift, donation, sale or by any other means – presumed thefts were also contemplated) with whom he had *afeição carnal* (carnal affection), his legitimate wife had the right to demand the return of the good, which would then become her own private and full property (*Ordenações Filipinas*, liv. IV, tit. LXVI). Illegitimate children counted as heirs only if their father was a *peão* (foot soldier, not a knight). If the father was a noble (*cavaleiro* / knight), illegitimate offspring had no rights, except if, in the absence of any legitimate heirs, their father named them in his will (liv. IV, tit. XCII). To circumvent this disposition it was necessary to ask the king to legitimate a natural son. The law also considered that children born out of wedlock could be legitimated *a posteriori* if their parents married after their birth, with implications for inheritance purposes, at least of property donated by the king (liv. 2, tit. 35, par. 12).

In this context, the upper-class families that were considered to be of noble condition, like the ones mentioned above, risked little with their men's immoral behavior. Bastards were out of the line of succession, and any significant gifts to the concubines could be reclaimed by the legitimate wife or her heirs. This explains the apparent tolerance of José's family towards Isabel. And it also explains why the marriage between José and Isabel was unacceptable. The daughter of the laborer from Sobral would not inherit from the da Cunha family. But the solution must be found inside the same ideological framework that allowed two adults to marry of their own free will. The impeachment of affinity by illicit copulation was easy to insinuate, since it required no more than a few witnesses. The church thus became an instrument of family strategies.

José's relationship with Isabel was not atypical. We find several other examples of members of the elite and the *governança* involved with women of lower status. A very similar situation occurred around 1688 with Sebastião Machado da Costa, later a *vereador* (member of the municipal council) and commissar of the Inquisition. He was denounced together with a certain Mariana do Rosário, who married another man while maintaining her relationship with Sebastião. According to a witness to the *devassa* of 1688, Mariana's husband ended up leaving the parish. We saw before António Mendes and Manuel Marques, the sons of another *vereador*, having illegitimate children and adulterous affairs. Manuel Homem de Quadros, later *provedor* of the *Misericórdia*, had an illegitimate child before marriage. In one spectacular example of moral cynicism, another *provedor* of the *Misericórdia*, D. Pedro de Meneses, was denounced in 1694 for buying the virginity of a girl from her father, a poor seasonal migrant worker, for 15,000 *réis*, claiming that it was the same amount as the dowry that the *Misericórdias* gave to orphan girls. He took the girl for a couple of weeks and then returned her home. One has to admire the razor-sharp reasoning: by taking away her virginity he was destroying her chances of future marriage, so a good estimate of the value of what was lost was the amount locally given to girls that no one wanted to marry in order to make them acceptable brides (Carvalho, 1997: 125-137).

From the testimony in the *devassas*, and especially the fact that those men actually recognized their illegitimate children at baptism, we infer that their behavior was not hidden from the public. On the contrary, it was not far from being ostentatious, with the women often being placed in houses belonging to their lovers, and clearly showing off their material comfort to their neighbors.

From the men's perspective, this could be a way to assert their status and manhood and to ensure that they had descendants, who might be absent from a future marriage arranged by the family. In a community where inclusion in the ruling elite was based on social recognition, public displays of status and quality were fundamental. From their families' perspective, it was a situation whose side

effects in relation to their interests were closely controlled by law. To the women involved, it was a way out of poverty.

Conclusion

Putting our findings in the context of a general framework that defines the effect of moral values on sexuality in a pre-industrial society is not an easy task. Like so many micro-historical inquiries, the image that emerges from the reconstruction of individual cases enhances the explanatory value of strategies in a complex network of relations, constraints and personal trajectories and leaves in the dark the larger variables governing the operation of society's mechanisms. What we see is that moral behavior is one element, among others, of adaptive strategies aimed at achieving the desired outcomes of individuals and families. Similar findings, in the sense that close-up analysis fails to be linked easily with overarching theories of change or social determinism, have been found in studies of illegitimacy in Scotland in the 19th century (Blaikie, 1995), single mothers in Sweden around the same time (Brändström, 1996), and in other aspects related to demographic transition (Schlumbohm, 1996).

The relevant conclusion, in our view, is that immoral behavior, as defined by the regularised institution of episcopal visitations, is heavily determined by the social environment, but not in an automatic and simplistic way. The role of institutional, social and economic levels is only comprehensible by reconstructing the actual social networks that surround actors and the ways in which each of the players adapts to the strategies of the others. The focus on strategies and adaptation does not imply that we view our actors as hyper-rationalistic entities, carefully choosing their next moves based on careful assessments of opportunities and threats, weaknesses and strengths. On the contrary, we assume that strategies such as those we describe are behavioral patterns that have developed through adaptation to the social environment.

It is easier to enumerate what we did not find. We did not find the "community" as an actor that, for the sake of the common good, imposes rules of behavior and controls compliance with them. As we have seen, understanding the networks of relations is crucial for the interpretation of facts and for postulating hypotheses about motivations and choices. But networks are one thing and the "community", in the sense that it is often used in the literature ("a territorial group of people with a common mode of living striving for a common objective", as quoted by Macfarlane, 1977, but see the critique of Calhoun, 1978), is something very different (Wellman and Wetherell, 1996). In other words, in our analysis, we find no instance where it would make sense to use a formulation such as "the *community* accepted, promoted, denounced, etc... anything". On the contrary, the community seems to emerge only as an abstraction promoted by external entities, such as episcopal justice, that choose random witnesses to obtain the "community's" view of local misbehavior.

Neither do we see the "community" as a traditional set of values and understandings resisting the externally imposed formalization of law and moral concepts. In Norway, for instance, it has been argued that the traditional concept of marriage as a private contract resisted the formalization brought by the state and the church, and so what were registered as illegitimate births were, from the point of view of the population, the offspring of perfectly acceptable relationships (Sogner 1978). In our examples, it is the contrary that happens. External entities such as the *visitador*, or the ecclesiastical courts, were used as unwitting partners in personal or family strategies, as we saw in José's family's

backlash against his marriage plans. If we needed an operational definition of community that is coherent with this perspective, it would be as “a set of people that depend and compete for the same resources, developing mutually adaptive strategies” – and thus close to the concept of a “complex adaptive system” of recent complexity theory (Holland, 1995).

We also have difficulty in discussing a “bastardy prone sub society” as a special social group that would be immune to the constraints of “morality”. We rather find “immorality” evenly distributed where it makes sense for individual strategies. The fact that many cases relate to clearly socially unbalanced relations also argues against the idea of a social group with an “endogenous immoral attitude”. In that respect, there are similarities with data from Catholic Ireland in the 19th century (Connolly, 1979).

We cannot ignore, of course, that certain combinations of gender and social status contribute in a very powerful way towards the shaping of moral choices. For instance, we find no female member of the elite involved in these cases, neither in Soure nor in the many hundreds of denunciations found in the *devassas* of other parishes. But again, in our view, this is more easily explained in terms of strategies than in terms of global social determinism: the law allowed parents to disinherit a daughter under 25 years of age who slept with or married an unapproved man (*Ordenações*, liv. IV, tit. LXXXVIII). So, if you were a potential heiress, there were strong arguments in favor of a strict moral behavior.

In more general terms, we believe our results confirm the value of a micro-historical approach to problems that relate to general questions of continuity and change. The cross-linking of different sources and the detailed analysis of the networks that developed around people involved in especially significant cases provided valuable insights into strategies and motivations. But we also subscribe strongly to the idea that such studies should not be hostage to general questions, and should rather profit from the wealth of information available in order to bring forward new dimensions in the questions addressed, as was extensively argued by Magnússon (Magnússon, 2003).

As the evidence of the difficulties of articulating the micro and macro levels accumulates, new approaches are required. We argued elsewhere that it is time for history to look to new paradigms coming from the field of Complexity Sciences, where the questions of complexity, adaptation and the emergence of persistent structures are dealt with in frameworks that contain many concepts familiar to the historian and where the problem of interaction between the local and the systemic is central (Carvalho, 1999).

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Between History and Periodicity: Printed and Hand-Written News in 18th-Century Portugal

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Abstract

What news became printed news in 18th-century Portugal? How was information conceived, exchanged and read? Drawing on Ph.D. research, this paper attempts to make sense of the most important Portuguese periodical printed during the first half of the 18th century: the Lisbon gazette, called *Gazeta de Lisboa*. The analysis is undertaken from a comparative perspective, considering the Portuguese gazette as part of an intertextual European whole. The paper will concentrate on two particular aspects: in the first place, the production of the *Gazeta* as “literary genre” from the point of view of its editor, stressing the affinities between the writing of the news and the task of the historian’s analysis. This will lead us to the periodical’s main paradox: information about events occurring in the present was somehow systematically devalued.

Historical discourse was also present in the hand-written newspapers that circulated in Portugal in the same period. Together with the information transmitted by simple letters, manuscript periodicals, possessing a title and a regular date of issue, played a major role in the exchange of information in the 18th century, circulating within the same networks as the printed periodical press. I will show that, rather than speak of possible conflict, we should speak of the complementary roles of these two media. In the end, beyond the surface of the written text, there lies a complex landscape of social relations involved with information.

Keywords

early modern gazettes; early modern historiography; print and scribal culture; learned culture; history of reading; social control over information; 1755 Lisbon earthquake; Monterroyo Mascarenhas

I

I. a) The Earthquake

On November 1st 1755, at about 9:40 a.m., an enormous earthquake, followed by a tidal wave and a succession of fires, devastated the city of Lisbon. Thousands of people perished under the ruins or in the flames. Innumerable houses were destroyed or affected, including some of the most important churches, palaces and royal buildings of the Court of Portugal. Five days later, the weekly

Lisbon gazette, the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the only printed periodical published at the time in Portugal, reported the event as follows:

The first day of this month will be remembered throughout the centuries because of the earthquakes and fires that have destroyed a large part of this city; fortunately, the safes of the royal exchequer, as well as those of many private citizens, have been recovered from the ruins [*Gazeta de Lisboa* (GL), No. 45, 1755]¹

This was all the *Gazeta* had to say in its first issue after the terrible catastrophe. Memorable though the event was to become in the future, nothing was recorded that a 21st-century reader would consider essential reporting — no details about the exact circumstances surrounding the event, when and where, what parts of the city were affected, the main buildings that were ruined, the number of victims, what happened to the royal family, what happened in the city over the following days, etc. One week later (November 13th), information was just as scarce, consisting of another few lines concerning the repair work being carried out to the royal archives.

The Portuguese gazette's almost total silence on the subject of the great earthquake has not gone unnoticed by Portuguese historians, but it was dismissed as a confirmation of the lack of historical interest shown by such Old Regime periodicals². In my opinion, this is a clear case of anachronism and the question should be inverted: it is the "silence" that requires explanation. In fact, the brief news that was published in the gazette should lead us to raise a number of general historical questions. How was information conceived, written, exchanged and read in Early Modern Portugal? What was the role of printed information in such an era? The aim of this paper is not to give a general answer to these questions, but to approach such problems through the particular focus of the *Gazeta de Lisboa*³.

I. b) Political restraint

When the Lisbon gazette was first published in August 1715, there were already several periodicals of the same kind in existence throughout Europe. In fact, we may see printed gazettes as a particular typographic product that spread all over Europe from the 17th Century onwards⁴.

¹ "O dia 1º do corrente ficará memorável a todos os séculos pelos terramotos e incêndios que arruinaram uma grande parte desta cidade; mas tem havido a felicidade de se acharem na ruína os cofres da fazenda real e da maior parte dos particulares".

² See, for example, the work of José Tengarrinha: *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa*, Lisboa, Ed. Caminho, 1989 [1965].

³ For a more detailed analysis of the gazette's information about the Lisbon earthquake, see my article, «A *Gazeta de Lisboa* e o terramoto de 1755: a margem do não escrito» (Belo, 2000)

⁴ See Jeremy Popkin, "L'histoire de la presse ancienne: bilan et perspectives" in Henri Duranton, Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat (eds.), *Les gazettes européennes de langue française (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Table Ronde Internationale Saint-Étienne, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1993, p. 300. For more recent comparative contributions, including the circulation of manuscript news, see Henri Duranton and Pierre Rétat (eds.), *Gazettes et information politique sous l'Ancien Régime*, Centre d'Etudes du XVIIIe siècle, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1999; Brendan Dooley and

Although the periodicity, publishing and legal existence of such gazettes might differ from state to state, they formed a sort of large international text. Foreign gazettes were well-known to Portuguese readers before 1715, when gazettes written in Portuguese reappeared in the kingdom⁵.

International information itself (usually called ‘political’ news) — focusing on diplomatic events, treaties, warfare, ambassadors’ activities and the representation of royal families at Court ceremonies — represented the most important part of the text of the new Portuguese gazette. In fact, most of its content was a translation from foreign gazettes. Once again, this was not original. In European gazettes, foreign news prevailed over domestic news at least until the end of the 18th century⁶. This prevalence can certainly be explained by the existence of powerful political control, both formal and informal, over the publication of domestic information. The apparently insignificant size of the news items in the Lisbon gazette concerning the earthquake of November 1755 was thus not exceptional: it was the traditional way of publishing Court information all over Europe. It had its logical counterpart in the fact that foreign gazettes issued much more information about the catastrophe than the Portuguese gazette. Conversely, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reported more about the earthquake’s consequences in the cities of Seville, Cadiz, Cordoba, the Algarve and a number of small Portuguese cities than it did about Lisbon, where destruction was much more severe⁷.

The royal letter of privilege that in May 1715 gave rise to the legal birth of the *Gazeta* took foreign gazettes as the model for the Portuguese newspaper and made no reference to the reporting of domestic information in the new periodical⁸. The privilege, granted to the printer António Correia de Lemos, created a situation of monopoly: no one else was allowed to translate, print or sell printed news translated from foreign gazettes. Granted by a royal court (the ‘Desembargo do Paço’), the gazette was submitted to previous censorship, just like any other printed object in Old Regime Portugal. Monopoly and censorship are basic features for understanding the *Gazeta de Lisboa* in the 18th century: no competitors were allowed to exist and its contents had to be scrutinized weekly by a competent reader who was situated in a position close to the king.

Even though the letter of privilege doesn’t mention them, small items of news provided by the Court had been published in the new periodical ever since its first issue. Not only news about the Court, in fact: the range of (usually short) domestic news published in the *Gazeta* ranged from information about the king and queen’s public movements to news about the main ecclesiastical and noble dignitaries of the kingdom (first rank nobility, bishops, archbishops, governors and militaries, ambassadors). Their births, baptisms, marriages and deaths represented an important part of the periodical’s news. Information concerning political or social dissent was strictly absent from this social

Sabrina A. Baron (eds.), *The politics of information in Early Modern Europe*, London and New York, Routledge, 2001.

⁵ The first periodicals called *Gazeta* in Portugal were the ones published between 1641 and 1647, after the “acclamation” of the Duke of Bragança as king in 1640.

⁶ See Jeremy Popkin, *News and politics in the age of revolution. Jean Luzac’s Gazette de Leyde*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989, pp. 91-92.

⁷ See Belo, 2000, p. 632 and Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, “Le tremblement de terre de Lisbonne dans les périodiques français et allemands du XVIIIe siècle” in Duranton and Rétat, 1999, p. 305.

⁸ Printing privilege granted in Lisbon on May 25th, 1715. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. João V, L. 43, f. 219v.

theater. In fact, the gazette was supposed not only to reproduce but also produce the rigid, unequal social order of Old Regime, in other words the order determined by the Court and the king. We know that in the 1740s reference to non-courtly marriages was to be avoided in the news, because that was the king's wish⁹. Popular news items emerged in the gazette only on very rare occasions, being reported as an extraordinary natural event or as a vague, non-individualized backdrop to the representation of Court characters.

If the political dimension — in this sense one of political restraint — of the Court gazettes and particularly of home news is well-known to historians, less has been said about describing it as a “literary genre”¹⁰. And, if we read the newspaper more closely, we understand that it cannot be characterized only by political heteronomy, but also by the autonomy of its discourse. Gazettes were considered by their readers and authors as historical texts. Or, at least, as a minor part of historical discourse, involved in a paradoxical relationship with information occurring in the present.

I. c) Historical discourse and the fear of the present

Between 1715 and 1760, the editor of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* was José Freire de Monterroyo Mascarenhas. Known in the Portuguese “Republic of Letters” for his erudition and his considerable genealogical research, he made an unsuccessful attempt to enter Portugal's most important academy, created in December 1720 by Dom João V, the *Academia Real da História Portuguesa*. According to a letter he wrote to the 4th Count of Ericeira, Dom Francisco Xavier de Meneses, who supported his election, the reason alleged for his exclusion was that he was too busy working on the gazette¹¹. In this letter of self-justification, Monterroyo denies the incompatibility between writing the gazette and conducting research work at the new *Real Academia* and argues in favor of the periodical's utility. However, Monterroyo is indeed more concerned with stressing his skills and experience in the field of historical erudition than with discussing the gazette. Although there may have been reasons for the exclusion of Monterroyo from the new academy that were not mentioned in the letter, we can see that the gazette's rhetorical role is not a central one for Monterroyo himself. Such undermining of importance is connected to the fact that gazettes — and the periodical press in general — were not considered a source of social pre-eminence and authorship in the ‘Republic of Letters’. On the contrary, they could be used to legitimize a decision to exclude Monterroyo from a new and very important source of literary status and authorship: the royal academy, composed of illustrious *Académicos Reais*, a title which would distinguish its members in the future, connecting them directly to royal power. Monterroyo, who had no titles of nobility, no university degrees and had not made a

⁹ Information reported by the editor of the gazette, Monterroyo Mascarenhas, in his correspondence conserved at the Biblioteca Pública de Évora: CVIII/1-4, fl. 7 (letter of 25-2-1741) and 174-174v (14-3-1745).

¹⁰ The most interesting analyses of the text of gazettes, in my view, have come from historians of literature, particularly in France. See Duranton and Rétat, 1999, part III (“Discours”) and Duranton, Labrosse and Rétat, 1993, part III (“Texte et lecture de la gazette”).

¹¹ At least three copies of this letter have been preserved: in Évora (Biblioteca Pública de Évora, CIX 1-4, f. 145-148), in Lisbon (Torre do Tombo [TT], Manuscritos da Livraria, No. 1096) and at the British Library (Add. 15199, fl. 297).

career in administration, was thus left standing at the threshold to an important form of social distinction. He continued with the same work throughout his long literary life: genealogical and heraldic research. This production was largely kept in manuscript form. He also wrote and translated printed news, some shorter (the gazette) and some larger (dozens of other non periodical newsbooks (*papéis*) that were also included in the gazette's letter of privilege). We can say that, while such literary and historical work guaranteed Monterroyo a regular income, it seems to have failed to provide him with a higher social position.

Monterroyo wanted to be considered as both a historian and an author. The word 'journalist' (*jornalista*) was not used in Portugal in the first half of the 18th century, being derived from the French *journaliste* and immediately being given a pejorative sense. The translator and editor of the Portuguese gazette was sometimes referred to as a *gazeteiro* (gazetteer), a name that occurs more than once in the context of satires directed against the gazette. In the advertisements of his own printed works made in the gazette, where his full name seldom appears, Monterroyo is occasionally mentioned as the 'author of the gazette'. In Monterroyo's life, periodical and occasional newsbooks did not give a name to an author. Authors were understood to be authors of books.

The gradual undermining of gazettes and other *papéis* of news can be analyzed through the physical form of the periodical itself. If we consider it as a printed and commercial object, we can see that it had an intrinsic ambiguity. In fact, it was published and distributed to its subscribers on a weekly basis throughout each of the 52 weeks of one year. But the accumulated issues also gave rise to an annual book, a yearbook that gazette readers could either bind themselves or buy in a directly bound form. Each periodical issue contained the typographic features usually found in a book: the gazette's page numbers continued on from those of the previous week. The reading of Monterroyo's correspondence shows us that the selling of annual collections of gazettes could take place several years after their publication: issues that followed on from one another gave rise to annual books, which in turn gave rise to collections of books. This was a common feature of periodicals in the 17th and 18th century in Portugal and other European countries¹².

Thus, retrospectively, the gazette increasingly took on the appearance of a book. More particularly, it was supposed to be a historical book. The annual compilation of gazettes had a different title to the periodical, presented in a book-like title page: it was the *Historia Annual Chronologica, e politica do Mundo...*¹³. Several of the preserved collections of the gazette have this title page, which describes the accumulated content of the gazette as a historical work, divided into several parts. In other sources, such as the royal letter of privilege of 1752, it is said that the author followed a 'not only

¹² See the synthesis of Jean Sgard, «La multiplication des périodiques» in the monumental *Histoire de l'Édition Française*, by Roger Chartier and H.-J. Martin (dirs.), vol. II, *Le Livre Triomphant, 1660-1830*, Paris, Fayard/Cercle de la Librairie, 1990 [1984], esp. pp. 246-248.

¹³ The full title was *Historia Annual Chronologica, e politica do Mundo, e especialmente da Europa onde se faz memoria dos nascimentos, despozorios, e morte de todos os Emperadores, Reys, Principes, e pessoas consideraveis pela sua qualidade, ou empregos; encontros, sitios de Praças, e Batalhas terrestres, e navaes; vistas, e jornadas de Principes, Tratados de Aliança, Tregoa e Paz, com todas as mais acçoens militares, & civis, negociaçoens politicas, & sucessos mais dignos da attenção, & curiosidade.*

Historical, but also Chronological and Geographic method'¹⁴. Skilled readers of the periodical also perceived it in this way. Barbosa Machado, the author of the most important dictionary of Portuguese writers in the 18th Century, the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (1741-1759), included the compilation of gazettes in the branch of 'secular History'¹⁵. In this metaphorical library, periodicals were not afforded an autonomous place, only books and their authors. Once again, it was "bookishness" that defined authorship: authors of periodicals were denying themselves as authors.

This doesn't mean that we must think of the gazette as a history book and not as a periodical publication. It means that it was a hybrid object intrinsically inhabited by a tension between both forms. This tension is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the gazette's typographic form. Moreover, we can correlate this tension in form with a tension in content, a tension between past and present.

After the appearance of gazettes, in the 17th century, their authors were aware of the difficulty of recording the present. Unlike the events of the past, the present had not yet been turned over. Writing about the present had to be different from historical writing. This contributed to the disqualification of the gazette's discourse when compared to the historical one, a limitation that the authors themselves were well aware of. To quote the father of the French *Gazette*, Théophraste Renaudot, in 1632:

History is the account of things that have happened; the gazette is only the noise that comes from it. The former must always tell the truth. The latter is good enough when it prevents the spread of lies; and it doesn't lie even when it publishes false information that was transmitted as being true¹⁶.

