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Honor and service. Álvaro Ferreira de Vera and the idea of nobility in the Portugal of the Habsburgs

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Abstract

The Early Modern Age was a period when the power of the nobility was at its height, and it also marked the beginning of the civilization of writing. The convergence of both these realities has left us with a wide-ranging literature about the peerage and the idea of nobility throughout southern Europe. In this article, an analysis is made of one of the most essential treatises about the nobility in Habsburg Portugal, *Origem da nobreza política*, written by Álvaro Ferreira de Vera and published in 1631. The treatises written about the peerage provide the perfect scenario for explaining the concept of nobility, its mechanisms of ennoblement, its hierarchies and its key values, such as honor and virtue. Ferreira de Vera's work represents a culminating moment in the formulation of the Portuguese discourse about the nobility, since it brings together the medieval tradition, the sources of Castilian law and the political and pedagogical needs of those who were admitted to the nobility under the dynasty of the Habsburgs. In short, this article analyses the discourse written about the nobility in Portugal in the first half of the 17th century, situating it within the general context of treatise writing about the nobility in the Iberian Peninsula, thanks to a text and an author that are both equally central to this genre.

Keyword

Nobility, nobility treatises, Alvaro Ferreira de Vera, honor, virtue.

Resumo

*A Idade Moderna apresenta-se como um dos períodos áureos do poder da Nobreza, ao mesmo tempo que é também o momento inicial da civilização do impresso. Estas duas realidades convergem na produção de uma ampla literatura sobre nobres e sobre a ideia de nobreza em toda a Europa meridional. Neste estudo, considera-se que a tratadística nobiliárquica é o cenário ideal para explicar o conceito de nobreza, os seus mecanismos de nobilitação, as hierarquias internas do grupo e os valores nobiliárquicos essenciais de honra e de virtude. Analisa-se, por isso, um dos textos fundamentais da tratadística nobiliárquica portuguesa, produzido durante a dinastia Filipina - a *Origem da nobreza política*, uma obra de Álvaro Ferreira de Vera, publicada em 1631-, uma vez que recolhe a tradição medieval, as fontes do direito castelhano e as necessidades político-pedagógicas daqueles que, sob os Habsburgo, receberam distinções nobiliárquicas. Trata-se, assim, de um artigo que embora analise o discurso nobiliárquico em Portugal na primeira metade do século XVII, o enquadra no âmbito mais amplo da tratadística nobiliárquica da Península Ibérica.*

Palavras-chave

Nobreza, tratadística nobiliária, Alvaro Ferreira de Vera, honra, virtude.

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“Las escrituras non son communes a todos los que las desean.”
 (“The writings are not common to all who wish for them.”)
 Luis Salazar Y Castro

“As far as the definition of true nobility is concerned, there is great doubt among philosophers and politicians as we will say further on in the seventh and tenth chapters: but in one way or another all will agree that its first principle was a virtue which calls for an honorable reward. Because the prize of honor is the one that copiously encourages virtue and thus incites the spirits to follow virtue and to undertake heroic deeds.” (VERA, 1631: f. 2r.)

1. Introduction

This work deals with the Early Modern Age (BOUZA, 1999: 239) and also with the nobility, insofar as the latter also generated a culture (CARRASCO, 2000: 11). This is why, for nearly three hundred years, we have witnessed a proliferation of texts that have aspects relating to nobility as their central subject. The action of “creating ideas” (BOUZA, 1999: 16) about what nobility is and what it represents, or explaining its representational forms was one of the essential activities of some authors, whom we will refer to henceforth as nobility experts. Their central subjects are the nobility, its memory and prestige. To create a memory of what nobility was and who the nobles were, defining their cultural, social and symbolic space, was the main task of a number of writers. They included men from the church, from the army, philosophers and genealogists. The message of these nobility experts focused on what, in everyday life, marked out the nobility and noblemen as singular people, stressing the power that the nobility enjoyed as a central point, in order to satisfy the wish to formulate an ideal explanation about social control and its mechanisms. This ideal explanation was, of course, based on the concepts of fame and prestige. Even if the books did not seek to impose an ideology, they provided a reference to a set of habits and values displayed by both the Portuguese nobility and all the nobility in Catholic Europe, and they undoubtedly had a remarkable social importance. The texts existed and their discourses became reality from the very moment of their publication or writing (CHARTIER, 1997:7), and they permanently maintained their connections with reality, establishing a remarkable order in the way in which they presented their subject.

A nobility treatise was a book that not only defined a social group but also spoke about a specific form of exercising power, providing a model of political and symbolic culture and making a decisive contribution towards establishing the boundaries of the concept of nobility, besides laying the foundations for a theory about dignity and social prestige in the *Ancien Régime*. Nobility treatises were thus the expression of a disquiet born from a broad debate about power; but they were also a tool that could be used to describe the mechanisms of integration and conflict determining the sovereigns’ policies for ennoblement and reward, presupposing a constant link with the past.

A new political reality was to be introduced to the Portuguese Crown in 1581. Its annexation by the Spanish Monarchy not only presumed a factual union, but for the first time also placed the respective nobilities under the crown of the same sovereign with all that this represented when the time came to generate a petition for graces and favors or for access to government posts, especially following the pledges made by Felipe II (Filipe I of Portugal) in Tomar². This article analyzes the concept of nobility existing in Portugal between 1580 and 1640 in light of an essential text, *Origem da nobreza política*, by Álvaro Ferreira de Vera, published for the first time in 1631 and which itself is a paradigmatic text for understanding the idea of nobility.

² For an extensive study of this particular aspect, see BOUZA 1987. Some of the details of his thesis can be found in a more updated form in his book *Filipe I* (2005).

2. The nobility treatise in Habsburg Portugal³

If the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century were marked, according to Professor Nuno Monteiro, by “keen competition among noble houses in their search for status, wealth and power” (MONTEIRO, 1997 v. IV: 364), we can infer that much of this competition encouraged the development of a literature about the nobility that justified or legitimized distinct situations of social ascent. The philosophy existing at that time, which placed nobility at the top of the list of social values during the Early Modern Age, had a place of central importance in nobility treatises. Hence, the nobility treatise writers became agents and promoters of a certain concept of nobility that was permeable to individuals’ personal strategies, whether they belonged to the court nobility or came from the lower provincial nobilities.

The nobility treatise, as a cultural artifact, developed a highly qualified discourse about the identity of a particular social group and highlighted the need existing at that time for a debate about the nature of power. Through this discourse, a set of basic ideas was created that singled out the nobility treatise from other forms of literary production, inasmuch as the matters it dealt with could only be applied to the nobility itself. This was true both in relation to the apparently static nature of some of its proposals and to the rhetoric it developed around the image of nobility and of the literature that this kind of treatise represented. Not to mention a whole range of peerage books, living archives and manuscripts so frequently found in modern Portugal.

In general, nobility treatises therefore presented an ordered structure in relation to their argument, which was fairly common to all kingdoms of Catholic Europe. In their formal structure, all aspects relating to the noble identity had their own explanation. Thus, the concern with defining nobility and the mechanisms for acquiring it, as well as heraldry itself, were all subjects that were intermingled with the definition of the hierarchy of nobles, with the conflict between arms and letters, and with a varied range of facts. All of this transformed the treatises into a closed set of works providing explanations about the idea of nobility. All that existed outside the treatise had nothing to do with nobility and therefore did not need any explanation.

From a formal point of view, we speak of a nobility treatise when we are faced with a text, well printed or handwritten, which dedicates a series of chapters to the definition of the term nobility, the factors of ennoblement, the hierarchy of nobles, the definition of “*fidalgua/hidalguia*,” heraldic representation, and finally several questions relating to the idea of family.

As António Caetano de Sousa wrote in his *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734)), “the books of families which have been written in our time are not few in number” (AZEVEDO SOARES, 1916). In fact, in the Portugal that existed before the Habsburgs, the family seems to have been the central subject around which the discourse about the nobility was constructed such that the peerage book became identified with the prestige of those who were represented in the texts, “because of the category of the people of illustrious birth” (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734)).

The family, as identified in the peerage book, derives in the Portuguese case from certain strictly genealogical texts such as the *Nobiliário del Conde D. Pedro*,⁴ and others that came after this, such as the famous *Livro Velho de Linhagens de Portugal* (MATTOSO, 1980)—according to Caetano de Sousa, it dates from 1343 (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734) v. 1: 13)—which since the Middle Ages have come to represent a seminal point in the production of texts about the nobility. This fact resulted in the fact that the literature on the nobility in Portugal, despite being prolific enough in terms of quantity, became very uneven in terms of its quality. In this article, I shall deal with strictly doctrinal texts, leaving aside the real “jungle” of genealogies and peerage books that flood the Portuguese libraries (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734): 2-5

³ In order not to be too prolix and to avoid a long list of titles and authors, I draw attention to a very interesting example of the production of Portuguese genealogical treatises and texts, which can be found in the works of SOUSA, 1735 v. 1: 20-232; see also the work of FRANCKNEAU 1734 and the *magnum opus* of AZEVEDO SOARES 1916.

⁴ Much has been said about this text and much more still remains to be said. In the present work, I used the edition commented by Juan Batista Lavanha, published in Rome in 1640, and subsequently extended by Lavanha himself, by Faria e Sousa, by the Marquis of Montebello and by Álvaro Ferreira de Vera. We owe the existence of this peerage book to, among others, Juan Bautista Lavanha, who, at the request of the 2nd Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, prepared an edition and guaranteed its publication. In order to gain a clearer understanding of this peerage book, we can consult the introduction which José Figueiroa Valverde wrote, in the facsimile edition of the text, which was published in Santiago de Compostela in 1974.

(introduction)) and which have been, with distinct originality and confusing paternity, the subject of detailed studies and analyses by genealogists and historians. The treatises, those books “where some matters are studied” (COVARRUBIAS, 2006 (1611): 934.), will be the centre of our analysis, not forgetting, obviously, the importance and influence that the genealogical texts represented.⁵

A survey of the literature on the nobility, including both doctrinal texts like the nobility treatises and genealogy books, is offered by António Caetano de Sousa in his introduction to the *História Genealógica*. In his journey through the nobility literature, he did not find many genuinely doctrinal texts about the nobility. Although, in many of the writings about family histories, we find certain commentaries about the concept of nobility, their aim is no other than to stress the genealogical ties and matrimonial policies of Portugal’s distinguished families, together with summaries of their exploits. An example is provided by Gaspar Estaço and his *Tratado da Família dos Estaços* (ESTAÇO, 1625), which forms part of a text published in 1625 about Portugal’s ancestries.⁶

There were therefore not many authors of doctrinal texts during the period when the two crowns were joined together. Álvaro Ferreira de Vera was the only author of a genuinely doctrinal text about the nobility written in the traditional style, following the models already established by Mexía and his *Nobiliário Vero* (MEXÍA, 1492), Juan Benito Guardiola and his *Tratado de nobleza* (GUARDIOLA, 1591) or Bernabé Moreno de Vargas and his *Discursos de la nobleza de España* (MORENO DE VARGAS, 1622).

However, we can mention other texts that were close to the work of Ferreira de Vera, such as the one by António Coelho—King of Arms to the monarchs Felipe IV (Filipe III), Dom João IV and Dom Afonso VI—whose manuscript is known as a *Nobiliário* (peerage book), but which in reality is entitled *Livro em que se trata da Origen dos Reis e quanto Houve em Portugal e como sucederam* (COELHO, 2006 v. 3 (edited by NORTON, MA), in which he provides some notes on the concept of nobility, points out some notions of nobility theory and gathers together many previous opinions on this matter.⁷

We also find some thoughts on the idea of nobility in the writings offered by the choirmaster of Évora Cathedral, Manuel Severim de Faria in his *Noticias* (FARIA, 1644) of Portugal, published in 1655 several years after his death. Nevertheless, their central subject is not a doctrinal matter about nobility but is more concerned with confirming the identification of nobility with the idea of the family.⁸ There is also his *Fidalguia Portuguesa*⁹ which, according to Caetano de Sousa, “includes all the noble families of the kingdom” (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734) v. 1: 60), although it was never published in printed form. In a similar vein, we can find the work of the jurist Miguel Leitão de Andrada, contained in his *Miscellanea* (ANDRADA, 1993 (1629)), published in 1629, also after his death.

A special mention should be made of Jerónimo Osório, not least because of his influence on Ferreira de Vera. He was the most influential of them all, at a European level. His text *Tratados da Nobreza civil e Cristã*,¹⁰ published in 1542 and written in Latin, was a landmark among the books about nobility written from a moral standpoint. Although it does not actually belong in the period of the kings Filipe, nor is it strictly and formally a treatise about political nobility at that time, it brings together a substantial part of the late humanistic thinking on fundamental aspects of the identity of nobility, such as virtue and honor.¹¹ We are dealing in this case with an author who went far beyond merely being an expert on nobility. Starting from principles, which are basically scholastic (EARLE, 2004: 1039-1049), he dealt in his

⁵ For a more detailed analysis of this literature, see MATTOSO 1976: 132-150, PAREDES 1995, COSTA VEIGA 1940: 172-174 and MATTOSO 1977: 17-66. More information can also be found in MACHADO DE FARIA 1977, MATTOSO 1983 and MATTOSO 1985: 73-92.

⁶ António Caetano de Sousa also mentions this man, saying that he was born in Évora and was a canon at the Collegiate Church of *Santa Maria de Oliveira de Guimarães*. He also classifies him as ‘learned in history and well versed in the ancestries’ (SOUSA, AC, 1951 (1734) v. 1: 38).

⁷ Caetano de Sousa also offers us some further notes about him, saying that he was a knight of the Order of Christ and a servant of the Royal House and that he composed a book about the House of Castro and another about the House of the Counts of Linhares (SOUSA, AC, 1951 (1734) v. 1: 33).

⁸ I deal with this text in my PhD thesis: GUILLÉN BERRENDERO 2008. There is also a reference to it in SOUSA, AC, 1951 (1734) v. 1: 59.

⁹ This text is a manuscript kept at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, cods. 1020 and 1021, which, it seems, has different authorships, although Tomás Caetano attributes its authorship to Manuel Severim de Faria.

¹⁰ The original text is written in Latin with the title *De nobilitate civil liber I.... Eiusdem de Nobilitate Christiana liber tre* published in 1545. I mention it here because of the new translation into Portuguese published by António Pinto de Guimarães in 1996.

¹¹ About Jerónimo Osório’s works, see EARLE 2004: 1039-1049.

works with varied and transcendent themes, ranging from aspects related to Christianity to the monarch's authority, just to give an example.

However, despite the importance that nobility had for the development of Early Modern societies and the open debate that arose about its nature (as demonstrated by the existence of treatises of this type), historiography was not really aware of it until quite recently. All these nobility treatises, together with others that I shall look at later on, form a group that is not excessive in number, but which, at the same time, remains highly significant among the texts that have been little studied, from a historiographic point of view.

In the analysis of the nature of the Portuguese nobility, the pioneering work by António Manuel Hespanha has proved to be fundamental in that it has been repeatedly mentioned in the new methodologies that have made it possible for other research paths to be opened up (HESPANHA, 1993:29). These new avenues of research have been continued by other specialists, resulting in the production of a rich and prolific historiography on nobility, centered on the analysis of different matters relating to the nobility treatises.¹² This present article forms part of this tradition and aims at making a contribution to this historical renewal.

3. Álvaro Ferreira de Vera. Notes towards his biography

In 1981, António de Oliveira wrote that Álvaro Ferreira de Vera was “a man of his time” (OLIVEIRA, 1981: 273) and that his life was centered on trying to discover “*fidalgia* and wealth, in the search for upward mobility” (OLIVEIRA, 1981: 273). In this historian's opinion, this was one of the reasons that forced him to travel to Madrid in around 1637 to “have the honor to advise His Majesty” (OLIVEIRA, 1981:273). Notwithstanding these opinions, Ferreira de Vera's biography reveals to us an individual who was prepared to offer an “official” view on the concept of nobility within the parameters of the open debate that was taking place at that time throughout Catholic Europe about nobility and its values.

In spite of the scant biographical information available about Álvaro Ferreira de Vera, his family origins are clear. He was born in Lisbon of “illustrious” parents (as mentioned by Barbosa Machado in his *Biblioteca Lusitana*), and he studied at the Jesuit Colégio de Santo Antão (MACHADO, 1741, v. 1:102). In 1637, we find him in Madrid seeking to deliver a report about Brazil and the attacks of the Dutch on its coast (OLIVEIRA, 1981:273). This same report informs us of his probable stay in Pernambuco at an unspecified date.¹³ This stay in Madrid also allowed him to attempt to enter into court life and to learn more *in situ* about the Spanish public archives (MACHADO, 1741, v. 1: 102). In the *Enciclopedia Portuguesa Ilustrada* we find mention of his possible death in 1677, in Madrid.¹⁴ This “supporter of Filipe III”¹⁵ died in Madrid, years after the Restoration and was considered one of the loyal Portuguese followers of the *Rey Planeta*.

His most outstanding work was the one he produced as a genealogist, as is recognized by Franckeneau, who has this to say about him:

“*Olyssipone Lusitaniae nobili familia natus. Matrili vixit servitiis Philippi IV. Regis addictus & praeter alia critica politicaeque opuscula.*”¹⁶

In his *Biblioteca Nova*, the Castilian polygraph, Nicolás Antonio, speaks of him as “*lusitanus, Olisponensis, edidit vernáculo gentis*” and attributes to him other works of a philological nature (NICOLAS ANTONIO, 1672, vol. 1: 58). His output was prolific and his great knowledge and erudition allowed him to write, among other books, *Ortographia, ou modo para escrever certo na lingua Portuguez* (VERA, 1631). He also

¹² As examples of the continuation of the research work initiated by Professor Hespanha, I draw attention to the new developments by MONTEIRO 2006: 43-61; MONTEIRO; CUNHA 2006: 97-128.

¹³ “Due to the experience that he had had in Pernambuco” (OLIVEIRA, 1981: 293).

¹⁴ *Enciclopedia Portuguesa Ilustrada*, v. 11: 116. This information about his death is confirmed in the entry on Alvaro Ferreira de Vera in the *Grande Enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira* 1945, v. 34: 612.

¹⁵ The use of this term is to be found in the entry on Alvaro Ferreira de Vera in the *Grande Enciclopédia portuguesa e brasileira* 1945, v. 34: 612.

¹⁶ FRANCKANEAU, 1734: 19. Recently Antonio Mestre attributed the authorship of this work to the Spanish writer Juan Lucas Cortés. See MESTRE, 2003: 271.

provided some addenda to the *Nobiliario del Conde de Barcelos*,¹⁷ which were published in 1640, and he was the author of a text entitled *Información del Origen de los Vasconcellos* (VERA, 1646).

António Caetano de Sousa refers to him as “very proficient in Mathematics and an erudite man with a great knowledge of genealogy” (SOUSA AC, 1951 (1734), v. 1: 43). Salazar y Castro also mentions him in his *Advertencias históricas*, saying:

“Alvaro Ferreira de Vera, a Lusitanian nobleman, wrote some notes for the *Nobiliario del Conde D. Pedro de Portugal*, which were very useful for that volume; but as the writings are not common to all who wish for them, Alvaro Ferreira was prone to a number of errors, since he had not seen those texts originating from Castile.” (SALAZAR Y CASTRO, 1688: 332)

Other notes on his quality as an author of texts on the nobility are given to us by Manuel de Faria e Sousa in his *Fonte de Aganipe*.¹⁸ In the dedication, he says that Ferreira de Vera is a “researcher of venerable achievements” (SOUSA, 1646: f. 148v), and again, in the book, he calls him “our friend” and says that he “is a diligent writer on Portuguese Genealogical History which he has already published in a book about the nobility and other discourses with clarity and accuracy” (SOUSA, 1646: f. 152v). In the eclogue accompanying the above-mentioned text, there is fresh praise for Ferreira de Vera and yet more praise when António Soares de Alarcón, in his *Genealogía de la Casa de Trocifal* (ALARCON, 1656), calls him “a reporter on the families of Portugal” (ALARCON, 1656).

For all these reasons, Vera’s preparation, knowledge and later prestige situate this treatise of his at a particularly singular moment in the production of doctrine about the nobility in Early Modern Portugal and undoubtedly make it a crucial text for understanding the period from 1581 to 1640.

4. The *Origem da nobreza política*

The text on which this study is based, *Origem da nobreza Política, blasões de armas, appellidos, cargos & títulos nobres*, was published in Lisbon in 1631, the printer being Mathías Rodríguez.¹⁹ The printing license was awarded to C. Pereira, D. Miguel de Castro and Francisco Barreto, and dated 2 December 1631. In his report allowing the book to be printed, the Jesuit Jorge Cabral stated that the book “does not have anything I could find against our holy Faith or good customs” (VERA, 1631: licencias: s/f.). A license to print the book was also awarded by the choirmaster of Lisbon Cathedral João Bezerra Iacome on 4 September 1631. In another of the necessary printing licenses, Anrique Correa da Sylva wrote on 15 September of that same year that this book “is a good lesson for the curious and not dangerous to anybody” (VERA, 1631: licencias: s/f.). Later on, in 1791, there was a second edition, this time printed by João António de Silva.²⁰ Recently, in 2006, a new edition was published of the text as compiled under the responsibility of Filipe Folque de Mendonça, who transcribed the 1631 edition.

a. Sources

As happened with almost all of the reflections about the nobility published during the Early Modern Age, the main source for the treatise was Aristotle. We find him turned into a major authority in the form of quotes from his *Politics* and his *Ethics*, and he always answers to the misleading name of “the philosopher.” But it is also easy to find references to other classical authors: historians, nobility experts, and philosophers.

It is noticeable that there is only a scant presence of genealogists, despite the fact that their names are frequently mentioned; the same happens with Castilian treatise writers, who were near contemporaries

¹⁷ This is the edition of the text published in Roma in 1640 under the title of *Nobiliario de Don Pedro Conde de Barcelos/ordenado e ilustrado por Juan Bautista Lavanha; anotado y completado por el Marqués de Montebello, Álvaro Ferreira de Vera y Manuel de Faria y Sousa*.

¹⁸ SOUSA, 1646. Faria e Sousa dedicates his eclogue XII to Álvaro Ferreira de Vera. The full text of the dedication says: “the title of this Eclogue is Tagus; because one afternoon, on the banks of this river, two men spoke about genealogies: one insisted that the basis for the attribution of Nobility was birth: and the other attributed it solely to the worth of the actions themselves. Our friend Álvaro Ferreira is a diligent writer on Portuguese Genealogical History; and he has already published a book on the Nobility, and other discourses written with clarity and accuracy.” f. 152v.

¹⁹ The Spanish polygraph Nicolás Antonio also mentions this printer (v. 1: 56), indicating nothing more than his place of origin, “lusitanus, Olisiponensis” and offering only one note about the title of the book.

²⁰ I highlight the fact that it was “faithfully reprinted.”

of Vera's, such as Barnabé Moreno de Vargas. The following are the main texts and references quoted by our author:

i. Historians

The recourse to historians, besides being an attempt to contextualize his writings, offered Ferreira de Vera the possibility of establishing the connection between the nobility treatise and the historical tradition, especially, as in the case of the *Monarchia Lusitana* by Frei Bernardo de Brito (BRITO, 1597-1609 (reed. REGO; ANDRADE 1973-1988), when he uses it to construct a discourse on the origins of the nobleman's dignity. In a very similar tone the reference is made to Manuel de Faria e Sousa and his *Epítome de Historias Portuguezas* (SOUSA, 1628).

Another author who is frequently quoted is the Jesuit Juan de Mariana and his classic text *Historia General de España* (MARIANA, 1601), as well as his previous *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* (MARIANA, 1592). The very frequent recourse to Mariana on the part of the nobility writers was an attempt to raise morale by invoking history.

Three other Castilian classical humanist historians are quoted by Ferreira de Vera: Esteban de Garibay and his *Los XL libros del compendio historial de las Chronicas y vniversal historia de todos los reynos de España* (GARIBAY, 1571). The recourse to this Basque historian was centered on the explanation of the origins of the hierarchy of nobility; the same happened with the Aragonese historian Jerónimo Zurita and his *Anales de la Corona de Aragón* (ZURITA, 1610). The latter work, which was frequently referred to by other nobility writers, such as the Castilian author Guardiola, was used by Ferreira to impart solidity to his argument about the ancient and longstanding nature of noble titles and noble dignitaries. Finally, the Andalusian chronicler Ambrosio de Morales was also quoted to the same effect. His *Cinco libros postreros de la Crónica General de España* (MORALES, 1586) became a privileged tool for relating the noble categories of both crowns (Portuguese and Spanish), once again insisting on the idea of some cross-border nobilities or the permeability of their categories. Among the Portuguese authors, mention should be made of the historian, diplomat, and jurisconsult, António de Sousa Macedo, and his *Flores de España y Excelencias de Portugal* (MACEDO, 1631). Ferreira de Vera must have known this youthful work, perhaps still as a manuscript, given that its printing date was so close to that of Vera's book.

ii. Nobility experts

Tiraqueau and his *De nobilitate* (TIRAQUEAU, 1545) is the first reference to an author who was recognizably a nobility expert and upon whose writings Vera's discourse was constructed. The reason why the French jurist is mentioned is to confirm that the origin of nobility was based on the inequality of men in keeping with the particular virtues of each of them.

Among Italian nobility writers, we notice Vera's use of Piccolomini in the chapter dedicated to "The origin of the political nobility and how the rank of *fidalgo* and esquire was introduced into the royal household," in order to define a concept, as genuinely Portuguese as that of the *Fidalgo de la Casa Real*. He is, however, not the only Italian who figures in the book, and the very famous Torquato Tasso and his *Diálogo de la nobleza* (TASSO, 1586) are also mentioned in this respect.

Mentions of the Castilian nobility writers are widespread. One of the most frequently mentioned names is Fernán Mexía and his *Nobiliario Vero*. Mexía was, unquestionably, one of the first and foremost treatise writers in the Iberian Peninsula, first chronologically and foremost in view of the importance of his writings and his great influence on the Portuguese treatise writers, as is shown in António Rodrigues' work.²¹

Nevertheless, two essential authors should be mentioned among the Castilian nobility treatise writers who were to have a powerful influence in the Portuguese world. The first, Juan de Arce Otálora (MARTÍN VILLODRES, 1997), a jurist and tax official at the Royal Chancery of Valladolid, was one of the most famous and influential Castilian nobility treatise writers. His *Summa nobilitatis hispanicae et regionum tributorum* (OTÁLORA 1559) had an immense influence upon all the treatises written in the Peninsula, as can be seen by the number of later re-editions. It was a decisive text in the formation of a discourse on the nobility in Castile. An apologist of the nobility inherited through blood lines and a defender of its privileges, Otálora's presence in Ferreira de Vera's book, which theoretically speaks of the nobility that was granted by royal concession, may be confusing, but, as we shall see later on, it does not turn out to be quite so contradictory.

²¹ António Dornelas repeats this idea in his introduction to the *Tratado Geral da Nobreza* by Alfonso Rodrigues.

Writing along the same lines, we come across Juan Benito Guardiola's writings. This Benedictine monk wrote a classic text about the Castilian nobility, which served as a real port of arrival and departure for the discourse on nobility that appeared both before and afterwards. His *Tratado de nobleza de España* was a milestone in Iberian treatise writing (GUILLÉN BERRENDERO 2007). Ferreira de Vera found in Guardiola the perfect subject for the legitimization of the nobility and all its signs. He used him to speak both of the first men who bore coats of arms²² and to discuss the semantic and historic origin of nobles and honors.²³

Together with the jurist and the Benedictine, there is also a place for another major author, Jerónimo de Osório. The references to his *De nobilitate civil libri duo* and *De nobilitate christiana, libri tres* clearly reflect the predominant role played by this work in the writing of Portuguese nobility treatises. Ferreira de Vera saw in him support for the Lusitanian tradition that reinforced the idea of a nobility based on virtue and the inheritance of virtues; a teleological argument that upheld the intrinsic value of the nobles and their ancestors, giving legitimacy to their inclusion in the honor system.

It was, however, to be the coming together of Tiraqueau and Osório that would make Ferreira de Vera's writings such a perfect combination, since from the first of these writers he drew the idea of the medieval legal tradition that legitimized an ennoblement beyond blood, while from Osório—often referred to as the Portuguese Cicero—he borrowed his moral considerations about nobility as being bound up with a certain way of doing things, including it within his general theory about the *areté*.

iii. Classical authors

There is widespread mention of classical authors. There is a predomination of quotes from historians such as Plutarch (*Life of Alexander*), Sallust (*The Jugurthine War*) or Virgil and his *Aeneid*. The circle is closed with Horace, Xenophon and Herodotus. As has already been pointed out, the abundance of references to Aristotle and the lack of references to Plato are important features, although, given the initial aim of the text, recourse to the former seems to have been the more obvious move. Cicero and his *Tusculan Disputations*, and Juvenal and his *Satires*, offer the possibility of interpreting the origins of nobility from a possibilistic viewpoint. Drawing on these classical writings for the notions of prestige and individual merit enabled Ferreira de Vera to outline a definition of the singular status of nobility.

