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Table of Contents

Volume 3, number 1, Summer 2005

[ARTICLES]

Oporto: The Building of a Maritime Space in the Early Modern Period

Amândio Jorge Morais Barros

Interpreting the Portuguese War of Restoration (1641-1668) in a European Context

Fernando Dores Costa

The Restoration of Historic Buildings Between 1835 and 1929:

The Portuguese Taste

Lúcia Maria Cardoso Rosas

The Reluctant European.

A Survey of the Literature on Portugal and European Integration 1947-1974

Nicolau Andresen Leitão

[SURVEYS & DEBATES]

The Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown University

Luiz Fernando Valente

[INSTITUTIONS & RESEARCH]

The Associação Portuguesa de História Económica e Social:

The First 25 Years (1980-2005)

Pedro Lains

Ph.D. Dissertations in Modern and Contemporary History

The editors

[BOOK REVIEWS]

Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*.

Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005

ISBN: 9780674016880

Timothy Coates

Costa Pinto, António (ed.). *Contemporary Portugal: Politics, Society and Culture*.

Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2003

ISBN: 9780880339964

Paul Christopher Manuel

Oporto: The Building of a Maritime Space in the Early Modern Period

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Abstract

During the 16th century, while the Portuguese Crown was concentrating its best efforts on exploring the Cape sea route (“The India Run”), as well as the far-eastern circuits, from Lisbon, commercial shipping agents from other Portuguese seaports sought alternative outlets for their business. It was due to the existence of ports such as Oporto, Viana do Castelo, Vila do Conde, etc., long considered to be minor, that the Portuguese Kingdom was able to make its definitive contribution to the formation of the first Atlantic system. The present essay follows a tendency in modern historiography and pays attention to one particular case: that of the evolution of the city of Oporto, the building and organization of its seaport, its inclusion in an international port system, the mobility of its merchant fleet and the extent of their enterprise. The influence of the Oportan maritime space was felt across the Atlantic world and helped to improve European trade and the economic system of that period.

Keywords

Atlantic system, Early Modern period, maritime space, navigation, Oporto; seaport, shipbuilding, shipping, trade

1. The present essay consists of a brief summary of a thesis on the subject, which was defended at Oporto University, in the Faculty of Humanities, on October 20, 2004.

Traditionally, the study of both Portuguese and Iberian overseas trade, considered mainly from a macro-economic perspective, has been based upon research into sea routes, predominant colonial products, the rise and fall of different types of merchandise and trade circuits. From this point of view, the so-called imperial ports of Lisbon and Seville frequently appear as the only ones worthy of study, consequently minimising the contribution of other peninsular ports to the construction of the

Atlantic system. Furthermore, such study has tended to give primacy to external agents, as far as the development and success of trading initiatives are concerned.

My aim now is to provide evidence relating to the city of Oporto and its port activity. It will provide a microanalysis, in which we may clearly discern facts that were of far-reaching importance, and which, when set alongside other pieces of evidence relating to similar events, enable us to discover a constantly changing port, where we can see ships, capital funds and agents in constant movement. It will be seen that this activity contributed effectively to some of the most important changes occurring in the world economy in the Early Modern Period.

In the following pages, I shall provide evidence relating to some of the subjects mentioned above, as well as the main conclusions of the work. To begin with, I must say that the main purpose of this paper has gradually been modified in accordance with the various “reefs” or favourable winds that have steadily pushed it into other areas. I started with a provisional theme: “navigation and sea trade in Oporto”. My aim was to uncover data relating to trade with Brazil and Northern Europe. The more documents I consulted and the more information I gathered, the more difficult I found it to keep myself within these boundaries (and to restrain my ambitions). An alternative and more sensible title would perhaps have been “Oporto and 16th-century sea routes”, but even this title was a risk, for, as we frequently say, you cannot build a house by beginning with the roof. I needed to know the foundations that led to this trade and its many voyages. And I knew nothing about the geomorphology of the bar across the harbour’s entrance or about the port itself, port practices, ships, shipbuilding or the cordage industry. So I cautiously chose to begin research into these subjects and discarded the original, broader area of investigation, which was “the great sea trade of the 16th century”.

1.1. The first theme I turned my attention to was the “port organization of the city of Oporto in the 15th and 16th centuries”. After formulating a theoretical and historiographical account, which dealt not only with political, institutional, economic and territorial aspects, but also architectural features, such as the harbour buildings, paying special attention to the link between this latter aspect and the urban landscape, I studied the organization of space, works on the bar at the harbour entrance, security and protection, the ship’s holds, equipment, pilot guidance services, financial structures, religious viewpoints, and health and hygiene at sea, without forgetting other matters, such as the need for translation services or the provision of information for harbour users.

I also added some contemporary illustrations of Oporto and the Douro River which, together with historical cartography and photography, allow for a clearer and more accurate understanding of the space.

1.2. After this presentation of the layout and functioning of the harbour, the second theme consists of the study of the fleet and shipbuilding. I consider Oporto to have been a city actively engaged in shipbuilding. The collected information allowed me to list and chronicle the shipyards (*taracenas*) and dockyards on both banks of the Douro River. All urban spaces give the impression of having their own dynamics, so it was also important to establish links with other shipbuilders on the Portuguese coast. Afterwards I had to answer the question, “who took the initiative in ordering ships to be built?” The answer was private individuals and, naturally, the Crown. But meanwhile we can consider the system of undertakings and contractors, the groups interested in shipbuilding and the merchant networks they dealt with. At a time of large-scale fleet reorganization with scant public

finances, the State depended on agents to bring about effective renewals and introduce new ship models, such as galleons. Private involvement was only possible when individuals could summon great quantities of money, enjoyed influence in the circles of power or were represented in the various financial markets, where they could get shipbuilding materials and rely on rapid customs clearance. In fulfilling this last requirement and because of its longstanding network of contacts, Oporto was in a position to meet these demands.

The survey of ship models and shipbuilding techniques – an area that needs further research – led me to a subject that I studied carefully, namely the trade in shipbuilding materials: everything from the evolution of the cordage industry and the buying and selling of timber to nautical instruments and naval supplies. Shipbuilding, together with the manufacture of equipment and utensils and their respective trades, leads us into the world of labour and the commercial patterns of the Old Regime. My research revealed an organized and efficient universe, which was perfectly able to meet the demands placed upon it.

1.3. One of the tasks I considered to be of great significance was to discover the “composition of the fleet of Oporto”. For a long time, I had felt that it was necessary to move from generalities about ships and merchants to an accurate systematization: more specification, names, owners. To speak of twenty ships is quite different from describing a hundred or a thousand. I began with a list of data from the 15th century and then defined the profile of the fleet at certain specific moments in the 16th century (1520, 1558-9, 1573), finally putting all the information about the century together. This allowed me to detect evident contrasts between the several fleets under study, and to decide what their profile was. For example, at one time larger ships, the *naus*, predominated, and, on other occasions, the preference was for lighter and faster vessels, such as the *navios* and caravels.

1.4. The next step was to follow ships working on the Brazilian route (circa 1573) with the invaluable aid of insurance policies from the Consulate of Burgos (*Consulado de Burgos*). This provided evidence of the role of the city in the international exchange system; in the second half of the 16th century, Oporto clearly continued to maintain strong links with South American trade, relegating destinations which previously had been highly visited, such as the Mediterranean ports, to second place. Furthermore, Oporto came to define its vocation more clearly: it was more heavily involved in trade than in transport. So vital was trade that, besides being one of the main inlets for Brazilian sugar imports into Europe, Oporto also had its merchants heavily involved in what was the greatest and richest business at that time. This trade continued into the next century, not only within the city itself, but also with the Dutch Republic, with which Oporto had close connections. I also had to compare the Oporto fleet with other fleets such as those from Brittany, the Basque Country, Cantabria, Malaga and some English ports. This was a difficult task and I showed that such lines of research are far from being satisfactory, because of the various realities involved and the insufficient data available.

I compared the numbers, tonnages and functions of the ships and found some companies that were more involved in transport, whilst others were more interested in trade.

1.5. Then, to conclude my study of ports and ships, I analysed the “role of the parties involved in transactions”, establishing the ownership of vessels, their administration costs, their use in keeping with the company’s strategies and the ships’ profits. Finally, I needed to know how local

agents dealt with the infrastructures and the available resources. In order to do this, I had to analyse the performance of city tradesmen. By way of example, I chose “trade with the Islands” and, having adopted this perspective, I found that my research into maritime history was enriched by the fact of its being linked to economic and social matters. Although I frequently state that throughout the 16th century there was an increase in the number of vessels operating on the Brazilian run, it seemed to me more feasible at this juncture to study the trade relations with the Islands: Madeira, the Canaries, the Azores, São Tomé, Cape Verde; each of these destinations deserved an independent study. From the results, one may infer that, at the end of the 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century, Oporto succeeded in recovering the leading role and wealth that it had lost at the end of the medieval period. The Islands are shown to be a paradigmatic example of a sea route through which investment was aimed at more ambitious targets: the Atlantic trade, operating the Brazilian route and Castile’s Indies route. Some of them – like Madeira, or the Canaries – became important points of call for the Brazilian route although continuing to be important per se (for instance, we have a great amount of information about the sugar trade and wine commerce of these islands made by Oportan businessmen, not just for the Brazilian and West Indian markets). The Azores, too, held their own in terms of pastel production and remained a lure to Oportan traders.

I sought to establish the practices involved in such trade: the number of departures, which ships sailed, their frequency, emerging problems; as well as the business engaged in: wine trade, cereals, sugar, pigment plants for the textile industry such as woad (*Isatis Tinctoria*), among others.

2. The second volume of the thesis contains appendices: lists of charters for each run (or ship brokerage) and the identification of the vessels, as well as the publication of 125 previously unpublished documents, most of them being charter contracts, but also including some other interesting categories, all related to the question of maritime trade.

The sources must also be mentioned. They are, in fact, worthy of a chapter of their own. However, many of them are already known and have been studied by many before me, such as, for example, the municipal documentation (administrative deeds, town hall accounts, correspondence with the central government). To this I have nothing to add from the hermeneutic and heuristic point of view. Nonetheless, the main documentary evidence came from the records of the city’s notaries: powers of attorney, wills, contracts of charters, loans of money, accounting balances.

This specific documentation discovered only a few decades ago, previously being considered as notaries’ documents of minor importance; their real value was assessed by J. Bono y Huerta, J. Montemayor and V. Vázquez de Prada, who wrote books on merchant and credit activities and industrial skills under the scope of urban studies. Voluminous series of disorganised (i.e. unsummarised) papers, which were difficult to decipher, came to us in a very bad condition.

Here I attempted, and in my estimation succeeded, in finding the essential details about the merchant maritime history of Oporto in the 16th century: ships’ accounts, identification of shipowners and boatswains, logbooks, trade relations that might highlight the city’s international significance. Eiras Roel (1984: 13-30) warns us about the limitations of this legacy, raising the question of who goes to the notary and why, i.e. questioning the real importance of that documentation. How important are the cases from the notaries’ offices, when considering as a whole all the established and agreed occurrences, many of them taking place without the need for legal written records? We don’t know. But one thing is clear: for all of us who make use of the Portuguese archives,

even though these sources may be limited in number and less expressive than we might wish, they are nonetheless of enormous value for filling in the gaps of extant knowledge.

Next comes the question of veracity. Roel speaks of “dissimulation on the part of the notaries” when he deals with the payment of taxes or the distribution of profits. These are seldom mentioned. There is also the problem of “adequacy”: what do these protocols describe - social pressure, conventional practice by notaries or socially-fashioned collective attitudes, or all of these at the same time? But where are there documents that, in one way or another, are not manipulated? Finally, there is the question of sufficiency. What we have is not enough to uncover all the possible dimensions of social and economic life. Due to this, I decided to turn to distinct collections for help.

2.1. The notaries’ records were compared with other sources. Firstly, with the already mentioned municipal ones: town council deeds, judgements, general registers, financial and tax records. Next with Church documents, mainly those kept by the church’s chapters (judgements and treasury records were most useful). Then with those of the *São Pedro de Miragaia* Friary (or Confraternity), a charitable institution for seafarers, which had accounting ledgers similar to those kept by the town council. The records of central government were not to be ignored either. I even tried to obtain some information from the few, but nevertheless essential, documents relating to auditors’ and customs’ records.

3. Passing over to the main conclusions of my work, the “field work” revealed that there were settlements on both banks of the Douro River, which gradually spread from the city walls to the river’s mouth and whose populations were mainly engaged in fishing activities. They persisted in going to sea and in trading, overcoming natural geographical difficulties such as the bar of silt across the mouth of the river, full of ridges and of uncertain shape, and frequently deadly currents. This maritime-based life may be included in the model of a “behavioural geography” proposed by Hoyle and Pinder, and designed to study the settlement models of several communities.

Oporto clearly had a particular aptitude for seafaring life. Being the gateway and outlet for a large productive territory, it attracted intense traffic to its markets, warehouses and ships, these goods later being gradually sent on to more distant markets. The city became a seaport partly because of its links with its hinterland. Its medieval rulers fought for its political control, travelling to the country’s decision-making centres and speaking out on the city’s behalf, making demands and protests, obtaining privileges, controlling different trades – such as the salt trade – and pushing other competitors aside.

In this way, the city became the gateway to northern Portugal and indispensable for the nation’s trade. No time was wasted and it was soon organised as a commercial city that conducted its own trading activity, as well as that of all the northern districts of Portugal. No wonder many rich tradesmen were tempted to settle here, some of them permanently.

3.1. Initiatives for the building of a harbour had begun a long time before. The first mooring places were constructed as early as the 14th century in order to respond to the increasing demand. And, by the end of the Middle Ages, the Town Council had modernised these mooring places, establishing limits for the freight that could be transported and building loading and unloading bays, as well as moving the shipbuilding activity to the sandy shore of Miragaia, outside the city walls. The

boatyards (*taracenas*) on the shores were given over to shipbuilding. Galleys gave way to larger vessels (*navios*), caravels and *naus*.

Elementary quays were built; checkpoints on transhipped goods were created as were services for unloading ships. In the 16th century, there was already mention of harbour zones, with distinct sectors being created for river and sea traffic.

This activity soon gained international projection. There is mention of “the men who trade with France”. Such trade was determined by the reduced number of inhabitants: the city itself was unable to absorb and consume the volume of merchandise in circulation and the main trade was directed towards satisfying foreign markets.

However, there is a lack of documentation enabling us to fully understand the ways in which the entrepreneurs operated. The only available documents come from the Town Hall, and so all that we hear are the voices of those in power. In several records, we find papers relating to sailors’ confraternities in which we can find mention of ships. Here there appear a great number of *naus* and *barinéis* (smaller boats used on the Mediterranean), but rather less mentioned are the caravels. We can also identify active boatswains, pilots, sailors, carpenters and caulkers, otherwise retired at the hospice of the Holy Spirit. Compared to that of the Town Hall, this documentation doesn’t furnish any further information, even about trading mechanisms.

3.2. These registers do, however, coincide in terms of their general contents, showing us the maritime society of the 15th century. There appears to be a clear distinction between seamen from the riverside neighbourhoods and merchants from *Rua Nova* (New Street) or *Rua dos Mercadores* (Merchants’ Street), the city’s two main streets. Ships appear to be owned by just one person (a local oligarch or aristocrat), although, by the end of the century, we may speak of “ownerships” that presage the more customary partnerships of the 16th century. For the most part, these ships traded with Flanders, France and the British Isles, but did not ignore the Eastern Iberian coast, especially Valencia, or the Italian ports, establishing a permanent and constant link between the North Sea and the Mediterranean.

Between the 15th and the 16th centuries, things changed drastically. There is a lack of documentation that prevents us from assessing the full extent of those changes, and some of our perceptions pointing to a period of difficulties may be due to that very lack of records. However, news of a large-scale decline in trade, together with other facts, such as the city’s secondary role in terms of the national project for expansion, the decline in Portuguese navigation on the east coast of the Peninsula and the appearance of a new aggressive merchant class that challenged the local authorities, all point towards, if not a period of decline, then at least to a complex readjustment in the trading strategies of local agents.

At this time, we may note increased links with the islands, chiefly Madeira, the Azores, the Canaries and then São Tomé, which later functioned as strategic points in the rich trades with Brazil.

From the middle of the 16th century onwards, we can find only a reduced amount of documentary evidence from notaries’ records and the information they provide, especially when compared with documents from other institutions.

3.3. Through the records of notaries, we can understand something of the diversity of the Oportan trade world: a strong maritime engagement centred on trade with Brazil – in close connection

with northern European seaports – and a vigorous link with the islands as far as the international dimension. Furthermore, we can discover more about the movements of inshore and offshore coastal traffic, which enable us to know something about the wide range of goods from Oporto delivered to the important centres of the European economy, starting with the Iberian ports. This network of relations grew wider and was permanently stimulated, so that, besides its principal Atlantic influence, Oporto also enjoyed connections with the Cape Run, as well as participated modestly in the North African and Mediterranean itineraries. The “Inner Sea” was never far removed from the plans of Oportan commercial leaders, for the Iberian east coast, Sardinia, Sicily and some Italian ports (such as Civita Vecchia and Genoa) also traded heavily in primary goods and cereals, as well as engaged in major financial activity.