In Renaudot's sentence, the reference to history and the truth is very important. There were role models for the gazette. But there was a contradiction between periodical information and historical method. According to Renaudot, the first echoes of events deserved little credit. Orality and rumors were enemies of solid, document-based history. The distinction between right and wrong, true and false news, required a comparison between different written sources and the elimination of information that was unworthy of credit. Detailed, accurate information and haste were also opposed to one another. The practical consequences of this method were a delay in the reproduction of information. In the 40th edition in 1716, for example, Monterroyo justifies the delay of the 'individual and exact' report on the 'battle of Hungary' with the need to base it on a 'large number of manuscripts and printed papers coming from several Courts'. If gazetteers were to be good historians, they had to wait. In a sense, the historian-gazetteer was afraid of the present.

¹⁴ A letter of privilege granted to Monterroyo following a conflict for its ownership of the gazette with the family of printers and booksellers who had held it since 1715. See *Gazeta de Lisboa*, No. 22, 1752.

¹⁵ Diogo Barbosa Machado, «José Freire de Monterroyo Mascarenhas», *Bibliotheca Lusitana, Historica, Critica e Chronologica...*, «Ophir—Biblioteca Virtual dos Descobrimentos Portugueses», Lisbon, CD-ROM edition, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998, vol. 2 [1747], p. 854; vol. 4 [1759], p. 660?.

¹⁶ "L'Histoire est le récit des choses advenües; la gazette seulement le bruit qui en court. La première est tenue de dire toujours la vérité. La seconde fait assez si elle empêche de mentir et elle ne ment pas même quand elle rapporte quelque nouvelle fausse qui lui a été donnée pour véritable". From the preface to the *Relation des nouvelles du monde*, March 1632, quoted by Claude Labrosse and Pierre Rétat, «Le texte de la Gazette» in Duranton, Labrosse and Rétat, 1993, pp. 139-140.

With a discourse that was limited by the fact that it occurred in the present, gazettes became a minor part of history: they would consist of a first record of true events, a first analysis of reality. Gazettes could be, at best, an assemblage of materials for the future writing of history. This also explains why it was considered necessary to read gazettes in sequence: in this way, false information could be corrected with the passing of time. We arrive at a paradox that now becomes fully explicit: it was the periodical form of the gazette which prevented it from being history; it had to be published weekly and report versions of events that sometimes the passing of time showed to be false. Because of its implicit contract with the readers, a gazette could not stop to see what happened in the end, when a war was over or all the consequences of a catastrophe had ceased to be visible¹⁷. In this sense, periodicity was a restraint on the discourse used, a restraint that we must add to the political one in our understanding of its information.

II

II. a) Printed and Hand-written News

What has been said until now, I believe, gives us a general framework for understanding the scarcity of printed domestic news in the gazette. My intention was to explain exactly why the short piece of news on the earthquake was the one given and not others. What I wanted to show was that there were political reasons for it, but also reasons connected to the conception of the gazette as a (historical, periodical) discursive genre. To these we might add very practical restraints connected to the demands of typographic work.

But, if we think of the enormous amount of information exchanged all over Europe about the Lisbon earthquake, in all possible forms of media (orality, print, manuscript, theater, engraving), what obviously lies hidden behind the short lines of the gazette is an immense non-printed text. Let us then move away from the earthquake and take our analysis a little further.

It is difficult to visualize our gazetteer-historian at work. However, the letters he addressed to a correspondent in Santarém, Dr. Rodrigo Xavier Pereira de Faria (a notary in the Casa da Misericórdia de Santarém), represent an important source of information for the reconstitution of Monterroyo's work environment. The letters, sent on a regular basis, usually weekly, between January 1741 and October 1749, show us the close connection between hand-written and printed news. To begin with, letters sent directly by correspondents placed in different cities of Portugal or Europe were, together with foreign gazettes, the sources of the newspaper's information. Dr. Pereira de Faria was one of these correspondents, feeding Monterroyo with first-hand information. Prior to Monterroyo's selection, correspondents undertook a first operation of distinguishing and establishing a hierarchy for disorderly events. The gazette's editor lived and worked in Lisbon. Fundamental for him was the constitution of a network of correspondents whom he considered reliable and trustworthy. Information was thus gathered and reported by letter to Monterroyo, who then made his own selection and had his manuscript censored and finally printed. In the course of such a succession of operations, from orality

¹⁷ For the question of news writing in the present, see Shelley Charles, «L'écriture du présent», in Duranton, Labrosse and Rétat, 1993, pp. 177-185.

or manuscript into print, an important amount of information would not be published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. This happened for a complex number of reasons that, once again, cannot be simply summarized as political restraint: Monterroyo's own criteria of historical credibility or social relevance seem to have been very important in his selection of the news.

Letters are a good source of information: uncensored, they included remarks, comments and important details for understanding both the news that was circulating and the news that was being published in the gazette. If we read the gazettes for the 1740s along with letters written by the reporter, the scarcity of the printed gazette's information makes a lot more sense. Although we have not yet found any letters from Monterroyo contemporary to the earthquake, what he printed was obviously only a small part of the news he accumulated about the event.

The reading of Monterroyo's correspondence with Dr. Pereira de Faria also shows us that the flow of news was not only being sent from Santarém to Lisbon, but that the reverse was also true. Monterroyo sent his own news to Santarém, in his regular letter to Pereira de Faria or in a different pamphlet, usually composed of three to four written pages known as a *folheto* ('leaflet'). This *folheto* was sent either to Pereira de Faria or to Father Luís Montez Mattozo, (an apostolic notary) another key character in the network of information that was built up around the gazette. These *folhetos*, along with a series of other newsletters which undoubtedly circulated¹⁸, may be considered the Portuguese equivalent of the French *nouvelles à la main*, as they have been described in the texts of François Moureau¹⁹.

Montez Mattozo (and Pereira de Faria himself) was similarly responsible for the writing of the hand-written periodical *Folheto de Lisboa*, also entitled *Mercúrio de Lisboa* or *Mercúrio Histórico de Lisboa*. Unlike Monterroyo's already-mentioned *folheto*, it had a large headline that could be printed, drawings or engravings and other features that imitated a printed gazette. The existence of at least three different copies of it in Portuguese archives (the Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências and Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, and the Biblioteca Pública de Évora) demonstrates the extent of its circulation. This is a clear case of publishing through the manuscript²⁰. Though we still lack essential background

¹⁸ Namely the *Diários*, such as the one attributed to Dom Francisco Xavier de Menezes, of which we know of a copy published by Eduardo Brasão (1943). The recent critical work on the rich collection of newsletters at the Biblioteca Pública de Évora has made it possible to locate another copy of this diary. The collection, 14 volumes dated from 1729 to 1754, is now being printed in a project coordinated by João Luís Lisboa, Tiago C. P. dos Reis Miranda and Fernanda Olival (2002).

¹⁹ See F. Moureau, "Les nouvelles à la main dans le système d'information de l'Ancien Régime", in Idem (ed.), *De bonne main. La communication manuscrite au XVIIIe siècle*, Oxford-Voltaire Foundation and Paris - Universitas, 1993, pp. 117-134

²⁰ On this very important question, see the seminal work of Harold Love, *The culture and commerce of texts. Scribal publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998 [1993]. For the circulation of manuscripts in the 16th and 17th-century Iberian world, see the recent book by Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2001. For a systematic approach to "publishing" as a social process in Early Modern times, especially in France, see Christian Jouhaud and Alain Viala (eds.), *De la Publication. Entre Renaissance et Lumières*, Paris, Fayard, 2002.

about its production, copying, trading and the extent of its circulation and reading²¹, we know that it was sent from Santarém to several readers. As with the printed gazette, the *folhetos* could be assembled in one-year volumes, with a different title from the weekly issue: this was the case with the *Anno noticioso e historico*, which was started in January 1740. Like the gazette, the *folhetos* were thus conceived as a periodical publication that gathered together historical material. The *folheto* also imitated the internal structure of printed gazettes: geographical division into ‘chapters’, each one representing the geographical origin of the news, as well as a chronological progression from the oldest to the most recent news.

The hand-written *folhetos* only make sense if we consider a legal regime in which there was a monopoly of printed information. If competition in print was forbidden because of the letter of privilege, it could be carried out at another, less public, level of circulation, through the manuscript. In the first number of the *Folheto* for the year 1740, Luís Montez Mattozo explains to the readers in a prologue (a typical feature in a book) the reasons for the new periodical’s appearance. The reference to the printed gazette is immediate: since its foreign news was too slow in being reported, the *folheto* would announce it sooner; on the other hand, the domestic news that was not usually printed in the gazette would be published in the *folheto*²². At the end of the prologue, an important reference is made to the method of gathering information: only news deserving of credit, either directly eyewitnessed or given by trustworthy correspondents, was to be published. Historical credit seems to have the same grounds both in the printed and in the hand-written gazette.

A systematic comparison between the two periodicals’ news items will certainly reveal other similarities, but also differences in content. For the moment, we may confirm that domestic news was indeed more prolific in the manuscript. To the very restricted social order of the printed gazette, the *folhetos* brought a wider world. The popular element is often present in its news, mostly in contexts of violence and riots. If the fact that news was hand-written in the *folheto* — and thus uncensored — does indeed make a difference, we should not try to see in the manuscript, at least not in this particular case, a clandestine version of the gazette. At the end of the first volume of the *Anno Noticioso...*, Luís Montez Mattozo signs a statement in which he denies the contents of his book in the event of any conflict with God’s commandments or royal dictates.

II. b) Conclusion: a model for the reading of the *Gazeta de Lisboa*

The fact that Monterroyo and his fellow information-gatherers from Santarém exchanged news between one another shows us that printed news and hand-written news were not in conflict with each other and that their roles were complementary. The logic of this complementarity is by no means casual: it is political (based on censorship), technological (based on the difference between print and manuscript), but also sociological. Montez Mattozo’s literary and historical interests belonged to the same world as Monterroyo’s: local erudition, history and genealogy. They were all members of small-sized literary academies in Lisbon and Santarém. They seem to have shared the same conceptions of

²¹ On this subject, see João Luis Lisboa, *Mots (dits) écrits. Formes et valeurs de la diffusion des idées au 18ème siècle au Portugal*, Ph.D. thesis at the European University, Florence, 1998, pp. 377-406.

²² Luiz Montez Matozo, *Anno noticioso e histórico*, Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, vol. I, 1934, “Antiloquio”, p. 1. Available online: http://purl.pt/304/index-HTML/M_index. Html accessed on 4th April, 2004.

history when writing news. They existed in a wider network of social exchange, where not only information circulated, but also other goods, both symbolic and material. The composition and extent of such a network remains to be reconstituted. We can see, for instance, through the letters preserved in the Academia das Ciências (Lisbon), that there was an important relationship between Montez Mattozo and the Convent of the Theatines in Lisbon²³. Through Monterroyo, he was presumably in contact with Dom Francisco Xavier de Menezes, a regular supplier of Court news to the gazette²⁴, thus having access to the Court's own news.

The *Gazeta de Lisboa* was thus situated at the confluence of different networks of manuscript and printed information. Besides periodicals and letters, historical agents had other means of information that were very important and are not considered here: orality and images. They enjoyed a wide range of sources, which they manipulated according to an evaluation of the different social qualities of the different media. We thus reach one of the conclusions of our research: we must always consider the *Gazeta de Lisboa* in a wider context of information. Letters, *folhetos* and other manuscripts are fundamental aids for reading it in a double sense: for reading it methodologically and for reading it historically. The news of the earthquake should not be read alone by the historian because it was not read alone by its readers.

This leads us also to the definition of one model for the reading of the gazette, the one that occurred in the inner circle of the social agents involved with the writing, exchange and publishing of information. I will call it, through an appropriation of literary categories relating to Early Modern Portugal and Spain, a “discrete reading” (*leitura discreta*). The “discrete reading” of the printed gazette was a secondary-level reading. It was produced by the gazetteers or other people who were able to produce and exchange information. As well-informed members of networks where news circulated rapidly and was abundant, they did not read first-hand news in the printed gazette. They learned it from the best placed persons in the Court and they read it in manuscript form before it was eventually published in the gazette. In this restricted public sphere where several sources of information could be manipulated, reading the gazette meant comparing it with other sources — a critical method. To read it was to confirm what was already known by other sources. Particularly in the case of domestic information, what was important was *how* it was written in the gazette, how news became — or did not become — public.

²³ Correspondence addressed to Luís Montez Mattozo: Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, Manuscritos Vermelhos, 835.

²⁴ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Papéis Avulsos, 54-XIII-13, No. 6.

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An Introduction to 19th century Portuguese Constitutional and State History

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Abstract

After several decades of official disinterest, contemporary history became a popular topic of Portuguese historiography in the late 1970s. However, attention was often directed towards socio-political aspects, with legal and constitutional aspects barely being examined at all. Although the situation has not changed dramatically, the area benefits indirectly from the interest that is being shown in the period. The following text brings together a group of works which deal, more or less directly, with the legal and institutional framework of 19th-century Portuguese history. The lack of any systematic treatment of the subject makes a synthesis or a critical bibliography far too hazardous a task, so that this contribution claims to be little more than an organized list of titles, with some brief comments.

Keywords

Contemporary history; Liberalism; Constitutionalism; Legal history; State history; Civil service; Administration; Law; Bureaucracy

1. In its traditional meaning, constitutional and state history has been a very understudied discipline.¹ Not even legal historians – or even jurists – have given it much attention.

1.1. 19th-century constitutional texts have been published several times from Lopes Praça (Praça, 1893, the most interesting and complete text) to Jorge Miranda, although this work does not

¹ For broader meanings of the purpose of constitutional history, cf. Hespanha (A. M.), 2003. On the methodological question of a history of categories (in this case, of juridico-institutional categories), see Hespanha [A. M.], 2004a; Kosellek (R.), 1990; Tully (J.), 1989.

systematically include the constitutional proposals.² Recently, I supervised the publication of a DVD with the sources for Portuguese constitutional history, which brings together not only the constitutional texts, but also the known constitutional proposals, the parliamentary discussion of the constitutions and the subsequent legislation to the *Constitutional Charter*, the integral versions of the texts of 19th-century Portuguese constitutional doctrine, including not only university lectures on the subject, and other relevant doctrinal works. Altogether, this amounts to roughly 30,000 pages of texts, with contextualizing introductions and search instruments³. The indispensable daily parliamentary gazettes are also being published with their full texts on the website of the Portuguese parliament (<http://debates.parlamento.pt/monarquia.asp>). Their history, however, with some references to the context of their appearance, is much poorer. In short, it was made by Marcelo Caetano (Caetano, 1965), based on older materials (Praça [J.L.], 1878, 1893; Laranjo [J. F.], 1895). The best existing text is definitely that of Joaquim Gomes Canotilho, with some very interesting details of historico-constitutional interpretation (Canotilho [J. G.], 2002; summarized with some changes in Torgal [L. R.], 1998, 125-141).⁴ In the work *Portugal contemporâneo* (Reis [A.], 1988), I attempted (in collaboration with Johannes-Michael Scholz) to make a synthesis of what I understood to be the structure of the liberal state (Hespanha [A. M.], 1988a, 1988b). A much more exhaustive treatment of constitutional and State history was made by me in *Guiando a mão invisível. Direitos, Estado e Lei no Liberalismo monárquico Português*, [Guiding the invisible hand. Regulations, State and the Law of Portuguese Liberal Monarchism], Coimbra, Almedina, 2004, a work in which, besides more current aspects in the bibliography of constitutional history, other aspects are also touched upon that are normally considered to be less current in this context, ranging from the dogmatic aspects of constitutional law – which historians tend to minimize, but which are enormously important for the image and exercise of power – to the “logistical” aspects of power – to which jurists, on the other hand, unfortunately do not pay much attention. Mention should also be made of the respective chapter in *História do direito português*, by Nuno Espinosa Gomes da Silva (Silva [N. E. G.], 2000, 403-444), as well as the synthesis by Mário Reis Marques of 19th-century Portuguese law (Torgal [L. R.], 1998, 141-154).

² There have been successive publications of Jorge Miranda (e.g. 1992, 2001), with minor differences; the best one is the last one (2001), as it includes lesser known texts such as some as yet unpublished constitutional proposals. The official proposals are now published on DVD [A. M. Hespanha and Cristina Nogueira da Silva] *Fontes para a história constitucional portuguesa*, FD-UNL, 2004; the same is true of some unofficial proposals, such as the one for the 1822 Constitution, Lisbon, Typ. Rollandiana, 1820 (“with the permission of the Constitutional Committee”, anonymous); the series of proposals related with the promise of a new Constitution, made by Dom João VI, in 1823 (Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, José Maria Dantas Pereira, Francisco Manuel Trigoso de Aragão Morato) (cf. Dias [H.], 1987;]; for the 1838 Constitution, the proposals of António José Lima Leitão and Santos Cruz (cf. Hespanha [A. M.], 2004b, Ch. 12.1).

³ A. M. Hespanha & Cristina Nogueira da Silva, *Fontes para a história do direito constitucional português*, Lisbon, Faculdade de Direito da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2004 (the same material is also available on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa).

⁴ The work by Paulo Ferreira da Cunha, *História constitucional do direito português*, Coimbra, Almedina, 1995, seeks to be precisely this – a Constitutional History of Portuguese Law – and not a history of Portuguese constitutional law, a subject to which, in any case, he dedicates roughly 200 pages (271-424), covering the *vintista* period and that of the First Chartism, without any great empirical innovation.

Detailed points regarding the history of constitutional texts have been (infrequently) touched upon by other historians. The constitutional proposals of the first liberal period have been dealt with by Paulo Merêa (1967), myself (1982) and Henrique Dias (1987). There is also a recent work by António Pedro Ribeiro dos Santos (Santos [A. P. R.], 1990) that gives a comprehensive view of power in the constitutionalism of this period.

1.2. Some aspects of constitutional dogma has been dealt with by legal historians and jurists;⁵ however, attention must be paid when reading them to possible contaminations by modern-day dogmatic viewpoints. When all is said and done, the best contributions towards a history of constitutional dogmatics continue to be the actual doctrinal texts of the period, complemented with the reading of parliamentary debates, in which questions of juridico-constitutional doctrine were frequently discussed: the theory of constituent power (its limits and contradistinction in relation to legislative power), contents of the constitution (“constitutional matters”), theory of civil and political rights, control of constitutionality (laws and acts of government), theory of dictatorship and of the bill of indemnity, division and limits of powers, ministerial responsibility, responsibility of the State and civil servants, discretionarity of the acts of the executive and its limits, etc. At this level of constitutional dogmatics, it is frequently necessary to resort to the history of ideas, although it is not always clear that this approach produces reliable results at the level of juridico-constitutional history, since jurists do not always passively accept the ideas originating from political theory. Here too – as is suggested by the theory of reception – the received sense is more influential than the original sense. In any case, the following texts should be consulted: Araújo [F.], 2001 (on freedom); Ribeiro (M. M. T), 1990b; Sobral (M. R. R.), 1985 (all of them about political, civil and economic rights); Santos (M. H. C.), 1982b (on happiness); Ribeiro (M.M.T), 1984; Tengarrinha (J.), 1992, 1993; Costa (J.R.), 1976; Machado [J. E.], 2002; Montes (J. B. C.), 1988; Castro (Z. M. O.), 1993; Rebelo (O.S.O.V.), 1987 (all of these texts are about freedom, in its various aspects); Pereira [J. E.], 1991; Vargues (I. N.), 1997 (on nationhood).

2. However, constitutional history is not only a history of texts or a history of concepts and doctrines. It is also a history of political practices, from which normative models for the constitutional organization of society are derived. So that it therefore has to be seen in the context of: (i) the general history of the period; (ii) its political history; (iii) its institutional history. In relation to this latter aspect, the distinction between institutions of public law or private law is not very relevant.⁶

2.1. For the general history of the 19th century in Portugal, the best contributions to date are the respective volumes (vols. V and VI) of *História de Portugal*, edited by José Mattoso (respectively,

⁵ Almeida ([C. A. N.], 1987); Almeida ([V. R.], 1990), Correia ([M. L. C. A. A. P.], 1988); Esteves ([M. A. A.], 1985); Estorninho ([M. J. R.], 1986); Homem ([A. P. B. C.] 1985); Novais ([A. J. P. R.], s/d); Pereira ([M. P. C. S.], 1987); Simão ([J. A. P.], 1990); Sousa ([A. F.], 1986); Rocha ([M. M.], 1984). See also the (law) thesis of Cristina Queirós, (Queirós (M. M. C.), 1990).

⁶ Cf. Hespanha (2003).

Torgal (L. R.), 1998; Ramos (R.), 2001; to mention the most accessible edition); volumes I to III, of *Portugal contemporâneo*, edited by António Reis (Reis (A.), 1988); volumes VII to IX, of *História de Portugal*, by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão (Serrão [J. V.], 1984); volumes IX to XI, of *Nova história de Portugal*, edited by Oliveira Marques (Marques [A. H. O.], 1989); and *História de Portugal*, edited by João Medina (Medina [J.], 1993). The *História da história em Portugal* (Torgal [L. R.], 1996) is also useful, especially for understanding the political and ideological context of 19th-century history. Older texts, such as the so-called *História 'de Barcelos'*⁷, or even *História de Portugal*, by Manuel Pinheiro Chagas⁸, continue to be useful for checking factual details.

As a work of reference, the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel Serrão (Serrão [J.], 1961) is irreplaceable and is now complemented by the work of António Barreto and Filomena Mónica (Barreto [A.], 1999), or there is the less complete and up-to-date *Dicionário ilustrado de história de Portugal*, which has some good articles for this period (Pereira [J. C.], 1982). The old *Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* also continues to provide good service, especially at the level of biographies. More specialized is the *Dicionário do vintismo e do primeiro cartismo (1821-1823 e 1826-1828)* [Dictionary of *vintismo* and early Chartism], edited by Zília Osório de Castro (Castro [Z. O.], 2001).

Bibliographical research can be facilitated through recourse to the *Repertório Bibliográfico da Historiografia Portuguesa 1974-1994* (Coelho [M. H. C.], 1995), with the precious help of the bibliographies of contemporary political history compiled by Paulo Jorge Fernandes (*et alii*) (Fernandes [P.J.], 2002, 2003a and 2003b), or through consultation of the websites on Portuguese history, of which the following are the most interesting: <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/silveira/html/main.html> (edited by Luís Espinha da Silveira), <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/bahp/bahp90.top.html> (Instituto de História das Ideias, Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra: bibliography compiled by years) and <http://maltez.webhs.org/> (ed. José Adelino Maltez). For the press of the period, see Guedes [G. R.], 1998; for the legal press, see Chorão (L. B.), 2002.

