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The Silk Industry In Trás-Os-Montes During The Ancient Regime

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Abstract

The silk industry was historically the most important industrial sector from Trás-os-Montes, with no competition until the 19th century. For centuries, it was the economic activity most open to the outside and the first to yield to the new capitalist mentality. It was, undoubtedly, the productive activity that contributed most to the national and international acknowledgment of the region and its identity. The explanation for the localization of this industry in northeastern Trás-os-Montes lies in its multi-secular tradition, nourished by silkworm creation, that is, by the existence of raw materials in that region, a virtuous cycle that is difficult to perceive. In this paper, which serves as a brief history of the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes during the Ancient Regime, we study the available sources that, although scarce, allow us to verify the irregular evolution of this industry, and the factors leading to its periods of depression and prosperity.

Keywords

Trás-os-Montes, Bragança, Chacim, silk industry, Arnauds, Piedmont

Introduction

The region of Trás-os-Montes is located in Portugal's northeastern interior, bordering Spain; more specifically, it shares a frontier with the provinces of Castilla-León and Galicia. For several centuries, the northeastern portion of Trás-os-Montes retained an important silk industry, which remained an important local activity until the 19th century.

The Trás-os-Montes silk industry started in the 15th century, but the rearing of the silkworm was an even older activity, dating back to the 13th century. Although the center of the silk industry was always situated in Bragança, the truth is that this economic activity also extended into other villages and towns in northeastern Trás-os-Montes.

As far as we are aware, the sources relating to the Trás-os-Montes silk industry during the Portuguese Ancient Regime are quite rare, and therefore do not allow us to gain a sufficiently broad perspective of its general evolution. Nonetheless, it is possible to see that this evolution was very irregular, with periods of prosperity alternating with even longer periods of depression, due to several factors that will be explained later on.

1. The Silk Industry in Trás-os-Montes during the Ancient Regime (15th-18th centuries)

The existing sources referring to the Trás-os-Montes silk industry before the 16th century are quite scarce. Nevertheless, we know that during the second half of the 15th century, silk production taking place in Bragança was already monopolized by its *donatário*, the Duke of Guimarães.

The Trás-os-Montes silk industry continued to flourish throughout the 16th century, with the velvets produced in Bragança gaining a national reputation. The city even asked the king for permission to sell its silks free of any customs duties, a request that was also repeated later on.

By the end of the 16th century, Bragança was an "opulent" city, filled with numerous silk merchants. Other villages in northeastern Trás-os-Montes, such as Vinhais and Freixo de Espada à Cinta, also developed this industry.

In the late 17th century, during the regency and reign of Dom Pedro II (1667-1705), when the first Portuguese industrial boom (1670-1690) took place, a fresh impetus was given to sericulture and the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes. The local governors and territorial ministers ("corregedores" and "provedores") were given instructions to develop plantations of mulberry trees. The Bragança silk factory, by then in a state of decline, was given a new lease of life, with the king summoning experts and technicians from Toledo, who settled in the city, teaching silk producers the appropriate techniques and methods. This represented the first attempt to modernize the silk industry in the region.

Carvalho da Costa tells us about the great silkworm farms existing in northeastern Trás-os-Montes in the early 18th century, as well as the production of many kinds of silk fabrics in Bragança, Chacim and Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

The discovery of gold in Brazil (1697), followed by a treaty with England (1703), which allowed the free entry of English woolen fabrics, brought an end to the industrialization process that had begun in the reign of Dom Pedro II. Nevertheless, records show that in 1721-1724, Bragança had 30 registered spinning-wheels and 350 looms, while Freixo de Espada à Cinta had more than 100 looms.

The Bragança silk factory continued in operation, but by 1750-1755 it had, once again, fallen into a state of decay, due to the poor quality of the silk produced, counterfeiting, and also because its main line of production, the so-called "mantos", had been discontinued. This decline appears to have lasted until 1770-1773.[1]

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[1] See the sources and information about the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes from the 16th to the 18th century: A.N.T.T., *Memórias paroquiais* (Parish Memoirs) from Bragança Chacim, Freixo de Espada à Cinta, Mirandela and Moncorvo; José Cardoso Borges, *Descrição topographica da cidade de Bragança,* ms. 248 from the *Colecção Pombalina*, at B.N.L.; *Descripção da villa de Freixo de Espada Sinta e couzas mais notaveis della e seu districto*, 1721, ms. 222 at B.N.L.; A.N.T.T., ms. 470, da Livraria; Rodrigo da Cunha, *História eclesiástica dos arcebispos de Braga*, vol. II, Braga, 1989, p. 112 (facsimile copy of the 1635 edition); Gama Barros, *Historia da administração publica em Portugal*, t. IV, Lisbon, 1922, pp. 128-129; Luís Augusto Rebelo da Silva, *Memória sobre a população e a agricultura de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1868; Albino Lopo, *Bragança e Benquerença*, Lisbon, 1900; Francisco Manuel Alves, *Memórias arqueológico-históricas do distrito de Bragança*, t. I, pp. 100 and 286, t. II, pp. 252-253 and 452-453; t. IV, pp. 125-126 and 533; t. VII, pp. 51-53, 499, 621 and 793; t. VIII, pp. 46 and 176; t. IX, p. 448; t. XI, pp. 39 and 119-120; *Corografia Portugueza*, t. I,

In order to better understand and explain these cycles of prosperity, depression and even decay in the Trás-os-Montes silk industry between the 16th century and the last quarter of the 18th century, in addition to the evolution of the Portuguese economy, of which this industry was a part, as well as the customary oscillations in national and international markets, three factors must be taken into account:

1. The lack of any real policies for industrial protection and development
2. The wars and conflicts that directly affected Trás-os-Montes
3. The actions of the Inquisition

1. First, in a time when the economy was limited to agriculture, it is worth underlining the scanty or non-existent support afforded by the State, not only to the Trás-os-Montes silk industry, but to industry in general.

The first industrial boom occurred only in 1670-1690, thanks to the policies of the Count of Ericeira. This period corresponded precisely to the development of the silk industry in Bragança and Freixo de Espada à Cinta. According to José António de Sá, the Bragança factory, which lasted until the end of the 18th century, was founded around that time.

The second industrial boom (1720-1740), during the reign of Dom João V, did not seem to have any positive impact on the revival of the Trás-os-Montes silk industry. On the contrary, the establishment of the Rato silk factory in Lisbon led to a fall in the demand for silk fabrics from Trás-os-Montes.

Only the actions taken by the Marquis of Pombal, particularly between 1770 and 1777, were to have any really positive consequences for the silk industry in northeastern Trás-os-Montes.[2]

So, it is not surprising that, during the Ancient Regime, more precisely until 1770, the Trás-os-Montes silk industry had its ups and downs, frequently passing through "periods of decay" between 1670 and 1770.

Lisbon, 1706, pp. 418 and 429 to 496; *Instrucção sobre a cultura das amoreiras...*, in *Prosas Portuguezas*, second part, Lisbon, 1728, pp. 331-335; *Additamentos ao opusculo intitulado Instrucção,* in *Prosas Portuguezas*, second part, Lisbon, 1728, pp. 369-371; Eugénio dos Santos, *O Oratório do Norte de Portugal*, Porto, 1982, p. 72; J. Acúrcio das Neves, *Noções historicas, economicas e administrativas sobre a producção, e manufactura das sedas em Portugal, e particularmente sobre a Real Fabrica do Suburbio do Rato, e suas annexas*, Lisbon, 1827, pp. 24-28; Luís Cardoso, *Diccionario geographico ou noticia historica de todas as cidades, villas, lugares e aldeas, rios, ribeiras e serras dos Reynos de Portugal e Algarve, com todas as cousas raras, que nelle se encontrão, assim antigas, como modernas*, t. II, Lisbon, 1751, entry for "Bragança"; José António de Sá, *Compendio de observaçoens, que fórmão o plano da viagem politica, e filosofica, que se deve fazer dentro da Patria,* Lisbon, 1783, pp. 219-223; José António de Sá, *Dissertações philosophico-politicas sobre o trato das sedas na comarca de Moncorvo*, Lisbon, 1787, p. 24; *D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho. Textos políticos, económicos e financeiros (1783-1811)*, t. I, Lisbon, 1993, p. 134; *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, volume 12, Vila Nova de Famalicão, 1942; Jacome Ratton, *Recordações sobre occurrencias do seu tempo em Portugal*, London, 1813; Manuel Ferreira Rodrigues and José Amado Mendes, *História da indústria portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1999.

2 On the history of Portuguese industry and the industrial booms occurring during the Portuguese Ancient Regime, see the works of Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Problemas de história da indústria portuguesa no século XVIII*, Lisbon, 1963; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et monnaies au Portugal*, Paris, 1955 ; Jorge Pedreira, *Estrutura industrial e mercado colonial. Portugal e o Brasil (1780-1830)*, Lisbon, 1994; and Nuno Madureira, *Mercados e privilégios. A indústria portuguesa entre 1750 e 1834*, Lisbon, 1997.

2. Second, it is important to mention that, between 1640 and 1763, northeastern Trás-os-Montes was invaded by Spanish armies on several occasions, which obviously had a negative impact on the economy and demography of that region.

The Wars of Restoration (1640-1648) gave rise to numerous skirmishes and invasions from both sides, leading to the siege and ransacking of towns such as Outeiro and Vinhais, the flight of many people and the closing of the borders with Spain.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the War of Succession (1703-1713) brought the Spanish armies back once more to Trás-os-Montes. In 1710-1711, Miranda do Douro was besieged and captured, and the region of Bragança was devastated and looted.

Finally, with the Seven Years War (1756-1763), most of northeastern Trás-os-Montes was occupied by Spanish armies. The fortifications at Miranda do Douro were completely destroyed, following a violent explosion, and Bragança, Outeiro and Moncorvo also surrendered to the enemy.

It is therefore evident that the conflicts with Spain between 1640 and 1763 contributed immensely to a pronounced process of depopulation and even desertification in northeastern Trás-os-Montes, a process that had begun with the activities of the Inquisition and was accelerated by the Wars of Restoration. For instance, whereas Bragança had 1500 inhabitants in 1700, 10 years later it had only 500.[3]

On the other hand, it is important to underline the negative consequences that such wars had for the economy, particularly the silk industry. They reduced the size of markets, causing a separation between silk production and the traditional commercial outlets, and closed the border with Spain, to where a sizeable part of the manufactured products was exported and from where a significant amount of threaded silk was imported.

3. Lastly, and undoubtedly the most important factor, was the role played by the Inquisition between 1580 and 1755, i.e. at the beginning of the reign of Dom Filipe I and at the beginning of the Marquis of Pombal's government. The sinister actions of the Holy Office were, by themselves, more than enough to explain the apathy and even the temporary shutdown experienced by the silk industry during that period.

In his book, *Os judeus no distrito de Bragança* (Jews in the Bragança district), in which he studied both the printed and hand-written lists of the individuals tried for Judaism by the Inquisition, Francisco Manuel Alves counted 1709 people, between 1551 and 1755, in the Bragança district alone.

The number of individuals actually brought to trial was, however, even greater. The analysis of the *Inventário dos Processos da Inquisição de Coimbra (1541-1820)*, an inventory published by Luís de Bívar Guerra about the trials conducted by the Holy Office of Coimbra, enables us to see that 3820 individuals were prosecuted in the period between 1541 and 1755. Of these, 3467 (91%) belonged to municipalities from northeastern Trás-os-Montes, i.e. twice the number of people found by Francisco Manuel Alves. Bragança alone registered 1451 individuals (38%) brought to trial.

If we add to the Coimbra figures the 15 men prosecuted by the Holy Office of Évora and the 253 prosecuted by the Holy Office of Lisbon, as reported by Francisco Manuel Alves, we have a total of 4047 individuals prosecuted for Judaism in Trás-os-Montes, of which 3708 (91%) belonged to the north-eastern region of the province, Bragança alone contributing 1601 individuals.

If we further include the waves of persecution against the so-called *cristãos-novos* (Jews converted to Catholicism), we achieve truly devastating results, helping to explain the periods of decline or even decadence that the silk industry passed through.

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[3] Francisco Manuel Alves, op. cit., t. III, doc. no. 104, pp. 240-241, and t. I, p. 286.

As far as northeastern Trás-os-Montes is concerned, it can be seen that the periods of 1580-1605 (882 people prosecuted), 1660-1686 (1140 people prosecuted) and 1704-1730 (863 people prosecuted) were the periods when the activity of the Holy Office was at its most baleful.

The reigns of Dom Filipe I and Dom Filipe II (1580-1621) as well as the reigns of Dom Afonso VI and Dom Pedro II (1656-1706) were particularly deadly for north-eastern Trás-os-Montes. The cruelest years were 1599, with 222 individuals prosecuted, and 1662, with 206.

Each village or city had its own darkest periods. Considering only those places where the silk industry was of a significant size, Chacim was ravaged from 1699 to 1771;

Freixo de Espada à Cinta from 1669 to 1685 and from 1725 to 1729; Vila Flor from 1578 to 1590 and especially from 1660 to 1686; and, finally, Vinhais from 1580 to 1591, 1660 to 1665 and 1706 to 1720.

As far as Bragança is concerned, over a period of only 25 years (1580-1605), 560 people were prosecuted by the Holy Office of Coimbra. Between 1660 and 1686, 337 individuals suffered a similar fate. And from 1704 to 1730, a further 457 citizens of Bragança were thrown into Coimbra's jails.

These persecutions fundamentally affected the c*ristãos-novos*, who, during the 17th century, were regarded as a synonym for businessmen or merchants. Under the pretext that these new Christians were still Jews, the Inquisition exacted a bloody, ruthless toll on the financial, industrial and mercantile bourgeoisie. Indeed, so merciless was the action of the Inquisition that, even after these people had been killed, their wealth was also confiscated.

In northeastern Trás-os-Montes, as well as throughout the kingdom, most of the people brought to trial were artisans, craftsmen, producers and merchants, i.e., according to that sinister court, "Jews" linked to the activities of trade and industry, in this case, the silk and tanning industries.

According to Francisco Manuel Alves, of the 942 individuals accused of Judaism in northeastern Trás-os-Montes, 241 (26%) were silk throwers, weavers or businessmen, and, if we also consider their families, we reach a total of more than 500 people. There were 243 people (26%) involved in commercial activities and 110 (11%) who were tanners and curriers. Farmers and tillers amounted to no more than 40 in total (4.2%). In short, no other economic activity was so heavily represented at this level as was the silk industry, thus revealing the exceptional importance that this industry had for Trás-os-Montes.

On the other hand, we know that Bragança was always the main center of the silk industry, followed by Chacim, Freixo de Espada à Cinta and Vinhais. Between 1580 and 1755, Bragança registered 1595 victims of the Inquisition, Chacim 206, Vinhais 306 and Freixo de Espada à Cinta only 65, which helps to explain the relative normality of Freixo's silk production in comparison with the other traditional centers.

We cannot, however, take into account only the individuals who were brought to trial, but also those who fled in terror, before being arrested by the Inquisition. How would the population of a village react when faced with the incarceration of scores of its inhabitants within a short period of time? How could the silk industry exist and prosper when producers, weavers, throwers, spinners and dyers, as well as merchants and businessmen, were systematically persecuted?

On the occasion of an *auto-da-fé* carried out in Coimbra on 25 November 1584, a manuscript even mentioned that Bragança had been completely ruined as a result of that *auto* and the previous two. Actually, these three *autos* occurred during the most violent wave of persecutions experienced by Bragança throughout its history (1580-1605). But if the 1580-1584 *autos* ruined Bragança, what was the state of the city in the first half of the 17th century?

In a document dating from 1636, the nefarious consequences of the Holy Office's actions were already reported, even if metaphorically. In effect, a representative from Bragança's town hall mentioned that during the reign of Dom Sebastião (1557-1578) the district's inhabitants numbered more than 20,000, 1600 of them living in Bragança, including "countless businessmen", and that there were more than 50 velvet looms of different kinds, while in 1636 there were no more than 8000 people living in the district. Moreover, there was a great deal of misery and poverty in that region, with many villages being deserted when their inhabitants fled to Castile, Andalusia and other places.[4]

The problem was not caused by any war or plague, and the prices of wheat and rye did not seem to point to any unfavorable agricultural situation. But we know that the actions of the Holy Office inevitably led, both directly and indirectly, to tax increases. The Inquisition diminished the region's wealth and demand for manufactured products directly, by arresting hundreds of people and driving away many more, especially those linked to trade and industry. Additionally, the Inquisition had a negative indirect impact, because of the decrease in population it effected - since many taxes had a long-term fixed value, the lower the population of Bragança, the higher were the taxes paid by those remaining, which deepened their misery and encouraged even more people to flee the district.

In 1734, Ribeiro Sanches reported on the desolation experienced by Trás-os-Montes: due to the Inquisition, many silk factories, among several other local industries, had disappeared. In 1748, Luís da Cunha dramatically corroborated the accusations made by Ribeiro Sanches, accusing the Inquisition of causing the desertification of many cities, such as Bragança, and of destroying its industries, by arresting and persecuting Jews. And Acúrcio das Neves, in 1817, reminded us that the silk industry was led by Jews, and considered that the major loss was not the number of individuals fleeing Portugal, but the decline of the industry in which they had been involved.[5]

2. The restructuring of the Trás-os-Montes Silk Industry and the role of the Arnauds (1770–1834)

Although several attempts were made to modernize the silk industry during the 17th and 18th centuries, the series of crises and events already mentioned hindered those efforts and prevented the industry from progressing, particularly with regard to the quality of its spinning and weaving. As has been pointed out, events such as wars and conflicts, protectionist policies and, above all, the Inquisition's baleful actions from the late 16th century until the mid-18th century, were more than enough reason to explain the successive crises affecting this economic sector, and to prevent a cumulative and continuous process of experimentation, modernization and improved quality. Indeed, even in the absence of other causes, the action of the Holy Office alone would have been more than sufficient to account for the decline of the Trás-os-Montes silk industry and the complete impossibility of its consolidation, renovation and modernization.

However, the most surprising aspect of all was the capacity, tenacity and persistence revealed by both artisans and the local population, who, even when confronted with persecutions

4 Francisco Manuel Alves, op. cit., t. XI, pp. 119-120; and Luís de Bivar Guerra, *Inventário dos processos da Inquisição de Coimbra (1541-1820)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1972.

5 Ribeiro Sanches, *Origem da denominação de christão-velho e christão-novo em Portugal,* Lisbon, 1956 (edited with an introduction by Raul Rêgo); *Testamento político ou carta escrita pelo grande D. Luiz da Cunha ao senhor rei D. José I, antes do seu governo,* Lisbon, 1820; and José Acúrcio das Neves, *Variedades sobre objectos relativos às artes, commercio, e manufacturas, considerados segundo os princípios da economia política*, t. II, Lisbon, 1817, p. 311.

and the complete absence of coordination between production centers, markets and economic circuits, continued to rear silkworms and keep the silk industry alive.

By the end of the 18th century, the Trás-os-Montes silk industry had dragged itself out of the crisis that had begun in 1750-1755, coinciding with the last incursion of the Inquisition into Bragança, and embarked upon a period of great development, accompanying the industrial expansion that was then taking place, not only in that particular region, but throughout the Portuguese kingdom.

After the Inquisition's systematic persecution of businessmen, weavers and throwers had finally come to an end, the continuity and expansion of the silk industry seemed to be a viable prospect.

In the last two decades of the 18th century, a remarkable process of modernization took place thanks to the efforts of the businessmen involved in this economic activity, such as António José Lopes Fernandes, who installed 200 silk looms in Bragança, magistrates such as José António de Sá and Pereira de Barros, and politicians such as Martinho de Melo e Castro and Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the latter being the Portuguese ambassador to Piedmont, Italy. These efforts included the adoption of Piedmontese methods and techniques (namely the organzine mill and the spinning-jenny), the most advanced ones at that time in Europe, in an operation led by experts coming to Portugal from that Italian region – particularly the Arnaud family, who ended up settling in Chacim. This was the second and most important modernization effort undertaken in the Trás-os-Montes silk industry in all its history.[6]

If the Arnauds traveled all the way to Trás-os-Montes, it is because this was the most important region in Portugal as far as sericulture and the silk industry were concerned. And the Arnauds only built the Silk Factory in Chacim, in the Moncorvo district, for the reason that, after

[6] On the subject of Rodrigo da Sousa Coutinho and his texts about the Arnauds and the modernization of the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes, see the work of Andrée Mansuy Diniz Silva, *Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, Textos políticos, económicos e financeiros (1783-1811)*, II vols., Lisbon, 1993; see also: ANTT, *Ministério do Reino*, mç. 468 (box 184); José António de Sá, *Memoria sobre o novo estabelecimento de fiar a piamonteza, da villa de Chacim. Plano da correição*, ANTT, *Reino*, mç. 326; José António de Sá, *Mappa das fabricas da commarca de Moncorvo. Plano da correição. Mappas*, ANTT, Reino, mç. 326; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Historical Records), *Reino*, a set of documents referring to the Trás-os-Montes silk industry (1784-1798), namely the report by the Arnauds written in Italian; Acúrsio das Neves, *Noções historicas, economicas e administrativas sobre a producção, e manufactura das sedas em Portugal, e particularmente sobre a Real Fabrica do Suburbio do Rato, e suas annexas*, Lisbon, 1827; Luís Fernando Carvalho Dias, *A relação das fábricas de 1788*, Coimbra, 1955; *Almanach para o anno de 1789,* Lisbon, 1789; José António de Sá, *Compendio de observaçoens que formão o plano da viagem politica, e filosofica, que se deve fazer dentro da Patria*, Lisbon, 1783, pp. 213-248; José António de Sá, *Dissertações philosophico-politicas sobre o trato das sedas na comarca de Moncorvo*, Lisbon, 1787; Fernando de Sousa, *Trás-os-Montes, Subsídios para a sua história em fins do século XVIII, princípios do século XIX*, 2 volumes, Porto, 1973 (degree thesis); Fernando de Sousa, *A Memória dos abusos praticados na comarca de Moncorvo de José António de Sá (1790)*, in *Revista de História da Faculdade de Letras do Porto*, Volume IV, Porto, 1974; Fernando de Sousa, *A indústria das sedas em Trás-os-Montes (1780-1812)*, in *Revista de História Económica e Social*, volume II, Lisbon, 1978; Fernando de Sousa, *Uma descrição de Trás-os-Montes por José António de Sá*, in *Revista População e Sociedade*, No. 3, Porto, 1998; Fernando de Sousa, *Uma descrição de Trás-os-Montes nos finais do século XVIII*, in *Revista População e Sociedade*, No. 4, 1999; Fernando de Sousa, *Para a história da indústria das sedas em Trás-os-Montes (1819-1923)*, in *Revista População e Sociedade*, No. 5, Porto, 1999; Fernando de Sousa, *A reestruturação da indústria das sedas em Trás-os-Montes nos finais de Setecentos*, in *Revista População e Sociedade*, No. 5, Porto, 1999; Nuno Luís Madureira, *Mercado e privilégios. A indústria portuguesa entre 1750 e 1834*, Lisbon, 1997; José Acúrcio das Neves, *Noções historicas, economicas e administrativas sobre a producção, e manufactura das sedas em Portugal,* Lisbon, 1827, pp. 360, 392 and 404.

becoming acquainted with that region, they understood that to be the place with the best conditions for its installation and management.

Of course, the Piedmontese family could have developed its business in Bragança, as some had intended. Nonetheless, overlooking the influences and pressures being exerted as to the location of the factory, a process in which José António de Sá himself participated, since he was the magistrate of the Moncorvo district and thus responsible for Chacim, the fact remains that the Bragança factory, besides being dominated by Lopes Fernandes, did not have the same conditions as the Arnauds considered Chacim to have.

Once the spinning school and silk-twisting mill had been established in Chacim, the Arnauds did everything they could to set up a filature there, since, in view of the already mentioned reasons, their intention was to install a new factory from scratch, one that they could fully control. Such an intention could be more easily achieved in Chacim than in Bragança, where Lopes Fernandes and the numerous silk producers who had already settled there would strongly resist any attempt by the Arnauds to establish a monopoly or any form of exclusivity.

The construction of the Royal Filature of Chacim, including the spinning school and the silk-twisting mill, bore testimony to the exceptional importance that the Trás-os-Montes silk industry had at the national level. In the city of Bragança alone, in 1794, there were 950 men and women working in the silk industry, i.e. 18% of its total population.

The statutes of the Bragança factory (1785), the silk-spinning schools and the Trás-os-Montes spinning-jenny (1788) reflected a series of measures introduced in order to regulate silk operations, thus improving the quality of manufactured products and undoubtedly sewing the seeds for the most important innovation that the Trás-os-Montes silk industry had ever experienced.

The Piedmontese method, resisted both by weavers and producers, who were opposed to novelties and remained tied to their traditional and outdated techniques, was scarcely adopted in the region. However, they were unable to prevent the use of Italian hair and weft by the Bragança and Chacim factories, since the Portuguese thread, namely the Trás-os-Montes thread, remained coarse and could not be used in the warp of fine fabrics.

Protectionist legislation contributed to the prosperity of this industry, guaranteeing it privileged access to the national and colonial markets, particularly the Brazilian one, to such an extent that the number of looms in Bragança reached a total of 232 in 1794. In that same year, throughout the whole of the Trás-os-Montes province, there were 360 looms working, operated by 1732 men and women, mostly in Bragança, Chacim and Vinhais. However, the industry was not able to stop the counterfeit activity that continued to grow from the late 18th century onwards, both on the Portuguese mainland and in the colonies. Besides, competition from foreign fabrics also increased, due to the previous lack of competition in Portugal, as did the quality, diversity and prices of fabrics.[7]

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[7] ANTT, Reino, Mç. 88, 242 and 242; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Reino*, Letter from Caetano Arnaud, 19.9.1800; *Descripção de Tras-os-Montes*, by Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro, published by Armando Mendes in the work *Trás-os-Montes nos fins do século XVIII, segundo um manuscrito de 1796*, Coimbra, 1981; Manuel Alves da Veiga, *Escola mercantil...*, Lisbon, 1803, pp. 501-503; Jorge Borges de Macedo, op. cit., pp. 241-246.

Chart No. 1
Bragança silk factories (1793-1794)

Fabrics	No. of looms	Production (*côvados**)	Silk used (*arráteis***)	Workers	No. of spinning-wheels	Twisted silk (*arráteis***)	Workers
Caban	8	8 000	800				
Satin	42	50 400	6 560				
Plush	2	1 200	80	380 Men			27 Men
Serge	2	2 400	180	400	9	4 500	108
Silk for mantles	12	14 400	1 920	Women			Women
Taffeta	160	192 000	11 500				
Velvet	6	1 200	200				
TOTAL	232	269 600	21 240	780 MW	9	4 500	135 MW

* Ancient measure of length (0.66 meters)
** A pound weight of 16 ounces (16 oz.)

Note: one-year production values (from the middle of 1793 to the middle of 1794)

(Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, *Reino*, *Fundo relativo às sedas de Trás-os-Montes*)

And a violent form of competition it was too, since silk fabrics, unlike other cloths, could not count solely on the local market, which was poor and instead favored coarse woolen and linen fabrics to luxury fabrics. These were important limitations, emphasized by several economists at that time, who, seeing things from a broader perspective, questioned the viability and usefulness of luxury factories in Portugal.

In order to survive, the Trás-os-Montes silk industry needed not only guaranteed markets, which were to disappear in the first decade of the 19th century, but also continuous improvements, which were never made.

Nevertheless, the most dramatic blow suffered by the silk industry occurred with the French invasions (1807-1810), on account of the mobilization of Portuguese resources for war purposes, the paralysis of the economy, and the flight of many industrial experts in order to avoid military recruitment. Additional factors were the opening up of Brazil to international trade (1808-1810), which gave rise to an uneven competition between English products, especially cotton products resulting from the first Industrial Revolution, and Portugal's outdated small-scale production, as well as the widespread and permanent smuggling trade. All these reasons led to the rapid decline that the Trás-os-Montes silk industry was to suffer from then on. Between 1812 and 1817, Bragança never had more than 40 silk looms at any one time.

Now freed of Piedmontese regulations and the control and authority of the Arnaud family, this industry experienced no further technological advances, no capital investment and no entrepreneurial initiatives, a situation that impeded its transition to a modern industry, with new equipment, a trained workforce and updated techniques, adapting its silk products to liberal tastes and views.

The Chacim Factory retained its archaic spinning-wheels (*carrilhos*), which continued to be used in the manufacture of $^{9}/_{10}$ of the silk produced, and never again did it experience any improvements in its weaving and spinning operations.

The attempts made to reinstate Piedmontese spinning schools in Trás-os-Montes in the 19th century under the direction of the Arnauds – although now respecting the newly-established "industrial freedom" – never met with any success, due to the government's hesitations. When the liberal revolution of 1820 took place, the panorama for sericulture and the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes was already one of abandonment and disinterest.

Because of all these factors, the silk industry in Trás-os-Montes never again recovered the quality and levels of production that it had enjoyed until 1808, and the liberal regime did not create new or more favorable conditions for this industry.[8]

First, Portuguese silk exports to Brazil, which were of great importance until 1808-1810 and remained at a high level until 1821, decreased significantly between 1822-1830, as soon as Brazilian independence was declared.

Indeed, with the crisis affecting Rio de Janeiro, the main Brazilian market, the only Portuguese silk product that was able to resist foreign competition was Porto's twisted sewing silk.[9]

In the second place, as mentioned by Bragança businessmen and local and national magistrates in 1821-1822, Portuguese silk fabrics were not able to compete with Chinese and English products, which were of a higher quality and also cheaper, and were therefore preferred in the Portuguese and Spanish markets. English printed cotton and Chinese cloths frequently arrived in Bragança to be re-exported to Spain.

Several English export companies were established in Bragança, in order to re-export English goods, both legally produced and smuggled, over the Spanish border. Businessmen such as Hoile and Askwart, in 1826, had their warehouses ransacked by absolutist troops led by the Marquis of Chaves, suffering "terrible losses" and, for that reason, demanding 10,000 pounds in compensation from the Portuguese Government.[10]

Unable to compete with its foreign counterparts and as a result of the sudden influx of cheap English cotton and silk products, Trás-os-Montes silk fabrics were almost impossible to sell.

In the third place, and also related to the Brazilian market, it must be borne in mind that, after the French invasions, Porto benefited from the difficulties experienced by the Rato Silk Factory and the Royal Silk Company, both in Lisbon, as well as the decline of the industry in northeastern Trás-os-Montes. This allowed Porto to strengthen its position in this sector.

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8 *Diário das Cortes*, No. 96, from 5.6.1821; Valentim Alexandre, *Os Sentidos do Império*, Porto, 1992, p. 784; Maria Teresa Salgado, *Um documento inédito sobre o comércio luso-francês de 1817*, in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. I, Paris, 1969; *Memória dos trabalhos da Comissão...*, Lisbon, 1822; *Resultados dos Trabalhos da Comissão do Porto...*, Porto, 1823; José Luís Cardoso, *Pensar a economia em Portugal. Digressões históricas*, Lisbon, 1997, pp. 143-146; António Maximino Dulac, *Vozes dos leaes portuguezes*, vol. I, Lisbon, 1820, pp. 194–195; José Estevão Lefranc, *Memoria sobre a cultura da seda em Portugal*, in *Annaes da Sociedade Promotora da Indústria nacional*, t. I, Lisbon, 1822, p. 273; Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Problemas de história da indústria portuguesa no século XVIII*, Lisbon, 1963, p. 241; Gerardo Pery, *Estudos económicos*, in *Revista das Alfândegas*, Nos. 12 to 21, Lisbon, 1893.

9 See the work by Valentim Alexandre, *Os Sentidos do Império*, Porto, 1993.

10 Clemente José dos Santos, *Documentos para a História das Cortes Geraes da Nação Portugueza*, t. II, Lisbon 1884, pp. 587 and 597

In 1826, Acúrcio das Neves referred to the existence of hundreds of silk factories and looms in Porto, stressing the city's great tradition of silk production. As a matter of fact, between 1824 and 1826, Porto's exports even surpassed the average exports of 1799-1804, which had been years of great prosperity for the Portuguese silk industry.

The production from the Trás-os-Montes silk factories could not compete with the production in Porto, which was becoming progressively better equipped at the technical level, and which belonged to capitalists who efficiently dominated the distribution circuits, both nationally and internationally.