One of the starting questions of my Ph.D. thesis had to do with the trade taking place with the East: to discover if Oporto had been kept away from this field before the abolition of the royal monopoly and how it had become interested in it after 1570, as a result of the Crown’s opening up this trade to co-nationals. Archival research drew attention to the construction of Vasco da Gama’s ships in the Oportan dockyards for the opening of that route, Oportan ships hired to undertake the journey to the East throughout the 16th century and finally to a massive documental base of data regarding Oportan inhabitants who migrated to India in the same period. The thesis, however, began to move into other areas and, with regard to the information collected, further research needed to be made.

To sum up, then, the city’s principal features were demonstrably:

- A high level of immigration, with great fortunes being amassed through investment and high rates of interest at the *Casa da Índia*, stimulating the city’s economy.
- An engagement in shipbuilding, furnishing know-how that enabled the development of the *nau*, the emblematic ship of the run. The first ones were built in Oporto, where mariners, boatswains, pilots, caulkers and ships’ carpenters who took part in the first expeditions were trained, highlighting the skills of the city’s human resources.
- Regular supplies of meat and other victuals to the fleets.
- A participation with chartered vessels in the India Run, although not on a regular basis.

These features were important as far as naval activity was concerned, but greater knowledge is needed to understand how important the Far East was for the development of companies and trade associations in the city. For the moment, it seems that neither before 1570 nor afterwards was the city’s participation significant because at that time it had, above all, a firmly established and growing Atlantic vocation.

3.4. On the other hand, Oporto played an important role in the Hispanic colonial world, in Castile’s Indian routes, and in the exploitation of the American territories. There were ships that sailed from Brazil to Santo Domingo carrying sugar, and others sailing from the Canaries to the West Indies with slaves, ignoring bans, impediments or embargoes, and being supported by partnerships with Castilian agents, with increasing frequency, from 1580 onwards. We can see some of the city’s ships being sold to businessmen from the neighbouring kingdom. There are also instances of pilots from Oporto being incorporated into Spanish shipping routes, in the Spanish *Carrera de Indias*, for example. Sometimes, mainly during the Dynastic Union (1580-1640), the Douro River provided

berths for ships from the West Indies. Puerto Rico and Peru appear in the customs records as suppliers of gold and silver to the local Royal Mint.

For trade partnerships, especially those owned by New Christians, the most powerful group of all, Seville appeared as an important centre, an open market where they could deal more easily in large-scale transactions. Almost all of these businesses had agencies or partnerships at the *Casa de la Contratación* with prominent Sevillian businessmen, insurance agents and bankers, who financed operations such as slave traffic. The Oportan managers worked directly with these people, travelling between Iberian, Flemish and Dutch centres.

From the lists collected by Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, we can distinguish people from Oporto travelling regularly from one side of the Atlantic to the other. Until the 17th century, they were involved in both trade and smuggling, so that, in 1625, Oporto appeared on a list published by the Board of Trade in Madrid relating to seaports that had to be closely watched in order to prevent smuggling from Holland and Zeeland. One hundred years earlier, Carlos V had done the same thing. Thanks to these activities, the city received increasing investment in slave traffic and saw many ships setting sail to African emporiums and bringing slaves back to redistribution centres in the Canaries and Andalusia, although the Brazilian Northeast remained the main centre for this traffic. Throughout the 16th century, all of the city's businessmen considered Brazil their main target. The South American continent became a priority as a result of the systematic exploitation of the area in a bid to find a valid alternative for the revitalisation of trade.

3.5. With its economy and shipbuilding activity recovered, and once the impediments to its involvement in the South American trade route had been removed (the French invaders had been driven out of Brazil by 1567), the city discovered the full potential of this business. By the middle of the century, there were already promising results, and these were maintained well into the first half of the 17th century, in collaboration with the Dutch, as Amélia Polónia and Leonor Costa have stated in their own studies on this subject. This led to major changes in the rankings of Portuguese seaports. Oporto had been a secondary port from the end of the 15th century to the first half of the 16th century, having increased in importance thanks to the dynamics of the sugar trade. The city had close connections to sugar production, through ownership of sugar plantations and mills (*engenhos*) in Brazil, a situation that resulted in migratory flows of great social and economic significance and led to greater involvement in such vital areas as the slave trade. Thanks to these essential elements, Oporto became one of the leading ports at both a national and international level.

Such developments led to the regular formation of partnerships, greater circulation of managers, increased shipbuilding activity and the adaptation of the harbour to be able to cope with the more intense traffic. This increased even further after 1573 when tax laws made the ocean-going navigation to and from Galicia a less attractive prospect – this region having been until then perhaps the most important centre for sugar importation to Northern Europe, having been preferred by Portuguese traders because of the more favourable nature of the taxes levied on such merchandise. From now on, when traders chartered ships, they ordered them to return to Oporto, leading to a golden period in the city's history. The control of the sugar trade by locally established managers attracted foreign investors. And the movement of ships in and out of the Douro estuary increased dramatically. This can be confirmed from consultation of the naval medical records in the last quarter

of the 16th century: if, until then, the local authorities had kept a close watch on the arrivals of Portuguese ships, from now on, they began to be more concerned with exercising control over foreign vessels.

All of this led me to a deeper appreciation of the shipping at Oporto's disposal.

During the medieval period, the city's fleet of ships, either owned by or placed at the service of the Town Hall elite or oligarchy, was adapted for trading purposes. The merchant fleet of the second half of the 16th century was organised in accordance with the commercial interests of the newcomers, who were sometimes owners of parts of the ships (the so-called *parcerias*). The fleet was prepared to operate along the South Atlantic trade routes and left the redistribution of goods to other ports to the neighbouring cities' fleets, such as that of Vila do Conde and later Flemish ones.

From this, we may draw two interesting conclusions:

- Firstly, major changes occurred during the 15th and 16th centuries in terms of the development of skills, profile and performance of merchant ships and crews. Vessels were adapted, becoming lighter, more versatile and better suited to the kind of business carried out by the city's agents (their main clients), and caravels were reintroduced as transport ships. This was also caused by the greater dispersal of investment, as a means of minimising risk.
- Merchant trade partnerships led to a widening of seaborne relationships. The naval resources of the major European powers were used, especially those from the North, as a way of solving the difficulties in reaching certain areas, profiting both from more competitive prices, as well as the naval superiority of those fleets. In other words, there was a greater division of tasks. And although this may have reduced the capacity of intervention of native merchant vessels (a fact that still remains to be proved), it didn't harm the natural development of trading companies.

3.6. Trade and navigation. New relations and partnerships were established, strategies were programmed, privileges were sought after and competitors were fought off. At the same time, there was innovation resulting from the arrival of new merchant groups, who caused a revolution in the city's economy – a process that began at the end of the 15th century. From this we can infer that longstanding merchant businesses were given a secondary role (although they still controlled the local political scene), Mediterranean traffic diminished and, as the city was left out of the royal expansionist project, there was a fall in revenue.

Secondly, there was a recovery brought about by the new leading forces in Atlantic trade: woad (*Isatis Tinctoria*) was imported from the Azores, in association with merchants and financiers from Burgos, Seville and Flanders; control was exercised over the Atlantic slave trade and sugar and cotton imports from Brazil.

Thirdly, these local merchants had a great capacity for initiative and enterprise. We cannot accept the general idea that the activities based in Oporto were dependent on plans drawn up by foreign merchants, with the Portuguese being merely good transporters of goods (by then sugar had become an import with a great impact and provided important revenue). Business both inside and outside the city was conducted by its inhabitants in keeping with the policies dictated by their own commercial houses. This is certainly what happened if we consider the city's trading activity as a

whole: woad, iron, codfish or salt, slaves or the contracting of ships. At a certain point, attempts were even made to establish monopoly control over some of these areas. This illustrates the vitality and independence of a city that went its own way and sought to adapt its port services to the increasing traffic.

When we study the documents, we find two cities: one was that of the Town Hall and the old oligarchy now in decline, whilst the other was that of the effervescent world of the first Atlantic system of recently established New Christians, or *conversos*. Such merchants were organised into various far-reaching networks, enterprising people who had connections with some of the most important businesses of that time, reaching well beyond national borders. Nonetheless, they were obliged to comply with the legal procedures imposed by the city's administrators. Because of these restraints and a number of insoluble problems, many of these traders left for Holland and the other Dutch United Provinces in order to carry out their activities under better and safer conditions.

4. I would like to close this article by reasserting some of the major conclusions of my thesis. From resurveying old historical sources and divulging information collected from new ones, such as notary registers, I was able to investigate the building-up and management of a sea harbour since the Middle Ages, one which became very busy and thrived during the second half of the 16th century. That important infrastructure proved vital to the very prosperity of Oporto and its merchants and their integration into a wider economic system.

The second conclusion fitted and completed the first one. I intended either to combine a micro study (of local urban history) with a macro perspective, by involving this town, in terms of its port system, maritime and economic features in an extensive and dynamic region (within and outside the political borders of the Portuguese kingdom) in early modern times. The role of Oportan merchants involved in advantageous intercontinental business, for instance in South America and in the West Indies, and the connections they had established amongst the major maritime centres of northwest Portugal and northern Spain, were extremely important in defining and widening the major trade lines towards the lively cities of England (such as Bristol and London), Northern France (Nantes and Rouen), Flanders (Antwerp) and Holland (Amsterdam and Rotterdam). The North provided the wealth and the mould. Oporto turns out to be the southernmost city of Northern Europe.

At the same time, the data presented, combined with an ample and published documental *corpus*, are enough to certify the widespread activity of this particularly seaport but, most importantly, it calls for a new look and an urgent need for updating our knowledge regarding the economic and maritime dynamics developed since the early Modern Ages. By integrating a coherent economic space between other seaports usually seen as less important, Oporto, its merchants and ships contributed decisively to the building of the first Atlantic System.

Meanwhile, the city had rediscovered one of its greatest and most ancient skills: shipbuilding. This activity was carried out not only in response to local demands, but also in response to royal requirements. Huge amounts of money had to be invested and at the same time the activity was dependent on specific maritime strategies planned in Madrid (although these were implemented in Portugal even before 1580). Close links were maintained with Biscay's naval requirements – all of this work being done in light of the reorganisation of naval warfare in the 1590s. It was the period of the galleons, modern ships used for trading but conditioned by their military characteristics: they were built in increasing number at the *Ouro* yard, which was a first-rate shipyard. It was a time of

forwarding-agents and brokers, people who amassed great fortunes in trading from Oporto, Vila do Conde and Lisbon, benefiting from the vitality of the customs and the city's strategic geographic position. Here, they could more easily find imported tools and timber from the Baltic sea, as well as obtain planking from the regions around the city, in the upper Douro valley and the Minho province – a supply that was already rare (or becoming rare) in the Iberian Peninsula. As a well-known commander wrote to King Philip III, “those lands that produce wood should be guarded like the Potosi hills”.

It was a time for galleons and contractors. And a time for ships' carpenters, who enjoyed a great reputation at the *Ouro* shipyard – such as Bento Francisco, who built the galleon *Santa Teresa* in keeping with the traditional techniques of Oportan shipbuilders, “a remarkable man among us,” as Dom Francisco Manuel de Melo wrote in 1639, “whom we ought to remember, for the powerful and excellent ships he built in this city; for, as the natural father of noble and great sons, he is worthy of veneration by posterity, being the one who skilfully engendered works that were not only illustrious because of their greatness but also extremely useful to the republic – and we do not have any notice of another man that should be so remembered”.

Over the centuries, the carpenters of the Oporto shipyards built some of the best vessels that sailed the seas. This thesis wants them, too, to be remembered. As they well deserve.

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Interpreting the Portuguese War of Restoration (1641-1668) in a European Context

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Abstract

The recent results of research into the War of Restoration (1641-1668), fought on the frontiers of the kingdom of Portugal, do more than merely annul the simplifying and anachronistic effects of the nationalist perspective, and have dimensions that can be linked to more general aspects of European History. This paper seeks to consider some of these aspects, discussing the nature of “nations”, studying the Portuguese case as a possible place for observing the reasons for the end of the hegemony of the House of Austria and, finally, analysing the use of war and fear as instruments in the social construction of the legitimacy for establishing the authority of the State.

Keywords

commemoration, estates, House of Austria, House of Braganca, legitimacy, nationalism, naturalization, Proclamation, Restoration, revolt

In my case, the prime motivation for researching the War of Restoration was to destroy the traditional – nationalist – image of that war as a special moment of conflict and as a time of demarcation between “nations”, based on feelings of mutual aversion and incompatibility. As was to be expected, the coup led by the nobles and the proclamation of the Duke of Bragança as king in 1640 soon gained a central importance in the construction of the Portuguese nationalist narrative. It was precisely this role that was the subject of a recent study by Luís Oliveira Andrade [Andrade, 2001]. The texts written about the Restoration have almost always limited themselves to reproducing the legitimising discourses of the Proclamation that were written at that time and provided a much-needed justification in view of the extreme gravity of the act of overthrowing one king in order to proclaim another. Above all, these justifications were based on the biblical representation of the “chosen people”, finally freed from the period of “long captivity” represented by sixty years of “foreign” rule. Placing the year of 1640 in this tradition turned this event into a work that was divine and not human. By

reproducing it in the contemporary age, nationalist authors transformed the war of 1641-1668 into a kind of war of “national liberation” after a long period of “occupation”. The specific requirements of propaganda were capable of producing a somewhat delirious anachronism. Thus, in the *History* written by General Ferreira Martins and published in 1945, we find the claim that “the military organisation which, at the time when Dom Sebastião I himself promulgated it, had met with a popular reaction that had made it extremely difficult to fully implement, was now [in the time of the War of Restoration] accepted without any misgivings by the Portuguese people, who were conscious of the need to subject themselves to every kind of sacrifice for the sake of national salvation”. Therefore, all fit and able men between the ages of 16 and 60 enlisted, and from amongst these were chosen the “professional soldiers paid by the Crown”. This was “the system of the ‘armed nation’, which had already been in force during the first dynasty and had been perfected with the adoption of the system of compulsory military service during the reign of Dom Fernando (re-established in 1641), which Dom João III supported and Dom Sebastião expanded, but which was now to be given an organic structure that was more in keeping with the requirements and needs of the time and very close to that of modern organisations”. [Martins, 1945, 144-145; the words in bold were similarly stressed in the original text.] The currents of thought that were situated within this perspective, being expressed in various articles of a patriotic nature, did not, however, leave us with any synthetic work that is worthy of mention. The so-called commemorative cycle of the “centenaries”, in 1940, gave rise to the publication of some sources, as was the case with the letters of the governors-in-arms of the Alentejo, but the only author who is worth mentioning here is Gastão de Melo Matos, who revealed an effective knowledge of the sources and made statements that ran completely counter to the intentions of exaltation displayed by those who were ideologically close to him. Particularly noteworthy is his study of the military life of André de Albuquerque Ribafria [Matos, 1954]

Instead of merely reproducing the effects of this standardised pattern of interpretation and extreme simplification of the conflict in keeping with the dogma of the omnipresence of the historical subjects of nationalism, recent research has revealed that there were various, diverse motivations to be found in the 17th century. The paradigm shift was initially effected by António Hespanha [Hespanha, 1989, 1993]. At the military level, research has, above all, highlighted the great difficulty in mobilising and organising armies and particularly in keeping them together. Soldiers were enlisted coercively and deserted en masse from the frontiers, imposing the need for so-called re-mobilizations (“reconduções”).¹ Many officers also absented themselves from their regiments and their companies, with or without the permission of their superiors, and – when called upon to return to their posts – declared that they were only remaining at the Court to await an answer to their petitions. Moreover, research has revealed the presence of various areas of conflict: between the estate of the *Povos*² and the military forces, the latter being accused of subverting local order and autonomy; between the military

¹ “Reconduções” literally means leading the enlisted soldiers from their homes back to the frontiers.

² *Povos* literally means “peoples”, in the sense of self-governing settlements; an estate composed by the elected representatives of the towns and larger villages having a specific right to political participation; with the ecclesiastical estate and the nobility, it constitutes the third estate of the *Cortes* meetings. It is not exactly a “social” representation, as we see when a member of the first nobility, the Marquis de Marialva, a Lisbon parliamentary representative, took his place as a pre-eminent member of the *Povos* estate in 1668. However, expressing local interests, this estate is the site of the political involvement of the local nobilities that ruled the municipal governments. It is the estate of second-rate nobility, commanding and at the same time receiving the pressure of the plebeians.

and the magistrates,³ the latter upholding the view that the king's power depended essentially on the goodwill of his vassals; between the *Povos* and the other two estates of the realm, the nobility and the clergy, over the question of the unequal distribution of the contributions "offered" at the meetings of the *Cortes* to sustain the war effort [Costa, 2001, 2002, 2004], a picture that does not essentially differ from the one that can be painted from the results of more recent research into the war at that time, which has been concerned with analysing the social effects of the conflict. The observations made here relate only to the war as fought within the kingdom itself, or, in other words, to the conflicts taking place within the European theatre of war, because the war did in fact have other effects on the dominions of the king of Portugal outside Europe.

But yet the war of 1641-1668 may prove to be of interest beyond the restricted field of "Portuguese History". It may well be of interest with regard to the social nature and historical role of "nations" in the context of the revolts that were organised against the projects of Olivares, and secondarily as a place for observing the failure of the "modernisation" of the Habsburg Spanish Empire. And, finally, as an illustration of the historical qualities of the perception of defence and the political use that was made of war and the fear of annihilation.

1. The aim of Portuguese separation from the House of Austria – and, in fact, of the other successful or merely attempted separatist movements at that time (the Netherlands, Catalonia, Naples) – was to defend the people's capacity of resistance to the innovations in taxation being introduced and consequently to safeguard the mechanisms of supervision over the destination of wealth and the existing means of production and reproduction of nobles in that territory.