Information can be obtained about sources available at the main central archives from the *Roteiro de fontes da história portuguesa contemporânea* (Serrão [J.], 1984) [Guide to the sources of contemporary Portuguese history], which has been only partly superseded by the publication of more recent guides by the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo). Interesting methodological guidelines can be found in Monteiro [N. G.], 1989) or in Amadeu de Carvalho Homem's report about the programs, contents and methods of contemporary history (Homem [A. C.], 1997). An important collection of sources for the *vintista* period was published in Santos (C. J.), 1883.

2.2. 19th-century political history has recently enjoyed a remarkable renewal of interest. Although the respective volumes (6th vol.: 1640-1815, 768 pp., 1934; 7th vol.: 1816-1918, 799 pp., 1935; by Ângelo Ribeiro) of the old *História de Portugal*, the so-called 'History of Barcelos', continue to be useful at the factual level, it is not possible nowadays to ignore the valuable contribution of a series of recent works, some of which are general syntheses, whilst others deal with certain specific periods.

⁷ Damião Peres (ed.), *História de Portugal*, Edição Monumental, Barcelos, Portucalense Editora, 1928/1954.

⁸ Manuel Joaquim Pinheiro Chagas, *História de Portugal*, 1869-1874, 8 volumes.

Of the general syntheses, I suggest that the most notable is the small book by Fátima Bonifácio, *O século XIX português* [The Portuguese 19th century] (Bonifácio [M. F.], 2002), which – from a personal viewpoint – seeks to extract the main directions taken by Portuguese politics in the 19th century.⁹ The volume by Rui Ramos, from the *História de Portugal* collection, edited by José Mattoso, fulfils the same guiding role very well, although only for the end of the century. There are also other individual or collective works of a general nature that cover various periods, and which should be mentioned because they are seminal: the collection of articles or summary texts by Miriam Halpern Pereira (one of the first historians to adopt a modern approach to 19th-century political history) (Pereira [M. H.], 1994, 1997); the proceedings of two conferences that paved the way for fundamental areas of discussion (Pereira [M. H.], 1982; Reis [J.], 1981).

The book by Manuel Villaverde Cabral, *Portugal na Alvorada do Século XX- Forças sociais, Poder político e crescimento económico de 1890 a 1914* [Portugal at the Dawn of the 20th Century – Social Forces, Political Power and Economic Growth from 1890-1914] Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 1988, was an influential book in its time and made an important contribution to the historiographical debate on the changes that occurred in the last decades of the 19th century, particularly in relation to the State's sphere of influence.

Next, it is important to mention the historiography that covers shorter political periods.

For pre-liberalism, the following texts are important. On the *vintista* legacy of 18th-century reformism, Ramos, 1973, 1984; Castro [Z. O.], 1983, 1993; Hespanha [A. M.], 1982; Pereira [A. J.], 1976, 1979; Pereira [J. E.], 1982, 1983; Neto [V.], 1988; on the Masonic component, Dias [J. S. S.], 1980; Marques [A. H.], 1990; on the external influences of the 1820 revolution, Ramos [L. O.], 1978, 1984, 1991; Vicente [A. P.], 1990; Pina [A. M. F.], 1988; Pereira [J. E.], 1989; Tengarrinha (J.), 1994, as well as the proceedings of the conference *A recepção da Revolução Francesa [...]* [The reception of the French Revolution], 1982; Alves [J. A. S.], 1992; [A. C. B.] 1993. On the question of society and power in this transitional period, seen from a regional viewpoint, Capela [J. V.], 1987, is an important text.

For the political conjuncture of the *vintista* period, the following works are considered important. Of a general nature, but also comprising specifically institutional aspects: Pereira (M. H.), 1991, Vieira (B. M.), 1992a. With a lesser scope: Tengarrinha (J. M.), 1982; Castro (Z. N. O.), 1985, 1986; Vicente (A. P.), 1990. Biographical aspects, which may be very enlightening, are also touched upon: most immediately in the *Dicionário do vintismo ...*, by Zília Osório de Castro (Castro [Z. M. O.], 2002); but, there are also some partial biographical studies and some works combining the biography of the persons involved with the study of their ideas (with a variety of emphases): Alves (A. L.) 1918; Cardoso (J. L.), 1983; Castro (Z. M. O.), 1990; Dias (J. H. R.), 1988; Pinheiro (M.), 1992; Boisvert (G.), 1987, 1992; Mogarro (M. J.), 1990. On the regional aspects of the *vintista* epoch, see Capela (J. V.), 1987.

On particular aspects of the political conjuncture: Azevedo (J. S. De [1944]); Santos, (F. Piteira [1975]) (prosopography); Faria (A. M.), 1988 (clergy); Sousa (F.), 1979 (clergy); Marques (F. P.), 1981 (army); also on the military, Ferreira (J. M.), 1990, and Valente (V. P.), 1997; Pereira (M. H.), 1981 (industrial environment); Vargues (I. N.), 1991 (academic environment); Vieira [B.

⁹ Which corresponds to the book version of a text published elsewhere (*O milénio português*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos and Roberto Carneiro, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2002).

M. D.], 1992b (justice). But, naturally, it is the ideological aspects that have given rise to a more abundant bibliography: Castro (Z. O.), 1979 (concept of sovereignty); Ribeiro (M. M. T.), 1997 (concept of sovereignty); Castro (Z. O.), 1993 (idea of the liberal State); Costa (J. R.), 1976 (concept of freedom); Vargues (I. N.), 1997 (*idem*); Pina [A. M. F.], 1989 (anarchy); Pina [A. M. F.], 1988 (influence of Rousseau). The following study comes closer to specifically constitutional history: Araújo (A. C. B.), 1992 (on the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves). The *vintista* terminology, as a whole, was studied by Telmo Verdelho, in a most interesting work (Verdelho [T.], 1981).

As far as the absolutist reaction is concerned, the most important contribution is that of Maria Alexandre Lousada (Lousada, 1987, 1989, 1996). Traditionalist thinking was studied by Reis Torgal (Torgal [L. R.], 1973; for the traditionalist reaction to *vintismo*, see Id., 1978) and António da Silva Pereira (Pereira [A. J. S.], 1976, 1979). Other detailed studies are: Silva (A. B. M.), 1987 (on the reaction of the clergy); Silva (N. E. G.), 1999 (on the promise of a constitution by Dom João VI); Valente (V. P.), 1995 (on Miguelist uprisings).

The political situation of the First Chartism period has not aroused much attention, but in any case, see the interesting synthesis by Neto (V.), 1988; the doctoral thesis by Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos on the constitutional charter of 1826 (Santos (M. H. C.), 1988), which is extensive in terms of data, but somewhat superficial in its analysis; and Valente (V. P.), 1993, a very suggestive overall view. The work of Mouzinho da Silveira was the subject of a publication in a critical edition (Silveira, 1989); about him, there is Pereira [M. H.], 1983, 1989. For the traditionalist group, the fundamental work today is that of Maria de Fátima Sá e Melo Ferreira (Ferreira [M. F. S. M.], 1995), which, by extending as far as the mid 1840s, provides a broad view of the resistance to Chartist liberalism; by the same author, see also Ferreira (M. F. S. M. F.), 1998; and Cavallinhos (J. B.), 1997 (for a later period).

The political conjuncture of the Septembrist and post-Septembrist period has attracted much more attention. After the pioneering studies of Albert Silbert, Vítor de Sá (Sá [V.], 1969b), and Miriam Halpern Pereira (cf. Pereira [M. H.], 1988, 1996), the most substantial studies are those of Fátima Bonifácio (Bonifácio [M. F.], 1982, 1988, 1993). Sacuntala de Miranda has an interesting article on the electoral geography of the period (Miranda [S.], 1982). Benedita Duque Vieira (Vieira [B. M. D.], 1987, and Júlio Rodrigues da Silva (Silva [J. J. C. R.], 1988, 1992) touched upon questions of constitutional history; whilst Magda Pinheiro studied the figure of Manuel da Silva Passos (Pinheiro [M.], 1996).

For the political period of *Cabralismo*, the most important studies are those of Fátima Bonifácio (cf. Bonifácio [M. F.], 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 2002a), Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (cf. Ribeiro [M. M. T.], 1985, 1987a, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1998), Manuel Filipe Canaveira (Canaveira [M. F.], 1988) and Benedita Duque Vieira (Vieira [B. M. D.], 1987). José Viriato Capela's studies are very useful for the history of Patuleia (cf. Capela [J. V.], 1996, 1999).

For the political period following the Regeneration, the most recent and important works are those by José Miguel Sardica (Sardica [J. M.], 1997a and 1997b), which renew earlier perspectives (cf. Ravara, 1976). The general introductions to the period, by Jorge Borges de Macedo (Macedo [J. B.], 1981) (on the appearance of the concept of political programs) and Amadeu Carvalho Homem (Homem [A. C.], 1998) (on parliamentary rotation), have retained their importance. More particular studies are those by: Miriam Halpern Pereira (Pereira [M. H. P.], 1998) (on Oliveira Martins and

Fontismo); Filomena Mónica (Mónica [M. F.], 1997) (on Fontes) and José Tengarrinha (Tengarrinha [J.], 1962) (an introduction to the political work of José Estêvão). The exemplary article by Fernando Catroga on the first generation of positivists (Catroga [F.], 1977) is a fine introduction to one of the most important components of political thought in the last three decades of the century. Closer to the constitutional theme is J. J. C. R. Silva, 1992 ("Debate constitucional e reforma da Carta no início dos anos setenta (1871/1873)") [Constitutional debate and reform of the Charter at the beginning of the '70s (1871/1873)], and who supplies factual information.

The political context of the last period of the Monarchy – dominated by the ideas of *decadentismo* and, consequently, of political renewal – has recently been treated with originality and accentuated revisionism, by Rui Ramos (Ramos [R.], 2001b), in continuation of his quoted volume *História de Portugal*, edited by José Mattoso). Also important is the book by José Miguel Sardica on *franquismo* (Sardica [J. M.], 1994). It is most interesting to study the ideological continuities with the authoritarianism of the 20th century, at least as they were seen roughly 40 years ago (cf. Azevedo [A.], 1966). Also part of this political conjuncture is a more radical program for the renewal of the regime, identified with republicanism, in this new sense of a model for a regime. Apart from the older and more classical works on the theme – (namely, Joaquim de Carvalho, Oliveira Marques) invariably referred to by the authors mentioned here – there are important novelties. Above all, there is the work by Fernando Catroga, *O republicanismo em Portugal [...]* (Catroga [F.], 2000), which is best combined with his founding article on the importance of positivism in the genesis of republicanism (Catroga [F.], 1977a); the same author has other works with a more restricted subject-matter, but always of the highest quality (1977, 1985, 1990); but there are also important works by Amadeu Carvalho Homem on the genesis of republicanism (Homem [A. C.], 1991, 1997a, 2000).¹⁰ Yet more radical was the socialist ideal, which was also chronologically related to republicanism, and has similarly been the subject of a well-known historiography, particularly since the 1970s (e.g. Sá (V. de), 1969a). Once again, some important studies should be mentioned: Mónica (M. F.), 1981, 1985, 1986; Silva (A. S.), 1979; Medina (J.), 1972, 1974, 1984).

3. Before attempting to list the available bibliography, one fairly obvious remark should be made. In the history of institutions – as in other branches of history and, generally speaking, of the humanities as a whole – good answers are provided when good questions are asked. In the case of the history of institutions, asking good questions depends upon a clear understanding of the logic of the system of politico-institutional representation, as well as on the way in which one expects this system to respond to the politico-social problems that form part of the agenda of a particular period. All this presupposes a sufficient knowledge of the political, constitutional and legal models that took their place on the cultural horizons of 19th-century central and western Europe. I should like to suggest some explanatory readings: Fioravanti (M.), 1999, 2001, Mannori (L.), 2001, van Caengem (R. C.), 1995, and, as a summarized guide to the main questions, Hespanha (A. M.), 2003.

Under the thematic scope of constitutional and state history, the monographs on political and institutional mechanisms should be mentioned first of all.

¹⁰ See also Mónica (M.F.), 1987, on the context of the fall of the monarchy.

3.1. So far, there has been no satisfactory overall work on the evolution of institutions in 19th-century Portugal. Some contributions may be mentioned in this area, ranging from *História de Portugal contemporâneo: político e institucional*, written by João Medina for the Universidade Aberta (Medina (J.), 1994), to my articles in *Portugal contemporâneo*, edited by António Reis (Hespanha [A. M.], 1988a, 1988b). There are, evidently, other works of a general nature on the State and administration, which provide helpful information for a global institutional history. Amongst these, I should like to highlight Manuel Pinto dos Santos' useful factual enumeration of the sequence of governments and rulers (Santos [M. P.], 1986), the reflections of Miriam Halpern Pereira (Pereira [M. H.], 1983, 1997), Manique [A. P.], 1989) and Fernando Piteira Santos (Santos [F. P.], 1987) on the 19th-century state, in its genesis and evolution, as well as Luís Espinha da Silveira's valuable synthesis (Silveira [L. E.], 1998) on the same theme. From a more juristic perspective, there are the works of Barata (A.), 1989; Caupers (J.), 1994; and Miranda (1988). Already paying more attention to the 20th century, but providing a very original and not totally inappropriate approach to the problems of the 19th century – namely the social functions of the State – is the study by Guibentif (P.), 1985. In the translator's notes to John Gilissen's book, *Introdução histórica ao direito* [Introduction to the History of Law], Lisbon, Gulbenkian, 2002 (2nd ed.), I myself sketched out the general outlines in the evolution of some significant institutions.

In spite of everything, those who come closest, albeit indirectly, to writing an overall history of the workings of formal institutional structures are the historians of bureaucracy, or the historians of finance.

Amongst the former, there is, unfortunately, only one to be mentioned for the time being: Pedro Tavares de Almeida, who, in his doctoral thesis (Almeida [P. G. T.], 1995) and later articles (e.g. Almeida [P. G. T.], 2003), provides a very interesting, although as yet incomplete, perspective of the state machine.

Amongst the latter group, attention is drawn, for an overall understanding of the State, to those writers who provide a more comprehensive view of the "State in numbers", by studying the structure of public finance. Hence the interest of several articles on the structural aspects of public finance: Carvalho (J. B.), 1982; Costa (F. D.), 1992; Franco (A. S.), 1983; Mata (M. E.), 1986; Valério (N.), 1979, 2003; Pereira (M. H.), 1979; Pinheiro (M.), 1983; Reis (A. J.), 1993; Ruiz (J. M.), 1982; Silva (A. M.), 1993; Pinto (A. C.), 2000. Amongst this group, it is not unreasonable to highlight the importance in this particular aspect of the studies of Nuno Valério and Maria Eugénia Mata, as well as the work (with greater focus on the 20th century) of António Sousa Franco, for they make it possible to understand both the way in which the State was financed and the financial importance of its various sectors of activity.¹¹

3.2. The institutional question that undeniably aroused most attention – even because it was also the war-horse of the authors themselves, who, at the time, wrote about the administration – was that of centralization or decentralization; which was basically transformed into a fight between municipalists (of varying political colors) and statistes (also displaying a variety of hues).

An introduction is provided to the perspective of the precise field of administrative law by Marcelo Caetano, in his classic work on administrative codification (Caetano [M.], 1934).

¹¹ A more lateral approach, from this point of view, is provided by the study of Sousa (D.), 1978.

Good introductions are provided to the theme of decentralization through the articles by Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (Ribeiro [M.M. T.], 1990a); Neto [V.], 1988 (both of them about the ideological aspect that has more recently been touched upon by Fernando Catroga, in what are as yet unpublished texts); Luís Espinha da Silveira (Silveira [L. E.], 1997, 1997a, 1997b) (on the institutional aspect in particular); Maria Alexandre Lousada (Lousada [M. A.], 1991) (on the territorial aspect); José António dos Santos (Santos [J. A.], 1985); Almeida [J. M. P.], 1991 (idem); Tengarrinha [J.], 1995 (a comparative perspective); Cunha (P. F. [2003]). Further developments may be found in *História dos Municípios e do poder local: dos finais da Idade Média à União Europeia*, [History of the Municipalities and Local Power: from the end of the Middle Ages to the European Union] edited by César de Oliveira. A good account is given of the historical legacy of the period in Capela (J. V.), 1995; and Silva (A. C. N.), 1996. João Serra (Serra [J. B.], 1988) deals well with a more restricted period; Medeiros Ferreira (Ferreira [J. M.], 1996) deals with a more limited area (Azorean autonomy). José Tengarrinha provides almost the only study on an intermediate administrative region – the *distrito* or district (Tengarrinha [J.], 2002).¹² Rui Miguel Branco (in Branco [R. M.], 2003) reveals decisive aspects of the process leading to the territorialization of the State, in relation to one particular body of the Central Administration – the *Direcção-Geral dos Trabalhos Geodésicos* (Directorate-General of Geodesic Studies).

In some way or other, those who have dedicated themselves to local institutions have also ended up touching upon this question, sometimes with much more color, which is a particular feature of case studies. This is the case, above all, with José Viriato Capela, who has produced quite a remarkable body of work in this field (Capela [J. V.], 1983, 1995, 1997, 2000b and his new synthesis, 2000a). There are many municipal monographs focusing on political and administrative aspects. But I should nonetheless like to highlight Ananias (M. L. L.), 2000; Fernandes (P. J.), 1997; and Manique (A. P.), 1989 (touching on local financial aspects that are as interesting as they are generally unexplored, which he had already touched upon in his master's thesis). In any case, nobody has yet delved into the practical legal aspects, nor into the administrative jurisprudence that is formed about them, of this difficult relationship between the center and the periphery, as, for example, arises from the resolutions of the *Conselho de Estado* (State Council) (published in Ribeiro (S.), 1954¹³).

The central administration is almost completely untouched. José Subtil's work (Subtil [J.], 1996) on the Ministry of Finance is an exception¹⁴.

3.3. The history of the juridical models of the liberal State greatly exceeds its strictly constitutional history, as I have tried to show in various articles (Hespanha [A. M.], 2002, 2003). It also involves the history of public, in other words administrative, law; but also the history of private law. And, in a more demanding perspective, the history of the mechanisms of power scattered throughout the so-called “civil society”. But let us follow the established hierarchizations.

Enough has already been said at the beginning of this text about the state of constitutional history, seen in terms of a history of texts. But these texts also include the texts of constitutional doctrine. Something has already been said about these.

¹² This administrative level is also examined from a legal point of view by João Caupers (Caupers [J.], 1994).

¹³ The promisingly titled study by Sousa (A. F.), 1995, does not amount to a relevant contribution.

¹⁴ On this same ministry, see also Martins (G. O.), 1988.

The next task is to assess what has been done in regard to the history of constitutional practices. In this area, two main aspects have aroused attention.

3.3.1. One of these aspects – drawn there by the history of the themes to which social and political history is most sensitive, such as *caciquismo* – is electoral history. The most important work is that of Pedro Tavares de Almeida (Almeida [P.T.], 1991 and 1991, 1997), besides other more partial studies (1985, 2001) and the articles that he published with José Manuel Sobral (Sobral [J. M.], 1982). Luís Vidigal (Vidigal [L. A.], 1988) and Júlio Joaquim da Costa Rodrigues da Silva (Silva [J. J. C. R.], 1994), have presented syntheses of the theme, linked to that of *caciquismo*. Luís Filipe Colaço Antunes wrote on the electoral problem in its ideological context (Antunes [L. F. C.], 1981). Pedro Tavares de Almeida organized and prefaced a collection entitled *Legislação eleitoral portuguesa: 1820-1926*, [Portuguese electoral legislation], 1988, publishing from the already mentioned pioneering studies on electoral history. Maria Antonieta Cruz has devoted various articles to the electoral history of the second half of the 19th century (Cruz [M. A.], 1991, 1992, 1996). A catalogue of an exhibition curated by A. H. Oliveira Marques (*Eleições para Assembleias Constituintes 1820-1836-1911*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1975) [Elections for Constituent Assemblies, 1820-1836-1911] contains information about sources; but there is much more material at both the national archives at the Torre do Tombo and the parliament's historical archives. The analysis of the papers and of the discussions of the reports of the Committees responsible for the vetting of powers, as well as of some decisions taken by the Conselho de Estado are highly elucidatory about the frequent electoral anomalies. After this, there are naturally monographs about particular cases: Manique (A. P.), 1988, Miranda (S.), 1982, Ramos (L. A. O.), 1976, Santos (M. J. P.), 1983, Sobral (J. M.), 1982, 1982a, Vasconcelos (P. C. B.), 1999 (edition of sources), Fernandes (P. J.), 1998, 2002b.

3.3.2. The theme of parliamentary practices – which is central from the viewpoint of constitutional history – is in need of a systematic and consistent institutional (or even political) study. A few monographs have not managed to overcome this lack. The contribution of António Pedro Manique (Manique [A. P.], 1992) is relevant, but has a limited chronological scope. The work by Isabel Vargues and Manuela Tavares Ribeiro provides a synthesis (Vargues [I. N.], 1998)¹⁵. There are some short monographs about the Câmara dos Pares (Chamber of Peers): Paixão (V. M. B.), 1979, Silveira (L. E.), 1992, Mónica (M. F.), 1994. As far as the political parties are concerned, see, today, Sardica (J. M.), 1997c. José Tengarrinha made one of the first inroads into the important theme of political and parliamentary oratory, which has recently been brought into the spotlight in Spain, through an important book by Carlos Petit, who imbues it with a very complex importance, as a typical style of a new orality and, at the same time, as a manifestation of the syncretism of the sources of political rhetoric, ranging from law to poetry, from the topics of antiquity and national history to the newly appearing social sciences. There is a lot missing: parliamentary prosopography¹⁶, the decision-

¹⁵ There are classical studies by Julião Soares de Azevedo (*Condições económicas da revolução portuguesa de 1820*, Lisbon, Empresa Contemporânea de Edições 1944) and Fernando Piteira Santos (*Geografia e economia da revolução de 1820*, Mem Martins, Publicações Europa-América 1975) on the members of the first constituent assemblies. For more detail, see Carvalho (M. G.), 1912.

¹⁶ This gap is about to be filled through the publication of two important reference works: Castro [Z. M. O.], 2001; Mónica [M. F.], 2004.

making process in the chambers, the equilibrium between them and with the other organs of sovereignty, the concrete geometry of parliamentary voting, a theme broached by Benedita Vieira (B. M. D.), 1987, although it does perhaps require more elaborate statistical methods (such as multi-factorial analysis or cluster analysis)^{17 18}.

3.3.3. In the area of government, there was a need in Portugal to make the agonizing distinction between moderating power and executive power. Historians did not bother much about this. The same thing happens with this specificity of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, in the introduction of a fourth estate, imagined by Constant and Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira. Neither its theory (namely, the question of dynastic privilege or of the monarchic principle) nor its practice (for example, the question of the use of [or the threat to use] the veto, or the royal support [or lack of it] for governments in difficulties) have been studied¹⁹. The constitutional monarchs themselves, all of them – at moments of both greatness and distress – worthy of a political study, have not yet had one, apart from some work on the king that was almost the most ephemeral monarch of them all, Dom Pedro V (cf. Queirós [F. F.], 1979).