The Roman world provided an ethical space for defining virtue and honor (CARRASCO MARTÍNEZ 2003: 71-92), and the acceptance of authors such as Aristotle and Seneca was useful for ending the explanation about nobility and describing it in the precise terms that would enable Ferreira de Vera to theoretically justify the noble status in the first half of the 17th century. This political Aristotle and his ethical dimension reinforced the singularity of the noble status and allowed the author to communicate a closed concept of nobility centered around the idea of personal merit and social prestige, as we will see further on.

iv. Others

Other authors are briefly mentioned, such as Fernando Alvia de Castro, Diego de Parra, Juan Crisóstomo, Boethius and his *De Consolatione*, the *Bible*, or the Spanish Bartolomé Cairasco de Figueroa and his *Templo Militante* (CAIRASCO FIGUEROA, 1613). The latter's writings link the work of the nobility expert Bernabé Moreno de Vargas to that of our author, thus establishing an idea of nobility that seems to be shared by the three of them. Finally, among the quoted authors, there are some emblematisers such as Alciato, João de Orosco and Francisco Soares Toscano and his singular *Paralelos de príncipes y varones Ilustres* (TOSCANO, 1733 (1623)).

It is interesting to relate the quoted authors with the different chapters in which they appear. We can then understand how and when the recourse to such authority is used to reinforce an argument that our author attempts to convert into some irrefutable fact. The following chart provides us with an idea of the importance of the sources and the place they occupy in Vera's discourse.

²² See Chapter Four.

²³ As can be seen in Chapter Two, p. 25 (I quote from the 2005 edition).

Chapters	Mainly quoted authors
1. What can nobility be? And how great is its strength and esteem? (Que cousa seja nobreza. E quanta e a força e estimação della)	Tiraqueau, Cicero, Aristotle*, Jerónimo Osório Manuel de Faria e Sousa
On the origins of political nobility. And how the rank of <i>fidalgo</i> and esquire of the royal household was introduced (Da origem da nobreza política. E como se introduzio o foro de fidalgo & escudeiro na casa real)	Piccolomini, Juvenal, Mariana, Jerónimo Osório, Juan Benito Guardiola, Esteban de Garibay, Damião de Goes,
2. Origins of the noble marks of address, surnames and nicknames (Origem dos dãos, appellidos & alcunhas nobres)	Diogo de Paiva Andrada, António Caetano de Sousa, Manuel de Faria e Sousa
3. On the Origins of the Arms and the shield crests (Da Origem das Armas e insígnias nos Escudos)	Sallust, Seneca, Fernán Mexía, Juan Benito Guardiola, Jerónimo Zurita,
4. On the origins of the emblems on the Arms and the meaning of the crests and their colors (Da origem dos Timbres sobre as Armas e do que significam as insígnias e cores delas)	Virgil, Jerónimo Osório, Cassiodorus
5. On the origin and principle of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Counts and other pre-eminent titles (Da origem & principio dos Reis, Principes, Duques, Marqueses, Condes & outros títulos prèminentes)	Esteban de Garibay, Francisco Soares Toscano, Juan Benito Guardiola, Ambrosio de Morales,
6. Whether the humble man of common birth may become noble and the noble may become vile (Se o humilde & de nascimento comun pode ser nobre & o nobre pode vir a ser vil)	Aristotle**, Piccolomini, Tiraqueau, Ovid, Juvenal, Seneca, Jerónimo Osório, Sallust, Luis de Camões, Bartolomé Cairasco Figueroa,
7. On the many who degenerated from the nobility that they inherited (De muitos que degenerarão da nobreça que herdarão)	Suetonius, Padre Mariana, Plutarch, Sallust, Herodotus, Titus Livy
8. How from low and humble origins, many men were elevated due to their merits to great honors and dignities becoming captains with crests, Kings and Emperors (Como de baixos & humildes pães subirão muitos por seus merecimentos a grandes honras & dignidades sendo insignes capitães, Reis & Emperadores)	Padre Mariana, Pedro Mexia, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Tiraqueau, Fernan Mexía
9. Where we close the argument proposed in chapter 7. with examples of the previous chapters (En que se dá fim ao argumento proposto no cap. 7. aos exemplos nos capítulos precedentes)	Jerónimo Osório, Tiraqueau, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, Boethius, Juan Crissostomo
10. Who ought to be admitted to the government of a republic, whether men of common birth if they are wise; or noblemen only because they are illustrious (Quaes devem ser admitidos no governo de huma republica, se os de nascimento comum, sendo sábios; ou os nobres soamente por serem illustres)	<i>Bible</i> , Seneca, Boethius
11. If it befits the nobleman 'to own property'. And whether the latter does or does not give nobility (Que convem ao nobre ter fazenda. E se esta dá nobreza ou não)	Titus Livy, Horace, Pedro Mexía, Aristotle** Ovid, Tiraqueau, Fernando Alvía de Castro
12. On the features that noblemen must have to justify their nobility (Das partes que devem ter os nobres para fundamento da nobreza)	Juvenal, Ovid, Jerónimo Osório, Seneca, Aristotle

13. On the reasons why some noble and ancient generations should come to an end; & why other modern generations should be ennobled. And on the inconstancies of honors and the little we should trust in them (Das razões que há para humas gerações nobres & antigas se acabarem; & outras modernas se enobrecerem. E da inconstância das honras & do pouco que devemos confiar nellas)	Bible, Tiraqueau, Juvenal, Jerónimo Osório, Ovid, Seneca
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(one * indicates the Aristotle of the Ethics/ two ** the Aristotle of the Politics)

b. Arguments and subjects

Continuing with the scheme presented by the author himself, we will start by indicating the basic subjects around which the treatise of nobility is organized in this prototypical text about honor: the definition of the concept of nobility, the mechanisms of access to honor, the hierarchy of the nobility and symbolic languages.

Already, in the dedication made to Luis Albuquerque de Mello, we can appreciate some of the work's basic elements. Besides the family connections that linked Álvaro Ferreira with Dom Luis de Albuquerque, since the latter was his nephew once removed, the fact is that the Albuquerques were from a "legitimate line of an illustrious family" (VERA, 1646: s/f.), but they also boasted within their family "famous victories" (VERA, 1646: s/f.): a mixture of individual virtues and lineage, the perfect combination between the idea of service and blood, between the individual and the collective which we find entrenched in the idea of nobility.

The debate between the idea of natural nobility and civil nobility is the first argument developed by Ferreira. Having resolved the question by stating that "true nobility is virtue" (VERA, 1646: s/f.), thus repeating the commonplace suggested by the earlier text by Moreno de Vargas, when he says that "although it is true that the real nobility is virtue" (MORENO DE VARGAS, 1622: f. 6r), it is necessary to broaden the ideological basis which grants access to nobility, for if Ferreira's argument was grounded only on those terms, that access would be very restricted. This is why, from the classical division of the nobilities ("the first is theological nobility. The second is natural primary nobility. The Third is natural secondary or moral nobility. The fourth is political and civil nobility") (MORENO DE VARGAS, 1622: f. 3r), he chose "political and civil nobility," this being "a quality granted by any prince" (VERA 1646: 23), or as was also defended by Moreno de Vargas, when referring to political nobility, "it is a quality granted by the Prince" (MORENO DE VARGAS, 1622: f. 6V). The insistence in 1631 that it is the sovereign's will that makes noblemen is not new in any way, especially if we bear in mind the symbolic additions that were made to such nobility, just as Manuel Severim de Faria indicated in speaking openly of "antiquity and splendor" as marks of nobility. The first was reflected in the families and the second in the honors and dignities that were acquired (FARIA, 1644: 81 and foll.). Thus, Álvaro Ferreira talked in his writings about the origin of political nobility within the parameters of tradition, especially when he placed on the family much of the burden for considering an individual a nobleman (natural nobility), which was, on the other hand, related to the extensive Portuguese tradition of peerage books and family histories.

When, in 1638, Juan Salgado de Araujo wrote his *Sumario de la familia Ilustrísima de los Vasconcelos* (SALGADO DE ARAUJO, 1638: Prólogo a la Ilustrísima Señora doña Ana de Vasconcelos....s/f), in informing Doña Ana de Vasconcelos, the Countess of Figueira about the publication of his book about the Galician nobility, he justified the choice of the Vasconcelos family because "it had noblemen who knew how to purge the campaigns of enemies and to recognize them" (SALGADO DE ARAUJO, 1638: Prólogo a la Ilustrísima Señora doña Ana de Vasconcelos....s/f). The author considered that "one of the main ways in which one can serve one's country is through the subject of one's noble lineages, with their history being told and extolled" (SALGADO DE ARAUJO, 1638: Prólogo a la Ilustrísima Señora doña Ana de Vasconcelos....s/f). Moreover, this type of writing fulfilled a pedagogical function about the role of the families ("the Vasconcellos family is full of such examples") (SALGADO DE ARAUJO 1638: Prólogo a la Ilustrísima Señora doña Ana de Vasconcelos....f. 4v). This hereditary nobility which was founded by "those who were notoriously good and known for it" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 21) was the one which deserved the graces and favors owed to them by the sovereign "due to their virtue and valor" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 22). In Ferreira's work, political nobility was jointly identified with the *foros* (immunities and prerogatives) granted by the Royal Household and the way they had arisen. The *foros* are

a central topic in the author's argument inasmuch as their origin allows him to indicate a path of social ascent linked to the idea of service to the monarch. The result is that "after having received arms for some honorable deed" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 27) they were incorporated into the Royal Household, together with the granting of a *moradía* (abode) or some help towards its maintenance.

Is the above significant enough to completely identify nobility with the idea of service? Ferreira de Vera does not propose this identification, but, on the contrary, he makes a possibilistic interpretation of the forms of ennoblement, thus guaranteeing the existence of one nobility with two origins, but not of two nobilities. So much so that in the chapters dedicated to the analysis of the names, surnames and other epithets related to the nobility, as well as to the origin of the coats of arms, the author classifies nobility according to both individual heroic deeds and the inheritance thereof, while the coats of arms are *ad hoc* prizes which, as time goes by, are converted into the marks of prestige of a lineage. This circumstance was again a common feature to be found in all the texts written about the idea of nobility.²⁴

This definition of nobility proposed by Ferreira de Vera is related to a particularly sensitive political moment in the kingdom of Portugal (VALLADARES, 1998: 33-65). Years before the publication of Ferreira de Vera's work, Cristóvão Ferreira y Sampayo wrote his *Vida i bechos del Príncipe perfecto Don Juan, Rey de Portugal, segundo de este nombre* (SAMPAIO, 1626: f. 11v-12; VALLADARES, 1998: 36). In this work, a certain criticism is detected regarding the new forms of ennoblement that diverted individuals from the path of virtue:

"for since then their rule has changed the old way which was maintained by their natural kings, and now all is governed almost by the distinction of the immunities or privileges that the noblemen enjoy [...] [for] were a man to do greater services at war and be most learned, without that privilege, he would be given a post or an enlistment reserved for fidalgos." (SAMPAIO, 1626: ff. 11v-12r)

This open criticism of the inherited nature of the *Foros* of the Royal Household also implies a clear aversion towards re-ennoblement, a process that had been taking place among the European noble families since the end of the 16th century, and which had also affected the Portuguese reality. The so-called *cierre estamental* (closed nature of the estate) gave rise to already established opinions, but these were ones that also legitimized and promoted the status. This is the central question behind the writings of Ferreira de Vera in Portugal and Moreno de Vargas in Castile, ten years earlier.

In this case, it is evident that this was a social category which enjoyed a good number of privileges and which was sustained both by the existence of an institutionalized taxonomy and by the pronouncements of jurists (MONTEIRO, 1998: 20; MONTEIRO, 1993: 43-62) who guaranteed its "purity." All this confirmed that the definition of nobility had been made according to the explanation of its privileges and the mechanisms of its actions. In this way, a legal definition of nobility could be arrived at, which, towards the end of the *Ancien Régime*, became broader and differed from the one formed in the 16th and 17th centuries (MONTEIRO, 1998: 20; MONTEIRO, 1993: 43-62). It is within this process that we have to situate Ferreira de Vera's writings. Showing an apparent distance from the normal commonplaces, he sought to establish a preponderance of the nobility of merit over the nobility of blood by creating a discourse that was kept clearly within these two boundaries and denied the possibility of the existence of a nobility outside these two categories. Everything that fell outside the boundaries of this explanation, just as in all nobility treatises, was not a matter of nobility and therefore its inclusion in the text made no sense.

Therefore when there is an attempt to identify nobility with public esteem, which undoubtedly makes this quality an essential requirement for the enjoyment of social prestige, we are dealing with a specific kind of understanding of the idea of prestige that accepts that "a man of humble birth can be noble" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 51). We also perceive an open criticism of "non-noble" behavior which was linked to a non-virtuous attitude. So that those who "spent their wealth and endangered their lives, and through valiant deeds in parts of Africa and India spilt their blood" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 52) had a virtuous conduct, worthy of recognition and public esteem. This explanation of noble actions as a way of achieving honors must not be interpreted as a negation of the theory of blood nobility; it means merely that a conjunctural explanation is being provided of the mechanisms necessary for the ennoblement of

²⁴ To mention just two significant examples, it can be seen that in the *Tratado de Nobleza* by Juan Benito Guardiola, published in 1591, the first chapter has the title "que es nobleza." Something similar can also be found in Bernabé Moreno de Vargas in his *Discursos de la nobleza de España*, published in 1622, where the first chapter has the title "que cosa es nobleza."

certain individuals. At no time is any question asked about the superiority of this inaptly named “services” nobility over blood nobility, for the ultimate aim of every nobleman is to be recognized for his blood, inasmuch as the category becomes a political one. Ferreira de Vera cannot deny the preponderant role of blood in his explanation of nobility, because blood/inheritance is indisputably part of his discourse about nobility, in keeping with the theoretical ideas that were current at that time, the hundreds of nobility inquiries that were taking place all around the Iberian peninsula, and because of the author’s own knowledge of genealogy which is reflected in some of his works, specifically in his comments on the *Nobiliario del conde Pedro*. In view of everything that has been said, we are faced with an ambiguous structure since we are dealing with a discourse in which the access of the middle ranks to the noble estate is permitted, but without this being allowed to detract from the political and symbolical importance of the noble condition itself.

Álvaro Ferreira de Vera himself, in a series of histories that he wrote about certain lineages (VERA 1630), was to consider these stories as *speculum nobilorum*, in order to produce a model of a nobleman that, in respecting the general concept of nobility, was in accordance with the given state of affairs at that time.

The first basic concept for our author was the idea of antiquity. The endurance of nobility over time not only stressed a temporal question, but it also set nobility in a specific time within a certain space and political reality. When Vera wrote about the Sousas, he first of all established time as one of the first indicators of nobility: “the antiquity of the SOVSA family is such that it not only exceeds that of many of the oldest families in Spain, but one can say in all truth that it is one of the first” (VERA, 1630: f. 139r).

Antiquity was understood as the biological continuation of a certain lineage and was related to the political category of blood. Yet, it was the succession of virtuous deeds that enhanced the fame and reputation of the lineage. It was a tool for legitimization constructed by genealogists and nobility experts who, like Ferreira de Vera, were converts to the cause; publicists whose job it was to transmit a certain idea of nobility for the greater glory, not only of a certain lineage, but also of the entire estate and its social and symbolic prestige. In this way, in the Sousa family, the figure of the Count of Miranda—Dom Diego López de Sousa—could claim to be the “the twenty-sixth successor of this House” (VERA, 1630: f. 139r) in the 1630s. This succession had the particularity of being in a direct line from the branch “which is its main one” (VERA, 1630: f. 139r), a circumstance that placed the lineage amongst the most conspicuous Portuguese nobilities.

The second important feature attributed to the Sousas’ nobility was their condition as servants of the sovereign. According to the omnipresent *Nobiliario del Conde don Pedro*, the history and life of the distinguished family members was presented as a succession of virtuous deeds, totally deserving of honorable recognition. These “lives of noblemen” became particularly significant if we consider the undoubted fact that the formal repetition of this kind of text helped to promote a model of presentation of the life of the nobility that stressed certain essential aspects in detriment to others.

Thus, the Sousa family’s deeds included a vast range of services rendered to the different sovereigns, which were determined by particular historical realities. The medieval origin of many lineages was linked to armed exploits, which would later evolve into other services.

Among many other examples, we can mention Henrique de Sousa, described by Ferreira de Vera as the “son of Vasco de Sovsa, his younger brother, who, on going to Africa, showed proof of his efforts” (VERA, 1630: f. 148). These efforts were of a military nature and were supported by the efforts of his own wife, the “daughter of Captain Melchior de Sousa Tavares, who was the first to reach the two famous rivers of Tigris and Euphrates with armed forces” (VERA 1630: f. 148). These services were related to the idea of individual valor, which pertained only to noblemen.

This idea of service that is outlined in Ferreira de Vera’s treatise provides a general response to an argument, greatly discussed in relation to the nobility, which is the apparent difference between service and blood. Without any doubt, service had its own particular space in noble identity. At least in the case of Iberian nobilities, it did not lead to the creation of a particular distinction between noblemen serving in government or in the army. In the peerage books, it was therefore very frequent to see it mentioned that the services of an individual or of his lineage involved both military exploits and bureaucratic services (MONTEIRO; CUNHA, 2006: 97-128).

In the Portugal of the kings Filipe, the concept of nobility was founded upon the cult of the memory and the idea of prestige. To such an extent that the use of memory as a strategy for communicating the idea of nobility transformed each of the ideas of antiquity, blood and service into a

political category. Based upon these three axes, a discourse was constructed, which was sometimes tautological and closed, and at other times quite open to external influences.²⁵

Antiquity served as an irrefutable argument for fixing memory beyond the contemporary moment. It offered information that had been objectified over time about the importance and value of the concept of nobility. It incorporated patterns of conduct upon which a discourse could be developed, and conferred a particular meaning to the dominant role of the nobility during the Early Modern Age in any kingdom of Catholic Europe. In this way, the social memory of the concept of nobility existed within a space dominated by the idea of prestige. Nobility was thus the result of a set of social practices taking place at a political level. It was symbolic and consisted of representations which the treatise writers ascribed to a question of continuation over time. The physical space afforded the narrative about nobility the support of verisimilitude, but above all it gave nobility a substantial practical component.

In this sense, blood ceased to be a biological artifact and became a political and symbolic fact upon which the theoreticians of nobility concentrated their analysis, endowing it with a certain singularity and seeing blood as a factor of social distinction based on both visual and written memories. Thus, the peerage books and heraldic texts became descriptions of the features of social prestige and were reinforced by the nobility treatises themselves. By ascribing this value to blood, the treatise writers reinforced the idea of distinction as an argument by attaching it both to the idea of the lineage's ancestral capacity and the overall circumstances under which the nobleman performed his services.

And with this, we reach the third of the political categories, service. This idea was used to stress even more the idea of distributive justice typical of the *Ancien Régime*, and to legitimize the position attained by certain lineages or families. Regardless of whatever social prestige one might wish to attribute to the nobility treatise, which perhaps derived from the lack of prestige enjoyed by the book itself (BOUZA, 1998: 130), its presence in everyday life was irrefutable, and in this sense, the idea that service formed part of its ethos was equally unquestionable. As determined by the *parcialidades* (partialities) of their time, nobility treatises considered service to be a founding element of an individual's noble status, and highlighted the importance of an argument centered upon service for complementing the one that the crown maintained in its relationship with its vassals. These aspects were in themselves the framework that sustained the concept of honor as an important nobility value, offering a varied demonstration of the nature of the doctrine of nobility treatises.

For 16th-century authors, the difficulties in defining the true nature of nobility were compounded by the intellectual limitations of their time, so that most of them resorted to the commonplaces of Western thought. The fundamental axis was the binomial of virtue-honor (*honra*), as reflected in the intellectual theme of the temple of virtue, which was also taken up by Ferreira de Vera:

"The Romans had the two temples to Virtue and Honor, founded in Rome by Marcellus, with such artifice that no one could enter the temple of honor without having first passed through the temple of virtue, in order to show that one must pass through the latter in order to attain human glory." (VERA, 2005 (1631): 20)

This notion of action-reward, which had clear Aristotelian roots, formed the basis for all the theoretical writing about nobility and for the political idea of the estate, whether it was hereditary or acquired nobility. For Álvaro Ferreira, the idea that nobility derived from virtue converted its members into good people, identifying the idea of goodness, as a supreme benefit, with the idea of nobility, for his definition included moral considerations, supposedly based on Christian post-Tridentine ethics:

"Finally there are the noblemen who tend towards God, and the ones who serve and accompany kings, those who defend and sustain the republics in peace and in war, as the heads that they are of them. From this stems the reason why the law so venerates and honors them, determining that they shall be revered by all, granting them great privileges and immunities, because honor is a reverence which is paid as a testimony to the virtue that existed in such a lineage." (VERA, 2005 (1631):20)

The general explanation of nobility as a concept and as a social category has now been made. It is a strictly qualitative criterion, to which we ought to add, in the words of the author, "Nobility has another quality, which is when, due to one's virtue and valor and through the King's grace and favor, one has

²⁵ This point is particularly significant if we bear in mind the mention of Castilian treatise writers who are quoted or literally transcribed wholesale to the works of some Portuguese authors writing on genealogy and the nobility in the 16th and 17th centuries.

obtained nobility and *fidalgia* for oneself and for one's descendants, this benefit has such power that it elevates and ennobles one's parents and ancestors" (VERA 2005, (1631): 20).

A concept of natural nobility was identified, which served to explain the concept of political nobility. Accordingly, the capacities peculiar to each human being became established as the justification of their individual qualities and as unquestionable marks of honor, or of their political nobility, which was the same "in such a way that noblemen were the ones who were notoriously good and known for this" (VERA, 1631: f. 3r).

The qualities of noblemen became established in spite of their categories. Thus, generally speaking, the classification and hierarchic composition of the Portuguese nobility shared the same values as the ones expressed in the binomial virtue-honor. This was not a random identification. The very structure of the societies of the *Ancien Régime* was based on the idea of service and reward to which we must add, in the case of the nobility, a set of strategies for the awarding of distinction, supported, when not created, by the crown itself with the clear purpose of controlling the hierarchy of noblemen.

Nobility and genealogical writing presupposed a degree of public esteem. Its forms of communication reinforced this idea, confirming, at difficult historical moments, an idea of nobility which would include the following elements "the reason for having been so esteemed and becoming so well-known in all nations, and recognized as worthy of honor & reverence, because these noblemen all commonly share many virtues and excellences as the natural fruit of the first reason" (VERA, 1631: f. 3v).

The noble values applied to the Portuguese nobility seemed to concur with traditional Castilian practices. Taking prestige as the main part of the coat of arms, the latter would be enriched by a series of marks and mottos which composed an exclusive image centered upon the nobleman's status, but also including the traditional idea that the Habsburgs supposed that there would be a complete break in the Portuguese honors system. Despite basing himself on the classical influences affecting the general thought upon the idea of nobility—Aristotle, St. Thomas, Bartolo de Sassoferrato, Tiraqueau—Álvaro Ferreira expressed the already classical idea of the noble virtues: "for ordinarily the noblemen and *fidalgos* are temperate, prudent & brave enough to undertake high and difficult tasks, setting a new example for their successors and going further than their ancestors" (VERA, 1631: f. 3v).

Since political nobility was sanctioned by civil law, it shared the same values as "natural" nobility, even more so because the language that was used had the ultimate aim of making them equal. Thus, in 1631, an author such as Ferreira de Vera who would differentiate between natural nobility and political nobility has to make us reflect upon the shift that had taken place in the way the estate itself was considered. Did this represent a change in direction or was it just a confusion about a fact that had not undergone any change?

The author himself defined political nobility as follows: "it is a quality granted by any Prince, to the one who deserves it; either because he descends from people who have earned it through services rendered to the republic, whether in arms or in letters; or because he has distinguished himself from the others in some memorable exercise" (VERA, 2005 (1631): 23). In what way did this definition differ from the one proposed by the Castilian *Partidas* or the *Ordenações Afonsinas*, which talked of a "certain dignity inherited or granted by the prince?" Another definition was provided by Piccolomini, an Italian treatise writer who had been well received in Castile and, since 1568, had described nobility as being "an ancient blood succession of an ancient family which had illustrious and famous people in both arms and letters" (PICCOLOMINI, 1568).

Perhaps we should place our emphasis less on whether or not there existed a debate about the nature of nobility and more on the different tiers of competence to be found in the crown's composition of this privileged estate, because, if it was the monarch who made noblemen, we could only attribute to the monarch the award of the status, but never its identity. It would seem obvious to think that, despite the linguistic games, nobility was not changeable as a concept. Our author dedicated the whole of the second chapter to this problem, dividing it in turn into two clearly different parts. We have already discussed the first one in some detail, but the second had the singularity of dealing with a Portuguese phenomenon, that of the *fidalgos* and their distinct *foros* or privileges.

Most of the Portuguese writers of nobility treatises explained, commented on and highlighted the hierarchic composition of their nobility, describing the mechanism of access to each of its levels.²⁶ This was common practice in all of the literature produced about the nobility in the Iberian Peninsula, but there was one particularity to be found in Portugal, arising from the specific distinction that was drawn

²⁶ See, for example, the texts written by LEITÃO DE ANDRADE 1629 (1867).

between nobility as a social category and nobility as a concept or, what ends up being the same thing, the nobility that was sanctioned by civil law and the nobility that was ratified by blood.

Álvaro Ferreira's text defined nobility through acquisition, essentially when he dealt with the question of the *foros de fidalgos de la Casa Real*, a genuinely intermediate category and the basis of *fidalgua*, and an essential place for understanding the mechanisms of ennoblement in Portugal throughout the Early Modern Age (MONTEIRO, 1998:24).

In the communication and circulation of ideas between Castile and Portugal, we find, in the works of Ferreira de Vera, a sonnet about the nobility written by the Portuguese poet Bartolomé Cairasco Figueroa, which is also referred to by Bernabé Moreno de Vargas in his *Discursos* of 1622:

"Nobility is a generous inheritance/whose beginning and source/was some heroic, memorable deed/privilege and successful advancement/granted by accident/although thereafter inherited by right/for nature made everyone equal/but luck, courage, strength/letters, virtue and true power/create this exemption and difference." (VERA, 1631: f. 5v and MORENO DE VARGAS, 1622: s/f.)

Based upon this series of certainties about nobility, Álvaro Ferreira found the source of nobility in the action of the sovereign, who, through his will, converted an individual's virtuous action into political honor: "kings are the one who essentially grant nobilities & *fidalguias*" (VERA, 1631: f. 6r), which undoubtedly fitted in with the Lusitanian tradition, since "if the King wants someone to be a nobleman, *Fidalgo*, count, marquis, duke & grandee, it is enough that he should wish to do this with explicit words for them to be so, as we see in our times." This was a defense of the Habsburgs' political actions from 1580 onwards and, by extension, of the new ennoblements.

Now, the most frequent way of establishing and communicating an individual's qualities and marks of nobility was the result of a perfect combination of inheritance and service. Thus we find in *Vida de Don Duarte de Meneses, tercer conde de Viana y sucesos notables de Portugal en aquel tiempo* (VASCONCELOS, 1627) a reference to some deeds performed during his own lifetime and during the life of his ancestors:

"His first son Dom Luis was the fourth count of Tarouca, like his ancestors, governing Tangiers left by him to his successor Dom Duarte, who is the one that is still alive and therefore I shall not speak now of his deeds, which are such that in a certain way they will ensure great hopes and effects due to his excessive modesty and his tender age, adroitness in the riding of horses, much curiosity and study of language and books: a very necessary and helpful means to prepare a gentleman to learn how to be one, and to manage this with advantage fulfilling his honor well, or being worthy of praise in whatever he achieves. And more so at some times than at others, obliging his king to grant new favors and increases greater than those that are owed to his house, in whose founder religion has found its defender, and the kings have found love and truthfulness with many splendid services rendered to the country, reputation and his perpetual glory." (VASCONCELOS, 1627: s/f)

It is easy to see here the apparent ideological dissonance arising from the idea of the monarch as the guarantor and source of nobility, as well as the cult of lineage, which is clearly expressed in these testimonies.

Ferreira de Vera himself highlighted the power of lineage by saying that this was "not because lineage may be an efficient reason, as is the virtue awarded by the Prince, but because the Prince ennoble that generation in the head of the first one" (VERA, 1631: 6r). Ferreira de Vera further identified the material values deriving from the exercise of certain professions and services and linked them to a set of immaterial values which would, nevertheless, be an argument legitimizing the social position of the individuals and formed the basis of their petitions:

"Families of such splendid quality are living examples of valor and faithfulness, whom inferiors wish to emulate and copy, basing their actions upon them. They serve their kingdoms with splendor and honor, and defend the royal crown with strength, and their merits and services must be rewarded with honors and dignities that feed their spirits born for great enterprises, without letting [these honors] be extinguished with the death of their predecessors, so that, in continuing to be worthy, they may imitate their example, for the blood that warms their veins is

the same as that of the generous spirits that spur them towards emulating heroic deeds, it being certain that the fathers and grandfathers live on in the sons and grandsons.”²⁷

Honor was the subject around which Ferreira de Vera’s nobility theory gravitated. When he deposited in the sovereign the power to grant honors as a reward for certain services, he linked tradition with the present and united in one and the same person his ancestors’ deeds and his descendants’ deeds. This comparison allowed for the generation of spaces of communication for the nobility and their strategies of legitimizing actions, based on the support provided by the idea of time. Lineages and individuals extended their services over time, conferring the status of political truth upon the genealogical and historical data which were to be found spread between books and treatises. To such an extent that if “honor is a dignity acquired through virtue, so is virtue the essence of honor and comes into its distinction” (MACEDO, 1631: f.47), the merits of the past illuminated and illustrated the qualities of the present.