In the fourth place, the silk industry was experiencing both a shortage of capital and a lack of entrepreneurs capable of stimulating private enterprise, in view of the indifference shown by the State. Having little capital, local silk producers could only produce new clothes after selling the already manufactured ones. In Bragança, after Lopes Fernandes had abandoned the city in the late 18th century, no other great capitalist ever appeared to lead the silk industry. And in Chacim, without the support of the capitalist João de Vasconcelos, the Arnauds, short of funds, were never able to revive the Factory, which belonged to the State, nor were they even able to overcome the inevitable aging process of its structures.

Furthermore, the dearth of capital in Bragança was the main hindrance to the renewal of techniques, the hiring of silk experts, the purchase of new spinning and weaving machines (like the Jacquard machines that were used in Lisbon from 1825 onwards) and the training of a specialized workforce, all of which were needed to move from a small-scale, rural and dispersed industry to a modern and concentrated one.

More than just capital, however, what was missing was a capitalist mentality. This was a negative structural characteristic of the Portuguese, if not Iberian, bourgeoisie, which instead of developing industries by reinvesting their profits, used this money to acquire personal possessions. The great desire of this new class, always seeking to imitate the nobility, was to ennoble themselves by purchasing land and honorific titles.

The fifth limitation, this time of a structural nature, had to do with the irregular and terrible spinning techniques that proliferated throughout the region after 1807-1808, being subjected to no inspection or regulation, and drastically limiting the use of local silk, despite the complaints and protests presented to the Government in an attempt to ensure discipline and regulation and the adoption/imposition of Piedmontese methods. In any case, the fact remained that such operations could only be performed at the Chacim Factory or at the schools directed by the Arnauds.

The problem was never the quality of the raw materials used, as confirmed by the pieces and fabrics produced in Trás-os-Montes throughout the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Instead, it was the grossly inadequate spinning processes, which were performed by rural people who did not see quality and regularity being suitably rewarded in the market prices. In 1823, Lefranc even suggested that parish-priests should be invited to participate in the distribution of silkworms, teaching breeders how to rear them.

Finally, one must not forget the social and political struggles that started with the 1820 liberal revolution and hindered the resolution of the serious economic problems against which Portugal was fighting, namely at the industrial level. This led to the institutionalization of an environment of latent or effective civil war, which persisted until the middle of the 19th century.

During this period, several military coups and civil wars occurred – the counter-revolution of 1823, initiated precisely in Trás-os-Montes by the Marquis of Chaves, followed in the same year by the *Vilafrancada*, and then the *Abrilada* (1824), the civil war of 1826-1827 (with the ransacking of Bragança), the military insurrection in Porto (1828), and finally the civil war that eliminated *miguelismo* (the Absolutist side) of 1832-1834. Since many of these conflicts had Trás-os-Montes as their main arena, it is easy to understand the grave impact that these wars had on that region's silk industry, wreaking havoc among the production and distribution mechanisms, mobilizing both civilians and the military to join one of the warring factions, expatriating people, persecuting, arresting and killing many - in short, bringing the silk factories to a halt for quite a long time.

Chart No. 2
The silk industry in Bragança (1787-1830)

Year	No. of looms	Fabric production	
		Côvados*	Pieces
1787	219	190 052	–
1790	195	118 630	1 793
1792	215	210 400	3 084
1794	232	269 600	–
1798	200	233 020	3 716
1804	235	–	–
1812	34	35 363	1 422
1815	–	70 000	–
1817	37	46 960	–
1820	72	84 000	–
1821	40	–	–
1826	60 to 80	–	–
1829	30 to 40	6 900	–

- Ancient measure of length (0.66 meters)

(Source: this chart was assembled on the basis of documents from the *Historical Records of the Portuguese Department of Public Works* and the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* [Overseas Historical Records])

The Arnauds, self-confessed absolutists, were unable to revive Chacim in the wake of the liberal victory and definitively abandoned the region, taking with them the dream of the sericultural regeneration and modernization of Trás-os-Montes, a dream they had nurtured for 30 years.

Despite their innovative contribution to the silk industry and the introduction into Portugal of so-called *seda frouxa* (slack silk) preparation – which in the 19th century was to become the basis for Porto's twisted silk and sewing silk industry – the fact remains that the Arnauds and the Chacim Factory never produced the "creative tension" that was necessary to introduce the technical and structural changes capable of transforming Trás-os-Montes in the long term.[11]

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[11] Fernando de Sousa, *A Indústria das sedas em Trás-os-Montes, sob a égide dos Arnauds (1790-1820)*, in *Brigantia, Revista de Cultura*, No. 1/2, January-June 2004.

Conclusion

We should not end this paper without focusing on two important questions that perhaps have not been entirely answered, although they were raised, even if indirectly, throughout this work. The first question one may pose is why this industry was located preferentially in northeastern Trás-os-Montes, with Bragança as its main manufacturing center?

Although the oldest reference to the silk industry relates to Ervededo, in northwestern Trás-os-Montes, the planting of mulberry trees and the rearing of silkworms always took place in the northeast, i.e. the region that, after 1835, formed the district of Bragança. Bragança served consistently as the main spinning and manufacturing center, Chacim had a silk factory and Freixo de Espada à Cinta maintained its silk industry up to the 19th century.

So why northeastern Trás-os-Montes? The traditional explanation for the existence and permanence of this industry in that area, namely that it represented a defensive strategy in relation to possible competition, and that it benefited from the difficult access to and isolation of that region, is only acceptable in the case of the linen or woolen industries, but not in the case of silk. Of all the silk products from Bragança, Chacim and Freixo de Espada à Cinta, only a small part was destined for the regional market. On the contrary, most of the production was sold throughout the kingdom and exported, above all, to Brazil.

At the same time as silk products began to leave the region, rival products began to arrive in the province. From the end of the 17th century onwards, perhaps even earlier, velvet, taffeta and mantles were sent from Bragança to Porto and Lisbon in order to be sold. The Royal Silk Factory in Lisbon ordered raw materials to be dyed in Bragança. Foreign silk and dye experts were rapidly installed in Chacim and Bragança. We are not ignoring the difficulties of transporting both raw materials, which were imported and had to be brought to Trás-os-Montes from the Portuguese coast, and finished fabrics, which traveled in an opposite direction, from Bragança along the river Douro all the way to the coast. Such hindrances, however, had only a minor impact on silk production, since we are dealing with products that had a low overall volume but that could be sold at high prices.

The real explanation for the location of this industry in northeastern Trás-os-Montes is to be found in its longstanding tradition, extending over several centuries and nurtured by the rearing of silkworms, i.e. by the existence of the raw materials in that region, a virtuous cycle that it is difficult to understand.

The rearing of silkworms dates back to the Middle Ages, the same thing happening with the industrial production of silk fabrics. Most probably, the extinction of the kingdom of Granada (1492), one of the most advanced regions in terms of silk production during the 14th and 15th centuries, as well as the expulsion of the Moors from Granada during the reign of Dom Filipe II (1556-1598), ended up contributing to the development of this industry in northeastern Trás-os-Montes, for the simple reason that in both cases many Spaniards sought refuge in the region. The period of prosperity enjoyed by silk production in Trás-os-Montes at the end of the 16th century was certainly related to the migration of weavers and producers from Spain to this Portuguese province. We must not forget the privileged economic relations that the eastern half of Trás-os-Montes enjoyed with Spain, particularly Castilla-León, until the 17th century.[12]

[12] *España y Portugal en las rutas de la seda. Diez siglos de producción y comercio entre Oriente y Occidente*, Comisión Española de la ruta de la seda, Barcelona, 1996.

The second question concerns the homology between the evolution of the Trás-os-Montes silk industry and the evolution of Portuguese industry as a whole. First of all, the history of the Portuguese textile industry has yet to be written, making this question even harder to answer. Nevertheless, we may conclude that the evolution of the Trás-os-Montes silk industry matched the evolution of broader Portuguese industry. In other words, until the 19th century, the silk industry's periods of prosperity and decline coincided with those of Portuguese industry as a whole.

Thus, the silk industry experienced a period of expansion and renewal on the occasion of the first Portuguese industrial boom (1670-1690), preserving some of its activity during the second boom (1720-1740) and experiencing its golden period during the manufacturing boom of 1770-1807, with the introduction and adoption of Piedmontese methods and techniques for the growing of mulberry trees, the rearing of silkworms and the weaving and spinning of silk – on this occasion, just as had been the case so many times before, the leap forward in terms of quality was only possible thanks to the involvement of foreign experts.

The gradual decline of the Portuguese silk industry, starting with the French invasions and steadily worsening until 1834, did not follow the evolution of Portuguese industry as a whole – which was slowly beginning to pass through its own somewhat limited Industrial Revolution. Instead, it reflected the fact that the Portuguese silk industry was unable to compete with its foreign counterparts. In Trás-os-Montes, as in the rest of Portugal and Spain, the silk industry was not able to adapt itself either to the new times or the new technologies, with the result that its previous importance was lost.

At least until 1755, the homology between the Trás-os-Montes silk industry and the other Portuguese industries during the Ancient Regime could not erase the irreparable damage caused by the Inquisition, with the systematic persecution of silk weavers and businessmen affecting the consolidation and expansion of the industry. The actions of the Inquisition are the key to explaining the economic fluctuations in the silk industry in Bragança, Chacim, Vinhais and Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

One final thought: We are not really aware of the importance of the silk industry in relation to Portuguese industry considered as a whole, and, in particular, we are not aware of the full extent of the textile industry. Most probably, from the 19th century onwards, wool and linen, and almost certainly cotton, were more important than silk, from an economic point of view. However, there have been no global studies made of the Portuguese textile industries, to verify the relative significance of each of those industries.

Nevertheless, we do know that the Trás-os-Montes silk industry was historically the most important industrial sector in this region, dominating other activities without any competition until the 19th century. For centuries, it was the economic activity that was most open to the outside world and the first to yield to the new capitalist mentality. It was, undoubtedly, the productive activity that contributed most to the national and international recognition of the region and its identity.

For all these reasons, the Trás-os-Montes silk industry has proved a unique legacy, although one that is currently and regrettably being abandoned and wasted!

The Sesmarias In Brazil: Colonial Land Policies In The Late Eighteenth-Century

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Abstract

This article discusses the reasons for the promulgation of the Alvará of 1795, the most important of an entire series of decisions by the Crown to legalize the procedures by which *sesmarias* were granted. The abovementioned Alvará was the result of a consultation with the Overseas Council regarding the irregularities and unruliness which characterized the regulation of *sesmarias* in Brazil. Revoked the following year, the Alvará represented the effort of the Crown to stop the process of illegal land occupation. Its dispositions were object reasoning from D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho and Francisco Mauricio de Souza Coutinho, Para's governor and brother of Dom Rodrigo, State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Dominions. Francisco de Souza Coutinho interpreted the articles set in the Alvará of 1795, in an effort to propose solutions to the problems resulting from the concession and demarcation of land. This article, therefore, analyzes the limits of State action in relation to land policies in its main colony, Brazil.

Keywords

Ancien Regime, Sesmarias, The Alvará Of 1795 Colonial Legislation, Francisco Mauricio De Souza Coutinho, D. Rodrigo De Souza Coutinho

Introduction

I- The Alvará of 1795: an Emblematic Example of the *Mariano* Period

The so-called *mariano* period in Portuguese history refers, as is well-known, to the reign of Queen Mary I, from 1777 to 1816, though in fact the Queen ruled only until 1792, when, prisoner of her own insanity, she was substituted by her son. Recent studies have sought to understand the changes which occurred in this period in relation to the Marquis of Pombal's government. According to Serrão, the changes made during Queen Mary's rule were limited to the rehabilitation of the group of nobles persecuted by Pombal, and could be epitomized as "the acts of individual reparation that were almost always entreated to recover the memory of the good name of parents and friends" (Serrão, without date: 295-296). Further, and against Pombal's centralization, the government of Queen Mary I can be characterized as a "collective work, for the solution of problems of general order or for private long-waiting requests of fair decision." (idem, p.339).

Concerning the laws and administration of justice, Mary´s reign was marked by the effort to reorganize the State's laws, particularly the subsidiary laws, and to formulate a new code, which was meant the production of a new set of reformulated laws, rather than the extinguishing of existing ordinances. Thus, during this period, various procedures for the administration of justice were promulgated, such as the Law of July 19th, 1790, which was designed to reorganize the Crown's judiciary districts.

In brief, despite the myth of the *Viradeira*, the *Mariano* period clearly exhibits a level of continuity with regard to the Marquis of Pombal's policies; in most of her governmental acts, the Queen held to the principles supported by *Pombaline* policy. In this way, the creation of the Royal Academy of Sciences, the retention, and even the elevation of *Pombaline* reformers like José Seabra da Silva, demonstrate that we should distinguish, as José Subtil states, the reform movement from the political actor. In sum, this suggests that *Pombaline* principles survived even after Pombal. (Subtil, 1998: 415).

As such, and as a consequence of these principles, there was a strong effort during Mary's reign to reform jurisprudence in accordance with the so-called Law of Good Reason (*Lei da Boa Razão*). This implied that a new legal code be produced, and signaled a new approach to the role of the state, beyond the person of the king.

This new approach to the state's role resulted in several measures centered on the colonies. The designation of D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho as Minister and Secretary of State of the Navy and Overseas Dominions (*Ministro e Secretário de Estado da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*) in 1796 (a position he would hold until 1801) is perhaps the best evidence of the strong influence of *Pombaline* principles (Cardoso, 1989:127), even after the end of the Marquis's government. Nevertheless, to understand the role of D. Rodrigo and of his brother Francisco in the political context of the overseas policies, we must analyze, above all, the Alvará of 1795, whose text sought to regulate the granting of *sesmarias*[1].

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[1] The sesmaria system was created in Portugal at the end of the fourteenth century. Its goal was to solve the problem of supplying the country, putting an end to a severe crisis of general food stuffs. The objective of the legislation was not to prevent land from remaining uncultivated, but rather to impose the obligation that the soil be utilized. In an effort to understand the peculiar characteristics of the system, researchers have stressed that, in Brazil, the Portuguese Crown needed to establish a judicial system capable of securing colonization. The sesmaria system was established in Brazil <u>not</u> to resolve the question of access to land and its cultivation, as was the thinking in Portugal, but to regularize colonization. Throughout the text, *sesmaria* is used to indicate concessions of land under this Portuguese system and *sesmeiro* is used to indicate one who holds title to land under such a system. These terms are used in part for lack of English equivalents.

First, we must stress the lack of attention given to the Alvará of 1795 by historical scholarship. The most plausible reason for this may be the fact that the Alvará was revoked only one year after its promulgation. The Alvará of 1795 was one of the many laws nullified soon after promulgation, passing quickly into oblivion. However, a more attentive review of the Alvará of 1795 raises important questions for understanding the efforts, as well as the limits, of the *ancien regime* with regards to its land policy, and more specifically, its land policy in Brazil, Portugal's most important colony.

Second, the Alvará was doubtlessly, among the many actions attempting to regularize how *sesmarias* were conceded, the major act of the Crown in this area; see, for example, the resolutions of April 11th and August 2nd, 1753. In both instances the Crown determined that in those cases in which "the lands given in the sesmaria [...] [contained] settlers cultivating the soil and paying rent to the *sesmeiros*, the former should be considered as the real cultivators and become the real owners of the respective pieces of land."

The Alvará, promulgated on May 3rd, 1795, was the product of the Overseas Council's deliberations with regard to the irregularities and disorders related to the administration of *sesmarias* in Brazil.[2] Among the reasons for the Alvará were the occurrence of several conflicts, conflicts among the *sesmeiros*, and the lack of any definite legislation that could establish clear limits for the concession and demarcation of land. This alone reveals the efforts of the Crown toward regularization in this area. But the Alvará suggested more. It also expressed the conviction that a true solution for the agrarian conflicts in Brazil would depend on a royal decision, meaning, a state policy personified by the Queen. This decision would have to be capable of finding or establishing rational principles for defining the *sesmeiros*' actions. The Queen ordered that the norms established by the Alvará be followed in order to produce the harmony desired by all. She expressed, by these words, the principles consecrated by the Law of Good Reason, based on the notion that it was possible to establish a new rationality for the concession of land through the elaboration of a specific law detailing the steps to be followed by the subjects. The Alvará thus becomes a detailed project to give legal patterns to land concession and to re-order the colonial territory. It is certainly a very ambitious project, revealing the intentions behind state policy at the time, as well as its limits. Based on those principles, twenty-nine articles are established, and these deserve a more detailed analysis.

As I have stated in previous research, "unsuccessful in its target and abolished the following year, the Alvará [...] shows how the reality of ownership and the liability of demarcation and cultivation of the sesmarias played an important role in the conflicts among the Portuguese Crown, landowners and colonists established in Brazil", (Motta, 1998). I now regard the Alvará as more meaningful than I had previously thought, despite the fact that it was abolished in 1796. It expressed the limits of Crown intervention in the affairs of colonial subjects, and revealed by this article an official objective of submitting the *sesmeiros*, as vassals of the Queen, to the authority of the Crown. Its constitutive logic – related to the Law of Good Reason – sought to investigate all the questions which involved disputes, in the belief that a legal determination that *organized* the territory and was *ordered* by the Queen would be sufficient to put an end to, or at least to mitigate, the conflicts fomented by

[2] The preamble of the Alvará is reproduced in Portuguese, in its entirety, in Appendix I.

antiquated concessions, by loose limits, and by multiple forms of land appropriation. The notion that it was possible to produce a legitimate title of occupation simply by updating a document, that is to say the Sesmaria Charter, implied a belief that the sesmeiros would be inclined to consider the demands enunciated by the law, to execute its orders, to accept their subjection, and as I have already mentioned, to limit their own dominions.

In December of 1796, the Alvará was abolished by decree, motivated by *"the impediments and inconveniences that can possibly result from [its] immediate execution [...] or because the current circumstances are not the most appropriate for assuring safe establishment of the vast properties of my vassals in the provinces of Brazil, or by the absence of geometers that can fix secure measurements [...] or finally, by the many processes and causes that might arise in attempting to implement such healthy principles […] without previously having prepared everything that is indispensable for them to have a full and useful application."*

What is most remarkable is that the sesmaria charter was confirmed by the Overseas Counsel, such as it was established by the Alvará. Nevertheless, it is not so simple to bring the deepest reasons for the end of this project to light. The summons of D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho to the position of State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Dominions exerted an influence on this decision, and revealed more urgent internal problems which needed to be solved.

II- The Souza Coutinho brothers: Perceptions of Power in the Overseas Territory

The eighteenth century put "man at the center of the world vision of the mechanism around which he also organizes his reflection" (Vovelle, 1992:7). Some of them became protagonists of this new era, "spokesmen of a new discourse," in a century where cosmopolitanism, transformation, and the circulation of new ideas became more profound (Idem, 17). In Portugal, at the end of that century, two "enlightened" individuals sought to discuss the questions which involved the relationship of the Kingdom with the colonial territories, and presented proposals, as well as criticism of the actions of the Crown. These were the brothers D. Rodrigo and D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho. Both addressed questions relating to the sesmarias.

A complex personality, and object of "different judgments of value", as Andrée Silva put it (Silva, 1993:XII), D. Rodrigo was the firstborn son of D. Francisco Inocêncio de Souza Coutinho, one of the most important members of the Pombaline Administration. The former was a descendant of one of the oldest noble families in Portugal, and served as Governor and Captain General of Angola, and as Ambassador to Spain. D. Rodrigo was born in 1755 and Sebastião José Carvalho e Mello (the Marquis de Pombal) was his godfather. He studied at the University of Coimbra, reaping the fruits of Pombaline reform and dedicating himself to several branches of learning. As Ambassador to Turin from 1779 to 1796, he acquired "the knowledge, and above all, the fundamental theories characteristic of the European Enlightenment, to which he appealed during his long political career" (Idem).

Invited to return to the Court in July of 1796, he was nominated State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Dominions. In this position, he sought to apply his knowledge, gathered in his various years of study and diplomacy, to the defense of a set of "complex, ambitious projects of reform and modernization of the Portuguese economy and society, at a moment of difficulty in terms of finance and diplomacy" (Cardoso, 2001:66).

According to Cardoso, in the first years of his mandate, D. Rodrigo was essentially dedicated to investigating the complex financial situation of the Portuguese Crown (Idem, 77). D. Rodrigo decided to abolish the Alvará, as an effort of his Ministry to institute a more substantive policy for Brazil. After all, he was conscious of the impact of the Brazilian economy and of colonial commerce on the "maintenance of the economic balance of the kingdom as a whole" (Idem). Advocating "a vision of Empire grounded in two basic principles: political unity and economic dependency" (Idem), D. Rodrigo attempted to find more effective means to establish a project of agrarian regularization in the colonies that did not put at risk the constitutive pillars of the Empire that he defended with such vigor.

Though he wrote little on the sesmarias, certain passages in his writings reveal his awareness of the problem. In other words, D. Rodrigo was aware of the obstacles that needed to be overcome, and for which the proposals contained in the Alvará could in turn be effective.

In his "Memoir on the Betterment of the Dominions of his Majesty in America", written in 1797 or 1798, a short time after the the Alvará was abolished, D. Rodrigo expresses his vision of a political system that "might be adopted with greater convenience by our Crown for the conservation of its vast dominions, particularly those in America, which are themselves the base of the greatness of our royal throne" (Coutinho, 1993:43).

In his defense of the kingdom, in the broadest sense of the term, beyond the territory of Portugal, D. Rodrigo attempts to solve problems that needed to be overcome for the maintenance of a prosperous Overseas Empire. Central among these was the important question of the careful choice of governors (remember that his brother was the Governor of Pará). Since "the distance of these governments [from the capital] requires reliability of power and jurisdiction, [governors] should remain subject to a great responsibility that binds their hands" (Idem). The choice of magistrates should also be meticulous, should fix the limits of their jurisdiction, and should keep them independent in relation to "those who they judge" (Idem).

Coutinho claimed that the need for a new code was illustrated by the emblematic example of the *sesmarias*. D. Rodrigo was grounded, at least in part, in the same arguments that had been announced by the time of the promulgation of the Alvará, and he defended, by other means, the same propositions. In one of his letters to D. Fernando José de Portugal, Governor and Captain General of the Captainship of Bahia, dated October 1st, 1798[3], D. Rodrigo affirmed that in Brazil, and principally in its upcountry, "*cultivators of the land are oppressed and agriculture is discouraged by molestations*" He was referring to the obligation of the landowners to surrender their slaves for royal services. In his understanding, the prices

[3] D. Rodrigo Coutinho, "Aviso de 1 de Outubro de 1798, pp. 42-44." This document was also sent to the Governors of São Paulo, Pará, Maranhão and Pernambuco, in accordance with the original copy kindly given to me by José Luis Cardoso. The Count of Linhares responded to the document on December 28th, 1798. Making explicit the problems of the concessions, he writes that the disputes are endless, and that lands are conceded in sesmarias that have already been given to somebody else. Historical Overseas Archives. General Documents. Rio de Janeiro [Box 171, Document 104]. The following citations are taken from this document.

paid for the goods by the Royal Finance Ministry should be the same current price. Further, he argued that a more severe law should be enacted to prevent the escape of Afro-Brazilian slaves to Montevideo. He defended the stimulation of exports of distilled spirits to African ports, and demonstrated the benefits of establishing a public square in the main Brazilian cities.

D. Rodrigo talked further about the existence of "*a large number of vagrant people, who leave the country to inhabit the cities, with serious damage to agriculture, and to their own interests.*" He entreated that measures be taken to avoid this injurious situation.

The Secretary also wrote that the news regarding another problem was reaching the kingdom. In his words, *"it is also said that many times in Brazil sesmarias are granted to people who do not have the means or industry to take advantage of them, and that afterwards they perpetuate a right that is absolutely not worthwhile to them; on the contrary, this practice impairs the neighbors of the same sesmarias and the others that have the means and that could receive the sesmarias."* Once more, D. Rodrigo was referring to the problems stemming from the way *sesmarias* were conceded, supporting – at least in part – the logic present in the Alvará of 1795. However, he did not make reference to the Alvará, recommending only that *"in this respect the points so laudably prescribed in our Ordinance should be followed, and it should be remembered that the Ordinance foresees that the sesmarias, if not immediately cultivated, should be transferred to the hands of more skillful individuals who have sufficient funds to make the land profitable.*" In other words, D. Rodrigo emphasizes cultivation as the legitimate criterion for occupation of lands by the *sesmeiros.*

D. Rodrigo's brother, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, was more severe in his criticisms of the *sesmaria* system and the Alvará of 1795, which sought – as we saw – to regularize land appropriation.

The Decree that revoked the Alvará urged that *"a notice to the governors of the captainships of Brazil be sent to inform them about the way they might avoid more easily and comfortably new questions and processes, and to make it possible for them to put in practice what is established there and to pick the desired fruit, without having to be submitted to any inconvenience or a sensible concession."*

D. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, Governor and Captain General of Pará, was the only official that responded to the solicitation. In comparison to his brother D. Rodrigo, there has not been much research undertaken on D. Fransisco. He was a servant of the kingdom and as such, he attempted to respond to the demands of the State regarding the control of colonial territories and knowledge of natural resources (Capra, 1992:254). During his tenure as Governor of Pará, he pleaded with the government for the abolition of the authority of the Directory of Indians. His proposal was recognized by the royal decree of May 12th, 1798. He intervened decisively in the discussions about the region's natural resources, contributing a great deal of information and observations on the question of timber extraction. He promoted various expeditions to delimit the boundaries of the territory of Pará, above all in relation to the captainship of Mato Grosso. He described the coast and the rivers of Pará, attempting to produce a cartographic description of the area. In this sense, he can be considered an explorer, in the sense this word gained at the end of the eighteenth century, when the military and pejorative connotation was eliminated and replaced by the idea of the explorer as scholar (Noelle Bourguet, 1992:210). On July 26th, 1797 he wrote a letter to the Queen, proposing solutions to the problems resulting from the concession of the *sesmarias*, and in response to the Crown's order, by the time of the revocation of the Alvará of 1795.

The text produced by Francisco de Sousa Coutinho is essential in allowing us to understand a powerful man who was responsible for the governance of one of the captainships. Thus, in response to the solicitation of the decree that revoked the Alvará of 1795, Francisco de Sousa Coutinho wrote conscientiously, on July 26th, 1797, on the theme of the sesmarias. His document was titled, *"D. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, Governor and Captain-General of Pará's statement, on the measures that should be adopted in order that the Law of the Sesmarias of October 5th, 1795 might produce the desired effect."*[4]. In this text, Francisco extricates all the articles present in the quoted Alvará, suggesting his interpretation for its failure and his inferences with respect to what was necessary in order to more appropriately define the law of *sesmarias* in terms of the conditions of the colony.

First of all, he defends that all the orders related to the sesmarias be put together in a single document, since he was certain that these orders were too numerous, as well as unrelated, and, in addition, that many of them could not be found in the records. Even with the records, *"it is not permitted for lawyers or officials to access, or to enter the secretariat of the governments, the accountings of the councils, or other types of registries."* He recognized that the gathering of all the laws on the sesmarias would result in a sizable document, though for him, access to all relevant laws outweighed the potential unwieldiness of the finished product. The laws should be collected so that *"everyone might understand the law so as not to feel disturbed, or lost, or trapped in the hands of the attorneys, and scholars, so as not to be sacrificed due to their ignorance, and finally so that the mines, and the establishments they have formed, should not be forgotten."*

In defense of the principle of cultivation as the validating criterion for the concession of the *sesmarias*, Francisco stresses that to put in practice the disposition of the second article, where, as we know, it is ordained that governors and captains general should process and regularize the properties, it is necessary to go beyond what is stated. After an investigation resulting in the loss of land by an unproductive *sesmeiro*, it is necessary, once the land is returned, and barring the opposition of a third party, that the lands, as well as slaves, tools, and other necessary provisions, be individualized in number and in quality.

Being disposed to the task, the chamber should designate the extension of wild forests, of brushwood, of high and low meadows and fields, as well as define the extension of each piece of land to be cultivated with specific products, and evaluate the resources contained in the land.

Francisco Coutinho is reticent about the dispositions related to the demarcations, and dedicates paragraphs to demonstrating the reasons for his doubts. In the first place, he is clearly convinced of the difficulty of measuring the land, such as it was described in the fifth article of the Alvará, even when enacted by the professionals *"analogous to the work of this nature."*

[4] "Informação de D. Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, Governador e Capitão-General do Pará. Sobre As Medidas Que Convinha adoptar-se para que a Lei das Sesmarias de 5 de Outubro de 1795 produzisse o desejado efeito" 26 de Julho de 1797. *Revista IHGB*. Tomo 29. Parte 1, 1966, vol. 32: 335-351. The following citations were taken from this document.

He is clearly in disagreement regarding the limits of the concessions of the sesmarias and affirms: "*A half of a league squared seems to be an area of two million two hundred and fifty thousand fathoms squared. A farmer who has about one hundred slaves of various ages and both sexes and chooses thirty of each sex capable of work, most of which will be able to understand their clearings in such way to take advantage of them, and that he can give the time needed to reap the benefit, might cultivate two hundred fathoms in the front with equal measure in the back, according to what I could gather in this respect, and from what I heard from people who have confidence in their intelligence, though they still doubted that they can achieve accuracy.*" He continues: *"but to do a safe calculation, imagine the double, and consider forty thousand fathoms squared, eighty [thousand] of which a farmer can cultivate annually; in this way, dividing that area of two million and two hundred and fifty thousand fathoms squared by this eighty thousand, the quotient of twenty eight indicates that the farmer subject to the referred circumstances, with half a league squared of land, will have enough to clear and to work for twenty eight years, even though he makes two clearings per year, each one with two hundred fathoms in square; if making only one of this same size, he will have land for fifty-eight years [...]."*

His critique of the fact that the sesmeiro received an excessively large area of land was neither devoid of common sense nor was it abstract. Francisco Coutinho had extensive knowledge of agriculture and made explicit references to the production of manioc, rice and sugarcane on lands effectively occupied. As he was aware of the concessions made in other territories, he was able to make a brief comparison with the Dutch colony of Suriname, "[…] where the colonists have a maximum concession of five hundred acres of land."

From this comparison derives Coutinho's critique of the bases for granting land. In his understanding, these granted lands should have been the base, from the beginning of colonization, of a "well-understood economy." As the Governor of Pará, he had to face the invasion and destruction of the forests and the disrespect demonstrated by innumerable royal decisions in this area. For this reason, he was cautious. It was not enough to make a decree, or even new regulations. To demarcate the lands and preserve the forests, what was necessary was an *"anticipated general recognition of all the rivers, and the lands watered by them, or a general, more exact, and individual map, which certainly is impossible to design with little time, and without which all is arbitrary."*

The different forms of appropriation and their corresponding orders were the central object of article thirteen of the Alvará, which merited deep consideration as to the reasons for its failure. Francisco Coutinho states in detail that there are very few lands effectively demarcated and – it is worth saying – if the demarcations were not effected by *"intelligent and adequate people for such tasks, there might be a large alteration, and the discussion about the legitimacy of titles or of the [lands] conceded by the lord of the province that was his, or by the government, might endure for centuries[!]"*

For residents of such villages as Macapá and Bragança and of the populated islands, the distribution of lands *"was made among them in the same way in which it is practiced in the kingdom and the islands."* Besides, *"all of the indians arranged in settlement villages have their small farms, not obeying the dispositions of the Directory [of Indians]; and those who live dispersed, as well as others already mixed, also live by various rivers and districts in the same conditions; and all of them, by their rusticity and ignorance, deserve particular arrangements [....]."*

There were still many cases, such as that of the Island of Joannes (or the "Ilha de Marajó"), in which above all an exact plan needed to be made. This would determine the common public spaces for the herds of the estates, in addition to the wells and shipping of animals. Further, it was necessary for all the landowners, with or without a title, to make an appearance. Then, *"by the chronological order of the legal titles each one should be informed, not of the totality of the lands mentioned in his property document, but of the lands proportional to the number of heads he possesses, since nobody informed the authorities about how the lands were obtained, and otherwise all the lands according to the law would be void."* He continued: *"after these landowners, those who hold titles should be similarly identified, along with those who had titles, or those who had illegal, or false titles, which should then be given all the legitimacy deserved [...]"* In other words, for Francisco it was impossible to implement the same general procedure in all regions, since in some areas it was impossible to find even one landowner who had obeyed the royal orders. Some even had illegal or forged titles.