The government's constitutional activity still remains to be studied, both in its relations with the other organs of sovereignty, and in the use (or abuse) of its constitutional powers and duties.²⁰ We are therefore forced to have recourse to the old literature of the period, namely the university textbooks of Marnoco e Sousa and José Tavares, or to the extremely useful one by Clemente José dos Santos, in order to find out something about the theory and practice of dictatorship, the theory of legislative competence, the way in which the clear deficit of government powers in this field was circumvented, the (much debated) question of ministerial responsibility. Linked to government is administration, on which all studies are lacking in information. The models might be the magnificent Italian historiography under the auspices of the ill-starred R. Ruffilli, of Sabino Cassese, but above all, today, of Guido Melis.²¹ From Germany, there is the example of the *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte*, edited most efficiently by Erik-Volkmar Heyen. For the time being, we must be grateful for the old studies of António Justino de Freitas²², Guimarães Pedrosa²³, Marnoco e Sousa²⁴ and José Tavares.²⁵

¹⁷ Cf. Cheryl Schonhardt-Bailey, "Computer assisted content analysis of parliamentary debates on trade policy" (<http://polis.unipmn.it/epcs/papers/schonhardt.pdf>); Id., "Conservatives who sounded like trustees but voted like delegates. The reinterpretation of repeal, (<http://yale.edu/leitner/pdf/PEW-SB1.pdf>).

¹⁸ On the present-day lines of parliamentary history, consult the reviews *Parliamentary history* or *Parliaments, Estates & Representation*. *Parlements, États & Représentation*.

¹⁹ Cf. Pina (A.M.), 1987.

²⁰ On the German model of the authoritarian state, which had a significant influence on the last phase of monarchic constitutionalism, see, in Portuguese, Machtan (L.), 1999., which is still useful. On the constitutional history of the government, in which it continues to be essential to have recourse to the "old literature of the period", I draw attention to a short article by José Frederico Laranjo, "As relações recíprocas dos poderes públicos e a do rei e dos ministros no regimen constitucional", *O Instituto*, XXXVI, Dec. 1888, pp. 328-337.

²¹ See the review *Le carte e la storia*.

²² Namely, *Instituições de direito administrativo português*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1857 (there are later versions).

²³ Pedrosa, G., 1908.

3.3.4. There have also been few studies dedicated to the colonial administration. Only one specific title on the theme comes to mind: Oliveira (M. A. F. de), 1981. The old book by José Hermano Saraiva (Saraiva (J. H.), 1963) (to which might be added others by Marcelo Caetano, Silva Cunha and others) belong to a view of colonial policies (and their constitutional and institutional expression) that is currently benefiting from a careful revision by Cristina Nogueira da Silva. Good general frameworks can be found amongst the vast work produced by Valentim Alexandre (namely in Alexandre (V.), 1998).

3.3.5. In general, there has been little treatment of the history of justice. Some sources for its study have been inventoried by me and José Subtil (Hespanha [A. M.], 1991). For the beginning of the liberal period, there are two monographs: Vieira (B. M. D.), 1992b and Homem (A. P. B.), 2003) (this latter work is, above all, about the Old Regime, although it allows for the appreciation of continuities); mention should also be made of a note that is very rich in information (Silva [N. E. G.], 2000a). An attempt at a possible summary was made by Luís Eloy de Azevedo (Azevedo [L. E.], 2001).

Maria da Glória Garcia dedicated an important monograph to administrative justice (Garcia (M. G. R. P. D.), 1994).

Criminal justice has aroused more interest. José Subtil studied the question (considered to be central for understanding the socially differentiated models of state repression) of the relationship between the police and criminal justice in the first period of liberalism (Subtil [J.], 1986, 1989, 1991, 1994). José António Barreiros attempted a synthesis (Barreiros [J. A.], 1980); works with a broader scope are: Vaz (M. J.), 1999; Marques (T.), 2002; Anica (A.), 2003. But the most abundant works are studies of a local nature on criminality – some of them with interesting empirical data: Porto (N.), 1991; Roque (J. L.), 1987a, 1987b; Santos (M. J. M.), 1991, 1999; but, above all, there are the studies of Irene Vaquinhas (Vaquinhas (I.), 1990, 1992, 1993, 1997).

3.3.6. In its way, legal history is also constitutional history, especially if we realize that many of the elements that made up the political system were not to be found in the Constitution, but in the codes.²⁶

The general historiography of law for the 19th century is not in itself a particularly rich one. Besides the information that is to be found in general textbooks, which normally pay less attention to

²⁴ Sousa, Marnoco e, *Direito político. Poderes do Estado. Sua organização segundo a sciencia politica e o direito constitucional português*, Coimbra, França Amado, 1910; now republished in Hespanha, António Manuel (ed.), & Silva, Cristina Nogueira da, *Fontes para a história constitucional portuguesa [...]*, cit..

²⁵ Tavares, José, *O poder governamental no direito constitucional português*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1909; now republished in Hespanha, António Manuel (ed.), & Silva, Cristina Nogueira da, *Fontes para a história constitucional portuguesa [...]*, cit..

²⁶ As had already been noted by André-Jean Arnaud (*La Règle du jeu dans la paix bourgeoise*, Paris, LGDJ, 1973) and later by Bartolomé Clavero (Clavero [B.], 2000).

the contemporary period,²⁷ I draw attention to the multiplicity of data (unfortunately rather difficult to consult) contained in Cruz [G. B.], 1968. Paulo Ferreira da Cunha sought to highlight the constitutional aspects of law (Cunha (P. F.), 1995); but his treatment of the 19th century is incomplete. Mário Reis Marques wrote a summarizing article, which is useful (Marques [M. R.], 1998). Models for a substantial treatment, even in this case, could also be the ones originating from Italian²⁸ or German²⁹ legal historiography. As this paper does not seek to sketch out a bibliography of legal history, we restrict ourselves to a central problem for institutional history, that of codification, or the constitutional role of codes in liberal society.³⁰ The fundamental study is the one by Mário Reis Marques (Marques [M. R.], 1987), although the notes by Silva [N. E. G.], (2000b, 2000c) should also be taken into account.

3.3.7. The relationship between the new State and the old competing powers is also a decidedly “constitutional” theme.

On the relationship between the Church and the State, there is a vast bibliography, with the highlights being the works by José Eduardo Horta Correia (1974), Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (1980, a summary comparing the situation with that of the rest of Europe), Manuel Braga da Cruz (1982), Maria Manuela Tavares Ribeiro (1987), Amadeu Carvalho Homem, Vítor Neto (1988b, 1998 [his most comprehensive work], 1989, 1999), Zília Osório de Castro (1987), Jónatas Machado (1996, from a more clearly juridical perspective), Maria de Fátima Ferreira (1997), Luís Dória (2001), on the political and ideological aspects. The social and economic aspects of this relationship have been studied, above all, by José Viriato Capela (1984), Ana Mouta de Faria (2001) and António Martins da Silva, in the context of the disamortization of the lands of the church (i.e. bringing them into the public domain) which we shall deal with shortly. Civil marriage was studied by Samuel Rodrigues (1984, 1987 [the most substantial work on the theme]).

Indeed, the question of the disamortization of the lands of the church – which, at the same time, involves the relationship between the State and the two old privileged orders – has been given a great deal of attention, especially since the contemporary studies of Luís Espinha da Silveira (1980, 1988 [his doctoral thesis], 1989, 1990, 1993 [summaries in English and Spanish] and António Martins da Silva (1984, 1985, 1989 [his most voluminous work], 1996, 1997). But we should also add the names of other authors to these, such as Maria de Fátima Ferreira (1982, 1989), Margarida Sobral Neto (1981) and José Tengarrinha (1993).

²⁷ I draw attention, in particular, to Silva (N. E. G.), 2000; as well as my notes on Portugal in Gilissen (J.), 1988, or, more recently, in Hespanha (A. M.), 2003; José Adelino Maltez’ webpage also contains a great deal of interesting information.

²⁸ For example, Paolo Grossi (et al.), *Continuità e trasformazione: la scienza giuridica italiana tra fascismo e repubblica* (= *Quaderni fiorentini per la storia del pensiero giuridico moderno* (28/29), Milano, Giuffrè, 1999, or P. Grossi, *Scienza giuridica italiana. Un profilo storico, 1850-1950*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2000.

²⁹ Cf. Michael Stolleis, *Geschichte des öffentlichen Rechts in Deutschland, Bd.2, Staatsrechtslehre und Verwaltungswissenschaft 1800-1914*, München, C. H. Beck, 2002.

³⁰ It is, for example, in the Civil Code, that one finds the “sources of law” indicated, or in other words the constitution of the legal order. Besides which, it is through the rules established in the Civil Code that “civil society” is regulated, and, for liberal theory, it is this that represents the constitutive matrix of political society (about this subject, see Madureira (N. L.), 1997).

Connected to this, to some extent, is the question of the abolition of the seigniorial regime. Here, attention is drawn to the studies of Nuno Monteiro (1985, 1988), which develop or correct the views of Albert Silbert (1968). Joaquim Caetano Ferreira (1986) is the author of an overall study of the question of charters, from the time of the Marquês de Pombal to *vintismo*, and Fernando Dores Costa is the author of an intelligent article on the parliamentary debates of the 1832 decree (Costa [F.D.], 1987). Yet I believe that it is still worth reading the old work of Silva Ferrão (1848).

4. In short, it can be said that the Portuguese institutional, legal and constitutional history of the 19th century still remains largely to be written. The lack of interest in the formal institutions – most immediately, the administration of the State, in its various domains and at its various levels of analysis (from the prosopographic to the political, from the symbolic to the legal) – is compounded by the difficulty of distancing ourselves from the time. In fact, we have extended into our own age many of the ideas and much of the imagery that the liberal State created for itself and have difficulty in ridding ourselves of them in order to create a more intelligent history of the breaks (in various senses) and continuities. On the other hand, the state of the sources – which has greatly improved in recent years – is still rather chaotic, with many documents being stored under extremely precarious conditions or included amongst intermediate archives of the administration, closed to the public and still remaining to be dealt with, indispensable sources that frequently cannot be compensated for by a printed literature that is also difficult to approach.³¹

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³¹ The publication of the *Dicionário bibliográfico* by Inocêncio Francisco da Silva (Lisbon, Comissão dos Descobrimentos, 1998) in the form of a researchable CD-ROM has greatly eased this task.

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The History of Science in Portugal (1930-1940): The sphere of action of a scientific community.*

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Abstract

The History of Science in Portugal (1930-1940) explains the study and the fixation of the social construction of a scientific memory, recalling Maurice Halbwachs. Practices of cultural representation, civic manifestation and festive rituals were also present in the celebration of the memories of the history of scientific activity in Portugal, the scientific community and scientific institutions, from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. We pointed out three steps; first the memory of the history of science in Portugal through the images *manufactured* by foreigners, especially by the Italian scientific review *Archeion*; second the domestic *manufacture* of a national memory of scientific culture and the role-played by the Portuguese Group of History of Science; third moment, the Commemorations of 1940 and the 8th Congress of the History of Portuguese Scientific Activity coordinated by Joaquim de Carvalho the famous professor of Philosophy from Coimbra's University. The Portuguese scientific community entered the workshop of the History of Science just as it found it in the period (1930-1940), revealing a 'brave new world' for the field of the cultural and social construction of the scientific memory and showing us today how scientists in Portugal as professionals and intellectuals play identity games!

Keywords

Scientific Culture; Commemorations; Cultural Practices; Portuguese 20th Century – New State

1. The Memory of Science in Portugal

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The study of the social construction of memory, recalling Maurice Halbwachs (1968), was of fundamental importance for the intersection of Positivism and the historiographic recording of the social, mental, and cultural life of the late 19th century and the 20th century. An unequivocal sign of this fixation of memory by Late Modern History, marked by several series of commemorative and celebratory events, was provided by the work carried out by the French State in connection with the bicentennial of the French Revolution. The work entitled *Les Lieux de la Mémoire* (NORA, 1984-1993) also enables us to open up perspectives on the commemorative rituals of 20th-century scientific practice in the Portuguese world. We would point to recent studies by Fernando Catroga (1998; Torgal, 1996), Sérgio Campos Matos (1998), Francisco Bethencourt (1997), Maria Isabel João (2002) and Luís Andrade (2001) examining the cycles of the construction of an ideological, political and national memory.

Practices of cultural representation, civic manifestation and festive rituals were also present in the celebration of the memories of the history of scientific activity in Portugal, the scientific community and scientific institutions, from the late 19th century to the mid-20th century. Witness the 3rd Jubilee and the 2nd Centennial of the Lisbon Science Academy (1779), the 1st Centennial of the Lisbon University Science Faculty and the Oporto University Science Faculty (1911); likewise the commemorations of Pombal's Reforms at Coimbra University (1772) and the 1st Centennial of the Lisbon Geographical Society (1875). These were institutions which played a leading role in the construction of a scientific memory in the context of the public understanding of science by the Portuguese scientific community and in the public sphere. Thus, it is relevant to recall the kaleidoscopic character of the collective memory (Bethencourt, 1997), while remembering that the first steps towards the creation of a history of science and sciences in Portugal were only recently taken (Torgal, 1996). At the international level, academia points towards the practice of scientific commemoration as a subject for study with a range of potentialities (*Commemorative Practices* (1999): *Osiris*; *On Time* (2000): *The British Journal Of History Of Science*).

The year 1872, in Portugal, marked the beginning of a series of scientific commemorations. The resolutions issued by Júlio Máximo de Oliveira Pimentel, the Rector of Coimbra University, set out a grammar of references for the commemoration of Pombal's Reforms: European modernity imposed on the country by Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. Historical Memories, fashioned by the Faculties of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Medicine constitute a grammar of the scientific and social construction of memory, fixed by means of publications produced by Coimbra University, events, biographies and collective histories, thus the form of a scientific period: 1772-1872 was sculpted (Pimentel, 1873).

During this era, certain publications had a major impact in Portugal: José Silvestre Ribeiro's eighteen-volume: *História dos Estabelecimentos Científicos em Portugal*; and Teófilo Braga's: *História da Universidade Portuguesa*. The wave of affectivity which Teófilo Braga wrote about, which would collectively envelop the nation around the figures of Camões and Pombal, is also present in this commemorative and scientific symbolic capital, defining the origin of modern scientific culture in Portugal (Braga, 1884).

The scientific commemorations of the 1930s, a stage when the *Estado Novo* (the New State) was establishing itself, enable a survey to be carried out of the different types of knowledge and images manufactured by the Portuguese scientific community. It produced and organized the scientific collective memory with the result that the die of national identity was cast, covering the period from the

20th century back to the origins of the emergence of the Modern State: the era of the Discoveries. Looking at the past, hidden away in archives and libraries, allows for the discovery of a memory of the history of science in Portugal, and leads us to an encounter with the institutions and individuals who put past events in chronological order, in an almost invisible dialogue with the Europe of the era.

We have selected the period from 1930 to 1940, which seems to be of fundamental importance in characterizing the nature of scientific activity in Portugal. There is evidence of various research activities: some researchers went to work in Paris on scholarship, such as the physicist Mário Silva of the Coimbra University Science Faculty, who obtained a Ph.D. at Madame Curie's laboratory; research work was also carried out at the Chemistry and Physics Laboratories of the Lisbon University and Coimbra University Faculties of Sciences; some researchers received grants from the Institute of High Culture to carry out work abroad; work was also carried out at the Nucleus of Chemical and Physical Mathematics (1936-1939).¹ These are some indications of the kind of scientific activity carried out in Portugal (Fitas, 2000).

2. The Memory of the History of Science in Portugal: images *manufactured* by foreigners

Let us begin with the review *Archeion. Archivio di Storia della Scienza* (1919-1940), a repository of information that provides an understanding of the connection which was gradually established between Portuguese figures and the Europe of the History of the Sciences from the late 19th century through congresses, reviews, associations and scientific societies: the mechanisms of a new sociability, which provided an alternative to that of the science academies.

An Italian publication, *Archeion. Archivio di Storia della Scienza* was founded in Rome in 1919 by its editor Aldo Mieli (1879-1950), and had a great influence on the process for the internationalization of the History of Science in Portugal; it had a close relationship with the Paris review, *Revue de Synthèse*, edited by the historian Henri Berr. The subtitle of *Archeion* was *Organe Officiel du Comité International d'Histoire des Sciences du Centre International de Synthèse*, revealing very interesting information about the connection between the Portuguese History of Science Group and the review. In it, we find articles by the group dealing with the national scientific memory. The publication conformed to a fixed format, with four sections and a large number of contributors from different countries.

The first section comprised in-depth articles: original studies of aspects of World Science or European Science, written in French, English, Italian or German. Contributors focussed on important world figures like Newton, Torricelli, Buffon and Galileo Galilei, and existing scientific institutions, such as academies, universities, institutes and museums of science, or dealt with specific themes, such as the state of the education provided in the History of the Sciences in different European countries. The second section contained "Short Papers", brief informative items and short articles. The third section was made up of news, with articles about international events directly linked to the History of the Sciences: specialized items on the International Synthesis Centre and detailed reports from

¹ About this Nucleus, see the contribution of Fernando Bragança Gil, *Boletim da Sociedade Portuguesa de Matemática*, 2003.

international History of Science congresses held in Europe. Finally, the ‘Critical Analysis’ section provided information about international History of Science publications in the West.

The “Index of Contributors”, published annually for each volume, shows that they were drawn from all over the world: from Istanbul to Paris, Moscow to California, England (London, Oxford and Cambridge) to Spain (Madrid and Barcelona), as well as Turkey, the United States, Austria, Egypt, Japan, India, Morocco, Yugoslavia and Argentina. Portuguese contributors based in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra also featured in the index. Indeed, the list of contributors and subjects dealt with is as long as it is enlightening. There follows a list of Portuguese authors and the most important articles they wrote for the review: Luís de Pina, *L’enseignement de l’histoire des sciences au Portugal*; Alberto Pessoa, *Hospitais de Coimbra*; Joaquim de Carvalho, *Jacob de Castro Sarmiento et l’introduction des conceptions de Newton en Portugal*; Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *História da lepra em Portugal*; Fernando de Almeida e Vasconcelos, *Francisco Gomes Teixeira* and *Daniel Augusto da Silva et la constitution de l’astatique, Espagne*; Fontoura da Costa, *Armando Cortesão, Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI*; Arlindo Camilo Monteiro, *O prof. Ricardo Jorge. O cientista e o mestre[...]O historiador das ciências* and *Portugal: Grupo português da história das ciências* and *Les doctrines médicales de William Cullen en Portugal*.

There is no doubt that *Archeion* played an important role in legitimizing biographical models and encouraging the search for, and the systematization of, sources required for carrying out a reconstruction of the past at the national level, one which carried authority, and which was tempered here and there with a necessary dose of nationalism, order and conservatism.

One of the most important events of the 1930s was the holding of the 3rd International History of Science Congress in Portugal in 1934, which brought prestigious international figures in the field to this country. The congress had a major impact in the Portuguese cultural and mainstream press, and some international scientific publications also covered the event. In particular, let us examine the material published by the Science historian Georges Sarton in the *Isis*, a review of which he was editor. In the 1934-1935 edition, Sarton devotes considerable attention to the congress, which was held in Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon from 30th September to 6th October: “A complete account of the Congress will eventually appear in *Archeion*, and the proceedings will probably be published in the fullness of time by our Portuguese colleagues,” he wrote.²

The holding in Portugal of this international congress, at a time when the prestigious Colonial Exhibition was also being held in Oporto, provided the circumstances for the production of a critical and ironic discourse on Portuguese society by Georges Sarton. His memories of Portugal provide an emotive (and non-scientific) record of a country criss-crossed by innumerable tourist itineraries, its capital full of enchanting features recalling the great national idols of Portuguese culture, among them Camões, Almeida Garrett, Alexandre Herculano and Vasco da Gama. Along with these impressionistic memories, Sarton recorded the names of the Portuguese figures directly involved in the organization and holding of the congress: Arlindo Camilo Monteiro, Alberto Pessoa, Fernando de Almeida e Vasconcelos, Ricardo Jorge, and Fernando da Silva Correia – in other words, the group of people attached to institutions that were active in the field of the History of Science in Portugal, and who were responsible for organizing the meetings of the Portuguese Association for the Progress of the Sciences, jointly with the Spanish association.

² Georges Sarton, “Lusitanian Memories”, *Isis*, XXII, 1935-1935, p. 440.

George Sarton's *Isis* also provides a photographic record of the event, and the emotive response of the foreigner visiting a new country is manifest, as he discovers some of the museums and areas of outstanding beauty, recalls receptions attended and scientific excursions, and recounts the history of historic-scientific buildings such as Coimbra University and its 'annexes'. Summing up his experience of the meeting in a characteristically emotional register, Sarton writes: "However, the dearest sight, the loveliest thing I saw in Portugal – far humbler than any other, but more pleasing to my soul – was the fishing village of Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, it being a feast day: the anniversary of the Republic"; this provided the opportunity for an elucidatory footnote: "The Portuguese Republic was founded on 5th October 1910. The current President, General António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, is in fact a dictator. The Prime Minister, Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar was formerly a professor at Coimbra University; he seems to be a very wise and austere man, wholly dedicated to his task, and the main artisan of a new renaissance. He has realized that the principal requirement for a sound revival is the strengthening of the physical and mental well-being of the people. He has started a crusade for hygiene and social medicine, sports and cleanliness, which is as beneficial as it was needed"³.

Following this short note, which can be described as being journalistic in style, he recommends that for future international meetings the Portuguese scientific community should elevate the scientific debate and restrict academic ceremony, as there had been a notable excess of pomp and circumstance and a lack of scientific rigor; at the same time, the organizers were encouraged to remedy their notable lack of punctuality in programming events!

This point of view contrasts with the news coverage provided by *Archeion* and the Portuguese review *Petrus Nonius*, as we shall see below. The congress occupies pride of place in Volume 14 of *Archeion* of 1934, and the forty pages devoted to it constitute documentary evidence which can be reliably used for reconstituting the events that took place in the cities of Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon, while also introducing the different Portuguese figures who were associated with the History of Science in this country through institutional and official channels during the period. This material was disseminated to both subscribers of *Archeion* and contributors to the review, and was used in 1937 by *Petrus Nonius* as a support consisting of memories for the legitimization of commemorative and national scientific authority in connection with the events to mark the centenary of the Oporto Polytechnic Academy and the Lisbon Polytechnic School (1937).