In the third chapter of his work, Ferreira de Vera offered an explanation of the “origin of noble surnames and nicknames” (VERA, 1631: f. 11r). Based on the idea of the symbolic reward of individual virtues, the origin of the surnames of noble families was linked with the idea of deeds of arms or services, which would, in the end, “differentiate them from the common people,” and contribute to the adding, to the term “noble,” of other epithets such as “sublime, distinguished, remarkable, pure, generous, and above all illustrious” (VERA, 1631: f.11v). Distinction, which the author dated back to the Roman world, served as the first qualitative proof of the distance between the titled and the non-titled.

This tradition was linked to a deed that we also find mentioned in the work of Manuel Severim de Faria in his *Notícias de Portugal*, published several years later. Nonetheless, he clearly recognized this to be an undoubtedly excellent idea with regard to the consideration of the noble family: “the families’ nobility being the most cherished thing in the political republics” (FARIA, 1644: 81); and he linked the nobility of the families of a kingdom to that of its crown, such that the attributes of the nobility—surnames, coats of arms and heraldic symbols—could be explained in the context of the theory relating to the nobility as marks that were not only conjunctural, but also formed part of the symbolic capital of a lineage. Ferreira de Vera himself followed this chapter with another one dedicated to the origin of coats of arms and crests, stating clearly in his preliminary words the true dimension and function “of arms & crests” when he said that “all good government of a republic consists in rewarding the virtuous” (VERA, 1631: f. 17v).

The heraldic language, so closely linked to nobility, was an essential part of its social prototype. In order to create the latter, it was necessary to make use of the knowledge provided by the peerage books, which clearly explained the reality of each of the individuals of a family or lineage.²⁸ The set of symbolic representations of the past which were placed on a heraldic coat of arms were the most evident manifestation of the continuation of a language that was understood by all. However, their explanation was not to be found only in the peerage books, because the treatises were the place where the real nature of heraldic devices were explained beyond their purely formal aspects. The political power of the coat of arms and the regulations for the use of crests had as their common purpose to underline the idea that a lineage continued over time, sometimes even situating it in time prior to the existence of the royal dynasty itself, or else beginning directly with it, as demonstrated by the appearance of the royal arms on some noble coats of arms (ALBERGARÍA, 1633).

Something similar occurred when the origins of the distinct noble hierarchies were narrated. Dukes, marquises and counts are afforded their own space of definition in Ferreira de Vera’s work. He himself deals with the subject of the policy of appointments followed by the kings Felipe and says that “When King Felipe the Prudent came to this kingdom there were no more than three dukes, namely the Duke of Bragança, the Duke of Barcelos, the title that is given to the first-born son of the Duke of Bragança, and the Duke of Aveiro which forms part of the Lancaster surname” (VERA, 1631: f. 29r).

The dukedoms were increased in number by Felipe II (Filipe I), who granted the title of Duke of Torres Novas to the first-born sons of the Dukes of Aveiro (VERA, 1631: f. 29r), and his son Felipe III (Filipe II) went on to grant the title of Duke of Caminha to Dom Miguel de Meneses, who was already Marquis of Vila Real (VERA, 1631: f. 29r). The main question lay in the impossibility of dissociating,

²⁷ The general tenor of the writings of the nobility theorists can best be appreciated in the petitionary language of some noblemen, where we find different categories of noble identity, as, for example, in the *Memorial de don Fernando de Noroña*, SNAHN, Osuna, c. 3363, d. 8, f. 22r.

²⁸ An essential tool for gaining a broader understanding of genealogy can be found in CRAIGIE 2006, 2 v. There is also an interesting reflection upon this subject in REGO 2007 and NORTON 2004, 3 v.

within the idea of nobility defended by Álvaro Ferreira de Vera, matters of personal merit, blood and time. The concept of nobility was thus the result of a meritocratic discourse that bound both nobles and the Habsburg dynasty itself to an ancestral tradition introduced by previous dynasties, from which it could be deduced that the noble family ended up being “an order of descent which, beginning in one person, is passed on from son to grandson” (FARIA, 1644: 81). This can be plainly seen in the already mentioned *Nobiliario del Conde don Pedro* and the successive updates produced by Lavanha, Ferreira de Vera and Faria e Sousa, where we can see how certain surnames were linked to a title.

Finally, Ferreira de Vera devoted one of the last chapters of his book to trying to explain the mechanisms of access to privilege. Basing himself, as he had done in the first chapter, on the authority of Tiraqueau, he stressed the idea of the head of a lineage and the link between this ‘foundational myth’ and the idea of virtue. The discourse is constructed around the antinomy of virtue-vice, taking its inspiration from Jerónimo Osório, who was adamant about the pair of virtue-nobility:

“Virtue does not consist only of the efficaciousness achieved through persistent labor, but also of the natural virtuousness that a family and its particular nature represent. This we call nobility, for nobility is precisely the virtuousness that is a distinguishing quality of a certain family” (OSÓRIO, 1996, (1542): 171)

4. Conclusions

The urban nobilities found in the nobility treatises the perfect medium for defining their political, ethical and cultural attitudes, for it offered them a complete system for the representation of their values. If we take the high nobility as an example, we see that a discourse was built around the question of social merit, service to the sovereign and blood, based on the recognition of honor. As a result of this, many of those honored with distinct graces and favors in Habsburg Portugal found in the treatises the culmination of their personal strategies for the attainment of prestige, singling themselves out and linking themselves to the great nobility of blood, represented in the ambiguity of natural nobility-political nobility, without forgetting that: “The nobility of this kingdom of Portugal is great and is a friend to Justice and reason” (*Diálogo llamado Philipino, congruencia XCIX* in BOUZA, 2000: 90).

In accordance with its basic principles, the noble identity is built upon two equally important foundations: at the level of theory and at the level of representations. The idea of nobility is founded upon the public image, the public space where its own ethical code is enacted. A space which must be understood as “the relations of the production and transmission of political, oral and written discourse” (CURTO, 1988: 143), and in this sense the labor of the nobility theorists was fundamental, for it afforded the debate on nobility a greater importance than the one it already possessed, establishing its precise limits. These limits on the other hand, were marked by the historical circumstances of the time and the different social strategies.

What should definitely be highlighted is the practical relationship between the exercise of a certain social function and the maintenance of a political dynamic. The fact that the key to ennoblement was the combination of *virtus* and *gratia* would then explain the relationship between the nobility and the crown. The sovereign became the guarantor of noble privilege: “dealing with the privileges and freedoms which, through letters from the kings, were given to them when they were ennobled” (GODINHO, 1997 [1516-1528]: f. IIr). This clearly established a Bartolian tradition centered upon the idea of nobility (*qualitas illata per principatum tenentem*) which, during the second half of the 16th century, was to be completed by the Castilian jurist, Juan Arce de Otálora’s maxim (*Nobilitas est virtus*). In both cases the aim was to define a space in which the action of the central power, the King, prevailed over other circumstances traditionally linked to biological nobility and its related conceptions. Now, the question was how to reconcile into one definition the conflict of powers within society. Once again the solution chosen was to comment on the situation through the repetition of commonplaces. Based on the Aristotelian system, which regarded inheritance as the main source of nobility, the nobility experts concocted an argument about the idea of nobility and goodness being transmitted by blood. This argument seemed to convince the opponents of biological nobility, since even they ended up recognizing that, with the granting of a noble title by the monarch, all of the beneficiary’s descendants would enjoy such a condition.

The same situation occurred when virtue was chosen as the origin of ennoblement, considering that the latter was a capacity which enabled the individual to enjoy certain qualities that could be claimed by his descendants, having recourse to the same system and form of communication. In this way, the idea

that nobility was the fruit of virtue was openly defended by all the experts, who based themselves on the accounts of the qualities that adorned nobility and were defined by authors such as Tiraqueau. The latter established a series of basic categories, such as wealth, virtue, knowledge, the prince, the fief, jurisdiction, the military, the clerical order, custom and homeland. We can sum up this list of words in the triptych Lineage-Function-Wealth. Consequently, it seems that the classical conflict between the traditional nobility, which was protected by its blood and therefore used it to defend its biological privileges, and the other nobility, closer to a “civil” concept of the factors of ennoblement, remained a fundamental part of the rhetoric of power, being subsumed in a debate between those who wished to gain access to the estate and sought to discover their legitimizing features and those who were already members and sketched out their own criteria for confirming their singularity.

It was within the context of this polemic that Álvaro Ferreira de Vera’s *Origem da nobreza política* belonged. As has already been explained, this author tried to include both categories in a general concept that would overcome possible disagreements, both theoretical and practical, about the subject-matter of the nobility treatises.

Later on, during the second half of the 17th century, we come across experts like João Pinto Ribeiro in his *Sobre os Títulos da Nobreza de Portugal e seus privilegios* (RIBEIRO, 1729 [1645]) and Sampaio de Vilas Boas in his *Nobiliarchia Portuguesa* (VILAS BOAS, 1676), who both produced an energetic defense of blood as a political category of noble identity.²⁹ Such opinions must be interpreted as an answer to the growing importance given to blood as a supreme value in the political sphere, under the scope of a philosophy that encouraged the development of this discourse. The constant allusions made to blood by Álvaro Ferreira de Vera not only direct our attention to that same universe, but they also tell us of the influence enjoyed by certain authors and highlight a particular sensitivity towards the legitimization of social ascent. The important thing is that, in these cases, the nobility theorists resorted to quoting authority as a strategy for justifying their own discourse.

The debate about the nature of nobility continued throughout the 16th century, and was of greatest importance in the 17th century. Only in the 18th century did we witness, at least in theory, an apparent victory of the theorists who defended the superiority of service over blood as a factor of ennoblement. At the same time, these social categories slowly entered into common law and became an essential aspect for the evolution of the idea of nobility.

The idea of nobility which is represented by the work of Álvaro Ferreira de Vera must be understood within the dual process of the creation of an ever greater aristocracy and the reaction to this phenomenon by the middle and lower sectors of the nobility. On the one hand, the need for a certain social mobility within the estate was justified, but, on the other hand, some values had become established that were peculiar to the nobility and were directly linked to the idea of blood. Just as had happened years before with the Castilian Moreno de Vargas, Álvaro Ferreira aimed his nobility treatise at the middle and lower echelons of the estate, those who seemed to be more in need of *speculum nobiliorum*, offering them a scenario in which they could interpret their own values and imitate those of the ancient nobility. As far as the question of political nobility-natural nobility was concerned, Vera identified the former with the crown’s particular plans and saw the latter as guaranteeing and defending the privileges enjoyed by noblemen. Hence, there was no criticism made of the old blood nobility, nor can one detect any traces of a dispute between arms and letters (GUILLÉN BERRENDERO, 2007). The strength of the argument lay in the radical defense of the values of nobility, as well as of an idea of nobility based on the twin notion of virtue-honor, itself the result of building an idea of service of a more holistic nature.

Lineages, coats of arms and official posts became the identifying marks of nobility, its quality further enhanced by its permanence over time. And what great social importance all these features represented during the Early Modern Age, a period that we can qualify as the age of nobility since the latter boasted a set of common characteristics that turned it into the very centre of power. Such

²⁹ An example of these opinions can be found in the following statement by Sampaio: “True nobility is the one that is inherited and which passes from father to son [...] and if some people of humble birth are to be found amongst those classified as nobles because of their valiant actions, the honorable posts they have held or due to some pre-eminence or rank that aggrandizes them, they are not the true nobility that derives from blood and is inherited from one’s ancestors, but instead they belong to the class of the civil and political nobility that is acquired through posts held in public affairs, and it will be these facts and the deeds most gloriously performed that allow them access to the first ranks of the nobility, so that truly it cannot be said of them that they are noble, but only that they are beginning to be so.” VILAS BOAS DE SAMPAIO 1676 (1725): 28-29.

characteristics included *nobilitas*, which was expressed in the sense of a certain faithfulness towards one's ancestors and the belief in the idea of a noble lineage that endured over time. There were also other values, such as *virtus*, demonstrated by the energy and skill with which nobles fulfilled certain social functions, and, finally, the so-called *certa habitatio*, that is to say the possession of a certain territory, affording jurisdiction over the land and its population. These elements represented the basis for the arguments defined in the nobility treatises in general and by Ferreira de Vera in particular.

The discourse about nobility was clearly developed along classical lines, in which honor was seen as the supreme value, extensible both to the families and their members. In its definition, the individual became combined with the collective, prestige with merit, and blood with service. The singling out of noblemen contributed substantially to the social polarization that derived from the binomial noble/non-noble, honored/non-honored.

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Mapping the Traveled Space: Hans Staden's Maps in *Warhaftige Historia*

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Abstract

By examining the map and map-like illustrations published in Hans Staden's *Warhaftige Historia* (1557), this article argues that the maps underscore the truthfulness of the narrator by reinforcing his role as an eyewitness observer. Beyond bolstering the narrator's authority, Staden's map projects a distinctly different image of Brazil. The mapping tradition of mariners seems to have been a major influence, and the map accords ownership of the mainland to indigenous groups, making his a unique representation of sixteenth-century Brazil.

Keywords

Sixteenth-Century, Brazil, eyewitness observer, Hans Staden, mapping

Resumo

Com base nas ilustrações publicadas por Hans Staden na obra Warhaftige Historia de 1557, argumenta-se neste artigo que os mapas conferem ênfase à visão do narrador, uma vez que reforçam o seu papel enquanto testemunha da realidade observada. Para além de reforçar a autoridade do narrador, o mapa de Hans Staden projecta uma imagem diferente do Brasil. A tradição de mapeamento dos marinheiros parece ter exercido uma grande influência, uma vez que o mapa atribui a posse do território a grupos indígenas, tornando esta representação cartográfica do Brasil no século XVI especialmente significativa.

Palavras-chave

século XVI, Brasil, observação, Hans Staden, cartografia

What is the value of the traveler's map? Hans Staden's *Warhaftige Historia* (1557), one of the most famous accounts of Brazil published in the sixteenth century, is introduced visually by a fold-out, woodcut map (fig. 1). As the narrative unfolds, Staden recreates his sea voyages and two

sojourns in Brazil through text and images, some of which serve as geographic, map-like representations. Because of the vivid and explicit depictions of cannibalism in his text and illustrations, Staden has been dismissed and his motives questioned (Ahrens 1979; Menninger: 1995). Because it is a travel account, literary scholars argue that it belongs within that genre, which is known for the recurring myths, concepts, and projections originating in ancient and medieval European times that are used to explain unfamiliar peoples (Klarer 1999; Mancall 2006: 12; 256-263). Other studies of Staden, however, have argued that the context of his travel can be corroborated (Franco 1942), that the text is “indispensable” for understanding sixteenth-century Brazil (Whitehead 2000: 724), that its descriptions of cannibalism should not be rejected out of hand (Forsyth 1985), and that the text and illustrations are illuminating when examined from multiple perspectives (Obermeier and Schiffner 2008). In particular, Staden’s immersion among the Tupinambá differentiates his ethnographic description from that of Jesuits or outside observers, such as Jean de Léry or André Thevet (Whitehead 2009: xv-civ); his identification with the mixed-race *mamelucos* (Villas Boas 2005), his performance as a “practiced chameleon” (Martel 2006: 58), and his agency as a go-between (Metcalf 2008) all suggest that his is a unique perspective. This article examines Staden’s map and map-like illustrations and argues that while they serve to underscore Staden’s authority as an observer and intensify his religious message, they are nevertheless significant as eyewitness geographic representations of Brazil.

On the surface, the answer to the first question, on the value of a traveler’s map, seems obvious. Unlike the cartographer who has been trained to represent the world, to work with projection, scale, and verified geographic information, the traveler is a naïve observer. Not only are travelers not mapmakers, but they have been known to be unreliable. Yet in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Europe, as the classical views of the world were being undermined by sea voyages mounted by the Portuguese and others interested in trade and colonies, the traveler might well offer pertinent observations and contribute to an emerging new perspective of the world. Still, if we compare Staden’s map of Brazil with the “professional” mapping done by Portuguese, Spanish, and French cartographers (see Alegria et al 2007: 1029-1032) his is clearly a crude, modest sketch.

Staden’s map is oriented with south at the top. It features a Portuguese-style compass rose of 32 points with a fleur-de-lis marking north and a cross pointing east placed below the Tropic of Cancer. The Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, as well as the Equator, are labeled in Latin. Drawn through the compass rose is a prime meridian, shown to be some distance west of Cape Verde. The degrees of latitude from 7° N to 36° S are clearly marked. Place names are written at right angles to the coastline. Two flags indicate the northern and southern limits of the Portuguese claim, while a Spanish [Castilian] flag marks Asunción. Two sea creatures and a ship are the major artistic embellishments to the map, but some care has been taken to render waves in the Atlantic, while mountains and clouds are suggestive of the deep interior of South America. The map’s legend in German reads:

The landscape with the named ports—
as I partially have seen them in America—
in the gradients in which they lie—
also as the inhabitants call them—
and how their lands are put together—
this I have tried to show to the best of my abilities—
something that each can easily understand.¹

The woodcut illustrations of *Warhaftige Historia*, which appear to have been drawn by Staden and carved by a woodcutter, appear only in the first edition, and are an important component of his text, as Neil Whitehead and others have argued (Whitehead 2000: 723; Letts 1929: xvii-xx). In addition to the fold-out map, some of the woodcut illustrations have clear map-like features in that they depict scenes taking place along a recognizable coastline. For example, the map-like illustration of the Island of Santa Catarina where Staden’s ship anchored on his second trip to Brazil, stresses the shape of the harbor, the location of the island, and major geographical elements of the mainland (fig. 2). Some of the map-like illustrations suffer from a problem often found in printing: they appear inverted. An erratum to the Marburg edition notes that five woodcuts were accidentally turned

around during the production of the blocks. One of the depictions of São Vicente, where Staden lived and worked as a gunner in Bertioga, a settlement on the northern frontier, appears inverted (fig. 3). The stone building that represents the fort at Bertioga is visible on the southern end of the island; it should appear on the northern shore as it does in fig. 4. The inclusion of this erratum suggests that Staden reviewed the text and insisted on correcting the errors; we may thus conclude that the illustrations were intended to be geographically accurate, to the best of his ability.

Why did Staden, who was neither an artist nor a cartographer, include maps in his text? Travelers often survived calamitous experiences in the sixteenth century, and Staden was no exception. Shipwrecks, attacks by pirates, starvation, and sickness were all dangers travelers faced (Brito 1998), and while ashore in distant lands the traveler confronted violence, uncertainty, and unfamiliarity. In telling their stories, words sometimes failed to describe what they had seen. The map, the sketch, and the illustration became a means of recording experience and communicating that which was impossible to fully express in words. Maps themselves were illustrated, and artists began to accompany sea voyages, becoming “painter-cartographers” in order to better capture what was being seen (Quinn 1986). The map and the sketch were accessible even to the illiterate or semi-literate; the sea chart, for example, had long been effectively used by only marginally literate pilots (Sandman 2001).

Maps enriched textual narratives, especially when unfamiliar places and their inhabitants were being described. They often accompanied the letters written to merchants. In 1500 Amerigo Vespucci promised Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici that “just as I have given you an account by letter.... I shall send you two depictions of the world, made and ordered by my own hand” (Vespucci 1992). Another famous example is Alberto Cantino, who wrote letters about the Portuguese discoveries in America and Asia to Hercole D’Este, the Duke of Ferrara, and later sent the striking, unsigned world map that is still known as “La Carta del Cantino” (Harris 1893). As sixteenth-century voyages uncovered more unknown places, authors, such as Alonso de Santa Cruz (a Spanish mapmaker) or Antonio Pigafetta (who accompanied Magellan), described peoples, ways of life, flora, and fauna through text, images, and maps (Conley 2007: 405).

Staden rested his claim to authority on what he had seen, as is evident in his legend where he states: “The landscape with the named ports/as I partially have seen them in America.” In his assertion that his observations were reliable, Staden was like his shipmates who depended on observation and lived experience to survive at sea. Increasingly, eyewitness observation was recognized as fundamental for understanding the world, especially in Portugal and Spain where the observations recorded by sailors, pilots, and navigators both in written *roteiros* (directions for sea sailing) and nautical charts underlay successful sea voyages. Often this direct observation conflicted with the weight of authority, as enshrined in the study of classical authors at the university. Nevertheless, the direct observation of reality was imperative at sea and increasingly understood to be necessary for acquiring knowledge about the world (Domingues 2007).

Staden approached observed knowledge from a practical standpoint that reflected not only his military background but his association with sailors. Without focused observation duly recorded on sea charts and in sailing directions, men of the sea knew that it would be impossible to return to ports and to engage in trade. It did not necessarily matter that Staden was not trained as a navigator nor as a map-maker, for the tradition of making sea charts, or portolans, belonged to sailors, not to educated cosmographers. The portolan charts recorded the sailor’s direct experience of the sea and therefore reflected a vitality that came from constant revision (Campbell 1987). As Staden’s map legend reveals, he believed himself capable of representing the lands and ports that he had visited “in the gradients in which they lie.” He is confident that his observations can be verified by anyone who returns. As he concludes his text, anticipating that there will be those who will doubt his story, Staden recommends that he who does not believe him should go and see for himself: “then let him, with God’s help, undertake the voyage himself [...]. I have given him information enough; let him follow the tracks” (Staden 2008, 145).

Staden’s map is intended to be simple, as he states clearly in the legend: “this I have tried to show to the best of my abilities/something that each can easily understand.” The simplicity of Staden’s map does not, however, relieve it of an undisclosed intention. As J. B. Harley argues, maps

are value-laden images that are easily manipulated by the powerful (Harley 2001). No mapmaker can be an objective observer, for all maps exclude information; each map explicitly or implicitly favors the interests that lie behind the map (Wood 1992). In the case of sixteenth-century Brazil, Frank Lestringant demonstrates that maps by André Thevet or Guillaume Le Testu were fictions that created dreams of maritime empire for the French king (Lestringant 1988).

Staden's map attests to the veracity of his account as do the woodcut illustrations that double as geographical sketches of places described in the text. Both the map and the geographic illustrations encourage the reader to locate Staden in specific places. These visual complements to the text underscore the main point made by Johannes Dryander, the humanist in Marburg who wrote the introduction to Staden's narrative. Dryander insists that Staden is telling the truth. The map and the map-like illustrations work to convince the reader that this story cannot have been a fabrication. By allowing readers to visually comprehend the vastness of the American continent and to experience the customs of peoples living in local places, Staden made his travel account all the more accessible and all the more believable.

Moreover, Staden's *Warhaftige Historia* is intended to be experienced as religious witnessing (TenHuisen 2005). The fold-out map and the map-like illustrations then take on a special role: with the map as a guide, and the geographical illustrations serving as scenes, the reader/viewer is enticed into the world to which Staden traveled. By accompanying Staden through the text and illustrations, the reader/viewer experiences the spiritual journey too. Staden is explicit about his reason for writing; his intention is:

to show how mightily our Lord and God, the helper in all Need, delivered me from their [the Tupinambá's] power when I was without hope. Everyone shall know that Almighty God still protects and directs His faithful Christians among the godless heathen people in a most wondrous manner (Staden 2008: 143).

Even if the map and the geographic illustrations underscore Staden's religious message, they nevertheless are of value to historians seeking to understand Brazil in the sixteenth-century. Just as Staden's ethnographic descriptions are useful to anthropologists and ethnohistorians (Whitehead and Harbsmeier 2008: lxxxiv), so too is his mapping. Rather than serving the king, or projecting deep myths from medieval and ancient traditions onto Brazil, Staden's maps reflect his more immediate immersion in the print culture of his German homeland, his exposure to the sea charts used by French, Spanish, and Portuguese sailors, and his personal experience in Brazil.

The form of Staden's maps was clearly influenced by printed maps and landscape scenes that he undoubtedly had seen before he traveled to Brazil in 1547 and after he returned in 1555. The revolution in print had made the woodcut map and landscape illustration accessible to mass audiences in Germany through books, broadsides, and wall coverings. Editions of Ptolemy were printed in long runs—one edition ran about 1,000 copies (Campbell and Destombes 1987: 136). While Staden was clearly literate, we cannot be certain that he, given his occupation as a soldier, would have been proficient enough in Latin to have read or to have studied Ptolemy.

Printed maps intended for a middle-class audience, however, were readily available in Germany. The more modest prices for printed maps encouraged collecting by merchants, lawyers, scholars, and even tradesmen (Woodward 2007: 609). By 1500, each technical stage in the woodcutting done for printed maps was specialized. A cartographer drew the model, but the preparation of the image was done by specialized craftsmen (Grenacher 1970; Woodward 2007). In Strasbourg Johannes Grüninger became a highly successful publisher of maps in the early sixteenth century, printing nearly 100,000 large map sheets that could be assembled into large wall maps or viewed individually (Johnson 1963: 21). Although some scholars question the feasibility of pulling so many copies from one set of blocks, in 1516 Martin Waldseemüller refers to 1,000 copies having been printed of his previous wall map, presumably his magnificent world map of 1507 (Waldseemüller 2007).

Nuremberg was also a center of mapmaking (Meurer 2007: 1193-1198), and Staden would have been likely to see some of the first printed maps of Germany designed for travelers. The *Romweg* map by Erhard Etzlaub was printed in Nuremberg (c. 1500) and sold as a separate item, apparently for pilgrims making their way to Rome. The map was intended for the ordinary traveler, for it

required no expertise in cartography to use, nor did it require the ability to read Latin. Printed on a single sheet, and in German, the map laid out for the traveler the way, mile by mile, to Rome (Englisch 1996: 106). The traveling map of Germany, the *Landstrassen*, similarly emphasized roads and distances (Campbell 1978; Schnelbögl 1966). The Etzlaub maps were oriented with south at the top of the map, as was Staden's map of Brazil.

Staden's map-like illustrations resemble woodcut prints of map-like landscapes printed in German books and as single sheets. The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, elaborately illustrated with more than 1,800 woodcuts, including maps of northern Europe and the world, and landscapes of cities, appeared in two large Latin and German editions in 1493 (Campbell 1987: 152). As a soldier, Staden was likely familiar with woodcut depictions of battle scenes. *The Siege of Vienna*, 1530, by Erhard Schoen, was a giant view of the city surrounded by the Turkish army accompanied by verses by Hans Sachs that further described many of scenes taking place (Strauss 1984: 443-446). *The Siege of Muenster*, printed in 1535, showed in sharp detail the German soldiers at war (Strauss 1984: 455-459). These battle images contained a schematic rendering of the terrain, depictions of events taking place, and were often accompanied by text. Staden would use all of these elements in his map-like illustrations.

As Christine Johnson (2008) notes, Germany was a center for Renaissance learning about European discoveries overseas, both in the Americas and Asia. The travel account became a common genre and maps and illustrations were often included. The enhancement added by maps is particularly evident in the account by Bernard von Breydenbach, the canon of the cathedral at Mainz, whose narration of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem was beautifully illustrated with fold-out woodcut maps (Breydenbach 1486). As the number of voyages increased, authors and editors began to illustrate travel accounts. Some of the illustrations were stock or recycled images, but others were drawn by artists who worked from peoples, animals, and artifacts brought back from overseas journeys (Johnson 2008: 32-37).

When Staden made his way home from Brazil in 1555, he had the opportunity to see and handle printed editions of books of travels, which often contained maps, or editions of atlases, and cosmographies. By his account, he passed through Antwerp en route to his home in Hesse and visited the exchange. At that time, booksellers had stalls at the entrance to the exchange where they sold their books (McCusker 2005). Several interesting books are known to have been published in the early 1550s in Antwerp that might have been for sale while Staden was in the city. These books include the *Cosmographia* of German mathematician Peter Apian (Petrus Apianus) that had an Antwerp edition of 1553 as did the chronicle of Peru by Pedro Cieza de León (1554) and Francisco López de Gómara's history of Mexico (1554), which had a fold out map of the Americas appended to the end of the text.

Thus, not only was Staden likely to have seen many printed maps and to have been familiar with books enhanced by images and maps, but Johannes Dryander, who wrote the introduction to *Warhaftige Historia*, had published several books replete with illustrations and was also interested in cartography. One of Dryander's books, the *Annulorum* (1537), a treatise on astronomical instruments, contained diagrams that showed how these instruments worked. His most famous books, such as *Anatomiae* (1537), emphasized the importance of dissection to medical knowledge and were accompanied with graphic depictions drawn from Dryander's own work on human anatomy. Dryander also worked at mapping, for manuscripts in his hand served as models for printed maps of Hesse by Sebastian Münster and Abraham Ortelius (Meurer 2007: 1227 n. 346).

These German influences were profound, however, they account largely for the form and presentation of Staden's maps. The content of Staden's main map was undoubtedly informed by his exposure to nautical charts, especially those drawn by the Spanish, Portuguese, and French sailors with whom he sailed. These sea charts would have featured place names written at right angles to the coastline, compass roses, rhumb lines, a scale, flags marking possession of ports, a meridian bisected with degrees of latitude, and the lines of the Equator and the Tropics.