Still, Francisco Coutinho was careful enough in his defense of the demarcation of lands. He was aware that the process was delayed, costly and needed qualified people to accomplish the project. For him, without the execution of previous measures, the law only succeeded in exciting *"larger disorders with ordinarily come about without sufficient motive, but being sufficient enough that someone would want to demarcate [his lands] as soon as the demands begin, with animosities and hatred then materializing, which have serious consequences."*

To delimit means to impose restrictions on the actions of others, and the Governor of Pará recognized that this work brought to light the fact that its final result – a properly executed demarcation – was the fruit of a detailed process attentive to the multiple forms of occupation. It was neither, thus, a task to be entrusted to auditors or exiles, nor could it be inserted into judicial ordinances. This is not the case of an isolated property in need of demarcation, where *"there is no doubt that a guide with his compass, and a fathom cord, can draw a quadrilateral on the ground, and where all four sides are practically equal; though even then there may be many differences in the way to draw a perfect square that is regularly conceded, because he does not have the ordinary principles necessary to determine the base from which it should be measured."* Thus, in this case, the *sesmeiro* would be told of the extent of his concession, after which the minister could give him legal possession of the land. Damage resulting from this measurement would be reduced to a few fathoms of land lost or gained.

The problem was the demarcation of contiguous and expansive lands. In these cases, *"through without bad intentions, the guide cannot avoid committing injustices."* According to Francisco Coutinho, the task of demarcating these areas required *"the help of trigonometry to improve the geographical delineation of the coast, and the map of the country."* Moreover, it was necessary for an astronomer to be present, who could rectify *"by repetitive astronomic observations, the exact position of the main points of the same tract of land, and its respective map, so that geometry could set right and improve the action [of the guide], correcting the imperfection of his directions, of his instruments, and of his measurements."* He continues, *"after which, the legitimate titles also investigated and the extensions that should be conceded to each sesmeiro being thus determined, the geometer has to accommodate them on the map, and afterwards competently divide and mark them on the land."*

One of the consequences of modern rationalism was, without a doubt, the consecration of mathematics as "a prototype of the unintelligible reality" (Simões, 1991:121). Thus, "by the impulse of mechanization and rationalism, the mathematical procedures permitted not only the rationalizing the physical nature, but also the formulation of a prototype of coherent organization of thinking that transforms geometry into an exact paradigm" (Idem). For Francisco Coutinho, only by utilizing geometric and astronomical knowledge would it be possible to undertake a true demarcation of colonial lands.

For him, this was the first reason for revoking the Alvará, since without the necessary provisions it would not be possible *"to execute or to understand any demarcation."* Without the presence of geometers and astronomers, the most the magistrate could do was to judge the legitimacy or illegitimacy of titles, that is, *"the most appropriate means to avoid the processes and questions; while the geometers and astronomers entrusted with the demarcations were measuring and observing, in whatever district they were needed, and with the judge in their company, involved in the same diligence, called on residents, and obliged them to produce their titles, verify the legal ones and denounce those that are illegal; however, he has to keep in mind the establishments that the residents own, and respect them [...]"*

Thus, where there was no conflict about property rights, it might be possible to guarantee to the sesmeiros the extension of their previously demarcated lands. However, there was an urgency to solve the disputes over lands in areas where poorly made demarcations produced injustices.

In brief, the Governor of Pará tried to extricate the articles contained in the Alvará of 1795, in an attempt to propose solutions to the problems originating from the concessions and demarcations of the *sesmarias*. In his evaluation, it was clear that – if taken into consideration – the Alvará did not resolve problems, but might do the opposite, and aggravate them. Coutinho was aware that the royal apparatus could do little in practice. The Alvará was a letter of intentions of questionable efficiency, since it ignored, among others things, the fact that the process of measuring lands was extremely complex, involving various fields of knowledge that went beyond law. Nevertheless, the question remains: if the members of the Portuguese Crown shared the same knowledge exhibited by Francisco Coutinho in the defense of a more substantial project, why does the Alvará seem imprisoned in a certain vision of intervention, and based on wide presumptions, as well as orders that, though apparently precise, proved unacceptably inefficient in practice?

III- Sesmarias and the Ancient regime: Internal Borders and Performance in the Overseas Empire

The innumerable royal dispositions with respect to the *sesmarias* and the attempts to investigate concessions were neither able to inhibit the non-observation of the orders nor impede that *sesmeiros* from continuing to illegally occupy lands, which in turn required demarcation and cultivation.

The laws that dealt with these subjects were very old. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Crown attempted to fix the maximum extension of areas that were being conceded by the *sesmaria*. Also, by this time royal orders, such as the Royal Decree of 1695, were published which reiterated the idea of obligatory cultivation. Even so, the laws were not executed, and conflicts and demands became recurrent phenomena, in direct proportion to the density of occupation and the fertility of the soil.

In a previous work, I claimed that the Crown was preoccupied with at least three complex and interlinked problems. The first was that the implantation of a judicial institution, created to promote cultivation, be used to guarantee colonization. In the colonial lands, the main question was not limited to the necessity of exploiting the lands, but fundamentally implied that these lands be occupied and profited from, defining them as colonies. Moreover, the obligation and the incentive to cultivate stimulated the growth of social categories, different from that of the *sesmeiros*. Finally, the incapacity of the Crown to effectively control the execution of its demands stimulated the growth of the figure of the possessor, i.e., one who takes possession of lands that are allegedly or truly unoccupied (Motta, 1998).

However, at the time I wrote this work, I wasn't completely aware of what it meant that the Crown was unable to solve the problems stemming from the *sesmarias*. Today, the question that I ask myself is: was the incapacity structural or not? What does this incapacity reveal if we look at the way in which the system for occupying lands was instituted?

The logic behind the Alvará and the considerations of Francisco de Sousa Coutinho are the keys to the answer. To concede lands by the system of the *sesmaria* was, above all, a political concession and not a territorial one. The concession, by expressing the power of he who concedes – in this case, the Crown – implied the submission of those who received the concession, in the belief of a State based on the hierarchy of society as a whole. If the State was, so to speak, the agent of harmony and justice, this does not mean that its agents could solve the conflicts arising from the occupation of land, since the conflicts were structural. In other words, because the conflicts were reported through petitions to the crown, the sesmeiros could recurrently appeal to the Crown to solve demands between confronting parties or among *sesmeiros* using the documents relative to the same territorial space. The governors donated the lands, which were subsequently confirmed by the Overseas Counsel (Conselho Ultramarino), but the donation did not represent an accurate geographical measure.

It became more and more obvious that the *sesmeiros* resisted royal orders. But the Alvará – as a unique moment in the Crown's effort to constitute new regulations – brought to light the conflict that needed to be hidden because it was followed by discord, hatred and rancor among *sesmeiros*, and between many *sesmeiros* and the Crown. It was preferable then that the solutions to the conflicts be sought in the judicial system, in individual judicial demands, where the political strength of some guaranteed their possession of lands, to the detriment of others.

But then why didn't the Crown design a new system of occupation, more adequate to colonial conditions, and paying attention to the considerations of Francisco de Souza Coutinho's text?

The *sesmaria* was the instrument of colonization, and in this sense, an instrument of power. But the relation between boundaries – internal and external – and power is not so simple. Every authority is predisposed to circumvent his power in a territorial space. This circumscription reinforces authority, but also limits it. The colonial Portuguese Empire was constituted by the conquest of colonial spaces, supposedly unoccupied. If, as Jean Pierre Raison affirms, political power can establish its strength in diverse ways when it defines internal limits (Raison, 1986), it is true that not establishing precise internal limits among landowners can strengthen this same power, principally when we consider that the accuracy of limits was not enunciated in practice, and confirmation of concessions occurred on the other side of the Atlantic, in the Overseas Counsel. For this reason, the Crown manifested its capacity for mediation, exactly because it could not bring to light the conflicts originating from the way land was conceded.

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‘I will do as my father did’: On Portuguese and Other European Views of Mughal Succession Crises[*]

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Abstract

The Mughal succession crises occurring between the political downfall of Akbar (*c.* 1600) and Aurangzeb’s death (1707) were portrayed in detail by a considerable number of European observers. This essay intends to study the way those critical moments, that would eventually lead to the disintegration of the Mughal empire, were openly desired both in Goa and Lisbon: they somewhat represented the life insurance of a defenseless *Estado da Índia* forced to face a giant – the *Grão Mogor* – that could not be controlled. On the other hand, and for different reasons, the agents of the English East India Company, operating on the ground, as well as the theatergoers that saw John Dryden’s plays in London, favored the dynastic stability of Timurid India. This represents an interesting diversity of European images of the *Mogor*, and asks for a careful analysis of their motives and impact.

Keywords

Mughal empire, Portuguese India, political succession, dynastic crises, European perceptions of Asia, early modern world.

Introduction

The problem of political succession, in a large spectrum of cases ranging from the simplest chieftaincies to the most sophisticated of sovereign states in diverse epochs and different societies, has recurrently occupied historians and anthropologists. Those moments of transition, when evolving towards acute political crises, are naturally capable of leaving profound marks on the collective mindset of a people. Not haphazardly, one of those crucial episodes in the history of Portugal is the death of King Sebastian (r. 1557-78), for the uncertainties of his succession were transformed into uncertainties as to the viability of the nation itself.

Such periods, turbulent and quite unstable, are arrived at via coups and conspiracies, constituting fertile terrain for the careers of pretenders, rebels, and impostors who up until then

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were forgotten or unknown (Bercé 1990; Bercé and Guarini 1996; Eliav-Feldon 1999; Cheesman and Williams 2000). We refer to difficult moments in the life of a king or a kingdom, occasions in which personal conflict and national drama often overlap, with interesting parallels drawn between the destruction of a family and the disintegration of a country. Fathers were pitted against sons, brothers versus brothers, struggling in an eddy of feelings and behaviors – jealousy, desire, loyalty, betrayal, love, and hate – that today would most likely be classified as belonging to the private domain. But in the past, and in very distinct socio-political realities – from the crucial role played by love in the political vocabulary of the Portuguese *ancien régime* (Cardim 2000), to the importance of filial piety to the exercise of power in China (Wu 1979) – these emotions acquired a tangible public projection. The foundations of this theme in western thought are associated with the legend of the founding of Rome and the conflict between Romulus and Remus. Once in the early modern period, the topic materializes in the tale of King Lear, a legend of pre-Roman England which Shakespeare sublimely transformed into theater in the early seventeenth century and which the director Akira Kurosawa, also quite keenly, adapted to medieval Japan and to Hidetora's tragedy in *Ran* (1985).

Between the diverse filaments that make up the European image(s) of the Mughal empire between the final decades of the sixteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century, the question of succession and the dynastic crises indubitably commanded rapt attention. Specifically, the political disappearance of Shahjahan (r. 1628-58) and the War of Succession (1657-8), leading to the conquest of power by Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707), constituted a central theme for Western travelers in India in the second half of the seventeenth century. António Botelho expounds at length about the phenomenon in his *Relação das cousas mais notaveis, que observei no Reino do Gram Mogor* (*c.* 1670). The Jesuit describes the fratricidal struggles taking their toll on the imperial family since the time of Akbar (r. 1556-1605) and later reveals the conversation between Shahjahan, already ailing, and his sons. Questioned as to the course of action vis-à-vis his brothers in the event of the death of the emperor, Aurangzeb responded sharply: "I will do as my father did" (BL, *Add. Ms.*, cod. 9855, f. 34v).

A contemporary of Botelho, Niccolò Manuzzi (1638-1717) arrived in Surat in 1654 and immediately entered the service of the prince Dara Shikoh, the elder brother of Aurangzeb, the latter having ordered the death of the former during the war of succession. The Venetian dedicated a good part of the first volume of his *Storia del Mogol* to that conflict (Manucci 1989: I, 231 ff.) and the interesting copies of Mughal miniatures he ordered in south India include the scene where the head of Darah Shikoh is presented to Aurangzeb by the slave Nazir (Falchetta 1986: I, 97). But Manuzzi's text suffered various alterations and revisions, and its impact in Europe, molded by the Jesuit François Catrou, dates from a later period (Subrahmanyam 2005a: 174-178). Therefore, the account by François Bernier (1620-1688) is perhaps more representative. This French doctor arrived in Mughal India in 1659 and wrote extensively concerning Aurangzeb's ascension to the throne. These writings were widely diffused throughout Europe in the last third of the seventeenth century (Bernier 1968).

This article analyzes the manner in which the critical moments of political succession in the Mughal empire were seen by the Europeans, being occasionally evaluated in diametrically opposite directions given the different perspectives in play. However, it does not simply concern a distinction between those who were in the subcontinent at the time and those who were not first-hand witnesses to the turmoil. As we seek to demonstrate, the Portuguese vision from Goa was not identical to the perspective of the agents of the East India Company (EIC) living in Surat. Similarly, and once spread throughout Europe, the news regarding the eventual disintegration of the Mughal empire is read quite differently in London than in Lisbon. Before reflecting upon these differences, it is necessary to understand the reasons for the chronic dynastic instability in Timurid India. It is important to know, to borrow the words of António Botelho, why Aurangzeb promised to imitate his father when the time came to battle for the throne.

The Turco-Mongol Inheritance and Political Succession in Timurid India

Despite the fact that the Mughals were more inclined to a succession based on primogeniture, no rules existed and the options were always great in number. Such uncertainty, leading to dangerous breaks in political authority and situations of potential territorial fragmentation, was at the heart of the Turco-Mongol social organization in a geographical arc as ample as the distance separating the Middle East from northern China (Fletcher 1995; Vatin and Veinstein 2003). The death of Timur in 1405 and the subsequent – long and violent– struggle for succession (Manz 1999: 128 ss) would repeat itself innumerable times, with other faces in different locales, between Ottomans, Safavids, Mughals, and Uzbeks. The Manchus are also to be placed in this framework and constitute an interesting case study (Perdue 2005: 122-127). Their clan structure followed a model of flexible succession, but the process of "Sinification" to which they were progressively submitted after conquering Beijing in 1644, implicated the adoption of the least fallible system of Ming succession. Despite this, the conflict between Kangxi (r. 1662-1722) and his son Yinreng in 1708, chosen as heir apparent by the emperor himself nearly thirty years before, demonstrates how the situation still remained volatile (Wu 1979).

In Timurid India the cyclical absence of stability in the moments of political transition rested on the legitimacy inherent in any member of the clan prominent enough to claim territorial sovereignty and force the division of power. Each time a sovereign died the previous political bonds were destroyed so that completely new alliances could be forged by the emerging leaders. The political fragility of the first Mughal emperors is, in this context, understood, since they were "genetically" disposed to respect the principle of collective sovereignty and the division of the administration of the provinces between their brothers or sons (Khan 1972; Haider 1976; Sarkar 1984: 31 ss; Tripathi 1998; Dale 2004: 68-71). That was one of the challenges facing Babur (r. 1526-30) after his conquest of Kabul in 1504 (Dale 2004: 200-206). Once in power, Humayun (r. 1530-40, 1555-6) did not delay in addressing the revolt by his brothers, in particular, that of Mirza Kamran (Khan 1964). Akbar was the first to reject such a concept of sovereignty and opted for the centralization of imperial authority, but he could not avoid serious dissention with his half-brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who governed Kabul in the Turco-Mongol tradition (Subrahmanyam 1994).

In the diverse periods of succession traversed by the empire between the death of Babur in 1530 and that of Aurangzeb in 1707, political crises were always feared, and they materialized often enough so as not to be considered rare (Misra 1993). The lack of a tutelary figure, beheld as the Shadow of God on Earth, resulted in a vacuum of power and could cause battles amongst factions, social tumult, and pillaging. As we will see later on, the European observers in India invariably registered a climate of real anarchy anytime the disappearance of an emperor was announced. In fact, the Mughal officers that were to deal with these difficult moments of political transition would rely on subterfuges to gain time and avoid the desegregation of the empire. This came to pass after the death of Babur, according to his own daughter's interesting account:

> The death was kept concealed. After a time Araish Khan – he was an amir of Hind – said: 'It is not well to keep the death secret, because when such misfortunes befall kings in Hindustan, it is the custom of the *bazar* people to rob and steal; God forbid that the Mughals not knowing, they should come and loot the houses and dwelling-places. It would be best to dress someone in red, and to set him on an elephant, and to let him proclaim that the Emperor Babar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humayun'. This his Majesty Humayun ordered to be done. People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for his welfare (Gulbadan Begam 1990: 109-110).

An identical situation occurred in January 1556, after the accidental death of Humayun. Seyyidi 'Ali Re'is, who was in Delhi at the time, states that it was necessary to adopt a strategy to cover up the death of the emperor (without hiding the emperor!) until Akbar arrived from the Punjab, thereby avoiding a general revolt. With the new emperor entering Delhi, the pretense could be dropped and the death of Humayun finally announced:

> A man called Molla Bi, who bore a striking resemblance to the late Emperor only somewhat slighter of stature, was arrayed in the imperial robes and placed on a throne specially erected for the purpose in the large entrance hall. His face and eyes were veiled. The Chamberlain Khoshhal Bey stood behind, and the first Secretary in front of him, while many officers and dignitaries as well as the people from the riverside, on seeing their Sovereign made joyful obeisance to the sound of festive music. The physicians were handsomely rewarded and the recovery of the Monarch was universally credited (Seyyidi 'Ali Re'is 1899: 57).

As with this Ottoman admiral, many other foreigners would in the following decades come to witness or hear similar episodes taking place at the Mughal court. We will also come to see how the Portuguese reacted to such occasions.

In Goa and Lisbon: Death to the Emperor!

Founded in 1505, and with its capital in Goa since 1510, the *Estado da Índia* maintained relations of both conflict and alliance with different Asian states. This long and complex relationship was characterized by the practice of a diplomacy molded by the Portuguese and European matrices, but also by actions and gestures of a genuine *Realpolitik* largely dictated by local circumstances (Saldanha 1997; Biedermann 2005). In both areas the Portuguese revealed themselves to be cautious observers of the local mechanisms of exercise and transmission of power, carefully following (and even intervening) in their own interest in the many disputes of royal authority and political crises of succession they witnessed.

This was quite a difficult exercise if we take into account the variety of the situations at stake. The political diversity encountered was the primary factor, since it was necessary to design strategies for an ample mosaic of cases oscillating between small maritime kingdoms, like the sultanate of Melaka, and the grand continental empire that the "Middle Kingdom" exemplifies. The Mughal empire, as with the contemporary Ottoman and Safavid empires, belongs to the latter category. We deal mainly with political formations of impressive territorial dimension, distinguished by complex mechanisms of political authority, aggressive strategies to increase borders, and formalized foreign relations, where the protocol and the ritual gestures used were as important as the substance of the negotiations themselves. The Portuguese speak with a mix of reverence and fear of the *Grão Mogor*, the *Grão Turco*, and the *Grão Sofi*, empires united by a common Turco-Mongol heritage but separated by deep political rivalries. In these cases, the probability of the Portuguese playing a prominent role in the affairs of the court was naturally remote. But they nevertheless served to signal the weaknesses of the outwardly solid and monolithic empires.

Identifying the weaknesses of the "giants" to profit from them constituted one of the main strategies of the *Estado da Índia*. The observation by Duarte Galvão in 1512-3 concerning the differences between Sunnis and Shi'ites, Ottomans and Safavids, is a case in point: the ideologue of king Manuel (r. 1495-1521) rejoices in those divisions and believes the "discord amongst the infidels" was, in and of itself, a pronouncement of the end of Islam (Pato and Mendonça 1884-1935: III, 249). With respect to the Mughal empire, its debilities were inventoried shrewdly through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In *Peso politico de todo el Mundo*, written in 1622 and addressed to the count-duke of Olivares, Anthony Sherley (1565-1635) concedes that "the Grand Mogor is a potentate of very large limits, and very rich", but goes on to state that "the sustaining of the power of this potentate has little that is naturally its own given it lacks many necessities for its states, the supply of which depends a great deal of external disposition" (Sherley 1961: 66). Some years later, in 1639, terrified by the Mughal offensive on the Northern Province (*Província do Norte*), the viceroy Pero da Silva (1635-9) suggested to António Teles de Meneses that he undermine the enemy army from within, seeking breaches in its heterogeneous ethnic composition and identifying "the colonized" who wished to throw off the Mughal yoke: "see if by some method a division of the enemy forces can be accomplished because as it is composed of moors and gentiles, Mogores and Decanins, and other nations hurt by the loss of their kings and kingdoms, there may be particular captains who could sow discord" (HAG, *RI*, bk. 3, f. 152r). As Friar Gabriel da Purificação would later state in his work *Politicas moraes para privados* (dedicated to the count of Castelo Melhor and thus certainly written in the 1660s), "it is easier to conquer any kingdom profiting from civil wars than with real war (*guerra viva*) promoted by foreigners" (Purificação, n.d.: f. 19r). However, the foreigners from Goa often ventured to go slightly further. In 1599, it seems the viceroy D. Francisco da Gama (1597-1600) gave an order to kill the prince Murad, a son of Akbar who commanded the Mughal conquest of the Deccan (Subrahmanyam 2005: 95 ss). Three decades later, as we will later find, the Count of Linhares (1629-35) entertained the constitution of a regional league to overthrow the emperor Shahjahan (Flores 2004: 446, 454-6).

The monitoring of uprisings and moments of decline in an emperor's reign, phenomena that presumably would lead to the end of the empire, became one of the essential pillars of Portuguese strategy. Interestingly, these critical situations, marked by fratricidal struggles and great agitation in imperial provinces and capitals, were welcome to Goa. In fact the scenario of a colossal empire not only encountering powerful enemies in the exterior but also facing internal dissention was wildly interesting to the *Estado da Índia*. Naturally such breaches needed to be explored and deepened.

The final years of Akbar's reign constitute a privileged moment in this regard. Given the physical debility of the emperor in that period in conjunction with the revolt by Prince Salim, the foreseeable matter of the succession was amply discussed between Goa and Lisbon at the turn of the sixteenth century. In truth, the governors of the *Estado da Índia* began to yearn for the death of the Mughal emperor from at least 1596. One night in July of that year, whilst observing a fight between two stags, Akbar was struck by one of the animals and was "silent for a while". The emperor took nearly two months to recover from the accident, which on his worst days of recovery kept him from any audience, alarming the court (Abu'l Fazl 2001: III, 1061-1062). A letter by the contemporary Jesuit missionary Jerónimo Xavier described what followed in detail, and provides a fascinating glimpse not only of the aura Akbar projected amongst his people, but also to the socio-political *status quo* before the death of a Mughal emperor:

> And seeing as for a few days he [Akbar] did not appear, the rumor of his sickness diffused, until it became common voice that he was dying. Then the people got disturbed and started securing what was theirs, showing the works that will be when he truly does die. Outside the city the thieves began like owls and with the setting of the sun rose, killing and robbing all manner of people. The King, knowing or guessing the situation, labored to appear at one of the windows during those hours at least once a day for a quarter of an hour, even if it harmed him. His secret enemies laid low; his friends showed much sentiment, some refusing to eat for days, others would not dine until the King made them, saying their troubles were nothing. Others let their beards grow, and went about in dirty clothes needing a wash, and there were those who would injure themselves in the same area where the stag hurt the King, not as if they believed it were to heal the King, but to imitate with their wound the King's ailment (Wicki and Gomes 1948-1998: XVIII, 580).

This interesting episode did not take long to be included in the political correspondence exchanged between Goa and Lisbon. In January 1598, Philip II (I of Portugal, r. 1580-98) already knew "the Mogor was badly treated for the wound given to him by a stag at court" (Rivara 1992: III, 814) and was readily anticipating the death of the Mughal emperor. In fact, Akbar begins to be "buried" in the Portuguese texts almost a decade before his real death. In December 1597, when the emperor was only 55 years old, D. Frei Aleixo de Meneses already admitted that "it is expected with his death, albeit he is not yet old, the empire ceases to be". Then the archbishop of Goa added: "by the divisions that are to come between his sons, in the partitioning of the kingdoms: the eldest [Salim] was always publicly the enemy of the second son [Murad], the one who is in charge of the conquest [of the Deccan], which did not progress as rapidly as the King desired" (Beylerian 1974: 584-585). The relevance of Meneses' observation is twofold. On the one hand, there is the idea that would come to be repeated countless times in the following years: once the titular figure of Akbar was no more, the empire would not survive the division of the "spoils", which his sons would assuredly undertake. Secondly, the reference to the enmity between the brothers Salim and Murad is linked to the disappointing results of the military campaign in the Deccan led by the latter.

Likewise, the Portuguese followed with rapt attention Akbar's manifest fear that he would be poisoned by his eldest son, a fear corresponding to a suspicion that, according to the Mughal chronicler Badayuni, dated back to 1591 ('Abdul Qadir Badayuni 1986: II, 390). D. Francisco da Gama refers to the emperor's anxiety twice in December 1599 (BN, *Res.*, cod. 1976, f. 141v; Subrahmanyam 2005: 99) and Philip III (r. 1598-1621) does not forget to call attention to it in January 1601: "Akbar is already old and was distrustful of his eldest son, fearing he would poison him"(AHU, *Cons. Ult.*, cod. 282, f. 19r). At the time, it was not yet known in Lisbon that Salim had revolted against his father. However, in Goa attention was centered on the effects of the rebellion and on the awaited fragmentation of the empire as soon as Akbar expired. The insurrection by his eldest son began in July 1600 when Salim sought to take control of the fort at Agra, taking advantage of his father's presence in the Deccan. In the letters that arrived in Lisbon in 1602, the details of this matter were included, permitting the King to conclude that "judging by the Mogor's advanced age, his pending death would cause great disruptions"(AHU, *Cons. Ult.*, cod. 282, ff. 120v-121r). Additionally in 1604, Philip III again congratulated himself on the internal crisis of the Mughals: "The state in which Akbar finds himself relative to his eldest son, of which you inform me, is what suits that State [the *Estado da Índia*] and my hopes are that God may continue their divisions so long as he lives, since upon his death it is understood that it will spread to all of his domain" (AHU, *Cons. Ult.*, cod. 282, f. 207r).

Notwithstanding, it is in the Jesuit materials – Fernão Guerreiro dedicated an entire chapter to the dissensions between Akbar and Salim (Guerreiro 1930-1942: I, 307-309) – that we see a much richer and embedded vision of the imperial succession. Those texts reveal an Akbar nervous and quite insecure, persecuting an imaginary opposition and reacting without thought to the movements of his son. The Jesuit missionaries also rigorously captured the political uncertainties that Akbar's irreversible sickness – which "grew on people's tongues" – caused in Agra. Registering the movements of the diverse protagonists, the Jesuits transmitted in their letters the idea that everything was taking place "behind the scenes", in a tense but controlled manner, without risking power falling into the streets (Flores 2004: 184-189). Akbar's death in 1605 and the proclamation of his successor did not give way to subterfuges. Jahangir, who witnessed the successive deaths of his brothers and potential rivals, Daniyal and Murad, experienced a relatively smooth process of transition, which seemed a good omen for future succession scenarios (Alam and Subrahmanyam 2000). The caveat however came later in the same year, with the emperor dealing with the revolt of his son Khusrau, who he rebuked in the most violent of fashions. Following a common practice in the empire, the sultan was blinded so he could not exercise power or seek to take it. For the prince's partisans, especially the more prominent nobles, assassination or cruel torture were the punishments, performed in the public arena in an exercise filled with symbolism, destined to impress upon the public the prevention of fresh rebellions. Jerónimo Xavier observed all this and described all in detail in a letter dated October 1606 (Rego 1963: 70-74; Silva 1927).

The following periods of transition could not be more turbulent. On 28 October 1627, when Jahangir passed away in the vicinity of the city of Lahore, there were already various pretenders to the Mughal throne and the turmoil did not delay in arising. In fact, the death of the emperor began a short period of three months dominated by widespread political instability. The prince Parwez, the eldest of Jahangir's sons and the principal candidate to the throne, died a year earlier. Prince Khusrau, who disputed his father's authority in 1605, died in prison in 1622. Therefore the decision was thought to be between prince Shahryar, the youngest of Jahangir's offspring and married to a daughter of empress Nur Jahan, and prince Khurram, who rebelled against his father in 1622 and upon whom suspicion of the death of his two brothers fell.

In this process the central role belonged to Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan and *wazir* (chief fiscal minister) of the empire (Kumar 1986). While Nur Jahan preferred Shahryar, Asaf Khan leaned toward Khurram. So, given that the latter as governor of the Deccan was quite removed from Lahore and that it was necessary to neutralize Shahryar, Asaf Khan opted for an alternative solution that permitted him more time. With the aid of a large part of the Mughal nobility, he proclaimed Dawar Bakhsh, the son of Khusrau also known as Bulaqi, to be emperor (Flores and Subrahmanyam 2004). In the *wazir's* strategy, Bulaqi was as crucial a figure as he was decorative. The words of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi are telling in this regard: "it is well known to politicians that the throne of royalty cannot remain vacant for a moment, and therefore the ministers of the government and the principal officers of the Court considered it expedient to place Sultan Dawar Bakhsh, the grandson of the Emperor Jahangir, upon the throne for some days; and thus to guard against mutinies and disturbances which might otherwise arise" *(Majalisu-s Salatin*, in Elliot and Dowson 1996: VII, 137). Bulaqi was simply another ploy to avoid a power vacuum and subsequent chaos. He was a mere expedient comparable to the staging displayed during the deaths of Babur or Humayun.

Little more than twenty days after Jahangir's death, Prince Khurram received the news in the Deccan. He left immediately for Agra, but not without sending a *farman* (imperial edict) ordering Asaf Khan to eliminate Shahryar, Dawar Bakhsh and likewise, other possible candidates to the throne. On January 19, 1628, Bulaqi was imprisoned, and soon the *khutba* (Friday prayer) was read in Khurram's name, proclaiming him emperor with the title of Shahjahan. Two days later followed the executions of Shahryar, Dawar Bahksh, Khurram's brother Gurshasp, and even two sons of prince Daniyal (Tahmurs and Hoshang), a brother of Jahangir. Shahjahan waited in the vicinity of Agra for the ideal moment to enter the city and on 3 February he was crowned emperor (Saksena 1968: 56-65; Prasad 1923; Richards 1995: 116-118).

Later, after the death of the five princes in January 1628, a rumor was spread claiming the sultan Bulaqi had been spared and, as the legitimate heir to Jahangir, was preparing an army of rebels to dispute power with the usurper Shahjahan. The legend of Bulaqi tied together evident parallels with a conjunction of episodes that marked the history of India, even in the twentieth century, and the majority of the European travelers attributed to it certain glamour. All the same in Goa, where they were receiving information about the presence of the sultan in diverse areas of the Mughal domain and even Safavid Persia, and where the matter turned into more than just a literary topic. We know that the viceroy count of Linhares, in the initial phase of his government, maintained a project of an alliance between the *Estado da Índia* and Bulaqi. Shahjahan was an orthodox Muslim, distant from the eclectic approach to religion cultivated by his father and grandfather and less prone to compromises with Europeans that intermixed with his empire. Despite registering important variations (Flores 2004: 510-3), the Portuguese image of the emperor was a globally negative one and as such it is not surprising to find out that Linhares wrote in his diary with enthusiasm about the many rumors swirling of his death. He made three such entries in the last trimester of 1630. The first register, on 11 October, shows the manner in which these rumors circulated and, with them, the earnest vivacity of the viceroy: "I received letters that I understand to be conflicting as to the Mogor's death because the banyas say his grand era is finished, and even when the old Mogor [Jahangir] died they used similar language, and if that is the case it is a good thing for this State" (BA, *MM*, cod. 51-VII-12, f. 97r).

Invested in abbreviating the reign of Shahjahan, the Portuguese viceroy writes several letters to Bulaqi (or to his doubles…), addressing him as the "true Mughal King" and dreaming of an alliance, with a veiled participation by Goa: uniting the first-born grandchild (*neto morgado*) of Jahangir, the sultan of Ahmadnagar and Khan-i Jahan Lodi, a prominent Afghan rebel in conflict with Shahjahan until his assassination in February 1631. The objective, it goes without saying, was to remove the Mughal emperor from power and place Bulaqi on the throne. Yet the opportunity went up in smoke. When the "phantom" of Bulaqi is spoken of again in the *Estado da Índia* in 1634-5, Linhares doubted the alliance in absolute terms. He suggests in his diary "it is this Bolaquim among the Mogores, another King Sebastian as with the Portuguese" (*Diário do 3º conde de Linhares* 1937-1943: 265).