Underlying all this were the ideals of a minimal administration, whose "influence" would be almost imperceptible to "society", and the maintenance of the king's estate within the limits established by the primary nobility that was close to him.

The revolt of the Portuguese nobility should be seen in the context of the situation at the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), marked by France's direct involvement in the conflict (1635) and by the increased pressure of the military demands made upon the Habsburg rulers in Madrid. As far as Portugal was concerned, Catalonia's insubordination made the difficulties arising from Felipe IV's favourite Olivares's attempts to impose the long-planned system of solidarity between the king's various kingdoms and dominions very real.

In 1640, in view of the increasing and ever bolder demands of Olivares's government, one part of the highest Portuguese nobility considered that rebellion was justified, together with the creation of a "natural" king, who would form a new apex for a network of protection at the level of the kingdom outside the Madrid government's supra-"national" framework of dominions. Another part of the principal Portuguese nobility, mainly consisting of the families residing in Madrid, chose to remain loyal to Felipe IV and to stay within the networks that foreshadowed the formation of an inter-"national" nobility linked to the ruling house and circulating within its various dominions. It should be noted that part of the Portuguese military that was to participate in the war of 1641-1668 had already had previous combat experience in Flanders, which confirmed this circulation of nobles

³ Men possessing law degrees and occupying posts of territorial royal justice and upper courts; a traditional controversy opposes men of the law to men of arms.

amongst the various territories ruled by the House of Austria. Even after 1640, Felipe IV was closely surrounded by a group of Portuguese nobles [Bouza Álvarez, 2000, 271-291].

However, the most interesting features to note are the anti-tax motivations that make it possible to explain the widespread “popular” support for a plot hatched by the nobility, in which there was also a surprisingly close consensus with regard to the king’s proclamation (being so unusual, this was considered to be a sign of divine intervention), continued well into the new dynasty, directly affecting the military actions taken by the government of Dom João IV. The resources that were successfully mobilised under his reign were limited by a social (and not just economic) ceiling. The revenue obtained through the new extraordinary tributes, “offered” to the king by the *Cortes* for this specific purpose and for a limited period of three years, was clearly incapable of sustaining a larger force, consequently removing the possibility of genuine tactical options. Although a debate was held about the defensive or offensive nature of the campaigns to be waged, there was objectively no possibility of changing the adopted course.

What led to the formation of this social ceiling was the mistrust felt in relation to the use made of the extraordinary income. Without there being any decisive confrontation, the involvement of the armed forces in operations described as “raids on Castile”, i.e., initiatives intended to pillage the enemy territory, for which the militia groups were mobilised in the first years of the war, and the unexpected continuation of the state of war, only served to deepen the climate of suspicion as to the real motivations of the military officers. The proclamation of Dom João IV would only have been worthwhile if the fiscal and military pressure exerted by Olivares’s government, namely on the pretext of fighting against the rebellion of the separatist Catalonia, was not to be transformed into an equivalent pressure, on the pretext of a defence that had to be continued, without imposing the recognition of Dom João IV and the introduction of peace.

These “constitutional” constraints upon the new dynasty were illustrated most clearly by the friar Fulgêncio Leitão in his *Reduccion y restitucion del reyno de Portugal a la Serenissima Casa de Bragança* [published under the pseudonym of Juan Baptista Moreli, Turin, 1648]. He stated that the new king’s vassals neither feared nor cowered before the Spanish lions. What they did fear and what might cause them to cower was that there was no one who might redeem and save them, not from the enemy’s weapons, but from the oppression of the ministers who governed them, on the king’s behalf and with his authority. They begged to be released and redeemed, calling for government matters to be arranged in such a way that they would not fall into such a state of oppression again. Therefore, if the new king wished each of his vassals to be bold enough to take part in an attack upon an enemy squadron, if he wanted to resuscitate the deeds and feats of their ancestors that he had heard and read about when his glorious grandparents had been in government, if he wanted Portuguese valour to once again astound the world and terrify Castile, he should redeem them and free them from their vexations, from their injustices, in a word, from the tyranny with which Castile and its ministers, even though many of them were Portuguese, oppressed them. Leitão went on to say that the new king should take it for granted that he could not keep possession of the Crown that God had given him if he accepted the opinion of some who, availing themselves of the pretext of present necessities, which no doubt were many in these early times, advised him against relieving the people of the immense burden of tributes and taxes to which the imprudence, ambition, and cruelty of a favourite, and of scheming traitors – a reference here to Olivares - and the incapacity of a young prince, had condemned them.

Furthermore, Leitão made explicit the possible continuity between the anti-taxation rebellions under the kings of the House of Austria and a potential rebellion against the policies of the government of Dom João IV, if they did not differ from those of the previous government. The king should remember the cause of the uprisings that had occurred in his kingdom three or four years before his most fortunate acclamation, considering that those people had not risen up suddenly, but rather were greatly disposed to proclaim freedom after suffering the unbearable weight of the oppression of the Castilian government. If they had not yet rebelled this was because they feared that they might not achieve the unity and agreement of all and, notwithstanding this fear, when they saw that the affliction was worsening, they preferred to die immediately rather than day by day, and, not noticing the evils that they had initially feared, many made loud proclamations of their freedom, even though these proved unsuccessful. Remembering these examples, if he wished to conserve what God had given him, the king should seek to free his loyal vassals from the oppressions of the ministers who, if they were from the group of those who served in the time of his predecessor, should be most unaccustomed to the task (although not all, as he stressed), because all that they practiced at this time, being sovereign and absolute, was plunder, theft and injustice. In other words, they were unaccountable to other, higher ministers and not even to the king himself. In short, what befitted the acclaimed king was, heeding the bad end that had befallen the past government, to seek to put into practice the opposite, because were he to do so each of his vassals would place their possessions and their life in the service of the conservation of the “Royal person and State”, and would all acclaim him as a prince given by heaven and sent by God for their good [Moreli, 1648, 135-137].

This passage from the work by Leitão shows us how the new king was faced with an insuperable dilemma: in order to sustain the war effort that might save the new dynasty from the hostilities expected to be launched by Felipe IV in his attempts to recover the kingdom for his own dominions, he had to maintain or recreate the fiscal and administrative pressure that was necessary for the formation of armies, in this way provoking a deepening of the discontent felt by all those who had seen in the new king the person that had come to free them from the administrative and fiscal pressure that had become so unbearable in the time of Olivares, and thereby running the risk of embarking on a course that would lead to just as bad an end as had befallen the previous government. The king’s military capacity lay – it was said – in his capacity to keep up the spirits and courage of his vassals in coming to his defence through the bonds of gratitude founded upon his benevolence, which, above all, was manifested through the absence of any pressure to step up the military preparation of the kingdom.

For this very reason, the pace of war between 1641 and 1668 was not determined by decisions taken by those in government, be they the members of the council of State or those of the council of War, the narrow group of councillors that were closest to the king and his secretaries of state, or the military leaders along the borders. In the end, little advantage was taken of the years 1643 to 1646, when the fighting capacity of the so-called “Ejército da Extremadura” was very weak, to the despair of those who advocated an offensive attitude at a time when the enemy’s attentions were greatly distracted by the difficulties created by the insubordination of Catalonia, and when advantage should have been taken of the negotiations taking place in Münster for peace in Europe [Cardim, 1998]. This reluctance to take the offensive did, however, continue, until the death of Dom João IV (1656). The weakness of the actions organised against Portugal until the signing of the “Peace of the Pyrenees” treaty with France in 1659 is a first indication of the reduced military and financial capacity of the

government in Madrid. Even after the rebellion of Catalonia had ceased to be such a major concern, attentions were not turned towards the Portuguese border as expected. In this way, the behaviour of the Portuguese government might appear to have been “irrational”, there being an evident need to take diplomatic advantage of any military victories that it might obtain. On the contrary, there continued to be a kind of imperfect truce. French diplomacy complained about this greatly reduced level of activity, since, throughout the 1650s, it was convenient for the French that the Portuguese should keep up their pressure when they were preparing to betray the cause of their ally. But the military insignificance of the Portuguese did not help in bringing about an alteration in its European diplomatic status. The “irrationality” of such a policy must, however, be seen in conjunction with the “rationality” of the above-described “constitutional” constraints upon the new king.

Under the first Duke of Bragança, Portugal was to clearly illustrate what appeared to be the fundamental contradiction of the “revolutions” taking place in the 1640s, that had as their aim to secede territories from the monarchy of Felipe IV: being motivated by the aim of abolishing in their territorial space the administrative and fiscal superstructure of the war, there was little legitimacy for organising the war in a modern, efficacious sense. This was what happened in the case of Catalonia, as suggested by Simón Torrès. As he says, against the opinion of those who see 17th-century Catalonia as “un estat complet”, we must consider that “Catalonia was not, and would hardly have had the opportunity to convert itself into, a state formation, by not having previously developed its own modern administrative and military structures.” [1992, 33] Seen from this perspective, its close proximity to France worked, in various ways, against the survival of the separation of Catalonia.

In view of this contradiction, the “revolutions of 1640” were condemned to failure from the outset. They would be inconsequential uprisings. This makes the Portuguese case even more interesting.

Despite not having taken advantage of the more favourable situation, the Portuguese “War of Restoration” paradoxically ended up being marked by the initiatives taken by the government of Felipe IV. The only relevant exception was the siege of Badajoz in 1658, though this proved to be a failure both because of tactical errors and because of the devastating effects of a prolonged siege upon the besieging force, eroded either by the flight of some of its army or by disease.

Seen from this perspective, the successive Portuguese victories at the battles of the Lines of Elvas (1659), Ameixial (1663) and Montes Claros (1665) may continue to be understood as a challenge to researchers. It should be noted that all these battles resulted from situations in which armies were formed in response to enemy invasions, as if it were only possible to form them when faced with the evidence of an effective attack near at hand. Furthermore, immediately after these successes, the armies spontaneously disbanded, disconcerting those who wanted to use them to undertake even more devastating attacks upon the enemy forces.

But this succession of victories requires an explanation. One possible answer to this situation has to do with the need to consider the role played by contingency. Battles are quintessentially moments when a “gamble” is taken, where everything can be decided and where unexpected factors may determine the final result. For this very reason, the “skill” of the generals was so important, without, however, proving to be insufficient in itself because other imponderable “accidents” were also important, such as the state of mind of the combatants. The decisive details of the battles, the methods used for bringing the forces together in a campaign and the means of financing adopted both during the regency of Dona Luísa de Gusmão and during the period of government by the Count of Castelo

Melhor, remain important subjects of research that should be taken to their limits through exhaustive consultation of the available sources.

However, regardless of these contingent factors, it is in itself significant that the confrontations did not have a more than likely winner, even before they took place. In fact, it is interesting to note how, a century later, the Count of Lippe once again repeated the impression that in the various confrontations of the 1660s the “Spanish” had not succeeded in attacking Portugal with more than twenty thousand men. Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo sought to turn this fact into part of a general “law” that impeded the formation of large-sized armies on the Iberian Peninsula, contrary to what happened in Italy or in Flanders, and which he considered to be rooted in the characteristic “sterility” of “Hespanha”. Although we cannot accept this explanation because of its overly simple and “naturalistic” nature – in a rudimentary fashion it showed the author’s interest in the relationship between war and economics that he then tried to develop further – we do find in it an expression of the difficulties encountered in trying to launch an attack upon Portugal. These were social difficulties – resistance to both recruitment and the payment of taxes – and geographical problems – the difficulty in organising, maintaining and moving the position of a large army close to the border, having the paradoxical effect of being able to equalise the forces of the two opponents. In this way, we may consider that Portugal’s “salvation” was in fact... Castile.

2. A broader and more “structural” perspective explains the survival of the “restored” Portuguese monarchy through the failure of the solutions devised by the Habsburg administration to obtain the means to sustain the “military revolution” in its dominions. [Thompson, 1995]. In this case, the war of 1641-1668 and its outcome assume particular importance not only within the historical theme that over time has been identified, in traditional terms, as the problem of the “decadence of Spain”, but also within European History in general, since the “Spanish” military defeats of 1659, 1663 and 1665 highlight the possibility of a regression in the process followed for the social and political sustenance of the ever greater military requirements. We know that there has been an increasing erosion of the anachronistic image of a “great power” that was projected upon the imperial mosaic under the reigns of Carlos V and Felipe II, with greater emphasis being given to the diversity of spaces, endowed with their own governmental autonomy, which they guarded most jealously. The “imperial” government combined extreme exuberance with a tremendous practical inefficacy. I.A.A. Thompson [1995] highlighted the failure of the financial solutions attempted for meeting the increasing costs of war:

By 1665, more of the ordinary and extraordinary income had been perpetuated as permanent, public revenues than ever before, and yet a progressively smaller proportion was reaching the government’s coffers. The state was eating its own tail. [...] When, on the death of Philip IV, royal authority also collapsed, the Spanish financial system collapsed with it. [...] Authoritarian solutions were attempted in Spain but they failed in face of the collapse of trade and tax revenues and of the ruralization of the economy that militated against the centralist extraction of resources. [Thompson, 1995, 287, 291]

Thompson’s conclusions are, however, always presented from the viewpoint of a regression in the process of political centralisation, a perspective that seems to be based on a reading of the orders being issued in the king’s name as indicating a certain administrative capacity. As far as the tasks of recruiting and organising forces that were imposed on the nobility in 1640 are concerned, this

situation led Thompson, for example, to characterise the process as a process of “refeudalisation”.⁴ Domínguez Ortiz described this as absurd, for, whenever possible, these nobles sought to avoid such obligations, preferring to renounce this supposedly greater power [Domínguez Ortiz, 1984, 110-111]. Meanwhile, we do not have any more detailed results from the research conducted into the war in these last few decades under the scope of the work of Spanish historians. We imagine that previously the period of “decadence” must have been demoralising from the nationalist point of view. We further suppose that, nowadays, the frame of reference used by researchers is different and that they conduct their studies without worrying about the “national” value of the discourse that they produce. But neither have foreign scholars tended to cover the period and themes in question. Both older studies [Domínguez Ortiz, 1960; Artola, 1982, 91-157] and more recent research have centred on the period of Olivares [John Elliott, 1986; Ruth MacKay, 1999; Jean-Frédéric Schaub, 2001] or, despite having the merits of venturing into inhospitable terrain, they have not dealt with this crucial question in the decisive period – the years from 1658 to 1665. [Cortés Cortés, 1985; Rafael Valladares, 1994; Lorraine White, 1986].

We are therefore faced with the incapacity of an imperial power, established in a variety of territories, to rise above the obstacles raised to the social accompaniment of the ever growing requirements of the so-called “military revolution”. This power was faced with all the “national” resistance movements, including those of Castile.

To present this confrontation as a conflict between nations, motivated by some “natural” animosity between them, is an absurd simplification. The different “peoples” could only be considered “nationalist” in the sense that they considered it useful for there to be a “natural king” who would protect them – because this king would be bound by the ties of the “love” that he had felt on becoming king – against fiscal innovations that could destroy their “molecular structure”, as I have already stressed. It should be noted that, later, the invocation of the sovereignty resident in the nation that was made at the moment of liberalism’s arrival, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, would also be levelled against the attack that, within society itself, was represented by the “absolute” state, accused of breaking pacts, or, in other words, of tyranny. Here, too, use was made of the pretence of re-establishing the bonds of love.

Attention must also be drawn to the 17th-century difficulties in overcoming the resistance to recruitment, the “people’s” unease in the face of the insolence of the military establishments and the use and abuse of enforced militias. These were all features uncovered in works by Fernando Cortés Cortés, Lorraine White and Ruth MacKay, researching the “Castilian” side, and in this way drawing closer to the cultural divisions detected on both sides of the frontier. Without excluding the fact that the war, viewed as a decisive conflict, made more “sense” on the Portuguese side than on the Castilian side, we nonetheless find in both camps a feeling of mistrust towards the military forces and the wish of the “people” to see themselves free of aggression, which, as far as the surviving local societies were concerned, came from the military forces on both sides.

⁴The idea of refeudalization is already present in his seminal work *Guerra y decadencia: gobierno y administración en la España de los Austrias* (written in 1976; Spanish edition Barcelona: Editorial Critica, 1981) where he acknowledges a decline in the royal capacity for levying the armies. He states that the initial ability of the royal administration to recruit men for the armies was later replaced by other methods, including intermediary authorities and even entrepreneurs.

The relationship established with the king was an openly contractual one: the new king of Portugal was expected to bestow the benefits that would justify the risks of separation from the previous dynasty. In other words, the aim was to enjoy a better life under the House of Bragança than under the rule of the Habsburgs. As has already been pointed out, the new king was not to create, under the pretext of defence, a military and courtly “superstructure” equivalent to the one that had mushroomed under Olivares and had consequently been rejected.

Later, nationalism would lead to the naturalisation of this contractual relationship, which would then conceal its consensual nature. Acceptance of the orders emanating from the king’s government would be presented as unconditional, because this government would then be responding, despite all eventual internal conflicts, to the defence of a “nature” that was resident in the nation. In fact, before nationalism brought about this “naturalisation”, “absolutism” had already been created, making use of the “naturality”, considered to be indisputable, of the relationship between the subjects and the monarchy, founded upon the king’s exercise of a paternal guidance, the central metaphor of the phase of the “unlimited” power of kings. The “naturalisation” of the pact was, quite simply, its militarisation: in the specifically military type of subordination. Here orders cannot be called into question, for this would result in the death of all, both rulers and common people.