Atlantic sea charts used in the fifteenth and sixteenth century have largely all disappeared; the conditions at sea did not encourage the conservation of the well-used charts (Marques 1994: 38). Those charts that survived did so because they were highly decorated and therefore meant for a land-based patron; they were not to be taken to sea (Quinn 1986: 245). The extant Portuguese charts,

maps, and atlases of Brazil drawn in the sixteenth century emphasize the exploration of the coast. Rivers, harbors, and settlements are carefully named while the mainland is decorated with drawings of birds and trees (*La Carta del Cantino* 1502) or representations of landscapes with indigenous peoples engaged in extractive activities (*L' Atlas Miller* 1519).

French mapmakers are another likely influence on Staden. Staden returned from Brazil in 1555 on a French ship that hailed from Vatteville, a small village on the Seine, which was navigable by ocean-going ships all the way to Rouen, the largest and wealthiest city in the region, the hub of the French Atlantic trade, and the seat of the provincial and royal government in Normandy (Brunelle 1991: 9-10). Staden traveled to Dieppe before making his way to London and Antwerp. The distinctive cartographic style known as the Dieppe School emerged in seaport towns such as Dieppe and Honfleur in the sixteenth century. The French cartographers based their maps on Portuguese portolan charts. The Portuguese nomenclature is largely used, for example, and eyewitness depictions of peoples, animals, birds, and landscapes are emphasized over the recycling of imagined "fantastic" images (Wallis 1981; 1983).

Folio eleven in the 1547 *Vallard Atlas* from Dieppe is particularly interesting when compared to Staden's map. The map is of South America and is oriented with south at the top of the map (as is Staden's). The Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn are identified in French (Staden uses Latin) and place names are written in at right angles to the coastline, as was the style in portolan charts and Staden's map. Far more place names appear in the *Vallard* folio than on Staden's map, a fact that may be explained by Staden's lack of access to sea charts in Marburg. Working from memory, and not being a pilot, Staden could recall only the most important names of coastal ports, landmarks, rivers, etc. Five compass roses and their intersecting rhumb lines are drawn on the *Vallard* folio whereas Staden's map has one compass rose and no rhumb lines. Two ships decorate the ocean on the *Vallard* folio (one ship and two large fish appear on Staden's).

The *Vallard Atlas* representation of the interior of Brazil shows carefully rendered scenes, such as of trade, village life, warfare, and the collection of Brazilwood. These are painted in color by a skilled artist. In contrast, Staden's map divides up the interior of Brazil into lands belonging to indigenous groups. Staden attempts to demarcate boundaries between the indigenous groups whom he names. His drawing of lines thus conveys his perception of political power and control over territories that correspond with separate and autonomous indigenous nations.

Staden assigns ownership over and rights to territory to indigenous groups by writing "Land of the Tupinambá" or "Puttigaris Land" inside his boundaries. Along the coast, Staden's use of names reflects the influence of the Spanish and Portuguese: "Rio de Maragnon" [Amazon River], "Cape de S. Agustim," "Cape Frio," "S. Vincente." His spelling is a mixture of Spanish, French, and Portuguese. His placement of flags, which mark Spanish and Portuguese possessions, appear at "La Sumpcion" [Asunción] which flies a Spanish flag, and at the northern and southern limits of Portuguese influence: Marin [Olinda, Pernambuco] in the north and an unnamed place 28° S, between the mouth of the Rio de la Plata estuary and the island of São Vicente. In Staden's rendition, the Portuguese claim to Brazil is purely coastal. The flags seem to float in the ocean and the coastline is depicted as honeycombed with inlets, islands, harbors, and mouths of rivers. The large sailing ship, outfitted with guns, shows its freedom to sail wherever it wishes and to trade freely with independent indigenous nations or the occasional Portuguese settlement.

Staden's map depicts the land as clearly "owned" by indigenous groups. In his legend, he writes that he labels the lands "as the inhabitants call them" and seeks to portray "how their lands are put together." This reflects his perception of the realities of power in Brazil when he was there. Staden was not beholden to the French, Spanish, or Portuguese desires for empires and therefore saw no value in projecting an imaginary dominion over the South American interior. Instead, Staden understood and accepted the power of indigenous chiefs.

Staden's map-like illustrations recount a sequence of events in a particular place similar to the vignettes found on the highly decorated *Vallard Atlas* or on the *Rotz Atlas*, drawn for Henry VIII but in the Dieppe style. But whereas the miniatures painted over the interior of Brazil in the *Vallard* or *Rotz* atlases are stylized, almost symbolic representations of moments of contact, trade, or war, Staden's are highly personalized. For example, on the map-like illustration of the Island of Santa

Catarina (fig. 2), two European ships and seven indigenous canoes share the waters. The mainland is presented as Guarani territory, with the village “Acutia” marked and named and the distinctive long houses known as *ocas* shown surrounded by a palisade. Staden’s illustrated map captures a specific moment in time: the encounter between the Spanish crew and the resident local Guarani on his visit. Four Europeans, including Staden, are shown ashore with their weapons, while a solitary cross marks the place where the men found a message.

Two illustrated maps of São Vicente (figs. 3 & 4) depict the place where Staden lived and worked as a gunner and where he was captured by the Tupinambá. Simultaneously the maps show São Vicente and relate Staden’s capture there. In fig. 3, the “map” forms the background to the illustration and lays out for the reader the landscape of the Portuguese settlement. Recall that this image is inverted. São Vicente is the island on which lies the town with the same name indicated by its initials (backwards): “.V.S” and the second settlement Santos, marked with an “.S.” A fortified sugar mill (*ingenio* i.e., *engenho*) is on the mainland, as is an exaggerated and mislabeled depiction of the frontier settlement of Bertioga. Staden lived and worked at the new stone fort shown opposite Bertioga on the island of Santo Amaro. In the foreground multiple events are taking place. Staden is captured while hunting and is taken away by the Tupinambá. Above fly the long-legged Scarlet Ibis (*Eudocimus ruber*) birds that were nesting at on an island near Santo Amaro. Prized by both Tupinikin and Tupinambá for their red feathers, Tupinambá paddled down from their villages to the north during the times when the birds nested. Thus, the outline of the coast represents continuous time, the birds represent repeating time (their migration and nesting at predictable times of the year), while Staden’s capture is immediate time.

Figure 4 is not inverted and therefore São Vicente Island, with its two settlements of São Vicente and Santos, appears to the south of Santo Amaro Island. Bertioga is shown as a village surrounded by a palisade and the remoteness of the stone fort where Staden manned the guns is clearly evident. Its strategic value is made clear, as it defends the northern entrance to São Vicente Island and to the mainland where the sugar plantations were beginning to expand. In the foreground a battle is fought between the Tupinikin who, as allies of the Portuguese, are defending the island of Santo Amaro. Their foes are the Tupinambá who have entered Tupinikin territory on their annual hunt for the Scarlet Ibis birds and have captured Staden. Staden depicts himself standing up in a canoe and firing a gun. From the text we know that this is a French gun that was obtained by the Tupinambá from their French allies and that Staden was made to fire it by his captors.

A striking feature of the map-like illustrations is the clear outnumbering of the Tupi warriors to European or mixed-race *mameluco* soldiers. In figures 3 and 4, as in the other map-like illustrations in Staden’s book, the numerical superiority of the indigenous is consistently emphasized. This reinforces Staden’s depiction of the entirety of Brazil in his main map. For Staden, Brazil is a land owned and defended by indigenous groups.

Staden’s maps are deeply personal visual representations of his experience of Brazil. Staden blatantly positions himself in his illustrations and features himself in the legend of the fold-out map. This personalization underscores that it is Staden who is the eyewitness observer. The observer shows himself to convince the readers that they may believe what they see and read. Staden’s maps and illustrations are part and parcel of how he positions himself to tell his story.

When it came to writing his story, Staden was clearly influenced by the textually and visually rich sixteenth-century German print culture. That tradition encouraged him to “show” as well as “tell” what he had seen. Staden’s main map most likely derives from his exposure to nautical charts at sea and to maps drawn in the Dieppe style that he most probably saw in France after he returned. In this tradition of sea charts, Staden would have felt that his observations had value and that they could be added to the emerging conceptual understanding of the land and peoples he met in Brazil.

The naïve quality of Staden’s maps and illustrations, in that they were drawn by a lay person and not by an artist or cartographer, underscores that his audience was not intended to be the educated humanists and cosmographers, who would have expected him to be familiar with cosmography, but ordinary readers. Even the illiterate would be able to appreciate and even “read” his story by simply looking at the maps and illustrations. Staden’s illustrations and maps certainly

engaged the reader more deeply with his story and underlined his authority as the eyewitness observer. This reinforced his underlying religious message.

Staden's assigning of territorial possession to indigenous groups by the drawing of boundaries on his main map and his depiction of the power of indigenous warriors on the map-like illustrations are unique features of his mapping. This recognition of indigenous strength and autonomy emerges from Staden's experience in Brazil. It is certainly not an accurate assessment of where tribal lands lay nor is it a detailed analysis of military might. Rather it is his impression, based on his own experience, and created without the need to satisfy reigning conventions of cartographic production or to declare loyalty to a reigning monarch with imperial or commercial designs on Brazil. As such it is a layman's sketch and in this lies its value as a representation of Brazil in the middle of the sixteenth century.

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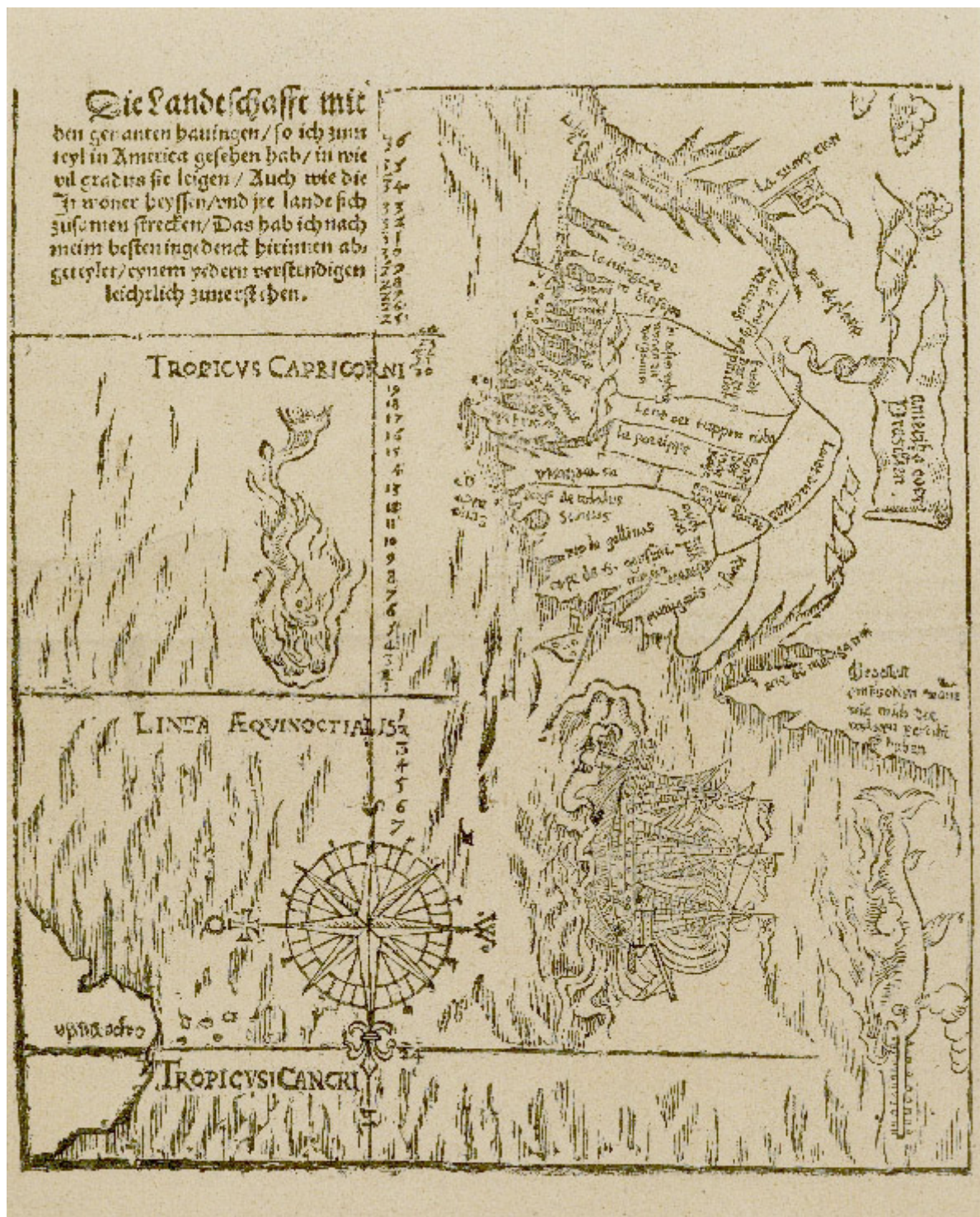


Figure One: Map of Brazil
 Staden, Hans (1557). *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen*, [. . .]. Marburg: Andres Kolben.

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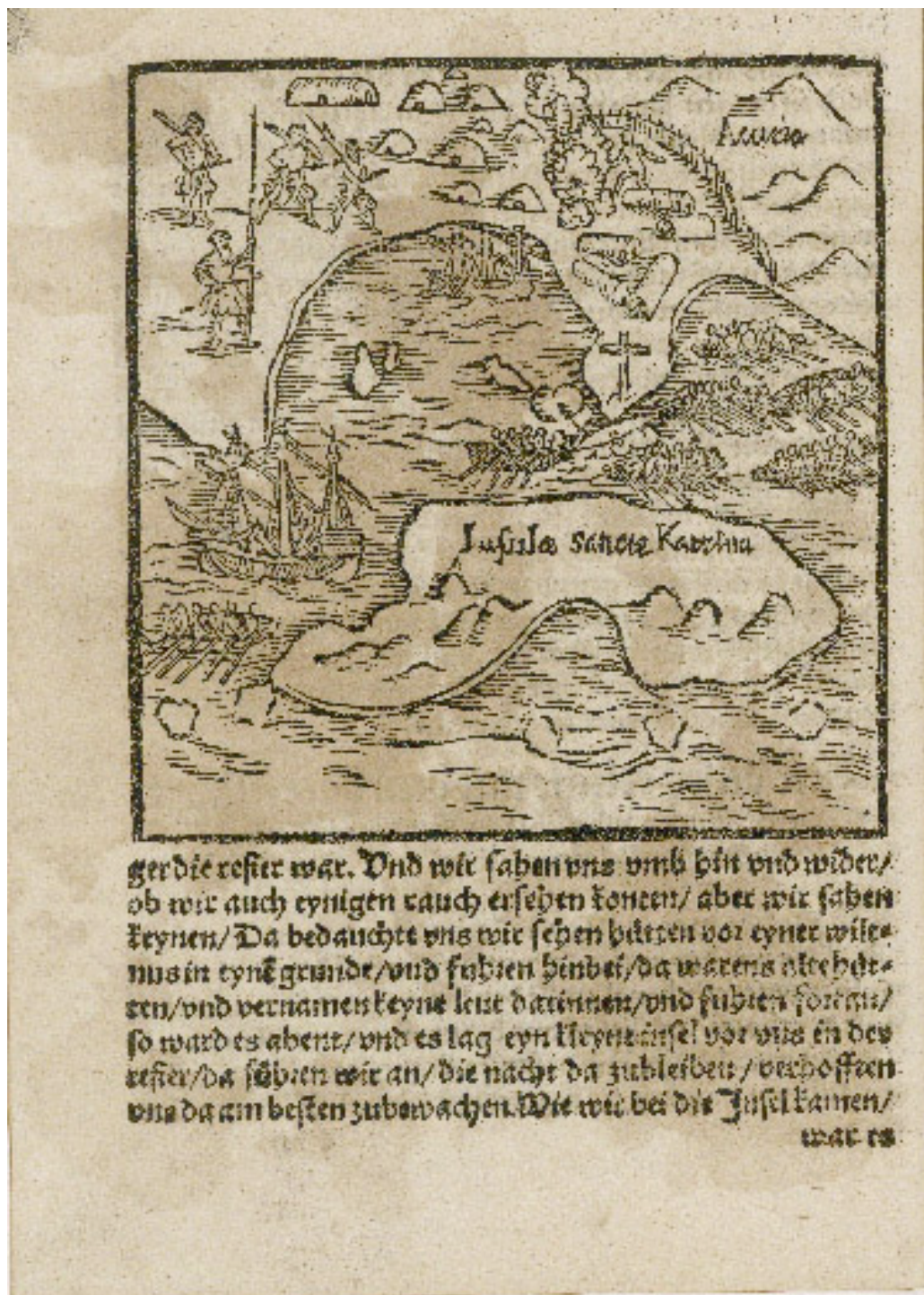


Figure Two: Santa Catarina Island
 Staden, Hans (1557). *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen*, [. . .]. Marburg: Andres Kolben.

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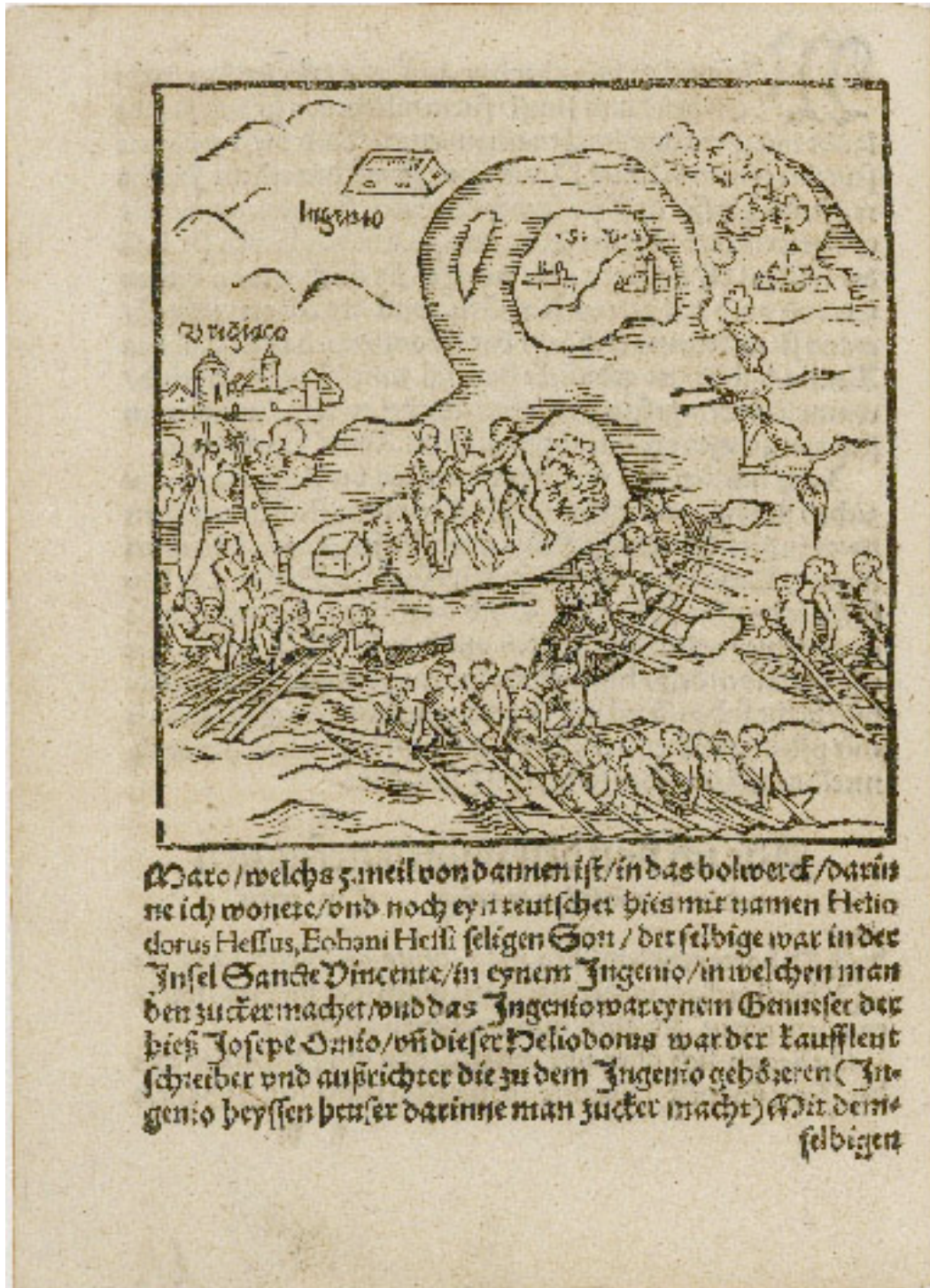


Figure Three: São Vicente (Inverted)
Staden, Hans (1557). *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landschaft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen*, [...]. Marburg: Andres Kolben.

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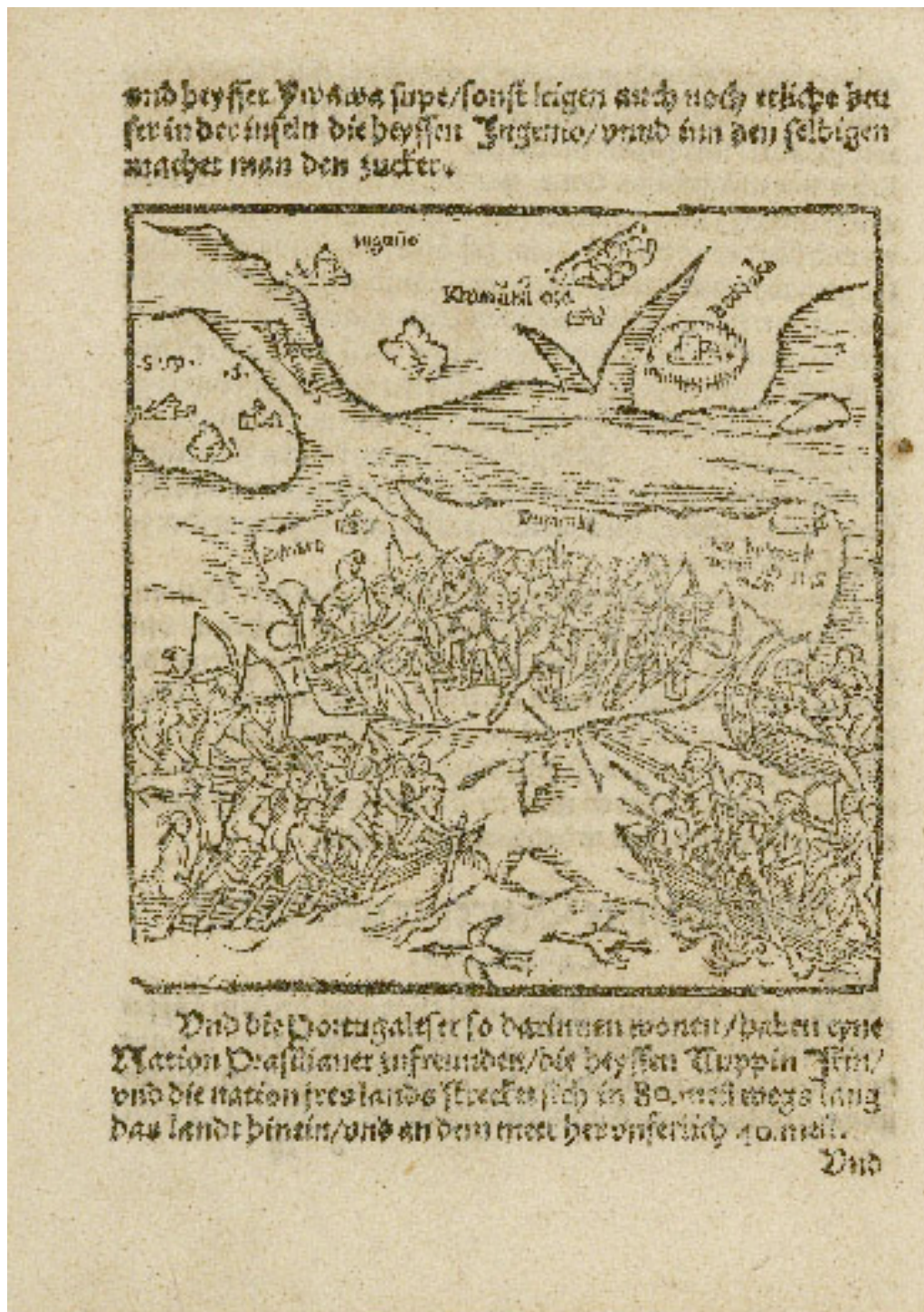


Figure Four: São Vicente
Staden, Hans (1557). *Warbafte Historie und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen, Menschfresser Leuthen, in der Newenwelt America gelegen*, [...]. Marburg: Andres Kolben.

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Parties and Political Identity: the Construction of the Party System of the Portuguese Republic (1910-1926)¹

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Abstract

The revolution of 5 October 1910, brought a political change in the form of a republican parliamentary regime, which required another kind of party system. Out of the fragmentation of the historical Portuguese Republican Party, in 1911-1912 there emerged a new structure of parties and political groups. During the First World War, the party system evolved in a relatively normal manner, but after 1919 it changed completely, with a series of dissidences, splits, and mergers. Throughout the First Portuguese Republic, the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”), which was reformed in 1911-1912, asserted its political leadership, with the great exception of the period of the republican presidential regime of Sidónio Pais.

Keywords

Contemporary History, Republicanism, First Portuguese Republic, Political Parties, Political Programs.

Resumo

A revolução de 5 de Outubro de 1910 originou uma alteração política sob a forma de um regime parlamentar republicano que exigia um diferente sistema de partidos políticos. Da fragmentação do histórico Partido Republicano Português em 1911-1912, emergiu uma nova estrutura de partidos e grupos políticos. Durante a I Guerra Mundial, assistiu-se à evolução do sistema de partidos mas, após 1919, esta situação altera-se profundamente com uma série de dissidências, cisões e fusões. Ao longo da Primeira República Portuguesa, o partido Republicano Português (o “Partido Democrático”), reformado em 1911-1912, afirma a sua liderança política, com excepção para o período do regime republicano presidencial de Sidónio Pais.

Palavras-chave

História Contemporânea, Republicanismo, Primeira República Portuguesa, Partidos Políticos, Programas Políticos.

¹ This article is an abridged version of the text used for the class given by the author in order to obtain the academic title of *Professor Agregado* in History (Contemporary History) at the Faculty of Letters of Lisbon University on 12 September 2008. A more in-depth and critical approach to the anthology of the republican political programs is made in the book *Partidos e Programas. O campo partidário republicano português (1910-1926)*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008.

Problematics

This text discusses the party system of the Portuguese republic between 1910 and 1926, seeking to analyze the relationship between *parties and political identity* within the diversified political field of republicanism (Rémond, 1996: 49-85). It begins with initial analysis (monographic studies) and synthesis (panoramic studies). After this, it proceeds to a comparative perspective, looking at the relationship between parties, power and public opinion, considering the characteristics of party leadership, the leader's forms of administration, and the communication between the leadership and its supporters or the oligarchic and democratic tendencies of the organization.

The different republican political parties and groups formed *multiple political identities*, without presenting any intense differentiation between them because they formed part of the historical republican heritage. They were, however, involved in permanent and important debates about questions relating to their respective contents—positivism and metaphysics, federalism and unitarianism, presidentialism and parliamentarianism, decentralization and centralization, popular supremacy and national supremacy, or radicalism and reformism (Catroga, 2000; Homem, 2001). They all remained committed to a common ideal centered around the republicanization of the State and of society.

The party system of the Portuguese republic did not always show *political parties* engaged in their two basic functions—acting either as mobilizing “agents of conflict” or as movements of “social integration,” and thus allowing for “the strengthening of national identities” through a “network of inter-local communication” and helping to “establish the national government system *above* any group of people that held high positions” (Lipset, 1992: 164-170). One of the reasons why stable political competition and the construction of a consensual National State came to an end was the excessive *intra-party factionalism* that was primarily due to a nepotistic network of patronage rather than to any form of competitive ideology, despite the existence of several doctrinal currents in the republican political culture. Such circumstances did not favor the stability that would lead to the formation of a representative regime of institutions, with events becoming more serious after 1919 and leading to the irreversible illegitimization of the system (Lopes, 1994; Valente, 1997, 1999; Martins, 1998: 69-98).

Dismantling the historical Portuguese Republican Party

The debate that took place in the National Assembly between June and August 1911 highlighted the diversity of the republican ideology, despite the fact that the *Portuguese Republican Party Program*, approved on 11 January 1891 and still valid in 1910-1911, had stipulated a political orientation based on a federal and municipal republic, legitimated by direct universal suffrage, without any reference to a President of the Republic. The model for such a system was the political regime of the Swiss Confederation.

On the contrary, however, the 1911 Constitution established a unitarian republic, based on a parliamentary system, in which the Congress of the Republic would have supremacy and the President would be elected without having the privilege to dissolve Parliament, and on non-universal direct suffrage, maintaining the non-centralized option for the municipal and colonial administration, the principles of political and economic democracy, the laicization of the State, and the secularization of society (Catroga, 2000).