3. The domestic *manufacture* of a national memory of scientific culture

A perusal of the review *Petrus Nonius* and the associated annual publication, *Anuário – Petrus Nonius*, enables direct access to the institutional framework of the history of science in Portugal. The review was widely disseminated between 1937 and 1938, and together with the complementary annual (a single edition was published, in 1937), is the public face of the Portuguese History of Science Group. Arlindo Monteiro was editor of both publications, and Joaquim de Carvalho, A. A. Mendes Correia, Fontoura da Costa, Ricardo Jorge, and Fernando de Almeida e Vasconcelos were all contributors. This new publication covered a range of different types of knowledge, focussing on fields such as Anthropology, Nautical Science, Philosophy, Mathematics, Hygiene and Public Health.

³ *Idem, ibidem*, p. 450.

Aldo Mieli and Arlindo Monteiro were the main figures behind *Petrus Nonius*. Besides the many articles they contributed, the review featured articles written by Portuguese authors which had previously been published in Rome, while other articles reflected the scientific concerns of the Portuguese Group, whose members were attached to the Faculties of the Science of Medicine at the Universities of Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. The review celebrated the glorious success of the 3rd International History of Science Congress (1934), initiated the debate on the History of the Sciences Education and commemorated the centennial of the opening of the polytechnics in Portugal in 1937.

Let us look firstly at the *Anuário* of the History of the Sciences, published by the Portuguese Group associated with the *Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences* (Lisbon, National Press, 1937). This unique publication contains neither any explanatory introduction nor any list of the names of those responsible for the Group joining the International Academy of the History of Science. It comprises seven articles focussing on the field of the History and the Memory of Science in Portugal and we again come across Fernando de Almeida e Vasconcelos (*Daniel Augusto da Silva-1814-1878*), Pacheco de Amorim, (*Nomenclatura dos grandes números*), and Luiz de Pina (*Tábuas Cronológicas das Ciências em Portugal no século XVI*).

In all these texts, the nation's past, centered on the figures of *national heroes*, provides the structure for the characterization presented, while they demonstrate a high degree of erudition on the part of the authors as regards the authorities and primary sources (both printed and manuscript) cited for the History of Science in Portugal. There are also short biographies and factual charts, and the illustrious names of the period of the Natural and Geographical Discoveries and the 18th and 19th centuries in the field of Mathematics in Portugal are revived. Biographical notes on 'illustrious Portuguese' mathematicians constitute raw material for a succession of generations dear to the historical imagination of the Portuguese Group: Anastácio da Cunha (1744-1787) *vs.* Daniel Augusto da Silva (1814-1878) *vs.* Francisco Gomes Teixeira (1851-1933).

A quick assessment would involve asking what the purpose of the *Anuário* was: did it constitute the Portuguese contribution to an international academy? First we must recognize the spirit of positivist History that the members of this scientific group introduced, seeking references in libraries all over Portugal and in some cases throughout Europe, cross-referencing information originating in different types of sources, and providing today's investigator with an extremely rich source of information. This approach enables us to understand the existence of links of intelligibility between memory, science and ideology as components of an architectural picture of nationalism, of fundamental importance for the Portuguese History of Science Group, which chose the period of the Discoveries as a commemorative **time** and the biographical treatment of the scientific figures of the 19th century as a **method** of approach.

There is a great difference between this publication and the review *Petrus Nonius* (1937-1938 edition), also edited by Arlindo Camilo Monteiro, to which the writers referred to above also contributed. It is evident that they were selected with the mediation of Arlindo Camilo Monteiro and Aldo Mieli. Little is known about the former, as he writes about the philosophical-scientific past of Portugal but never gives any indication about his specialist scientific field of intervention in Portugal in the 1930s. However, it is he who provides the most important link with the *Académie Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences*, the *Société Internationale d'Histoire de la Médecine*, the *Academia Hispano-Americana de Ciencias y Artes* and the committee of the Portuguese History of Science Group,

a role which pushes him into the forefront as regards the organization and holding of the Congresses of the Portuguese-Spanish Association for the Progress of Science in the 1930s and 1940s.

Let us return to *Petrus Nonius*, which aimed to publish documents, essays, articles on the history of the scientific disciplines, news about the Portuguese History of Science Group and similar groups abroad.

The review is divided into two parts: the first part is devoted to the documentation of the results of research carried out in the range of specialized fields of the History of the Sciences, and can be assigned the term 'Papers'; the second part is characterized by news reporting on events, books and publications, and scientific criticism, and the aim is to stimulate thought about the development of ideas in the scientific world, both at home and abroad.

The articles published are markedly erudite in tone, which is evident both from the text and the footnotes. *Petrus Nonius* established itself as a basic work of reference and a repository of information. There is a range of themes and forms of approach: biographies in context, life itineraries, for example of leading figures in the Azores, or the introduction of *sthalian* doctrines into Portugal in the 18th century, articles in the field of Medicine, and there is also an awareness of the importance of scientific sociability linked to sojourns in Portugal by European visitors.

News about scientific congresses occupies an important part of the content of the review. A prime example is the 3rd International History of Science Congress held in Coimbra in 1934, at which plans to hold the First Congress of the History of the Portuguese Expansion in the World were announced, and Manuel Múrias was named as secretary. As the mythical date of 1940 drew closer, readers were informed as to preparations in progress in the field of the history of science. 1937 was also a special year as far as commemorations are concerned, with equally important centennial celebrations: the centenary of the Lisbon Polytechnic School, the Lisbon Medical-Surgical School, the Oporto Medical-Surgical School, and the Oporto Polytechnic Academy. This provided an opportunity for drawing on the bank of information regarding the historical memory of these scientific institutions in this country. At the same time, the wave of official celebrations was of great importance to the Portuguese scientific community, with the holding of meetings, the presentation of papers and articles published in newspapers; the printing presses of scientific institutions were also kept busy, as feverish activity of a commemorative character was generated.

In the international news section of *Petrus Nonius*, the 'History of the Sciences Education' at universities was an important feature. "The Academy first pointed to the *need for the creation of History of the Sciences chairs at the main universities* at the Congress held in Paris in 1929, in the presence of the representatives of the governments of many different countries", according to the review edited by Arlindo Monteiro. International commemorations and celebrations also occupied a place of prominence, while an effort was made to make Portuguese readers feel part of a cosmopolitan scientific community. There is Lord Rutherford and his work, which the contributor of the Vice President of the Lisbon Section of the Portuguese History of the Sciences Group and ex-professor of the Naval School was responsible for coordinating; we mean Ramos da Costa, who brought the recent History of Radioactivity (1896), and the contribution made by the leading physicists of the age, such as Rutherford, Henrique Becquerel, Curie, McGill, J. Perrin and J. J. Thompson, to a Portuguese readership.

One may conclude that overall the work carried out by the Portuguese History of the Sciences Group led to the recuperation of references to the History of the Sciences in Portugal, taking into

account the cultural relations that this country had in each age. The works presented demonstrate a high degree of erudition on the part of the authors; all the articles published present a great capacity for revealing information held in libraries and archives, at the national and international level, and provide a foretaste of the kind of work carried out by Rómulo de Carvalho, as a historian of science, from 1953 onwards (Carvalho, 1997).

With regard to this era, the Lisbon Science Academy of the also reflects the way in which the scientific memory of the country was established. Tome I of the Class of Sciences (1936) launches the new series of the publication of the Memories of the Lisbon Science Academy with two works focussing on the History of the Sciences in Portugal by Francisco Gomes Teixeira and José Pedro da Cunha.

Gomes Teixeira, who had orally presented his text at the session of 2nd June 1918, praised Daniel Augusto da Silva, the 19th-century mathematician, while paying homage to the then President of the Academy, Virgílio Machado, and the President of the Republic, Sidónio Pais. His work contains a wealth of references connected with the History of Mathematics in Portugal. By carrying out a survey of Francisco Gomes Teixeira's arguments, we are able to gain an understanding of the way in which he combined the discourse of the historian with that of the mathematician, fashioning a fusion of the two while employing a plasticity of language displaying a solid cultural component, a seamless discourse involving Science, the Arts and the Humanities.

The contribution of Pedro José da Cunha, which deals with the Lisbon Polytechnic School, is based on work carried out at the beginning of the 1930s: "A contribution to the history of the Lisbon Polytechnic School. On the initial establishment of three permanent chairs in the philosophical sciences, which were provisionally established in the year of its foundation; a paper presented at the Academy sessions of 21st January and 4th February, 1937", a long title for an official and commemorative work!

There is no introduction to set the work in context, nor is it accompanied by any suggestions, considerations or frame of references, either national or international, and the only references are, in fact, to legislation and the minutes of juries, with brief circumstantial comments in order to link sequences of the various citations taken from 19th-century legislative texts. His assessment is dry in tone: "Shaking the dust off the archives, here is what we have been able to ascertain about the initial permanent establishment of the three Philosophy Chairs at the Polytechnic School, for which there was a necessity for provisional establishment in the year of its foundation."

In this 'model' of writing the history of scientific institutions, the only informative support we have is that of archive documentation, and there is no other material which might challenge the arguments presented, no notes of reflection or analysis, no criticism, and no setting of the work in context. The author, an academic and a member of the Portuguese History of Science Group, focussed his discourse on the presentation of legislative and political facts, the internal events of the Polytechnic School, which raises some doubts as to the way in which Pedro José da Cunha looked at the institutions of the era and the role that the History of Science could play in them. This was certainly a paradigm for the conception of scientific knowledge which was distanced from the one that Francisco Gomes Teixeira presented in the same volume of *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, published in 1936, while written and conceived within the Portuguese context of 1918!⁴

⁴ For both authors, see *Memórias da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa – classe de ciências*, tomo I, 1937, pp. 60-362.

4. The Commemorations of 1940

The New State attached special significance to 1940; there were Commemorations to celebrate the Centennial of 1140 and 1640 and a necessity was felt for organizing a series of Congresses of the Portuguese World. The main stage for these events was the Exhibition of the Portuguese World at Belém, in Lisbon, the capital of the Empire! In the field of scientific culture in Portugal, the 8th Congress is paramount; its theme was: *Discursos e Comunicações apresentadas ao Congresso da História da Actividade Científica Portuguesa*, and it was held in Coimbra, with Joaquim de Carvalho responsible for its academic coordination.⁵ The forty-seven papers presented at the congress by a large number of the members of the contemporary scientific community in Portugal were collected in two volumes.

The *Congresso de História da Actividade Científica Portuguesa* (Congress of the History of Portuguese Scientific Activity) was held in Portugal in 1940 to mark the centennial of scientific activity in this country.

Contemporary History, a human and social discipline, has approached the cultural activities arising from the commemorations from a fundamentally ideological and political stance, relegating into the background events that do not fit directly into narrative projects describing the cultural power mechanisms used by the New State. It was with a sense of discovering new territory that a survey was conducted of the papers presented at the scientific culture sessions of the 8th Congress of the Portuguese World.

A number of those attending the Congress were illustrious figures from the 20th-century scientific world: associates of the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Lisbon Science Academy) and members of the New State political administration. They included figures such as Diogo Pacheco Amorim, José Vicente Gonçalves, Pedro José da Cunha, Herculano Amorim Ferreira, Mário Augusto da Silva, Adriano Pereira Forjaz, Achilles Machado, Branca Edmée Marques, Kurt Jacobson, Mark Athias, Celestino da Costa, Américo Pires de Lima, Anibal Scipião Gomes de Carvalho, Gumersindo Sarmiento da Costa Lobo, A. A. Mendes Correia, J. Bethencourt Ferreira, Augusto da Silva Carvalho, Paulo Merea, Hernâni Cidade, Vieira de Almeida, Álvaro Júlio Costa Pimpão, Luís de Pina, A. Amorim Girão, Luís Cabral Moncada, Hernâni Monteiro, Augusto d'Esaguy and Paulo Merêa. A brief foray into the National Library database (www.bn.pt) has produced a summary bibliographical survey of their scientific achievements and the role they played in institutional life.

In the chronological hierarchy of memory as it exists today, the Enlightenment period, the founding age of science in this country, heralds the dawn of a new modern era, at the Congress symbolically embodied in the figure of Luís António Verney (MONCADA, 1940). A process of change was begun with the reform of the University of Coimbra of 1772, and accelerated with 19th-century scientific practice; the figure of the liberal intellectual, Alexandre Herculano, stands out as an advocate of the establishment of the *Escola Politécnica de Lisboa* (Lisbon Polytechnic School) (MERA, 1940).

Two cultural and scientific generations can be discerned from a survey of ideas presented in the Congress papers. There are firstly young authors still in the initial stage of their university careers,

⁵ For this subject, we have followed *CONGRESSO DO MUNDO PORTUGUÊS (1940)*, Lisboa, vol. XII and XIII (available at <http://bnd.bn.pt/memorias/ciencia/index.html>)

as we learn from their bio-bibliographies. The other generation includes those who were part of the late 19th-century republican positivist movement: A. A. Mendes Correia (1888-1960), Diogo Pacheco de Amorim (1888-1976), José Vicente Gonçalves (1896-1985), Herculano Amorim Ferreira (1895-1974), Américo Pires de Lima (1886-1966), António Pereira Forjaz (1893-1972), Celestino da Costa (1884-1956) and Mark Athias (1875-1946)⁶.

Images of scientific institutions

In the opening speech to the Congress (C.E.C./C.M.P., 1940a, XIX: 245-249), the past was presented as an era of exceptional thought. In this typology of *history/memory*, one can trace, once again, the shaping influence of the Historical Memories of the Faculties of the University of Coimbra, dating from 1872, with the scientific commemorations of the first centenary of the Pombal reform promoted by the Rector, Júlio Máximo Pimentel.⁷ When we read about an archaeology of words and things in various papers presented, it is clear how great their influence was.

Among the institutions which carried out research were the Laboratories and Observatories, symbols of a (new) era of professional scientific practice. Each of these scientific spaces gathered together a body of organized information reflecting their common historical origins in the 18th century: that is, the Portugal of the Enlightenment period, the era of Pombal, and the reformist revival of Queen Mary I. The next chronological staging post is that of the reforms following the September Revolution (1836-1837) and which provided the impulse for the establishment of the *Academia Politécnica do Porto* (Oporto Polytechnic Academy) and the Lisbon Polytechnic School.

Let us deal first with the Observatories and the University of Coimbra (LOBO, 1940). Besides the fact that science in Portugal began from nothing in 1772, what should be noted above all was the need for bringing the field of astrophysics up to date within our scientific community. From the standpoint of the present, we can discern the great leap forward, which paved the way towards development and progress.

For the Lisbon Observatory (MORAES, 1940), we have an account of an initial memory from the late 18th century, then we move on to the time when it was a synonym for modernity at the Lisbon Polytechnic School (Ferreira, 1940); here we have the scientific history of an institution, during which, at some point, modern science was born. In the field of astronomic observations we can also include the meteorological, with special relevance for the role played by the Lisbon Science Academy, the Marine and Marine Guards' Academies. Other themes dealt with at the Congress were scientific instruments and the history of the network of international links: in this field, the cosmopolitan aspect of science was underlined, supported by an impressive list of domestic and international publications in the science collection of the Lisbon *Observatório Infante D. Luiz*. There

⁶ These were figures who witnessed 20th-century developments. The *Colóquio da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (Meeting of the Lisbon Science Academy), held in 1985, enshrined many of these names in the pages of the *História do Desenvolvimento Científico em Portugal até ao século XX* (History of Scientific Development in Portugal up to the 20th Century).

⁷ *Memória Histórica da Faculdade de Philosophia* (CARVALHO, 1872); *Memoria Historica da Faculdade de Mathematica nos cem annos decorridos desde a Reforma da Universidade em 1772 até ao presente* (FREIRE, 1872); *Memoria Historica e Commemorativa da Faculdade de Medicina nos cem annos decorridos desde a Reforma da Universidade em 1772 até ao presente* (MIRABEAU, 1872).

was a similar narrative for the *Observatório Meteorológico da Serra do Pilar* in Oporto (Machado/Figueiredo, 1940), with references to military institutions, the Polytechnic Academy and joint enterprises with the national and international scientific press.

Let us now turn to the laboratory as a space for the scientific practice of Physics and Chemistry. The first example of the fixing of a memory of a laboratory is an important account in the field of scientific museum studies (SILVA, 1940) dealing with the attraction in artistic and scientific terms of the instruments of the 17th-century Physics Study Room. The Lisbon scientific community presented a paper on the jewel in the crown of the capital: the Polytechnic School Chemistry Laboratory, a space for the practice of science which galvanized those responsible for the discipline of Chemistry at the University of Lisbon Science Faculty (Forjaz/ Machado/ Marques/ Jacobson, 1940): it describes the repositories of 19th-century information and demonstrates evidence of the practice and the utility of Chemistry in Lisbon from the end of the 19th century up to the present, while no university was based in the capital until the Republic was founded! Linked to the Lisbon Chemistry laboratory, there is also an imaginary dialogue between Lisbon and Oporto based on the memory of the 19th-century Oportan tradition of Chemistry (Malheiro, 1940) centered on the Oporto Polytechnic Academy (1837) and popularized at the national and international level by the chemist Ferreira da Silva, founder of the *Revista de Chimica Pura e Applicada* (Pure and Applied Chemistry Review - Oporto, 1905).

National and regional scientific identity

The commemorations had a national, nationalist and patriotic flavor designed to foster the union of the Nation-State; however, the cultural and scientific landscape at the local and regional level was also represented in this portrayal of scientific activities. Papers presented enable us to identify the most important developments in Science in relation to only three cities: Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto; or rather Coimbra and Lisbon/Oporto! A closer examination reveals the search for elements of local scientific autonomy in a number of papers which celebrated the history of the scientific culture of the cities of Lisbon and Oporto. Meanwhile, the University of Coimbra was superimposed on this North/South background; in the national imagination, the university has always been paramount in the field of science and the leading higher education institution in this country (Carvalho, 1942: 55-63).

In this account, Oporto is characterized by a set of attributes associating certain aspects of knowledge with science at the local and regional level, as if this was a cultural specificity belonging solely to the members of the Oporto scientific community. Thus, we have a history of Mathematics in Oporto and a history of the professorship of Francisco Gomes Teixeira, which stand out among contributions focussing on mathematics and mathematicians at the national level (Amorim, Cunha, Gonçalves, 1940). There is also the construction of a scientific identity in the field of Botanic Studies, based on Drawing classes, in which an encyclopedic knowledge of species was cultivated, at the *Real Academia de Marinha e Comércio* (Royal Naval and Commercial Academy) in the early 19th century, and associated with the art of Domingos Sequeira and Vieira Portuense. Finally, Oportan science is represented by the only two scientific institutions in this country: the *Instituto de Zoologia* (Zoology Institute) and the *Estação de Zoologia Marítima* (Maritime Zoology Station), founded by Augusto

Nobre (Guimarães, 1940), the important late-19th century naturalist who carried out a great deal of scientific work in the first half of the 20th century.

Sectorial memories *vs.* the exchange of knowledge

There are clearly two main branches of the History of Science: the History of Mathematics and the History of Medicine in Portugal (Silva, 1999; Lemos, 1999). In the former field, the papers presented (Amorim, Cunha, Gonçalves, 1940) continue the tradition of the historical memory of Mathematics, from the writings of José Anastácio da Cunha and Garção Stockler to the reference works edited by Rudolfo Guimarães and Francisco Gomes Teixeira, and the pioneering work of Pedro Nunes, thus establishing a link with the Congress of the History of the Discoveries and the Congress of the History of the Expansion, which were held as part of centenary commemorations.

In the field of the History of Medicine (Fontes, 1940), the collective memory was built in a singular manner. Firstly, the role assigned to the medical glories of Portugal is dealt with on an individual level: Amato Lusitano and João Rodrigues; then there is the prominent role assigned to the Jewish medical community; and especially the role of António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches in the exchange of knowledge between communities, in which Jewish and New Christian medics were the heroes of science in Portugal, in 1940! (Carvalho, Dias, Esaguy, 1940).

Papers on the History of Medicine also highlighted the pioneering role of the Medical-Surgical Schools of Lisbon and Oporto, in contrast to the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Coimbra (Monteiro, Vilhena, Figueira, 1940). Marking a new stage in scientific development, new paths were explored for the advancement of Medicine, links being established with Radiology, Laboratory Analysis and Bacteriology, leading to the emergence of public health as a national scientific concern.

Focussing now on papers in the field of the History of Medicine within the framework of a theoretical approach to the Science of the Empire, we discover how the memory of the Medical-Surgical School of Goa (Melo, 1940) can be regarded as the key to a different scientific intelligibility: the identification of a Portuguese Anthropological School and the way it operated in the Empire (Correia/S. Serra, 1940; Tamagnini/ Serra, 1940).

Also linked to the dissemination of Science throughout the Empire, two new areas were covered by this historiographic survey: branches of science with a memory which is still comparatively short – Geology and Geography (Girão, Costa, 1940). For these fields of knowledge, the territories of the Empire constituted a laboratory for experimentation *par excellence*. Geological and geographical expeditions to the colonial territories formed part of the work of geographers and geologists, and the huge potential for such activities contrasts with the sparse repository of information constructed in these two fields. These papers set out guidelines for scientific practice to be applied both in the Portuguese home country and in the colonies as part of a scientific mission which can be designated as *Science for the Home Country*.

In the decade from 1930 to 1940, the Portuguese scientific community was invited to look retrospectively at the different fields of scientific knowledge in which it operated. The Congress of the History of Portuguese Scientific Activity, the 8th Congress of the Portuguese World, was innovatory in its selection of a thematic and temporal memory of the history of science in Portugal. Rejecting the maritime discoveries – scientific and technical aspects, and national heroes – it opted to focus on the 18th century as the inaugural period of scientific knowledge. In contrast with the reviews, *Archeion*

and *Petrus Nonius*, the two thick volumes of the proceedings of this Congress do, in fact, contain a different memory of science in Portugal, which is more dynamic, engages to a greater extent with European historical experience and above all attempts to construct – manufacture – an image of scientific knowledge legitimized by modernity and the construction of knowledge. The Portuguese scientific community burst in on the History of Science and took on the subject just as it found it in the period (1930-1940), discovering a ‘brave new world’ in the field of the cultural and social construction of scientific memory.

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Portuguese Studies at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth

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Situated in the region that boasts the oldest and largest Brazilian, Cape Verdean, and Portuguese community in the United States, the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth has, over the years, developed a strong commitment to Portuguese Studies. The teaching of Portuguese language at UMD began in the mid-sixties, and an undergraduate major was approved shortly thereafter. The first teacher of Portuguese was Gregory Rocha, a graduate of Harvard University, who was joined soon after by António Felix from the same institution. The latter ran a summer program in Lisbon in the 1970s. The first Portuguese lector from the Instituto Camões—then the Instituto de Alta Cultura, soon to become the Instituto de Língua e Cultura Portuguesa (ICALP)—arrived in 1969, launching a productive relationship that continues to the present day. Over the years and while located in the Department of Foreign Literature and Languages, the Portuguese program had on average 20 to 25 majors at any given time and between 150 and 200 enrolled in Portuguese classes students per semester.