On the contrary, the relationship was a mediated one. The aim was to create a space of defence. In the case of the nobility, this was made quite clear by the accusation that the “constitution” of the kingdom, or in other words, the pact established between its nobility and the king, confirmed in 1581 by Felipe II. When analysed, the contents of this pact corresponded to the agreement that the property in the kingdom and its dominions that produced and added nobility would remain in circulation only within the Portuguese nobility. Despite the accusations that Felipe IV had broken this pact, the policy followed by Dom João IV was to confirm all the donations made by the previous kings, which seemed to run counter to the denunciation of these illicit acts.

The recreation of a “natural” king did, however, have significance for the broader sectors of the population, despite the fact that the act of acclamation was consciously organised as an act of the nobility, with the plebeians only appearing in a second phase, to fill the streets and execute (or complete the execution of) Miguel de Vasconcelos, that “*parvenu*” who was the shadow of a government that had dared to insult the principal nobility. The local nobility and municipal ruling elites, the urban middle classes and the common people, all wanted protection from the fiscal attacks that had been launched by the government of Madrid and which were expected to multiply.

But, when it proved necessary, already under the new and “natural” king, to create a system of defence against the threat from outside, such a motivation would also guard against the possibility of this same system giving rise to its own interests and becoming a focal point for an attack against the “society” for whose defence it had supposedly been created.

There was, therefore, a dual definition, made in relation to two sources of aggression, from outside but also from inside, both based on the same pattern of illicit fiscal innovations. The war was seen as a confrontation in which the future of the warring parties would be decided. And the war was legitimate insofar as there was an evident need to reply to an aggressive attack – but only to this extent. For this reason, suspicion was raised about a war that would not lead to a clear definition and whose continuation would result in benefits for the officers involved in it. The various chapters of the estate of the *Povos* against the military in the *Cortes* of 1646 and 1653 highlighted the aim of destroying that possibility of the war becoming a “way of life”, kept going at the expense of the taxation levied and, in

the first few years, through the use of militia groups mobilised to undertake raids into enemy territory, whose only motivation was the gains to be made through pillaging. Such suspicions were not in fact unfounded. In 1654, when the king, backed the *Povos*, requested a ban on “incursions into Castile”, the military leaders alleged that the existing army was clearly sustained by the proceeds of the raids made into enemy territory [Costa, 2002].

It can therefore be concluded that the political field in Portugal was defined in relation to the conditions established for escaping the effects of the application of the project of imperial integration, albeit in a more limited version, initially formulated by Olivares and thereafter surviving as a shadow, and not as a conflict between “nations”.

In the final analysis, the success of Portugal’s separation from Spain derived from the clearly evident failure of the “military revolution” within the sphere of management of the “Spanish” government: the resources that could be mobilised in the 1660s to fight against Portugal were incomparably fewer than those that were imposed by the credit of Felipe IV. In this sense, all the “nations” of the “imperial space” defeated the government of Madrid on this occasion.

3. Another interesting dimension in this field of research that may transcend the confines of Portuguese history has to do with the links between the creation of the feeling of a threat and the maintenance of permanent forces and, consequently, the relationship between the authority of the “State” and the dominant forms of representation of time and death. If we consider that the imposition of war on the vassals and common people, as well as the fear of foreign aggression, represent central instruments in the “construction of the State” [Botero, 1992; Hyppolite, 1983], then this implies the spread of an “internalisation” of the threat of destruction as a risk that might manifest itself at any moment, which makes the continued mobilisation of a force intended to respond to such an eventuality a perfectly “rational” action. This was a process that, despite not being linear and cumulative, was only brought to an end in the 20th century, after the war of 1914-1918, with the “brutalisation” of societies [Mosse, 1999], having been culturally prepared by the heirs to Hegel’s doctrine about war as the creator of peoples or nations.

The political use of war has a dimension that can be illustrated in Giovanni Botero’s explanation of the “reason of State”. This is one of the ways of “restraining potential furor by keeping the people occupied”, and he says this, “because there is nothing that holds the souls of men in greater suspense than important wars”, whether these be defensive or offensive ones. War leads to concerted action amongst those taking part in it: the participants in a war are all those who have some valour and who “expurgate their humours against the common enemies”. As for the rest of the people, besides the services that they provide, they say prayers and make vows in return for victory and “are left suspended in the expectation of the events of war, in such a way that there is no room left in the souls of the subjects for revolts, for they are all, through their actions or thoughts, occupied in the venture”. [Botero, 1992, 81-82]

This function of war as a source of social discipline became a common idea amongst the authors of that time. The image is one of a purgative war and is compared to the exercise of the authority of medical activity upon an infirm body [Cornette, 1993, 91-93]. It was, for example, maintained in DeReal’s *Science du Gouvernement*:

“les politiques dont je parle, conclurent qu’il faut appliquer à la politique, cet aphorisme de la médecine, *qui veut qu’on attire au-dehors les humeurs peccantes du dedans et qu’il faut faire une*

guerre étrangère, pour en éviter une civile [the author's italics]" (the politicians of whom I speak concluded that it is necessary to apply to politics that medical aphorism, *which requires that one draws out the bad humours from within and that a foreign war must be waged in order to avoid a civil one.*)

But DeReal was a critic of such a tradition:

"il est incontestable que ce sont les guerres étrangères qui donnent ordinairement naissance aux guerres civiles et aux révoltes." (it is undeniable that it is foreign wars that ordinarily give rise to civil wars and revolts.) [DeReal, 1761,275].

The reign of Louis XIV has been taken as the most perfect example of the use of war to establish royal authority [Cornette, 1993].

Besides this role of staving off "civil war", a tradition was also handed down, either opposing this idea or complementing it, in which it was stated that a people that lived through a long peace would be looked down upon, it being necessary to wage war from time to time so that the soldiers would not lose their courage.

War as a political instrument was later to be given a more sophisticated form of legitimisation in the work of Hegel, who established a "constitutional" relationship between "peoples" as effective actors in history as a form of theodicy, and war. Peoples or nations are formed through military confrontation with others. What seems to act as the motivation for wars has to do with particular, accidental matters, but, besides these, there is something else that is important. War is the great proof of the life of peoples. It is through war that they show the outside world what they are inside and that they either assert their freedom or fall into slavery. It is also in fighting a war for his people that the individual rises above himself and that he experiences a sense of unity with the whole. The war that puts at stake the life of the whole is a condition for determining the ethical health of the people. Without the threat of war weighing upon it, a people risk the gradual loss of its sense of freedom, being lulled to sleep by habit and becoming immersed in the material life. A long peace may result in the loss of the nation. The metaphor of the winds that stir up the water and prevents it from becoming stagnant indicates that Hegel was not unaware of the images associated with the traditional thinking about the role of war. But he took it further: the metaphor of the people as an individuality led him to praise the negation of negation and the highest form of "freedom" that consists of not being a slave to life. Such a metaphor inscribes death in each individual as a risk and as a supposed form of effective salvation. The inscription of the nation in individuals was not, however, guaranteed. Therefore, in a famous passage, Hegel made it clear that, from time to time, through war, the government should violate the intimacy of private individuals and make them feel death as their lord and master [Hyppolite, 1983, 89-98].

This system, which was both the heir of the "reason of State" and simultaneously afforded it greater power, becoming firmly established in the political climate of the late 19th and early 20th century, was applied by the nationalist authors to the past, who simplified it and made it homogeneous, in keeping with this paradigm of war as a "creator" of "peoples".

Threat sustains discipline, survival legitimises death. But consistent discipline (and not just an episodic form of discipline, if it is possible to say that persistence is not inherent in discipline) presupposes a risk that is not simply a remote one and to which any foreseeable reply will only be conducted by ordinary means. The risk must, on the contrary, be anticipated, as well as the exceptional

means of responding to an attack. A distant threat is unproductive; the threat must be real and vital so that the State can be built from this.

The case of Portugal in the 17th century makes it possible to illustrate the behaviour of a “society” in which this legitimacy of there being an army of the permanent type was absent. It was absent when the war began, and it continued so when peace was obtained. Although one does not deny the possibility of the kingdom being the target of an outside attack, there seems to have been a prevailing conception of war and defence as being based on the sense of mistrust that was felt as to the formation of permanent forces. The existence of a permanent military force implied an administrative power that was equipped with sufficient means – and this meant that it was necessary to persuade “society” that not only were these means neither futile nor superfluous expenditures, but that they were also not launching an attack upon those that they were supposedly protecting.

The representatives of the estate of the *Povos* at the *Cortes* of 1668 and 1674 more or less clearly showed their intention to impose the complete demilitarisation of the kingdom. This position was opposed by the one that associated the possession of mobilised troops with the status enjoyed by the kingdom amongst foreign opinions and, therefore, in the world of diplomacy. It was a rudimentary form of the use of war in the construction of the “State”. The prince and his advisers propagated the supposed need to maintain some fighting capacity. Since the motivations for the kings’ actions related to maintaining their own status, namely the one that they enjoyed in the so-called diplomatic field, they were not understood by the common people, including those men that were sufficiently exceptional to act as the representatives of the *Povos* in parliament. The third estate saw this intention as being illicit and considered it to be a potential insult. There were two distinct points of view held about military forces in times of peace: that of the king’s “estate”⁵ and that of “society”.

The allegation of the threat of a military attack was not understood as justifying the existence of a military force mobilised on a permanent basis. Such a risk was understood as a pretext that was used to attempt to make the people pay tributes to sustain men who were not performing any useful role.

This acceptance cannot be seen therefore as a “natural” acceptance – it was the result of a long process of acculturation.

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⁵ i.e. the position of the king, whoever occupied this position.

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The Restoration of Historic Buildings Between 1835 and 1929: the Portuguese Taste

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Abstract

The glorification of the historical monument - a European phenomenon that emerged during the first quarter of the 19th Century - occupied a place of great theoretical and iconographic importance in the Portuguese press. Through engravings, its image attained a power of synthesis, both in the creation of symbols and in the understanding of stylistic categories, becoming a major driving force behind the greater value that was given to the medieval architectural heritage and its consequent restoration.

Despite being given a relatively ineffective and somewhat belated administrative and legal framework, the prestige and popularity of medieval monuments were sufficient to ensure a significant number of restoration works after 1840. Literature on art, the press and manuscript sources of the period, sought to identify the principles to underlie the idea of restoration in Portugal between 1839 and 1925, as compared to models adopted throughout Europe. Although Portuguese artistic culture lagged far behind other European nations, the restoration of medieval religious architecture was common practice in Portugal at that time, both due to the idea that unity had always been one of the fundamental principles of architecture and because the cult of monuments stemmed from a mythical and symbolic production of national identity.

Keywords

Monument, architecture, history, memory, restoration, conservation, Portugal, 19th Century

1. The glorification of the historical monument

The glorification of the historical monument, a European phenomenon that emerged during the first quarter of the 19th century, found fertile ground in Portugal's periodical press for its theoretical and iconographic enshrinement. Through engravings, and later photography, the image, a powerful medium of synthesis both in creating symbols and in contributing to an understanding of stylistic categories, reproduced and disseminated the iconography of monuments, thus becoming a central vector in enhancing the value of medieval architectural heritage and consequently its

restoration. The use of images to document the state of buildings from a previous era gave them, at times, the status of models to be followed in reproducing architectural elements that had disappeared in the meantime, in a virtual game played between image and reality, since engravings of monuments were more often than not idealised.

Even though interest in antiquities and the conservation and restoration of emblematic or artistically invaluable objects and constructions had always existed, given that certain moments in history dedicated special attention to the matter – the Roman empire, the Carolingian empire, the Papal Rome of the Middle Ages, the Italian Renaissance and, in Portugal, during the reigns of Dom Manuel (1495-1521) and Dom João V (1706-1750) – restoration theory and practice took on greater importance in the 19th century, as one of the central cultural vectors of the time. This marked a difference in relation to previous centuries. Only in the 19th century was restoration work carried out in a concerted and systematic fashion. Official bodies were founded, capable of carrying out works, as were multiple private societies dedicated to the conservation of monuments, their inventory and classification.

Despite the existence of an inadequate and rather belated legal and administrative framework, the prestige of Portuguese medieval monuments was so compelling that, by 1840, restoration was being regularly undertaken, having been boosted in particular by the restoration of the Batalha Monastery (*Mosteiro da Batalha*)¹. At the time, about seventy other medieval buildings had already been restored or had restoration projects drawn up for them. In art studies, press articles and manuscript sources, we sought to identify the guiding principles underlying the restoration work undertaken, motivated by some of the main theories espoused in Europe at the time. Restoration projects inspired by the theory and works of Viollet-le-Duc and by the famous definition of *restauration* did not find much echo in Portugal, although the French architect's prestige influenced some of the criteria that were applied and which were better understood from the last decade of the century onwards.

The lack of artistic training and the permanently deficient situation of architectural education at that time are not enough to justify the lack of restoration projects based on Viollet-le-Duc's modern theory. When there were architects who were capable of undertaking projects, these were usually rejected, or when projects were accepted, they were later subjected to profound alterations and much criticism. In Portugal, less radical restoration was preferred, more scrupulously and archaeologically based upon the monument's remaining vestiges, with the aim of recovering the building's "original features", but not its exact pristine form. This was true of work carried out on the Batalha Monastery, the church of São Miguel do Castelo², the Old Cathedral (*Sé-Velha*) of Coimbra³, the Cathedral (*Sé*)

¹ Construction of the Batalha Monastery (*Mosteiro da Batalha*) was ordered by Dom João I (1385-1433) in fulfilment of a promise made to the Virgin Mary, in return for victory at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385), against the king of Castile. It is its status as a commemorative building and its high-quality Gothic construction plan (classified by UNESCO as World Heritage in 1983) that make of the monastery of Batalha a highly celebrated monument in Portugal.

² According to tradition, Dom Afonso Henriques, the first king of Portugal (1143-1185), was baptised in the church of São Miguel do Castelo in Guimarães. It is for this reason that this small Romanesque church was so highly esteemed in the 19th century.

³ The Romanesque Old Cathedral of Coimbra dates from the 12th century.

of Guarda⁴, etc. Certainly, not all restoration works followed these principles, but these were the ones that were most admired and were widely adopted as models for other works. Another line of thinking typified by various restored monuments advocated more radical, more appealing forms of restoration, came closer to eclecticism, and was rooted in the idea that the representation of architectural features from the past should be combined with the monument's contemporary syntax. This was the case at Jerónimos⁵, Madre de Deus⁶, Santa Cruz of Coimbra⁷, etc.

The debate that took place at the turn of the century between theories that defended radical forms of restoration and those that defended mere conservation, whose motto was first widely divulged through the restoration of the Jerónimos Monastery and the reception in Portugal of Camillo Boito's theory, relatively well-known at the time, seems to have been a great relief to many, for whom radical restoration had never held much appeal.

The cult of the historical monument in Portugal, taken almost to a point of sacralisation, made historically valuable medieval buildings practically untouchable. This is the crux of the restoration issue: its ambiguity, and its equivocal and utopian nature. It is the reason why authors and critics vacillated between the intention of conserving monuments that history had altered over time, while respecting the works of all periods, and the need to preserve the monument's historical value, here understood from Riegl's perspective. He maintained that all elements that covered buildings in their original state should be removed: the lime that hid stones and abbreviations, altars, tiles and other additions that obliterated the monument's historical value and the capacity that it had to represent a certain period.

2. Restoration or Conservation?

During the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, restoration of medieval architecture was regularly carried out in Portugal, where criteria from the previous century were adopted, with the use of traditional stone masonry techniques learnt on construction sites. Knowledge of architecture and construction was improved through prescriptive models for restoration works that were imported from abroad and could be found in widely disseminated manuals.

Rather than seeking unity in style, restoration work at the time was almost always rooted in the idea of unity as the grounding principle for architecture in general and in the cult of the monument issuing from the symbolic and mythical production of the national identity that they represented.

Restoration that unambiguously sought unity in style and the total removal of the so-called accretions apparently became much more widespread from the second decade of the 20th century onward, and indelibly marked restoration work undertaken after 1930. However, this matter falls outside the scope of this paper, and here we will only present an outline of its main characteristics.

⁴ The Gothic Cathedral of the City of Guarda dates from the 15th century.

⁵ Dom Manuel I (1495-1521) ordered the construction of the Jerónimos Monastery (*Mosteiro dos Jerónimos*) (Lisbon).

⁶ The Convent of Madre de Deus (*Convento da Madre de Deus*) in Lisbon was founded in 1509 by Dona Leonor, wife of Dom João II.

⁷ The construction of the Monastery of Santa Cruz (*Mosteiro de Santa Cruz*) of Coimbra began in 1131.

The restoration of the Batalha Monastery, begun in 1840 and continued throughout the century, represents a landmark in the history of architectural restoration in Portugal.

The great quality of its construction, its emblematic value, the fact that it was the first Portuguese monument to be made the subject of a beautifully illustrated foreign publication,⁸ the prestigious sponsorship provided at the beginning of the works by Dom Fernando de Saxe-Coburg Gotha, husband to Dona Maria II (1834-1853) and the landmark conception of restoration that was applied to the monumental site by Luis Mousinho de Albuquerque, were to act as driving forces for the development of the restoration phenomenon in 19th-century Portugal.⁹

From 1840 onwards, constant news of restoration works being carried out or of the stated intention to do so appears across the country.