The question of the presidential right to dissolve Parliament, considered fundamental under the system of parliamentary government, united the moderate democratic liberal republican parties (the Republican Evolutionist Party and the Republican Union), a principle that would be validated through Law Nr. 891, of 22 September 1919, despite its being limited by the need for a prior consultation of the Parliamentary Committee. This was also used as a censorious argument against the radical republicans of federalist tendencies: “The representatives [...] avoided, with less knowledge, the adoption of the principle of the dissolution of the Chambers, essential to a parliamentary regime, because much was said against its application in the time of the monarchy, offering us a political *mess* that men's unscrupulousness made even worse.” (Santos, 1916: 5).

The ideological revision of federalism was supported by the executive committee of the Portuguese Republican Party and accepted by the vast majority of its members, who defended a form of *republican liberal unitarianism*, with Jacobin tendencies. This led to a controversy that had at its centre, after 1911, several radical political groups who defended a form of *republican socialist federalism* with democratic tendencies (Leal, 2006). The decisive moment for the rupture between the *political factions* inside the Portuguese Republican Party was the election of the first President of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, on 24 August 1911, supported by António José de Almeida, Manuel de Brito Camacho and António Machado Santos—the Block—against the candidate Bernardino Machado, who was supported by Afonso Costa.

On 1 September 1911, the Democratic Parliamentary Group was formed, loyal to Afonso Costa, and three days later an extensive program was approved for the new Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”). The parliamentary convergence of the Block evolved, during the months of September and October 1911, already without the support of António Machado Santos, into a *parliamentary alliance* (the Republican National Union) and the program was approved on 20 December 1911. Radical and federalist republicanism continued to play a leading role until 27 April 1913, when some radicals tried to instigate a military and civilian rebellion to bring down the government of Afonso Costa with the support of the Republican Union through the pressure of three small political groups: the National Alliance of António Machado Santos, the Republican Integrity of João Bonança, and the Portuguese Radical Republican Party of Adrião Castanheira, Luís Soares and Henrique de Sousa Guerra.

Structuring the Party System of the Portuguese Republic

Between September 1911 and February 1912, the bases were laid down for the creation of the first three constitutional republican parties: the new Portuguese Republican Party, of Afonso Costa, which continued to exist until the end of the republican regime; the Republican Evolutionist Party, of António José de Almeida; and the Republican Union, of Manuel de Brito Camacho, extinguished in September 1919, which lay at the origin of the Liberal Republican Party. The Congress in Braga in April 1912 approved the new program of the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”), a document that remained unchanged until the Military Dictatorship of 1926. Inheriting much of the organizational machine of the historical republican social-political networks, as well as including in its membership important people of note from monarchical social-political networks, this party was the most important *Government Party*, possessing almost all the functional monopoly of the political system (Martins, 1998: 78-80).

On 15 February 1912, in the Chamber of Deputies, António José de Almeida and Manuel de Brito Camacho restated that the Republican National Union was not the result of a merger of the two *political factions* but only a *parliamentary alliance*. António José de Almeida temporarily accepted the program of the Republican National Union, which belonged to the group of Manuel de Brito Camacho. Thus, all the necessary elements were in place for the creation of a new party constitution: on 24 February the Republican Evolutionist Party was founded, while on 26 February, the Republican Union announced its appearance. In this moderate democratic liberal area, the Evolutionist Republican Party was the leading political force and its parliamentary representation was far removed from that of the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”). It enjoyed some predominance over the Republican Union, at the representative level, for the party had won a few more senators.

The First World War was a period of cultural, ideological and political transformation, in which the modernist proposal of the *Orpheu* magazine should be contextualized, showing a new generation that oscillated between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, with some of its supporters, like Fernando Pessoa or António Ferro, being seduced by the idea of presidentialism (Leal, 1994; Cabral, 2000: 181-211). The debate about the Portuguese participation in the European war took place throughout all political spheres, with several breaches of party positions, until the declaration of war by the German Empire on Portugal in March 1916 (Fraga, 1990; Teixeira, 1996; Afonso & Gomes, 2003). The

monarchists reappeared, having been banned after the revolution—Lusitanian Integralism (1914), the Legitimist Party (1915) and the Monarchic Cause (1915)—and the Catholics created the Portuguese Catholic Center (1917). At the same time, two patriotic leagues of traditionalist and conservative origins were founded, in which both republicans and monarchists joined together—the National League (1915-1918) and the Dom Nuno Álvares Pereira National Crusade (1918-1938) (Leal, 1999).

Radical republican ideas were espoused by the Machado Santos group and its social-political network of support was reborn in January 1914 through the Reformist Center, but the arrest of the leader during the revolution of 14 May 1915, due to the support that he had given to the dictatorial government of General Joaquim Pimenta de Castro, and the prohibition of his newspaper *O Intransigente*, on 13 May 1915, led to the group's extinction, although it maintained an informal network of contacts. The criticism by some members of the Evolutionist Republican Party of the coalition formed with the Portuguese Republican Party in order to create the "Sacred Union" Government (Meneses, 2000), and this led to the formation of a *political faction*, led by António Egas Moniz. At the end of 1917, this led to the formation of the small Centrist Republican Party, whose program was approved on October 20 of the same year.

The legitimization of the "New Republic" called for the creation of a new party to organize the government candidacies for the parliamentary elections of 28 April 1918, and so the National Republican Party was founded. Its membership included most of the leaders of the Centrist Republican Party and it adopted many of its structures, while also integrating sectors of the new political elite that supported the presidentialist proposals of Sidónio Pais (Silva, 2006). The leaders of this new party did not have either the time or sufficient consensus to give the party an appropriate organic structure or to establish its social roots. What should have been the party's main functions—the legitimizing function of creating political consensus, the constituent function, the institutional implementation of the regime, and the mobilizing function of mass civic activism—were replaced by the charismatic and populist leadership of Sidónio Pais and the predominance of the government and public administration over both politics and party. Sidónio Pais toured the country to gain support, following a dangerous messianic path and drifting towards dictatorship, justifying his actions through *theories of order* that also derived from the thought of Auguste Comte (Cunha, 2006: 359-397).

Basically, the problem of the party was related to the indecision about the appropriate political system to be adopted by the new Presidentialist Republic: should it be a limited system of party competition (with a preference for the alternation of two party blocks), a limited single-party system (allowing for a mitigated pluralism of an authoritarian nature) or a closed single-party system (with one totalitarian ruling party)? Everything suggests that Sidónio Pais and his closest circle of advisers at least rejected the last of these proposals, simulating, sometimes, a form of Plebiscitary Bonapartist Caesarism. Note the statement made by Sidónio Pais on 29 July 1918: "Contrary to what many people think, the National Republican Party is not at the moment the only government party. It is true that the National Republican Party accompanies and supports the government in its highly national and patriotic politics. However, the government does not depend on it, just as it does not depend on any other party, because it cannot do without the dedication and support of the people and feels that it has to search for true support in the feelings and in the almost unanimous opinion of the Portuguese people [...]" (Carvalho, 1924: 75-76).

However, the last version of the constitutional project of December 1918, revised by Sidónio, established a democratic, presidentialist government system with two chambers (the political chamber and the corporative chamber) (Silva, 2006, v. 2: 401-413).

Restructuring of the System of Republican Parties

The presidentialist political project did not come to an immediate end and many famous people linked to the National Republican Party who had not become involved in it at the beginning of 1919 promoted its regrouping around new political groups—the Conservative Republican Party, the National Republican Presidentialist Party, the Dr.

Sidónio Pais Republican Center, and the Nationalist Action/Lusitanian Nationalist Center. The presidentialist supporters of the “New Republic” kept alive the elevated memory of Sidónio Pais and continued the debate about authoritarian correction or the complete suppression of republican parliamentarianism, with the last of these political groups exhibiting a messianic and “philo-fascist” dictatorial discourse (Pinto, 1989; Medina, 1994; Leal, 1999).

After the re-establishment of the republican parliamentary regime, the process began that would lead to the first moderate democratic and liberal merger that involved almost every member of the Evolutionist Republican Party, the Republican Union and the Centrist Republican Party. In September 1919, this gave rise to the Republican Liberal Party, in which António Granjo stood out as the leading figure. This merger was opposed by a *political faction* of the extinguished Evolutionist Party, led by Júlio Martins, who created the Popular Republican Party in May 1920. The Republican Liberal Party was active from October 1919 until February 1923, when it merged with the National Reconstitution Republican Party (which had split from the Portuguese Republican Party in 1920). They wished to create a political alternative to the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”), but they only governed the country autonomously for about 5 months in 1921 through the governments of Tomé de Barros Queirós and António Granjo, who was murdered on the *bloody night* of 19 October 1921. They won the parliamentary elections on 10 July 1921 with a relative majority.

The second moderate democratic and liberal merger took place in February 1923 between the Liberal Republican Party and the National Reconstitution Republican Party, resulting in the formation of the Republican Nationalist Party (Farinha, 2003). This party suffered two splits: one, in December 1923, with a group led by Álvaro de Castro remaining as a parliamentary party (Parliamentary Group of Republican Action); and another, in March 1926, with a group led by Francisco Cunha Leal, which became formalized as a party called the Liberal Republican Union. This new proposal for an alternative government to that of the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”) did not obtain a majority in the parliamentary elections of 8 November 1925. They only formed a government for one month in 1923, under the presidency of António Ginestal Machado, with perhaps the most significant fact being the presence in this government of General Oscar Carmona, the future President of the Republic in the “New State” as Minister of War. In 1925, members of the Presidentialist National Republican Party joined this party, a process that was followed by the extinction of that smaller party.

From October 1920 to July 1921, the radical political group led by Machado Santos again tried to structure itself around a new National Republican Federation. The group was dissolved after the assassination of its leader on the *bloody night* of 19 October 1921. In this political area, the most consistent proposal was that of the Radical Republican Party, between 1923 and 1926. In that party, under the initial leadership of José Pinto de Macedo, there coexisted a strong unitarian non-centralizing current and a strong decentralizing federalist current. Not even the motivation that came from France, with Édouard Herriot, the president of the French Radical Party, being appointed Prime Minister in 1924-1925, could prevent the radicals from experiencing a troubled and factionalist existence, not gaining enough votes to obtain a place in government and being torn apart by the dispute between constitutionalists and revolutionists.

The Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”) suffered two important splits. The breakaway factions started out by being parliamentary groups, which was consistent with the usual dissident process to be found in organizations that enjoyed the powerful influence of prominent representatives and local dignitaries (Weber, 1973: 86-90; Duverger, 1974). These dissident factions were later transformed into political parties with a national social-political network. The first split occurred in March 1920 with the formation of the National Reconstitution Republican Party, which, after June 1920, was led by Álvaro de Castro (Silva, 1996). This party was dissolved in February 1923 when it merged with the Liberal Republican Party. The second split took place in July 1925 with the formation of the Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Left. In April 1926, this group promoted the

formation of the Democratic Left Republican Party, led by José Domingues dos Santos (Queirós, 2008).

Conclusion

In the *first phase of the First Portuguese Republic* (1910-1917), we observed a stability centered around the three constitutional republican parties—the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”), the Evolutionist Republican Party, and the Republican Union—and an instability in the radical republican groups, even in the segment that had more supporters and was led by Machado Santos (the National Alliance and Reformist Center).

The *second phase of the First Portuguese Republic* (1918) revealed a proto-party organization based upon the idea of presidentialist republicanism (the National Republican Party), which arose from a split in the Evolutionist Republican Party at the end of 1917 (the Centrist Republican Party) and would later survive only in the form of small political groups. The most significant of these groups (the Presidentialist Republican National Party) joined the Nationalist Republican Party in 1925.

During the *third phase of the First Portuguese Republic* (1919-1926), an instability developed inside the constitutional republican parties, with a series of dissidences, splits, and mergers (the Liberal Republican Party and the Nationalist Republican Party), together with the reappearance of the radical republican parties (the National Republican Federation and the Radical Republican Party). However, given its vocation and position as a dominant and main force in the government, the most relevant events were the divisions that took place in the Portuguese Republican Party (the “Democratic Party”), which split in 1920 into the National Reconstitution Republican Party, and in 1925-1926 into the Democratic Left Republican Party.

This political map of the parties and political republican groups, which constituted “imperfect multi-party factions or a dominant party” (Sousa, 1983: 167) or “competitive unorganized multi-party factions” (Canotilho, 2002: 176), is also explained by the slow modernization process of Portuguese society, marked by the creation of new institutions, cultural differentiation, social mobility and structural changes, making society more open and plural (Godinho, 1977: 165-195).

However, in the period of 1910-1920 in Portugal, there was still a social and political system that was highly conditioned by an extended and intricate series of networks based on hierarchical relationships and favoritism, since these were still the main characteristics of the Mediterranean societies of Southern Europe: “In Mediterranean societies—Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece—patron-favorite relationships, in their “traditional form” as well as in their more modern form of party-based, bureaucratic and administrative networks, were not an important factor in the formation of the core of the institutional structure (as in other European countries), but in fact its own central core [...]” (Eisenstadt, 2007: 107).

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Kagan, Richard L., and Philip D. Morgan (eds.) 2009 *Atlantic Diasporas. Jews, Conversos, and Crypto Jews in the Age of Mercantilism, 1500-1800* Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press. 307 1 table; 2 maps; cover illustrations: top—View of a Jewish settlement; bottom—view of Paramaribo. Reproduced from John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796). ISBN 13: 978-0-8018-9035-2 and ISBN 10: 0-8018-9035-7

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The Portuguese Nation: **Essays on Atlantic and Jewish Studies**

At a glance, the reader is defied by an engaging title using the Greek term διασπορά, through Latin transliteration. Soon the reader realizes that it is taken not from the Bible [for instance, Deuteronomy 28, 25; 30, 4; Jeremiah 24, 5-8; Ezekiel 12, 3; 11; Acts 2, 5-11; 1Peter 1-2], but from Jonathan Israel's book *Diasporas within Diaspora* (2002) (viii).

Strange though it may appear, this title is appropriately linked with Portuguese and Spanish Jews, as much as their descendants who were forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism. Both had been victims of systematic persecution directed against them and were forced to leave the Iberian Peninsula by economic and religious motives: "like other settlers of the Americas who arrived with spiritual aspirations, the economic orientation may have been more important for the Jewish entrepreneurs" (49).

Though comparatively small in number, these communities, known by *The Portuguese Nation*, had been scattered around the world. They had a significant impact on history. Why? Because Portuguese Jews and *conversos* had been particularly active in commercial pursuits as craftsmen, merchants, middlemen, financiers, during the cycle of cane sugar plantation and global trading in the context of the global economy prior to the so-called globalization (see: Landes, 1999; Braudel, 1949¹; 1967¹; 1979). Most of them ran small-sized family business in partnership or joint-ventures.

Editors Richard Kagan and Philip Morgan have assembled in one volume a set of ten essays on Atlantic and Jewish studies related to the Age of Mercantilism. That points towards Atlantic history methodology, which is focused on "broad perspectives," "comparisons, transnational orientations, and expanded horizons" (vii).

The content took shape from the first "Lavy Colloquium" held at John Hopkins University, Baltimore, in 2005. This book is organized by thematic order and divided in three parts.

The first part opens with Jonathan Israel's text on "Jews and Crypto-Jews in the Atlantic World Systems, 1500-1800," followed by Adam Sutcliffe's essay on "Jewish History in an Age of Atlanticism," both appropriately written for the contextualization.

The second part deals with Mercantilism, with contributions made by Wim Klooster, whose survey concerns “Networks of Colonial Entrepreneurs: The founders of the Jewish Settlements in Dutch America, 1650s and 1660s;” Holly Snyder’s focus on comparative analysis through “English Markets, Jewish Merchants, and Atlantic Endeavors: Jews and the Making of British Transatlantic Commercial Culture, 1650-1800.” Two other interesting studies complete this economic history section: Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert’s essay “*La Nación* among the Nations: Portuguese and Other Maritime Trading Diasporas in the Atlantic, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries” induces the reader to further discussion about the subject; and Francesca Trivellato’s essay, “Sephardic Merchants in the Early Modern Atlantic and Beyond: Toward a Comparative Historical Approach to Business Cooperation,” questions the networks through economic and ethic values such as kinship, religious allegiances, trust, trading alliances, and commercial success.

In the third part, an attempt is made by other authors to discuss religious values and identity. According to Bruno Feitler, whose essay explores the short period of “Jews and New Christians in Dutch Brazil, 1630-1654,” “religious identity cannot be attributed exclusively to spiritual considerations but instead owed much to sentimental, social, economic factors.” (150). Aviva Ben-Ur, with “A Matriarchal Matter: Slavery, Conversion, and Upward Mobility in Suriname’s Jewish Community,” addresses the problem of Jewish identity through slavery, manumission, rabbinical and colonial institutions, and informs the reader about Jewish settlement and economic activities on the so-called Jews’ Savannah. The last two essays depict different treatments on “Catholics, Jews, and Muslims in Early Seventeenth-Century Guiné,” by Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta, for the scarce documentation about the subject and insights, as much as what we could call Jewish millenarianism and utopia linked to Montezino’s account, in Ronnie Perelis’ essay “*These Indians Are Jews!* Lost Tribes, Crypto-Jews, and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Antonio de Montezino’s *Relación*.” The book closes with an epilogue by Natalie Zemon Davis.

Editors Kagan and Morgan present the reader with new contributions *vs* “traditional national-based narratives” (18), new concepts such as “Port Jew” (viii), “Port Jew model” (vii) deriving from European Jewry, “plantation Jews” (viii; x), and a critical appraisal of theories and published material on trading diasporas, such as the Huguenots (56, 77, 80, 112), the Quakers (56, 112), or the Armenians (5, 29, 110-111) in comparative terms.

The book also has a table of contents, notes, and updated references, an index, and a list of the contributors. Some of the essays are based on a variety of archival sources, as well as primary and secondary literature.

Some of the ideas used throughout the essays are not clearly defined. For example, “Marrano converts” (28; note 6, 264), “a Nation within nations” (ix), “*la Nación* among the Nations” (xii, 75), “trust” (24; 118-119) “hybrid societies in the peripheries” (vii), “graded forms of hybrid identity” (27), “it was unquestionably the advent of Brazilian sugar” (8), “western Sephardic” (9; 29), “the Portuguese New Christian caste” (11), “networks in Ibero-America” (13), “[Sephardim], who gravitated to Ibero-America” (17), “Age of Atlanticism” (18).

It is unclear whether they are used as synonyms. One risks maximizing the Jewishness of it all. Indeed, these terms or concepts have different meanings, depending on the content analysis.

The Spanish term *marrano*, in Portuguese *marrão*; *marrano*, literally means “pig”. Porcine meat is specifically excluded from the Jewish dietary. It is non-kosher because it is not “fit” for consumption in accordance with Jewish law [Torah, or Pentateuch see: Leviticus and Deuteronomy], and the rabbinical tradition. Hence *marrano* is an insult addressed by Spanish and Portuguese Roman Catholics against Jews and converted ones, also called *New Christians*. In turn, not all *New Christians* had been former Jews, as Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula were converted too. Later on, some of the Jews, and their descendants, who had been forcibly converted to Roman Catholicism and then returned to Judaism, adopted the term as a reference to their Iberian roots or identity in their *diaspora* (see: Ribeiro Sanches, 1973; Saraiva, 1985; Schwarz, 1993; Nogueira, 2004; 1999).

Part II of the book could have included more consistent economic historical analysis of questions linked with Mercantilism, such as “trading diasporas” or “trust” (see: Peyrefitte, 2005), for its “vagueness” (118), as Francesca Trivellato critically recognizes in her essay; “commenda”—a form of contract for financing maritime trade (see: Oliveira Marques 1977, on Pedro de Santarém, or Santerno, probably a New Christian factor and broker in Florence, Pisa and Livorno, who may be considered the first Portuguese Jewish author to write on insurance— *Tractatus de Assecurationibus* (1552)—); the structural

analysis and *modus operandi* of the Portuguese Jewish small-sized family firms, banking operations, account books and commercial correspondence, partnership or joint-ventures.

The whole lot of essays contain plentiful references to family ties, their trading networks on the African shore (170-194), or Spanish Americas (33-49; 50-74; 122-151), in the Caribbean (152-169), and the economic success achieved by few individuals or families due to legal and illegal activities (28; 112), but there is very little economic historical or sociological analysis on issues like “usury,” “capitalism,” the image of the “Jew,” linked with Jewish economic activities, whose role was not recognised fair by Werner Sombart (2001) and Max Weber (2005).

However, Joseph de la Vega’s essay *Confusion de Confusions* (1688) on the stock exchange operations, and Isaac de Pinto’s *Traité de la circulation et du credit* (1771), [Treatise upon Credit and Money Circulation], would contribute to a better understanding of the Age of Mercantilism (see: Cardoso, 2002; Cardoso, and Nogueira, 2007; 2005).

An attempt to answer some of these questions is made by Holly Snyder, whose essay is focused on a survey of individual merchants, such as the Portuguese *converso* António Fernandes Carvajal [Carvalho?] in London, Asser Levy in New York, one of the few Ashkenazim at the time, and Aaron Lopez in Newport, Rhode Island, a Portuguese Jew. These are cases of successful Jewish merchants who developed consumer markets in pursuit of global trade and trade between colonies (63-64).

Another very interesting aspect is the reliable global trading networks developed by the *Portuguese Nation* and the apprenticeship among Jewish family members. “Another informal practice was that of sending young boys to be educated by their uncles or grandparents—a form of intra familial adoption—suggests a customary way of forming cross hatched connections between different families” (87), as Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert notes.

Indeed, trade is the object of accounting and economic practices. The capitalistic ethics is based on mutual trust, free enterprise, and responsibility. Therefore, the Portuguese and Spanish Jews maintained group endogamy practices as part of their commercial strategies to reinforce commercial ties. The result of that policy is that some couples have no offspring. It was the case of Isaac de Pinto, one of the main investors in the Dutch East India Company, a financier who later went bankrupt in 1763, married to a cousin.

Let us take the cases of Spinoza, Pissarro and Glückel von Hameln. Why? None is mentioned in these essays, but their paths illustrate a key statement of Studnicki-Gizbert: “The succession of nephews to the head of a merchant house was a common practice among Basques and Huguenots, as well” (93).

Despite the fact that Spinoza’s family was certainly not one of the richest in all of Amsterdam, Spinoza, in his *Ethics* (1677, iv, Addition, Ch. xxviii), considers money as *compendium* of all things, a real value that covers any other value. Where does it come from?

It is possible that Baruch Spinoza managed his father’s commercial house *Bento y Gabriel de Spinoza* between March 1654 and July 1656. This period comprehends two important events: his father’s death and Spinoza’s *herem* or excommunication from the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam. Besides this, Spinoza kept the import-export activities of his father until October 1664. What kind of business was this? Michael de Spinoza, the father of the Portuguese-Jewish philosopher, dealt in jewels and made his investments in mercantile trade with the West Indies. Does it mean that Spinoza’s ethic approved business as a way of life? No, we cannot substantiate it. Spinoza’s philosophical thought does not relate to economic matters as such. But he did consider *wealth*, *pleasure* and *honours* as economic and moral values in his *Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione* (1662) [On the Improvements of Understanding]. Moreover, if money has a contradictory meaning, it is because human beings’ nature is also contradictory. But the main intriguing point is that Spinoza gave up his father’s business activity. Why? Michael de Spinoza was a merchant who married twice, and had three children—two daughters, Miriam and Rebekah, by his first wife, and he, Baruch Spinoza, the philosopher, by his second wife. Michael de Spinoza died in March 1654. His only son, Baruch Spinoza, was appointed to succeed in the management of father’s business, but it remains somehow unclear when and why he gave this all up before his excommunication in July 1656 at the age of twenty-three. He moved away from the Portuguese-Jewish quarter in Amsterdam and was cast out of contacts with the Jewish community. Does the “informal practice” (87) apply to Spinoza’s case? Certainly not.

Jacob Abraham Camilo [Camille] Pissarro (1830-1904), the Impressionist painter, whose descendants were also painters, was born at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas Island, once belonging to Danish West Indies, or Danish Virgin Islands, to a father of Portuguese-Jewish descent and a Dominican creole mother. Intriguing? Indeed, the Pissarro family had originated in Braganza, mainland Portugal. In

the 18th century Camille Pissarro's great grandfather, Pedro Rodrigues Álvares Pizzarro, was a *converso*. His grandfather, Joseph Gabriel, fled the country and established himself in Bordeaux, in southwest France, among other *conversos*, judaizers or New Christians. Pissarro's grandfather there married Anne Félicité Petit [Anna Felicidade, a Pequena] in 1798. She had a brother, Isaac Petit, who migrated to St. Thomas Island, Danish West Indies, where he established himself. He married Rachel Manzano-Pomié. After his death, according to Isaac Petit's will, the Portuguese Pissarro family branch in Bordeaux sent, in 1823, his nephew Abraham Frederico Gabriel Pissarro to deal with his uncle's widow business. What kind of business was it? The Pissarro family branch established in the Danish West Indies or Virgin Islands operated a dry goods store. Therefore, Pissarro's father left Bordeaux to St. Thomas in 1823. Soon, he and an aunt who was only a couple of years older than he became romantically involved, which gave rise to scandal among the small existing Portuguese-Jewish community, a congregation founded in 1796. To make things more difficult, Rachel, the aunt, gave birth to Camille Pissarro. They decided to announce their marriage in the *St. Thomas Times* newspaper, on 22 November 1826. But their wedding was not sanctioned by Jewish rabbinical law. And the next day, Pissarro's announcement was promptly denied by the rulers and wardens of the Portuguese synagogue. They subsequently had two other girls. Abraham Frederico tried desperately to legitimize his claim and children, which took him seven years, with consequences to Camille Pissarro's growth and later development, but this subject can be traced in Pissarro's letters and biography (see: Pissarro, 2002; Pissarro, 1993). The Pissarro family was never truly accepted and reconciled within the small Portuguese Jewish community. It is understandable that Camille Pissarro was reluctant to embrace his Jewish background.

To return to Studnicki-Gizbert's statement. Why was Abraham Frederico Gabriel Pissarro, the father of Camille Pissarro, the painter, appointed to run his uncle's widow's dry goods store business and to look after her? Because of the "informal practice" (87) or "common practice" (93), mentioned by Studnicki-Gizbert? Absolutely not. In Pissarro's case, which may not be an explicit case of manumission, as reported in the essay of Mark and Horta about Jewish settlements in Senegambia, in early 17th century, or in the essay of Ben-Ur about Suriname's Jewish community in the 18th century, the problem turns around the marital and legal status of Rachel Manzano-Pomié. She was a creole from Dominican Island converted to Judaism, who later opposed her son's involvement and marriage to her own house maid, Julie Vellay, a French Roman Catholic girl, the daughter of a Burgundy region wine grower. The couple had in all eight children.

To elucidate the role of Jewish women, one may choose the case of Glückel von Hameln (1646-1724), who in many circumstances had to managed family business during the absence of her husbands—she was married twice—or elder sons, and even when she was a widow. Her *Memories* (1896) offers us an insight to many of these questions and a testimony of the main events in the Age of Mercantilism all across Europe, with references to the Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Amsterdam (see: Hameln, 1977; Nogueira, 2008; 2004; 1999).

Going beyond economic history and sociological items, there are philosophical ideas linked with ethics, business activity, gender, matriarchal *vs.* patriarchal matters on social mobility (152-169), values, double identity, stereotypes, prejudice and representation—the Jew as *Pariah* (see: Arendt, 2008; Nogueira, 2004), heterodoxy *vs.* orthodoxy lived by the *Portuguese Nation* in *diaspora*, which deserve to be discussed thoroughly.

For instance, the issues linked with *Messianism* and *Utopia* in *Relación de Aharon Levi* (1644), an account attributed to António de Montezinos about his meeting with the descents of the lost tribe of Reuben, the Reubenites (195-211), the messianic fervour of João de Yllán, or the ideas of Menasseh ben Israel, a rabbi and kabbalist, his relationship with Saul Levi Morteira, the rabbi that excommunicated Baruch Spinoza, and the cases of Uriel da Costa [Acosta], Juan del Prado and the critics from Balthazar [Isaac] Oróbio de Castro on Spinoza's writings (see: Abreu, 1999; 1993; Yovel, 1989). It is known that Joseph da Costa [Acosta], the young brother of Uriel da Costa [Acosta], also lived in Dutch Brazil—Is there any link between Joseph da Costa [Acosta] and Isaac da Costa as "contemporary of" Joseph Pelegrino in Suriname (159)?—and that Isaac da Fonseca Aboab, and Mosseh Raphael d'Aguilar, both kabbalists and adherents of rabbi Sabbatai Zevi, were pointed as rabbis to Brazil.

The colonial Dutch Brazil period (1630-1654), particularly when John Maurice of Nassau (1637-1644) governed, gave Portuguese Jews and *conversos* the historical opportunity to openly establish their first synagogues to worship God. According to Bruno Feitler (126-128), the oldest synagogue opened in Recife, most likely in 1636, in a rented house. After four or five years a new one was built. Another synagogue was founded in Mauritania in 1637. Other little *esnogas* are reported to have existed but without

official status or autonomy, perhaps at private houses in order to celebrate Shabbat and other main Jewish festivities. Somehow unclear, Feitler called them “pseudo-synagogues” (127), “informal synagogues” (127), linked to “other informal gatherings” (128), and he states that relations between the Portuguese Jewish communities were tense (126), involving disputes between the leadership and the Jewish “conversos,” who remained ambiguously New Christians.