Nearly three decades later, Shahjahan's illness was a point of departure for open warfare over succession, beginning in the final months of 1657 and lasting over a year. The war of succession constituted a watershed moment in the history of Mughal India and consequently has captured the attention of many of the historians of the Mughal empire (Sarkar 1973: I-II, 165 ss; Ghauri 1964; Sharma 1966; Ali 1963; Ahmad 1964; Richards 1995: 151 ss). Shahjahan designated his eldest son, Dara Shikoh, to succeed him. Nevertheless, the remainder of his sons resolved to dispute his decision, each proclaiming himself emperor of the provinces he governed: Aurangzeb in the Deccan, Shah Shuja' in Bengal, and Murad Bakhsh in Gujarat. The politico-military advantage fell to Aurangzeb, who executed Dara Shikoh for heresy in 1659 and Murad Bakhsh two years later. Shahjahan was incarcerated in the Agra fort, where he spent his last days (d. 1666). Shah Shuja' succeeded in fleeing to Arakan and later died there. However, like a second Bulaqi, Shah Shuja' continued to "appear" in different parts of the empire (Karim 1953).

Again, the Portuguese rejoiced in the civil war ravaging the empire. The *Relação que dá o Pe. Fr. Niculao da Conceição a El-rei [...] das couzas de Bengala*, a text seemingly written in the late 1650s, states: "the Mogor [Shahjahan] is a man of over sixty years, has four grown sons, each in a different part of his empire, amassing money and adherents, being with arms in hand so that when their father dies each may place a crown on his head. And with his death the great Mughal empire will surely end" (AHU, *Índia*, box 26, doc. 67; Flores 2004: 354-5; Guedes 1999: 463-79).

Aurangzeb's revolt, in truth, was not very original. It was, in the end, the history of all Mughal princes who fought for the throne as soon as they felt the authority of their father, the emperor, to be waning. Writing in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, António Botelho expounds at length about this interesting phenomenon in his *Relação das cousas mais notaveis, que observei no Reino do Gram Mogor*. The Jesuit explained that the Mughal princes never truly felt like brothers for they grew and lived apart from one another. It is surely a valid interpretation, leading us to revisit the Turco-Mongol inheritance in the words of Stephen Dale: "Whether or not brotherly love was a significant emotion in other pre-modern societies it had little meaning where children had so little sustained contact after their earliest years. The children/young men also developed mini-courts and distinct political ambitions, as indeed was natural for them to do in the Turco-Mongol system of shared inheritance" (Dale 2004: 69-70). Later, Botelho commented on the conversation of Shahjahan with his sons on the eve of the conflict and restated the emblematic expression of Aurangzeb, which we adopted for the title of this article (BL, *Add. Ms.*, cod. 9855, f. 34v).

Furthermore, the figure of Aurangzeb – in large part due to his strict religious policy – caused deep tremors and critical images amongst the Portuguese. Yet again, the specter of internal warfare and the disunion of the empire opened excellent prospects for the *Estado da Índia*. In December 1658, writings from Goa indicated that the "government is varied" and that, "with this King [Aurangzeb] not being legitimate, there is a variety of principle vassals that have rebelled against him" (Pissurlencar 1953-1957: III, 622). In 1666 the turbulence continued: "the sons of the Mogor are at [...] war, and the eldest [prince Akbar] went to Persia, and nothing is known for certain about him, as his departure was unexpected; the other brothers have been meeting, concerned with King Aurangzeb and his administration of the empire as tyrannical and cruel, not much given to the Christians" (HAG, *MR*, bk. 26 B, f. 535r).

Aurangzeb's negative profile gave rise to support for an alternative solution and the instructions given to Gregório Pereira Fidalgo concerning his embassy to Persia in 1696-7 reflect that political purpose. Already mindful of the advanced age of the Mughal sovereign at the time, the ambassador was supposed to favor contact with prince Akbar, Aurangzeb's son, at that moment in hiding at the Safavid court for having declared himself emperor in 1681, and for supporting the Rajput rebellion headed by Durga Das: "to deliver unto him this conclusion about the great utility secured for him by our friendship, quite advantageous to his pretensions in Hindustan as the Mogor's son, the King being so old and with so little strength, his life will certainly not long last" (Aubin 1971: 115; Pissurlencar 1928: 163-169; Hallissey 1977: 67-74). Linhares had tested this very strategy nearly seventy years before with Bulaqi.

Some of the protagonists of the "Golden Age" of the Mughal empire – noting particularly Shahjahan and Aurangzeb – were victims of conspiracies on the part of the Portuguese. They were discreet and largely inoffensive conspiracies, probably remaining unknown to the emperors targeted. It is nonetheless relevant that in Goa and Lisbon the disorder and pulverization of the imperial Mughal authority in India was an assumed desire, without the consequences to the *Estado da Índia,* and of a subcontinent reduced to chaos, ever truly being calculated. It can be argued that the Portuguese professed a situation of strong political violence, with the different kings and viceroys adopting a dangerous "nihilistic" attitude towards Mughal India, which they surely did not wish to spread to their own domain.

In Surat and London: Long Live the Emperor!

The English attitude during these moments of political instability in Mughal India was diametrically opposed to the Portuguese one. In the first place, it is important to analyze the reactions by the EIC agents in India. Adopting an angle of vision as espoused by James Tracy – introducing the old discussion about Asian despotism but underlining the testimony of the VOC factors in the subcontinent on the *Grão Mogor* instead of re-reading what was published in Europe by intellectuals and political thinkers who never came to know India (Tracy 1999) – it would be interesting to follow the news circulating between the imperial capitals and the presidency in Surat about these Mughal dynastic crises. Such information was later sent to the headquarters of the Company in London.

The unsettled succession of Jahangir in 1627-8, that came to be a major preoccupation for both the EIC and the VOC factors in India, is a good starting point. The Dutch, also established in Surat, found out about the death of the emperor in the early days of December 1627. They genuinely feared a plundering of the city and the commissioner Dirck van der Lee, who was at the time en route to the inspection of the trading posts in Gujarat, decided to place guards at the door of the factory. For their part the VOC agents in Agra still did not know, as of 19 November, if the emperor was simply sick or dying, or if he had in fact already died. According to van der Lee's testimony, as soon as the news regarding Jahangir's death was out, some notables abandoned the city, taking their riches with them, while others opted to reinforce the vigilance of their homes. The streets became insecure and supplies very expensive (Prakash 1998: 145). This was a similar situation to the one seen a few years earlier during Khurram's insurgency against Jahangir. From Agra, ironically "pillaged by the King's own son", Wouter Heuten, Heijndrick Adriaens, and Maerten Fredricx described, in February 1623, the desperate state of what they considered to be the "richest city in Hindustan". With the governor of the city shut up in the "castle", the rebels enter the unprotected neighborhoods, setting fires to homes and torturing rich dwellers until they gave up the whereabouts of their riches. The spoils of Agra were taken to Khurram, at the time in Fathpur Sikri, "who exhibited himself triumphantly, sitting on an elephant on a seat of silver". The Dutch factors commented: "how will the king react to this insolence only time will tell" (AR, *OBP*, 1078, ff. 405r, 407r-8r. Translated from the Dutch by Natália Tojo).

What were the reactions of the English merchants? Jahangir was still reigning feebly and the Surat agents were already foretelling the coup by Khurram. It was November 1626 and prince Parwez had died a little over a month ago. "Caromes", who was now the eldest of Jahangir's living sons, had the advantage in the matter of succession. Even so, it was necessary to take into consideration the aspirations of Shahryar and especially Dawar Bakhsh, or Bulaqi, "a hopefull gentleman and indubitate heire" (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 153).

After the confirmation of Jahangir's passing, pessimism spread amongst the representatives of the Company. The merchandise could not be sold for it was not known who would reign, much to the lamentation of the agents of the factory in Agra in the last days of December. Even though the ascension of Khurram constituted the most probable of events, rumors and veiled information arrived daily from Lahore (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 189). In Surat, the portrait painted by the EIC corroborates the VOC's version: "a suddaine rumour overspread the land with the Kings death, which filled all men with feare and expectation, except only rebells and theeves, that make itt their harvest. This newes was first wispered here the 19th November, but within two dayes after publikly divulged". The people passionately disputed the succession and manifested their support for one or another candidate. The most prominent men of the city, almost all of Persian origin, sided with Khurram (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 202-3). The same choice was made by the governor of Surat, who anticipated the succession by minting coins in the name of Shahjahan (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 232).

The EIC agents correctly narrated the conflict between Shahryar and Bulaqi, including Asaf Khan's role in the dispute. Bulaqi was proclaimed emperor in Lahore: however, as far as they knew, this was only the case in that city. Everything seemed to favor Khurram, "whom the souldiers in generall doe love, and whose best age, warlike disposicion, travaile, and exeperience in the highest and dejected fortunes hath made him fittest for the rule and government of so many nacions and countryes" (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 206-7). In the early days of January, James Slade noted that the succession had not yet been settled and that, for an empire of that dimension, it was admirable that the cities were so calm. Asaf Khan supported the grandson of Jahangir, "being indubitate heire according to the customes of most nations". But even this Englishman suspected that it was all a well-disguised strategy: maintaining Bulaqi in Lahore with the title of King, so Khurram could peacefully enter Agra and take the imperial treasury (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 226). Knowing of Shahjahan's imminent coronation, the EIC agents in Agra reacted according to their future interests, procuring future deals. They met with Jahangir's successor in the vicinity of the city and, having secured an audience with him ("the first Christians that saluted him or mett him"), offered him a gift which was accepted (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 228-9).

On the last day in January – after Bulaqi's death (something they had yet to know), but before Shahjahan's coronation – the EIC agents in Ahmadabad sent rather inexact news to Surat. According to some letters received from Ajmer, Khurram had already entered Agra and even reconciled himself with Bulaqi. He gave him his daughter in marriage and entrusted him with the governance of the province of Bhakkar, commanding an army of 40,000 horsemen. The same English merchants claimed that many of the Rajputs were known to be on the side of Khurram. They also give account of a revealing dialogue between Asaf Khan and Amanullah Khan-i Zaman, a prominent Mughal noble who genuinely favored Bulaqi. Seeing the *wazir* with

Shahjahan, he accused him of not having kept the promise that they all agreed to during Jahangir's life: to crown Bulaqi emperor. Asaf Khan defended himself arguing that he made him King but Bulaqi readily spent too much money and was too young to govern such a large empire. Amanullah Khan-i Zaman then went to a meeting with Bulaqi. Finding him rather dispirited ("much dejected and caste down"), he asked him if he knew the danger he was in and revealed to him that it would not be long before they tried to place him in irons. To avoid the worst, he said, Bulaqi should place himself under his permanent protection and he counseled him to be more frugal in his expenses and his gift giving (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 231-3).

The English did not wait to hear of the death of Bulaqi and the other princes. The agents of Agra reveal that on 17 February 1628: Shahjahan "crullie murthered all other princes of blood". They add that Asaf Khan master-minded the coup and was responsible for the "lamentable massacre". He did it, they surmised, so that Shah Shuja' could become emperor in the future (*EFI*, vol. 1624-1629: 240). The following day the agents in Ahmadabad inform the Company in Surat. They recount the "bloodie accion" by Asaf Khan who, acting on orders sent by Khurram and taking advantage of the absence of Amanullah Khan-i Zaman, ordered the assassination of Bulaqi and the other princes (*EFI*, 1624-1629: 241-2).

Despite being touched by the cruelty of Bulaqi's and the other prince's assassinations, the EIC agents quickly accepted Shahjahan as emperor, guaranteeing security and stability for commerce. Perusing the English documentation relative to the war of succession brings us to much the same conclusion. The account of the factor of the Company in Agra regarding the supposed death of Shahjahan towards the end of 1657 is a relevant example: "what the event of these civill dissentions wilbee wee cannot foretell, but thus much wee know: if the three youngest soons will not subordinate themselves to the authority of the elder, it will not bee a year, two, or three that will end the difference; and then all trades wilbee spoiled, both inland and forraigne" (*EFI*, vol. 1655-1660: 121). At the beginning of 1659, Shahjahan already being a prisoner of Aurangzeb, Surat informed London about the political situation in the Hindustan: "Wee feare the next yeare wee shall not be able to send you anie Agra goods; that place being now the seat of the warr, three of the Princes lying rounds about it with very great armyes, and it is said they will give battle to each other suddainly" (*EFI*, vol. 1655-1660: 196).

All the reports by the EIC agents placed in India and Persia those years follow a similar current. They reacted identically in late 1663 when the rumor raged in the empire concerning the death of Aurangzeb: if this really happened, all the business of the Company would go up in smoke (*EFI*, vol. 1661-1664: 105-6). The trying moments of dynastic transition in the Mughal empire are analyzed by the representatives of the EIC using a predominantly mercantile logic: political agitation is synonymous with economic fallibility; stability in government represents stability of commerce. Here lies, independent of its nationality, the language used by the European merchant in Timurid India: awaiting the arrival of Nadir Shah (r. 1736-47) in Delhi and foreseeing the impending collapse of the Mughal empire, the French weighed the situation much like the EIC and VOC had seen the war of succession nearly a century beforehand. From Chandernagore, in Bengal, Dupleix wrote in January 1739 that "this revolution, if it takes place, can only cause great disturbance (*un grande dérangement*) to trade" (Subrahmanyam 2005: 178). The political realism that ruled in the capital of the *Estado da Índia* is in sharp contrast to the economic realism dominating the European factories throughout the empire. However, one should perhaps be cautious regarding an oversimplified and somewhat static and uniform view of this question. There was an important shift in the EIC's character and behavior in the latter part of the seventeenth century: due to relevant transformations occurring in that period, the Company became a political body, rather than a mere trading enterprise. As a consequence, its attitude vis-à-vis Aurangzeb's death in 1707 is much more ambivalent than the one adopted on the moment of Shahjahan's demise (Philip Stern, personal communication).

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In London, at the general headquarters of the EIC, the news coming from India in the years 1650-60 was certainly received with apprehension. Yet other Londoners, without knowing the fluctuations of the dealings of the Company, also looked wearily on the prospect of civil war within the imperial Mughal domains, for other reasons. To understand the far-reaching consequences of such a phenomenon, it is necessary to study other types of texts, not the commercial correspondence from the EIC. It is worth imagining, beginning in the 1670s, what readers of a translated François Bernier (*The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogul*) and patrons of John Dryden's (1631-1700) play based on Bernier's work, would have thought about the issue.

Bernier's *Voyages*, whose structure is somewhat confusing and heterogeneous, enjoyed an interesting European "career" in the later decades of the seventeenth century – four French editions between 1670 and 1699, the second carrying the well-known title *Histoire de la dernière Révolution des Estats du Grand Mogol* (1670); translations into English, German, Dutch, and Italian prior to 1675 (Murr 1991: 246 ss; Burke 1999: 136). Much in the manner of the epoch, the work by the French doctor speaks of «revolution» (Snow 1962; Burke 1999: 127; Harris 2005: 32-8; Hespanha 1993) to characterize the Mughal war of succession, a term maintained in some of the above referred translations, including the English one.

François Bernier unleashed a stinging criticism of the Mughal political system beginning with the appropriation of the nobles' affects by the emperor and the absence of private property in the empire. This position found a strong reverberation amongst other western authors, molding the European discourse relative to the Mughal empire and its political regime for a long period of time, and has been interpreted as a warning against the excesses of the absolutist monarchies in Europe, particularly against the tyrannical temptations of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715) and his powerful minister Colbert (Murr 1991; Burke 1999). As Sylvia Murr has stressed, Aurangzeb, being indubitably a tyrant – though one cannot escape such a label when one governs an empire which is structurally so – does not exclude Bernier from considering him a great politician and king: "for his hero Aurangzeb to remain a pedagogically effective example, he takes care to underline that he is [...] a king in every way, on which any king can model himself and Aurangzeb serves consequently as an example for all princes"(Murr 1991: 257). Reason of State prevails and Machiavellian political realism is present and noted, for the real tyrant is he who maintains himself in power without having the qualities to wield it, not one who is a gifted ruler and has the abilities to assure political stability in his reign. Bernier's exercise, defending the "legitimate tyrant", is not much removed from the Spaniard Mártir Rizo's position, in *Vida de Rómulo* (1626) (Fernández-Santamaría 1983: 296 ss). And it is certain that Bernier's Aurangzeb provoked a lively debate in Europe concerning the nature and limits of royal sovereignty. From Milan, in March 1675, the printer Federico Agnelli urged D. Gaspar Talenti – in his preface to the Italian translation of the *Voyages* – to assess whether "the fakir Aurengzeb has the right to become sovereign" and to "ponder with your superior judgment the decisions of this foreign prince" (Bernier 1675).

As noticed earlier, the prolific John Dryden surely read Bernier's work in the first English translation in 1671-2 and later transformed it into a play. In truth, Bernier himself offers

Dryden the adaptation of his book: in the dedication to Louis XIV, the French doctor refers to the war of succession as "a Tragedy which I have just seen acted in one of the largest Theatres in the World" (Bernier 1968: xxi; Murr 1991: 254). Dryden naturally grasped the self-evident connotation of «tragedy», which evolved into the title for his play and obtained as a venue some of the London's largest theaters. *Aureng-Zebe, or the Great Mogul* was presented for the first time in November 1675 at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, a theater inaugurated in 1663, which quickly became a reference for the Restoration drama. The text was published in 1676 under a slightly different title – *Aureng-Zebe, A tragedy* – and five more editions followed before the end of the century (1685, 1690, 1692, 1694 e 1699). On stage, the play would not be performed again in the seventeenth century, but, in exchange, became somewhat popular in the first three decades of the following century: 34 performances in London from 1700 to 1730 (Dryden 1971: xiii-xiv).

The multiple editions and performances of Dryden's play could well constitute in London a renewed interest in the war between the EIC and Aurangzeb in 1687-8 and the subsequent embassy of Sir William Norris to the Mughal court in 1699-1702 (Subrahmanyam 2005: 159 ss): in the closing years of the seventeenth century, and especially in the 1800s, India occupied a relevant place in the British "public sphere" (Osborn 2004). But the relative success of *Aureng-Zebe* may also be a consequence of the English political panorama at the time. The Londoners acquainted with Shakespeare's history plays were used to seeing situations of turmoil, plots and assassinations on the city's stages and only needed to draw a parallel between the turmoil in Agra and the unpredictable political situation of Restoration England.

Dryden appears particularly interested in applying lessons learned from the turbulent dynastic transitions in Turco-Mongol Asia to the political circumstances of his own country. In a short article, L. H. Martin demonstrates that the enigmatic reference to the "Persian king" in *Aureng-Zebe* (IV.i.7) is based on Dryden's knowledge of *The Royall Slave* (1639), a piece by William Cartwright which utilized an episode that took place in the court of Shah Abbas I (r. 1587-1629) to explore the theme of the "captive entertained in regal splendor with foreknowledge of his fate". Advised by his astrologers of the danger to his life, the Safavid emperor temporarily abandoned power for expediency: he placed an "infidel" on his throne, who, in foreseeable fashion, was assassinated after three or four days reigning over the empire. The true emperor later returned to his throne confident of his safety (Martin 1973). In fact, Cartwright's "infidel" did exist: he was a certain Ustad Yusufi Tarkishduz, a disciple of the heterodox Sufi order of the Nuqtavis that Shah Abbas intended to eliminate (Babayan 2002: 3-5; Subrahmanyam 2005a: 117-8).

Considering Timurid India, Bulaqi – whom the Mughal chroniclers described as being a "sacrificial lamb" (Flores and Subrahmanyam 2004: 88) – could well have been Cartwright's "Persian king". But Dryden prefers to identify him as Aurangzeb, imagining the future Mughal emperor unjustly imprisoned by his father and brother (Morat, i.e. Murad Bakhsh) and calmly awaiting the inevitable execution. Aurangzeb laments, at the beginning of the final act: "This is the ceremony of my fate: / A parting treat, and I'm to die in state. / They lodge me as I were the Persian king, /And with luxurious pomp my death they bring." (Dryden 1971: 74).

Dryden proceeds with a liberal adaptation of Bernier's work and a reinvention of the events (all concentrated on one single day), which creates distortions and leads him to ignore characters and, likewise, to insert in the conflict a love story between Aurangzeb and Indamora. Taken as a whole, *Aureng-Zebe* has merited the attention given it by scholars of seventeenth century English drama (*inter alia*, Alssid 1965; Newman 1970), but there are also contributions by specialists of south Asia to consider as well (Bhattacharya 1993). What prevails is the analysis of the dramatic method and other formal aspects of the play; the characterization of the protagonists (especially the women – Nourmahal, Indamora, Melesinda and Zayda); and the interpretation of *Aureng-Zebe* as a metaphor for the political reality of Restoration England. This last aspect seems most pertinent to our study, in connection to the portrait of Aurangzeb conveyed by the play.

John Dryden was not the first to associate dynastic crises in a Muslim empire with the political *status quo* of an early modern European state. For such we only have to look to Istanbul in the mid-sixteenth century. Confronted with the revolt by the heir to the throne, Prince Mustafa, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66) orders the execution of his own son in 1553. The instigators of this plot appear to have been the Sultana Roxelana – interested in eliminating Mustafa so that one of her sons could ascend to the throne– and the Grand Vizier. The tragic episode serves as a foundation for the play *La Soltane*, by Gabriel Bounin (1561) and could represent a didactic lesson to contemporary France, which lived much the same moment of great political turbulence after the death of Henry II (r. 1547-59). Six decades later, in Florence, Prospero Bonarelli drew from the same Turkish tragedy the play *Il Solimano* (1619). The context was also appropriate since Cosimo II (r. 1609-21) sustained for years the hope of conquering Jerusalem, and a drama exploring the possible political disintegration of the Ottoman empire – Giovanni Botero had already prophesied the end of the empire judging from the recurrent fratricidal battles with which the Ottomans had to deal (Botero 1956: 83-86) – provided a good stimulus for the project. On the other hand, Bonarelli surely intended to emphasize the utility, to Florence, of the lessons of Mustafa's injustice, in a period where Cosimo II was ailing, leaving prospects for serious political problems concerning succession in the Great Duchy (Le Thiec 1996).

In London in the 1670s the game of mirrors is played with Agra and not so much with Constantinople. Aurangzeb is the hero of Dryden's drama and the future emperor, having no tyrannical qualities, represents the stability of the government. The despot is instead the "Old Emperor" (Shahjahan), accompanied by the sanguine Morat (the rest of Aurangzeb's brothers rapidly disappear from the scene). As for the love story it ends happily, with the image of Aurangzeb and Indamora contributing to the profile of the prince as perfect, the ideal monarch "whose private happiness is fused to the public good and who can provide the promise of a productive future for himself as well as for his people" (Alssid 1965: 469).

The portrait of Aurangzeb as composed by Dryden is better understood when compared to contemporary England. The initial years of the reign of Charles II (r. 1660-85) – marked by deep politico-religious divides and a fragile political authority – were highly unstable, culminating in the Exclusion Crisis of 1678-81 (Harris 2005). In this manner the lauding of Aurangzeb is the lauding of Charles II and it comes as no surprise that Dryden places the action of his play in Agra, in the year 1660, the same year as the Stuart Restoration.

In any event, the reality was quite different. Aurangzeb was far from being idealized by Dryden, much as Charles II was indeed more akin to Shahjahan. On the eve of the Mughal war of succession, finding himself exiled in Holland (1651-60), Prince Charles sent an emissary – Henry Bard, or Lord Bellomont, who had fought beside Charles I (r. 1625-49) in the civil war – to Asia. Manuzzi knew Bellomont well (Manucci 1981: I, *passim*), but the passage of the ambassador of the future Charles II through Persia and India (where he was to perish in June 1656) also left its mark on the correspondence of the EIC (*EFI*, 1655-1660: 20-24, 127-128) and the VOC. Johan Tack's perspective from Delhi in June 1656 is rather interesting, for a letter from Charles II arrived for Shahjahan and is read before the emperor and nobles after having been translated by a Jesuit. Offended by those who killed his father, Charles of England came to ask for Shahjahan's financial assistance to retake the lands of the slain Charles's assassins. Sarcastically, the Mughal emperor commented that, considering the gift the English presented to him, it would be difficult to obtain money from anyone (AR, *OBP*, 1210, ff. 1050r-1050v. Translated from the Dutch by Natália Tojo).

As far as we know, in the final decades of the seventeenth century there are no echoes of Bernier or Dryden in Portugal. The fall of Shahjahan, the assassination of his three sons, and the victory by the astute Aurangzeb is something which, in all probability, only the monarch, the Overseas Council (*Conselho Ultramarino*), the political circuits at court, and the Jesuits knew and debated, always based on news coming from Goa. Still in December 1667, exalting from the recent celebration of a treaty with the Mughal emperor (Biker 1881-1887: IV, 123 ss; BN, *Res.*, cod. 257, ff. 43v-44v), the viceroy in India saw in Aurangzeb much difference from the one discussed, a few years earlier, in London and Paris. In fact, the Count of São Vicente (1666-8) relies mainly on the reputation of the *Estado da Índia* and the Portuguese Crown, emphasizing to D. Afonso VI (r. 1656-83) the fact that they were able to assure negotiations of peace, under the condition of equals, "with such a grand and insolent Prince". The treaty, in conjunction with the awaited successes of the embassy led by Manuel de Saldanha to Beijing (1667-70), would permit the Portuguese king, "to be at once respected by the two greatest monarchs in the universe" (BNF, *FP*, vol. 33, f. 144r).

Nevertheless, the political situation of the country at the time – as was happening in France and assuredly in England – favored interesting parallels between Mughal India and the *Portugal Restaurado* in its early decades. It suffices to recall the personal debility and weak authority of D. Afonso VI, a puppet-king controlled by the count of Castelo Melhor since 1662 and who would be deposed by his own brother, Prince D. Pedro, five years later. Exiled to Angra do Heroísmo since 1669, D. Afonso VI returned from the Azores in 1674 only to be incarcerated in Sintra until his death in 1683. Tempting analogies come to mind, more so because soon after the English translation of Bernier came to light, Samuel Pepys' *The Portugal History: Or a Relation of the troubles that happened in the court of Portugal in the years 1667 and 1668*, was published in London (Pepys 1677). Bernier could well be considered the European chronicler of the Mughal "revolution", much as Pepys is to be recognized as the European chronicler of the Portuguese "revolution". The count of Castelo Melhor could evidently play the role of Colbert and, despite the many differences, D. Afonso VI has some Shahjahan in him, the latter of course also being removed from power by a "revolution" and exiled to the palace at Agra until his death 1666. Concerning the regent D. Pedro (1667-83), later King Pedro II (r. 1683-1706), who prepared the coup in 1667 with the help of the queen, his sister-in-law and later his wife, he is most like Aurangzeb in comparison. Furthermore, much like his contemporaries Charles II and Aurangzeb, he also confronted conspiracies in his first years of power (*Epítome da Vida do Serenissimo Rey de Portugal D. Afonso VI* (1684), BN, *Res.*, cod. 1505, ff. 64r-68r).

Had the Portuguese decision-makers at the time read the *Histoire de la dernière Revolution des Estats du Grand Mogol*? What effect, if any, would a Portuguese translation of François Bernier, perhaps complemented by a play written by D. Francisco Manuel de Melo (1608-1666) – who lived long enough to know of the Mughal civil war – have? How would the account of the French doctor in that harsh war of words between, on the one hand (favoring D. Pedro), the *Catastrophe de Portugal* and the *Monstruosidades do tempo e da fortuna*; and, on the other (defending D. Afonso VI), the *Anti-Catastrophe* and the *Mercurio Portuguez* (Rocha 1990; Xavier 1998; Xavier, Cardim and Álvarez 1996) eventually be used? Or better yet, what impact would an eventual note by Father António Vieira (1608-97) about the conquest of power by Aurangzeb have, the Jesuit missionary being precisely the author of a 1667 document advising "the King D. Affonso VI to abdicate in favor of Prince D. Pedro" where he expands on the personal and political relations between brothers (BN, *Res.*, cod. 11371, ff. 87r-95r)? Would Lisbon, seeing itself reflected in Agra, advocate the political stability of the Mughal empire and, consequently, desire long life for Aurangzeb, instead of fomenting his destruction? Would the Reason of State as interpreted in Goa, which saw political and social anarchy in Hindustan as a guarantee of the political survival of the *Estado da Índia*, prevail? Or, alternatively, would the Reason of State from Lisbon's perspective, which surely would advocate the stability of the Mughal government in order to induce a political discourse paralleling the legitimacies of D. Pedro II and Aurangzeb, prevail?

Conclusion

The European texts regarding Mughal India – whose relevance to the study of topics such as that of the dynastic crises of the empire is undisputed – pose various challenges. The first one consists in learning to deal with the extraordinary diversity of those texts: accounts of merchants, travelers and high officials; archival documents, ranging from state papers to commercial correspondence; narrative sources, some extremely popular, some not; and plays. European texts do not necessary convey the "truth" about Asian societies, rather they often represent a discourse, a construction, and have some sort of agenda (Subrahmanyam 2005: 9-10; Tracy 1999: 256-7). Thus, labeling some texts as more representative in order to belittle others as less interesting may lead to the impoverishment of historical analysis.

The count of Linhares and the count of São Vicente; successive generations of EIC agents placed in Surat, Ahmadabad, or Agra; François Bernier and John Dryden...European perceptions of the dynastic crises of the Mughal empire are as disparate as the profiles of its observers, the locale from which they observed, and perhaps as importantly, what each one sought to find in what he observed. The Portuguese sided with Bulaqi, the English with Shahjahan. The Portuguese condemned Aurangzeb, whom they considered to be a tyrant and illegitimate ruler. The English heaped praise upon his reign and, at least in some circles, transformed him into the perfect prince. Which images are the dominant ones? Which political constructions stronger? It is rather difficult to tell, more so because if one enlarges this exercise to include Asian texts, the results will be even more diverse. Muhammad Rabi – author of *Safina-i Sulaimani* ("The Ship of Sulaiman"), the account of a Persian embassy to the Thai court in the 1680s, of which he was the secretary –, presents the revolt of Prince Akbar against his father, the emperor Aurangzeb, in the following manner: "the very latest report had it that when the noble, high-ranking, prince Akbar, greatest of the princes of all India, [...] following the orthodox tradition of his famous forebears, turned his hopeful face to Iran, the threshold and refuge of the world, this event greatly increased the tumult and confusion which prevails throughout the land of India" (O'Kane 1972: 239-240). For Muhammad Rabi, India is a land of turmoil and, artfully evoking Prince Akbar's Mughal precedent – Emperor Humayun, who fled to the court of Shah Tahmasp after being overthrown by the Afghan ruler Sher Shah in 1540 – presents the Persian court as a safe haven and simultaneously proclaims the superiority of the Safavids over the Mughals.

Let us consider once more the perspectives of Surat and London. In India, the EIC and VOC factors never spoke of the dissolution of the empire. They certainly feared the periods of political transition in Mughal India. They feared them, however, as one fears a looming storm which, in the end, is just passing by. It was expected that the problem of succession could be resolved as fast as possible and that the new emperor (whoever he may be) would start to exert his authority. In London, no one entertained the thought of the dismembering of the empire and no one even seriously considered the scenario. This was true both for the directors of the Company, for whom such an event could signify the loss of their investment in India, and for the political philosophers and opinion-makers, interested in consecrating the stability of power in Timurid India, for example, a convenient formula adjusted to Restoration England.

We now return to the perspectives of Goa and Lisbon. Without wasting much time explaining the historical origins of the phenomenon (if they understood at all the fundamentals of the Turco-Mongol heritage), the Portuguese assumed the turbulence that cyclically assailed Agra or Delhi to be a self-induced process of inevitable conflict between sons, fathers, and brothers for the throne. Even without recalling the early decades of Timurid India – and the reigns of Babur and Humayun were good examples to evoke regarding the extreme fragility of the empire's structures (Dale 2004: 458-61) – the Portuguese envisaged Mughal India as a reversible political reality. A powerful empire surely, but still one destined to die, perhaps because since the beginning it was insisted that the *Grão Mogor* was nothing more than a foreigner to an India where the *Firangis* had arrived first (Flores 2004: 35).