A complex phenomenon to define, the Portuguese works of restoration appear to be associated with the historicist, Romantic 19th century, which glorified the historical monument and sought to classify and conserve it, and to the architects and theorists who gained renown through both their work and their theories: Viollet-le-Duc, J. Ruskin and Camillo Boito. But, despite the greater importance of their works and respective ramifications in 19th-century Europe, restoration was such an excessively widespread activity throughout the century, at times being carried out with the use of much earlier methods than those proposed by these authors, that we cannot analyse the phenomenon in its entirety based only on their theories. In Portugal, Viollet-le-Duc's influence only became explicitly apparent in restoration projects dating from after 1890 (those on the Cathedral of Guarda by Rosendo Carvalheira,¹⁰ the Castle of Leiria by Ernesto Korrodi,¹¹ and the Cathedral of Lisbon by

⁸ Murphy (1795). Murphy, an architect of Irish extraction, came to Portugal in 1789 with the intention of producing detailed drawings of the monumental site of Batalha. Encouraged and sponsored by William Conygham, a member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, who had visited Portugal in 1783 and returned to England with drawings of Portuguese monuments, Murphy's visit should be seen in the light of the English cultural and artistic environment of that time. Since the first half of the 18th century, the English had been interested in the origins of Gothic architecture, seeking justifications and inspirations for their revivalist trend (or a taste that had never entirely disappeared) in order to build "in the Gothic style". It is in this context that the huge success of Murphy's work should be understood, being published in a luxurious edition in London in 1795 and spreading the prestige of the Batalha Monastery and its highly esteemed architecture throughout Europe. A significant majority of the foreigners travelling in Portugal during the 19th century, and who visited Batalha either for official reasons or as tourists, mention Murphy's work, a clear sign of its widespread dissemination and its important role in publicising Portuguese monuments.

⁹ Having written *Memoria inédita acerca do Edifício Monumental da Batalha* (Unpublished Memoir on the Monumental Building of Batalha), Luis da Silva Mousinho de Albuquerque (1792-1846), who was responsible for the conservation and restoration works on this Monastery between 1840 and 1843, left us with possibly the only Portuguese text of the mid-19th century written by a restoration project's actual author.

¹⁰ Rosendo Carvalheira (c. 1864-1919) was the architect of several buildings in the city of Lisbon. In 1897, he concluded *Memória sobre a Sé Cathedral da Guarda e sua possível restauração* (Memoir on the Cathedral of Guarda and its possible restoration), whose methodology was inspired by the work of Viollet-le-Duc. He supervised the restoration works between 1899 and 1919, opting at times for the French architect's theory, and at others for solutions that were better suited to the conservation of features added after the Gothic period.

¹¹ The Gothic Castle of Leiria was the subject of a partially accomplished restoration project in 1898, planned by the Swiss architect and teacher of design, Ernesto Korrodi, who worked in Portugal.

Augusto Fuschini,¹² with one or two exceptions in the case of projects that were not put into practice (Jerónimos Monastery, Lisbon, by J. Possidónio Narciso da Silva).¹³ There was also the diffuse influence of J. Ruskin and W. Morris, or the more direct influence of Camillo Boito, who during this decade launched a major debate on conservation and restoration, as can be appreciated from the work undertaken on the old Cathedral of Coimbra by A. A. Gonçalves.¹⁴

During much of the century, the restoration works that were undertaken ignored these theories, instead adhering to criteria and themes inherited from the 18th century. They were influenced by such questions as the historic enhancement of monuments, the prestige and vital attraction of what is or seems to be old, training in restoration, specialists coming periodically from abroad and the dissemination of manuals that were meant to be used in restoration works.¹⁵

Although there was an absence of concerted programmes and well-defined methods, a lack not only of training and theory, but also of actual architects trained in this field of specialisation, a political and gubernatorial setting in constant mutation (belatedly given a proper administrative structure, with irregular and often inadequate budgets), several restoration works were nonetheless carried out, and buildings threatened with ruin were maintained through smaller or greater interventions. Under the influence of the periodical press, which broadly speaking provided the phenomenon with its greatest

¹² Augusto Fuschini (1846-1911), an engineer and Member of Parliament who presided over the Council of National Monuments, was responsible for the restoration of the Cathedral of Lisbon, having worked on the projects and works between 1899 and 1911. The Romanesque Cathedral of Lisbon (*Sé*) suffered great damage during the earthquake of 1755. In the late 18th and early 19th century, the repair work that was undertaken afforded the cathedral an air of neoclassical inspiration. Augusto Fuschini applied both Romanesque and Gothic forms, which resulted in a highly fanciful restoration. During the first half of the 20th century, the works continued, but now the work by Fuschini was removed and a more restrained programme was followed.

¹³ Joaquim Possidónio Narciso da Silva (1806-1896), the architect of the Royal Household, founded the *Real Associação dos Arquitectos Civis e Arqueólogos Portugueses* (Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists) (1863), over which he presided. There, he undertook important activities in the protection and restoration of monuments.

¹⁴ António Augusto Gonçalves (1848-1932), a teacher of design, a sculptor and archaeologist, was influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. Between 1893 and 1918, the restoration of the Old Cathedral of Coimbra was partially the responsibility of António Augusto Gonçalves, governed by the principle of veracity and denoting the influence of the methods and theory of Camillo Boito, already well-known in Portugal in 1895.

¹⁵ One of the best-known examples is the Roret Manuals collection, by the Frenchman Nicolas Roret, who in 1824 founded a publishing house in Paris, which became famous for its popular encyclopaedia of technology. On the subject of the restoration of monuments, this collection published Schmit (1845).

J.-P. Schmit was an inspector of religious monuments and a member of the *Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments*. The author expounds on the principles adopted by that Committee. His aim is to give advice, gained over 26 years from his studies and theoretical and practical experience in the restoration of monuments.

There is a copy of this manual in the "old catalogue" of the Municipal Library of Porto, stamped by the *Real Bibliotheca Publica do Porto*. In the *Catálogo da Bibliotheca publica de Guimarães*, dated 1888, p. 236, a copy of this manual is referred to in an edition from 1856.

We can conclude that this work was consulted in Portugal by restoration authors. Its availability in public libraries, widespread dissemination, and the contents that coincide with the type of restoration that was diligently practised in Portugal allow us to come to this conclusion.

The celebrated journal directed by César Daly, "Revue de L'Architecture et des Travaux Publics", in whose pages the restoration works carried out in France were extensively reported and discussed, was subscribed to by the Municipal Library of Porto in 1860.

boost in Portugal, restoration works took advantage of the enthusiasm (and funds) of individuals or local societies dedicated to the safeguarding of monuments. The authors of a number of projects took some advice, received praise and had disagreements with the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists; and certain restoration works were completed at a surprisingly fast rate, given that this was a time of crisis and instability, but also one of progress and development, processes which would frequently be at odds with the conservation of buildings from the past.

In undertaking incipient restoration works, in many cases with low budgets and without well-defined projects when compared with the vast, complex interventions performed on French, German, Italian or Spanish monuments, 19th-century Portuguese restorers were not unaware of the need to safeguard medieval buildings; on the contrary, they sought to establish there the presence of a past marked by bravery and grandeur, restoring buildings which best represented the legacy of the nation. By being closely linked to this latter consideration, the historical value of monuments was one of the main criteria, or rather, a *leitmotiv*, in choosing the buildings that were considered worthy of restoration and in determining the type of works that were to be carried out; another criterion was an admiration for architecture as one of the highest forms of art, due to its artistic and constructive qualities, and its emblematic ability to portray the era of its construction.

In recent years, a significant number of studies and research works have appeared, seeking to unravel the ties between the 19th century (and Viollet-le-Duc) and the practice of restoration as something immanent in its culture. Viollet-le-Duc, in his renowned *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française*, insisted, when dealing with restoration, that: "the word and the thing are modern"¹⁶. He denies the Greeks, the Romans and the Middle Ages the idea of restoration, stating that only in his time, since the historical discipline had been created, had it adopted such a distinct attitude in its relationship with the past (Viollet-le-Duc 1868). According to this author, the origins of restoration are linked to 18th-century intellectual developments brought about through palaeontology, philology, ethnology and archaeology, which opened new horizons for the analysis of the cultural world and for the understanding of medieval architecture, from which one should ultimately learn to build. Restoration and project merge together as concepts when the architect has the capacity to understand all the links with the past. Restoration is thus a great disciplinary discovery that combines the science of historical analysis and architecture.

The concepts of Viollet-le-Duc were part of a modern theory of architecture, which regarded the past as an object of scientific analysis, research and learning. This attitude implied a significant break with the dominant thinking of the preceding era, because the selection he made of Gothic architecture was dependent on his understanding of the constructions built in that style as organic and functional structures, in what amounted to a deliberately anti-classical position. According to the definitions of Riegl, the historical value of monuments mattered less than medieval architecture or the lessons that one could draw from this. It is for this reason that his restoration works were so "radical" and that his famous definition of *restauration* allowed for the restoration of a building to its complete state, which may in fact have never existed.

These concepts do not in any way correspond to the vast majority of the works undertaken in 19th-century Portugal and other European countries. This definition of restoration that has been

¹⁶ VIOLLET-LE-DUC, Eugène (1868). S./v. Restauration, "Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'Architecture Française du XI au XVIème siècle". Vol. 8, Paris, 1868.

presented, in which it is defined as a new discipline, belongs to Viollet-le-Duc and cannot be expanded to include the culture of restoration in its entirety.

In the Portuguese periodical press, the term restore/restoration was understood from the 1830s onwards as meaning to “renovate, reform, recover the former state of”. This definition was similarly upheld in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (Dictionary of the Portuguese Language) by António de Moraes e Silva, after its 3rd edition in 1823 (Silva 1823). The word restoration continued, however, to be used in its narrower sense of renovation, i.e. when the works done to a building conserved its present state, or also when it was altered by modern works. This latter interpretation, which was very commonly found in the chronicles of the 17th and 18th centuries, tended to be used less and less during the 19th century. The idea of “recovering the former state” prevailed and took hold. By the end of the century, there had been a certain change, since the term took on the clear meaning of an architectural intervention performed upon a partially ruined building, with the aim of restoring its destroyed elements. But, by this time, the differences between restoration and conservation were already at the centre of a fairly broad debate.

Taste and respect for the conservation and renovation of all artistic objects from the past are phenomena that have always existed, even if practised only sporadically, since that which is old is durable and ensures the continuity of civilisations. The Roman Empire thus understood this question by, at times, perpetuating constructions situated at the limits of its most remote outposts, because Rome was eternal, this being the founding idea and reason of the Empire. During the Middle Ages, there were many examples of restoration works undertaken on Roman buildings, as well as measures taken to prevent their destruction, especially in Papal Rome. In 15th-century Italy, a large number of Papal Edicts were issued to prevent the destruction of the architecture of Pagan and Christian antiquity. In Rome, these documents ordered the restoration of buildings such as the Pantheon, the Aqua Virgo aqueduct and the Aurelian walls, at the same time as other constructions from that period were being destroyed. The desire to modernise and embellish the city included the constructions of antiquity to which great artistic value, and a corresponding prestige, had been attributed, but it also led to the destruction of others. This consideration will always be a part of the conservation of monuments in Western Europe (Choay 1992: 26-50).

In Portugal, well-known examples of an interest in classical art and its conservation during the Humanist 16th century were provided by André de Resende¹⁷, as he admired Évora for its historical past, or Damião de Góis¹⁸, when describing the monuments of Lisbon.

Dom Manuel ordered the restoration of the royal tombs of Santa Cruz of Coimbra and its church, thus bestowing greater dignity on the founders of the monarchy. Symbolically, the works display the art of the king’s time and the multiple emblems of his reign. Also well-known were the royal statutes forbidding construction between the Jerónimos Monastery and the Tagus River (Rosa 1989:126) and the conservation measures taken to preserve buildings in the kingdom, which were the responsibility of the Court’s architects. Any other attitude would not make sense. All political systems need to preserve the symbols of their legitimacy.

¹⁷ André de Resende (1500-1573), humanist and antiquary, wrote, among other things, *História da Antiguidade da Cidade de Évora*, 1553.

¹⁸ Damião de Góis (1502-1574) described Lisbon’s monuments in *Elogio da Cidade de Lisboa*, published in Latin in 1554.

The attitude of Dom João V, who founded the *Academia Real de História Portuguesa* (Royal Academy of Portuguese History) in 1720, and passed a law to protect and study “ancient monuments” (Phoenician, Greek, Roman and Arab), was part of the European phenomenon that Françoise Choay has called “the Age of Antiquaries” (Choay 1992: 51-75). This was a time of interest in gathering knowledge on national antiquities, “in which the glory of the Portuguese Nation can have great interest”, since the loss of these vestiges would be “a loss so sensitive and damaging to the reputation and glory of ancient Lusitania” (Paço 1958 (8): 29-52).

Awareness of the damage that would be caused to the glory of the nation by the loss of those vestiges indicates an awareness of the value of heritage, but, as we have said, the prestige attached to antiquities and their safeguarding has existed throughout the ages, because of their aura of mystery, artistic value and raw materials.

3. Legislative measures

We will now focus on the restoration works of the early 19th century, excluding those that took place at the Batalha Monastery.

The first legislative measure regulating restoration of “public monuments” was introduced in 1840, inspired or supported by Mousinho de Albuquerque, who was then beginning his work on the Batalha Monastery. This measure was introduced because of the works which had been carried out on the Jerónimos Monastery since 1834, where the monastic quarters were on the verge of being adapted to accommodate a philanthropic institution that provided shelter for minors.

The norms established were as follows:

1– repairs or reforms are forbidden that alter the order and plan according to which the public monuments were built, since their worthiness for being classified as works of art, or historical heritage and monuments of national glory depends on the conservation of their original form and design;

2– the devastation that some buildings have suffered due to a total disregard for good taste and the precepts that should be adhered to in all repairs should be stopped, the results of this being evident in the restoration of the Jerónimos Monastery, one of the most celebrated and lavish Portuguese monuments;

3– the Administrative Committee must take the greatest possible care, especially with regard to the Monastery’s exterior, in order not to destroy or transform the original construction, doing its utmost to prevent the appearance of modern amendments “next to the beautiful old [structures]”, since this would be “a testimony to ignorance and a lack of esteem for our glorious antiquities”;

4– if there is the possibility that repair work may alter the proportions of the building’s construction, the project must be submitted to the government for its approval (Collecção 1840: 7).

The principles that were thus legislated for were certainly applied to a small number of constructions, being dependent on the supervisors of the works themselves, the state of the buildings and other circumstances, but the simple fact of their being decreed reveals the concept of restoration that at the time prevailed at the Ministry of the Kingdom (*Ministério do Reino*), then responsible for public works. The restoration of the Batalha Monastery and the position, conferred on Mousinho de Albuquerque in 1838, of Inspector of Public Works for that Ministry, were decisive in defining these

criteria.

The Ministry of Public Works, Trade and Industry (*Ministério das Obras Públicas, Comércio e Indústria*) was created in 1852, including a technical department that was responsible for repairs to national monuments, until then under the direction of the Ministry of the Kingdom. But the great reform of 1864, which reorganised the ministry and creating a body of engineers, some of whom studied in France, truly marked the introduction of an organised and structured restoration policy. That same year, the statutes were approved by the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists, a society which from its outset was dedicated to safeguarding the national heritage. These two facts, as well as the multiplication of articles in the illustrated periodical press and specialist presses after the end of the 1850s, were decisive in guaranteeing that in the following years, works dedicated to restoring the former appearance of buildings also increased dramatically. Furthermore, all these factors also favoured a greater availability of information than had existed in the previous decade.

4. Viollet-le-Duc's way or Portuguese taste?

Between 1835 and 1866, important reforms were undertaken on the monastic quarters of the Jerónimos Monastery. The restoration of the cloister was resumed in 1882, lasting until 1886, and the church was restored between 1868 and 1878.

In 1848, J. P. Narciso da Silva, who had developed an interest in the Jerónimos monument at an early stage, wished to publish a book on the Monastery, similar to the one that James Murphy had dedicated to Batalha, but he was unable to raise the necessary resources.

At the Paris Exhibition in 1867, he presented a wooden model of a project to restore the monastery, which focused in particular on the western façade and its respective towers. The project was not implemented, but years later it was still highly praised, in view of the “damage” that was then being done to the church.

The concept of authenticity, one of the principles of restoration most frequently debated in the 19th century, contributed to the ambiguity of this phenomenon, which fluctuated between the need to respect the historical monument, an explicit aspiration of Possidónio's, and the desire to alter it whilst nevertheless adhering to the criterion of authenticity and the maintenance of the original project.

The towers of Possidónio's project for Jerónimos were part of the area of intervention, or rather, of the *mimesis*, since the arrangement was inspired by elements that already existed in the building.

In his *Mémoire Descriptive du Project d'une restauration (...)*, Possidónio da Silva stated that he intended to restore not only all that was demolished and altered, but also to compose the part that was never built. The particular circumstances of the building, its historical value, the merit of its architecture, its original character, its inclusion in the category of “Manueline”¹⁹ architecture, a unique style developed during the reign of Dom Manuel, formed an ensemble of qualities that so interested the architect that he not only wanted to repair the building but also to complete it (Silva, J. 1867: 3).

¹⁹ The Manueline style is a Portuguese contribution to Late Gothic Art.