Deprived of the leadership of Maurice of Nassau, the *West India Company* lost control over the Dutch possessions in Brazil. Shortly after Portugal had revolted against the Spanish Habsburgs rule in 1640, and restored its independence, Portuguese settlers also took control over Dutch Brazil. Consequently Portuguese Jewish communities expanded to the Spanish possessions in the Americas (11; 92), faced again persecutions by the Inquisition and chose to flee, establishing themselves in other Dutch, English and French possessions in the Caribbean, as well as in North America, the so-called *Nieuw Amsterdam* (1614-1674) on Manhattan Island, which later became New York. It represents a turning point in the economy during the Age of Mercantilism.

Concerning the cultural aspects of Jewish life and heritage, Curaçao became, after 1650 a reference for all synagogues in the Americas and for long financial and spiritual support the Jewish *diaspora*, including the foundation of the first Jewish synagogues in North America dating from the colonial era, such as *The Touro Synagogue* built from 1759 to 1763 in Newport, Rhode Island, despite the fact that the Portuguese Jewish congregation itself dates back to the mid-1650s; and *The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue* built in 1897, but founded by the first Portuguese Jews from Dutch Brazil and Dutch Antilles, who gathered together in the same period. However, the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam remains a reference or source of inspiration to their architecture and functional worship (see: Belinfante et al. 1991; Nogueira, 1999).

The analysis of the Jewish activities during the colonial Dutch Brazil period (1630-1654) has to take into account other counterparts. The role of the Portuguese Jesuit Priest António Vieira (1608-1697), his sermons, political economic writings, correspondence, and intense diplomatic activity carried on in England, France, the United Provinces, with the Holy See in Rome, and among the Portuguese Jews in Rouen, in Rotterdam, The Hague, and Amsterdam, has been ignored by the authors of the essays dealing with this item. Vieira involved himself for improving Portuguese economy in mainland and the colonies, the missionary work, and in several peace negotiations. In his *memoranda* Vieira urged the cession of Pernambuco to the Dutch. He committed himself to the reform of Portuguese inquisitorial procedure, the admission of Jewish and foreign merchants' capital to create companies of commerce, and to finish persecutions against the Portuguese *conversos*. Vieira's ideas and draft plans were not welcome by the king's counsellors. He was denounced to the Portuguese Inquisition and kept in prison from October 1665 to December 1667. Released, Vieira travelled to Italy, for an audience with the Pope, to rehabilitate himself. During a six-year sojourn in Rome he became the confessor to former Queen Christina of Sweden, who once protected French philosopher René Descartes. Vieira eventually returned back to Portuguese Brazil with a papal bull exempting him from the jurisdiction of Portuguese Inquisition. As a result of Vieira's diplomatic initiative, Pope Innocent XI suspended the Inquisition Tribunal activity in Portugal from 1676 to 1681 (See P.e Vieira, 1951-1954; P.e Vieira, 1970-1971; Nogueira, 2004).

Other ethical implications derive from slavery and the role of the Portuguese Jews, the subject of analysis in the essay written by Peter Mark and José da Silva Horta. On the one hand, all faced Inquisitorial persecution; on the other hand, some took part in the slave trade, together with Christians, Muslims, and African rulers of Petit Côte, Joala and Porto Ale, in Senegambia (170). But their network also extended to São Tomé, Angola, and Brazil (171). They competed against other Roman Catholic Portuguese merchants and slave traders, based in the Cape Verde archipelago and at Cacheu, Guiné-Bissau (173). Taking advantage of local hospitality and Islamic *dhimma* status, soon the Portuguese Jews were involved in polemics with other Portuguese merchants and missionaries (175-178; 190), with mutual charges of idolatry and blasphemy, judaizing and proselytism, which has led Mark and Horta to conclude that “from Amsterdam to Guinea, trade and conversion were complementary” (191).

In 1612, a certain Jacob Peregrino, also known as Jerónimo Rodrigues Freire, was sent to Petite Côte to serve as rabbi among the predominantly Portuguese Jewish male merchant population, estimated in twenty or thirty individuals, with their African families and descendants (170; 188-189).

Considering the problem of slavery, manumission, and their Jewish identity, some Portuguese Jews were forced to ignore the Jewish law “of passing on Jewish identity through the father” (189) rather than through the mother. The same situation occurred in Suriname. By the 1660s there was no more evidence of a Portuguese Jewish community trading in that region of Guinea (191).

How did these Jews succeed at managing their businesses and faith? Because identities were “flexible” (172), “contingent” (194), and toleration is based on cultural factors and economic interests, “they often changed in the course of a life time” (185-187), as realized Mark and Horta. These authors do admit that some of these Jews moved far away to Dutch Brazil (193).

However, both authors make no connection, if there has been a documented one, with the Portuguese and Spanish Jewish communities existing at that time in Morocco (Ceuta, Melilla, Tangiers, Tétouan, Fez, Marrakech), and in Algiers (Oran), or the Portuguese Jewish ventures carried on in Senegambia, and the same authors give no insight to the Portuguese and Jewish spoken languages in the former Portuguese and Spanish colonies of West Africa, such as *Haketia* (also written Hakitia, Haquítia) and *Tetuni*.

In Suriname, as it has been reported, where “Port Jews” and “Plantation Jews” were slave owners, but faced a small Jewish female population, they mixed with slave women of African descent, whose children they legitimized and educated in Jewish faith.

This attitude of miscegenation and proselytism, apparently contradictory to the established moral, followed by the manumission of children, born and raised outside of legal marriages, caused different reactions against them, based on racial status, prejudice and stereotyping (155; 165; note 3, 271). This was the case of Joseph Pelegrino, who applied to the court for the manumission of his three children, Simha, Jacob, and Mariana, as Aviva Ben-Ur illustrates in his essay (152; 157; 169). With regard to John Gabriel Stedman, a Dutch colonial officer in Surinam, and author of the aforementioned *Narrative* (1796), he also experienced a similar situation in order to legitimize his son, Johnny, born of his relation with the coloured slave Joanna. Often most of them met fierce opposition from institutions, the settlers, rabbis and clergy.

To conclude. African slave and creole women have been “a key component in the growth, survival, and redefinition of the Sefardi population” (154), as Aviva Ben-Ur states in his essay.

About Pelegrino’s geneology, with Portuguese-Jewish offspring in Senegambia and Surinam, as suggested by Mark and Horta in their essay, it lacks foundation and sounds speculative, as they themselves recognise: “Hence, it is at least remotely conceivable that the Pelegrino family of Suriname were directly descended from the rabbi of Petite Côte, Jacob Peregrino” (194).

Concerning the Portuguese and Spanish Jewish spoken languages on the Caribbean islands of Aruba, Curaçao and Bonaire, the *Papiamentu*, as well as in Suriname, the *Sranan Tongo*, both developed initially from a pidgin to a widely spoken creole among the slaves, slaves owners and later among indentured labourers. Both creoles became *lingua franca* with official status (167-169). However, the Portuguese and Spanish Jews also made use of Ladino, Hebrew, Latin, French, Dutch and English, for different purposes far beyond commercial or religious issues (see: Nogueira, 1999; 2004; Cardoso, and Nogueira, 2007).

They founded not only synagogues in the Americas, inspired on the model of the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam, built in 1670-1675, but also *Santa Companhia de dotar Orphas e Donzelas*, founded in 1615 by Joseph Pardo, with a branch in Dutch Brazil, since 1639 to endow poor maidens (129-130; note 21, 265-266), and *yeshiba* [schools], as the *Yeshiba de los Pintos* in Rotterdam and then in Amsterdam, also the *Academia de los Sitibundos* (1676) and the *Academia de los Floridos* (1685), both founded by Manuel de Belmonte also known as Isaac Nuñez Belmonte.

Daniel [Miguel] Levi de Barrios (1625-1701), incidentally mentioned once by Bruno Feitler in his essay (127), António José da Silva (1705-1739), and the former mentioned Joseph de la Vega (1650-1692), and Isaac de Pinto (1715-1787), are the main literary references of that period, whose contribution as literati justified other reception in these collected essays.

In the arts, other leading representatives of the *Portuguese Nation* in Amsterdam were portrayed by Rembrandt—Menasseh ben Israel—and Romeyn de Hooghe—Isaac da Fonseca Aboab.

Having as “precedents” Bernardi, and Fiering (eds.) 2001, Cesarani 2002, Dubin 2006, from the perspective of Atlantic and Jewish studies—“the current volume is by no means the first to address this vast subject” (ix).

The book is recommended and worthy because it invites further inquiry of cross-approach nature. It has bibliographic value and contributes to deepen our understanding of the subject.

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The transfer of the court to Brazil, 200 years afterwards

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Abstract

This essay presents a brief survey of the main activities that took place in both Portugal and Brazil in the context of the programmes put forward to celebrate the bicentennial of the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil. This general assessment offers a critical account of the main art and history exhibitions, university conferences and seminars, and published materials in books or special issues of academic journals. The list of publications is deliberately focused on the years 2007 and 2008. Though the aim of this article is not to provide a critical historiographical revision, it concludes with a brief appraisal of the most relevant contributions of the commemorative events for the renewal of Portuguese and Brazilian historiography related to the problems and period under analysis.

Keywords

Transfer of Portuguese court, D. João, historiography

Resumo

Procede-se neste texto a uma apresentação das principais actividades desenvolvidas, quer em Portugal quer no Brasil, no âmbito das comemorações do bicentenário da transferência da corte portuguesa para o Brasil. Trata-se de um balanço que regista as mais importantes exposições artísticas e documentais, colóquios e conferências de carácter académico, e publicações em livro e em números especiais de revistas. O elenco de publicações referenciadas é deliberadamente centrado nos anos de 2007 e 2008. Apesar de não ter propósitos de revisão historiográfica, o texto conclui com uma breve apreciação dos contributos fundamentais das comemorações para a renovação da historiografia luso-brasileira relativa ao período histórico e às problemáticas em análise.

Palavras-chave

Transferência da corte, D. João, historiografia

I

2007 and 2008 were years that afforded a series of different moments in the evocation or commemoration of the bicentenary of the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil. This article seeks to provide a review of the main events that were organized to celebrate the occasion. Given the impossibility of recording here all the initiatives that were proposed, an attempt will be made to draw attention to those that have left lasting marks through their contribution to the renewal of the historiographic legacy relating to this historical period. Based on these records, which take us beyond the merely ephemeral tone of the festivities, an attempt will be made to provide an overview of the novelties that have been brought to the study and interpretation of the significance and implications of the transfer of the court to Brazil and its subsequent stay there. This is, after all, the particular merit that commemorations always have, or, in other

words, they create an opportunity and a pretext for deepening and enriching our knowledge about a given historical period.

In fact, the commemorations of the transfer of the court to Brazil were an occasion that proved to be a fruitful pretext for remembering and analyzing a period that was decisive for the building of the Portuguese and Brazilian historical destiny. However, in each of the two countries, the responsibility and initiative for the organization of the various events proceeded at quite different rates and with notably different dynamics. In Portugal, a commission was set up to take responsibility for the commemorations, and, notwithstanding the great interest and commitment shown by its commissioner, it achieved little more than to ensure that it was duly represented at public sessions where the transfer of the court was evoked. Bereft of both its own budget and program, without any institutional framework worthy of this name, and relegated to a secondary position in sharp contrast to the pomp and circumstance dedicated to politically more useful celebrations—as was the case with the commemorations of the Portuguese Overseas Discoveries and as will certainly be the case with the commemorations of the Implantation of the Portuguese Republic—the Portuguese Commission (“200 Years Portugal-Brazil”) saw its role being fulfilled through initiatives promoted by academic and university institutions.

In the Brazilian case, a greater political commitment was to be noted on the part of the various state governments that organized or promoted conferences, lecture cycles, small exhibitions, educational programs for secondary schools and even naval parades, historical reconstructions, gastronomic competitions and allegorical processions. Because of the very contents of the central message that was intended to be conveyed—the historical rehabilitation of the figure of Dom João and the royal family, whose image, even in the quite recent past, had been so completely denigrated by the official Brazilian historiography and the popular opinion that inevitably echoed those sentiments—it is easy to understand the greater commitment to be noted in the institutional support afforded to the various commemorations that took place in Brazil.

Particular emphasis should be given to the direct involvement of the Prefecture of Rio de Janeiro, which supported the ambitious and successful program of the “Commission for the Commemorations of the Bicentenary of the Arrival of Dom João and the Royal Family in Rio de Janeiro”—or “Dom João VI in Rio” in short—chaired by the Ambassador Alberto da Costa e Silva. The sponsorship that this commission gave to the organization of multiple educational, cultural and recreational activities, ranging from the most erudite cycle of lectures to the more popular parade of samba schools at the Rio Carnival, provided a safe guarantee of the quality of a commemorative program of enormously symbolic importance and with undeniable public repercussions.

The periodicals and magazines with the largest circulations in Brazil (*Globo*, *Folha de São Paulo*, *Jornal do Brasil*, *Veja*, *Época*, amongst others) organized special dossiers and supplements about the transfer of the court. The *Revista de História da Biblioteca Nacional* (Nr. 28, January 2008) published a special issue devoted entirely to this theme, about which some of the most prestigious historians studying this period wrote articles in a language that was accessible to the general public. The TV Globo television channel and its associated Globo News network organized a series of news reports, documentaries and interviews, *1808—The Court in Brazil*, amounting to a total of 10 hours of television broadcasts and ensuring a widespread promotion and public sharing of the significance of Dom João’s voyage to Brazil and subsequent stay there.

The success of the work undertaken by the “Dom João VI in Rio” commission may be closely scrutinized in the future thanks to the digital and printed records of the multiple initiatives to which it gave its support, namely the publication of sources and original studies about the many different aspects of the court’s move to Brazil, the presence of the royal family in Rio de Janeiro and the transformation that was to have such an overall effect on the colony, which had suddenly acquired the status of an imperial headquarters.

Independently of the importance of the commemorations held in Rio de Janeiro, the celebrations that took place in Bahia also deserve to be mentioned, since this was the first point of arrival of the Prince Regent Dom João and a part of his retinue. The state government promoted various initiatives remembering the royal landing and disembarkation and the Geographical and Historical Institute of Bahia organized a conference from 13 to 16 May 2008, where special attention was paid to the theme of the opening of the Brazilian ports to free trade with friendly nations, this being the first measure decreed by Dom João on his arrival in Brazil. During the months of March to June 2008, an exhibition was held at the Bahia Art Museum about *Bahia in the Time of Dom João*, which sought to provide a reconstruction of aspects of urban life, everyday family life and the festive atmosphere that was engendered by the episodic

stay of the royal entourage in the region, from 22 January to 26 February 1808. The exhibition catalogue (Athayde 2008) clearly illustrates the importance and fascination of the objects, set in the context of their own time and place, for enhancing our understanding of this unique moment in the history of Bahia.

Another exhibition worthy of mention was the one held at the National Historical Museum in Rio de Janeiro, from March to July 2008, under the general title of *A New World, a New Empire. The Portuguese Court in Brazil, 1808-1822*. This exhibition also resulted in the publication of a catalogue with texts and pictures highlighting the most significant aspects of the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean and the adaptation of the royal family, the court and the government to their new life in the Tropics (Tostes 2008). The sheer number and variety of exhibitions held in Rio de Janeiro, or in other neighboring cities, throughout 2008, was truly impressive. Merely by way of example, one could mention the ones that were held: at the Federal Justice Cultural Center, about the history of some institutions created as a result of the court's installation in Rio; at the National Museum of Fine Arts, about the collection of paintings transferred and acquired by Dom João during his stay in Rio; at the Casa França-Brasil (Alfândega), about fashion, costumes and accessories at the court of Dom João VI; at the Arte Sesc (Flamengo), about *Rio de Janeiro, capital of Portugal*; at the Museum of Ingá, about *Niterói in the time of Dom João VI*; and at the Imperial Museum of Petrópolis, where two thematic exhibitions were held, whose titles clearly illustrate the contents on display: *Maritime crossings—tragic reports of the sea voyages across the Atlantic made by the Portuguese court and other sailors*, and *Dreams—the plans and achievements of a merciful and intelligent prince, who wanted to stay in Brazil forever*.

Still in the field of art exhibitions, mention should also be made of the thematic exhibition about *Health and Medicine in Portugal and Brazil—200 Years*, which took place at the Historical Museum of Rio de Janeiro from July to September 2008 and at the Museums of the Escola Politécnica in Lisbon from November 2008 to January 2009. Other exhibitions that were held in Lisbon were *Rio and Lisbon, Constructions of an Empire*, from June to July 2008 at the Universidade Lusíada, dedicated to the problems of appropriating the territory and organizing the urban space, and the temporary exhibition of prints and paintings that was held at the National Museum of Ancient Art, from November 2007 to February 2008, under the title of *The Changing Empire, 1807-1821*.

II

There were various academic and university meetings dedicated to this theme. The first initiative that should be mentioned was a set of open lectures that took place in Rio de Janeiro between 22 May and 13 June 2007 at the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute under the general title of *1808—The Transformation of Brazil: from Colony to Kingdom and Empire*. This course was an important landmark at the early beginning of the commemorations with more than 300 participants and subsequent publication of the lectures in a special issue of the *Revista do IHGB*. From 8 to 10 October 2007, the Institute of Scientific and Tropical Research and the Overseas Historical Archive promoted the conference entitled *Memories of the Portuguese-Speaking World: the Court's Departure for Brazil*, where roughly 20 papers were presented. Its main concern was to survey the archives and documentary sources available for the study of this period. On 29 and 30 October 2007, the Brazilian Academy of Letters organized a meeting at its headquarters in Rio de Janeiro on *The Role of Dom João VI in the Union of Portugal and Brazil*, with the participation of members of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences. Also in 2007, from 26 to 30 November, the *1st Commemorative Conference of the Departure of the Royal Family for Brazil, 1807-2007*, with sessions alternating between the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, the Portuguese History Academy, the Naval Academy and the Lisbon Geographical Society, with the collaboration of the Military History Commission. The 4th Conference of the Brazilian Historical Institutes was held from 21 to 23 October 2008 at the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute in Rio de Janeiro on the theme of the *Bicentenary of the Arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil*, with 19 institutes from various Brazilian states being represented.

The two largest academic conferences, with the greatest varieties of themes (each with roughly 50 papers presented and discussed) took place from 9 to 14 March 2008 at the Fluminense Federal University in Niterói, and from 4 to 6 December 2008 at the Institute of Social Sciences in Lisbon. The first of these conferences, entitled *1808—The Court in Brazil*, centered on the economic, social, political and cultural aspects of the court's stay in Rio de Janeiro. The second, entitled *Portugal, Brazil and Napoleonic*

Europe, attempted to set the transfer of the court in the context of the conflicts and upheavals taking place at that time in Europe.

The simultaneous presence at these conferences of Portuguese and Brazilian historians was an important factor for ensuring a valuable interchange of points of view, experiences and historiographic traditions, adding to the range of different perspectives available for the interpretation of the historical period under analysis. This fruitful dialogue was also the main motive of interest and the central aim of the organization of the conference that took place at the Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian in Paris, from 26 to 28 May 2008, expressly dedicated to commemorating the *200^e anniversaire de l'arrivée de la famille royale portugaise au Brésil*. A similar motivation was to be found in the first part of the meeting between Portuguese and Brazilian historians held at the Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa on 24-25 November 2008, with the title of *Between Portugal and Brazil. The Court in South America (1808-1821). An overview and historiographic perspectives*, an initiative which is set to be continued in 2009 by the Jaime Cortesão Chair of the University of São Paulo.

Another interesting and notable feature, when one considers the range of conferences and lecture cycles that were held, is the unprecedented encounter between members of the academic world and representatives of the business community of both countries. The clearest possible demonstration of the fact that it is both possible and desirable for there to be a dialogue between historians and businessmen was given by the conference organized by the Federation of Commerce of the State of São Paulo, which took place on 28-29 November 2007 on the theme of the *200th Anniversary of the Opening of the Ports*, at which papers were presented on the significance of the liberalization of the colonial trade arising from the opening of the Brazilian ports decreed in January 1808, although it also dealt with the challenges of the modernization of the present-day Brazilian port structure. A similar situation was to be noted at the two conferences promoted by the Banco Espírito Santo—the first in Lisbon on 10-11 April, 2008, and the second in Bahia on 21-22 November 2008—at which the commemorations of the bicentenary served as a pretext for historians, social scientists, businessmen and political actors to discuss *1808-2008 and the future of economic relations between Portugal and Brazil*.

The above-mentioned conferences and meetings are far from amounting to an exhaustive list of such events.¹ Yet this selection, which has sought to record the most important conferences, covers a total of roughly 200 papers, a number that clearly shows how the commemorative pretext can become a factor encouraging the development of new research. Some of the papers presented correspond to sporadic and isolated studies without any continuity, or others which return to and recycle materials that have already previously been worked upon. However, most of these papers will be revised, published and included in books; others will be redirected and submitted for publication in specialized journals; while yet others will be used by their authors as chapters of books that are already under preparation. In short, the series of academic and university conferences motivated by the bicentenary of the court's transfer to Brazil represents, in itself, an invaluable contribution to the broadening of our knowledge of this theme.

III

At the same time, a number of publishing initiatives have been developed, showing the results of innovative research projects. In this context, one should mention the special dossier on "The Portuguese Court in Brazil" published by the Portuguese review *Ler História* (Nr. 54, 2008), with six articles re-examining various aspects relating to changes in the monopoly over colonial trade and the reorganization of the new imperial space as a result of the invasion and occupation of the metropolitan territory (Pereira 2008). The *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* published a special issue (a.168, Nr. 436, July-September 2007) on the theme of the transfer of the court to Brazil, with a total of fifteen articles corresponding to the lectures given at the above mentioned course "1808—The Transformation of Brazil: from Colony to Kingdom and Empire" (Lyra 2007). The specific theme of "Trajectories and sociabilities in Brazil at the Court of Dom João VI" received the attention of six articles included in the special dossier of the Brazilian journal *Tempo* (Vol. 12, Nr. 24, January-June 2008)—organized by our much beloved, but so sadly and prematurely deceased, friend, Maria de Fátima Gouvêa—in which the theme of the court's transfer is analyzed from a viewpoint that pays special attention to new reflections

¹ Cf. Carvalho, 2008, who mentions other events promoted by the various Brazilian Historical Institutes. As far as the Portuguese part is concerned, it is important to note that the theme of the court's transfer to Brazil is inevitably to be found at the multiple conferences that have been organized and will take place over the next few years on the French Invasions and the Peninsular War, which are not covered by this review.

upon the history of the different social actors and networks (Gouvêa 2008). The review *Acervo* (Vol. 21:1, January-June 2008), of the National Archive of Rio de Janeiro, published a special issue on “The Court in Brazil, 200 years”, composed of nine articles in which various aspects of the theme of the court’s transfer were examined (Heynemann 2008). Finally, the *Revista Brasileira* (Year XIV, Nr. 54, January-March 2008) of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, dedicated a thematic issue with fifteen contributions to the subject of the presence of Dom João VI in Brazil.

Despite the proliferation of new studies motivated by the commemorations of the bicentenary, it is essential to note that the theme has been constantly returned to, not only by Portuguese and Brazilian historians, but also by authors of other nationalities. And there are a number of recent contributions, published prior to the impetus provided by the commemorations, that establish essential guidelines for analyzing the transfer of the court to Brazil and its multiple implications, such as the books by Jurandir Malerba (2000), Kirsten Schultz (2001) and Lília Schwarcz (2002), and, less erudite but with a greater media impact, the book by Patrick Wilcken (2004). There was clearly some historiographic innovation in this process, which also included the reconstruction of the figure of Dom João VI based on new biographical records that definitively removed from the scenarios of his representation the traditional images of pusillanimity and indecisiveness, accompanied by other perceived flaws related to his lack of the elementary political capacity to govern his subjects to his own satisfaction. Thus, the serene biography of Jorge Pedreira and Fernando Dores Costa (2006) made a decisive contribution to stemming the tide of historiographic mutterings that insisted on ridiculing and belittling the figure of the king, and finally went some way towards confirming the positive and pioneering eulogy put together by Oliveira Lima (1908), and opportunely republished in 2006. The same change of direction can be noted in the synthetic records produced with biographical notes and an overall contextualization of the activity of Dom João VI in Brazil, recently published by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (2008) and Rui Figueiredo Marcos (2008).

Besides producing the new contributions to the biography of Dom João, prince and king of Portugal and Brazil, 2007 and 2008 were years of fruitful publishing activity, particularly in relation to new studies about the court’s transfer to Brazil and its life in Rio.² As far as the publication of new sources is concerned, attention should be drawn to the carefully prepared edition of the previously unpublished letters of Carlota Joaquina (Azevedo 2007), a work that provides us with a different image of the ill-loved queen, based on the personal and intimate records of her family correspondence. Another text published in Portuguese for the first time was the account of the voyage written by Thomas O’Neil (2007), which, despite its somewhat fanciful nature, is one of the rare testimonies referring to the conditions under which the royal entourage undertook their voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. The publication of the letters that Luís Santos Marrocos wrote to his father and other family relatives between 1811 and 1821 (Marrocos 2008), a masterful collection of records and news about life at the court, and about the political, economic and cultural situation in the capital of the empire in the tropics, made it possible for readers to enjoy a more complete contact with one of the most highly appreciated sources for the reconstruction of the social environment in Rio de Janeiro during the period of the royal family’s stay in that city. Also in the field of epistolary sources, reference should be made to the publication of *Correspondência Luso-Brasileira* (2008), which includes a significant chunk of the letters exchanged between the Pinto da França and Garcez families during the course of the court’s sojourn in Brazil.

Our knowledge of the sources available for the study of the action of the government that was installed in Rio and its relations with the regency in Lisbon became more accessible with the study and contextualization provided by Ana Canas (2007). Another study with essential heuristic attributes was made by Kenneth Light (2007), based on the previously unpublished and painstakingly gathered information (which is kept at the Public Record Office and in other archives belonging to the British Royal Navy) about the sea voyage of the English fleet that accompanied the entourage of the Prince Regent Dom João.

I shall now highlight some of the works published at the time of the bicentenary celebrations, which help us to deepen and renew our historical knowledge about the transfer of the court to Brazil. The opening of the ports and its significance within the context of a broader opening up and liberalization of the Brazilian economy, creating new opportunities for the development of greater economic and political autonomy, is the theme linking the 12 essays included in the work published by Luís Valente de Oliveira

² It should be stressed that all the bibliographical references presented below relate to books published during the years 2007 and 2008. No individual identification is made of the articles published in the special issues of the reviews mentioned above.

and Rubens Ricupero (2007). The same theme of the opening of the ports and the problems faced by a colony that suddenly saw its dependence on Portugal transferred to the British Empire is also re-examined by José Jobson de Andrade Arruda (2008).

The establishment of new traders in Rio, their relationship with the traditional trade structures, their technical development with a view to satisfying the needs of an increased demand for consumer products and capital equipment for manufacturing production, are all subjects that are analyzed in the book by Isabel Lustosa and Théo Lobarinhas Piñeiro (2008). The international framework of the court's transfer, and its understanding in the light of the events that shaped the dynamics of the western world in that same year of 1808, are presented and discussed in the book by Andrea Slemian and João Paulo Pimenta (2008).

The court's presence in Rio caused multiple changes to be introduced into urban life and led to the need for new equipment and public spaces. The creation of the Botanical Garden, the organization of scientific studies in the fields of natural history, for example those taking into account the acclimatization of plants of Asian origin, the new leisure programs and the fascination aroused by the exuberant beauty of both native and transplanted plants and plant species, are just some of the ingredients that make the book by Rosa Nepomuceno (2007) particularly attractive. In a different register, exploring the problems related with the influence of the tropical climate on the new European inhabitants, the diseases, the proposals made for basic sanitation facilities and the elimination of swamp areas, or, in other words, the concerns with questions of public health, are all clearly evident in the texts from the period written by Manuel Vieira da Silva and Domingos Guimarães Peixoto, which have now been edited and commented by Moacyr Sciliar (2008).

The establishment of the Royal Press in Rio de Janeiro gave rise to various publishing activities, including, most notably, the publication of the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*. The book by Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (2007) offers us a selection of articles and a guide to the themes and news that earned the attention of the editors of the *Gazeta*, a useful source for accompanying the daily heartbeat of a city that was avid for information and news. At the level of the intellectual life and new cultural environment provided by the city of Rio de Janeiro, attention is drawn to the book by Vasco Mariz (2008) on music in the time of Dom João VI, and the repertoire of concerts and musical activities that took place in the Capela Real or the new Teatro de São João. On this subject, it should also be mentioned that the commemorations of the bicentenary created an opportunity for the fresh release of recordings revealing the compositional skills and quality of musicians such as Marcos Portugal and Padre José Maurício Nunes Garcia.

Lilia Schwarcz (2008) published an interesting and controversial study on Nicolas-Antoine Taunay and the French artistic mission, questioning the very existence of the "mission" as a deliberate project commissioned by the court, maintaining that, above all, it was the outcome of random circumstances that made it possible to bring about a fortunate combination of the court's political will and the enforced exile of French artists who had a neoclassical background but were imbued with Napoleonic convictions. Also linked to the field of the history of art in Rio de Janeiro during the time of Dom João VI is the important study by Renata Santos (2008) on engraving and its use in books and newspapers, the production of maps and pictures used for propaganda purposes, caricatures and ephemeral printed material, the techniques used in engraving and the making of prints and their social and political uses.