The Mughal political transition as seen from the capital of the *Estado da Índia* could not be starker. Confronted with descriptions of violent assassinations of brothers by brothers, the Portuguese never speak of tragedy – Jerónimo Xavier seems to be the only one to employ the term to describe the rebellion led by Khusrau – and emotion rarely transpires. Their pure political realism, Machiavellian in its style, is quite different from the economic realism of the EIC agents: what could the business opportunities of Hindustan mean when compared with the advantages of a political implosion of the *Grão Mogor*? Once in Lisbon, a deeper reflection on the subject is also unlikely to take place. No politician, jurist, or intellectual seemed to preoccupy himself with questioning, for example, what would happen in Portugal if the country had to face a crisis similar to that faced by the Mughals in 1657-8. Conspiring against the Mughal sovereigns and dreaming of the dissolution of their empire signifies a disrespect for the importance of order, which the Portuguese *Ancien Régime* prized so much (Hespanha 1993); a perilous contradiction at its heart. Quite alien too is a possible comparison and an exercise of cultural translation between Aurangzeb's India and D. Pedro II's Portugal.

To fully understand this phenomenon it is important to stress that, unlike other European countries, Portugal could not count on worldly voyagers in India in the last decades of the seventeenth century. These men transformed the description of a voyage into a public, autobiographical exercise and wrote with the thought in mind that they would be extensively read in Europe, certainly with the expectation that they would exercise an influence on their fatherland. Portugal bypassed the reflection then taking place in Europe regarding the tyrannical and despotic character of the Asian political systems (including the Mughal one), more so if we consider that the reflection constituted, above all, a topic in European intellectual history, a fact readily known in the celebrated travelogues of acclaimed travelers (Rubiés 2005). But if one considers other western texts or adopts a perspective closer to that of the reality in Asia, the debate acquires other shades. The multitude of European visions regarding the rise and fall of the Mughal emperors is one such example.

Abbreviations

Add. Ms.	*Additional Manuscripts* (BL)
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino – Lisbon
AR	Algemeen Rijksarchief – The Hague
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu – Rome
BA	Biblioteca da Ajuda – Lisbon
BL	The British Library – London
BN	Biblioteca Nacional – Lisbon
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France – Paris
Cons Ult:	*Conselho Ultramarino* (AHU)
FP	*Fonds Portugais* (BNF)
HAG	Historical Archives of Goa – Panaji, India
MM	*Miscelâneas Manuscritas* (BA)
MR	*Monções do Reino* (HAG)
OBP	*Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (AR)
Res	*Reservados* (BN)
RI	*Regimentos e Instruções* (HAG)

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The Portuguese Academic Community and the Theory of Relativity[1]

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Abstract

The theory of relativity was a scientific subject that interested a small number of Portuguese scientists in the first decades of the twentieth century. Portugal was associated with the observational confirmation of general relativity — observations of the solar eclipse were carried out on the island of Príncipe; however, no Portuguese astronomers took part in the scientific expedition. International seminars, led by foreign scientists and held in Portugal at the beginning of the 1920s and 1930s, were important. A few Portuguese mathematicians, rather than physicists, were first attracted to this theory and the few academic papers dealing with it were published abroad by two members of this group.

Keywords

History of Science, Science in Portugal, Theory of Relativity

One of the areas of greatest interest to researchers in the field of the history of science is the study of the process of appropriation of new scientific theories in countries that can be classified as peripheral in terms of their scientific output. Peripheral countries are those whose academic community is distanced from advanced centers in terms of the research they produce and that have participated to a lesser extent in the process of scientific creation. Like many other countries, the Portuguese academic community finds itself in this situation. Recent studies on the history of relativity have extended to comparative studies on its early reception in various countries (GLICK, 1987 and EINSENTAEDT, 1992). In this article, we do not present a comparative study, but report the principle facts regarding the way in

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which the Portuguese academic community began learning about the arguments presented by the new theory of relativity, which gave rise to a new paradigm in contemporary physics. And what better occasion is there to do this than in the centennial year of 2005?

Introduction

At the beginning of the twentieth century, physics was taught at the only university in Portugal, the *Universidade de Coimbra*, an institution which jealously guarded its privileges and staunchly defended its monopoly on university education at the *Faculdade de Filosofia* and the *Faculdade de Matemática*. At the former, the physics course was phenomenological and experimental in character, which accentuated its applied nature, while the latter courses did not cover general physics, but only specific disciplines such as mechanics and its application to astronomy. Meanwhile, there were other schools of higher education in Portugal, the *Escola Politécnica* in Lisbon and the *Academia Politécnica* in Oporto, which trained engineers and taught physics and mathematics. During this period, the role of the university and the other schools of higher education was essentially to transmit knowledge, to train senior technical officers working in public administration and education, and to provide training to the standards required by certain professions. University professors were not expected to carry out scientific research as part of their job, and there were no incentives for them to do so.

With the advent of the Republic in 1910, important reforms were introduced in higher education: the Decree of 12 May, 1911 provided for the establishment of the two new universities of Lisbon and Oporto, and the creation of *Faculdades de Ciências* at both the new universities and at the old *Universidade de Coimbra*. The Lisbon Faculty of Sciences replaced the *Escola Politécnica*, and the Oporto Faculty replaced the *Academia Politécnica*; in Coimbra, the new Faculty brought together the former Faculties of Philosophy and Mathematics. Besides the creation of these new Faculties, the reforms aimed at fostering scientific research at the university level. Within a very short period, university teaching was reorganized to a certain extent. This arose from the need to grant scholarships to some teachers in order for them to update their scientific training at laboratories in scientifically advanced countries.

During the period between the two world wars, the theory of relativity was not ignored: various articles either referred to it or discussed it; the theory was the subject of academic reports, university courses, some papers presented at congresses and also a very small number of pieces of research carried out in the field of mathematics; ideas were expressed both for and against the theory.

Preliminaries of the Expedition to the Island of Príncipe

In a dissertation which was presented with his application in 1912 for the post of Lecturer in Philosophy at the new *Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa*, Leonardo

Coimbra (1883-1935), a young mathematics graduate at the *Academia Politécnica* in Oporto, discussed Lorentz-Fitzgerald's transformation equations, accompanied by a discussion of the principle of relativity and the Michelson-Morley experiment (COIMBRA, 1983). His aim was not to produce a scientific explanation, but to provide material suitable for philosophical reflection. In this work, special relativity is discussed, on the basis of an article by Langevin (LANGEVIN, 1912). Leonardo Coimbra adopted the argument of the French scientist: the discussion developed around the principle of relativity and not around a new theory; the principle was not then understood as a postulate of a new theory but as an experimental fact resulting from the negative experience of demonstrating the movement of the Earth in relation to ether. Although his writings were always marked by philosophical arguments, this author later dealt with relativity in texts, also within the framework of philosophical speculation, which he published in the 1920s in the cultural journal, *Águia* (FITAS, 2000). No scientific or philosophical reaction to these papers was published in this journal or elsewhere.

A perusal of domestic scientific journals shows that up to the end of the 1920s, there were practically no references to relativity, with the exception of a short article by Costa Lobo (1864-1945), a mathematician and professor of astronomy at the *Universidade de Coimbra*. Among other statements, Costa Lobo quoted Thomas J.J. See, an American astronomer, with the following words: "in Einstein's chimerical theory, gravitation is not a force but a property of space" (LOBO, 1917: 611). And, some lines below, he made a reference to his own theory which he intended as a physical explanation for gravitation, where "radiation produces the gravitational phenomena (…) [a theory] which has its foundations in facts ascertained about radioactivity" (LOBO, 1917: 612). This was a theory which Costa Lobo presented in lectures he gave in Spain. These statements are enough to understand his anti-relativistic positions and the presumption that his own theory explained gravitation without the presence of the Newtonian property of instantaneous action.

Portugal was linked indirectly to the important scientific tests confirming the predictions of the general theory of relativity; as is well-known, a group of astronomers led by Sir Arthur Eddington carried out observations on Príncipe, an equatorial island administered by Portugal. According to the report published by the English expedition (DYSON, 1920), there were previous contacts with the Portuguese scientific community, namely with those responsible for running the *Observatório Nacional da Ajuda*, and the names of Vice-Admiral Campos Rodrigues (1836-1919) and Dr. Francisco Oom (1864-1930) were mentioned. Two years earlier, in an article about the quality of observation of the future eclipse on the island of Príncipe, Dr. Oom had predicted that it would attract "(...) many of the astronomers who are especially interested in this type of phenomenon" (OOM, 1917: 97). Despite the interest manifested by this astronomer in the observation of the phenomenon that would occur in 1919, no Portuguese astronomer took part in the Eddington expedition (GAGEAN, 1992). Royal Society astronomers also visited Brazil in order to make observations; in contrast to Portugal, Brazil provided a team of astronomers who, besides carrying out their own observations, closely followed the work of the English expedition (EINSENSTAEDT, 1995).

The success of the verification by observation of the predictions of the general theory of relativity would thrust its author into the limelight, and men of culture from all over the world, and especially the scientific community, would shower praise upon him. In his paper in 1915 on the theory presented to the Prussian Academy of the Sciences, Einstein underlined that his success in discovering the written equations corresponded to "a true triumph of the methods of the general differential calculus developed by Gauss, Riemann, Cristoffel, Ricci (...)" (BOYER, 1991: 624). This recognition could explain, along with the dense mathematical theorizing used in constructing his theory, why it was that general relativity aroused greater interest among mathematicians than physicists.

The academic atmosphere existing in Portugal at that time reflected this general tendency, which explains the much greater degree of receptivity to the new theory among Portuguese mathematicians. The mathematical tradition in Portugal accorded special interest to certain domains of applied mathematics, such as mechanics, mathematical physics, astronomy and geodesy. This characteristic of our mathematics is clearly shown by the compilation presented by a historian of mathematics at the beginning of the 20th century (GUIMARÃES, 1900). Till the end of the 1930s, Portuguese mathematicians were always somewhat removed from subjects such as the set theory, mathematical theories of logic and topology, and they did not show any interest in methods relating to the foundation of mathematics. According to a Portuguese mathematician, when discussing the Italian school of mathematics (Volterra, Levi-Civita and Enriques), "besides the fact that one of the most important founders of mathematical logic was an Italian (Peano), all of them had an unlimited faith in intuition with a strong depreciation of mathematical logic" (SILVA, 1978: 519). Levi-Civita[2] was one of the most important members of the Italian mathematics school who at that time had intellectual relations with the best-known Portuguese mathematician Francisco Gomes Teixeira (1851-1933).[3] These connections can explain how the influence of the Italian school was decisive in determining both the mathematical thought and the topics of academic research engaged in by the large majority of Portuguese mathematicians and university teachers in the period before the Second World War.

A Lecture at the First Portuguese-Spanish Congress for the Progress of the Sciences

The first Portuguese-Spanish Congress for the Progress of the Sciences was held in Oporto in 1921. The guest speaker at the inaugural session of the Mathematics section was

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[2] Tullio Levi-Civita, one of Ricci's most remarkable pupils, developed Absolute Differential Calculus into what we now call the theory of tensors, a fundamental mathematical tool for General Relativity; there was a very fruitful correspondence between him and Einstein.

[3] Levi-Civita published a paper in the *Universidade do Porto* scientific journal which was edited by Gomes Teixeira — Tullio Levi-Civita (1913). Sur les systèmes linéaires à deux inconnues, admettant une intégrale quadratique. *Anais scientificos da Academia Politécnica do Porto*, 7(4), 193-206).

José Maria Plans y Freire,[4] who opened his lecture with a special greeting to Francisco Gomes Teixeira and stated that "Einstein's theory is the scientific event with the greatest degree of transcendence at the present time, so it seems to me that this theory is the best choice as a topic for this lecture" (PLANS Y FREIRE, 1921: 24). And, at the end of his lecture, as a conclusion, he said: "Einstein's relativity and gravitation theory has rendered great services to absolute differential calculus, in the hands of Ricci and Levi-Civita, which is the most suitable discourse for studying space-time" (PLANS Y FREIRE, 1921: 40). At the beginning of 1921, in February, Levi-Civita visited Madrid and Barcelona, where he gave important lectures about "Classical and Relativistic Mechanics" and Plans y Freire is known to have attended these lectures (GLICK, 1986: 122). In the absence of regular contacts between Portuguese mathematicians and those abroad, the words of the Spanish colleague very probably provided a stimulus for the interest of Portuguese mathematicians in knowing more about Einstein's theory, carrying out mathematical research connected with general relativity and reinforcing mathematical links with the work of Levi-Civita. His lecture made such a profound impression on his Portuguese counterparts that, in 1922, a proposal was put forward that he should become a member and foreign correspondent of the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*. Pedro José da Cunha (1867-1945), Professor of Differential and Integral Analysis at the *Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa*, another mathematician, was responsible for making this written proposal (CUNHA, 1923).

The attention that some Portuguese mathematicians began to lavish on the new theory and the enthusiasm they began to show for it can be vividly and briefly illustrated by two events, described as follows. The first concerns a paper entitled "*L'enseignement des mathématiques doit être orienté pour l'étude de la Relativité*", which was written to be presented at the International Mathematics Congress held in Toronto in 1924; the author was Augusto Ramos da Costa (1875-1939), Senior Professor of Astronomy and Navigation at the *Escola Naval* and of Topography and Geodesy at the *Escola do Exército*, an enthusiastic supporter of the theory of relativity, who had already published two short books on the subject.[5] The second event is concerned with the Ph.D. dissertation presented to the *Universidade de Lisboa* in 1925 by Victor Hugo de Lemos (1894-1959), which, being a strictly mathematical work on tensorial calculus, contained in its foreword the following passage: "Thus, given the importance of a knowledge of tensorial calculus for the study of the general theory of relativity, justification for the presentation of this paper is based on the desire to further encourage the growing number of individuals who are participating in the informed discussion of the scientific worth of the theories of Einstein" (LEMOS, 1925: 2). Thus, if, on the one hand, the aim was to subordinate mathematics teaching to the demands

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[4] This Spanish mathematician won a prize awarded by the *Academia de Ciencias Exactas de Madrid* in 1919 for a piece of work in which "the new concepts of space and time" were explained: it was later published in 1921 under the title of "*Nociones fundamentales de Mecanica relativista*" (GLICK, 1986: 125). Besides having authored several works linked to General Relativity, José Maria Plans y Freire translated Eddington's book, entitled "*Space-time and Gravitation*", published in Spain in 1922 (the English and French editions were published in 1920 and 1921, respectively).

[5] A. Ramos da Costa (1921). *A Teoria da Relatividade*. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional. A. Ramos da Costa (1923). *Espaço, Matéria, Tempo ou a Trilogia Einsteiniana*. Lisbon: Imprensa Lucas e Cª.

of Einstein's theory, on the other hand, these same demands provided the *raison d'être* for studying certain mathematical themes.

At the 2nd Portuguese-Spanish Congress for the Progress of the Sciences, held in Salamanca, Costa Lobo gave a lecture in which he took advantage of the occasion to explain once more his own theory, already mentioned earlier, which was in obvious contradiction to the theory of relativity. He wrote: "The main purpose of this short paper is to make known a principle which, with an absolute formula, allows us to consider the constitution of the universe, and it is based on radioactive phenomena that can give an explanation of all observed phenomena" (LOBO, 1923: 481). This meant that "once the dissociation of matter is observed we should accept all the consequences (...) It is the disintegration of matter which is able to give all the elements that make up the universe, and it is based on this knowledge that we can explain all phenomena" (LOBO, 1923: 480). This is a new sort of ether in which all points of space are sources of radiant matter supporting all forces, especially gravitation; a sort of ether whose characteristic was diffusivity rather than vibration for wave propagation. The defeat of the concept of ether was the cornerstone distinguishing supporters of relativistic ideas from those who were opposed to them. Costa Lobo was a supporter of a very peculiar form of radioactive ether, and obviously he had an anti-relativistic position, which he persisted in exhibiting at international meetings. For Costa Lobo, as for other physicists and mathematicians, the important thing was to preserve the medium by which it was possible to transmit all forces or all actions; in a speculative way, he imagined a space full of "radiant matter", which supported all interactions.

A singular course

It was in one of the disciplines - Mathematical Physics - of the Mathematics degree course offered by the *Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa* that this new theory was taught in Portugal for the first time, in the academic year of 1922-23. The disciplinary program taught by Professor António dos Santos Lucas (1866-1939) consisted exclusively of special relativity and general relativity. Thus, the new theory became the subject of lectures at Portuguese universities for the first time, and it was students of mathematics, rather than physics, who had the first contacts with the new theory.

At the *Museu de Ciência da Universidade de Lisboa*, there is a two-volume manuscript transcription of this course authored by one of the students who attended the lectures (PINTO, undated). The material contained in the first volume is divided into two parts: Lorentz's transformation and special relativity, where a good number of pages pay attention to the discussion of the "ether problem" and the Michelson-Morley experiment. The second volume is made up of three parts: in the first of these, there is an introduction with notions of tensorial calculus; the second deals with the theory of general relativity; and the third part deals with "confirmation of the theory".

At the end of the manuscript, there is a list of "books consulted", which can be regarded as a proposal for a bibliography; it overwhelmingly comprises works in French and there is a short comment next to each reference. The fact that this information has been handwritten by a student, along with the nature of the comments made, indicate that they were not the work of Dr. Santos Lucas. However, because it seems improbable that a student might know all the books cited, one can guess that the professor contributed his opinions. The works which appear on the list, cited in the comments as being "the best of all" or "the Books by the Masters which everyone must read", are those by Eddington and Weyl (French editions). Three booklets by Einstein, also published in French, are referred to: "*La Théorie de la Relativité*", "*L'éther et la théorie de la relativité*" and "*La Géometrie et l'expérience*"; the works of W. de Sitter also feature: "*On Einstein's theory of gravitation and its astronomical consequences*"; Jean Becquerel's book, "*Le Principe de la Relativité et le Principe de la Gravitation*", is described as "very good", while "the book with the clearest explanation that I know of" is the epithet attributed to "*Initiations aux Théories de Einstein*" by Gaston Moch; Max Born's "*La théorie de la Relativité d'Einstein et ses bases physiques*" is classified as "very reasonable"; the book by Plans y Freire, entitled "*Nociones fundamentales de Mecanica relativista*" receives the following comment: "This was the book we used most in our course (…)". A note on this last comment: it reinforces the idea already expressed in this paper about the influence of the lecture by Plans y Freire on Portuguese mathematicians.

The predominance of French titles in the bibliography should be stressed, indicating the extremely powerful influence exerted by French culture at Portuguese universities, which was certainly also a factor that conditioned the way in which Portuguese university scholars gained knowledge about advanced scientific research works, especially those carried out in the fields of physics and mathematics. Among the works consulted, there are none in German and, even for works originally published in English, the French translation is often cited.

Comparing the outline of this course with the work of Plans y Freire, there is no doubt that Santos Lucas closely followed the latter: the organization and order of chapters is practically the same, although in many of his sections he clearly moves away from the more complex mathematical treatment employed by the Spaniard. Accepting the student transcription, Santos Lucas seeks to accentuate, beyond the physical interpretations of formulae, the physical reasons for the development of the theory and, with regard to this particular point, the influence of Jean Becquerel's course is manifest. These considerations should be regarded with some caution because nothing is known about the reconstruction work carried out on the lessons by the student "compiler".

This course can be regarded as being singular due to the fact that, although during the following decades both professors of physics and professors of mathematics included relativity as a topic in their courses, it was in this particular course that, over a period of many years, this theory constituted the sole topic of an annual disciplinary program.

Portuguese Physicists and the New Theory: Two Disputes Arise

José de Almeida Lima (1859-1930), an academic and professor of physics at the *Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa*, presented a paper on relativity at the plenary sessions of the *Academia de Ciências de Lisboa* on 7 and 13 July 1921. This paper had the purpose of conducting a very general and philosophical discussion about Einstein's theory, a discussion completely free of mathematical language and carried out in a speculative form around the new concepts. The author quotes the main authors of the new theory: Lorentz, Fitzgerald, Michelson, Morley and Einstein and, on Lorentz's conclusion on the contraction of space, he writes: "My common sense as an ordinary individual tells me that such a conclusion would be considered as absurd (...) however, this conclusion was accepted by Einstein, and even considered as fundamental for his theories" (LIMA, 1923: 101). A few lines further on, he writes, "in truth, it is difficult for me thus to view the march of progress mercilessly advancing in a construction that I have always considered as the most beautiful that human genius has created" (LIMA, 1923: 101), referring to the disappearance of the concept of ether, which he refused to accept. To support his belief that the concept of ether was needed to understand physical phenomena, he defended the concept of Costa Lobo (LIMA, 1924: 102). He did not mention any references and from the nature of his text we are led to believe that his knowledge of the theory was not based on publications of an assumedly scientific nature. It is not difficult to understand that he advocated common-sense opinions as against Einstein's conclusions; he was a great supporter of ether as a fundamental concept of all physics, a concept that the theory of relativity completely cast aside.

It was in the 1930s that physicists began to turn their attention to the theory in a more concentrated fashion. Portugal had to wait until late 1929 for a visit by an illustrious physicist and a pioneer in the debate involving relativistic ideas, Paul Langevin. This visit and the return from different European countries of the first physicists holding scholarships from the *Junta de Educação Nacional* together provided a stimulus for the topic of relativity to begin to be included, slowly and sporadically, in physics teaching, although during this period it was never the subject of any research on the part of physicists.[6] Only mathematicians attempted to carry out some research.

Paul Langevin traveled to Portugal under the aegis of the *Instituto Francês de Portugal* and represented the *Collège de France* at the ceremonies held to mark the third Jubilee of the *Academia de Ciências de Lisboa* (ACADEMIA, 1931: 432), and his presence was taken advantage of for the holding of conferences at the Universities of Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto.[7] At the *Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Lisboa* he gave four lectures.[8] It should be underlined that in his first lecture Prof. Langevin emphasized the philosophical aspects of relativity. A reporter for an influential Lisbon daily newspaper wrote the following about the first lecture in Lisbon: "(...) Many students and academics gathered to hear his speech (…) Admiral Gago Coutinho represented Portuguese scientists from outside the laboratories of knowledge: the universities (...)".[9]

Following this visit, an interesting exhibition was held in Lisbon at the *Biblioteca Nacional*, inaugurated in April 1930, although it was "supposed to have opened sooner, between 5 and 15 December 1929, coinciding with the visit of Paul Langevin to this country" (RUA, 1997: 161). It was entitled the "Physics Exhibition" and, in the catalogue, the Director of the National Library wrote that at this institution "(...) there arrived orders for books in the domain of physics covering the new fields of the theory of relativity,

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[6] The "National Board of Education" was a body established in 1929 with the aim of promoting and funding academic research, as well as providing grants for study at home and abroad.

[7] *O Século*: 3/12/29, 5/12/29, 6/12/29, 7/12/29, 10/12/29, 11/12/29.

[8] "Valor filosófico da teoria da relatividade", "A nova mecânica e a inércia da energia", "A confirmação da relatividade restrita" and "Os desenvolvimentos recentes da Relatividade Generalizada".

[9] *O Século*: 3/12/29.

ondulatory mechanics and quantum theory" (BIBLIOTECA, 1930: 6). This demand and the fact that the Director of the National Library was an old army officer and engineer with sound scientific training justified an exhibition of scientific papers in these domains. The catalogue contains the titles of the articles and books exhibited, which were written by a range of authors, including: Einstein, Poincaré, Langevin, Broglie, Cartan, Schörodinger, Whitehead, Bertrand Russell, Jeans, Planck, Sommerfeld, Bohr, Levi-Civita, Enriques, Eddington, Klein, Weyl, Minkowski and Lorentz. Relativity was thus established as a scientific theme that occupied a position of great prominence. The exhibition was inaugurated with due pomp and circumstance by the President of the Republic; however, we do not know what kind of impact it had in terms of the number of visitors. One curious note about the publications on display: none of the works by José Maria Plans y Freire that had so greatly impressed Portuguese mathematicians during the previous decade were included.

Upon attempting to hold a seminar at the *Laboratório de Física da Universidade de Coimbra*, during the academic year of 1930-1931, Mário Silva (1901-1977), one of the scholarship holders who had returned to Portugal after three years in Paris, having obtained a Ph.D. with Mme. Curie, declared his intention to "launch a discussion within the tiny Coimbra scientific community (...) of some new doctrines such as the quantum and relativity theories" (SILVA, 1971: 148). He invited Manuel dos Reis (1900-1993), a mathematician working in the field of mathematical physics, to give a speech entitled "*A Nova teoria do campo de Einstein*", which had not been published. In the book entitled "*Lições de Física*", a general physics textbook published at the beginning of the 1930s, Mario Silva explains the principles of relativist kinematics and makes reference to Langevin's visit to Coimbra (SILVA, undated: 49).[10] Throughout the decade, the principles of special relativity would be presented by Mário Silva in his mechanics and electromagnetism courses.

In the period between the two world wars, these were the main interventions made by physicists regarding the theory of relativity. It should be added that the lectures given by Langevin in Lisbon and the seminars held by Mário Silva in Coimbra would lead to the first two public confrontations between anti and pro-relativists in this country.

In 1930, Admiral Gago Coutinho[11] (1869-1959), who had already heard Einstein speak in Brazil (VIDEIRA, 1995), attended the lectures given by Paul Langevin in Lisbon, and was doubtless one of the most attentive individuals in the audience, as he wrote two articles for the journal *Seara Nova*[12] (COUTINHO, 1930a, 1930b), in which he reiterated the anti-relativist stance he had already taken up in Brazil and had also made known in a

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[10] Taking place on 10 December and including a lecture entitled "*Teoria da relatividade restrita, suas consequências físicas e astrofísicas.*"

[11] Admiral Carlos Viegas Gago Coutinho, a well-known figure who, along with Sacadura Cabral, was the first person to fly from Europe (Lisbon) to South America (Rio de Janeiro) in 1922. Coutinho was an expert in aerial astronomy, a geographer and a hydrographer.

[12] *Seara Nova*, a journal of doctrine and criticism, was founded in Lisbon on 15 January 1921, and continued to be published until 1979 (no. 1599). Despite its political opposition to the Salazar dictatorship, censorship was not able to halt its publication.

domestic publication.[13] *Seara Nova* published the articles, having first engaged, for their scientific assessment, the services of the mathematician Manuel dos Reis, who manifested his complete disagreement with and total opposition to the views of Gago Coutinho. The cultural journal did not follow the scientific opinion of Manuel dos Reis and published the two articles by Gago Coutinho. Following these articles, *Seara Nova* published the critique by Manuel dos Reis (REIS, 1930).

The essential arguments of the Admiral were: he did not accept the synchronization of clocks only by means of electromagnetic signals, insisting on the existence of an absolute time; he accepted the existence of ether as a fundamental concept for the isotropic propagation of light; the principle that the velocity of electromagnetic waves is constant was denied because there was no experiment which confirmed this statement. In his writings, we immediately understand that he never refers to one crucial point: an electric body's movement did not obey the laws of Newtonian mechanics or, in other words, he never referred to the important contradiction between electromagnetism and mechanics. As regards the observational proofs of general relativity, Coutinho argued as follows: firstly, the deflection of the light from a star by the sun was not real and was an optical effect resulting from a special kind of atmosphere near the sun; secondly, for the motion of Mercury's perihelion, he sustained the hypothesis that gravitational law should have a different formula for greater distances.

In response to Gago Coutinho, and after a historical introduction to the special theory of relativity, Manuel dos Reis wrote: "in your critique there is no allusion to general electro-dynamics, which is the cornerstone of Einstein's theory" (REIS, 1930: 268). Judging by the nature of the arguments put forward, the anti-relativist position was refuted; however, the argumentation seems not to have been sufficient to shake Gago Coutinho's firm belief in Newtonian mechanics. Both men produced another article in response to the other's attacks, but the debate was not prolonged further.

Invited to the seminars organized by Mário Silva, Professor Costa Lobo spoke on a "*New Physics Theory Based on the Phenomena of Radioactivity*". The same topic would later be presented at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in London on 30 September 1931, where he represented the homonymous Portuguese association. This paper in London was written and published in English. In his lecture and paper, Costa Lobo stated that he was merely recalling what he had already written some years earlier. And Costa Lobo, well-known for his rigid Newtonian stance, had manifested his opposition to relativity and quantum mechanics, repeating his arguments and writing that "in my opinion, however, there is an important fact which ought to guide us, which is the universality of Newton's laws" (LOBO, 1931: 62). He started by writing about "the disintegration of the atom into elements of matter, very small in relation to the atom and at considerable speeds" (LOBO, 1931: 64), which was enough to explain the reason why "gravitation leads us to admit enormous speeds in comparison with that of light; it is a

[13] On arriving back in Portugal, Gago Coutinho published an article in a Coimbra university journal based on the opinions he had expressed in Brazil, which was not contested by the Portuguese academic community. Its publication was perhaps owing to the anti-relativist complicity of Costa Lobo, the editor of the journal at that time (Gago Coutinho (1926). Tentativa de reinterpretação simples da Teoria da Relatividade Restrita. O *Instituto*, nos. 73 (3)-73 (4)-73 (5): 354-374, 540-565, 637-670).

consequence of the fact noted from the instantaneousness that is now admitted" (LOBO, 1931: 65) it was the diffusiveness of his "ether". And with this same ether, where there were no vibrations for wave propagation, he stated, some paragraphs earlier, that "the luminous ray is a suite of spheroidal corpuscles of very different dimensions (...) the luminous phenomenon is produced by the shock given to the retina due to corpuscular radiations of certain velocities and dimensions (...)" (LOBO, 1931, 62). Costa Lobo presented his theory about ether without any mathematical calculations, supporting his argument only with qualitative and speculative reasoning.

Facing the "new theory" brought to the public attention by this Portuguese scientific journal, which had appeared very recently – a theory of grotesque ingenuity in its reasoning, which went against the grain of the scientific developments of the previous hundred years – the professors of physics and chemistry at the *Faculdade de Ciências da Universidade de Coimbra* resolved at a meeting to write an article criticizing the stance adopted by Costa Lobo. Costa Lobo's theory was analyzed in detail and demolished point by point with mathematical arguments (BASTO, 1932). And so the debate petered out. One question remained, however: Mário Silva very probably knew the anti-relativistic positions of Costa Lobo, so why did he invite him to give such a lecture?

Research work

In Portugal, during the period between the two world wars, the only pieces of research associated with the theory of relativity were concerned with its mathematical bases, namely differential geometry, a subject that fell under the influence of Tullio Levi-Civita. The mathematician Aureliano Mira Fernandes (1884-1958), a graduate and doctor of the University of Coimbra, and a professor from 1911 onwards at the *Instituto Superior Técnico*, where he held the chair in rational mechanics, was the main author of this research. The results obtained were published from 1928 onwards in the prestigious Italian journal of the *Academia dei Lincei*. From 1928 to 1929, he published various brief notes linked to this theme.[14] Mira Fernandes was in contact with the Italian mathematician Levi-Civita, who acted as an intermediary for the presentation of various papers to the Italian Academy. These articles by Mira Fernandes were included in the "Physics Exhibition" at the *Biblioteca Nacional*, in the section entitled "*Teoria da relatividade e suas bases matemáticas*", and was accompanied in this section by the anti-relativist article by Gago Coutinho published in *O Instituto*, as well as by the two above-mentioned works by Ramos da Costa. The research

[14] A. Mira Fernandes, 'Sur l'écart géodésique de la courbure associée de Bianchi', *Rendiconti della R. Academia Naz. Dei Lincei*, 1928, (6), 7: 482-486; A. Mira Fernandes, 'Transports isoclines et directions associés', *Rendiconti della R. Academia Naz. Dei Lincei*, 1928, (6),8: 676-679; A. Mira Fernandes, 'Transports superficiels', *Rendiconti della R. Academia Naz. Dei Lincei*, 1929, (6), 9: 203-205; A. Mira Fernandes, 'Tensori associati ad un'ennupla vettoriale', *Rendiconti della R. Academia Naz. Dei Lincei*, 1929, (6), 9: 858-860. In his first note, Mira Fernandes based his work, as he wrote, on a publication of "Levi-Civita, published in 'Mathematische Annalen'" (vol.97, 1926)".

carried out in the 1920s by Mira Fernandes[15] was thus a solitary and singular act among Portuguese mathematicians and physicists. It is appropriate to remember that Mira Fernandes was not a teacher at a faculty of sciences but at an engineering school, which prevented him from forming a group of research students in his own school to carry out research into topics relating to General Relativity.