The architect also projected the highest part of the incomplete west portal and its choir, for which he established proportional measurements along the length of the naves. All these elements took the church as their module, both in terms of dimensions and ornamentation, creating a uniform whole. Possidónio indicated measurements for the different construction elements, establishing proportional relations between them, and applied the same relationship to new elements. In this way, he contended, an arrangement that was agreeable to the eye would be obtained, in harmony with the dimensions that the architect Boitaca had originally conferred on his striking, magnificent building (Silva, J. 1867: 5-6). Possidónio Narciso da Silva was acquainted with the work of Viollet-le-Duc, whom he greatly admired. In 1869, at the invitation of the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists, the French architect became a corresponding member of the society. The Jerónimos restoration project was inspired by works similar to those of Viollet-le-Duc, whose theoretical studies started to be published in 1854, even though he had been writing since the beginning of the decade about the restoration works, which he then supervised, in journals which Possidónio knew well and to which the Royal Association's Bulletin referred constantly, such as the "Revue générale de l'architecture"²⁰.

At the Jerónimos Monastery, Possidónio sought to accomplish something similar to the constructive and decorative logic that Viollet-le-Duc had found in Gothic architecture. In this sense, his project was the Portuguese example that most closely followed the restoration style applied by the French architect to such works as the Notre-Dame in Paris and the Cathedral of Clermont-Ferrand. The Portuguese projects developed at the turn of the century, such as those by Korrodi for the Castle of Leiria and by Fuschini for the Cathedral of Lisbon, also adhered to the Viollet-le-Duc's theory, but not all of the latter's restorations were in any way guided by the same criteria. Fuschini's and Korrodi's projects were closer to the definitions of the *Dictionnaire Raisonné (...)* and the reconstructions of Carcassonne and Pierrefonds.

Possidónio's project was not undertaken. Until the 1930s, no modern restoration project such as Viollet-le-Duc understood it in its twin dimensions was ever totally accepted in Portugal. The integrated, erudite projects, intended to complete great architectural structures that had not existed until then (towers, high vaults, portals, etc.) and which followed the theories of Viollet-le-Duc (in other words, which complied with what remained in the building that was then to be imitated, Possidónio's project being an example of this), or those proposing the reconstruction of a building that may never have existed, were not generally approved. Even when these projects were initially accepted, they were later altered. Korrodi's project for the Castle of Leiria (1898) suffered many alterations when it was put into practice, and Fuschini's project for the Cathedral of Lisbon (1899-1911) was greatly altered after partial reconstruction was already underway.

Let us take a more detailed look at the issue in hand. At the turn of the century, the projects developed by Possidónio, Korrodi and Fuschini had not endured, nor had they established a following in Portugal, and the projects for the covering of the Imperfect Chapels (*Capelas Imperfeitas*)²¹ of the Batalha Monastery (Murphy and Haupt) or the idea for the completion of the

²⁰ Consulting the lists of acquisitions of the Association's library published in its Bulletin, it can be seen that constant references are made to this publication.

²¹ The Imperfect Chapels (*Capelas Imperfeitas*) (1436-1533) correspond to an order initially made by Dom Duarte (1433-1438), to build a Pantheon located to the east of the church's entrance. This work, restarted several times, was never concluded, and its covering was left unfinished.

church of the Carmo Convent (*Convento do Carmo*)²² (1867, 1904) never met with enough support to be carried out. However, projects that were clearly revivalist and fanciful were applied to the Jerónimos Monastery (west wing) and to the Madre de Deus Convent. In other words, approval was given to projects relating to constructions that already existed, but which were to be adapted for new purposes. Such approval clearly removed the buildings' testimonial and historical value. They were no longer considered monuments, but constructions, so that inventive, and even festive, transformations were not considered distasteful, because the monument's historical value or its value in terms of antiquity was not being questioned.

The idea of profoundly altering an historical monument was never looked upon favourably and, for this reason, the most highly praised restoration works were those that adhered to the principle of authenticity and the search for the building's original state, copying, renovating and inventing, but not too much in any of these cases: Batalha (Mousinho de Albuquerque), the Old Cathedral of Coimbra (A. A. Gonçalves). This principle dated back to the 18th century, even in Portugal, but in the 19th century it was further stressed in the vast amount of thought dedicated to the historical value of monuments. The excessive esteem in which they were held made them practically untouchable.

It is true that artistic education did not adequately prepare architects, but it is also true that when there were architects capable of undertaking complete restoration works, almost no one accepted, wanted or understood them. It was not, then, a question of a lack of training in architecture, but rather a profound lack of artistic culture, together with an untimely, intense and exacerbated cult of the monument.

5. Purity, veracity and authenticity

One work that presented different characteristics was the restoration of the Church of São Miguel do Castelo in Guimarães, begun in 1874 under the supervision of Francisco Martins Sarmiento. Considered exemplary, this restoration funded by the Ministry of Public Works and by local subscription received high praise from the press and the Royal Association of Portuguese Civil Architects and Archaeologists, which awarded Francisco Martins Sarmiento a medal.

The church's prestige was enormous, both in the city and the country, not only because of its construction plan, but also due to its proximity to the Castle and especially because tradition stated that it was here that Dom Afonso Henriques was baptised. Its simplicity and reduced scale transformed this church into a showcase for illustrating both the virtues and the times of the founder of the Portuguese monarchy. Its value as a historical monument was extremely great. Its restoration, maintaining the church's "purity of style", pleased everyone.

Martins Sarmiento was an archaeologist, trained in positivism and an enthusiastic discoverer of objects of the past which were laden with historical *veracity*. The fact that he placed a few stone blocks next to the stairs and the inscription that accompanied them provided clear evidence of the spirit of this archaeologist, who sought to lay bare the remaining elements and simultaneously enhance them,

²² Construction of the Convent was ordered in 1393 by Dom Nuno Álvares Pereira (1360-1431), Constable of the Kingdom, as an *ex voto* for the victory achieved at the Battle of Aljubarrota (1385). The church was partially destroyed by the earthquake of 1755, which caused the Gothic covering to cave in.

as well as made apparent the diligence with which he supervised the church's restoration. The criterion adopted was the reconstruction with care and authenticity of the monument's original state, or in other words, of those elements where this was possible. In this sense, the works supervised by F. Martins Sarmento were very similar to those undertaken by A. A. Gonçalves at Coimbra's Old Cathedral.

In 1897, writing about the completion of the restoration works at Jerónimos Monastery, Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915), who worked as an inspector for the Commission for National Monuments, where he was responsible for analysing projects, set forth the Commission's stance on the practice of restoration:

He began by considering that only the practical purpose and utility of a building justified its restoration and established three fundamental criteria:

1– *in the same way that literary omissions are not filled in, so should architectural omissions not be filled in.*

This idea, revived by Camillo Boito, was already to be found in the debate taking place in France on the question of restoration. In 1851, Didron made a similar comparison in relation to the restoration of Reims Cathedral;

2– *a monument is a living organism which develops, is modified and transformed. To undo the work of one period in order to redo that of a previous period is to offend the continuity of tradition, "it is to harm the building (...) more or less scientifically, in an element that is essential to the integrity of its historical expression"*²³. (ORTIGÃO 1943 [1897]: 244).

During the first half of the 19th century, Victor Hugo, Didron, Prosper Mérimée, Montalembert and Guillermy strongly defended the non-suppression of elements added after the original construction. Respect for the integrity of buildings was to be one of the central aspects of the thought of J. Ruskin and W. Morris;

3– *the restored monument should have a plaque with its history and successive architectural alterations.*

One of the vectors of Camillo Boito's theory related to the visibility of the interventions that were carried out.

Conclusion

The restoration work undertaken in Portugal between 1835 and 1929 was highly diverse in terms of the models, criteria and principles adopted, as well as in the way that it followed the theories that were understood to a greater or lesser degree. It could not have been any other way. The time between these two dates is vast and the protagonists of the phenomenon were very different in their training and personality.

As we have already noted, in its more modern dimension, the type of restoration theorised by Viollet-le-Duc did not find much acceptance in Portugal, and we have already explained why. We believe that the text written by Ramalho Ortigão, quoted above, serves as an example of the adherence to new criteria as defined by Camillo Boito, but also illustrates the type of restoration that was more easily accepted. Alongside a mentality that rapidly adhered to recent theories, we observed an older school of thought. The general acceptance of some aspects of Boito's criteria stemmed from the fact that these same aspects corresponded to the type of restoration work that had the greatest number of advocates in 19th-century Portugal.

The constant concern with scraping off plaster and lime was a result, as we have said, of the historical value attached to monuments and the profound reflection that was dedicated to the subject in Portugal. However, restoration works undertaken after the Middle Ages were not often condemned to be regarded with total disdain. There were good and bad "vandalisms" and the various elements added to the original work (accretions) were often preserved because of their artistic quality. Undoubtedly, this notion of quality corresponded to a subjective and contemporary judgment, but we do not find in Portugal an exacerbated sense of medievalism in the restoration of monuments.

From a mixture of Mousinho de Albuquerque's classical search for exact conformity and harmony in the Batalha Monastery, the archaeological diligence pursued by Martins Sarmiento in restoring the church of São Miguel do Castelo, the search for veracity and the recreation of the original effect by A. A. Gonçalves in the restoration of Coimbra's Old Cathedral, and the idea of the primacy of architecture rooted in its capacity to signify the period of construction, as followed by Rosendo Carvalheira in the restoration project for the Cathedral of Guarda, a model of restoration was gradually developed, notwithstanding the differences, that was highly appreciated in Portugal at the time.

Unity of style – a concept that we assume enjoyed increasingly wider acceptance, particularly after 1930, is not quite the central issue as far as restoration in Portugal is concerned. Rather, it is a question of the idea of unity as a general rule in architecture, or, more precisely, the desire to make the planimetry, volumetry and constructive elements (i.e., the science of calculating planes and volumes) more distinct, thus allowing for a clearer perception of monuments.

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The Reluctant European: A Survey of the Literature on Portugal and European Integration 1947 – 1974

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Abstract

This bibliographical survey analyses the period open to study through historical archives, from the 1947 Marshall Plan to the 1974 Portuguese Democratic Revolution. Until recently, literature on Portugal and European integration was comparatively underdeveloped in relation to other countries of the European Union. Only the published works of the politician José Gonalo Corr a d'Oliveira, the diplomat Jos  Calvet Magalh es, and the economist Jos  da Silva Lopes, provided useful starting points for researchers. Fortunately, this has changed in recent years. The research project, "Portugal and the Unification of Europe", along with other archive-based work, has contributed to a healthier panorama.

Keywords

European integration, Portugal, bibliography, research.

"I think that some important facts which explain our approach to the European institutions are not registered or sufficiently clarified in the works which have dealt with this subject" (Magalh es 1981: 35-36).

When Ambassador Jos  Calvet Magalh es wrote these words, over twenty years ago, the bibliography on Portugal and European integration was comparatively underdeveloped in relation to other countries of the European Union. Only the published works of the politician Jos  Gonalo Corr a d'Oliveira, the diplomat Jos  Calvet Magalh es, and the economist Jos  da Silva Lopes, provided useful starting points for researchers in this area. Fortunately, this has changed in recent years. The research project, "Portugal and the Unification of Europe", co-ordinated by Ant nio Costa

Pinto and Nuno Severiano Teixeira, has provided a bibliography, a guide to archival sources and an oral history project in collaboration with the Archive of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry (AHD-MNE), as well as the publication of monographs and articles. Likewise, the archive-based work by Fernanda Rollo on the Marshall Plan, Pedro Cantinho Pereira on the early years of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), Elsa Santos Alípio on the Free Trade Area (FTA) and the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) negotiations, Nicolau Andresen-Leitão on the Portuguese reaction to the Common Market (CM) and the first attempt to enlarge the Community, and Sérgio Rodrigues on relations with the CM from 1960 to 1970, have contributed to a healthier panorama. This survey analyses the period open to study through historical archives, from the 1947 Marshall Plan to the 1974 Portuguese Democratic Revolution.

At present, there exist useful introductions to the field. The first survey is the collection of articles on *Movimentos de cooperação e integração europeia no pós-guerra e a participação de Portugal nesses movimentos* (Post-War Movements Toward European Cooperation and Integration, and Portugal's Participation in These Movements) to which career diplomats Ruy Teixeira Guerra, António Siqueira Freire and José Calvet de Magalhães, who all played important roles in the relations with Europe from 1948 to 1979, have contributed.¹ These diplomats believe that CM membership originates from entry in the OEEC, followed by 1960 EFTA membership, and the 1972 CM trade agreement. In *A nova era europeia* (The New European Era), José Medeiros Ferreira provides the antithesis and argues that Portugal and European integration should be backdated, as the country had deep political and economic links with the old continent prior to the OEEC.

There are also helpful general surveys (cross-referencing is necessary to check for discrepancies) by Manuel Porto ("Portugal: Twenty Years of Change"), António Barreto ("Portugal: democracy through Europe"), Gérard Bossuat ("Les enjeux des constructions européennes pour la France et le Portugal, 1944-1960"), Nuno Valério ("Portugal e a integração europeia"), António José Telo ("Portugal y la integración europea, 1945-1974"), Nicolau Andresen-Leitão ("Portugal's European Integration Policy 1947-1972"), and António Costa Pinto and Nuno Severiano Teixeira ("From Atlantic past to European destiny"). Extremely useful are the compilations of the main documents and testimonies of several politicians and diplomats linked to Europe, respectively in *Adesão de Portugal às Comunidades Europeias, História e Documentos* (Portuguese Adhesion to the European Communities: History and Documents) and in Costa Pinto and Severiano Teixeira, *Portugal e a integração europeia: a perspectiva dos actores* (Portugal and European Integration: the actors' perspective). An extensive interview by Álvaro Vasconcelos with Calvet Magalhães, *Europeístas e Isolacionistas na Política Externa Portuguesa* (Europeanists and Isolationists in Portuguese Foreign Policy), will be published this year.

The literature on political thinking about Portugal and European integration has grown in recent years. The article by Rollo on "Salazar e a construção europeia" (Salazar and the Construction of Europe) and Andresen-Leitão's dissertation, *The unexpected guest: Portugal and European Integration 1956-1963*, provide a useful synopsis of Salazar's thinking on Europe and argue that the dictator was flexible when necessary in his European policy. Other useful sources are the 6 March 1953 circular

¹ When authors have written other relevant articles, these are also cited in the bibliography.

telegram on the European Political Federation (in the appendix of the volume by Guerra, Freire and Magalhães), Salazar's collected speeches, and Franco Nogueira's unreliable biography of the dictator. José Manuel Tavares Castilho's *A ideia de Europa no Marcelismo (1968-1974)* (The Idea of Europe under Marcelo Caetano (1968-1974)) provides a full history of the Caetano government's contradictory relations with Europe (although based on secondary sources and failing to realise that in 1970 Portugal would initially attempt to negotiate CM associate status that would be refused by Brussels).² Caetano's bibliography is essential for studying both the Salazar period and his own premiership. Particularly useful is his volume, *Minhas memórias de Salazar* (My Memories of Salazar), whilst his *Ideias e reflexões ou páginas inoportunas* (Ideas and Reflections, or Inconvenient Pages) is an essential source for his 1957 speech on European policy at the Second Congress of Portuguese Industry. Further, his *As Grandes Opções* (The Great Options), provides the illuminating argument that Portugal and her colonies had deeper political, economic, cultural, and even defence ties with their neighbours than with one another.

José Gonçalo Corrêa d'Oliveira, head of European trade policy under Caetano from 1955-1958 and directly in 1958-1969, provides the next most relevant works. On Europe, the most important are *Portugal e o Mercado Comum Europeu* (Portugal and the European Common Market) and *Portugal e o Mercado Comum Europeu, II*. In 1963, Corrêa d'Oliveira felt that, "the development of the Portuguese economy is practically inseparable from the export of goods and services" and that it was necessary to view "the European market as irreplaceable." He added that, "even in a climate of high customs duties and administrative protection, the economic and financial dimensions of the country do not permit an autarkic policy" (Oliveira 1963: 13-15). Portugal had to take part in European trade developments.

In order to understand the contrasts within the regime towards a flexible policy on Europe, the bibliography of the 1961-1969 Foreign Minister, Franco Nogueira, should be consulted, although (as was the case with his biography of Salazar) he is an unreliable witness. The most relevant Nogueira bibliography consists of *Um Político Confessa-se, Debate Singular, As crises e os homens* (A Politician Confesses, Singular Debate, The Men and the Crises). In relation to the economic dimension of Nogueira's vision, the bibliography is limited to the 1970 contribution by Alberto Pinheiro Xavier (lecturer at the Lisbon Law Faculty), *Portugal e a Integração económica europeia* (Portugal and European Economic Integration). As in the case of Nogueira, his analysis should also be regarded with extreme caution.

In order to study the economic background, the works of Pereira de Moura, Silva Lopes, Álvares and Fernandes, António Romão, Costa Lobo and Corkill can be consulted. A leading academic, Francisco Pereira de Moura, wrote the 1960 parliamentary report on the EFTA convention and the landmark 1969 book on the Portuguese economy, *Para Onde Vai a Economia Portuguesa?* (Where is the Portuguese Economy Going?) A trade official from the 1959 EFTA negotiations onwards, Lopes has written widely and knowledgeably on the subject, with "A economia portuguesa desde 1960" ("The Portuguese Economy from 1960") providing the best economic account of relations with Europe from 1960 onwards. Pedro Álvares' and Carlos Roma Fernandes' *Portugal e o*

² Member of the Pinto and Teixeira research project.