The multiple implications of an economic, social, political and cultural nature arising from the transfer of the court to Rio de Janeiro are recorded and noted in the dictionary organized by Ronaldo Vainfas and Lúcia Bastos Pereira das Neves (2008). This is a work with legitimate aspirations of providing a synthesis, written in the style of the compilation of encyclopedia entries, with an alphabetical sequence and order that is difficult to understand, but which is undeniably interesting from the point of view of its systematization.

And there are, of course, books of a non-academic nature without the erudition of university research, but which, perhaps because of this, are fortunately and inevitably destined to enjoy a successful reception amongst the general public. This is the case, for example, with the book by Ruy Castro (2008), which presents us with a romanticized story of the adventures of the Infante Dom Pedro and his friend Leonardo, penetrating inside the customs and habits of a new sociability constructed in the empire's newly emerging capital. An empire that this mischievous boy (who, in 1808, was only 12 years old) was to receive crowned in glory when, in January 1822, he was bold enough to say, "I shall stay," and to shout, in September 1822, "Independence or Death." This is also the case with the novel by Hélio Loureiro (2008),

which tells us of the misadventures of an imaginary cook of the prince Dom João, who set sail with him for Brazil, reinvented new gastronomic delights with Brazilian ingredients, enjoyed a few love affairs and was saddened when he had to return to Portugal, and who, besides feeding his king well, also fueled the speculation taking place about the regicide caused by a fatal dose of arsenic being mixed in with the food. The cook was only allowed to enjoy the revenge of similarly victimizing those who had dragged him into this terrible plot.

Guaranteed publishing success does not always testify to the quality of the narrative, but there are other means of achieving fame. Dom João, Dona Carlota, ministers, secretaries and public men turned into comic strip characters: this was the idea ingeniously expressed in the form of drawings by Spacca, supported by a safe and reliable text written by Lília Schwarcz (2007), in which there is no shortage of intrigue, suspense and great creativity in the graphical conception of a storyline about the Brazilian João told in comic form.

But when we talk about publishing success, the greatest emphasis must be given to the book *1808* by Laurentino Gomes (2007), a genuine bestseller that remained at the top of the sales lists in Brazil and Portugal for practically the whole of 2008. Organized into short chapters of fluent and incisive prose, the book was meticulously conceived to appeal to an audience that was unaccustomed, or even allergic, to academic writing. Although the book does not succeed in avoiding some easily refuted commonplaces, it is only fair to recognize that the book corresponds to a serious project to transpose the various political contexts, social settings, cultural atmospheres, economic limitations and international constraints associated with the court's presence in Brazil into an accessible language, without forgetting the attractions provided by small stories of courtly life and by the portraits and biographical profiles of great characters. The book's major defect is perhaps the sinister and rather warped phrase used as its subtitle, creating an expectation of jocularity that is not matched by the seriousness of the contents of historical investigative journalism that the author successfully manages to express. The explicit references to the "mad queen," the "frightened prince" and "the corrupt court" are a painful demonstration of the rules of the weak marketing that an author can be subjected to, much to the enjoyment of those who sell books as if they were selling soap.

IV

From the synthetic references or simple mentions made above about books and essays included in collective editions, articles published in academic reviews or in periodicals with a wide circulation, as well as lectures and papers presented at conferences that are still awaiting publication, there can be no doubt that we are now faced with a rich source of information and additional knowledge about the period of the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil and its subsequent stay there. It is my firm belief that, today, much more is known than was the case two years ago about the multiple perspectives from which the court's stay in Brazilian territory can be considered: from the political language to the musical language, from the construction of the urban space to the formation of the territorial identity, from the territory's internal administration to its dealings with the world outside, from economic considerations to police matters, from the organization of justice to health care, from the orders of the realm to the secrets of the court, from the territory's literary and cultural life to its scientific discoveries. And, there are many other aspects that embody the difference between the colony that was the jewel in the crown and the colony that became the capital of the empire.

The various institutions created in Brazil in 1808—Ministries, the Council of State, the Military Council and the Council of Justice, Law Courts, the Intendancy of the Police, the Board of Trade, the Royal Printing Press, the Bank of Brazil, the Botanical Garden, the Academy of Midshipmen, the Medical and Surgical School, amongst others—are better known today and have been researched in an innovative fashion, associating the work of investigating the archives with the hermeneutic questioning about their place and function in the new legal and political order of the Portuguese-Brazilian empire. And the minutiae of the micro-analyses about individual political actors or economic agents serve as a complement to the essays providing an overall interpretation of the full extent of the changes brought about by the transfer of the court to Brazil.

Without attempting to make a comprehensive synthesis of the perspectives of historiographic renewal already undertaken or in progress, I believe that it is pertinent, in terms of this overview, to

highlight two essential *lines of force* that run through the most recent historiographic production about the court's transfer.³

First of all, there is the definitive consolidation of the interpretation that the departure or retreat of the Prince Regent Dom João, with his family and court, has to be seen as the outcome of the long process of Portugal's involvement in the highly belligerent conjuncture to be found at that time between the main European states, polarized into supporters of either France or England. Since 1804, Portugal had been attempting and successfully managing to follow a policy of neutrality which, after October 1807, ceased to be possible. Almost simultaneously, Portugal complied with the French wishes and promised to accept the terms of the Continental Blockade, staging a false declaration of hostility towards England and secretly combining with this power as a way of safeguarding the royal family's retreat to Brazil. In seeking to remain on good terms with each of the two rivals, Portugal ended up finding itself in the strange situation of declaring war against them both. Which was clearly an exercise in neutrality that presaged the worst possible fate for its territory.

In the European context and in the midst of the crossfire in which it found itself involved, Portugal's saving grace was the strategic importance of its ports and the enormous wealth and potential of its colonial empire, especially the Brazilian one. The reduced dimension of its economic or military power at a European scale did not allow it to enjoy any special prerogatives as an arbiter. However, the grandeur of its overseas empire exacerbated its inevitable fate of becoming a tempting target for European strategic ambitions and rivalries that it could definitively avoid no longer. If the territory had to be defended, the crown and the headquarters of the empire needed to be transferred to the place where it was most important to do precisely this: Brazil.

In this way, the vexed question of deciding whether the Prince Regent Dom João was a coward or a brave man is rendered pointless, as is the question of whether the flight to Brazil was a fortuitous event or was the result of lengthy and careful planning. In short, the relevant question of interpretation consists of understanding the transfer of the court from the point of view of the Portuguese positioning on the European chessboard on which was played out the destiny of the countries that refused to accept the Continental Blockade decreed by Napoleon. This particular direction taken by research is an irreversible fact and has been pursued, above all, by Portuguese historiography on the European side of the Atlantic Ocean.

The second line of force that can be noted in more recent studies about the continued presence of the Portuguese court in Brazil relates to the interpretation of the importance of that presence for the construction of Brazilian national unity and political independence. This subject has been of particular interest to Brazilian historiography, which can be considered perfectly natural in view of its legacy of a highly critical interpretation of the possible benefits that were brought by Dom João and his court. A very clear testimony to this tradition of being opposed to the presence of Dom João VI is to be found expressed in the writings of the great historian Evaldo Cabral de Mello, which the commemorations of the bicentenary have helped us to remember. In his view, the attempt to create or refound a new empire as a result of the magical gesture of transferring the court to Brazil was thwarted, since, "in reality, the construction of the empire was no more than a rhetorical question, with which the Dukes of Bragança who held the Portuguese crown sought to do away with the painful impression created in Europe by their sudden withdrawal to South America, presenting this move as a measure of great discovery destined to enable Portugal to replenish its energies in the New World in order to be able to return to the Old World as a leading power" (Mello 2002, 46).

This approach gives greater importance to the later confirmation of incompetence and the incapacity to go beyond idle rhetoric and implement an effective reform of the political, institutional and economic system in Brazil. It explains the reasons for the failure of the mere replication of the system existing in the continental metropolis, whose transfer was motivated by the invasion and consequent break-up of the territory. Or, in other words, it observes events and considers the reasons that show that it was impossible to translate the imperial project into concrete policies and actions for constructing a system suited to the new circumstances, namely those resulting from an economic regime founded under the aegis of liberal principles.

This model of interpretation, whose legitimacy and pertinence I do not wish to call into question in any way, comes close to what Maria Odila Silva Dias has defined as the "internalization of the

³ For a broader historiographic view, covering a wider range of the studies produced before 2007, see the very useful guide compiled by Lúcia Guimarães (2008).

metropolis,” or, in other words, it reinforces the idea that the arrival of the court in Brazil did no more than create the conditions for the “transformation of the colony into an internalized metropolis” (Dias 1972, 171), making it possible to integrate the dominant elites in Brazilian society into the structures of power that reproduced the metropolitan model, without causing any subversion or challenge to the established social order. But it is also this type of analysis that favors a critical view of the luxuries and extravagances of a royal house that essentially brought benefits to Rio de Janeiro, thus making it possible for the city to impose its central power over the other captainships of Brazil, which remained peripheral and subject to fiscal exploitation.

Now, it is this skeptical and critical view of the new administration of the Portuguese-Brazilian empire that has been subjected to examination and discussion, necessarily introducing the problem of discovering to what extent the arrival of the court in Rio de Janeiro was an important step towards avoiding a fragmentation similar to the one that occurred in Spanish America and consequently creating the conditions for unifying the immense territory of Brazil. This is an argument that has been put forward by Maria de Lourdes Viana Lyra (1994) and Andrée Diniz Silva (2006), in their assessments of the outcome of the reforms implemented by the powerful minister D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, which José Murilo de Carvalho neatly summarized in the following terms: “Without the arrival of the court, there would be no Brazil. In other words, the arrival of the court was a necessary, although not sufficient, condition for the existence of Brazil as we know it today” (Carvalho 2008, p. 555).

The debate is far from having reached the point where we might consider it to be definitively closed. But there is no doubt that the commemorations of the bicentenary created an opportunity for going deeper into this and other subjects that are decisive for our understanding the significance of the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil and its subsequent presence there. Now that the dust has settled and the festivities are over, it is time to pause for a while and digest and rethink the huge volume of activities that I have tried to list here.

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The Independence of Brazil: a review of the recent historiographic production*

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Abstract

This article presents a review of the historiographic production on the subject of Brazilian Independence, especially over the last three decades. It highlights the consensus and divergences to be noted in the analysis, and the specific lines of interest in the different studies, while pointing to the research questions that still remain open.

Keywords

Independence of Brazil; liberalism; historiography; bibliography.

Resumo

Este artigo apresenta um balanço da produção historiográfica sobre a Independência do Brasil, especialmente focada nas três últimas décadas. Sublinha o consenso e as divergências na abordagem ao tema e aponta as principais linhas de investigação em curso bem como outras que podem, ainda, vir a ser objecto de estudo.

Palavras-chave

Independência do Brasil; liberalismo; historiografia; bibliografia.

General overview

The first thing to be noted in a general overview of the academic historiography produced over the last few decades on the subject of the independence of Brazil is undoubtedly its great vitality. In Brazil, ever since the interpretations of the process of its political separation from Portugal (which took place in the first few decades of the 19th century) began to free themselves from the unofficial unsavoriness imposed upon them through their association with a history that served the purposes of the last Brazilian military dictatorial governments (1964-1985), they have provided a safe, progressive and constant examination of the subject, blossoming into a variety of themes, focuses and problems and affording their object of study a definitive status as a central point of focus in the thought that has been produced—whether Brazilian or not—about Brazil.

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It is quite true that the criticism leveled against what in many places and in diverse (and frequently imprecise) ways was usually referred to as the “official history” did not relate, in the case of the historiography of Brazil, only to the question of Independence; nor can it be said that the interpretations that for so long had insisted upon this as the supposedly founding moment in the formulation of the Brazilian nationality, full of heroic deeds and supposedly pedagogical aspects in terms of their civic and patriotic teachings, were always the ones that predominated, as is shown by some important works from previous decades (Prado Jr. 1933; Sodré 1965; Fernandes 1975; Rodrigues 1975-76). However, when that criticism became firmly established from the 1980s onwards and, in the Brazilian academic environment, began to provide the direction for specialized historical research in general, the theme of the Independence of Brazil was returned to in a most intense fashion, having as one of its main pretexts the need to “purge” it of the ideological burden and anachronisms that it frequently bore.

On the other hand, the democratic opening up of Brazil in the middle of that decade encountered an academic environment of growing professionalization and specialization, as well as one of increased plurality. Since the middle of the previous decade, there began to be a proliferation of history departments in Brazilian universities geared towards research and teaching, with bachelor's degrees, licentiateships, master's degrees and doctorates supported by public funding that included research grants awarded at all levels, resulting in a large number of individual and collective research projects being undertaken at ever more competitive institutions. While, on the one hand, such competitiveness has led to the annual production of a vast range of papers, theses, articles, books and chapters that are sometimes superficial and largely irrelevant, marked by simple criteria of quantity with the intention of guaranteeing the place of their authors in the Brazilian academic career structure, on the other hand, such a mass of studies also brings with it many consistent contributions with some merit in terms of the revision and deepening of our knowledge about the Independence of Brazil.

It must also be stressed that Brazilian academic historiography has always been heavily influenced by foreign intellectual currents, being permeable to all types of ideas—revised, criticized, reformulated or simply accepted—particularly those originating from French authors. The French renewal of studies about politics in general in the late 1970s and the early 1980s had a powerful impact on Brazil, contributing to a return to studies about the country's Independence, although the most significant non-Brazilian contributions to the theme undoubtedly came from the Portuguese and American historiographies.

Specifically in relation to the Portuguese historiographic production, its preferred treatment continues to be not the idea of a direct political rupture between Brazil and Portugal but rather the creation of some of the conditions that were essential for this to be able to happen, arising from the internal splits observed in the United Kingdom after the transfer of the Court to Rio de Janeiro and which resulted in the constitutional movement of 1820. The so-called liberalism, a fundamental theme of this historiography since the 19th century, continues to be of interest to scholars studying the history of that country, which inevitably helps to shed light on our understanding of the Independence of Brazil. In some cases, as we shall see later on, we find the correct establishment of an indissociability between the political dynamics of both spaces.

Thanks to its recent advances, the historiography of Brazilian Independence has become so dense and varied as to earn the right to some historiographic reviews (Graham 2001; Siqueira 2006; Malerba 2006b; and also, to a certain extent, Carvalho, José 2008), in which one can note the early outlines of a chapter about specifically Brazilian thought about Brazil (Costa 2005), while non-Brazilian historiographies are given their first treatments as a subject of study (Castro 2005; Kraay 2005a).

Both in Portuguese and English, the Independence of Brazil has also been afforded some good syntheses, which seek to incorporate academic contributions in didactic formats that are accessible to the general public (Bernardes 1983; Novais & Mota 1986; Algranti 1987; Oliveira, Cecília 1995b; Oliveira 1999a; Lyra 2000; Souza, Iara 2000; Slemian & Pimenta 2003; Oliveira, Cecília 2005a). In English, there is at least one work that, besides offering a good general synthesis, is full of important interpretive insights (Barman 1988), while in Spanish there is an excellent attempt to draw an analytical comparison with the Spanish-American process (Halperin Donghi 1985). By attempting the important task of bringing together both academic and everyday historical knowledge, such works end up offering “states of the art” that help to explain different

historiographic movements on which they have had an important influence; however, in general, such syntheses are afforded scant attention by the specialists, who have little time for works that they tend to consider insufficient. Both in Portuguese and English, collective works have moved in the same direction, although in these the explanatory insights tend to be scarcer and the end results more conservative (Bethell 1985; Maxwell & Silva 1986; Cardoso, Ciro 1990; Monteiro 1990; Ventura 1993; Lucas 1993), particularly when compared with the work of such a nature that it is still regarded in Brazil as a major reference and which, in the 1960s, brought an important chapter on the subject of Brazilian Independence (Holanda 1962).

Other fairly visible symptoms of the growth in the academic historiography produced about the Independence of Brazil are: the recent publication of collective works bringing together specialists in various specific aspects of the theme (Andrade/Fernandes/Cavalcanti 1999; Jancsó 2003; Jancsó 2005a; Malerba 2006a; Costa & Oliveira 2007) and other more diversified works in which special prominence is given to the question of Independence (Szmrecsányi & Lapa 1996; Mota 2000); the concern shown by certain collective works that deal primarily with the Spanish processes in dedicating chapters to Brazil (Annino/Leiva/Guerra 1994; Guerra & Lempérière 1998; Annino & Guerra 2003; Álvarez & Sánchez 2003; Rodríguez 2005; Calderón & Thibaud 2006; Frassetto 2006); and the existence of at least one periodical academic publication entirely dedicated to the subject (*Almanack Brasileiro* 2005). Besides this, there are newly-created history magazines in Brazil aimed at the non-specialized general public that frequently include articles on this theme, some of which are written by academic historians (Neves & Neves 2003; Simioni 2004; Azevedo 2004; Schwarcz 2004; Maia 2004; Silva, Ana 2004; Kraay 2004; Morel 2005a; Kraay 2005b; Schwarcz 2005; Neves, Lúcia 2005a; Oliveira, Cecília 2005b; Gonçalves 2006; Lustosa 2006a; Slemian 2006a; Cabral 2007).

The possibility of writing historiographic reviews and syntheses does not, however, mean that the historiography about Brazilian Independence is marked by consensus. Currently, the great quantity of specialist in-depth works specifically dedicated to the theme indicates a fertile and wide range of different positions, where—as is natural in the case of numerous historiographies—the idea of *consensus* gives way to another concept, that of *premises for analysis*. These were gradually constructed over the decades prior to the period touched upon here, generally more through an accumulation of knowledge that showed itself to be perennial than through any elaborations of an *a priori* or programmatic nature. Nowadays, it seems impossible to consider Independence merely as an *event*, i.e., as an isolated historical phenomenon; it is preferable to treat it as a central point of a development that dates back at least to the transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro in 1808, frequently extending into the mid-18th century and the first signs of weakness in the Portuguese Empire in relation to world competition at that time. Equally impossible to ignore is the huge spatial dimension of Independence, which was not only related with other politically agitated spaces in the western world, but also with various local, provincial and regional spaces in Portuguese America, where, in different ways and at different rhythms, it appeared as a viable political alternative.

As pointed out earlier, another point influencing the direction taken by academic studies on Independence is the rejection of the anachronism underlying the idea that it represented the natural outcome of a gradual process of maturation of a Brazilian nationality that—supposedly—had been gestating since the colonial period; in the same way, the idea had been formed that the break with Portugal had been motivated by such a sentiment, culminating in the emergence of a Brazilian State and nation in opposition to other Portuguese states. The direct historiographic criticism of this “myth of the origins,” initially outlined by Caio Prado Júnior (Prado Jr. 1942) and returned to later by other historians (Novais 1997; Silva, Rogério 1997; Pimenta 2002), as well as the increasingly generalized study of Portuguese, Portuguese-American and Brazilian collective identities (Stumpf 2001; Ribeiro, Gladys 2002; Souza, Ricardo 2005; Silva, Ana 2005a; Silva, Ana 2005b; Pimenta 2006b; Silva, Ana 2008a; Jancsó 2008), or even the attempts made, in complete harmony with world historiographies, to apprehend the historicity of such concepts as *state*, *nation* and *homeland*, have provided some of the analytical tools that can be used to support such a stance. The central propositions of an influential article (Jancsó & Pimenta 2000) centered on these positions have not yet received any criticisms in their disfavor.

Finally, since this is still a first look at the historiography of Brazilian Independence, the different studies have been increasingly confronted with the need to adopt a dual approach to the

subject, examining the continuities in relation to the colonial order of the *ancien régime* and the profound breaks that took place in relation to it; what would be an apparent truism does in fact amount to an important statement in relation to the powerful tradition—still to be found in academic and non-academic environments, both Brazilian and otherwise—of considering Brazilian Independence almost exclusively as a conservative movement, supposedly without any great implications in terms of inaugurating a new state of affairs, and genuinely “despicable” when compared to other contemporary movements denoting a break between colonies and metropolises. If, as suggested above, since the first decades of the 20th century, important historians had already noted the revolutionary nature of the movement, nowadays the explicit recognition of such a fact—albeit submitted to different conceptual treatments—seems to be the starting point for more sophisticated analyses (for example: Mattos 1987; for an overview of the question, see Pimenta 2008).

All this shows us a fertile historiographic panorama, consistently diversified and plural, in which the Independence of Brazil occupies a central position. Next, we shall take a slightly more detailed look at a summary of specific contributions that have made such a state of affairs possible.

b) Advances

In the last few decades, one of the most notable points of innovation in our knowledge of Brazilian Independence derives from the studies made of the Independence process in different parts of Portuguese America. These studies give continuity to earlier efforts of authors such as those involved in the writing of a collective work published in the 1960s (Holanda 1962; Holanda 1964), and, shortly afterwards, three other works entirely devoted to the theme of Independence (Montello 1972; Mota 1972; *Anais* 1975). Thanks to recent works that are consistent, innovative and preferentially supported by provincial documentation, the cases of Pernambuco and its neighboring areas have been very well studied (Ferraz 1996; Carvalho, Marcus 1998; Bernardes 2003; Berbel 2003; Mello 2004; Villata 2003; Silva, Luiz 2005b; Hermann 2005; Bernardes 2005; Bernardes 2006; Silva, Luiz 2006), as has the case of Bahia (Araújo, Ubiratan 2001; Wisiak 2001; Kraay 2001; Souza Fo. 2003; Wisiak 2005; Graham 2005; Sousa 2008 & 2008b). Other equally serious works have also helped us to better understand Independence in Pará (Coelho 1993; Souza Jr. 1997; Machado 2006), Maranhão (Assunção 2005), Piauí (Chaves 1993; Dias, Claudete 1999), Minas Gerais (Silva, Wlamir 2005; Silva, Ana 2005b; Cunha 2007; Silva, Ana 2008b), São Paulo (Delatorre 2003; Oliveira, Cecília 2004; Donato 2004; Dolhnikoff 2005; Medicci 2007), Rio Grande do Sul (Xavier 2004; Piccolo 2005; Osório 2007) and the Cisplatina Province (Ferreira, Doli 2004; Pimenta 2005; Sánchez 2006; Ribeiro, Fábio 2007). Generally speaking, all these studies have helped to take us definitively beyond a restricted and provincial understanding of Independence, which formerly focused almost exclusively on the provinces of the center and south of Portuguese America (which does not in any way detract from the merit of the recent attempts by scholars to understand the historical dynamics of these same provinces). Today's historiography must necessarily operate from a dual perspective: at the same time as it cannot be restricted by a study geared exclusively towards the Court in Rio de Janeiro (Silva, Maria 1977 and 1993; Oliveira, Cecília 1999b; Malerba 2000; Silva, Maria 2000; Schultz 2001; Mattos 2005; Slemian 2006b; Schultz 2008; Gouvêa 2008a; Gouvêa 2008b), it similarly cannot ignore the complex and varied relations established by each province and region—also composed of great diversities of asymmetrical flows, vectors and developments—between one another, and of all of these provinces with the one that was to become the headquarters of the Portuguese Empire in 1808, and, in 1822, of the Empire of Brazil.

Becoming ever wider in terms of its spatial boundaries, Independence continues to be studied from the viewpoint of its insertion into an international context. An ever recurrent theme is that of the “western” or “Atlantic” dimension—to use two expressions that are very much in fashion—which has led scholars to revisit and review questions such as the impact, in Brazil, of revolutionary influences coming from other contemporary movements, the position of America in relation to the reshaping of the world's economic and political power, and the relations between Brazil and Spanish America (Seckinger 1984; Araújo, Ana 1992; Alexandre 1993; Jancsó 1996; Costa 1996b; Proença 1999; Brancato 1999; Maxwell 2000; Gomes 2002; Pimenta 2002; Pimenta 2003b; Izecksohn 2005; Morel 2005d; Pimenta 2006a; Schultz 2006; Adelman 2006; Sousa 2007; Slemian & Pimenta 2008). Despite their persistent nature, the formally comparative studies, in

which the Independence of Brazil continues to cause a certain feeling of strangeness and discomfort because of its particularities in relation to the international context, have gradually been giving way to more fruitful positions, where the consideration of the particular details of each movement—which are, in fact, to be found in each and every historical phenomenon—may be taken as the result of a direct relationship between these, whether at the economic level—the circulation of people and goods—at the level of political ideas, or, of course, at the level of diplomatic relations (Santos, Luís 2002a; Santos, Luís 2002b; Ribeiro, Gladys 2008a).

A fundamental component in the new stance being adopted in relation to the radical nature of Brazilian Independence is the highly innovative tendency to examine the participation of different social strata in the movement, therefore running counter to the traditional—and still continuing—insistence on considering it as an exclusive product of sectorized class interests, as if its gestation had always contained the elements (slavery, for example) that would result in the configuration of a new conservative order. The most powerful expressions of this new perspective are to be found in direct analyses, which seek to discover the political activities of subordinate social strata, observed in an atmosphere of political struggle where different projects either interacted or entered into conflict with one another. In the last few years, however, by virtue of the vitality of the historiography written about slavery and its defenders in Brazil, there has been a great diversification, with many of the studies being concentrated not only on the political actions of both slaves and freed slaves, but also on the problem of their representation in the new order, on the pro-slavery and anti-slavery ideologies and other correlated questions (Reis & Silva 1989; Assunção 1990; Ribeiro, Gladys 1991-92; Araújo, Ubiratan 1999; Kraay; Silva, Luiz 2003; Kraay 2003; Marquese 2003; Marquese 2004; Guerra F. 2004; Silva, Luiz 2005b; Carvalho, Marcus 2005; Assunção 2005; Marquese 2005; Berbel & Marquese 2006; Souza Fo 2008; Carvalho, Marcus s.d.). The studies that include mention of the role played by the native populations have also grown in number (Moreira Neto 1988; Carvalho, Marcus 1996; Paraíso 1998; Machado 2006; Spósito 2006; Leite, Rosângela 2006 & 2008; Almeida 2008), but those dealing with the role played by women are still in their early stages (Pereira, Sara 1999; Prado 1999; Azevedo 2003; Slemian 2006c; Lyra 2006; Souza, Laura 2008).

The breaks and continuities to be found in the process of Independence in relation to the colonial conjuncture of the second half of the 18th century, when Portugal found itself in the midst of increasing difficulties, continue to be of interest to scholars. Owing a great debt to the important work by Fernando Novais published in the 1970s (Novais 1979), the idea that the opening of the process of Independence represents a duplication of the systemic crisis faced by the Portuguese Empire is widely accepted, albeit in increasingly painstaking, varied and complex ways. In this sense, the studies about reformist policies and ideas, the protest movements occurring in the colonial space as from the last quarter of the 18th century, as well as the progressive growth in the public spaces of political discussion, have provided contributions enabling us to think about Independence from a long-term perspective (Santos, Afonso 1992; Lyra 1994; Jancsó 1996b; Jancsó 1997; Villalta 1997; Morel 1999; Jancsó & Pimenta 2000; Villalta 2000; Araújo, Ana 2005; Silva, Ana 2006). Various critical examinations made of the relationship between the structural changes presented by the Empire in the 18th century, the protest movements and the crisis that, in the 19th century, would lead to the break with Brazil (Alexandre 1993; Neves, Guilherme 2003; Furtado 2006; Pedreira 2006) have proved to be important in revising assertions that are frequently traditional in the historiography, but, by offering little advance in our understanding of Brazilian Independence, seem precisely to confirm the need for taking a long-term view of the subject. Elsewhere, the propositions made in an important work that draws attention to even more ancestral factors conditioning the process leading to the formation of the Brazilian national State, linked to the slave traffic and the construction of a colonial society based on slavery (Alencastro 1986), still need to be properly assessed in the light of recent advances in the historiography.

The importance of the public spaces for political discussion in Brazil after 1808 has been widely recognized in the last few decades, considering, above all, the brutal impact of the Revolution of Oporto and the Lisbon decrees regarding the freedom of the press, which were responsible for deepening and broadening the discussions and their contents, as well as for the appearance of what authors have, quite properly, labeled as the first beginnings of a public sphere of the modern type (Morel 1998). Here, attention has been paid to various different dimensions—individual trajectories, books, the press, freemasonry—also giving an account of the period

immediately prior to 1820, especially interesting for analyzing the persistence of a political culture of the *ancien régime* type and of the thinking of the Enlightenment at the deepest point in the Portuguese political crisis, when, effectively, the integrity of the Monarchy and its dominions in South America was already under threat (Silva, Maria 1978; Sena 1983; Neves, Lúcia 1999; Lustosa 2000; Leite 2000; Morel 2001a; Schultz 2001; Pimenta 2002; Morel & Barros 2003; Neves, Lúcia 2003; Lustosa 2003; Algranti 2004; Neves, Lúcia 2005b; Morel 2005b; Morel 2005c; Barata 2005; Barata 2006; Slemian 2006b; Meirelles 2006; Abreu 2008; Silva, Virgínia 2008; Ribeiro, Gladys 2008b; Neves, Lúcia 2008b). More specifically, studies have centered on the symbolic dimension of the presence of the Portuguese Court in South America, on movements that had powerful implications for the construction of the Empire of Brazil under the auspices of a monarchy, as well as on the contemporary construction of a memory (Oliveira, Cecília 1995a; Souza, Iara 1998; Malerba 2000; Miranda, Ângela 2003; Lopez 2004; Dias, Elaine 2006; Oliveira, Eduardo 2006; Hermann 2008; Oliveira, Cecília s.d.).