And he would continue to follow this path in the following decade, as a contributor to the development of General Relativity. Three memoirs were published in the *Rendiconti* in 1931, two in 1932, one each year in 1933, 1934 and 1935, and a further two in 1937. In the papers published in 1932[16] and 1933, he "develops and generalizes a unitary theory initially put forward by Infeld and Straneo (…) This "Unitary Theory of Mira Fernandes" was cited, among other publications, in "Synge's Treatise on General Relativity" (1960) (…)" (GAGEAN, 1991: 502). The compiler of his complete works, Vicente Gonçalves (1896-1985), wrote that "despite its possibilities, the unitary theory that Mira Fernandes conceived met the same fate as time has reserved for the other many similar attempts; but the analytical virtuosity of the author and his research should be noted" (GONÇALVES, 1971: XII).

Mira Fernandes was also responsible for putting forward a proposal that was approved at the session of 17 March 1932 of the *Academia de Ciências de Lisboa*, at which Einstein and Levi-Civita were nominated as corresponding members. The letter of thanks from Einstein is kept in the archives of the Academy.

In 1935, Rui Luís Gomes (1905-1984), a doctor in mathematical physics and a professor at the *Universidade do Porto*, who enjoyed a close relationship with Mira Fernandes, published a paper about special relativity (GOMES, 1938a). He was to include relativity as one of the themes taught in his mathematical physics course, and, in connection with an extra-curricular course at the *Instituto Superior Técnico*, he later wrote the first scientific textbook on special relativity published in Portugal (GOMES, 1938b). The introductory chapter shows the author's concern with considering the philosophical ideas underlying the construction of a theory of physics, and he adopts a neo-positivist stance (FITAS, 2000). In the citations, there is a particular preference for Reichenbach, the well-known neo-positivist philosopher.

After the publication of this book, a text by Admiral Gago Coutinho appeared in which he counter-attacked Rui Luís Gomes, "I thought, therefore, that I would not be forced to attack it (relativity) again; but the fact that a few months ago a university professor in Lisbon presented a paper on special relativity, just as Professor Langevin did some years ago, proved to me that the so-called new mechanics still has supporters (...)" (COUTINHO, 1937: 118). This citation gave rise to a series of articles in which contesting the theory of relativity figured as the central question, its immediate cause being the lectures given by Rui Luís Gomes in his extra-curricular course.

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15 At the 4th Portuguese-Spanish Congress for the Progress of the Sciences (Cadiz, 1927) the inaugural lecture in the field of mathematics was given by Mira Fernandes and, although the term "relativity" is nowhere mentioned, his aim was to discourse on the evolution of the concept of space.

16 A. Mira Fernandes, "Sulla teoria unitaria dello spazio físico", *Rendiconti della Real Academia dei Lincei*, 1932, 15: 797-804.

And Gago Coutinho's opposition continued to focus on two points: the speed of light as a constant, which had no experimental confirmation, and the impossibility of the isotropy of light without dragging the medium. Or, in other words, he did not accept one of the relativistic principles and, once more in a very concealed way, he did not accept the non-existence of ether. Rui Luís Gomes then published a paper criticizing Coutinho's anti-relativistic point of view (GOMES, 1938c). What had happened in the case of Manuel dos Reis was repeated, except that the debate extended over ten editions and a period of four months, and the journal was obliged to call a halt to it. The impact of this controversy led to *Seara Nova* publishing its own editions of the texts written by the two adversaries in popular book form.

Final Remarks

Firstly, the huge importance of the visit by the foreign scientists, Plans y Freire and Langevin, should be stressed as far as awakening an interest in relativity in the academic community. The Spanish scientist was responsible for arousing genuine scientific interest among the mathematical teaching community, while the French scientist, through his articles and lectures, helped influence the way in which the new theory was disseminated in the fields of physics and philosophy.

From an analysis of the range of papers, articles and books written, it is clear that the response of the Portuguese university community was initially centered above all on the comments made by professors of mathematical physics and astronomy, who were more closely linked to mathematics than physics. It was also mathematicians who first presented the new theory in university course programs and who carried out some research into aspects of mathematics related to general relativity. In the research topics that were developed, it is important to underline the influence of Tullio Levi-Civita.

Until the 1930s, relativity seems not to have interested Portuguese physicists scientifically and some of them were highly skeptical of the theory. However, from the 1930s onwards, thanks to the young researchers who had recently completed periods of training in scientifically more advanced European countries, physicists became more interested in the theory; this interest was evident at some seminars and led to its inclusion in university course programs in physics.

As far as the anti-relativistic reaction is concerned, it is important to mention the following points: firstly, the medium used for discussion was in particular a cultural journal published outside the accepted scientific or university circles; the common issue for all anti-relativistic interventions was their inability to conceive of a physics without ether and their misunderstanding of the role of electromagnetism in the foundations of special relativity; all their arguments were mainly qualitative and full of speculation, overlooking the need for one essential detail to prove conclusions with mathematical calculations; this controversy was useful for transmitting relativistic ideas to a wider audience the readers of these journals.

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The Portuguese New State and the Multilateral Management of Fisheries: Science, Law and Diplomacy (1948-1974)

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Abstract

This article sets out to examine the impact of the changes in Portugal's fisheries in the second half of the 20th century, with particular reference to the Northwest Atlantic cod fisheries between 1948 and 1974, respectively the creation of the ICNAF and the Portuguese Democratic Revolution. Science, Law and Diplomacy are the three prongs of this work. Focusing on the Portuguese angle, and making use of a huge range of sources, this article deals with the rise and fall of the Portuguese cod fishing industry in an international context.

The analysis is multidisciplinary in perspective: economic and social history, "diplomatic history" and the history of science are its foundations. Political and trade relations with Canada and Denmark play an important part in identifying the Portuguese government's adaptation strategies and the fishing entrepreneurs involved in the main external changes of the 1950s and 60s: the first signs of scarcity of resources, the First and Second United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, the issue of extending the limits of territorial waters and the setting up of multilateral bodies for managing the Northwest Atlantic fisheries (ICNAF, 1948). The way in which the Corporate Organization for Portuguese Fishing - the institutional framework established by the Salazar dictatorship in the 1930s - received the external discussions on the problem of overfishing and dealt with the threats, embarking on unheard of initiatives in external cooperation vis-à-vis intergovernmental organizations for the management of fisheries, are questions that are fundamental to this work.

In this, as in other domains of post-war Salazarist foreign policy, involvement in supranational organizations was a "necessary evil" that ended up creating isolated areas of cooperation and openness to the advances of marine science. The most surprising conclusion of this article is probably this: even under a dictatorship, one that favoured a "historicist diplomacy", Portugal succumbed to the principles and practices of multilateralism in order to defend its interests in the deep-sea cod fisheries of Newfoundland, Labrador and Greenland.

Keywords

Fisheries history; Cod; Portugal; resources management; Diplomacy; Multilateralism

Introduction

In the second half of the 19th century, the industrialization of Portuguese fisheries (the arrival of steam seine fishing connected with the rapid growth of the canning industry) and the increasing perception of the usefulness of oceanographic and marine biology studies led public authorities and scientific bodies to increase their involvement in fishing and pisciculture. The state used specialized departments in the Navy to institutionalize the "fisheries services", as well as to regulate technology and rights relating to the catching of certain species. In addition to these measures, the Portuguese authorities carried out surveys of the fishing industry, fostered hydrographic campaigns and encouraged the establishment of "maritime laboratories".[1] The technical advances in fish production and processing attracted both capital and capitalists, but they also provoked conflicts between shipowners; they set local and national authorities against one another and forced negotiations to be held between neighboring countries on the mobility of resources and the respective sovereignty over territorial waters. This was the case with the agreements signed between Portugal and Spain in 1878 and 1885. Their purpose was to protect sardine fishing and guarantee exclusive fishing rights for "national vessels" in the territorial waters of each of these Iberian countries.[2]

By the mid-19th century, the Naval Ministry Fisheries Board (*Comissão de Pescarias do Ministério da Marinha*) was already intervening in the domain of fishing and monitoring the imbalances in the relationship between men and sea on behalf of the state. Interpreting the fishermen's complaints, the Board ruled that the number of steam trawlers engaged in sardine and hake fishing should be reduced.[3] Fishing began to be seen as a productive industrial sector.

Reacting to the pressures of business associations and those of shipowners and traders organized in mixed-capital firms, and bearing in mind the views of naturalists, the British authorities also promulgated various laws in the early 20th century to combat the fishing crisis in the North Sea. This was the first ocean zone to exhibit the frailties of the sea fisheries in the industrial era. One common denominator stands out from this series of measures: even though the unanimous diagnosis on the state of the "depletion of resources" of high commercial value was a new feature, and despite being based on natural-scientific arguments, its meaning was clearly instrumental and presumed the defense of a return on capital from industrial fishing.[4] Similar trends could be observed in the second half of the 20th century, in particular in the 1950s and 1960s.

At the end of the 19th century, the "problem of the North Sea" led to the formation of the first intergovernmental organizations for fisheries management and the systematic assessment of the

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[1] Inês Amorim, "A Organização dos Serviços de Pescas e as iniciativas de desenvolvimento e divulgação das ciências do mar – o laboratório marítimo em Aveiro – o projecto de Melo de Matos", *I Congresso Luso-Brasileiro de História da Ciência e da Técnica*, Évora/Aveiro, UA/UE, 2001, pp. 594-605.

[2] See, *idem, ibidem.*

[3] Baldaque da Silva, *Estado actual das pescas em Portugal*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1891.

[4] See Robb Robinson, *Trawling – The Rise and Fall of the British Trawl Fishery*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1996, pp. 101 and ff.

biology of marine resources. The most important of these bodies was the International Council for the Exploitation of the Sea (ICES), established in 1902 and based in Copenhagen.[5]

Such a great impetus of oceanographic research and such diligent endeavors to regulate the fisheries were only paralleled in the period after the Second World War, a time of major technological change in fishing on a global scale. It was then that the theoretical debate about the limits of the bountiful resources of the sea and the bio-economic sustainability of the fishing industry was rekindled and increased in complexity. The discussion widened to cover a range of species in larger areas of the ocean, and not just the North Sea. Cod fishing in the northwestern Atlantic was one of those most heavily involved in this production-line processing.

Given this influx of external changes, it is important to examine the role of Portugal in the international dynamics of the multilateral management of marine resources that was so evident in the third quarter of the twentieth century. Consideration must be given to the questions of how and to what ends the Portuguese authorities joined in the discussion on new codification systems relating to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the seas. Heated arguments threatened to put an end to the legal term "free seas", which for many years had sustained the singular importance of Portuguese deep-sea fisheries. Over the centuries, only the *mare liberum* allowed the Portuguese state to promote "supply fishing", wholly incompatible with the strict limits of the "coastal state" that were imposed later.[6] It was only from 1974 onwards, when it signed onto the "Exclusive Economic Zone" concept, that Portugal began to restrict the fishing industry to resources that were under its national jurisdiction.[7]

In brief, as our study focuses on the third quarter of the 20th century, it should be understood how Portuguese public institutions followed the guidelines of international fishing policy, in particular the discussion on the issue of "overfishing". We shall try and assess how Portugal entered into the external dynamics of fisheries regulation, and how the country's institutions reacted to the signs of change that they saw as threats to Salazar's protectionist policy and

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5 On the creation of ICES and its original purpose, see *O Oceano nosso futuro — O Relatório da Comissão Mundial Independente para os Oceanos*, Lisbon, Expo 98/Fundação Mário Soares, 1998, p. 80.

6 Fishing policies were aimed at the prevention of crises in the food supply, based on protectionist measures and on encouraging fleets designed to catch species for mass consumption, such as cod and sardine, an important raw material for the canning industry. The choice of "supply fishing" tended to overvalue public support for replacing cod imports by means of artificial market reserve mechanisms (import and distribution quotas) and administrative prices in the various circulation segments. Complying with this concept, the entrepreneurial fabric of fishing remained formally private and not particularly concentrated, but in order to ensure the political ends of managing the sector, the state imposed the sharing of "capital" and "labor" in the form of tightly supervised public corporate institutions. The main economic indicators for this model of political management for the Portuguese fisheries were, however, positive: reversing the previous trend, the "trade balance in fishing goods" was always in the black between 1936 and 1967; the level of self-supply of salt cod on the Portuguese market averaged around 61% in the same period, while between 1900 and 1933 it never exceeded 15%. See A. Garrido, *Abastecimentos e Poder no Salazarismo – O "Bacalhau Corporativo" (1934-1967)*, vol. II, Coimbra, FEUC, 2003, pp. 806-807.

7 See, M. Eduarda Gonçalves, "Le Portugal et le droit de la mer", T. Treves (ed.), *The Law of the Sea*, 1997, pp. 427-447.

the encouragement of deep-sea fishing as defined in the early 1930s – the so-called "cod campaign".[8]

This article analyses the deadlocks that threatened to hold back the "cod campaign" after the end of the war and which rocked its original foundations. It might seem contradictory that policies be adopted that encouraged fishing in a period when the Law of the Sea was changing and when there were unprecedented debates about the multilateral management of resources. This is probably why it generated careful responses from Portuguese diplomacy. Here, as in other spheres of Salazar's postwar foreign policy, integration into supranational bodies was a "necessary evil" that ended up creating isolated areas of cooperation and opening up marine science to progress.[9]

1. The geopolitics of marine resources and technological change in fishing after the Second World War

The economic and demographic growth occurring in the thirty years immediately after the war gave the fishery problems a much greater importance and dimension. In terms of regulatory practices, the "glorious years" of modern economic growth (1948-1973, according to most authors) were ones that had marked the greatest confrontation between national policies and the interests of other states. The growth in the fishing industries and the expansion of fish consumption led to fishing policies and intensive extraction practices on the part of companies being starkly exposed to the judgment of the multilateral organizations responsible for managing marine resources.

The statistics for this period show an extraordinary growth in the fishing industry, in global terms. According to the OECD, in 1938 the world volume of fish caught was 20.5 million tonnes. Twenty years later, primary world production had increased by over 64%.[10] Although the criteria for compiling the figures may be open to question, they nonetheless allow us to compare the orders of magnitude per country and identify variations in growth.[11]

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[8] The "cod campaign" is the term we adopted by analogy to another Salazarist scheme for the import substitution of basic foodstuffs - the "wheat campaign". This was an extensive state scheme to protect cereal production, launched in 1929 under the Fascist model, the *Battaglia Del Grano*. More enduring than its cereal counterpart, the cod campaign consisted of a political plan, imposed by Salazar in 1934, to prevent crises in food supplies. This protectionist scheme began to be demanded by the anti-Liberal right at the end of the First World War, and was to be imposed as a "national scheme" under the *Estado Novo* (the Portuguese *New State).* This was a despotic program that emerged from the restriction of imports and public encouragement of the cod industry, under the regimes and practices of free access to the resources of the North Atlantic. See, A. Garrido, *O Estado Novo e a Campanha do Bacalhau*, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 2004, pp. 134-144.

[9] See Fernanda Rollo, "Salazar e a construção europeia", *Penélope*, no. 18, May 1998, pp. 51-76. See also texts by the ambassador, Ruy Teixeira Guerra, on Portugal's integration into Europe: Nuno Valério (org.), *Ruy Teixeira Guerra*, Lisbon, Cosmos, 2000.

[10] *Politiques de Pêche en Europe Occidentale et en Amérique du Nord,* Paris, OECD, 1960, p. 15.

[11] It is sufficient to note that, in the invaluable Appendix of data for the Organization's member states in the OECD report that we are using, the chronologies do not always tally, and the total catch is expressed in terms of live weight. While this criterion might be more accurate for species such as sardine, it does, however, conceal considerable distortions in the case of cod, figures which seem to relate to landed weight, i.e. without taking into

Just taking the simple indicators, it can be seen that, between 1938 and 1954-58, Norway and the United Kingdom were the two western European countries with the highest absolute figures for the volume of catch. But there are countries that stand out for the high growth that they registered in this twenty-year period: above all, there is Denmark, which between 1954 and 1958 caught five times as much fish as it did in 1938. Next come Spain and Portugal, with very significant and very similar increases, both in excess of 80%. Finally, there is the growth in the volume of fish caught by Norway: despite the fact that it was already quite high in 1938, it actually rose by around 60% over the next twenty years.[12] For most countries, however, the first half of the 1960s saw a moderate increase in their catches, although by the second half they were already falling.[13]

Between the eve of the Second World War and the end of the 1950s, Portugal's fishing industry grew quickly, at a pace that was unmatched by most OECD countries. The same source suggests that in 1938 the total catch of all the Portuguese fishing fleets was 247.000 metric tonnes, and in 1954-58 (a five-year average) 451.000 tonnes. This represents an increase of 83%, or a leap of almost double the amount[14].

"Atlantic cod" was far and away the species that most contributed to the overall increase in fish caught by European countries. Between 1938 and 1954-58, cod accounted for about 30% of the total increase in fish production in Western Europe. In North America, the expansion of the cod fisheries continued to be far lower, while Canada opted not to exploit the fisheries a long way from its Atlantic provinces. Until the end of the 1950s, the volume of cod caught by the USA and Canada was still not very significant and did not even overtake other species such as herring, salmon, sardine, and others.[15]

The hierarchy of growth margins for dried salt cod production is quite different. This must be because it involves both nominal values for catches or landings, and a specific kind of treatment for the fish - salting and drying, which many cod-producing countries were already replacing by freezing.

Of the countries that showed the greatest tendency for growth between 1938 and 1958, Portugal made the greatest leap forward, followed by Spain. In this period, the cumulative value of production (fresh and dried) for the Portuguese cod fishing fleet increased almost fivefold: a growth of 472%.[16] In 1957, Portugal became the world's leading producer of dried salt cod.

These many clear signs of growth are explained by the reconstruction of both the belligerent and neutral economies, by campaigns promoting the eating of fish and by a large range of technical advances in terms of finding, catching and preserving fish. These innovations found a response in

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consideration the changes in weight after scaling and salting on board. Inter-country comparisons are hard to establish since the criteria are not uniform.

12 *Politiques de Pêche..., cit.*, pp. 16-18.

13 For the period between 1957 and 1965, see another OECD report: *Politiques et économies de pêche — 1957-1966*, Paris, 1970.

14 See, *Politiques de pêche..., cit.*, pp. 15-16.

15 *Idem,* pages 20 and 25.

16 Our calculations, based on statistics from the INE (amounts in tonnes). See, A. Garrido, *op. cit.,* vol. II, p. 808.

the means of distribution and transport and in the consumption dynamics arising from population growth and the increasing urbanization of societies. The growth in fishing on a global level was also linked to the fact that countries - and also the United Nations, through the FAO, created in 1945 – were ensuring that people attained an adequate nutritional level. This was particularly true in "Third World" countries and those countries casting off the yoke of colonial domination, for which fish was an essential source of animal protein.[17]

The recovery of the economies shattered by the war started with an increase in the supply of food. But the creation of large fishing fleets and the resulting increased fish production also had financial motives: the lack of means to make foreign payments and the exchange problems inherited from the war led governments to be more watchful of their balance of payments, whether by reducing their external reliance on the importation of livestock products or stimulating exports so as to obtain foreign currency, principally US dollars.[18]

With a view to ensuring the expansion of the fisheries and equipping the deep-sea fishing fleets with effective technical equipment and the necessary scientific support, the end of the Second World War saw the entire "industrialized world" move towards establishing public organizations of an advisory nature. These bodies focused on the biology of fishing resources and studied both fishing and fish-processing technologies[19]. National dynamics did not always sit easily with the movement towards the multilateral management of maritime fishing. It was not rare for countries to be in opposition to one another, for the reason that at the same time as they signed onto agreements and conventions that required multilateral efforts to restrain the economic effects of "overfishing", many states were doing their best to extend their sovereignty over the high seas, so as to strengthen their rights to exploit the more valuable biological resources.

2. The international management of the Atlantic fisheries - the case of cod

In the third quarter of the 20th century, the scarcity of the biological recourses exploited by the fishing industry became as clear as the systemic evidence of its problems, giving rise to Investi-

[17] As an example, the anxieties of the Fisheries Division of the FAO are particularly elucidatory. For the way in which this body shared the instrumental view of marine biology as a science capable of providing diagnoses about the growth possibilities of world fish production, see the following article: Michael Graham and G. L. Kesteven, "Possibilités biologiques des pêches mondiales", *Bulletin des Pêches de la FAO*, vol. 7, No. 1, January-March 1954, pp. 1-15.

[18] See A. Duarte Silva, *A Pesca do Bacalhau — campanha de 1955-56*, Lisbon, GEP, 1957, p. 5. Regarding the monetary and financial problems that remained after the Bretton Woods agreements of 1944, see Barry Eichengreen, *A Globalização do Capital — Uma História do Sistema Monetário Internacional* (transl.), Lisbon, Bizâncio, 1999, pp. 145 and ff.

[19] See Roger Revelle, "The Oceanographic and How it Grew", in M. Sears and D. Merriman (eds.), *Oceanography: the Past*, New York/Heidelberg/Berlin, Springer-Verlag, 1980, pp. 19-23; in the same book, see also T. R. Parsons, "The Development of Biological Studies in the Ocean Environment", pp. 540-550. For the case of Portugal, see Victor Crespo, "Oceanografia", in A. Barreto and M. F. Mónica (coord.), *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, pp. 624-626.

gation and head-scratching in the vein of the "bio-economics of renewable resources".[20]

The *common, dynamic* and *finite* nature of marine biological resources meant changing the scope of strictly national solutions. In the wake of the pioneering work undertaken by naturalists and hygienists in the 19th century, and studies on "fishing biology" whose main production can be placed in the 1930s, modern national laboratories and researchers came into direct contact with the activity of fishing.[21] A science-led approach thus emerged from the issue of biological resources, which was legally regulated with respect to the respective access regime.

The increase in long-range fishing by trawlers in parts of the sea where the most commercially valuable species of fish were more abundant provoked the establishment of countless intergovernmental commissions designed to promote a concerted (and in some cases multilateral) management of the resources exploited by national fleets. These bodies motivated member states to develop scientific research, collect and organize data and compile statistics that could estimate the greater or lesser abundance of fish. The North Atlantic and its "northwest region", in whose bio-geography cod figured significantly, was the area most targeted by these abundance maps.

In the 1950s and 1960s, however, the expansion of industrial fishing allowed by the "freedom of the seas", plus the competition between the large trawler fleets, soon led to a fall in yield and required unprecedented efforts of external cooperation to protect the ability of resources to renew themselves and to safeguard biotype diversity. Most attention was given to the deep-sea fisheries, greedily plundered outside the jurisdiction of the coastal states, on the basis of the old practices of "free access", and using intensive techniques to exploit the resources. This was why the main difficulty in negotiations between "national governments" lay in reconciling restrictions on deep-sea fishing with those that were being adopted by coastal states in their stretches of "territorial waters", i.e. beyond a three-mile zone.

Portugal was part of these discussions. Cod fishing had become an increasingly important part of the foreign policy of the *Estado Novo* since the Second World War - when, despite all the dangers of the submarine war around Newfoundland, Salazar instructed the Portuguese ships to continue fishing, to "bring back the bread of the seas to the Fatherland" - and this activity was continued and reinforced throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[22] Confirming one of the postwar Salazarist lines of foreign policy, from 1946 onwards, Portugal took an active part in the dynamics of the intergovernmental management of the exploitation of the sea's resources, particularly those that were of most interest to the national fishing industry. Lisbon did its best "not to be left out" and avoided any marginalization that could threaten Salazar's work for the "revival" of fishing and oppose the social and economic interests involved in deep-sea fishing, including those of the State itself.

Portugal was quick to join the new international organizations set up to study and control fisheries; it took part in most international conferences where questions of "fishing biology" and the Law of the Sea were discussed; it subscribed to and ratified all the conventions concerned with the

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20 See John M. Hartwick and Nancy D. Olewiler, *The Economics of Natural Resource Use*, 2nd ed., Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley, 1997, pp. 90-137; Rui Junqueira Lopes, *L'Économie des Ressources Renouvables*, Paris, Economica, 1985, especially pp. 1-33.

21 E. R. Russell, *O Problema da Sobrepesca*, Lisbon, Estação de Biologia Marítima, 1943, p. VII (from the preface by the translator, Alfredo de Magalhães Ramalho).

22 An expression used in several propaganda booklets by the Corporatist Organization for Fishing.

legal system governing sovereignty over marine zones and the multilateral regulation of the resources exploited by Portuguese fleets: the cod fisheries in the Northwest Atlantic (the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, the fishing grounds of Nova Scotia and those off the west coast of Greenland) in the first place; followed by the fishing grounds for hake in the waters off the west coast of Africa and in the South Atlantic, at a second level of political priority. The scale of such interest underlines the relative importance of dried salt cod and trawled fish from Africa to the public supply.[23]

In spite of the indirect benefits and the timid scientific openings that these cooperative ventures allowed, Portugal played a reactive part in this international trend. In the offices of the Naval Ministry and the Corporatist Organization for Fishing (the power bases of the "national fishing industry", at whose point of intersection stood the figure of Henrique Tenreiro)[24] a number of specialized bodies and commissions came into being: the Institute of Marine Biology, in 1950; the Office for Fishing Studies, created in 1952 with funds from the Marshall Plan; and, in the same year, the National Advisory Committee of ICNAF (International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, today known as NAFO), whose action involved a slightly more restricted analysis.

Only the last two bodies had a more or less direct link to the problem of the "Atlantic cod" fishing grounds. Their mission was related to the examination of the Atlantic cod biological stocks, as well as to the procedures for catching and processing them. On 19 March 1947, the National Commission for the FAO was also established, although its interests were not confined to marine fishing resources.[25]

2.1. The Washington Convention - the creation of ICNAF

By the end of the 1940s, although commercial fishing in the Northwest Atlantic still seemed a profitable venture, several countries whose fleets were operating in these waters were appealing for protection for the biological populations that were being subjected to a "powerful extractive pressure".[26] To this end, the USA suggested holding an intergovernmental conference designed to foster the scientific study and conservation of fishing resources in this huge area of the Atlantic.

During the course of the eighteen plenary sessions of the Washington Conference, the divergences relative to the text proposed by the USA became quite clear. It seems, however, that its workings failed to make it clear that the treaty would neither add to nor subtract from the limits of

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23 See A. Garrido, "Políticas de abastecimento no segundo pós-guerra: a Organização das Pescas", *Análise Social*, No. 156, vol. XXXV, Autumn 2000, pp. 656-667.

24 Henrique Ernesto Serra dos Santos Tenreiro (1901-1994). A Naval Officer, he was a member of a distinct oligarchy in the Salazarist corporatist system. A government delegate to all the fishing associations, between 1936 and 1974 he was the political patron of this sector of the "national economy". He was a leader of the Legião Portuguesa, a Fascist militia, a deputy in the National Assembly and an attorney for the Corporate Chamber. For a biographical essay on H. Tenreiro, see A. Garrido, "Henrique Tenreiro: patrão das pescas e guardião do Estado Novo", *Análise Social*, No. 160, vol. XXXVI, Autumn 2001, pp. 839-862.

25 Decree-Law No. 36 187.

26 *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, "Biologia e pesca do bacalhau, 1964-1968", Lisbon, 1969, p. 2.

the territorial waters of each state - the old limit of three nautical miles, equivalent to the range of a cannon shot, imposed in the Modern Era. Even though we only know about the discussions relating to the scope of the Conference through the partial report presented by the Portuguese delegates, everything suggests that the omission of the American proposal was deliberate.[27] Following the statements made by President Truman on 28 September 1945, which declared the US interest in extending its jurisdiction over the fishing zones contiguous with the coast, but nonetheless remaining outside the respective territorial waters, the American initiative in calling the Washington Conference and having a pragmatic convention approved that could open the way for the "territorialization" of fishing resources was a strong indication of postwar geopolitical changes.[28] American attempts to extend its sovereignty over the sea bed or, at the very least, to strengthen regulatory powers over fisheries beyond the narrow limits of territorial waters show that the United States wanted to take its place as the major power to emerge from the Second World War and did not want to act against the spirit of the "Truman doctrine".[29]

The divergence of interests between the North American "coastal states" and the former European cod fishing powers, which wanted to maintain a Law of the Sea tailored to their interests in deep-sea fishing, namely a legal system that would leave their customary free access to the Northwest Atlantic banks untouched, was introduced in the plenary sessions of the Washington meeting. It continued to characterize relations for the whole of the second half of the 20th century.

In order to protect the independence of the member states of the future ICNAF, after lengthy and heated arguments, the Convention ended up including a subparagraph that left intact the right of the governments of the member countries to define for themselves the limits of their national jurisdictions for the purposes of fishing[30].

Signed in Washington on 8 February 1949, the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Convention came into force on 3 July 1950, the date on which four governments ratified it: Canada, the USA, the UK and Iceland. The other six countries - Denmark, Spain, France, Italy, Norway and Portugal

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[27] The Portuguese delegation to the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Conference was composed of the following dignitaries: Rear-Admiral Quintão Meyreles (head of the delegation and representing the Ministry for the Navy), José Augusto Correia de Barros (representing the Ministry for the Economy), Commander Américo Tavares de Almeida (representing the Association of Cod Fishing Shipowners) and Alfredo Magalhães Ramalho (representing the Ministry for the Navy and the director of the Maritime Biology Station). See Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949*, "Relatório do Delegado do Ministério da Economia", fl. 2

[28] Regarding the content and meaning of proclamations nos. 2 667 and 2 668 by the American president see, among others, René-Jean Dupuy and Daniel Vignes, *Traité du Nouveau Droit de la Mer*, Paris, Economica, 1985, p. 835 and ff. The full text of Truman's second proclamation (on "coastal fishing in certain places on the high seas") is in the bundle of documents that we have been consulting and it served as a working item for the Portuguese delegates from the Ministry for the Navy at the Washington meeting: see Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949*, "Policy of the United States...", fls. 1-3.

[29] See Charles Zorgbibe, *Historia de las relaciones internacionales (2), Del sistema de Yalta hasta nuestros dias*, Madrid, Alianza Universidad, 1997, pp. 134 and ff.

[30] This is the content of the controversial paragraph 2 of Article I: "Nothing in this Convention shall be deemed to affect adversely (prejudice) the claims of any Contracting Government in regard to the limits of territorial waters or the jurisdiction of a coastal state over fisheries". (Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949,* "Relatório dos delegados do Ministério da Marinha...", fl. 9).

- ratified the text some time later. In the mid 1960s, the number of states belonging to ICNAF rose to fourteen, after the controversial admission of three "Communist bloc" countries - the USSR, Poland and Romania, and after West Germany also signed up.[31]

Portugal ratified the Washington Convention early in 1952.[32] It did not do so, however, before taking issue with certain provisions in the text proposed by the USA, which were seen by the Salazar government as inconvenient. Lisbon's misgivings about the North American project to set up an agreed area to study and manage the cod fisheries were based on a common interpretation of the Portuguese Foreign Office and the Portuguese Corporatist Organization for Fishing: the Convention might compromise the national program for encouraging the development of the cod industry and might threaten the "sovereignty of the signatory countries". In view of the disapproval of the Portuguese delegation and some others, notably Canada, the clauses that recognized foreign authorities' "right to board and examine vessels engaged in fishing" within the area covered by the Convention were removed from the original document.[33] Also dropped were provisions that compelled the acceptance of any fisheries' regulations as long as they had majority approval.[34] According to reports made by the delegate of the Ministry for the Economy, in several plenary sessions of the Washington meeting "Canada opened fire on the idea from the United States, declaring its fears about an organization having regulatory powers, before the biological part of the fish living in the Northwest Atlantic had been properly studied"[35].

The long-established practice of cod fishing in deep waters by Portuguese vessels, with no constraints other than a lack of capital and a protected domestic market, was now exposed for the first time to multilateral scrutiny by a body established to ascertain the abundance of resources in the Northwest Atlantic. This was a body that was ready, if necessary, to impose restrictive measures on the amount of fishing, so as to diminish the economic impact of a scarcity of resources.

States with quite different interests in the cod industry co-existed in ICNAF. Views diverged in accordance with the distance from home ports and depending on the sovereignty that each member state exercised, or could exercise, over the most plentiful stocks - of fish, or oil, yet to be found[36].