Mercado Comum: da EFTA aos acordos de 1972 (Portugal and the Common Market: from EFTA to the 1972 accords), and António Romão's *Portugal face à CEE: uma avaliação global do processo de integração económica (1960-1980/2)* (Portugal and the CEE: a general analysis of the process of economic integration (1960-1980/2)), analyse the impact of the CM from 1960 onwards and conclude that Portugal became increasingly dependent on this organisation, to which there was no policy alternative. Marina Costa Lobo further details how the Portuguese economy increasingly converged with Europe in the productive sector, in exports and in diminishing the macroeconomic gap (Lobo 2000: 612). David Corkill provides a good analysis in English of the increased importance of Europe for the Portuguese economy. Thorough coverage of the internal debate on the Portuguese economy and Europe is provided by Castilho, Alípio, Rodrigues and Andresen-Leitão.

The literature on Portugal's dependence on the European market is extensive and should be consulted on the issue of the absence of alternative policy options and markets, and the need to reach an agreement with either the Free Trade Area (FTA)/EFTA or with the CM. Besides the literature quoted previously, an invaluable resource is provided in the innumerable studies of the Lisbon-based Portuguese Industrial Association (*Associação Industrial Portuguesa*, AIP) and the Oporto Industrial Association (*Associação Industrial Portuense*, OIP). Particularly relevant are the speeches and conclusions of the Second AIP Congress of Portuguese Industry (*Associação Industrial Portuguesa - AIP 1957*), the OIP report on the CM and the FTA (*Indústria do Norte 1957*), as well as the studies by João Dias Rosas, *O movimento económico europeu: suas incidências na economia portuguesa* (The European Economic Movement: its effects on the Portuguese economy) and Luís Teixeira Pinto, *Portugal e a integração económica europeia* (Portugal and European Economic Integration). The argument is later repeated by the AIP and OIP. EFTA entry spurred the AIP to hold a Conference in 1960 on the question of Portugal and European Integration (*Associação Industrial Portuguesa - AIP 1960*), in which the speeches and conclusions mirror prior analysis.

The fullest account on Portugal and the Marshall Plan is provided by Fernanda Rollo. This author argues that the Marshall Plan provoked a significant shift in Salazar's foreign policy. Hitherto, the Portuguese ruler had favoured an "Atlantic" policy based on the defence of the empire and strong relations with Spain and Brazil. Salazar was suspicious of the post-war world dominated in the west by the United States, and was particularly wary of US policies in Europe. The 1947-1948 financial crises led the government to reverse its policy and to seek Marshall Aid. The most important long-term impact of this reversal was that Portugal was determined to become involved in developments in Europe and avoid isolation in the future.

The early years of Portugal's membership in the OEEC are analysed by Pedro Cantinho Pereira, in *Le Portugal et l'Europe, 1947-1953*. Pereira concludes that, in relation to European issues, Portugal's foreign policy was remarkably stable. Lisbon was interested in cooperation between the European countries, considered that West Germany should quickly be integrated into the Western defensive system and that, similarly, Spain should also be integrated in economic, monetary and defensive terms. Lisbon rejected any form of supranationalism that might lead to European integration, (thereby threatening the Salazar regime), mistrusted, but at the same time accepted, the importance of the United States, recognised the need to face the Soviet threat and, finally, rejected any external interference in Portuguese internal policy. Despite Lisbon's reservations, Cantinho Pereira

rightly considers that throughout his period of research there was a deepening of links between Portugal and Europe.

Contemporary literature on Portugal's perception and reaction to the creation of the CM is limited. The only clear exception to this timid reaction is the above-mentioned OIP report, which clearly favoured membership. The negative view of the Portuguese government on CM membership is best expressed by Corrêa d'Oliveira. Alípio and Andresen-Leitão also provide a good analysis of the issue.

On the Portuguese position during the failed Free Trade Area (FTA) negotiations of 1956-1958, which would lead to the creation of EFTA, the archive-based research of Alípio and Andresen-Leitão should both be read. The first provides a well-written description of the negotiations, while the latter provides a more analytical, if at times overly detailed, account. Alípio points out that the success of Portugal in becoming a founding member of EFTA began with the failed FTA negotiations between the Six and the remaining OEEC members. Alípio judges that Portugal attempted to become a member of the FTA and became a member of EFTA in order to avoid isolation in Europe (repeating the Rollo argument above), reverting to a bilateral policy that would be condemned to failure due to the importance of the combined CM/FTA-EFTA markets (Alípio 2001: 173). Alípio's second major conclusion accurately considers that Portugal was almost successful within the FTA because it adopted the correct negotiating strategy of seeking to have its case analysed within the main FTA negotiations rather than within the negotiations for developing countries (Alípio 2001: 171).³

On the EFTA negotiations, both the authors quoted above should be read, in particular Andresen-Leitão, as well as the archive-based article of Richard T. Griffiths and Bjarne Lie "Portugal e a EFTA 1959-1973" (Portugal and EFTA 1959-1973). Griffiths and Lie erroneously believe that during the EFTA negotiations, Portugal had considerable negotiating power and did not face such traumatic negotiations as the Norwegians did in getting the British to accept fish as an industrial product (Griffiths and Lie 1996: 191). Alípio also mistakenly considers that Portuguese negotiators only faced specific difficulties in the 1959 negotiations (Alípio 2001: 171). In fact, as Andresen-Leitão emphasizes, Portugal's membership was constantly in doubt, as the country sought a specific transition period for its economy. Britain and the Scandinavian countries feared that if this concession was made public it would lead other developing countries (namely Greece and Ireland) to request similar conditions. Only in July 1959 would a solution be found by the British politician Maudling - the concessions to be negotiated with Portugal would remain confidential until the signing of the EFTA Convention. Doubts about Portugal's membership would remain until the end of the negotiations in November 1959. In the early hours of 6 November, the Portuguese threatened to abandon the negotiations, after considerable opposition from the British and the Danes, unless they obtained acceptance that tomato concentrate be included in the convention (Andresen-Leitão 2004b: 271-272).

Santos Alípio concludes that the option for EFTA membership provoked an important breach in Salazar's independent foreign policy (Alípio 2001: 171). Rodrigues argues that the Portuguese government did not understand the consequences of membership and that Portugal became a

³ Member of the Pinto and Teixeira research project.

founding member because of Portuguese diplomats who were in favour of Europe and democracy (Rodrigues 2003: 72). Andresen-Leitão disagrees, considering that the Portuguese government was fully conscious of the consequences of EFTA membership and that Portugal became a founding member because the cabinet fully backed the Portuguese negotiating team, which was led not by diplomats but by the politician Corrêa d'Oliveira (Andresen-Leitão 2004b: 42-43).

The bibliography on Portugal's membership in EFTA is limited. In addition to the works already mentioned, the most useful historical studies are those by Pierre du Bois and Bettina Hurni, *EFTA from Yesterday to Tomorrow*, and by Jorge Braga de Macedo, "Portugal's Twenty-five EFTA Years".

With the exception of Rodrigues and Andresen-Leitão, the bibliography has only skimmed over the reasons for the Portuguese policy option in favour of CM associate membership during the first attempt to enlarge the Community in 1961-1963. Rodrigues argues that the Portuguese attempt to obtain associate membership in the CM was marked by the perplexity of the government, which was incapable of making up its own mind, and whose actions were only a reaction to the proposals of the country's EFTA partners (Rodrigues 2003: 62). Further on, Rodrigues repeats that the Foreign minister, Franco Nogueira, wanted to limit the government's European policy options (Rodrigues 2003: 205-207, 218). Andresen-Leitão has reached entirely different conclusions. This author argues that the policy option for attempting to obtain CM associate membership was a conscious government decision based on a government-commissioned report and explained in detail by Corrêa d'Oliveira and Pinto Barbosa to the other EFTA members, and Britain in particular. The main decision-makers would be Salazar and Corrêa d'Oliveira, who was responsible for European trade policy, and Nogueira would not limit but acquiesce to the policy option in favour of associate membership (Andresen-Leitão 2004b: 273-290). Both Rodrigues and Andresen-Leitão agree that, due to opposition within the CM member countries, it was highly improbable that Portugal would have been able to negotiate associate status (Rodrigues 2003: 74-206, Andresen-Leitão 2004b: 292-295). The literature tends to concentrate on the 1970-1972 negotiations, and, with the exception of Rodrigues, ignores the fact that Portugal would again attempt to negotiate associate membership rather than a trade agreement at that time, and only settled for the latter after opposition from the CM countries. Rodrigues provides the fullest account based on primary sources, but his analysis should be treated with caution as it reveals a fragmentary use of the sources and a scant knowledge of the Portuguese history of the period. Castilho provides a full account based on secondary sources. João Cravinho and Paulo Pitta e Cunha (as well as the general surveys) are also useful. The prevalent view is that, had it not been for EFTA membership, it is doubtful that Portugal would have signed a CM trade agreement in 1972, because of its colonial policy. Most authors concur with Cravinho's view that, "an agreement with the EEC had to be reached immediately at practically any price" due to the Britain's importance for Portuguese exports and because, "the agreement conveyed the usual message that the rich and strong must be defended from the poor and weak. Portugal got a rough deal on the export side" (Cravinho 1983: 135). By contrast, Paulo Pitta e Cunha does not see the agreement as unfavourable to Portugal (Cunha 1993: 194-195). In reality, however, conditions were less than favourable, as exceptions to free trade affected about 45 percent of Portuguese exports (Lopes 1996: 277).

The Portuguese government argued that a European policy and a colonial policy were complementary and that one reinforced the other. The main advocate of this view was Corrêa d'Oliveira, who was convinced that to develop its economy and its Empire, Portugal needed to participate in European economic co-operation initiatives. Corrêa d'Oliveira not only considered that the European and imperial options were complementary, but that Europe was crucial for the defence of the empire, as European markets were necessary for "the expansion of the national economy", the basis for sustaining "the war imposed on us for the defence of the integrity of the nation" (Oliveira 1963: 69-70). No other politician spelled this out quite so clearly, except for Daniel Barbosa, who noted that, "for military reasons, the acceleration of national economic growth [fostered by EFTA] becomes a decisive imperative for the life of the Nation" (Barbosa 1966: 260). Similar views were expressed in 1969 by the AIP president Carlos Alves (in Castilho 2000: 284, 387).

That an active European trade policy was not exempt from political risks was an issue the Salazar government preferred to ignore. Corrêa d'Oliveira accepted that participation in European integration "for other European countries could transcend economic interests and may affect the future of these Nations, if they accept guidelines from higher decision-making centres than their own sovereign bodies" (Oliveira 1963: 5). He failed to recognize, or at least admit, that, during the 1961-1963 negotiations, the Portuguese government opted in favour of CM associate membership, which had political implications. In 1966, Daniel Barbosa admitted publicly that it was "utopian" to ignore the fact that integration could "raise [...] delicate problems in the political arena itself". (Barbosa 1966: 241-242). As noted by Cravinho, "in the past, political aims tended to ignore or underestimate changes exerted by increased integration", and "now they may tend to take too much for granted in regard to their beneficial effects" (Cravinho 1983: 147).

The colonial faction regarded "any type of closeness with the CM a risk of political contagion and psychological deviation, harmful to the overseas pledge". (Freire 1981: 22). During a 1970 parliamentary debate on Europe, Franco Nogueira argued that European integration was a threat not only to colonial policy but also to national independence. This inflamed rhetoric was reflected in Xavier's economic analyses that same year (Xavier 1970: 266-268, 270). Telo considers that the colonial faction was a small minority by the 1970s and had little influence on economic policy-making (Telo 2000: 313). On the internal debate on European and colonial policy options, good accounts are provided by Rodrigues and, in particular, Castilho and Andresen-Leitão. Rodrigues and Andresen-Leitão acknowledge that in fact these were not rival policy options, as the colonial war effort, and therefore colonial policy, was financed through European economic links.

By the late 1960s, there was an increasingly dominant third opinion within governmental and non-governmental circles that Portugal should seek CM membership, thereby forgoing its non-democratic regime and colonial policy. In 1964, Silva Lopes wrote in *Análise Social* (Social Analysis), Portugal's leading academic journal, that EEC associate membership was the best policy option (Lopes 1964: 791). The first politician to openly defend this was Daniel Barbosa in 1966, arguing that EFTA should negotiate entry to the CM because the latter was a superior political and economic concept. Barbosa favoured membership despite the fact that the CM countries opposed both the non-democratic nature of the regime and Portugal's colonial policy, and although the looser structure of EFTA was more than advisable at that time (Barbosa 1966: 241-243). In 1972, Minister of State

João Mota Campos came out in favour of democracy and CM membership: “We should [...] acknowledge and proclaim our European vocation, reflected in irreversible actions, in particular by accepting the evolution of our Agreement with the European Community, in such a way that some day we can overcome present impediments and occupy the place that we are entitled to have among the people of western Europe.” This meant implementing “clear internal policies and institutions, transforming them by democratic means into institutions truly representative of the Portuguese people” (in Porto 1984: 98). The European option was also supported by technocrats such as the secretary for industry, Rogério Martins (1969-1972), and Sousa Franco, and opposition figures such as Pereira de Moura and Manuel Bello.⁴ For this internal debate, see Rodrigues and, in particular, Castilho.

All the non-Marxist literature after 1974 agrees that Portugal’s participation in European economic integration demonstrated that this policy was more logical than the colonial option. Cravinho considers that, “in two decades Portugal has moved almost from secular isolationism from West European affairs to deep irreversible insertion in an integrated Europe”. EFTA membership meant that, “in little more than ten years the ruling elite veered from stubborn ignorance of European integration to acceptance of full EEC membership as a desirable medium- to long-term objective” (Cravinho 1983: 132, 147). Braga da Cruz points out that, “emigration and trade began to define, in an independent and disorganized but categorical manner, a tendency towards favouring integration in Europe” (Cruz 1992: 153). Silva Lopes concludes that, “joining EFTA in 1960 and later on the preferential agreement concluded with the EEC had another consequence worthy of great attention: they affirmed the priority, in the economic sphere, of the European option over the overseas option” (Lopes 1996: 237-238). Porto adds that, “these developments partly explain changes in attitudes in the middle of the 1970s towards the geographical role of Portugal” (Porto 1984: 92). And “it became clear”, according to Costa Lobo, “that there was an incompatibility between deepening links with Europe and the continuation of the authoritarian regime” (Lobo 2000: 623).

Andresen-Leitão concludes that Portugal’s post-war European integration policy was similar to that of the other British-led OEEC members that initially rejected the political objectives of the CM, but which for economic reasons - which in the case of Portugal after 1974 were also political reasons - eventually became members. In political terms, the fact that Portugal was a dictatorship until 1974 was not unique, for this negative distinction was shared with neighbouring Spain, which adopted similar policy options; but the colonial policy continued by Portugal up to 1974 was singular in the history of European integration (Andresen-Leitão 2004: 314-315).

At present, the bibliography on Portugal and European integration up to 1974 presents a respectable picture, although much work remains to be done. For example, detailed work on Portugal’s membership of the OEEC/OECD and EFTA is still missing.

⁴ Mentioned in the bibliography.

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The Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown University

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Established in 1977 as a multidisciplinary Center and granted departmental status in 1991, Portuguese and Brazilian Studies has a national and international reputation for excellence in research and teaching on the Portuguese-speaking world. The Department is unique in its comprehensive coverage of the Portuguese-speaking world, with unparalleled teaching and research resources on Brazil and Portugal, and growing emphasis on Lusophone Africa. The Portuguese and Brazilian Studies faculty comprises scholars in the Humanities and Social Sciences with specialization in Portuguese, Brazilian, Lusophone and Comparative Literature, Portuguese and Brazilian History, Education, Anthropology, Cross-Cultural Studies, Race Relations, Judaic Studies, Cultural Studies and Second-Language Acquisition. Our distinguished regular faculty is complemented by frequent visitors from Portugal and Brazil. Besides having a stellar publication record, Portuguese and Brazilian Studies faculty members serve on editorial boards of several professional journals and are active in all of the major professional associations in the field, holding leadership positions in, among others, the Brazilian Studies Association, the International Association of Lusitanists, the Modern Language Association of America, the American Portuguese Studies Association, and the Latin American Jewish Studies Association. The Department houses three professional journals (*Brasil/Brazil: A Journal of Brazilian Literature*, *Gávea-Brown: A Bilingual Journal of Portuguese-American Letters and Studies* and the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*) as well as *Gávea-Brown Publications*, which publishes books on Portuguese and Portuguese-American literature and culture, including translations.

Through joint appointments and other initiatives, the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies collaborates with a variety of units, including the Departments of Africana Studies, Anthropology, Comparative Literature, Education and History, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Watson Institute for International Studies, the John Carter Brown Library, the Program in Judaic Studies, and the Education Alliance. The Department also maintains close cooperation with several universities in Brazil and Portugal, in the form of joint publications and research projects, sponsorship of events, advising of doctoral students, hosting of post-doctoral scholars, and study abroad. Among these universities are the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio), the Catholic University of Rio Grande

do SUL (PUC-RS), the Federal Fluminense University (UFF), the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), the University of Oporto, the University of Aveiro, the University of Lisbon, and the Superior Institute for Labor and Entrepreneurship Science (ISCTE). Over the past two decades we have welcomed a steady flow of visiting scholars from other institutions in the United States as well as from abroad, who have come to Brown to conduct research for dissertations, books and articles. Most of the foreign scholars have been supported by grants from funding agencies of the Brazilian government (CAPES and CNPq) and from Portuguese foundations such as Calouste Gulbenkian, Instituto Camões and FLAD (Luso-American Development Foundation).

The Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies offers an interdisciplinary undergraduate concentration in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies as well as graduate programs leading to the master's and the Ph.D. degrees. Among the graduate degrees are an interdisciplinary master's degree in Brazilian Studies and a master's degree in English as a Second Language and Cross-Cultural Studies, which is administered in cooperation with the Education Alliance and has served as training ground for dozens of high school teachers and administrators in southern New England. The Ph.D. in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies has acquired a solid reputation as the preeminent doctoral program in the United States focusing on the literatures and cultures of the Portuguese-speaking world. Regarded as a success story and a university showcase, the Department received financial support from the Graduate School for a pilot program designed to bring Brown Ph.D. graduates back to campus for conferences and lectures. In May 2005 we celebrated the tenth anniversary of the first two doctorates in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies with the participation of all of our Ph.D. graduates, who joined our faculty and current graduate students for a two-day symposium. Our doctoral program has maintained one of the highest admissions yields in the Brown Graduate School while the Department's placement record of our Ph.Ds. stands at 100% despite a tight job market. Our graduates have been offered faculty positions at Harvard, Tulane, Notre Dame, Chicago, Georgia, Brown, Vanderbilt, Wisconsin, St. Mary's and Rhode Island College, as well as three universities in the prestigious Brazilian federal university system (Minas Gerais, Bahia and Paraíba).

The presence of a distinguished Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown has helped attract to our sister departments graduate students interested in studying the Portuguese-speaking world. In addition to pursuing their specific professional training in their home departments, such students are able to enroll in courses and take advantage of faculty resources in the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, while becoming part of a strong interdisciplinary cohort of scholars in the university at large who share an academic interest in the Portuguese-speaking world. Indeed, over the past couple of decades a growing number of outstanding master's theses and doctoral dissertations on topics related to Brazil, Portugal, and Lusophone Africa have been presented to such departments as Anthropology, Comparative Literature, Hispanic Studies, History, Political Science and Sociology.

Our selective undergraduate concentration, requiring command of the Portuguese language at the advanced level, completion of interrelated courses in the Humanities and Social Sciences focusing on the Portuguese-speaking world, and participation in an interdisciplinary seminar that includes the writing of a major research paper in Portuguese, has generally attracted excellent students. Portuguese and Brazilian concentrators have consistently graduated *magna cum laude*, been elected to the Brown chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and fared well in competition for post-graduate awards, including four Fulbright grants over the past six years. They have attended prestigious graduate, medical, law and business schools and gone on to successful careers in education, communications, law, government, medicine and business.

Essentially all of our concentrators spend one or two semesters studying at a university in a Portuguese-speaking country, with most participating in the Brown-in-Brazil Program. Rated by the Office of International Programs as one of the university's best-run study abroad programs, the Brown-in-Brazil Program is based at the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, arguably the leading private institution of higher learning in Brazil. Unlike some study abroad programs at Brown, the Brown-in-Brazil Program is closely supervised by the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies and interconnected with our undergraduate curriculum. Open to all Brown students with adequate preparation, regardless of their concentration, the program has also welcomed students from our peer institutions, including Columbia, Smith, Yale, Harvard, Cornell, Princeton, Notre Dame, Vanderbilt, Tulane and others.

The Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies also serves the Brown community at large by offering a variety of courses in English as well as outstanding Portuguese language instruction. Indeed, quality Portuguese language instruction has been one of the hallmarks of the Department since its beginnings as a Center. Both junior and senior faculty members are committed to and have participated in language teaching. Reputed for its effectiveness and known for its innovative methodologies, the Portuguese language program has attracted a growing number of students, most of whom continue through several levels of instruction. Our language program has consistently received high marks from our students and served as a model for other institutions.

Besides offering first-rate academic programs, the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies functions as the nucleus for on-campus activities relating to the Portuguese-speaking world through its active and varied program of cultural events, including lectures, concerts, symposia and film series. At the same time, the Department extends its resources beyond the university walls by opening many of its programs to the surrounding community. Together with our master's degree in Cross-Cultural Study, these programs reaffirm the Department's commitment to community outreach.

The *Associação Portuguesa De História Económica e Social*: The First 25 Years (1980-2005)

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In November of 2004, in Lisbon, the *Associação Portuguesa de História Económica e Social* (APHES) held its 24th Congress. Over 150 abstract submissions, from Portugal and abroad, responded to a far-reaching call for papers. About 100 papers were selected by a Committee, and were presented in parallel sessions over two days, in a lively and stimulating environment. Thirty percent of the participants came from abroad and the same proportion of sessions was held in English. The papers were grouped into sessions with a wide range of topics, including medieval Social History, late modern Agrarian History, nineteenth century Business History, History of Economic Thought and quantitative Economic History. In one conference room, the development of agrarian institutions in the late Medieval and early Modern periods was discussed, and we could easily notice there how our colleagues presenting papers on England and the Netherlands were interested in learning more about institutional development in the Alentejo and Madeira – and vice-versa. In another room, we listened to an interesting discussion on the European Empires held by scholars from the United States, Portugal and other European countries, and by young Portuguese researchers studying abroad. In a third room, we were introduced to the most recent research on labor history and on the history of energy consumption. In short, this was a truly interesting European meeting.

The Lisbon Congress was relatively easy to organize – at least from the point of view of the Board of the *Associação*. That was so because it was backed by a tradition that was then 24 years old and also because the vast majority of Portuguese economic and social historians have strong international links. With such a body of experience, with such a development of international links and with such a flexible and lively institutional framework, the *Associação* can certainly go far.

The *Associação* was founded in 1980 by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and a group of his collaborators and students, working in the economics faculties of the Universidade Técnica de Lisboa (ISEG) and the University of Coimbra (where the association has had its headquarters since its foundation). In those early days, late modern and nineteenth century economic and social history were of predominant interest. And a small revolution was going on. At that time, we lacked firm quantitative evidence on the (metropolitan) Portuguese economy for the period since the 17th century, and much new ground was being broken. Interestingly enough, the topics that were chosen for investigation – namely Ancien Régime institutions and agrarian development, investment in railways and other social overhead capital, market integration during

industrialization, and the role of the State in nineteenth and early twentieth century economic growth – were topics that were being researched elsewhere in Europe (and the US). This was clearly a first strong sign of the international leaning of Economic and Social History research in Portugal.

The main concern of the *Associação* from the beginning was first and foremost the organization of annual conferences or *meetings* (we traditionally avoid the more formal designation of conferences). These meetings were of course to be open to all researchers and, most importantly, all *did* in fact come. A further major concern of the *Associação* since its earlier days was that it truly be an institution with contacts at universities across Portugal. This required, first, that its congresses be hosted by faculties and departments from all over the country, and thus that the *Associação* be a major meeting point for researchers in different institutional settings. Secondly, the fact that there has been an intense interchange at the national level has meant that there has been a balanced discussion of topics of national as well as regional and local interest, to the benefit of all involved. It should be noted that in some areas national topics depend on research at the local level and that local topics benefit from a broader discussion at the national (and from there international) level.

The high degree of openness of the *Associação* ultimately means that it is very hard to find in Portugal a living economic or social historian, be he/she well established, less well established, or a young researcher, that has not participated in some way or another in one of our meetings since 1980.

One further characteristic of the *Associação* should be mentioned. It is the fact that it has traditionally concentrated its attention on research and research alone. What we do is to provide the best possible environment for papers to be presented, discussed and developed in order that they may be published in academic journal and books. We focus on what has to be done in order to improve the quality of the research that is published. In the process, of course, there is also plenty of space for new research agendas to emerge. Is there anything important missing? Yes, certainly so – but we should keep on the same path.

One missing link is related to the promotion of research by young researchers, namely, the organization of summer schools and other events where graduate students can present research for their dissertations. One important step in that direction was made in 2001, with the creation of a highly successful annual prize for master's dissertations.

The *Associação* has a sister institution, which is the *Revista de História Económica e Social*, which was founded at the same time, had Vitorino Magalhães Godinho as its first Director, and has exclusively featured members of our organization on its successive editorial boards. Since 1986, the *Associação* has also been a member of the International Economic History Association.

With such an enthusiastic response to the call for papers and with so many foreign papers and sessions in English, was the Lisbon 2004 Conference a blip or instead a further step in a changing trend by which a national economic and social history association is getting increasingly international? History seems to tell us that we are most probably looking at a change in trends. Our conviction that this may in fact be the case can be further strengthened by looking at what is happening presently around Europe.

Economic and Social History is increasingly becoming a European venture, as is happening with most fields of the Social Sciences. We may observe this not only in Portugal but also in other countries closer to ours, most of all, Spain, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, as well as France, Italy and Germany. The annual Conference of the British Economic History Society has recently opened up its call for papers so that a large share of papers presented there are on non-British topics, and that many of its participants are from overseas. In conferences in Europe and elsewhere, we find an increasing number of scholars from all parts of Europe discussing their research in English. The Europeanization – or

internationalization – of research is increasingly becoming a major concern of economic and social historians all over. Yet there are not many conferences taking place on a regular basis with a truly international or European character. In fact there are far too few, particularly conferences with parallel sessions where there is plenty of time to present and discuss papers. Thus, there clearly is a niche market to be explored and the *Associação* is well-placed to fulfil such a task. The next meeting, at the University of Évora, in November of 2005, will only confirm all this.

For more on the *Associação*, see our website at: www.aphes.pt

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Ph.D. dissertations in Modern and Contemporary History

Ph.D. Dissertations in Modern and Contemporary history are very recent in Portuguese Universities, especially on the 20th century, the explanation being the recent institutionalization of Democracy. Nevertheless, following the development of Master Programs from the 1980s on, the number of Ph.D. Dissertations increased significantly, and new areas were studied, especially the First Republic (1910-1926) and the so-called “New state” of Salazar (1933-1974).

It is difficult to have a clear picture by area, since the list presented bellow is certainly incomplete, due to the fact that Portugal does not have a centralized list of Dissertations and Departments of History do not have yet “Ph.D. Programs”. Although in a process of transition to a new structure of pos-graduation, the majority of dissertations presented here are the product of the “old system”, based on occasional tutorials between the adviser and the Ph.D. student.

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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Bernard Bailyn: *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*.
(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

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Professor Bailyn, a distinguished historian of colonial America at Harvard University, has written an eloquent and succinct overview of his vision of the Atlantic world. After organizing and directing a series of seminars on Atlantic history, Professor Bailyn pauses to look back, first, at the general concept of Atlantic history (what that phrase has meant to various people over time), and second, at the Atlantic's contours, or, how the Atlantic world has changed over the centuries. The work is a stimulating essay and the product of many years of reflection. It is also a work that will interest undergraduates as well as scholars working in this field.

The Atlantic history seminars directed by Professor Bailyn were, in their first years, limited in scope to those regions that would later become part of the United States. Professor Bailyn's Atlantic is thus profoundly British, and very northern. In a nutshell, this is the work's major problem. While expressly stating that Atlantic history is greater than the sum of its parts, "as much Spanish as British, as much Dutch as Portuguese, as much African as American", (p. 60) Professor Bailyn really focuses on one, British or Anglo-American dimension, over the course of the eighteenth century. Whenever he gives examples, he turns to British North America, occasionally mentioning Spain and its empire.

Unfortunately, the work does not have a bibliography, just a very unsatisfactory listing of sources in its endnotes. Looking through these, the reader can clearly see Professor Bailyn's preference for the eighteenth century in general, and British North America in particular. The sources listed are overwhelmingly in English, with a couple of French and Spanish works cited as well. Notably absent in a work of this scope are any Portuguese-language sources. It should not come as a surprise to the reader that the Portuguese presence in Professor Bailyn's Atlantic World is minimal, if not altogether absent. The Dutch (and for that matter the Luso-Dutch struggles of the 1600s) are equally neglected. The French presence is only marginally greater in this very British World.

If Professor Bailyn were more familiar with the literature of Portuguese expansion and interactions in the Atlantic, his would have been a very different work. Even if we limit the reading

list to works in English and French, there exists a sufficient enough number of studies on the Portuguese in the Atlantic to help fill the huge gaps in Professor Bailyn's Atlantic overview. Let me begin by asking a fundamental question not addressed in this work: who created this Atlantic World and when? I suggest that part of the answer to this question can be found in works by Zurara, Pereira, and Cadamosto, entitled, respectively, *Chronicle of the Discovery of Guinea*, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, 1506-1508, and *The Voyages of Cadamosto and other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*, and all usefully translated into English by the London-based Hakluyt Society during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These individuals, working for the Portuguese crown in the fifteenth century, began the process of creating an Atlantic World. The Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé, Guiné and Angola, the territories that made up this Portuguese Atlantic, are not mentioned in Professor Bailyn's work. And because Professor Bailyn has overlooked Brazil as an important component of the Atlantic, he has also missed links between the Atlantic and central and southern Africa. Each time he mentions Africa, it is West Africa. Angola, the famous black mother of Brazil, is totally absent.

These criticisms mean only that the work does not live up to its title. Regardless, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* is an engaging and sweeping view of much of the available literature in English about a mostly British North America. It would have been more accurate to label the book *The British Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century*.

Review of *Contemporary Portugal: Politics, Society and Culture*
(Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 2003).
Edited by António Costa Pinto

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Contemporary Portugal is an ambitious and important volume that offers a multifaceted and complex picture of contemporary Portugal. Edited by António Costa Pinto, this tome brings together an impressive group of scholars from a variety of disciplines, including the social sciences, the arts, and cultural studies.

It consists of 11 chapters. Three chapters deal with economic matters, three examine questions related to the colonial empire, three look at various aspects of contemporary Portuguese culture, and two analyze political themes.

António Costa Pinto's introduction in Chapter 1 is a clear, concise and intelligent analysis of the twists and turns of twentieth-century Portuguese history. Chapter 2, co-authored by Nuno Monteiro and Costa Pinto, carefully examines the changing images of Portuguese national identity, from the so-called "Imperial myth" to a contemporary national identity wrapped up in the idea of a greater Europe. Chapter 3, by Valetim Alexandre, offers an historical analysis of Portuguese colonialism. Nuno Severiano Teixeira examines Portuguese foreign policy from 1890 to 2000 in Chapter 4. Considered together, chapters 3 and 4 offer splendid and detailed analyses of twentieth century Portuguese colonial history. The next three chapters have economic themes. Chapter 5, by Pedro Lains, contributes an excellent study of the Portuguese economy in the twentieth century. Chapter 6, by Maria Ioannis B. Baganha, examines Portuguese emigration patterns in the post-1945 period. Chapter 7, by Antonio Barreto, looks at social change in Portugal between 1960 and 2000. These three chapters do a masterful job of examining and explaining the Portuguese economy, and are suitable for both experts and undergraduate audiences. Political scientists will find chapters 8 and 9 the most interesting. Chapter 8 features Pedro Magalhães writing on elections, parties and policy-making. Marina Costa Lobo examines Portuguese voting in EU elections in Chapter 9. These are clear, succinct and noteworthy contributions to our understanding of contemporary Portuguese politics. The last two chapters examine the contemporary arts scene in Portugal. João Camilo dos Santos examines Portuguese literature in Chapter 10, and João Pinharanda reviews developments in Portuguese art in chapter 11; both are fine contributions.

Much of the book previously appeared in 1998 as *Modern Portugal*, and was published by the Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship in Palo Alto, California. That work was also edited by Costa Pinto, and seven of its fourteen chapters reappear in this new volume with only slight editing, with four new contributors revisiting topics previously covered. Costa Pinto accounts for the overlap in his preface to *Contemporary Portugal*, observing that this new work seeks to incorporate some of the suggestions offered by reviewers. His hope is that this new work “will provide a good basis for further study by a wider English-language readership in the various fields and disciplines of the social sciences and humanities.”

In fact, this new work is an updated and improved version of the previous work. A more appropriate title for this current volume may have been something like *Modern Portugal, Revisited*, to more clearly connect this research project with the earlier book.

Contemporary Portugal ultimately presents us with more questions than answers, a real virtue of this effort. Among these are the following. First, the impact on traditional patterns of life brought about by economic modernization throughout the country, thanks in part to EU funds, could use some analysis. Second, Portugal’s new and evolving international identity forged in a particular way during the struggle over East Timor—which enabled Portugal to recast its old Imperial identity in the mold of Portugal as a universal defender of political, social and religious liberties—needs study. Third, the global presence of RTP-International has opened up new horizons for Portuguese culture, from Brazil to India and beyond. What opportunities and pitfalls does RTP-International hold for Portuguese culture? Fourth, the role of religion in contemporary Portugal could use a detailed treatment. Of note, the 1998 national referendum over abortion was extraordinarily significant for many reasons; certainly the presence of a pro-life Socialist Prime Minister at that time suggested that the traditional left/secular and right/religious cleavages may have given way to some new ideological and epistemological formations, worthy of study. Fifth, Fátima remains a political, cultural, spiritual and religious reality for many Portuguese, and could use a detailed treatment. Sixth, the role of Catholicism in contemporary Portugal, and whether the Church will remain a significant player over the course of the twenty-first century, is an important area requiring serious scholarship. Seventh, the role of sport, especially soccer, in contemporary Portugal, also merits analysis. The national disappointment, even shame, felt by large sectors of the population due to the poor performance of the national team in the World Cup of 2002, followed by Portugal’s disappointing loss to Greece in the 2004 European championship, raises some interesting questions related to sport, society, and national solidarity. Finally, a chapter on music would nicely round out the volume. Fado remains an important part of Portuguese culture, and an analysis of its social role would be most welcome. These are but some of the potential topics still requiring attention for a more complete understanding of contemporary Portuguese politics, society, and culture, and could perhaps be incorporated into a third book.

Contemporary Portugal examines a series of important topics. Its scope is expansive, it is well organized, and each chapter is a well-written, careful and thoughtful offering. It is a fine piece of scholarship and is highly recommended.

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