The studies of political culture have gradually given rise to others, dedicated to the understanding of the political vocabulary, and, at a more refined level, the historical development of key concepts for the Portuguese-American society of that time, whose changes not only expressed broader social phenomena, but also brought with them the potential for intervening in the very reality that produced them (Pimenta 2002; Pimenta 2003a; Neves, Lúcia 2003; Morel 2005b; Berbel 2005; Neves, Lúcia 2007; Araújo, Valdei 2008 and 2008b). Such a field of study is eagerly awaiting the final results of the collective research effort undertaken by Brazilian and Portuguese academics working in conjunction with correspondents from other European and American countries (Zermeño 2008; *Ler História* 2008), whose goal is to draw up a comparative historical chart of key concepts from the Iberian-American world between 1750 and 1850.¹ In any case, the history of such concepts, which is still in its formative stage in Brazil, will certainly prove to be an essential tool in the task of continuing to rewrite the history of Brazilian Independence, revealing aspects that are relatively unknown and following ever more stringent criteria and levels of accuracy.

Another promising source of historiographic production is the one linked to studies of Portuguese and Brazilian constitutionalism, legal culture, administration and diverse institutions, particularly those that seek, through the investigation of breaks and continuities, to learn more about the dynamics of the passage, in America, from a Portuguese State to a Brazilian State, without disregarding the presence, in this scenario, of political struggles of varying natures, of slavery and the defense of slavery and of the questions linked to citizenship and the nation (Mattos 1987; Silva, Maria 1988; Alexandre 1993; Costa 1996a; Neves, Guilherme 1997; Berbel 1998; Dolhnikoff 2000; Carvalho, José 2001; Lopes 2003; Costa 2003; Carvalho Fo. 2004; Wehling 2004; Flores 2005; Gouvêa 2005; Slemian 2005; Schultz 2005; Lynch 2005; Slemian 2006d; Berbel & Marquese 2006; Gouvêa 2008a). On this same point, it is important to note a distancing between this area of historiographic production and another, which has focused on questions that have been predominant for some time in Brazilian historiography, in which administration and politics have only been considered synonymous in a purely formalistic conception, one that is self-contained and tending towards the bureaucratic. It is also important to note, in the Brazilian historiographic production, that there has been a closer approximation to the Portuguese studies that are themselves preferentially geared towards “liberalism” (amongst many, Pereira, Miriam 1982; Nunes 1988; Alexandre 1993; Vargues 1997; Miranda, Jorge 2001; Costa/Domingues/Monteiro s.d.), understood here as the historiographic expression of a period and a political conjuncture that, in Brazil, tends to be marked out preferentially as “independence”. In providing what to some extent is a continuation of the pioneering efforts of such historians as Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Silva, Maria 1988), a few Brazilian authors have turned their attentions directly towards the theme of Peninsular politics at that time, but there now seems to be a trend towards a growth in the number of studies following in this particular direction (Berbel & Marquese 2006; Neves, Lúcia 2008a; Barbosa 2008).

Traditionally given scant regard by historians dedicated to writing about Independence, its more notably economic aspects have also been the subject of valuable contributions, focused on

¹ This is the *Grupo Iberconceptos – Historia comparada de los conceptos políticos y sociales iberoamericanos*, coordinated by Javier Fernández Sebastián.

ideas, institutions, characters or the emerging State's capacity for tax collection and investment, without which the new national order could evidently not be instituted (Costa 1996a; Rocha 1996; Doin 1998; Rocha 2001a; Diniz 2002; Costa 2003; Piñeiro 2002 and 2003). The overlap between business and politics, highlighted in a pioneering article by Maria Odila Dias in the early 1970s (Dias 1972), has, since then, borne useful historiographic fruits (Lenharo 1979; Martinho & Gorenstein 1992; Fragoso 1992; Oliveira, Cecília 1999b; Osório 1999; Miranda, Márcia 2006; Chaves, Cláudia 2006; Slemian 2008), also contributing to the construction of a consensus about the impossibility of understanding the question of Independence within limited territorial boundaries.

Since the 19th century, leading figures in the context of Brazilian Independence have earned the right to biographical treatments of varying quality. In the last few decades, however, there has been a growth in the number of studies that effectively manage to extrapolate the individual characteristics of these figures, showing us social personalities that are more or less typical, acting and thinking in accordance with the historical patterns of the time in which they lived. Thanks to such studies, we have a better knowledge today of the work and activity of figures such as Dom João VI (Pedreira & Costa 2008), Dom Pedro I (Macaulay 1986; Lustosa 2006), José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (Dolhnikoff 1998; Santos, Estilague 1999; Silva, Ana 1999; Cavalcante 2002; Varela 2005; Varela/Lopes/Fonseca 2005; Araújo, Valdeir 2008), Diogo Antônio Feijó (Ricci 2001; Dolhnikoff 2006), Carlota Joaquina (Pereira, Sara 1999; Azevedo 2003; Souza, Laura 2008), Leopoldina (Lyra 1997; Slemian 2006c), Thomas Cochrane (Vale 2004), Debret (Lima 2008), Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo (Oliveira, Cecília 1999b), Cipriano Barata (Gil 1991; Garcia 1997; Morel 2001b), Frei Caneca (Lyra 1991; Gil 1991; Morel 2000; Mello 2001), Hipólito José da Costa (Santos, Estilague 1999; various studies in *Correio Braziliense* v. XXX, 2002; Buvalovas 2007), Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (Santos, Estilague 1999; Cardoso, José 2001; Santos, Nívia 2002; Silva, Andréa 2003), Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira (Silva, Maria 1998) and José da Silva Lisboa (Rocha 1996; Rocha 2001).

In short: the process of Brazilian Independence is a theme of great importance in the historiography currently being produced about Brazil and Portugal, on which scholars have focused their attention in studies geared towards a wide range of questions and specific areas. Notwithstanding, the gaps are still quite noticeable, with a great deal still remaining to be done if we are to bring our knowledge of the theme up to the level of its recognized importance.

c) Future areas of research

Despite its being increasingly researched in its many territorial spaces, and despite many good recent works on the subject, the Independence of Brazil is still practically unknown to us in its basic aspects, in such areas of the country as Rio Grande do Norte, Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso, Goiás, Espírito Santo, Santa Catarina and the Cisplatina Province. Furthermore, we know little or nothing about the political struggles taking place in inland regions, i.e. in those areas where the physical distance from the coast and the main urban centers certainly implied very specific and particular dynamics in the shaping of political life in all of its sectors, and even less about the question of the implementation, in each part, of a new state apparatus and a new political and social order. This places us before the challenge, as has been so well highlighted by a scholar working in this area (Jancsó 2005b), of giving due consideration to the different rhythms at which the social life inherent in the Portuguese (and European) colonization of America became established, with serious consequences for the process of liquidation of the colonial structures.

The studies of the social range of those involved in the process of Brazilian Independence provide us with a vast amount of material to be developed, especially if we consider the consistency and variety of the historiography recently written about the political culture in Portuguese America—even though it is mainly concentrated upon the Court—in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Based on the widespread recognition that ever more people, from varied social conditions, were politically and actively involved in the scenario of Independence, the discussion must be taken to greater depths through studies based on the essential difference between the contents of the social hierarchies structured according to the order of the estates, such as that of the *ancien régime* in South America, and another, based on liberal and bourgeois grounds, such as

that of the Brazilian national State. Starting from this basis, it will be possible to broaden our knowledge about each regional space.

All or almost everything still remains to be done in relation to the biographies and the studies of the thought and individual trajectories that were typical of men and women from the “lower ranks”, or, in other words, traders, bureaucrats, journalists and the clergy (Neves, Guilherme 1997; Piñeiro 2002; Slemian 2008; Souza, Adriana 2008; Lustosa & Piñeiro 2008; Neves, Edson 2008), which certainly reveals itself as one of the most open, seductive and promising fields of investigation for the historians of Brazilian Independence. However, much still remains to be done about the people from the “upper ranks”, crucial characters for the process because of the high positions that they occupied in the social hierarchy of the time and who so far have been studied very little.

This statement is also valid for our great ignorance about the literature produced in the Portuguese-American world during the process of Independence. Considered to be aesthetically inferior in comparison with the work of the great “Arcadians” of the late 18th century, as well as that of the first exponents of 19th-century Brazilian literary romanticism, such a production needs to be duly considered in the light of the profound changes taking place in the colonial status of Portuguese South America after 1808 (Alcides 2007), which may perhaps also help to elucidate what some authors have identified as the advent of a genuine “bad taste” in the arts (Candido 1959).

A great deal still needs to be done based on the current recognition of the centrality of analytical categories such as *State and nation* for our understanding of Independence, insofar as this is profoundly linked with the appearance of the Brazilian State and nation, being responsible for the creation of a series of fundamental considerations in the configuration of the new order. Thus, although, with rare exceptions (Anderson 1983; Guerra 2003; Chiaramonte 2003; Palti 2003; Doyle & Pamplona 2006), world historiography on the so-called “national question” has paid little attention to the spaces of European colonization during the Modern Age and to the movements leading to the formation of the Iberian-American national States, some of the categories that are widely used in that historiography (such as “nationalism”, “secession”, “ethnicity”, “identity”), but are rarely used as explanatory tools for these complex processes, may prove fruitful.

The history of legal thought and institutions still needs to be developed to a large extent, based on the recently established—and apparently enduring—indissociability between administrative history, legal history and political history. This will enable us to gain a better understanding of central aspects in the process of Independence whose relevance, as we have seen above, has been highlighted by important works: the armed forces, taxation and electoral systems, legal aspects, external and internal indebtedness, educational systems (about which almost nothing is known), state political structures and powers in different regional spheres. All this without forgetting the need to adopt long periodizations, which do not contemplate only the national order but also the colonial world, at least in the course of its last decades.

The same recommendation is valid for the study of political vocabulary and concepts, which should be centered upon words and categories (“empire”, “republic”, “Court”, “revolution”, “regeneration”, “reform”, “order”, “anarchy”, “politics”, “elite”, etc.) that are still little known in their historical sense or unrefined as theoretical tools that may be useful for the study of Brazilian Independence. In this case, research should not be restricted to the frontiers of “national histories,” since there is no necessary relationship between the configuration of such concepts and the political and historiographic frontiers later established as a result of historical processes (independences), which did not precisely indicate the characteristics of their resolutions of this question.

It should be stressed that, while the integration of the process of Brazilian Independence into the western political conjuncture has been contemplated—including its configurations as a result of the impact, in Brazil, of other contemporary movements—so far little has been written about the opposite case, i.e. about the influences of the Independence of Brazil in other areas of the same conjuncture, except for a few exceptions (Godechot 1972; Millington 1996; Palacios 2008; Safier 2008; Pimenta & Leme 2008; Marquese 2008). What was the importance of the Portuguese-American process, for example, in the resolution of the political crisis in the Spanish world, in the formation of Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, the United Provinces of the River Plate, amongst others? What was its importance in the consolidation of the United States of

America? How did it contribute to the redefinition of politics in post-Napoleonic Europe? Despite the growing interest in the Independence of Brazil in academic circles directed mainly towards Spanish-American processes, as borne out by the inclusion of chapters about Brazil in the collections mentioned above, and also of some laudable efforts to include the Portuguese-American process in global interpretations covering the independences of the Americas (Halperin Donghi 1985; Chiaramonte 1997; Garavaglia 2005; McFarlane 2006; Adelman 2006; Pamplona & Mäder 2007; Pamplona & Mäder 2008; Pamplona & Mäder 2009; Chust 2008), there is still scant interest in or commitment to the study of the theme amongst historians from the Spanish world and from European countries.

All these gaps do, however, correspond to promising avenues that have been opened in the last few decades for the recovery of the general academic interest in the Independence of Brazil, naturally and positively resulting from the advances made in an ample, dense and varied historiography. To end, I shall briefly outline three areas pointing to a negative state of affairs, indicating a gap that needs to be filled by historians.

First point: there is an extreme shortage of documentary collections that are in an accessible format and easy for historians to use. The vast majority of the collections of manuscripts of interest for the study of Independence that are to be found in Brazilian archives are hard to consult, being kept in precarious institutions, without the existence of research tools or appropriate conditions for their safekeeping and immediate availability. The situation is even worse if we consider that these are institutions whose research is strategic if we are to continue to expand our knowledge of Brazilian Independence in local, provincial and regional terms. Some institutions already have good microfilm services, but few of them use scanning facilities in an efficient way, which would evidently make the availability of documents much more widespread and safer. Collections of documents and periodicals have, in fact, been published in book form, some much more recently than others (*Documentos* 1923; *Arquivo* 1922-25; *Tamoio* 1944; *Malagueta* 1945; Caldeira 1999; Mello 2001; Rocha 2001b; *Correio Braziliense* 2002; *Revérbero* 2005; Schiavinatto 2005; *D. Leopoldina* 2006; Kury 2007; Azevedo 2008; Presas 2008; Morel 2009), but the prospect of similar initiatives being repeated in order to overcome the deficiencies existing in terms of general access to documents is not at all promising, especially if we consider the high costs involved in this type of publication and its distribution, and the relatively modest size of the Brazilian publishing market. As far as scanning is concerned, one should highlight the initiative that resulted in the complete works of José Bonifácio (*José Bonifácio: complete works*) being made available online.

Second point: almost everything that has been published in recent decades about the Independence of Brazil needs to be submitted to sincere and impartial criticism. Practically nothing has been inventoried and reviewed with any great exactitude, which does, in fact, fit in with the notable absence of any tradition—at least in the Brazilian historiography—of publishing open assessments of the work produced by one's research colleagues. Having less weight and importance on the scales of Brazilian academic productivity than articles, chapters and books that frequently bring little innovation in terms of our knowledge of a certain area of study, the lack of such reviews—i.e. the lack of any form of criticism in general—represents a serious impediment to the historiography of such an important theme as that of the Independence of Brazil making any real advancement, particularly over the forthcoming years.

Third point: since this is a broad theme, the academic knowledge about Brazilian Independence still remains too far removed from non-specialist knowledge in this area. The uncomfortable perception—which also needs to be better diagnosed through careful study—still persists that, despite the great contribution that academic works have made to a better understanding of the central role played by the appearance of the Brazilian State and nation, Independence still continues to be seen as a relatively unimportant event, one that supposedly did not involve any major changes and therefore does not deserve greater attention by people in general. This same perception reiterates the traditional idea that historical change is not possible, that history is always conducted in accordance with the tight-knit interests of the establishment acting in defense of its own interests, in short that man is not an active agent in his own history. Thus, it is possible that if the commitment of academic historians to revealing the past transcends their own most immediate sphere of discourse, themes such as the Independence of Brazil serve not to “freeze” a past, but rather to develop new attitudes in relation to the future.

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Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires—1500–1800, edited by
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The recently published *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires—1500–1800* brings together fifteen articles as well as two essays that summarize the main arguments developed in the collection. Geared towards an Anglo-American university audience, the book reassesses the importance of the Iberian legacy for understanding the scientific revolutions of the modern age by giving greater weight to the different (and highly particular) ways of engaging in, communicating and theorizing science that were practiced under the scope of the Portuguese and Spanish empires. The organizers question the reductionist and depreciative views associated with Iberian scientific culture that still persist in the great historiographic narratives about the formation of modern science.

Such silence is not recent but was contemporary to the campaigns of detraction promoted by rival empires, conveyed through the spread of the *Black Legend* (portraying Iberians as bad colonizers) and through the controversies about the natural human inferiority of the New World throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. On the other hand, these negative images were also appropriated by the historiography of decadence, (namely as expressed in the works of Antero de Quental, Antônio Sérgio and their followers, written from both a liberal and a Marxist point of view) which, in its turn, attributed to the Inquisitorial censorship, Catholicism and the Jesuits the main “epistemological obstacles” to the development of scientific thought in the countries and regions subject to Iberian colonization.

The studies brought together in this collection seek to definitively overcome the dichotomy between scientific practice and Catholic culture, demonstrating that the political and theological context of the natural world—a baroque scientific sensibility that took divine providence into account, was averse to experimentation, and had a propensity for theoretical eclecticism—did not represent a genuine impediment to the formulation of universal explanatory models.

One of the principal merits of the proposed interpretation is to restore Iberian protagonism. This was a presence that is not only perceived as having made a specific contribution to the history of modern science, but is also seen as part of a broader historical process in which attempts were made to reconstruct the social contexts legitimizing the “scientific systems.” It is not a question of assessing the weaknesses or possible successes of the enterprises in themselves, but rather of understanding the global and local impacts resulting from the accumulation (or dispersal) of knowledge acquired in the experience of managing empires with a transcontinental dimension.

Such a perspective shifts the focus of analysis to the geographical mobility of the (individual and collective) actors involved in the transmission and circulation of knowledge beyond political, religious, social and linguistic frontiers. This angle of observation makes it possible to establish a new interpretive framework, already fairly distant from earlier historiographic approaches, which were generally marked by visions of moral decadence or apologetic reactions. The authors of this collection

did not fall into the trap of transforming the overseas discoveries into the touchstone of scientific nationalism.

Certainly, this approach represents a difficult anachronism to avoid, given the active role played by the Crowns in creating specialized institutions and in forming professional bodies. The understanding of the overlaps (not without their own tensions and conflicts) between the imperial designs and scientific production of the two crowns presents itself as a theoretical challenge that runs counter to the models of analysis developed by Weber and Habermas. In fact, the articles reveal a more complex reality, a field of experiences formed from a wide range of institutional and informal spaces (the court, courtly salons, universities, academies, missionary seminaries, botanical gardens, private libraries, expeditions and itinerant offices, etc...) and from different forms of social interaction. The great relevance of these different contexts and the way in which they interplay forces us to revise classical sociological models. Most of the articles, and especially Anna More's, opt for the theory of Pierre Bourdieu to explain the conditions under which scientific activities were carried out in the New Spain.

In the same way, the authors do not disdain the restrictions imposed upon the dissemination of scientific discoveries for geopolitical reasons: the secrets of State (*arcana imperii*). However, they do highlight the fact that more than simply controlling the flow of scientific information, the crowns succeeded in preventing its publication and, consequently, its dissemination and official recognition in the European republic of letters. Onésimo Almeida and Kevin Sheehan, for example, draw attention to the importance that the reports of the Portuguese and Spanish navigators had in the work of Francis Bacon, despite the fact that Bacon did not attribute the credits that were due to the sources used. Unlike their imperial rivals, the Iberian Crowns were never able to exploit in their own favor the full propaganda potential of those experiments that were successfully conducted.

Following the lead of Alexander Von Humboldt, the author of the preface to the collection, Canizares-Esguerra alerts us to the need to research hundreds and thousands of still unpublished manuscripts deposited at the archives and libraries in order to be able to make a correct assessment of the ranges and limits of the Iberian scientific culture. Palmira Costa and Henrique Leitão also emphasize that researchers need to study the correspondence of the metropolitan and local authorities, the diaries of travelers and traders, and the reports of missionaries and local chroniclers in order to capture the everyday dimension of these experiences.

Divided into four parts, the collection seeks new approaches for contextualizing scientific production at both the intra-imperial and trans-imperial level. In the first part: "Reassessing the Role of Iberia in Early Modern Science", two bibliographical reviews provide us with an updated panorama of the research undertaken in the last two decades. Both in the Portuguese case and the Spanish case, the authors note the difficulties that foreign historiography has had in incorporating the most recent contributions. In the second part: "New World, New Sciences," the authors explore the epistemological tensions aroused by the confrontation between fieldwork and office-based research, between practical experience and theoretical speculation. In the third part of the book, "Knowledge Production: Local Contexts, Global Empires," a study is made of the relationship between science and the construction of long-distance empires, while case-studies attenuate the dichotomy between centers and peripheries in emphasizing the intense interchange of knowledge and the multiple variables affecting local production.

In fact, the expansion of trade and the process of colonization intensified the contacts made with native populations. Commercial and political considerations made it possible for a social class to emerge—translators or cultural mediators—that was fundamental for making the necessary conversions and encouraging exchanges between the systems of native and European knowledge. The activities of these "experts" served as proof of their enormous capacity for appropriating the local socio and biodiversity. Hybrid characters emerged who were neither totally Creole nor completely European, such as the Portuguese navigator in the service of Felipe III (Filipe II of Portugal) Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, the mathematician and astronomer Carlos de Singüenza y Góngorra, the naturalist and publisher of periodicals Jose Antonio Alzate y Ramirez, and the Creole naturalist José Celestino Mutis. All of these testify to the coexistence and interlinking of frequently distinct matrices of thought, which

nonetheless stimulated the elaboration of other scientific languages and taxonomies, more recently given the name of “patriotic epistemologies” (cf. Canizares-Esguerra).

The politicization of these epistemologies as a reaction to the enlightened reforms introduced in the late 18th century is not a subject that is investigated in this collection. As far as this particular aspect is concerned, the studies are distanced from those historiographic perspectives that seek to discover in the tensions between Peninsular and Creole scientists a source of inspiration for the affirmation of anti-metropolitan identities (cf. Antonello Gerbi, David Brading, Thomas Glick). The organizers make this clear when they propose a chronology from 1500 to 1800, thereby excluding the process of political emancipation set in motion by the Napoleonic invasions and the events following the revolution of Cadiz (1812). Fiona Clark, Daniela Bleimach and Paula de Vos, on the other hand, highlight the tendency towards an affirmation of the imperial patriotism that united Peninsular and Creole populations alike against the prejudices conveyed by the theories about the natural inferiority of the New World.

In the fourth and last part of the collection: “Commerce, Curiosities and the Circulation of Knowledge,” a more direct exploration is made of the interconnections between commercial motivations, applied science, and curiosity. The studies here bring new actors to the fore whose empirical experiments and concrete experiences lay at the root of the technological innovations that were later incorporated and disseminated by highly prestigious European scientists. Attempts are made to reconstruct the chain of transmission of knowledge that was considered useful for trade and for the government of different peoples (especially in the field of medicine, botany, mining, navigation techniques, astronomy and cartography). In more than 300 years of colonization, the Iberian crowns developed their own systems for collecting and processing information, giving rise to the formation of a network that was not only institutional but also informal, and one operated at a worldwide level. Paradoxically, even the initiatives of the missionary orders (at the Jesuit, Franciscan and Dominican colleges) helped in the formation of an empirical culture, open to experiments and the lay conception of the natural world.

Of the fifteen studies presented, only four are dedicated to the Portuguese Empire, while the rest relate to the Spanish Empire. The imbalance is remarkable, but it does not affect the global perspective of analysis, demonstrating, on the contrary, that there is still a long road to be followed in terms of research. Especially in the case of the possible crossovers between the two empires, the establishment of thematic, chronological and biographical connections might help to bring the more common experiences even closer together and highlight the contrasts with other empires. Recent historiography has shown that “erudite commerce” between the Portuguese-Americans and the Spanish-Americans was more intense than was originally thought. The contradiction between cosmopolitanism and scientific nationalism became even more intense after the Napoleonic expansion. Scientific activity in the Iberian world was never a neutral labor but was rather one that called for great political, economic, philosophical, and emotional involvement. *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires* opens for us a historiographic agenda that is indisputably fundamental.

*Livro dos Copos. Vol. 1, (Luís Adão da Fonseca, Dir.), Porto,
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The *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* series, dedicated to studies on the Portuguese Military Orders and their primary sources, has been published since 1997 under the supervision of Luís Adão da Fonseca. Its seventh volume, edited in 2006, contains the transcript of a cartulary called *Livro dos Copos*, the bulk of which was drawn up by Álvaro Dias de Frielas, royal and apostolic notary-public and scrivener of the Military Order of Santiago (Portuguese branch), in the penultimate decade of the fifteenth century.

In 1484, meeting in the town of Santarém, Dom João II, King of Portugal and supreme administrator of the Order of Santiago (Portuguese branch), together with the High Prior of the Order, Friar Pedro Dias, its High Commander, Dom Pedro de Noronha, and the Thirteen (the Chapter of the Military Order, composed of its commanders), ordered Álvaro de Frielas to copy and authenticate all papal bulls, royal charters and other documents that composed the archives of the Order of Santiago.

In 1490 Álvaro de Frielas completed the 19 sections into which the book had been divided, totaling 236 documents. At that point the scrivener stated that as he collected the papers for transcription, other important documents (numbers 237 to 249) had cropped up. He went on transcribing them by royal order – *por mandado da Alteza do dicto senhor Dom Johan som aqui tanbem asseentadas e como sua actoridade titulladas e fielmente de verbo ad verbum escriptas e sam estas que se seguem*.

The death of King Dom João II prevented Álvaro de Frielas from finishing his monumental task, which covered exactly 250 documents (numbers 1 to 249 and 252). In fact, the king's death caused him to lose his authority as notary-public to complete his job—i.e. validating the transcripts, by authenticating them with his subscription and *signum tabellionis*.

On 12 March 1498 the new king, Dom Manuel, issued a special order that authorized Álvaro de Frielas to validate and sign the public forms, thus certifying the cartulary and rendering it indisputably authentic (Document no. 250). On 15 November 1498 the former notary-public signed the final subscription of the book, which thus became fit for being used as evidence in a court of law if necessary, which constituted the original purpose of the transcript (Document no. 251).

These first 250 documents correspond to the original cartulary, copied according to a master-plan structured into the 19 sections mentioned above. The initial Table of Contents describes this structure, providing document summaries, though only for the first 236.

All charters in Section 1 are papal bulls dated from the 12th to the 15th century. Their key theme is the separation of the Portuguese branch of the Order from the Castilian Master, supported by a 1291 privilege of Pope Nicholas IV confirmed by another by Pope Celestin V, of 1294, which granted the Portuguese knights permission to have an autonomous government under a Provincial Master. The only document in this section that is not a bull is the last, a long undated roll dealing precisely with the abuses of the Castilian masters and the way in which they neglected the management of the Order's Portuguese territories.

Section 2 is exclusively composed of royal charters, dating from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.

Following the legal framework provided by the regulatory instruments issued by both the papacy and Portuguese royalty, sections 3 to 14 are geographically organized, containing documents related to each of the territories in which the Order had their main property in Portugal. For the Kingdom of the Algarve, special attention is devoted to the towns of Tavira (Section 3) and Loulé (Section 4). In the Alentejo we find Mértola (Section 5), Santiago de Cacém (Section 6, two documents). Sections 7 to 11 comprise documents related with Palmela, Almada, Arruda and Alcácer do Sal. Section 12 focuses solely on the town of Santarém. In sections 13 and 14 we find papers of miscellaneous geographical provenance – Cerveira, Soverosa, Lordelo, Atei, Coimbra, Lisboa, Messejana, Cacela, Portalegre, Alcoutim, Aiamonte, Sesimbra, Beja, Gestaço, Casével, Almodôvar, Abiul, Samora Correia and Faro, among other places, thus indicating that property in these towns was possibly less important than in those included in sections 3 to 12. Section 15 is exclusively composed of discharge/acquittance papers. The four last sections, i.e. 16 to 19, apparently cover ecclesiastical matters, dealing with the relationship between the Order and the pope, the archbishop of Seville, the bishop of the Algarve (Silves) and the bishop of Évora.

Subsequent to the book's completion, another 82 documents were added between 1503 and 1750, totaling 334. As a result, the cartulary probably contains all relevant charters and privileges concerning the Portuguese branch of the Military Order of Santiago from 1175 to 1750. It is therefore, without doubt, the most important primary source for the history of this institution.

The publication of such sizeable cartulary, supervised by Luís Adão da Fonseca, was a project backed up by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology. It involved a team composed of Paula Pinto Costa (project leader), Maria Cristina Pimenta, Isabel Morgado S. Silva and Joel Mata, who split among them the key tasks (i.e. "Introduction", "Document Summaries", "Transcripts, Review").

The great merit of this book is to have made available to the general public a manuscript which the historian community had long waited for. The editors say that their work was often times made difficult by mistakes of the scribes involved in copying the texts.

Mistakes in Latin texts are enough to show that these deserved a more thorough revision. For example, a certain "Gunsalvo Menendi scutifo" (page 163) was certainly a "scutifero" (squire). The same applies to the name of a well-known mid-thirteenth-century knight of Coimbra, Suerius Menendi Petite (page 165), given in its unabbreviated (wrongly read) form, i.e. "Sugerius Mundi" (the "u" being mistakenly read for an "n"). On page 166

one can hardly understand that the abbreviated form of “regiminis” was twice transcribed “regm[in]is”. Also year 1507 is transcribed “milesimo quinquagesimo VII” (page 551), instead of “quingentesimo”. If a transcriber’s fault in the copy of the original is to blame, the editors ought to have corrected it given that the word is properly spelled some fifteen lines below on the same page.

(A side comment: neither is the general public knowledgeable in Latin, nor will the text’s interpretation by Latinized readers be jeopardized. Of course not. But it is an annoying mistake—and so are the others).

Useful summaries of all texts are provided at the end of the book, along with a precious list of the documents in chronological order (after page 679). Readers however cannot rely on the indispensable indices of personal names and place names that such voluminous cartulary requires. In the “Introduction”, the editors promise to publish a second volume with three indices—the two mentioned above, plus a thematic index, in addition to “alguns estudos relacionados com temáticas abordadas no ‘Livro dos Copos’”. We sincerely hope the promise can be kept. It will be another service rendered to the scientific community by the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* series, a highly valuable collection for all researchers in Portuguese history.