A first group consisted of the North and Northwest Atlantic coastal states, some of which had the outer limits of their territorial waters very close to the Grand Banks. These were countries whose economic interest in exploiting the sea's resources had intensified since the end of the Second

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31 See *La situation de la pêche dans le monde, cit.*, p. 51. This study by the FAO includes a valuable synopsis of the intergovernmental fishing bodies created up to the 1970s.

32 *Diário do Governo*, I^st^ series, Decree-Law No. 38 648, of 18 February 1952.

33 See. Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949,* "Relatório dos delegados...", *cit.*, fl. 6.

34 See *idem,* fl. 8.

35 *Idem*, "Relatório do Delegado do Ministério da Economia", fl. 7.

36 See J. D. House (ed.), *Fish versus Oil – Resources and Rural Development in North Atlantic Societies*, St. John's, Memorial University of St. John's, 1986, pp. 129-161.

World War, either for economic reasons or for geopolitical motives, exacerbated by the Cold War.[37]

In a second bloc were the countries of southern Europe, the former masters of cod fishing on the Newfoundland banks, which had never been faced with the dual threat of scarce resources and legal pressure in the maritime areas where they had established their "historical rights" of free access and free exploitation. Dialogue between those who had the cod close to their shores - countries which, for the first time, were threatening to prevent access by European fleets far beyond the generously prescribed three-mile limit - and the Portuguese, Spanish and French governments, who relied on fishing off Newfoundland, Greenland and around the coasts of Iceland, to supply their large markets, was considered by some to be inevitable and by others to be preferable to conflicts on a bilateral level.

The signatories to the Washington Convention nonetheless had shared interests in exploiting the fish resources of the Northwest Atlantic. For this very reason, a wide-ranging agreement was signed "for the research, protection and conservation of the fishing grounds" in this part of the ocean, with the explicit aim of ensuring the maintenance of a "maximum permanent catch" of the most plentiful species of greatest economic interest.[38]

Not surprisingly, the motive of the Convention and the intergovernmental Commission to which it gave rise, ICNAF, was not so much the conservation of fish stocks, but the regular diagnosis of how the most economically valuable biological populations were evolving, in order to maintain high levels of fishing with a "sustainable yield". To this end, the reaction of the Portuguese Minister for the Economy, Castro Fernandes, to the report sent to him by his Ministry's delegate to the Washington Conference could not have been more pointed and syncretic: "On the whole it seems to me that the Convention is appropriate and useful, since it will try to prevent future shortages of cod".[39] Showing the same difficulty in grasping the true scope of the changes in progress, interpreting them merely as external threats to the political ends of the cod campaign, Correia de Barros was declared to have said in the plenary session that "Portugal would be happy to see measures taken that would guarantee the largest amount of catch possible".[40]

The area covered by the Washington Convention was the northwest Atlantic. With the territorial waters of the coastal countries being excepted, the agreement could not threaten the jurisdiction of any state over the fisheries".[41] The zone of the Convention was to be divided into five sub-areas, corresponding to the geography of the main fishing grounds for cod in the Atlantic.

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[37] See Miriam Wright, "Fishing in the Cold War: Canada, Newfoundland and the International Politics of the Twelve-Mile Fishing Limit, 1958-1969", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, 8, St. John's, 1997, pp. 239-259.

[38] Decree-Law No. 38 648, of 18 February 1952 (from the preamble).

[39] António Júlio de Castro Fernandes, Minister for the Economy (16.10.1948-2.8.1950); Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949*, "Relatório do Delegado do Ministério da Economia", fl. 5.

[40] *Idem, ibidem*, fl. 7.

[41] Decree-Law No. 38 648, 18 February 1952, Article I.

The division established, in increasing order, from north to south: "the banks of Greenland; Labrador and Newfoundland; Nova Scotia; Maine and New England.[42]

In order to keep fishing in the various sub-areas of the Convention under surveillance, for the purposes of study and the possible regulation of the fishing effort, ICNAF set up a panel for each of them. Each Government would have a representative delegate on the panels, with the right to one vote, and also a scientific consultant, if appropriate.[43] Based on scientific research in the domains of biology and oceanography, the panels could "make recommendations to the Commission for joint action by the governments".[44] The member states' representation on the panels was considered by the Commission according to the volume of catch landed by the fleets of the respective countries[45]. Apart from these criteria, the make-up of the panels envisaged by the Convention was designed to meet the demands of the North American countries, which were more and more interested in monitoring the activity of the large European fleets in neighboring international waters off the coasts of their Atlantic provinces. It was not by chance that the text ensured the "contracting governments with a coastline adjacent" to any sub-area representation on the respective panel.[46] Portugal was represented on the panels of three of the five sub-areas in the Convention: Greenland, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, the maritime areas most exploited by the national cod fishing fleet.

In view of the reluctance of the various member states to accept fishing regulations, the jurisdiction of ICNAF with respect to the study and conservation of resources was to be considerably wider than its powers to regulate the Northwest Atlantic fisheries. Apart from the USA, all the governments that signed the Convention preferred powers to make recommendations and advisory powers to those of regulation.

Fearful of the consequences of any "regulatory excesses" and anxious about external interference in the cod fishing fleet's activity, the Portuguese delegation was one of the most intransigent in its rejection of the regulatory powers established in the draft Convention put forward by the USA.[47] This was perhaps because the Salazar government and the fishing oligarchy felt that the right to conduct an external examination of the national fisheries would pave the way for

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[42] The Convention covered a huge area, with the two most distant points being a place on the coast of Rhode Island, in the USA, at longitude 71º and 40' west, and the west coast of Greenland at latitude 78º and 10' north. The extension of the ICNAF Convention area to the entire west coast of Greenland, including the part enclosing the Baffin Sea, was not intended under the American proposal, and was approved under pressure from the Danish delegation at the Washington Conference. See, Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — February 1949*, "Relatório dos delegados do Ministério da Marinha", fl. 8.

[43] *Idem*, Article IV.

[44] *Idem,* Article VII, 2.

[45] Under the terms of their zoological classification, the resources covered by the Convention were fish from the cod group (*Gadiformes*), flat-fish (*Pleuronectiformes*) and the *rosefish* (*Genus Sebastes*). These classifications include cod, haddock, halibut and redfish.

[46] See Decree-Law No. 38 648, of 18 February 1952, Article IV, 2.

[47] See Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — February 1949*, "Relatório dos delegados do Ministério da Marinha", fls. 11 and ff.

infringements of the sovereignty to which the Portuguese State had not yet become accustomed; maybe because in the early 1950s the scientific diagnoses of cod and other deep water species in the Atlantic had not yet rung any warning bells.

What is certain is that ICNAF would be more of an advisory than a regulatory body. Operating at a different level from ICES - which focused on the fish resources in the North Sea - ICNAF was more of an intergovernmental commission to study and manage a limited group of fish of major commercial interest. The "Atlantic cod" covered almost all of the Convention's area.

Under the scope of its advisory functions in the scientific sphere, the Commission was later intended to carry out "the necessary investigations into the abundance, natural history and ecology of any living aquatic species in any part of the Northwest Atlantic".[48] The core of this research work would consist of organizing and analyzing the annual statistics relating to the catch of the species of greatest economic interest in the area covered by the Convention, the capacity of the fleets and the conservation levels of the resources. Finally, ICNAF had to prepare inquiries, promote experimental fishing operations, and carry out sampling and other tasks to determine the stocks appropriate to studies of the dynamics of biological populations.[49] In this, as in other research programs designed to use scientific bases to gauge the possibilities of fishing in the area of the Convention, it was left to ICNAF to coordinate national research projects. At the end of each program, all the statistics on the fisheries within the jurisdiction of ICNAF were published and disseminated. Some of these studies involved partnerships with ICES and with the FAO Fishing Division.[50]

The scientific work developed by ICNAF, which was constantly revised and discussed at annual meetings, saw the issue of proposals to regulate fishing, with the aim of anticipating imbalances in the exploitation of resources that would prevent levels of a "constant maximum catch" in the Convention area.[51] This was the key concept of the "fishing biology" studies carried out by ICNAF in the 1950s and 1960s.

To a considerable degree, scrutinizing the stocks was the province of the Evaluations Sub-Committee: it carried out periodical reviews of the abundance of resources, assessed the effects of trawl nets on the biological stocks and suggested protective measures capable of allowing fishing vessels to "obtain maximum yield in an equilibrium phase".[52] These aims and duties included biologists and economists working together in order to optimize the exploitation of the cod fisheries

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[48] Decree-Law No. 38 648, of 18 February 1952, Article VI, 1, subparagraph *a)*. The other competences of the Commission are set forth in Article VI of the same law.

[49] Two very important international programs for reading cod otolites were developed by ICNAF. The first of these, a simple trial, was conducted in 1962. The second lasted from 1963 to 1967 and was coordinated by the English laboratory at Lowestoft, with scientists from all the Member States of ICNAF taking part. An otolite is a small bone in the ear of fish, and it increases in volume with the addition of one ring per year. It is extracted, identified and read under a microscope or magnifying glass to define statistical classes of age, based on samples. See *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, p. 17 and ff.

[50] The scientific cooperation between ICNAF and these two bodies was one of the aims expressed in the Washington Convention. See Decree-Law No. 38 648, 18 February 1952, Art. X.

[51] The expression appears in Article VIII, no. 1, of the Washington Convention.

[52] *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, p. 19.

under the surveillance of ICNAF. Albeit recent, the theoretical support for the bio-economics of renewable resources had already been incorporated into the Commission's programs.

Reports by the scientists led to measures restricting the fishing effort, quite rare until then in the fishing grounds of the "Atlantic world", and immediately approved by national governments: imposing alternate closed and fishing seasons; demarcating prohibition areas in certain spawning zones and in other zones densely populated by immature fish; fixing legal minimum sizes for the fish caught; legally fixing net mesh sizes and banning certain fishing gear and devices made of materials that were especially hostile to the depths or which did not permit "immature fish" to escape the nets in a condition to survive. Finally, the Washington Convention accepted that maximum quotas would have to be established for certain species.[53]

How were these regulatory practices embraced by Salazar's public policies in relation to deepwater fishing? What was Portugal's involvement, and what precautions did Lisbon need to adopt relative to a "necessary" body, in the event of its having to impose restrictions on Portuguese fishing in the North Atlantic?

In 1953, accepting ICNAF's advice regarding the protection of haddock[54] on the Maine and New England banks, the Salazar government began by banning vessels fishing within the limits of this sub-area from "having on board or using for fishing trawl nets with a mesh smaller than 115 mm".[55] It was only in 1958, however, when the scarcity of cod in Newfoundland waters led to drops in operating yield - a crisis particularly felt in the rod and line fishing boats, as these were less agile in the pursuit of fish than the trawlers - that Portugal included the first restrictions on cod fishing in its domestic legislation. For the first time, there were prescriptions that applied to areas of the sea where Portuguese vessels were accustomed to fish: Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England. As there were still plenty of fish around Greenland, no restrictions were in force there. Various minimum mesh sizes were imposed on trawlers, depending on the type of material from which they were made. For the very first time this new law also sought to dissuade shipowners and masters from the current use of devices ("tricks" or "gadgets") that could block or reduce the size of the mesh, as fixed by law.[56]

Judging from the views of biologists, as expressed in the reports of the National Advisory Commission of ICNAF, these and other measures limiting fishing in the Northwest Atlantic were not very harsh. The most aggressive would have to wait for the daily experience of a shortage of fish, quite certain to happen in the view of the scientists. If, for most of the 1950s, the increased fishing effort in the various sub-areas of ICNAF was not enough to cause marked drops in yield, the scenario changed abruptly over the next decade. After the warning bells of the bad years of 1959 and 1960, and the poor campaigns of 1964 to 1968, Portuguese biologists sounded the alarm: "Fishing

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53 Decree-Law No. 38 648, 18 February 1952, Article VIII.

54 Fish from the *Gadidae* family, especially *Melanogrammus aeglefinus*. Haddock fishing only started on a large scale in the northwestern Atlantic in 1946.

55 *Diário do Governo*, Ist series, Ordinance No. 14 313, 26 March 1953.

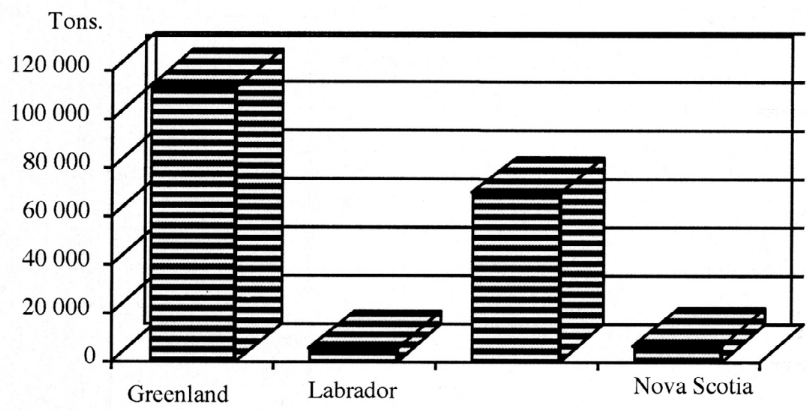
56 See *idem*, Ordinance No. 16 628, 15 March 1958.

efforts are extremely intense and, in the long term, their level could be prejudicial to the maintenance of the populations and prevent them from achieving suitable levels of yield" .[57]

For the first time there was statistical proof that cod catches were increasing more slowly than the activity of fishing, with hints of a fall in productivity for boats and the strong likelihood of a low return on capital for the owners.[58] There were some parts of the sea in which ICNAF was already witnessing a fall of 40% per effort unit in overall catch[59]. As far as scientists were concerned, not even the increase in fishing in the more northerly sub-areas - Greenland and Labrador - could deny that the prospect was gloomy.

Figure I

Nominal cod catches by the Portuguese fleet in the ICNAF sub-areas (1954)



Source: A. Duarte Silva, *A Pesca do Bacalhau - Campanha de 1955-56,* Lisboa, GEP, 1957, p. 11.

[57] *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, pp. 21-22.

[58] Activity indices for fishing were measured in units of time spent by the vessels in the fishing grounds.

[59] *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, p. 22.

Optimism in relation to the infinite abundance of the "Atlantic cod" began to be much less unanimous. Scientific diagnoses began to coincide with the practical daily impressions of fishermen, masters and shipowners.

As Figure I shows, cod catches in the vast shallows of Newfoundland were already falling off by the mid-1950s, being frequently offset by the good fisheries to the west of Greenland. Matters got worse. In the 1964 and 1968 campaigns, for example, over half the cod fished by rod and line came from the Greenland sandbanks, where Portuguese trawlers scarcely went. This was done to avoid extra costs and because the concentration of "rod and line boats" was discouraging them from frequenting these fishing grounds. Portuguese trawlers only went to the waters of Labrador. And they went there increasingly in the 1960s, to the point where, in the 1965 campaign, the tonnage of the cod caught in this ICNAF sub-area was now greater than the tonnage caught in Newfoundland.[60]

According to the conclusion of ICNAF's biologists, the growth in catches in the two northerly ICNAF sub-areas (Greenland and Labrador) stemmed from biological populations subjected a little while earlier to intensive exploitation, while the Newfoundland stocks would lose the ability to renew themselves owing to the extractive pressure to which they were being subjected.[61]

The abundance map for Northwest Atlantic cod began to change more frequently than usual. The distribution of shoals was becoming ever more unpredictable, forcing ships to look for more prolific waters. Entering this vicious cycle, it was not long before abundance became accidental, almost allegorical, and scarcity was the harsh reality that had to be faced. As was only to be expected, these signs of change provoked a certain deepening of scientific research under ICNAF and paved the way for a number of measures to regulate cod fishing.

In the mid-1960s, the situation of the cod fisheries in the area covered by the ICNAF Convention was approaching a "critical phase".[62] Convinced of this, ICNAF experts had already recommended that the Commission should not hesitate to adopt other means to protect the biological resources envisaged in the Washington Convention. The various legal rules on increasing net mesh size, imposed since the early 1950s, were not very effective, given that hundreds of stern trawlers used devices applied to the upper side of the bags to counter their selective effect by preventing the smaller fish from escaping. Biologists warned that the "shields" (pieces of leather buckled to the bag to stop the nets from being badly damaged when dragged along the bottom) stopped small fish from escaping.

In light of the ineffectuality of the measures regulating meshes, the problem of checking their compliance and the proven deterioration of the potential to renew stocks, a Permanent Committee for Measures to Regulate the Fisheries was set up under ICNAF in 1967. This body put forward proposals that were much more drastic than the simple legal imposition of mesh sizes

60 See *idem* (Fig. 3 attached, non-numbered page).

61 *Idem,* p. 22.

62 *Idem.*

on nets. According to the experts, the time had come to impose quotas or maximum catches.[63] Such measures were as effective for safeguarding the renewal of the biological resources as they were difficult to enforce.

Then as now it was not possible to establish measures to preserve resources without prior knowledge of the ecosystems of the species that were intended to be protected from "overfishing". The northwest Atlantic was one of the ocean's richest zones in terms of commercially valuable fish, but it had been poorly studied by oceanographic scientists, and so ICNAF gave priority to hydrographic studies. The hydrological conditions of the sea were characterized on the basis of data collected on the initiative of the Commission's Member States, and by ICES, in the five sub-areas of the Convention. The explicit goal of these studies only confirmed the pivotal reasons for which ICNAF was set up: "Trying to establish (...) correlations between the abundance of fish and the environmental conditions".[64] No less essential for estimating the potential to catch and for mapping the abundance of resources were the knowledge of currents and the movement of water masses. This was the justification for hydrological research to focus on those areas of the sea where fish were plentiful and there were good prospects for increasing fisheries, leaving for a later date those where signs of "overfishing" had already been noticed.

Among the first areas to be studied was Greenland. The growing importance of cod fishing in the coastal coves and off the shores of this large Arctic island justified the delayed research that ICNAF carried out there. The scientific explanation for this interest was fairly obvious and did not dispel the impression that Portuguese fishermen and masters had noticed in the harvests of the mid 1950s: an increase in seawater temperature was observed in the Greenland waters, a powerful indication of more fish.[65]

Most notable among the second areas to be studied was Labrador, in whose waters fishing had been declining, without there being any convincing explanations for this scarcity.

Regulation of the fisheries in the Convention sub-area of Newfoundland, the most fruitful of all sandbanks, seems to have been the most difficult and controversial. Investigations led by ICNAF and the first measures taken to conserve Newfoundland's resources were halted early on by the divergence of economic interests relative to the fishing of certain more commercially valuable species. If the problems in gathering reliable statistical information on the biological reserves of cod soon ceased to be a major obstacle, greater embarrassment was caused by the expansion of the demand for fish by the processing industries of the Canadian and US Atlantic provinces. From 1954 onwards, thanks to technical innovations, many of these "companies" began to fillet large catches of small cod, often less than 35 cm in size, and other fish that should have been left to grow.[66] Catching small fish was no longer an economic problem. Capitalists investing in the means of production needed to make full use of the by-products; the expansion of refrigeration chains, from production on the high seas to the large and small urban markets, was a driving force behind

63 *Idem*, pages 24 and 28.

64 *Boletim da Pesca,* "A Comissão Internacional das Pescarias do Noroeste do Atlântico...", *cit.,* p. 16.

65 Oral evidence from Captain Francisco Correia Marques (30 October 2001).

66 See *Boletim da Pesca,* "A Comissão Internacional das Pescarias do Noroeste do Atlântico...", *cit.,* p. 18.

new commercial products. Finally, even the increased production of meal was making immature fish an essential raw material, rather than a waste product.

As usual, technological innovation, market dynamics and pressure from the fish processing industries on land, whose growth the Canadian government began to support in the 1950s, threatened to compromise the efforts at achieving a balanced management of the seas' resources.[67] Leaving the fish-abundant waters of Newfoundland to the mercy of any kind of small-meshed net would be to put the future of the fisheries at risk. Under ICNAF, a serious confrontation began to develop between the countries of southern Europe, which caught cod for salting and drying, and the others (especially Canada and the USA), which fished to supply the freezing industry. Suddenly the former were finding, in the cultural tradition of their dried salt cod markets, a powerful argument for the diplomatic game. Motivated by the greater demand for medium and large-sized fish, the fishing carried out by the large Iberian fleets was far more selective than that of their North American competitors, more and more so when the fish was caught by rod and line and not by the implacable trawl nets.

Judging by the negotiations that took place in 1956 to regulate fishing in ICNAF sub-areas 3, 4 and 5, Portuguese diplomacy succeeded in using this "ecological" argument quite skillfully.[68] In this "good fishing" year, among the large European fleets only the Portuguese fished for cod with rod and line within the Convention zone. Specific treatment was demanded for the trawling gear defined by ICNAF following the recommendation of the London Conference in 1946: fixing minimum trawl net mesh at 102 mm for the Newfoundland sub-area and 114 mm for that of Nova Scotia.

In light of these measures, which overlooked the singularity of the rod and line fishing performed from the sailing and motor boats of the legendary Portuguese "white fleet", on 28 June 1956 Portugal asked the diplomatic missions of the signatory countries to the Washington Convention to consider three amendments intended to regulate fishing with rod and line. The proposals were approved unanimously.[69] Ten years later, when proof was found of "overfishing" in the waters around Greenland, Denmark forced even more drastic measures by proposing that the *Store Hellefisk Bank* (division 1B in the ICNAF Convention area) should be closed to trawlers. The Danish government argued that fishing for cod with rod and line, almost the only means of survival for the people of Greenland, would be threatened by the depletion caused by the trawl nets.[70]

But the swiftness with which the Commission dealt with the requests to protect fishing with rod and line put forward by Portugal and Denmark does not suggest any other convergence of interest between the two states. On the contrary, the divergence of views with respect to the issue of

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[67] Miriam Wright, *op. cit.,* pp. 51 and ff.

[68] The perception that the Washington Conference could lay down "international limitations or conditions" on trawling activity in the Northwest Atlantic, and that in this situation fishing from boats using the rod and line technique should not be restricted, was mentioned even before this meeting took place and was discussed by the Ministry for the Sea's Directorate of Fisheries and H. Tenreiro. See Bibl. IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington — Fevereiro de 1949,* "Nota 1836", fls. 1-2.

[69]AHMNE, RQE, Proc.º 44, 17, 2º P, A 61, M 317, Pasta 2, *Regulamentação Internacional da Pesca do Arrasto.*

[70] See *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, pp. 24-26.

the limits of Greenland's territorial waters was soon to worsen. In May 1963, Copenhagen alarmed Lisbon with a unilateral proclamation that extended the island's territorial waters from three to twelve miles.[71]

2.2. Portugal in ICNAF: multilateralism and autarky

Given the limitations of scientific activity in Portugal and the political constraints on the integration and cooperation of scientists in intergovernmental organizations, the active role of Portugal in ICNAF might seem strange.

In this, as in other spheres of postwar external cooperation, Salazar's government signed on in order not to be left out. Safeguarding the Northwest Atlantic fishing grounds and keeping intact the web of interests that the *Estado Novo* had ceased to weave around the cod campaign required unprecedented efforts at cooperation in multilateral organizations for the study and management of the fisheries. These were undertakings that were perhaps at odds with the strictly national dynamics of the corporate administration of fishing, contrary to its closed and oligarchic direction, proper to a political organization with strong *New State* connotations, and wrought from authoritarian powers, even ones with suggestions of fascism.

Even considering the pragmatic adaptations of postwar Salazarist diplomacy, the readiness with which Portugal joined ICNAF and the active part it sought to play within the Commission are unambiguous.[72]

Of all the agreements accepted under ICNAF, the one that caused the most embarrassment to the authorities in Lisbon was that of proving information on the activity of the Portuguese cod fishing fleet. Between the wish to comply with the agreement of some leaders of fishing's corporate oligarchy, the fine perception of what was changing in deep-sea fishing, borne out by others (especially by António Duarte Silva[73]) and the power of Tenreiro to persuade the Foreign Ministry to sign the agreements that he felt were essential for the "protection" of fishing, Salazar's foreign policy redoubled its concern with defending the "national interest" when it came to deep-sea fisheries and sovereignty over the seas.

The Washington Convention envisaged the establishment of national ICNAF advisory committees. There were countries which never bothered to establish theirs. Portugal, however, was

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[71] See A. Garrido, *op. cit.,* vol. II, pp. 581-583.

[72] In the second mandate of ICNAF, which began in 1953, a Portuguese member was elected Vice-President — Commander Américo Angelo Tavares de Almeida (1898-1972). In the third mandate, after 1955, he was elected President of the Commission, a post he held until 1957. In addition to this involvement, the efforts of the Portuguese Commissioner to convene an annual meeting of ICNAF in Lisbon were neither small nor in vain. The first meeting to be held outside North America took place in Lisbon, in 1956. The Scientific Committee of ICNAF also came to be presided over by a Portuguese member, Mário Ruivo.

[73] António Álvares Pereira Duarte Silva (1904-1981). Born in Figueira da Foz, a lawyer and shipowner and, until the April 1974 Revolution, always a top leader of the Corporate Organization for Fishing. A large number of the policies for the cod industry established by Henrique Tenreiro resulted from studies carried out by Duarte Silva and the opinion that he proffered.

one of the first Member States to create a National Advisory Committee for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries. It did so in mid-1952. A few months later, the Convention was ratified. The justification given in the preamble to the law does not hide the reasons for such haste: it is stressed that the agreement relates to those zones of the sea where the national cod fishing fleet had been fishing for many years, with the greatest interest being in cooperating in all the work of the bodies that had been established, or due to be set up after the Convention came into force.[74] Collaboration in order to avoid being marginalized was once again the order of the day. This meant an opening up to the outside world that was as unwanted as it was essential, in order to keep a close watch on what was changing in the cod fishing grounds and to reject any measures that were hostile to the progress of the cod campaign.

As was usual in the shifting sands of the Organization for Fishing, the Decree setting up the ICNAF National Advisory Committee subtly introduced a force for influencing fishing policies and renewing the cod fleet, based on a scientific report on the problem of conserving resources.

Struggling with the serious problems of organizing the work and with the fact that there were few marine biologists in Portugal, the ICNAF National Advisory Committee could not fulfill all the objectives ascribed to it under the law: "To study all the problems of fishing in the area covered by the Convention, to acquire and gather all the elements required for this study and compile reports, data or opinions that will enable the Government to decide on the direction to be taken by the representatives of Portugal".[75] Relying on a president appointed by the Minister for the Navy[76] and by a few representatives of the various ministries involved in managing both fishing and the corporatist bodies set up for the economic coordination of cod fishing - among which the name of Henrique Tenreiro looms large – the ICNAF Advisory Committee remained under the protective wing of the Directorate-General for the Navy. The headquarters of the Committee was linked to the newly created Office for Fishing Studies, i.e. remaining safely within the corporate oligarchy.

Despite the sparse financial support given by the Portuguese government to these "attempts at multilateralism", the participation of Portugal in research tasks was ensured by the scientific interest of the members of the Navy department's advisory bodies on fishing - especially of a few officials linked to the hydrographic services, whose oceanographic awareness and knowledge was more refined - and the political need to meet the obligations assumed in Washington.

The scientific input from each member state to ICNAF's investigations was in proportion to the fishing effort of the respective fleet in the Convention area. The immediate goals of the body were to assess stocks and the effects of fishing on the capacity for resource renewal. This program was beyond the individual capabilities of each country, requiring as it did expenditure and specialized personnel in order to carry out sampling programs in huge areas of the sea.

One of the difficulties most noticed by ICNAF scientists seems to have been the international standardization of methods and techniques for identifying the dynamic characteristics

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[74] *Diário do Governo*, Ist series, Decree No. 38 806, of 30 June 1952.

[75] *Idem*, Article II.

[76] Rear-Admiral António Francisco Alves Leite, who, up to 1961, combined the post of President of the Committee with that of President of the Office for Fishing Studies.

of the fishing stocks. According to the "fishing biology" standards of the day, the features of biological populations that most caught the attention of the scientists were their potential for growth and reproduction, the feeding and migration habits of the more commercially valuable species, as well as "natural mortality" indices and those resulting from fishing. In order to diminish the differences between the technical process of "determining the age of fish by counting the annual rings on the scales", as well as to harmonize the techniques of reading otolites and other scientific methods of characterizing the stocks, a scientific meeting was held in Lisbon in May 1957 to discuss the "population dynamics and selectivity of the fishing effort". The meeting was sponsored by the FAO, ICNAF and ICES.[77]

2.3. Diagnoses and intergovernmental research projects

In the early years, and under the impetus of the ICNAF Scientific Research Committee, the work of the National Advisory Committee concentrated on collecting and compiling the statistical data relating to fishing by Portuguese vessels in the Convention area. This was an important task, especially as fishing statistics in Portugal barely considered biological variables, and had never been discussed with the need to determine "conversion factors" that could transform the global figures for the fish landed into values for the total fresh catch taken from the sea, or into "real catch", as requested by ICNAF.[78]

In terms of biology, the main commitment of Portugal as a member state was that of sampling. This meant the standardized collection of cod on board trawlers and "rod and line boats", so as to calculate the maximum possible catch levels by assessing the degree of maturity of the biological populations and the understanding of the migratory behavior of cod. This knowledge was crucial for effective detection and for preventing falling yields.

For this purpose, the ICNAF National Advisory Committee organized a group of samplers who would be on board during the several months of the campaign. Among them, "biologists" were still an exception. A young biologist from the Portuguese Institute of Marine Biology, Mário Ruivo, whose political activism in the clandestine cells of the PCP (the Portuguese Communist Party) did not prevent the Organization for Fishing from keeping him in its bodies involved in studying fisheries, was involved in Portuguese research into cod between 1954 and 1961.[79] The work he directed took place on board the Portuguese fleet's trawlers and rod and line vessels, with the aid of assistant-observers. Other tasks were carried out in the laboratory of the hospital ship *Gil Eannes*.[80] The sampling "covered the parameters fundamental to the study of population dynamics - such as

[77] See *Boletim da Pesca*, "Pescarias e cooperação internacional...", *cit.*, p. 17.

[78] *Idem,* "A Comissão Internacional das Pescarias...", *cit.*, p. 19.

[79] See Mário Ruivo, "Ciência e gestão dos recursos haliêuticos na segunda metade do século XX – o bacalhau no Atlântico Norte: um caso paradigma", in A. Garrido (coord.), *A Pesca do Bacalhau – História e Memória*, Lisbon, Editorial Notícias, 2001, p. 350. Although under the watchful eye of the PIDE [the secret police], the skill of the young biologist, and maybe the fact that the repressive apparatus of the regime did not see any risks of "ideological contamination" in laboratory work that were comparable to those of teaching, could help to explain this remarkable cohabitation.

[80] See A. Duarte Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

composition by size, sex and degree of maturity, the collection of otolites for establishing age, analysis of stomach contents - complemented in the fishing zones by other relevant observations".[81]

The work was painstaking, lengthy and costly, and was far from guaranteeing scientifically reliable results.[82] It may be observed, for now, that the "fishing biology" was virtually confined to trying to estimate changes in stock abundance with a view to establishing "maximum sustainable catches". In the absence of a research vessel, towards the end of the 1950s, in addition to the sampling, observations were made on the rod and line boats to check for any correlation between the conditions in the seawater (temperature and salinity) and fishing yield. Such methodologies were increasingly close to current trends.

On a horizon dominated by rough knowledge gained from campaigns of plenty, the practical and intuitive knowledge of the masters and fishermen came up against the discourses of science. Certainly the dialogue between the men fishing for cod and the scientists was always a very delicate one, characterized by mistrust on the part of the former and constantly postponed by the relative abundance of fish - an abundance which, in 1956, in relation to the Newfoundland sandbanks, the ICNAF studies still did not refute.[83] But because the scenario at that time was already a little bleaker with respect to species related to cod, the *Boletim da Pesca* (*The Fishing Journal*) for that year called for everyone to cooperate in the biological research: "From the humblest fisherman who collects a marker to the ship's master who facilitates the work on board his vessel, and the officials who can create the conditions needed for serious scientific research that is properly directed and equipped with the means to act, then it will be possible to accomplish the program outlined and reap the rewards of this international collaboration for the balanced exploitation of natural resources".[84] If the *Boletim* is to be trusted, retrieving the marked fish was a task that the Portuguese fishermen performed zealously, on board their dories, on the orders of the captains.[85] These latter figures had to record the length of the specimens, as well as the date and place of their capture, and then send them to the *Grémio dos Armadores* (the corporatist shipowners' association), and thence to the laboratory. In an authoritarian state, it is amazing and paradoxical that the motive of "national interests" allowed the various actors in fishing the dynamics of cooperation in scientific

81 Mário Ruivo, *art. cit.,* p. 352.

82 Those who recognized it were the scientists who signed the Report used here as a source, Rui Monteiro and Manuel Lima Dias. See *Relatórios do Instituto de Biologia Marítima*, No. 14, *cit.*, p. 7.