In 1975, the University launched the Center for the Portuguese-Speaking World, led by Fred Gifun, Department of History, and Mary Vermette, College of Continuing Studies. In its twelve years of existence, this Center organized colloquia, summer programs in Lisbon and the Azores, and other cultural initiatives. The Portuguese Studies Group, begun in 1988 and lasting three years, inaugurated an oral history project and promoted *Saudade*, a documentary film on the Portuguese in New Bedford, directed and produced by Bela Feldman-Bianco, distinguished Visiting Professor in Anthropology from the Universidade de Campinas, Brazil.

In the 1990s, Portuguese at UMD entered a period of transition. Frank F. Sousa (Ph.D. UC Santa Barbara)—with financial support from the local Portuguese community, the Camões Institute, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Luso-American Foundation—developed the Summer Program in Portuguese in 1994. With well over 60 students a year since its inception, the program continues to be the largest of its kind in the United States.

Founded in 1996 with financial support from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Citizens Bank, and the Luso-American Foundation (FLAD), the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture (www.portstudies.umassd.edu), under the leadership of Frank F. Sousa, initiated a

considerable expansion of Portuguese studies at UMD. In 1997, with major underwriting from FLAD, the Center led the process to hire three tenure-track faculty, namely, Michael Baum, Ph.D. in Political Science (University of Connecticut); Andrea Klimt, Ph.D. in Anthropology (Stanford University); and Victor J. Mendes, Ph.D. in Portuguese (University of Lisbon). This accomplishment—in a tight fiscal year when the entire university hired just four tenure-track faculty—allowed the Center to develop fully into an interdisciplinary international studies and outreach unit dedicated to the study of the language, literatures and cultures of the Portuguese-speaking world.

In 1998, the Center, in collaboration with José Ornelas of the University of Massachusetts Amherst and Paulo de Medeiros, then of Bryant College, launched *Portuguese Literary & Cultural Studies (PLCS)*, a semi-annual, multilingual, peer-reviewed, thematically oriented academic journal. *PLCS*, whose editor is Victor J. Mendes, aims to take stock of its scholarly field at the beginning of the twenty-first century, at a moment when the literatures and cultures of the vast and varied Portuguese-speaking world are gaining increased international visibility and interest. The objective of the journal is for each volume to become a central point of reference in a relevant area of research. The first ten issues of *PLCS* have included essays by such noted scholars as Harold Bloom, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Lawrence Lipking, Michael Murrin, and Helen Vendler, along with contributions by prominent Lusophone intellectuals such as Eduardo Lourenço and Luiz Costa Lima. The journal has received considerable acclaim, including highly favorable reviews in the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *Washington Post*. Also in 1998, the Government of Portugal, through the efforts of its foreign minister Jaime Gama, made a large donation to the Center for development of a graduate program in Portuguese Studies and publication of pedagogical materials for teaching Portuguese.

In 2000, the Portuguese program hired the Brazilianist Dário Borim, Jr. (PhD, University of Minnesota). In the same year the Center led the effort to create a separate Department of Portuguese (<http://www.umassd.edu/cas/portuguese>). This fundamental step in the development of Portuguese Studies at UMD was made possible, in part, by another generous grant from the Luso-American Foundation. Frank F. Sousa was the first chair of the department, having held the position in 2001 and 2002. In its first year of operation, the department hired a fourth tenure-line faculty member, Anna Klobucka (PhD, Harvard). By fall 2002 the department had more than 40 majors and 300 students enrolled in Portuguese classes per semester. UMD students majoring in Portuguese take 33 credits of upper-level courses taught in Portuguese in the areas of literary and cultural studies of Portugal, Brazil and Lusophone Africa, including the required course 'An Introduction to Literary and Cultural Analysis'. They are also encouraged to fulfill their college and university distribution requirements in the fields of Humanities and Social Sciences by taking courses offered in other departments that focus on the Portuguese-speaking world, such as the History of Brazil, Portuguese in the Americas, or Cape Verdean Politics and Society.

In 2001, the Center established the Hélio and Amélia Pedroso/Luso-American Foundation Endowed Chair in Portuguese Studies, a rotating distinguished visiting professor program whose objective is to contribute to the needs of the interdisciplinary Portuguese program at UMD, particularly at the graduate level, as well as to support the publication program of the Center. Donald Warrin of the University of California, Berkeley, a specialist in Portuguese-American history and literature, held the chair in spring 2003 (in the Department of History), followed by

the renowned literary scholar Carlos Reis of the Universidade de Coimbra in 2005 (hosted by the Department of Portuguese).

In 2003, the Center launched two book series. The Adamastor Book Series aims to publish translations of poetry, fiction and essay. The series, whose general editor is Victor J. Mendes, has published *Chaos and Splendor and Other Essays*, the first collection of essays to appear in English by Eduardo Lourenço, Portugal's most celebrated cultural critic. Forthcoming volumes include *Transdisciplinary Readings of Garrett's Travels in My Homeland*; *Sonnets and Other Poems* by Luis de Camões, translated by Richard Zenith, with a preface by Helen Vendler; and *The Traveling Eye: Retrospection, Vision and Prophecy in the Portuguese Renaissance* by Fernando Gil and Helder Macedo. The second collection, the Portuguese in the Americas Series, publishes monographs in the social sciences, history and literary criticism, as well as works of imaginative literature, thereby contributing to the emergent field of Portuguese-American Studies by documenting the variety and complexity of the Portuguese experience in America. The general editor of the series is Frank F. Sousa; Andrea Klimt edits volumes dedicated to the social sciences. The series has published four volumes to date: *Portuguese-Americans and Contemporary Civic Culture in Massachusetts* by Clyde Barrow; *Through a Portagee Gate*, a memoir by the acclaimed author Charles Reis Felix; *In Pursuit of Their Dreams: A History of Azorean Immigration to the United States* by Jerry Williams; and *Sixty Acres and a Barn*, the long-awaited posthumous novel by Alfred Lewis, the most important Portuguese-American author of the twentieth century and the first to command the attention of the English-reading public, with reviews in the *New York Times* and other prestigious publications.

In 2004, the Center launched the Portuguese Language Textbook Series, whose first volume is a 600-page advanced grammar and composition textbook entitled *Mais um Passo no Português Moderno: gramática avançada, leituras e composição* by Francisco Cota Fagundes of University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The volume, whose editor was Victor J. Mendes, was sponsored by the above-mentioned textbook development grant from the Government of Portugal. The Center is now involved in a joint venture with Prentice Hall to publish a Portuguese language textbook for beginners, *Ponto de Encontro: Portuguese as a World Language*, whose primary author is Anna Klobucka.

In 2004, the University hired three more faculty whose scholarship is primarily dedicated to the Lusophone world, namely, Cristina Mehrrens (History), a Latin Americanist specializing in the history of Brazil; Isabel Rodrigues (Anthropology), whose research centers on Cape Verde; and Timothy Walker (History), a maritime historian with a focus on Portugal. These new colleagues are contributing significantly to the interdisciplinary scope of both the undergraduate and graduate programs in Portuguese.

In September 2004, the Department of Portuguese, chaired since 2003 by Anna Klobucka, launched the M.A. in Portuguese Studies. The majority of core and elective courses comprising the thirty-credit M.A. curriculum are taught in Portuguese in the disciplinary area of Lusophone literary and cultural studies, but students are also able to take up to nine credits from an interdisciplinary list of courses related to the Portuguese-speaking world, which are taught by affiliated faculty in other departments. The graduate program, directed by Victor J. Mendes, admitted eight students in its first year of operation, and is in the process of preparing to expand to the doctoral level. This year the department filled its fifth tenure-track position with its hiring of Gláucia Silva (Ph.D., University of Iowa), a specialist in Portuguese linguistics and language

pedagogy, who will teach such undergraduate and graduate courses as Introduction to Portuguese Linguistics and Teaching Portuguese as a Foreign Language, among others. This post was made possible by a generous grant from the Camões Institute.

In April 2005, the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture established the \$1.5 million Affonso Ferreira Portuguese-American Archives Endowment, an expansion of the efforts begun with the Portuguese in the Americas Series. This endowment will allow for the development of archives devoted to the collection of letters, unpublished manuscripts, diaries, historical photographs, newspapers and magazines, papers of fraternal organizations, videos, films, recorded music, passports, oral history recordings and transcriptions, among other materials. The objective is to build a unique and rich collection to be used by educators, scholars, family and community historians, filmmakers, exhibit curators, and journalists, among others. This initiative will lead to the hiring of an archivist and social historian or anthropologist/sociologist. The development of the Archives Endowment was made possible by the generous commitment of eight Portuguese-Americans, the Luso-American Foundation, and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, through its endowment-matching fund program.

Portuguese Studies at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth has developed a complex interdisciplinary program which allows for the preparation of students at the undergraduate and graduate levels and provides opportunities for its faculty to do research, publish, and work collaboratively within the university and with colleagues in other institutions.

The Rescue of the Documentation from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino relating to Brazil (1986-2004)

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“As an initial work, it is essential to undertake a patient, continuous and painstaking study of the papers of the Overseas Council... They encapsulate the true social and economic history of colonial Brazil.”

Oliveira Lima, 1913

Almost a century has now elapsed, but Oliveira Lima's judgement still rings true. A substantial part of the documentation that is indispensable for composing Brazilian history in the first centuries of the country's existence is still to be found in Portuguese archives and, most particularly, at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archive) in Lisbon. Or, rather, it used to be found there. The dream of many is now becoming a reality, for the documentation relating to São Paulo – including Paraná – is to be made fully available to researchers. Not only indexes, guides or excerpts, but the whole document: microfilmed, reproduced in the form of a CD-Rom and catalogued. To a certain extent, the prophesy of Capistrano de Abreu has come true when he said that it would be “necessary to spend many years there [at the Arquivo Ultramarino] without anything else to do, in order to finish the task.”¹

If we do not count the rare individual initiatives, the final effort to bring to a conclusion the “Barão do Rio Branco” Rescue Project is a clear example of a national research team acting on behalf of science and culture in a task lasting more than a decade. This is almost no time at all, if we recall that, ever since its foundation in 1838, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute) had already determined that one of its main priorities would be the recovery of those documents relating to the History of Brazil that were to be found overseas. There were many missions sent abroad with this end in mind, most frequently in the form of personal

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¹ The references to Oliveira Lima and Capistrano de Abreu are quotations taken from RODRIGUES, José Honório. *A pesquisa Histórica no Brasil*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Nacional, 1969. p. 85 and p. 95, respectively.

requests and tasks attributed diplomatic legations. In official terms, the poet Antônio Gonçalves Dias was the first Brazilian to be put in charge of the arduous mission of compiling an inventory of the documents in foreign archives. Overwhelmed by the immensity of his task, he did not feel greatly disappointed when he was replaced by João Francisco Lisboa in 1856, but nor did he inform him of what he had done or which documents he had copied. Acting under the advice of Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagem, the new missionary concentrated his efforts on the Arquivo do Conselho Ultramarino (Archives of the Overseas Council), where, he claimed, there was a whole collection gathered together that did not exist in Brazil. In fact, marveling at the great wealth of the archives, João Francisco claimed to have found a genuine “treasure trove”, an entirely scandalous chronicle of “weddings, kidnaps, concubinages, adulteries, thefts, mutinies, lampoons.”² But his original mission was to copy chronicles, memoirs, official documents, especially legislative acts and administrative deeds, statistics. A disagreement between copiers, a war of deafness and rivalry as to primacy, did not, however, prevent the arrival of the first reams of documents from serving as foundations for the national memory as planned by the Instituto Histórico.

The dream did not flag at all in São Paulo. The Committee for the Organization of the Festivities for the 4th Centenary of the City’s Foundation acted quite objectively. It hired Alfredo Mendes Gouveia, researcher and officer at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, to draw up the catalogue of the entries relating to the Captainship of São Paulo. 66 boxes and 5,113 documentary items were inventoried, the first of them referring to the year 1618 and the last one to 1823. In a rigorous and painstaking fashion, he distinguished the entries that merely deserved a mention from those that, because of their importance, ought to be reproduced in whole or in part. Between 1956 and 1959, the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (IHGB) published the results of the research in 15 special volumes, 13 with the entries and 2 with their indexes. What seemed to be the finishing touches to a successfully completed task later turned out to be an unfinished work.

In fact, almost half a century has elapsed since the commemorations of the 4th Centenary. And, as had been the norm, the celebrations were emulatory, producing some unique moments, in which the interest in the past was revived, galvanizing attention, motivating researchers, stimulating the critical spirit of intellectuals, creating the opportunity for action on the part of the public administration, producing a kind of necessary catharsis, a settling of scores with the present through its intersection with the past. This was the perfect moment to recover the collective memory, which had been petrified in the documentation. This was how things were in 1988/1989. Unusual years, for there were commemorations, in the best sense of the word, of the Abolition of Slavery, the *Inconfidência Mineira* and the Proclamation of the Republic, of the centenary of important milestones in our history. We included ourselves amongst those who sought more than to just create a symbolic representation, a living lesson of memorization that might rekindle the pedagogics of civility.³ It was also necessary to create conditions whereby the historical reflection could be deepened, so that certainties could be discussed and dogmas questioned. But how could this be done?

² Idem, *ibidem*, p. 65.

³ Cf. CATROGA, Fernando. *Ritualizações da História*. In: TORRALBA, Luís Reis; MENDES, José Amado; CATROGA, Fernando. *História da História em Portugal sécs. XIX-XX*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1996. p. 547.

Let us return to the sources. This was the first maxim of the Committee of Historic Events of the Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa (CNPq – National Research Council)⁴ created by its Chairman, Crodowaldo Pavan, in 1986, two years before the triple celebration. Besides making it possible to publish a hundred or so books, organize dozens of conferences, the Committee's *primum mobile* was centered on the reconstitution of the documentary heritage of Minas Gerais, and most particularly the valuable collection existing at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, for, unlike other regions such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco and Bahia, about which more or less complete surveys had been made, the documentation referring to Minas Gerais remained untouched. It was the financial resources obtained by the Committee from the office of the President of the Republic, when it was able to rely upon the special sensitivity of the President José Sarney, and the steps taken by his special adviser on cultural matters, Virgílio Costa, that made the programmed activities viable. Such extra, non-budgeted funds made it possible, for example, to proceed with the project designed by Professor Caio Boschi in close conjunction with the Arquivo Ultramarino, allowing for visits to and from Lisbon and the organization of local research teams, and instituting (not always easy) relations with the Portuguese functionaries, who were naturally jealous in their guarding of the valuable documentary treasure. In short, experience was gained in dealing with papers and people who had shown themselves to be useful throughout the previous process. Even so, it was necessary to engage the supplementary support of the Minister of Culture and of the Fundação Vitae to ensure that the documentation could be recorded on microfilm and CD-Rom, and, finally, indexed in a catalogue,⁵ more than a decade after the works had first begun.

But it was undoubtedly after 1994 that the work undertaken with the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino acquired a national dimension, fully assumed by the minister Francisco Weffort, in both institutional and personal terms, by transforming the “*Barão Do Rio Branco*” Project for the Rescue of the Historical Documentation about Colonial Brazil Existing Abroad into one of the priority aims of the Minister's period of office. For this purpose, he enjoyed the support of the great experience of Ambassador Wladimir Murtinho and Esther Caldas Bertoletti, a first-class cultural agitator, without whose efforts, spirit of initiative, capacity for enlisting people's help and attracting resources, we would not now be commemorating the completion of the project. A *tour de force* that would merit in itself a special chapter in the book *A Pesquisa Histórica no Brasil*, by José Honório Rodrigues, were he still with us. A minimal idea of what this collective effort amounted to may be gained by reading the chapter “Brasil-Portugal. Um mar-oceano de documentos”, by Esther Caldas Bertoletti, a special issue of the Revista Convergência Lusíada,⁶ in which a description is given of the painstaking work carried out by Brazilian and Portuguese technicians and researchers in ordering and definitively cataloguing

⁴ The CNPq's Committee of Historic Events was composed of Professors Fernando Antônio Novais, Francisco Calazans Falcon, Francisco Iglesias, Manuel Correia de Andrade, Caio César Boschi and José Jobson de Andrade Arruda (Chairman).

⁵ BOSCHI, Caio Cesar (Coord.). *Inventário dos Manuscritos Avulsos Relativos a Minas Gerais Existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisboa)*. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro, 1998. 3 vols. Coleção Mineiriana.

⁶ Cf. BERTOLETTI, Esther Caldas. “Brasil-Portugal. Um mar-oceano de documentos”. In: *Brasil e Portugal: 500 anos de enlases e desenlases*. Revista *Convergência Lusíada*, Real Gabinete Português da Leitura, 17, Rio de Janeiro, pp. 102-109, 2000. Special issue.

the manuscripts of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino relating to Brazil. A rare example of cooperation between the public sector, across ministries, funding agencies, state governments and offices, and the private sector in the form of foundations, companies, entrepreneurs and citizens.

The project's numbers are quite startling. In the first section of the Archives, which contains the collections referring to the period from the 16th century to 1833, 1,824 boxes are filled with 242,800 documentary items about Brazil. To be added to this is the collection of maps, charts and engravings with 600 specific codices and 200 others, in which Brazil appears together with the other Portuguese colonies of Asia, Africa and the islands, amounting to a total of roughly 50,000 documents. Of this vast collection of documents, no more than 40% were inventoried and only 20% had been published. Until now, access to this huge pile of documents had been the privilege of few people, only those who had obtained institutional support to undertake their research abroad. Statistics about the registration of researchers in the reading rooms of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino show that most of them were Brazilian. There were 2,214 Brazilians as against 1,513 Portuguese between 1990 and 1996, almost 50% of the total, for, if we add together all the other nationalities represented, including the Portuguese, then we have a total of 2,204 researchers.⁷ This means that an average of 316 Brazilian researchers frequented the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino per year, most of them with travel expenses and living expenses paid for out of Brazilian public resources. Through these numbers, we have a preliminary assessment of the extraordinary gains in the cost-benefit ratio brought about by the investments made. However sizeable they may have been, they mean nothing in the light of the immediate short-term returns, from both the strictly financial and academic viewpoints, through the absolute democratization of the access to information.

Rescue of the São Paulo Documentation

It is within this auspicious context that one should place the *Project for the Rescue of the Sundry Manuscripts referring to São Paulo existing at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon)*, of the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP – the São Paulo State Research Support Foundation), which was under our coordination and enjoyed the supervision of Esther Caldas Bertoletti, the guidance of Heloísa Liberalli Bellotto as an archivist, and the collaboration of the researchers Gilson Sérgio Matos Reis, José Roberto de Souza, Eliane Bisan Alves and Paula Cristina dos Santos. But, above all, the vision of the foundation's Scientific Director, José Fernando Perez, was decisive in ensuring that the project was implemented and, with the approval of the appropriate consultants, making the necessary institutional support possible: resources so that the specialist technicians could organize the documentation abroad; interventions with the CNPq to ensure that grants were given to researchers under the scope of interagency cooperation agreements; a postdoctoral scholarship allocated to the project in Portugal; resources for microfilming at the Arquivo Ultramarino; funding for the transformation of the microfilms into CD-Roms in Rio de Janeiro; support for the completion of the documentary indexes and those of place names, proper names and subject-matters; co-publication of catalogues and, finally, the reception of Portuguese and Brazilian researchers at the closing conference: *The History that is born from the Rescue Project*, which had its

⁷ Cf. ABRANTES, Maria Luíza Meneses. Fontes para a História do Brasil Colonial existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. In: *Acervo*, Revista do Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 10, No. 1, p. 24, Jan./Jun. 1997.

natural counterpart in the event entitled *The History Agenda for the New Millennium*. For, whilst the documentation was being made available to researchers, reflections were being made at the same time about the possible avenues to be followed in its application in terms of scientific and cultural cooperation between Brazilians and Portuguese.

The result of the research that is now being published is a clear demonstration that Alfredo Mendes Gouveia's Herculean effort is still incomplete. Besides the 66 boxes with 5,113 documents, which had been inventoried by him and have since been reduced to seventy rolls of microfilm, another thirty boxes were located giving rise to another 33 rolls of microfilm, containing 1,383 documents, the first referring to the year 1664 and the last to 1830. This is the same as saying that 27% of the documentation had not been inventoried, much less published, and therefore represented a most important provision. In total, the known documents about São Paulo increased from 5,113 to 6,496, and this repertoire is now available to researchers in full, on 103 rolls of microfilm deposited at the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo; on CD-Roms, which will be donated by FAPESP to all the State Public or Private Universities that have History or similar courses and, at best, will lead to absolute democratization via electronic means through the SCIELO Project. Let us remember that the documentation was reproduced in its computerized entirety through the use of modern technologies and not just copied. It is therefore error-free.

In order to make knowledge about the dossiers even more accessible and widespread, a three-volume catalogue was compiled. The first will contain the new entries, which provide references to 1,383 documentary pieces and their respective indexes; the second and third volumes will contain the revised entries included in the catalogue produced by Alfredo Mendes Gouveia, with the indexes of proper names and place names that had been prepared by him.

The first volume of the catalogue was quite notably enriched. Besides the entries, its basic raw material, it contains a color insert referring to the Iconographical and Cartographic Documentation, also including the indexes and various appendices: the listing of the Commanders of the Captainship of São Paulo; the control of the units of installation, which gives an account of the number of boxes, as well as their chronological limits and the number of documents contained in each of them; an explanation of the methodology, drawn up by Gilson Sérgio Matos Reis and Heloísa Liberalli Bellotto; a specific text on the Conselho Ultramarino, by Gilson Sérgio Matos Reis, the administrative body that was the main repository for the great mass of documents; and, finally, a glossary of the types of document by Heloísa Liberalli Bellotto, which is a fundamental instrument for finding out about the types of documentation and is accompanied by actual examples taken from the primary sources. The Catalogue of Iconographical and Cartographic Documentation is a most valuable inclusion. There are 34 plates reproduced in their original colors in a special insert. Only two of them were included in the book *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*, the recently published and very sophisticated album of pictures by Nestor Goulart Reis.⁸

Documentos Manuscritos da Capitania de São Paulo (1618-1830)

⁸ REIS, Nestor Goulart. *Imagens de vilas e cidades do Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: EDUSP/ IMPRENSA OFICIAL, 2000. The first reproduction contains the façade, the interior and exterior ground plan of a church (c. 1746), p. 192; the second reproduction shows a map of the town of Santos. Original by João Massé, c. 1714, p. 197.

ARRUDA, José Jobson de Andrade Arruda (Coord.). Catalogue I, vol. 1, 2000. 340 pp. Catalogues II and III – summarized re-edition of the Catalogue by Alfredo Mendes Gouveia. vol. 2, 2002. 804 pp.; vol. 3 (in print).

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Rescue of the Minas Gerais Documentation

At the time of the bicentenary of the *Inconfidência Mineira*, the historian Caio Boschi designed the project for the organization and microfilming of the 13,969 documents on the Minas Gerais captainship existing at the Arquivo Ultramarino. The project was approved by the CNPq's Committee of Historic Events, set up precisely with the aim of promoting a survey of the sources, publishing and republishing important books, organizing scientific events, related with the commemorations of the Abolition of Slavery (1888), the Mining Indiscretion (1789) and the Proclamation of the Republic (1889). The resources originating from the Office of the President of the Republic and passed on to the CNPq, created the conditions for the project to be developed in Portugal. Until then, it had simply been a question of recovering documents from the Arquivo Ultramarino, without the title of Rescue. This name came into existence after 1994, when the Ministry of Culture, under the management of Professor Francisco Weffort, took responsibility for the rescue of all of the Archives' documents, thereby turning it into a project on a national scale. At this moment, the essential stage of registering the entries of the documents had already been completed, a task that was performed between 1989 and 1991. This preliminary work was essential, since the procedure that was later applied to the other captainships was developed from this. The three-volume catalogue was published in 1998 with the support of the Fundação João Pinheiro, containing summarized entries about the original documents that were particularly important for facilitating the researcher's work, besides detailed indexes that directed attention to the documents referred to in the catalogue's first two volumes. All of the documents were recorded onto 174 rolls of microfilm and then condensed into 54 CD-Roms. All this means that, even without its being given the title of a Rescue Project, such action did in fact effectively begin in 1989 under the auspices of the Committee created by the CNPq in 1986.

Inventário dos Manuscritos Avulsos relativos a Minas Gerais existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Lisboa (1680-1832).

BOSCHI, Caio C. (Org.). 3 vols., 1998.

Fundação João Pinheiro/ Centro de Estudos Históricos e Culturais/ Secretaria de Estado do Planejamento

Alameda das Acácias, 70 São Luís – Pampulha CEP 31.275-150 Belo Horizonte – MG

Tels.: (31) 3448-9722 3448-9696 (Fax)

Rescue of the Espírito Santo Documentation

In the 1970s, a first experiment was carried out into the organization of the documentation relating to the Espírito Santo captainship by the researcher João Eurípedes Franklin Leal. In the context of the Rescue Project, it fell to the paleographer Gilson Sérgio Matos Reis to begin the reordering of all the material in order to make it available over the Internet on the home page of the Arquivo Público do Espírito Santo. The respective catalogue, published in 1998, was accompanied by the indexes through which documents are searched for. Besides the support of the Office of the State Secretary of Culture for the publication of the catalogue, the project also received funding from the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, in Portugal.

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Espírito Santo (1585-1822)

LEAL, João Eurípedes Franklin (Org.). 1 vol., 2000. 170pp.

Arquivo Público Estadual/ Secretaria do Estado da Cultura e Esportes

Rua Pedro Palácios, 76 Cidade Alta CEP 29015-160 Vitória – ES

Tels.: (27) 3223-2952 e-mail: ape@coplag.es.gov.br versão on-line: www.ape.es.gov.br (sold out)

Rescue of the Sergipe Documentation

Just as had happened in the case of Espírito Santo, the documentation corresponding to the Sergipe captainship had been given preliminary treatment in the 1970s by Professor Maria Thetis Nunes, who devoted her attention to reading and summarizing the entries referring to all the documents that had already been located. The final task fell to the historian Gilson Sérgio Matos Reis, who added to the original documents new sets of documents located in the course of the survey undertaken at the Arquivo Ultramarino, amounting in total to 619 documents, microfilmed and scanned onto CD-Roms, with the support of the State Government, the Ministry of Culture, the CNPq and the Fundação Clemente Mariani.

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania de Sergipe (1619-1822)

NUNES, Maria Thetis; SANTOS, Lourival Santana (Orgs.). 1 vol., 1999. 185pp.

Editora da Universidade Federal de Sergipe

Avenida Marechal Rondon, s/n Cidade Universitária CEP 49100-000 São Cristóvão – SE

Tels.: (79) 212-6786 212-6922

Rescue of the Mato Grosso Documentation

The documents relating to the Mato Grosso captainship existing at the Arquivo Ultramarino were given a preliminary examination by Professor Maria Cecília Guerreiro de Souza, a task that was commissioned by the Regional Historical Information and Documentation Center of Mato Grosso Federal University. From the nine documents found in the Archives, it was possible to enlarge and consolidate the initial collection, arriving at a total of 2,221 pieces of document, with their respective summarized entries, a task that was led by Lélia Rita Euterpe de Figueiredo Ribeiro, with the support

of various institutions, but, above all, with the help of the Casa da Memória Arnaldo Estevão de Figueiredo.

Catálogo de Verbetes dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania de Mato Grosso (1720-1827)

FIGUEIREDO, Arnaldo Estevão de (Org.). 1 vol., 1999. 527pp. (sold out – currently being reprinted).

Casa da Memória Arnaldo Estevão de Figueiredo

Avenida Calógeras, 2163 Centro CEP 79002-001 Campo Grande – MS

Tels.: (67) 324-2093 www.casadamemoria.org.br

Rescue of the Ceará Documentation

The first work undertaken in relation to the documentation from the Ceará captainship was carried out in the 1970s by Professor Maria Célia de Araújo Guarabira, who, with the support of the Fundação Gulbenkian, compiled a catalogue containing the summarized entries listed in an index. This catalogue served as a basis for later work, when the documentation was completely reorganized, for many documents were moved from their original positions, placed in chronological order, enlarge with the new materials found and, finally, re-entered on the basis of a new paleographic reading and standardized in accordance with the criteria established for the Rescue Project as a whole. Because there had been a 30% increase in the documentation, a new index had to be made, compiled by Professor Gisafran Nazareno Mota Jucá, amounting to a total of 22 rolls of microfilm for all the documents, which were recorded onto 3 CD-Roms.

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Ceará (1618-1832)

JUCÁ, Gisafran Nazareno Mota (Org.). 1 vol., 1999. 358pp.

Fundação Demócrito Rocha/ Jornal *O Povo*

Avenida Aguanambi, 282 CEP 30.055-402 Fortaleza – CE

Tels.: (85) 255-6270 255-6276 (fax) e-mail: fundacao@povo.com.br

Rescue of the Alagoas Documentation

Only one CD-Rom was needed to record all the documentation from the Alagoas captainship, with its 532 summarized entries. The researcher Lourival Santana Santos was responsible for the organization of the documents at the Arquivo Ultramarino, a task in which he enjoyed the support of Alagoas Federal University and the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Estado (State Historical and Geographical Institute).

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania de Alagoas (1680-1926)

SANTOS, Lourival Santana (Org.). 1 vol., 1999. 190pp.

Editora da Universidade Federal de Alagoas/ Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Alagoas

Rua João Pessoa, 382 Maceió – Alagoas

Tel.: (82) 223-7797

Rescue of the Rio Grande do Norte Documentation

The documentation from the Rio Grande do Norte captainship existing at the Arquivo Ultramarino was organized in the 1970s by Professor Ivoncísio Meira de Medeiros, when he made an inventory of a total of 400 documents that served as the basis for the definitive survey undertaken by the Rescue Project. Entrusted with this task, Professor Fátima Martins Lopes devoted her time to searching in the piles of documents from other captainships for documents relating to Rio Grande do Norte, in other words for pieces that had been mistakenly placed or relocated in the bundles of documents of the Captainship of Rio Grande de São Pedro, or of adjacent or neighboring captainships, such as Pernambuco and Bahia. The final result of her efforts was the discovery of another 284 documents which, when added to the original 400 documents, formed a collection of 684 pieces, recorded onto 12 rolls of microfilm and stored on a CD-Rom, with the support of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico (Historical and Geographical Institute) of Rio Grande do Norte.

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Rio Grande do Norte (1623-1823)

LOPES, Fátima Martins (Org.).

Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte

Campus Universitário s/n Lagoa Nova CEP 59.078-970 Natal – RN

Tel.: (84) 215-3236 215-3206 (fax) *e-mail:* edufnu@editora.ufrn.br

Rescue of the Santa Catarina Documentation

In the 1970s, the historian Walter Piazza read and microfilmed the documentation from the Santa Catarina captainship, specially geared towards the study of the Azorean colonization of the region. This survey served as the basis for the work undertaken at the Arquivo Ultramarino by Professors Élio Cantalício Serpa and Maria Bernadete Ramos Flores, which resulted in 619 documents recorded on 11 rolls of microfilms and one CD-Rom. Besides the support of the Fundação Vitae and the Ministry of Culture, the project also enjoyed the support of FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo – the São Paulo State Research Support Foundation) given that, in the colonial period, the documentation listed there was also of interest to researchers from São Paulo.

Catálogo de Documentos Avulsos Manuscritos referentes à Capitania de Santa Catarina (1717-1827)

FLORES, Maria Bernadete Ramos; SERPA, Élio C. (Orgs.). 1 vol., 2000. 174pp.

Editora da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

Campus Universitário Trindade Caixa Postal 476 CEP 88010-970 Florianópolis – SC

Tels.: (48) 331-9408 331-9605 331-9686 331-9680 (fax) *e-mail:* edufsc@editora.ufsc.br

Rescue of the Goiás Documentation

Nothing had been done with regard to the organization of the documents relating to the Goiás captainship. Starting from scratch, several researchers pored over the documents, enjoying the support of the Bank Boston, Goiás Catholic University and the Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos do Brasil Central (Central Brazil Research and Study Institute). The work resulted in the CD-Roms and catalogue that includes 2,950 summarized entries.

Catálogo dos Verbetes dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania de Goiás existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa-Portugal (1731-1822)

TELES, José Mendonça (Org.). 1 vol., 2001. 529pp.

Sociedade Goiana de Cultura/ Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Históricos do Brasil Central/ Universidade Católica de Goiás/ Apoio UNITINS

Avenida Universitária, 1069 Setor Universitário Caixa Postal 86 CEP 74.605-010 Goiânia – GO
Tel.: (62) 227-1311 e-mail: ipehbc@bol.com.br

Rescue of the Rio Negro Documentation

This was the former name of the present-day State of Amazonas and the documents referring to it were mixed with the documents from the captainships of Pará and Maranhão. For this reason, the task was undertaken by an experienced researcher, Professor Caio Boschi, who had already dealt with the Minas captainship, resulting in a painstaking work that required successive revisions. 750 summarized entries credited to the Rio Negro captainship were recorded on 21 rolls of microfilm.

Catálogo do Rio Negro: Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Rio Negro (1723-1825)

SANTOS, Francisco Jorge (Org.). 1 vol., 2000. 249pp.

Editora da Universidade do Amazonas/ Museu Amazônico

Avenida General Rodrigo Octávio Jordão Ramos, 3000 Bl. L Minicampus Aleixo CEP 69.077-000 Manaus – AM

Tels.: (92) 644-2242 234-3242 e-mail: edua@fua.br

Rescue of the Rio Grande do Sul Documentation

The set of documents labeled as Rio Grande do Sul existing at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino included documents referring to Rio Grande do Sul itself, but also documents on the Colony of Sacramento and the border regions. It was a complex task to disentangle the documentation in such a way as to sort it into the right pigeon-holes, requiring painstaking paleographic work on the part of the researchers, for there were documents written in Spanish and French, which called for special attention on the part of the professors given the task of dealing with the Rescue of the Rio Grande do Sul Documentation, Helen Osório, Susana Bleil de Souza and Ana Regina Berwanger. As had been the case with the Santa Catarina captainship, FAPESP joined forces with the Fundação Vitae and the Ministry of Culture to make the project possible, considering it to be of important historical interest for the São Paulo captainship.

Catálogo de Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos referentes à Capitania do Rio Grande do Sul existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa

BERWANGER, Ana Regina; OSÓRIO, Helen; SOUZA, Susana Bleil de (Orgs.). 1 vol., 2001. 239p.

CORAG – Companhia Rio-grandense de Artes Gráficas

Avenida Aparício Borges, 2199 CEP 90680-570 Porto Alegre – RS

Tel.: (51) 3339-4242 e-mail: corag@via-rs.net

Rescue of the Maranhão Documentation

The team led by Professor Caio Boschi organized the 13,118 summarized entries relating to the Maranhão captainship, a task that, as we have seen, involved separating the documents relating to Maranhão from the captainships of Rio Negro and Pará. The support of the state governments, together with that provided by the Committee of Portuguese Discoveries and mainly by AUVEPAR/MA, made it possible to complete the rescue of the documentation of the three captainships, which was stored on almost 200 rolls of microfilm.

Catálogo dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos relativos ao Maranhão existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (1614-1833)

BOSCHI, Caio C. (Org.). 1 vol., 2002. 662pp.

Co-edition of the Fundação Cultural do Estado do Maranhão/ Academia Maranhense de Letras

Arquivo Público Estadual

Rua de Nazaré, 218 Centro CEP 65010-410 São Luís – MA

Tel.: (98) 232-4544

Academia Maranhense de Letras

Rua da Paz, 84 Centro CEP 65.020-450 São Luís – MA

Tel.: (98) 231-3242

Rescue of the Pará Documentation

Documentation catalogued by the same team as the one that worked on Rio Negro and Amazonas, led by Professor Caio Boschi. 13,000 documents were identified relating to Pará, according to the criteria adopted for the three kindred sets. Besides the support of the institutions already referred to in the Rescue of the Maranhão Documentation, the State Public Archives also took part in the case of Pará.

Catálogo dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Pará existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino de Lisboa

BOSCHI, Caio C. (Org.). 3 vols., 2002.

Editora SECULT (Secretaria da Cultura)/ Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará

Travessa Campos Sales, 273 Comércio CEP 66.019-050 Belém – PA

Tel.: (91) 219-1111

Rescue of the Piauí Documentation

These documents were still untouched and their cataloguing was only possible thanks to the support of the Rector of Goiás Catholic University and the collaboration of the various researchers who worked on other captainships. They amount to 1,716 summarized entries stored on 37 rolls of microfilm.

Catálogo dos Verbetes dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos da Capitania do Piauí existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa-Portugal (1684-1828)

TELES, José Mendonça (Org.). 1 vol., 2002. 350pp.

Sociedade Goiana de Cultura/ Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Históricos do Brasil Central

Rua 233, 141 Setor Universitário CEP 74.605-120 Goiânia – GO

Tel.: (62) 227-1143 e-mail: ipehbc@bol.com.br

Rescue of the Paraíba Documentation

In the 1970s, preliminary cataloguing work was undertaken by Professor Elza Régis de Oliveira. Under the scope of the Rescue Project, she was joined by Mozart Vergetti Menezes and Maria Vitória Barbosa de Lima, who completed the summarized entries of the 3,523 documents located in the Arquivo Ultramarino.

Catálogo dos Documentos Manuscritos Avulsos referentes à Capitania da Paraíba existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino de Lisboa

OLIVEIRA, Elza Régis de; MENEZES, Mozart Vergetti de; LIMA, Maria da Vitória Barbosa de (Orgs.). 1 vol., 2001. 655pp.

Editora Universitária/ UFPB

Caixa Postal 5081 Cidade Universitária CEP 58.051-970 João Pessoa – PB

Tel.: (83) 216-7339 www.editora.ufpb.br

Rescue of the Documentation relating to the Colony of Sacramento and the River Plate Region

As we have already said, the part of the documentation relating to the Colony of Sacramento and the River Plate Region, contained in the boxes existing at the Arquivo Ultramarino that were labeled as the border regions, Uruguay, Paraguay and Buenos Aires, was mixed in with the specific documentation relating to Rio Grande do Sul. Professor Sérgio Conde de Albite Silva took charge of its organization, with the support of the Fundação Vitae and the Real Gabinete Português de Leitura.

Catálogo de Documentos da Colônia do Sacramento e Rio da Prata existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa (1618-1843)

OSÓRIO, Helen (Org.). 1 vol., 2002. 375pp.

Editora Vitae/ Real Gabinete Português de Leitura

Information: Projeto Resgate – resgate@mincrj.gov.br

Rescue of the Pernambuco Documentation

The team led by Professor Maria do Socorro Ferraz Barboza was one of the largest working at the Arquivo Ultramarino. Not only because of the volume of documentation, but especially because the boxes had been excessively rummaged through, which had resulted in the displacement of the covers of documents or part of them, the work took some time to be completed. Catalogues are still awaiting publication by Pernambuco Federal University, which have reproduced more than 33,000 summarized entries recorded on 350 rolls of microfilm.

Catálogo dos Documentos Avulsos da Capitania de Pernambuco. (in print).

Editora da Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco

Rua Dom Manoel de Medeiros, s/n Dois Irmãos CEP 52171-900 Recife – PE

Tel.: (81) 3302.1011

Rescue of the Bahia Documentation

A part of the documentation relating to the Captainship of Bahia was catalogued between 1910 and 1950 by Eduardo de Castro e Almeida and Luisa da Fonseca, in a total of 30,000 documents originating from 185 boxes existing at the Arquivo Ultramarino. There still remained 248 boxes with 20,093 documents, whose summarized entries were made by a team of six researchers. All the documents were listed in a consolidated catalogue, since the documents of the different series complemented one another.

Catálogo da Documentação Avulsa da Bahia. (in print).

Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia

Rua Augusto Viana Canela CEP: 40110-060 Salvador – BA

Tel.: (71) 263-7075 263-6160 e-mail: edufba@ufba.br

Catálogo de Eduardo de Castro e Almeida dos Documentos da Capitania da Bahia e do Rio de Janeiro

Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. 9 vols.

Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro

Avenida Rio Branco, 219 CEP 22040-008 Rio de Janeiro – RJ

Tels.: (21) 2220-9367 2220-4173 (fax)

Catálogo de Luisa da Fonseca dos Documentos da Bahia

Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia, 1950.

Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia

Avenida Sete de Setembro, 94 A Piedade CEP 40060-001 Salvador – BA

Tels.: (71) 329-4463 329-6336 (fax)

Rescue of the Rio de Janeiro Documentation

The cataloguing of a small part of the documentation was carried out by the same Eduardo de Castro e Almeida who had worked on the cataloguing of the documents about Bahia. From 1910 onwards, the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library) published the detailed and extensive entries, corresponding to 88 boxes. Another 350 boxes remained containing an enormous mass of documents, worked on by a team of 6 Brazilian researchers supported by another 3 Portuguese researchers. The full availability of the documentation on Rio de Janeiro is essential not only for understanding the history of the state today, but also for the rest of Brazil, for many of the documents relate to other captainships as Rio was the capital of the colony for a very long time.

Catálogo dos Documentos Avulsos do Rio de Janeiro. (under preparation).

Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro

Avenida Rio Branco, 219 CEP 22040-008 Rio de Janeiro – RJ

Tels.: (21) 2220-9367 2220-4173 (fax)

Rescue of the Codices, Iconography and Cartography

Besides the separate documents, the Arquivo Ultramarino preserves almost 800 Codices, which were gathered together on 230 rolls of microfilm by the researcher José Sintra Martinheira, who works for the archives. His work incorporated new entries, comparing them with the old entries made by the archives' former director, Alberto Iria. This documentation is extremely important for completing the group of documents forming the Rescue Project, for it consists of drawings and illustrations, many of them in color.

The iconography and cartography included in the separate documents or in the Codices amount to a special project within the Rescue Project itself. Because of their nature and quality, they have been reproduced in card form, for which the complete series will consist of 1,200 pieces with maps or sketches of cities, fortresses, buildings, drawings reproducing flora and fauna, watercourses and even pictures of the region's inhabitants.

Catálogo dos Códices do Fundo do Conselho Ultramarino relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

MARTINHEIRA, José Joaquim Sintra (Org.). 1 vol., 2001. 183p.

Real Gabinete Português de Leitura/ Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/ Editorial Nórdica

Tel.: (21) 2221-2960 e-mail: nordica@iis.com.br / resgate@mincrj.gov.br

Catálogo dos Documentos Manuscritos da Secretaria do Conselho Ultramarino(1642-1833). REIS, Gilson Sérgio Matos (Org.). 1 vol., 2002. 298p.

Real Gabinete Português de Leitura/ Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian

Tel.: (21) 2221-2960 e-mail: resgate@mincrj.gov.br

Catálogo da Documentação Iconográfica-Cartográfica. (under preparation).

Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.

Avenida Rio Branco, 219 CEP 22040-008 Rio de Janeiro – RJ
Tels.: (21) 2220-9367 2220-4173 (fax)

Future prospects of the Rescue Project

Based on the information provided by Esther Caldas Bertoletti, the national coordinator of the Rescue Project, there are many aims included under the scope of this project. As far as microfilming activities are concerned, work is expected to be either completed or started at the French, Dutch, Spanish, British and North American archives, whilst the investigative activity at the Torre do Tombo, in Portugal, is also due for completion. Publication of the Guides to the Sources of the Italian and British Archives has reached the phase of translation or final revision; publication of the Guide to the American Archives is in print at the Universidade do Sagrado Coração (EDUSC); publication of the Catalogue of the Documents of the Vatican's Secret Archive is at the stage of microfilming, revision of the entries and completion of the indexes; thematic catalogues are being prepared based on the collection of documents brought together by the Rescue Project, involving the definition of specific extracts from the documentation relating to Indians, blacks, women, the Church, education, taxes, etc.

The ultimate aim is to make all the entries and scanned pictures available online, a project that is already taking shape with the appearance of the Centro de Memória Digital (Digital Memory Center) at the Universidade de Brasília, which, on 19 April 2004, placed the documentation relating to São Paulo, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul on the Internet and is shortly due to complete the transfer of the 280 CD-Roms that have already been made and the remainder that are yet to be prepared.

Rescue Project – Digital Memory Center

www.resgate.unb.br

The History that is born with the Rescue Project

It is undeniable that the core of the documentation has to do with the political and administrative relations between the metropolitan government and the colonial authorities. It therefore lends itself to the historical reconstruction of the relations of power between the world of the Metropolis and its Colonies, the actions taken by the State in relation to its captainships and by these amongst themselves. For this reason, a substantial part of the documentation refers to the organization and exercise of metropolitan bureaucratic power in the colonial space: the filling of official posts, pensions, licenses, litigation; the structuring of military bodies, applications, confirmations, letters patent. But it was not just this. The colonial administration was omnipresent: it saw and heard everything, reporting everything to the powerful authorities overseas, a kind of Foucault-like panoptic society acclimatized to the new world, capable of invading all aspects of life in the colonies, from the public to the private, craftily drawing up collective rules for living together under such singular conditions of existence as those presented by "life in the colonies". The documentation consequently has a high level of historical density that can obviously be completed with information from other sources. It tells us about the land, a vital element in the process of territorial occupation, because it

deals with land grants. It tells us about men, by bringing us the correspondence of the Senado da Câmara (Municipal Council), allowing us to glimpse population maps, the conflicts expressed in lawsuits and official inquiries, the condition of convicts, slaves, Indians and women. It tells us about production, the essential question of food, trade, the different ways of appropriating surpluses through tithes and taxes, the meticulous organization of the system for the mining of precious metals, timber extraction. It tells us about the mapping of the territory, roads and waterways, the unrestrained activity of smugglers at the entrances to harbors. It tells us about religious life, the behavior of the clergy, their relations with the authorities, amongst themselves and with the population in general. It tells us about everything, in short, about men and angels.