83 See *Boletim da Pesca*, "A Comissão Internacional das Pescarias do Atlântico Noroeste...", *cit.*, pp. 17-18. It is enough to highlight the educational discourse of this periodical, published by the Office for Fishing Studies, concerning the importance and demands of Portugal's cooperation in the multilateral bodies engaged in studying and managing the fisheries. The role of the *Boletim* in disseminating new fishing and fish processing technologies seems to have been no less important.

84 *Idem,* p. 20.

85 *Idem*, p. 19.

programs, which bore practical similarities with certain "cooperative models" for the regulation of fishing that are recommended today.[86]

2.4. General overview and instrumental results

It is not easy to assess the practical effects of these investigations and the scientific opinion that they engendered, which in turn led to the general management of the cod fisheries. Yesterday, as is the case today, the policies of renewing the fishing fleet and regulating the technological systems for catching fish were the topics most likely to gauge the impact of scientific diagnoses on the greater or lesser abundance of resources.

If we compare the annual reports of the ICNAF National Advisory Committee with the public opinions relating to the renewal of the Portuguese cod fishing fleet, it is immediately clear that the applied research developed between 1948 and 1974 with the help of the Biological Marine Institute was restricted to the abundance of resources and the estimation of catch potential, in accordance with the need to supply the national cod market. The autonomy of the scientific discourse emanating from technical and advisory bodies in the area of fisheries and affecting the political decisions taken was thus very limited, shackled and conditioned by the system of authority over national fishing: Tenreiro, from the side of the Corporatist Organization for Fishing, and the Cod Trade Regulatory Commission (CRCB), in the exercise of its powers of public economic coordination.

Regarding the outcome of the research undertaken by the ICNAF National Advisory Committee, it is no less scandalous that scientific opinion was snuffed out in the face of the instrumental goals of its application. The inclusion of ICNAF investigations in the fleet renewal programs, considered by the CRCB under the scrutiny of the "government of the Nation", appear to be fairly scarce. The annual reports from the National Advisory Committee became a dead letter, even though they were kept in the ICNAF *Yearbook* and summarized in other documents emanating from the annual meetings of the organization.[87] The state invariably looked only at such research results in order to see the catch possibilities for the Portuguese fleet in the ICNAF Convention area, and to use them to chart the supplies for the national cod market. The prevailing viewpoint of "supply fishing" made any investigations by the advisory bodies and specialist committees on national fisheries virtually ineffectual.

As happened in other countries interested in developing their fishing industries, in the third quarter of the twentieth century "fishing biology" became a "state science" in Portugal, developing the advantages, drawbacks and regulatory concerns of applied research. Even so, the technical and advisory bodies on fishing created after the Second World War permitted the narrowest of openings to international cooperation, somewhat isolated in the panorama of scientific research in the Salazarist period. Whether through the regular participation of its researchers in

[86] For thoughts on some of these management models for the "Atlantic cod" fisheries, see, among others, Barbara Neis; Lawrence Felt (ed.), *Finding Our Sea Legs – Linking Fishery People and Their Knowledge with Science and Management*, St. John's, ISER of the Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000.

[87] Some of these annual reports published by ICNAF are still in the IPIMAR library, in Lisbon. See "Portuguese Research Report, 1963", *ICNAF Redbook - 1964* (II) and the same document for the years 1964, 1965 and 1966.

international meetings or due to the need to plan and present statistics, the contact that was enjoyed with more evolved scientific research centers, working in the area of fisheries, did, in fact, yield positive results.[88]

With respect to the technologies used in fishing and processing the catch, despite the activities of the Office for Fishing Studies[89] and the Geographical Missions and Colonial Investigations Board[90], there never was a national drive for research in these domains, which partly explains the obstacles raised to the reorganization of the sector.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the activities of the public research bodies were centered on the "classic" issues of detecting, prospecting and mapping resources. With the exception of the work of the Biological Marine Institute, designed to study the fishing resources of the Portuguese coast (especially sardine), through which passed a good many of the future national elite of "marine biologists", the outcomes of the investigations conducted by the various organizations and advisory committees were scarcely reflected in the "national fishing policy". Even though Portugal promptly ratified the International Convention on Overfishing, which warned of the need to adapt catch potential to the capacity for resource renewal, the plans made to encourage fishing in the 1950s and 1960s totally ignored the question of the rational exploitation of stocks. Empiricism and an illusory belief in the infinite capacity of marine resources to renew themselves certainly still prevailed over the discourse and practice of the economic agents in the sector and the majority of those responsible for fishing policy. It is certain, too, that in the third quarter of the twentieth century the management of fish resources was based on extremely simple, linear models developed to study the dynamics of biological populations. These were mechanistic models, whose reading of the variations in stock abundance tended to overestimate the impact of fishing but did not include environmental factors and did not gauge the effects of these phenomena on biodiversity.[91]

"Fishing biology" studies - still embryonic in Portugal, and with little hope of becoming established in the institutional framework of the Corporate Organization - and even the sampling work on the "Atlantic cod" carried out as part of the commitment made to ICNAF, had absolutely no influence on the essence of political decision-making in relation to encouraging deep-sea fishing. There was a total lack of any ecological discourse or awareness with respect to the problem of "overfishing" and of the need to adjust the capacity of the fleets to a "sustainable" level for the exploitation of resources. Finally, the political preoccupation with ensuring the survival of the cod fleet, "supporting" shipping firms and foreseeing the instability of the supply to the domestic market put ecological discourse and practice firmly in second place, so that it became nothing more than instrumental. The metaphor of the "drop in the ocean" that some biologists used to characterize

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88 This positive assessment is borne out, for instance, by Prof. Mário Ruivo (interview, Lisbon, 20.4.2001).

89 This office was set up under Decree-Law No. 38 638, of 9 February 1952. Incorporated into the Corporative Organization for Fishing, its purpose was to "study the problems related to the various fishing methods and its workers and to try to find practical solutions for them" (Article I). As with other technical organizations on fishing, the Office struggled with a lack of funding. Its operations depended on income or annual contributions from shipowners' associations.

90 Set up in 1948, it includes works by the Missão de Estudos das Pescas de Angola (Study Mission on Fishing in Angola), as it was called from 1951 onwards.

91 See Mário Ruivo, *art. cit.*, pp. 355 and ff.

their contribution to the administration of fishing in the period of the dictatorship was as much a caricature as it was the truth.[92]

Conclusions

In the postwar world, accepting that marine resources were "common property" and appreciating that the management of fishing required both multilateral study and the resolution of its essential problem - the vicious cycle of scarcity and falling yields for firms - were rare and controversial attitudes. Nevertheless, the impetus provided by the practical evidence of the shortage of fish in certain zones of the Ocean was at least as strong as that provided by the diagnoses and theoretical formulations from science, in relation to "overfishing", its causes and bio-economic effects. But the intrusion of any other perspective (from biology and economics) into political decision-making by the Portuguese government was slow. In the changed world of the "Cold War" and with the emergence of new nation-states, the primary concern of governments was to territorialize resources and to map abundance, rather than to introduce measures to prevent the scarcity from worsening.

This conduct on the part of the public authorities did not prevent the establishment of various intergovernmental bodies to study the fishing of species with high commercial value. Their action presumed concerted research and the implementation of measures, negotiated and implanted on a multilateral basis.

Extolling the "national importance" of the cod campaign both for the public supply and for the stimulation of the economic and social life of the main cod ports - often through the use of historicist arguments and recourse to propaganda - the Portuguese *Estado Novo* agreed without hesitation to such principles of multilateralism in order to defend the interests it considered relevant. Astonishing as it may seem, the Portuguese dictatorial regime's concession to cooperative practices, which, for the first time, required multilateral scrutiny and management of the cod fisheries in the Northwest Atlantic, was justified by the importance of deep-sea fishing for supplying the people.

The survival of the cod fisheries in this new international scenario did, in fact, imply that Portugal become part of a number of intergovernmental organizations. These agreements, by demanding unprecedented commitments to external cooperation in scientific research into the sea, ended up generating flows of knowledge and giving the few Portuguese specialists involved in these organizations advance preparation in the area of marine biology and the Law of the Sea.

The example of ICNAF seems fairly illustrative and could also motivate a re-reading of the almost unequivocal characterization that is usually given to Salazarist foreign policy. From another angle, this essay may actually confirm the limits of the "fundamental truths" of the New State's foreign policy and its subordination to the pragmatism of interests in the postwar context. An analysis of Portugal's involvement in the creation of ICNAF and in the dynamics of this intergovernmental organization, created through a US initiative in 1948, does not, however, permit a metonymic conclusion. Portugal's participation in ICNAF is not enough to contradict Salazar's resistance to any concessions in terms of foreign policy, or at least in terms of the "sacred principle" of the sovereign and "national" decision, even one created in bilateral forms.

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92 Evidence from Professor Mário Ruivo (Lisbon, 20.4.2001).

Even so, the multilateral competences of ICNAF that we can see, and the efforts at regulation that the member countries agreed to implement lead one to believe that the management of the Northwest Atlantic fisheries came to rely on the practice of sharing information, with some scientific support. Despite the instrumentalization which the work of the Portuguese "biologists" working at ICNAF sought to achieve, cod fishing had never before aroused such great meticulousness in diagnosing its possibilities and disseminating statistics on the activities of fishing fleets and on their effects on the evolution of biological reserves. The cod fisheries ceased to be a strictly national matter; maintaining or expanding them implied subjecting boats, men and fishing technologies, as well as the public policies for regulating the sector, to principles of mutual, multilateral surveillance.

The part played by the Portuguese authorities in the creation and functioning of ICNAF merely comprises a fine example of the exception that proves the rule; an exception that was acquiesced to in the absence of political implications capable of rocking the foundations of the regime. In this, as in other domains, multilateralism was just a small test, pragmatic and necessary, following the convergence of the interests involved and the expression of their oligarchies within the state's institutions. It is not even odd that, in order to maintain the viability of the political project of the cod campaign against the flow of the external changes to the Law of the Sea and the very scarcity of resources that became apparent between the 1950s and 1970s, it was the corporatist oligarchy that mobilized the state and dictated the diplomatic strategies to be followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As happened in the wider sphere of Portugal's participation in the movements and institutions of European economic cooperation in the postwar era, marked by the pragmatism of Salazar, by baffling diplomatic advances and retreats, the integration of Portugal into ICNAF gave rise to unheard of external commitments. But one thing is sure: the concession to multilateral principles and practices was minimal and never clashed with any of the "invincible truths" of Salazar's regime: the integrity of the State and the Nation, the authoritarian nature of the political system, and colonial integralism.

Appendix A
The area comprehended by the ICNAF convention – final project

Source: Biblioteca IPIMAR, Pasta *Conferência de Washington – Fevereiro de 1949*, "Relatório dos Delegados do Ministério da Marinha".

Portuguese Communications in the Middle and Modern Ages

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1. Middle Ages[1]

In 1998, the Portuguese Communications Foundation signed a protocol with the University of Coimbra for the development of academic research into the history of communications, from the times predating the institutionalisation of the Postmaster-General in Portugal, at the dawn of the 16th century, down to the present day.

In the past, Portuguese historiographers have paid scant attention to the subject of communications, particularly communications as they occurred in more far-off times. In the manner of Godofredo Ferreira, the leading exponent on the study of this subject, modern-day Portuguese historians have generally paid some attention to itineraries, mediaeval travels and travellers, or transporters in the form of muleteers, and have studied peripheral issues related to the global communications system. Older or more recent studies from abroad, providing greater detail on this chapter in man's day-to-day life in society, do not appear to have had much impact in Portugal. It is probably no exaggeration to claim that such a situation is not unrelated to the complexity of the research involved.

This general lack of earlier studies explains the project members' hesitation about the means to be used in conducting their research and even more so their uncertainty about the specific results to be obtained, despite their great enthusiasm for the subject. We considered that the most productive means would be for researchers, in studying the sources, to apply the research techniques that they normally used within their specialised subject areas, which have already been dealt with in solid, wide-ranging studies.

The advantages in terms of research were unquestionable. In the absence of specific sources enabling the study of communication systems and agents in the Middle Ages, the widest range of documentary sources would have to be consulted. Total familiarisation with these sources would be the best method, as information on the circulation of messages is occasionally very subtle, indirect and fleeting. Prior knowledge

[1] Paper presented in Lisbon, in 2002, by Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho at the launch of the book *As comunicações na Idade Média*, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho (coord.), Lisbon: Fundação Portuguesa das Comunicações, 2002, prepared under the aegis of a protocol between the Portuguese Communications Foundation and the University of Coimbra.

of the sources was a *sine qua non* for progress to be achieved in this new field of knowledge.

The procedure was not, however, easy to implement, nor was the information obtained proportional to the work involved. It was only possible to make use of a small amount of the information obtained from the lengthy and painstakingly difficult research carried out. The end results were, however, largely gratifying. As a whole, the studies provided a reliable, well thought-out contribution to the general history of Portuguese communications, which is still in progress. Given that the authors are specialists in terms of the periods, institutions and environments involved in this new line of research, their studies have been enhanced by broad, attractive contextualisations that have, in practice, provided fresh insights into the full scope of the act of communication.

Although project members worked within the scope of their specialities, the particular aim was to achieve internal unity with regard to the studies produced. This is why the published work, *Communications in the Middle Ages* (Lisbon, Portuguese Communications Foundation, 2002) has a *leitmotif* involving two fundamental aspects, namely the role of communications in terms of the power structure and in terms of the support provided to institutions. This led to the presentation of two more specific situations, one dealing with communications in wartime, which understandably operates as a system enabling the circulation of messages as a whole, and another providing details on the production of letters and their means of delivery.

A little more detail is now provided on the presentation of the studies.

As far as concerns the role of communications in the power structure, endeavours were made to find out more about the system for receiving and sending messages, firstly at the royal court and then in municipal (i.e. administrative) districts.

In a well substantiated analysis of the royal court between the period of the earldoms and the reign of Dom Pedro I, Leontina Ventura describes the growing role of writing and written documents in central government bureaucracy. Letter patents addressed by the king to citizens all over the kingdom (to "whomsoever should see this letter"), or addressed to his own officials, circulated over the territory as a whole. It is, however, the reign of Dom Afonso III, "the king who promoted strong public administration and measures for administrative reorganisation", that gives us a better picture of the scope of communications in the structuring of royal authority. This reign provides us with information not only about the letters sent by the monarch, but also about the letters received by him from all over the kingdom. This circulation of royal acts also provides information on the agents who transported them, vouchsafed them, or disclosed their contents orally, in line with the continued and repeated bureaucracy required by the kingdom's internal government or even by the extraordinary diplomat entrusted with the task of establishing peace and treaties with neighbouring kingdoms. All of this information is detailed in full by the author.

The scope of the research is further extended in the next study by António Resende, who considers the communication mechanisms used at the various courts between the mid-14th century and the creation of the post of Postmaster-General by Dom Manuel I, in 1520. This information was compiled from chronicles (and not from the court documents on which the previous analysis was based), from which other conclusions may be drawn, and essentially related to the royal, seigniorial and other courts. Further details are provided about communication levels and contexts, identifying their principal agents – bearer, messenger, ambassador, trotter – and an explanation is provided about the forms of communication which are commonly referred to by the terms "letters, personal messages, written letters, writs, messages, news and errands". The study ends with suggestive information about the means and speed of transport.

In addition to analysing the message distribution system in use at the court or courts, the aim was also to gauge the impact of communications on the local power structure, particularly in the municipal districts. This was the scope of our analysis, which was essentially compiled from information available at the town councils. It is stated at the beginning that "only an ascending, horizontal or descending communications network could pull the strings of municipal affairs in the 14th and 15th centuries". In the chapter on internal communications, emphasis is given to the announcement of by-laws by criers, who would proclaim them out loud in the busiest, most central public spaces in cities or towns. Particular emphasis is given to the elucidation of communications movements as a whole, between central and local government, with some knowledge coming to light regarding the bearers of royal letters, their arrival times and means of announcement. A description is also provided of the framework of the messages that the municipal districts arranged to be sent to the court with a view to furthering their political and economic affairs, borne by specialised mail couriers, such as the municipal district's trotter, or his most accredited ambassadors, who were generally chosen from among the municipal district's leading citizens and officials, and occasionally spent a great deal of time and money at the court in order to submit the requests of the municipal district's institutions, either orally or in writing. Lastly, reference is made to the dispatch of communications to the furthest reaches of municipal districts and even between municipal districts, particularly in wartime or in times of foraging crises, when even women were occasionally conscripted as couriers.

This compilation of studies is linked with the following chapters, in which communications are considered as an institutional support, with particular attention being paid to the Church and the University, considered to be model institutions within the communications system.

Maria Alegria Marques looks at the issues associated with communications between Portugal and the Holy See. She begins by sketching a brief outline of the evolution of the Papal Court and analyses the Papal Chancellery in terms of its officials and the *modus operandi* of this department, which specialised in producing and sending documents. In her approach to the relationships established between Portugal and the Papacy in the Middle Ages and the communication vehicles existing between the two, she considers both the Portuguese who were present at the Papal Court and the legates and the affairs of the apostolic judges in Portugal. The former were essentially ecclesiastics, who travelled to the Holy See for a variety of personal and/or institutional reasons. They bore their own messages and those with which they were entrusted by others, undertaking to bring back the replies to the Kingdom of Portugal. They presented their requests to the Pope or to particular departments either orally or in writing, and generally travelled in small groups to lessen the risks associated with such long journeys. Upon their return, they would have to convey the messages they brought with them. If such messages were for public announcement, the Sunday mass would be the best means of transmission, together with an announcement made at the church doorway.

As far as the circulation of ecclesiastical messages is concerned, Maria do Rosário Morujão gives a detailed explanation of the case of the diocese of Coimbra, analysing the cathedral's documentary collection, which she used in the preparation of her doctoral thesis. She begins by characterising the space in which the messages circulate and their principal authors and recipients – the bishop and the cathedral's chapter. She analyses the messages, which took the form of either missives or juridical acts that also had to be dispatched to their addressees. She studies the various stages of their production, from request to final document, making reference to the formularies used, as well as the means used to authenticate the acts. She then endeavours to ascertain who were the bearers of such texts and, in several cases, succeeds in discovering that the agents entrusted with the responsibility of delivering the letters to their destination, and even of announcing the contents thereof by reading them out to their addressees, were often the procurators of the bishop or chapter. Most of the information obtained refers to sentences of excommunication and interdiction which the author deals with in some detail. Lastly, an attempt is made to calculate the time elapsing between the act of writing the letters and their delivery to addressees, in addition to the distances travelled.

In the next study, José Antunes firstly provides us with a concise description of the *urban agents and agents on foo*t who placed themselves in the service of the communications required by the scholars of European universities. He then concentrates on Portuguese universities, demonstrating that the Papal Bull of 9 August 1290 confirmed the *Stadium Generale's* privilege of having its own *nuncios*, considered by the author to be couriers, conveying not only messages, news and mail, but also goods and even people. He also considers that, owing to its use of the term *mancipiis*, the *magna carta* of privileges bequeathed by Dom Dinis in 1309 refers to urban messengers, a hypothesis which had not previously been put forward, and others suggested by him in this sphere of the circulation of messages, always equated with the broad contexts of the Roman Empire or the whole of Europe. Through the information obtained from the volumes of *Chartularium Universitatis Portugalensis*, however, he had the opportunity to study a man who journeyed to the court of Rome bearing a letter from the university, complementing this with other information on scholars' requests for the exchange of money and on the circulation of supplications to the Papal Court made by the scholars and masters of the university itself, together with the reception of an enormous amount of pontifical documentation. He reminds us that, even after the institution of the post of Postmaster-General in Portugal in the 16th century, the university continued to employ its own private couriers, using the services of boatmen, carters, wagoners, muleteers and foot messengers to help deliver the messages, news and goods required by its day-to-day affairs.

A rigorous study by João Gouveia Monteiro concentrates on the extraordinary environment created by war, which has always required special means of communication. As a specialist in the subject, he contextualises the war scenario of the Reconquest experienced in Portugal in the early Middle Ages and the battles with Castile, which required a continuous "information service", mobilising spies, scouts, messengers and even ambassadors, merchants, clerics, pilgrims, women, prisoners and traitors, to thwart the intentions and movements of the enemy's forces. For the effective processing of the transmission of news, however, in such times of natural obstruction, the author states that three techniques were used — "visual techniques" in the form of "encoded signals" either sent from a distance, particularly those using smoke and fire, or involving the placement of such objects as flags and pendants at particular vantage points; "auditory techniques" which could be used at the same time as the others and which took the form of sound emissions, using bells, trumpets or other means; and, finally, the use of "special emissaries", such as all kinds of "couriers" who brought the news over land, river or sea through their own endeavours and who occasionally displayed great courage and daring. Less commonplace techniques were also used, such as sending written messages inside the shafts of arrows, communicating by code or password and through the use of carrier pigeons, demonstrating the great range of communication methods and, most suggestively, showing how mediaeval man endeavoured to "control space and time, the two nuclear valencies of wartime since time immemorial".

To complete this collection of studies, Maria José Azevedo Santos concentrates upon the specificity of the written message as a whole in her evocatively entitled work *Na Volta do Correio* ("By Return Mail"). She begins by reflecting upon the importance of the written word in societies, making particular reference to letter-missives. She then goes on to study an important collection of 73 letters sent by Prince Pedro, Duke of Coimbra, between 1429 and 1448, the vast majority of which was sent to the municipal district of Coimbra and its "good men" (i.e. leading citizens), comprising a hybrid genre of missives simultaneously referring to both private and public spheres. An examination is made of their formal characteristics and their material authors (because they are heterographic letters), the support material, the ink and the handwriting which give them form, the method of folding and the guarantee of inviolability through the affixing of a seal. Reference is also made to the punishments meted out to those persons betraying the confidentiality of the correspondence, including the publication of a law on the subject in 1450. Lastly, the author poses various questions about the form in which the letters were sent and about the agents entrusted with their delivery, including, *inter alios,* foot messengers, errand boys, postmen, trotters and muleteers, carters and wagoners, while also making reference to the difficulties involved in the journeys, owing to the means of transport used at the time, the poor state of the roads and the dangers involved in travelling.

It is not my intention to conclude this work without providing more interested readers with additional support material. Maria do Rosário Morujão has produced a national and foreign bibliography on message communication systems in the Middle Ages, drawn from other bibliographies and the records of national and foreign libraries and databases. She has compiled a list of more than a hundred titles dealing, either directly or indirectly, with message transmissions. We realise that such a bibliography must necessarily be incomplete, though it may, nonetheless, provide a starting point for subsequent studies on the subject.

We believe that these works are highly suggestive and appealing, often leaving us with more unanswered questions than certainties and requiring yet more research. Consideration is given to the many different scenarios under which communications were forced to develop in response to political and institutional demands, thus giving visibility to yet another facet of man's life in society.

2. The Modern Age[2]

The subjects dealt with in this book form part of the "Postal history" area, a historiographic field that has only in recent decades begun to be studied systematically. Interest in this subject derives both from the relevance of the communications phenomenon to our present time and the creation of conditions that allow for a full contextualisation of the multiple aspects of postal communications studies. The history of the postal services is a highly interdisciplinary field, which brings together various areas of historical knowledge.

In Portugal, studies of the history of the postal services in modern times were conceived within the heart of an institution dedicated to communications – the CTT - and initiated by Godofredo Ferreira, a patient and painstaking researcher who examined several documentary collections in his quest for information. This enabled him to find out more about the past affairs of the institution in which he worked and for which he nurtured a particular affection. A major study in this area was produced by Teodoro de Matos, who dealt with several aspects of Postal history, starting from the central theme of his work, *Transport and Communications in Portugal, the Azores and Madeira (1750-1850).* Reference should also be made here to other contributions to the knowledge of postal history produced by philatelists, in addition to other scholars, several of whom are associated with this Foundation and whose works are included in separate studies or published by the marvellous *Códice* magazine.

The challenge I issued both to myself, as the co-ordinator of the project, and to my colleagues on the research team, Drs. Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, Ana Cristina Araújo, José Pedro Paiva, Maria Antónia Lopes, Joaquim Ramos de Carvalho and M.A. Ana Isabel Ribeiro, was to study the structure and operations

[2] Paper presented in Lisbon, in 2005, by Margarida Sobral Neto at the launch of the book *As comunicações na Idade Moderna*, Margarida Sobral Neto (coord.), Lisbon: Fundação Portuguesa das Comunicações, 2005, prepared under the aegis of a protocol between the Portuguese Communications Foundation and the University of Coimbra.

of the postal communications systems used by the state, several of the most representative institutions in terms of communication flows (the Church, the Inquisition, the *Misericórdias* and the University) and private citizens. These subjects were divided into several more specialised themes, which have been dealt with in this book's various chapters.

The first chapter was written by Margarida Sobral Neto and is called *The Post in the Modern Age*. In this text, which is used to contextualise the whole of the work, I explain those points of time that I consider to have been decisive in terms of establishing the organised post, in addition to analysing the main thrust of the operations of the postal communications system in the Modern Age.

The organised postal service made its appearance in Portugal during the reign of Dom Manuel I, at a time when Portugal was taking decisive steps to "open up the world", and when the Portuguese caravels had already cast anchor at several central locations of the Portuguese empire - Africa, India and Brazil. From here, the crews brought merchandise that fuelled international trade, whilst gaining fresh experiences (news of which was received by word of mouth or letter) that were to construct new world representations and form the basis for the Scientific Revolution in 16th-century Europe.

The founding act of the organised communications service was the creation of the post of Postmaster-General, in 1520. The holder of such an office was entrusted with the task of providing the court and individual citizens with postal services for the conveyance of messages and letters. The initiative of the monarch ("Manuel the Fortunate") comprised the embryo of a communications network that, over time, was to embrace the whole of the continental territory and subsequently extend to the overseas territories and the rest of Europe due to its privileged associations with the Spanish and English postal services.

The postal network was linked by nodes, comprising the auxiliary post offices that were progressively being established in the principal towns and cities. In the chapter entitled *The Postal Network in the Second Half of the 18th Century*, Joaquim Ramos de Carvalho charts the main axes linking the different parishes in the country with the various mail reception and distribution points. In this way, he provides us with an enormously useful instrument of knowledge about Portugal's internal organisation in terms of communications, in addition to increasing our understanding of the differential geography of various parts of the territory.

The fact that, between the years of 1606 and 1797, the administration of the postal services was entrusted to a private entity in the form of the Mata family requires us to become better acquainted with the leading figures in the management of the postal services in the 17th and 18th centuries. This task fell to Ana Isabel Ribeiro, who, in the chapter entitled *The Postmasters-General of the Kingdom. Their Profile and Social Trajectory*, explains the strategies of this family of bourgeois origin that gradually rose up through the social ranks during the course of the Modern Age and whose principal material support was the revenue generated by the transport of parcels, money and letters.

The end of the reign of the Postmasters-General made it possible for postal communications to take on the role of a true public service, a development encouraged by Portuguese ambassadors who, in Europe, had witnessed the operation of postal communication systems that were more efficient and profitable for the state than those run by Luís da Cunha and Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. A stagecoach service was established as part of the profound restructuring of the postal services during the transition from the 18th to the 19th centuries and the circulation of parcels, money, and particularly letters, was made more flexible.

Up to the end of the 19th century, the letter, "paper written to absent people" (Bluteau), was the "key element in the distance communication process". In her study entitled *Correspondence: Epistolary and Practical Rules on Writing,* Ana Cristina Araújo analyses the contents of missives, linking them with social contexts and standards of civility. Letters, representing privileged instruments of communication, were analysed by various authors who decided upon the most adequate forms for producing missives, depending on the occasions and the correspondent's status. Special reference should be made to the relevance of special books for *Secretários* ("practical guides to epistolary wording"), giving advice and rules on the composition of missives and varying from the layout of the text on the paper to the different forms of address, including the style of writing, the correct placement of the validation and security seals or the appropriate manner of addressing the envelope. This theoretical knowledge is illustrated in the book through the presentation of a number of illustrations.

State, institutional and personal correspondence would be delivered by ordinary mail channels. The fact that the network managed by the Postmaster-General was not, however, conducive to the speedy circulation of letters, led certain institutions to create their own communication systems.

In his text entitled *Communications in the Sphere of the Church and the Inquisition*, José Pedro Paiva describes the communication network for the delivery of institutional and private correspondence to a wide range of addressees created by the Church and particularly by its bishops. The efficacy of this network can be gauged by the fact that it was frequently used by the Crown to issue instructions or request information. This was also the case with the Inquisition.

Several bishops, such as those of Braga and Viseu, took the initiative of proposing the creation of ordinary mail and were themselves users of such services during the course of the modern era. At the same time, they organised their own delivery channels for urgent or confidential messages, in the form of a structure comprising foot messengers and occasional letter bearers.

The contents of several missives sent by the bishop of Coimbra, Afonso de Castelo Branco, to his agent in Rome, Gianbattista Confalonieri, exemplify the manner in which postal communications were processed between Coimbra and the "Capital of Christianity".

In the Modern Age, *Misericórdias* gave rise to an intense and continuous flow of communications, deriving from their institutional nature as "enterprises in the position to assimilate and administer properties and income from capital while also operating as the providers of services, divided into two main areas: assistance to souls and material assistance to the poor".

A quantitative study of the correspondence recorded by the copyists of the Lisbon and Porto *Misericórdias* enabled Maria Antónia Lopes, in her chapter entitled *Communications in the Misericórdias,* to measure and chart the communication flows irradiating from two of the country's largest fraternities to diverse points in mainland Portugal and in the overseas territories. The study resulted in a general configuration of the areas under these institutions' protection or domination.

Although it was not possible to obtain relevant information on postal services from the research carried out into the *Misericórdias'* documentary archives, such research did, however, undeniably indicate "the importance of correspondence as an unquestionable source for studying the history of the *Misericórdias*", a conclusion that also applies to many other institutions, such as the University of Coimbra.

Starting in 1537, the University of Coimbra was to become "the Kingdom's most important intellectual centre", providing training in several areas of knowledge and conferring "valid qualifications for the performance of high office in royal and ecclesiastical administrations or the professions". In addition to its role as an educational establishment, the university was a powerful landlord that administered an enormous patrimony scattered all over the country. The range of functions performed by the University of Coimbra throughout the Modern Age made it an institution that was somewhat similar to a revolving door, into and out of which diverse communication flows irradiated. In his study entitled *Communications in the University* *of Coimbra*, Fernando Taveira da Fonseca describes the contents of such human and information flows and the channels – ordinary mail and that of the institution itself – used by the University of Coimbra to achieve speedy, secure communications, with institutional addressees, students' families or rent administrators.

The above few lines provide a very short and necessarily incomplete synthesis of the various contents of the book entitled *Communications in the Modern Age*, showing the mature fruits of the research that was undertaken in the course of the project. This research area has not, however, been exhausted. As is the case with all of the research in this book, several questions have been answered and others, for which we shall endeavour to find a response in future works, have been formulated.

A country's communications system serves as a mirror of its development potential, as well as highlights its weak points. We therefore consider that the pages of this book not only relate the history of the Portuguese postal services, but also describe extremely important components for improving our knowledge of the history of Portugal in a variety of areas, ranging from economic to cultural aspects.

Ph.D. Dissertations in Early Modern History

Ph.D. Dissertations in Early Modern history are well represented in Portuguese Universities, especially on themes covering the 16th and 17th centuries, due to the number of studies on the Portuguese Expansion and Colonial History. Both the development of Master Programs from the 1980s onwards and the increasing number of Ph.D. Dissertations, have largely contributed to the development of new research interests and new topics of historical inquiry, especially those concerning cultural and social aspects of the 18th century.

It is difficult to have a clear picture by sub-field of research, since the list presented bellow is certainly incomplete, not only due to the fact that there is not in Portugal a centralized list of Dissertations covering the period 1972-2003, but also because most of the Departments of History do not have yet formal "Ph.D. Programs". We are now living a process of transition to a new graduate structure that accommodates the preparation of Ph.D. dissertations. However, the majority of the dissertations presented here are still 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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