The Catálogo Geral da Documentação Iconográfica-Cartográfica (General Catalogue of Iconographical and Cartographic Documentation) is undoubtedly an original compilation of great historiographical value, as well as important in terms of images and aesthetics. It is divided into three main parts. The maps, numbering 15 in total, express the need for exercising control over space and dominating the territory, which because of its immeasurable vastness could only be circumscribed and comprehended through the almost imaginary lines of their authors, even though these nonetheless reveal certain strategic dimensions in the exercise of power in relation to their competitors. Indeed, the skilled Portuguese cartographers, working in their studios, cunningly and deliberately distorted dimensions for geopolitical purposes, shortening or lengthening distances whenever this suited them,⁹ providing a magnificent example of the ideological manipulation of cartography.¹⁰ These cartographers, capable of defining with great accuracy the strategic places for including Portuguese fortresses on their maps, despite contending with immense landmasses and vast coastal perimeters with jagged outlines, were essential pieces in the project for colonization, nerve centers for the exercise of power. Town planning is shown through the detailed plans for hospitals, barracks, prisons, town halls, churches and public buildings, although these could also be used for a project whose profile is easily identifiable in the enclosures to be found throughout rural Brazil, an example of the durability of material culture, which simultaneously exhibits the foresight of the planners and the great wealth of the documentation itself.

The appearance of a vast mass of documents, of the size offered by the Rescue Project, places fresh challenges before the historical researchers of Brazil and Portugal. Indeed, it recovers the meaning of the classical *métier* of the historian, a person who was inadequately classified as “traditional” and tended to work above all with written records. By renewing historiographical horizons through the incorporation of new objects and approaches, the New History has expanded the range of supports for research: literary and artistic works, plays, popular festivities, architectural monuments, artifacts from the material culture. By broadening the documentary base used by the new generations of historians, in which the universe of images is equivalent to the world of written texts, it is easier to construct the interplay of representations, mentalities and imagery.

The documents originating from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, produced according to the immediate needs of public managers, have brought about a kind of protohistory, in so far as they

⁹ Cf. ROCHA, Luis Francisco Bitton Teles. *Práticas imagéticas nas retratações da Amazônia: séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*. (Master's Degree) Dissertation, São Paulo: PUC, 1999. especially p. 92, 115 and 252.

¹⁰ Cf. BLACK, Jeremy. *Maps and Politics*. New York: Reaktion Books, 1998.

provide guidelines for possible interpretation, as a result of their condition as anchor-texts and guides for the direction of analyses. From now on, the real question lies in the incentive that these documents will provide in the *milieu* of historians, now faced with the problem of the multiplicity of available resources and a variety of analytical possibilities. Undoubtedly, these compilations will cause some disquiet, that kind of feeling that normally opens the doors of creative imagination, a renewing breath of fresh air that is so good for restless minds.

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Masters Dissertations in Early-Modern Portuguese History

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

The dissertations cover a wide variety of themes, and deal with several sub-disciplinary approaches, focusing on areas such as historical demography, social, economic, urban and rural, military, religious, political, and cultural history. This collection of dissertations on the whole represents a well-balanced, accumulated body of knowledge that has indisputably contributed to the development and enhancement of the historiographical field of Early-Modern Portuguese History. However, they do not include the dissertations which cover the same chronological period but deal specifically with Portuguese overseas subjects. Due to the particular way in which Portuguese academic institutions organize colonial and overseas topics, these have their own Masters Degrees which were listed in the previous issue of the *e-JPH* (vol.2, n.1).

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

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List of Dissertations in Early-Modern Portuguese History

Abreu, Ilda, «*O Príncipe dos Patriarcas S. Bento*» de Frei João dos Prazeres e a *Literatura Política do séc. XVII na Península Ibérica*, CHC, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998.

- Abreu, Maria José Camecelha de, *Da prática do poder político: Relações Portugal-Espanha (1578-1640)*, CHC, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995.
- Afonso, António Jorge, *Portugal e o Magrebe nos finais do Antigo Regime*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1999.
- Almeida, Joana Estorninho de, *Saber é Poder? Os estudos jurídicos como acesso a grupos sociais de poder no Antigo Regime (século XVII)*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2000.
- Alves, Maria Manuela dos Santos, *Esposende – Sociedade, Administração e Poder nos finais do antigo regime (1789-1834)*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade do Minho, 1998.
- Antunes, Ana Maria Pessoa de Oliveira, *D. Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo, 1º Duque de Cadaval: 1638-1727*, 2 vols., Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1998.
- Araújo, Elisabete Marinho de, *A Criança e a Educação Doméstica no século XVIII*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1996.
- Baptista, João Augusto das Neves, *Matosinhos entre a terra e o mar. As estruturas socio-profissionais na segunda metade do século XVIII*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2000.
- Barata, Maria da Guia Carvalho Pereira do Rio Vicente, *Do Iluminismo ao Liberalismo. A caminho da homogeneização dos níveis de alfabetização e da criação de um mito: o alfabetizado – Os exemplos de Aguiar de Sousa e Melres (1750-1820)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1993.
- Barosa, Ana Paula Félix Rocha de Sousa, *O Colégio de S. Paulo da Universidade de Coimbra. Estudo Económico e Social (1700-1834)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2002.
- Barros, Abel Ernesto Barbosa, *Entrada de Sebastião de Mattos de Noronha no Norte do País – 1618*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1999.
- Belo, André Murta, *As Gazetas e os Livros. A Gazeta de Lisboa e a Vulgarização do Impresso em Portugal (1715-1760)*, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 1998 (Publ.: *As gazetas e os livros a gazeta de Lisboa e a vulgarização do impresso (1715-1760)*, Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2001).
- Biléu, Maria Margarida, *Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, Intendente Geral da Policia: inovações e persistências*, CHC, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1996.
- Borges, Emília Salvado, *Homens, fazenda e poder no Alentejo de setecentos: o caso de Cuba*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1997 (Publ.: Emília Salvado Borges, *Homens, fazenda e poder no Alentejo de setecentos: o caso de Cuba*, Lisboa, Colibri, 2002).
- Borrallheiro, Rogério Capelo Pereira, *O Município de Chaves entre o Absolutismo e o Liberalismo – 1790/1834 – Administração, Sociedade e Economia*, Universidade do Minho, 1997 (Publ.: Rogério Capelo Pereira Borrallheiro, *O Município de Chaves entre o Absolutismo e o Liberalismo (1790/1834). Administração, Sociedade e Economia*, Braga, Ed. Autor, 1997).
- Borrecho, Maria do Céu, *D. Maria I. A formação de uma rainha*, CHC, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1994.
- Braga, Ana Maria Santos Nóbrega de Oliveira, *Para uma história do casamento em Portugal nos finais do Antigo Regime: o quadro normalístico*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1991.

- Braga, Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond, *O Mosteiro de Guadalupe e Portugal: contribuição para o estudo da religiosidade peninsular dos séculos XIV a XVIII*, 2 vols., Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1990 (Publ.: Isabel M. R. Mendes Drumond Braga, *O Mosteiro de Guadalupe e Portugal: séculos XIV-XVIII: contribuição para o estudo da religiosidade peninsular*, Lisboa, Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 1994).
- Brigola, João Carlos, *Ciência e Política: Do pombalismo ao liberalismo*. Francisco Simões Margiochi, CHC, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1990.
- Brito, António Pedro da Costa Mesquita, *Patriciado urbano quinhentista: as famílias dominantes do Porto (1500-1580)*, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 1992 (Publ.: António Pedro da Costa Mesquita Brito, *Patriciado urbano quinhentista: as famílias dominantes do Porto (1500-1580)* Porto, Câmara Municipal-Arquivo Histórico, 1997).
- Caeiro, Maria Margarida Castro Neves Mascarenhas, *Concepções da vida e da morte no Portugal filipino*, 2 vols., Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1990.
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The most recent historiographical trends with regard to slavery in the modern age consider it to be one of the most important elements that enabled the incorporation of the New World into the international economy. Based on the principle that the vast and extremely fertile agricultural tracts of land in America were worth very little in themselves, this theory opines that America's assimilation into the world economy came about on account of the regular introduction of African slaves. It was this forced black labour that enabled the European nations to fully reap the benefits of their conquests in the New World, both when one considers the case of the sugar industry in Brazil, the Caribbean and the Antilles, the fishing, tanning and lumber trades in New England or the mining industries in Brazil and the Spanish Americas.¹ Slavery and its associated mechanisms thus unified North and South America, Europe and Africa, with the Atlantic Ocean as the medium that brought these three continents together enabling the circulation of people, products, capital, services and ideas, giving rise to a triangular economy between the European kingdoms, the American colonies and the slave ports of Africa.²

The book in question, *O trato dos viventes. Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul. Séculos XVI e XVII*, is set within this framework while studying the formation of Brazil against the backdrop of the Southern Atlantic region, more specifically, that of Angola, which was viewed as an area known for the supply and generation of the slaves who sustained the plantations and mills on the other side of the Atlantic. Although economic history predominates in this work, what we find, in fact, is a study of comparative history that, in many cases, extrapolates the previously defined geographical boundaries and predetermined chronological limits. The book reflects upon the inevitable issues with regard to the Spanish colonies, whose markets were deemed to merit priority in the placement

¹ This perspective can be found, for example, in the studies that constitute the anthology co-ordinated by Barbara L. Solow, *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1991, where, in fact, a version of the first chapter of Alencastro's work was published, entitled "The Apprenticeship of Colonization".

² This triangular colonial economy in the case of the Portuguese in the South Atlantic was superbly brought to the fore by Frédéric Mauro, *Le Portugal, le Brésil et l'Atlantique au XVII^e siècle (1570-1670). Etude économique*, Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1983.

of slaves despatched from Portuguese ports, acquired in exchange for a significant volume of gold, silver, Venezuelan cocoa and other American products; the relations and power games between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon and the Dutch republic; the decline of the sugar production of the islands of Madeira and São Tomé, as well as the rise of competing markets in the Caribbean islands and the Antilles; an understanding of the internal political, diplomatic and economic relations of the African kingdoms and territories and the networks of authority and influence that governors, missionaries and adventurers endeavoured to obtain with the African monarchs and local rulers.

This work is based on the premise that, during the period under study, Brazil was a discontinuous colonial space, consisting of maritime enclaves, of which the most important ones were those of Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro or Bahia, and 'continental' spaces, consisting of Maranhão and São Paulo. In contrast to the 'Brazil' of the estate owners and African slave agriculture, who not only produced sugar but also manioc, sugarcane brandy and tobacco and raised cattle, and tended to give priority to this African trade, one can find another kind of 'Brazil': that of the expeditions and the *bandeirantes*, who used the Amerindians as a labour force and the hinterland as an area for expansion and economic development. This internal Brazilian market would be integrated into the circuit of Atlantic exchanges only in the 18th century, with the discovery of gold in the mines located in the interior.

For Alencastro, the colonial identity of the Brazilian maritime spaces, which was formed over the course of the 17th century, was thus based on complementary relations established with their counterparts on the other side of the Atlantic: Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco with Angola and Bahia with Cacheu and Mina. It is important to stress that these connections were unequal, the continuous construction of Brazil being carried out at the cost of the constant destruction of the western and central coasts of Africa, which supplied the slave labour that was so essential for the functioning of the plantations and mills in America.

It was these ties established between the coastal 'Brazils' and the ports of Africa that, in our opinion, gave rise to one of the most alluring questions dealt with by Alencastro in this work: that of the construction of a bi-polar Brazilian trade and, particularly, commercial relations between 17th century Rio de Janeiro, a port that was increasingly growing in stature, and Angola³. Generating its own dynamics, this trade was established and flourished outside the boundaries of continental Portugal and the 'classic' triangular trade between Portugal, its American colony and the African ports, fed by slaves and other products that the slaves, who themselves were considered to be merchandise, could transport or consume.

The notion that the commercial ports on both sides of the Portuguese Atlantic were joint targets was a strategic element that was easily perceived by the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch⁴. Likewise, it was also the origin of the opening of the Luso-Brazilian military front that dislodged the Dutch *West-Indische Compagnie* from Angola and that sought, by means of wars against the Angolan *sobas*, contraband and pillages, to supply black slaves to the Hispanic American markets during the

³ On this subject cf. Maria Fernanda Bicalho, *A cidade e o Império: o Rio de Janeiro na dinâmica colonial portuguesa*, Ph.D. thesis presented at the University of São Paulo, 1997.

⁴ For the Dutch case see Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815*, Cambridge, New York and Victoria, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

governments of Salvador de Sá (1648-1652) and Rodrigo do Miranda (1652-1653) and, in a subsequent phase, to the sugar mills of the Brazilian Nordeste region.

It is within this 17th century understanding of the complementary relationship between the American ports and African enclaves that Alencastro explains the conquest of Angola by the Sás in 1648: as an enterprise that was aimed at sustaining the maritime commerce between Rio de Janeiro and the River Plate estuary, driven by the slave trade and silver from the Potosí mines. Alencastro uses a biography of Salvador Correia de Sá, his networks of influence, family ties with the aristocracy of the River Plate region and the disquietude manifested in Europe about a possible defection on the part of the Governor to the cause of the House of Bragança as an indispensable element for the study of economic and political phenomena in order to understand both this mercantile process as well as the political, administrative, religious, social and economic hegemony of Rio de Janeiro.

The same methodology is also utilised to approach the presence of the veterans of the war to restore Portuguese rule over Pernambuco during the re-conquest of Angola, with celebrated individuals such as João Fernandes Vieira or André Vidal de Negreiros at the forefront.⁵ For the expansionist desires of a political and agrarian aristocracy that considered Brazil (their Brazil) to be too small to satisfy their social, political and economic ambitions, Angola then appeared as a site of small recompense, albeit with a flourishing trade in contraband and profitable pillages of Africans, who were transformed into slaves to enable the economic growth and prosperity of the mills of the Nordeste region. When used in this perspective, the biographical studies of the Sás or the veterans of the Pernambucan restoration afford a better understanding of the formative process of a new colonial nobility that appeared after the Restoration. It was precisely this nobility that the Bragança dynasty considered indispensable for the defence and preservation of Portugal's colonial conquests.

At the beginning of this review, we mentioned that the historiographical trend within which *O trato dos viventes* is integrated views the Atlantic as a unifying link. Alencastro expresses this position while reflecting that, intrinsically, Brazil was formed and extended itself in Angola: the oceanic winds and currents naturally linked the Brazilian ports to the African ones and facilitated the transfer of slaves from Africa to the detriment of transporting Amerindians between captaincies. In order to further substantiate this opinion, the author of this work thus mentions the flow of individuals on this circuit, not just limited to Africans, such as Brazilian *conquistadores*, settlers from continental Portugal, deportees and outlaws, vendors of sugarcane brandy and "hordes of common people". Likewise, he refers to the presence of the Dutch who, after conquering the Brazilian Nordeste region, recognised the need to occupy enclaves in Africa. He notes that, parallel to this traffic in slaves, a trade in commodities, that were connected or not with this commerce in humans, but predominantly aimed at the African market, also developed. Likewise, he emphasises the migration of plant species that not only afforded greater chances of survival while crossing this *middle passage*, but also nourished a substantial number of individuals in the trading ports while they awaited transport, consequently facilitating the rise of Luanda as a great slave port. Similarly, Alencastro mentions the transmission of diseases, albeit only in one direction: from Africa and Europe to America. The ocean was a medium for the circulation of individuals and the

⁵ Cf. José António Gonsalves de Mello, *João Fernandes Vieira, mestre de campo do terço de infantaria de Pernambuco*, Lisbon, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda restaurada. Guerra e açúcar no Nordeste, 1630-1654*, Rio de Janeiro, Topbooks, 2nd edition, 1998.

transportation of goods, the transferral of economic inducements and political ambitions, the transplantation of techniques of war and destruction, the acclimatisation of crops that altered alimentary habits, men in Brazil who were enamoured by the adverse African climes and adapted their colonising experiences.

One of the most alluring aspects of this book is the way it reconsiders Brazilian colonial history, clearly evident in its reinterpretation and re-utilisation of well-known facts of traditional historiography to substantiate the theses presented therein. For example, we have mentioned that the author works on the premise that, in the 17th century, there were various 'Brazils' and, consequently, different policies of colonial exploitation. One of the arguments used to prove this is that of the simultaneous occurrence and contrast between "the two longest expeditions of the New World", or rather the Portuguese New World: the campaigns of Salvador de Sá in Angola, demonstrating Rio de Janeiro's interest in harnessing African labour and in territorial expansion in Angola; and the 'frontier *bandeira* expedition' by António Raposo Tavares, as an expression of São Paulo's desire to procure slaves from amongst the Amerindians who inhabited the hinterland. Until now, this relationship had not been suitably evaluated.

One can also consider another case: that of the participation of the *bandeirante* Domingos Jorge Velho in the destruction of Palmares. The *quilombo*, or hideout of runaway slaves, in Palmares and the nuclei of resistance to colonial domination have been studied in depth by historians and archaeologists.⁶ What is new in *O trato dos viventes* is the explanation Alencastro finds for the participation of a *paulista* in this enterprise. According to the author, Domingos Velho's involvement was justified not due to the acquisition of fertile lands (already occupied in São Paulo but abundant to the West) or indigenous labour (which, although increasingly difficult to obtain due to legal interdictions, was not completely inaccessible), but on account of the conquest of direct access to a maritime port that would facilitate the commercialisation of merchandise from São Paulo on the Atlantic circuit. However, we must observe that, for a novice reader, this need to seek a port north of the São Francisco River when access to ocean ports could be achieved through the Sea Route or *Caminho do Mar*, which connected the São Paulo plateau to Santos, utilising Amerindian porters, is not completely clear.⁷

This book also highlights the juridical and theological problems of slavery and the moral, ethical and religious considerations that this question prompted amongst secular and ecclesiastical thinkers. Over the course of various chapters, Alencastro delineates the legal contradictions between

⁶ As an example, see the studies by Pedro Funari, Richard Price, Ronaldo Vainfas and Sílvia Hunold Lara in João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (organisers), *Liberdade por um fio. História dos quilombos no Brasil*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1996.

⁷ One possible explanation can be found in John M. Monteiro. This author believes that the Amerindians were an efficient and economical means of transport but adds that, from the end of the 17th century onwards, the reserves of Amerindian labour were exhausted, prices of wheat fell and there were shortages on the market of Santos. Consequently, the economy of São Paulo declined, which was keenly felt from the 1670s onwards. Palmares was destroyed in 1694, although the presence of Domingos Jorge Velho is associated with Pernambuco from 1685 onwards, when he sought to carry out attacks against the Amerindians of the captaincy. The intentions of the governing authorities to use his services to destroy Palmares date from 1687 (cf. *Negros da terra. Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de S. Paulo*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1994, pp. 126; and Pedro Funari, "A arqueologia de Palmares. Sua contribuição para o conhecimento da história da cultura afro-americana" in *Liberdade por um fio*, p. 32).

the defence of Amerindian freedom and the apology for African slavery, mentioning how, in an initial phase, the blacks would attenuate social tensions that existed in Brazilian colonial society, divided between a defence of the Amerindians and their utilisation as forced labour. Likewise, he mentions the mechanisms for protection created by Portuguese colonial societies with regard to the Amerindians and Africans and, above all, reveals that, both in Brazil as well as in Africa, there were innumerable infractions and abuses, as well as unending confrontations: between legislation and local or pan-regional interests, between the governors and other elements of colonial societies, between secular and ecclesiastical entities. He also reflects upon the advantages that the alliances established with Amerindians and blacks afforded the Portuguese, as, for example, the latter were able to incorporate fearsome warriors such as the Potiguares or Jagas into Portuguese armies. However, he does not mention the corresponding benefits that the Amerindians and Africans hoped to obtain from these agreements.

What is extremely clear in this work is the process of “de-socialisation” and “depersonalisation” felt by these different ethnic groups on both sides of the Atlantic: between the Amerindians, devastated by recently introduced diseases, who had come down from their ethnic territories and settled in villages near the nuclei of Luso-Brazilian colonisation, serving as a protective shield for the colonisers against attacks from Europeans or other Amerindian groups; and with the Africans, objects of successive commercial transactions who were subjected to an extreme form of geographical uprooting and social and cultural disengagement.

While conceiving the formation of Brazil on the western side of the Atlantic, Alencastro believes that a familiarity with the intricacies of Angolan history is indispensable: not just an awareness of the relationships between the Luso-Brazilian conquerors and the Angolan people or that of the consequences of the slave trade on ethnic African communities. The conception of *O trato dos viventes* presupposes a juxtaposition of areas that, traditionally, are considered as pertaining exclusively to the history of Africa or that of colonial Brazil. In this way, with the same intensity with which he discusses the campaigns of Salvador de Sá, the author speaks of Jinga, the “man-eating” queen, of António I, Mani Mulaza, the King of Congo, a long-standing ally who was annihilated in the Battle of Ambuíla, or the fearsome Jaga warriors. He examines the existence of commercial circuits of trade that were inaccessible to Europeans and commercial fairs where slaves were bought and sold in the African interior where the Portuguese had a privileged position in comparison to the Dutch or English. Likewise, he mentions the image that Europe constructed of these exotic, barbaric and savage worlds at the heart of Africa, through the accounts of Capuchin missionaries or the embassies that the Congolese sovereigns would send to the Pope and to their European “brothers”.

Alencastro has elaborated this work, *O trato dos viventes*, based on a vast and up-to-date bibliography that has enabled him not only to substantiate a solid conceptual apparatus, but also to provide a vast amount of information about specific questions or particular geographical areas. It is necessary to make only one observation with regard to the bibliographical organisation that seems somewhat confused, grouped under the headings *Primary Manuscript Sources* (consulted in Portuguese, Brazilian and French archives), *Primary Published Sources* (collections, nobiliary histories, diaries, miscellanies, sundry transcribed documents, research instruments), *Works of the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries* (histories, treatises, chronicles, travelogues, treaties, sundry documents), *Other Cited Works* (in which he inserts 18th century sources that, however, are used in the text with the same relevance as primary sources, as is the case of the work *Ethiope resgatado* by

Manuel Ribeiro Rocha, published in 1758 (p. 186)) and *Unpublished Theses and Papers*. There are also formal inaccuracies in the bibliographic references.