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Medieval Portuguese Royal Chronicles. Topics in a Discourse of Identity and Power

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Abstract

It is only in the 15th century that the Portuguese royal chronicles assume their own unequivocal form. The following text analyses them as a discourse of the identity and power of the Crown. Three topics are selected by their importance and salience. These topics are the *territory* object of observation, the *central subject* of the narrative and the question of the *authors* of the historiographical accounts, or rather the position in which the chroniclers place themselves and the perspective they adopt for their description of events.

Key words

Portugal, historiography, medieval chronicles

Resumo

É apenas no século XV que a cronística régia portuguesa ganha a sua forma inequívoca. No texto seguinte analisam-se as respectivas crónicas como um discurso de identidade e de poder da Coroa. Assim, são seleccionados três tópicos pela sua importância e pelo relevo que lhes é dado. São eles o território objecto de observação, o sujeito central da narrativa e a questão dos autores dos relatos historiográficos, ou seja a posição em que os cronistas se colocam e a perspectiva que adoptam na descrição que fazem dos acontecimentos.

Palavras-chave

Portugal, historiografia, cronística medieval

The medieval royal chronicle genre constitutes an accurate type of historiography in narrative form, promoted by the Crown and in which the central protagonist is the monarchy (usually the king himself, its supreme exponent). The discourse therefore centers on the deeds of the monarch and on the history of the royal institution that the king and his respective dynasty embody. Generally speaking, the focus is that of a political history both in terms of the chronicle's predominant themes (the king's actions, war, peace, justice and so on) and in terms of its objectives. It emphasizes the "goodness" of the monarch and serves as

an apology for the actions of the sovereign and the Crown. As such, the royal chronicle is also an *instrument of power*, affirming the authority of the monarchy and contributing to the legitimization of that same authority.

In Portugal, the royal chronicles as such first started and gained importance from the early 15th century onwards, being closely linked to the new Avis dynasty, which began with João I (1385-1433).¹ It is true, however, that there are some previous historiographic examples that can be said to foreshadow the emergence of the genre.² The most famous example that can be cited as an antecedent is the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, not so much because it was penned by a royal bastard, Pedro Afonso, Count of Barcelos and son of King Dinis (1297-1325),³ but because of the way it clearly demarcates the Portuguese kingdom from its neighbor, Castile, and the enhanced value it attaches to the Portuguese monarchy, which is treated autonomously within the context of the Iberian Peninsula.⁴ Nevertheless, the conceptions of a feudal nobility are often superimposed here on what we may call the monarchic ideology.

It is, therefore, only in the 15th century (following the so-called *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*)⁵ that the Portuguese royal chronicles assume their own unequivocal form. In our analysis of them as a discourse of the identity and power of the Crown, only three topics have been selected which, by their importance and salience, enhance this characteristic. These topics are the *territory*, which is an object of observation, the central *subject* of the narrative and, finally, the question of the *authors* of the historiographic accounts, or rather the position in which the chroniclers place themselves and the perspective they adopt for their descriptions of events.

As to the first topic - the territory that is the object of observation in the royal chronicles - this is unquestionably *the kingdom of Portugal* just as it appears in the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*. Here, the kingdom is the constant that encompasses the various reigns from the first days of the Portuguese monarchy and its first king, Afonso Henriques (1139-1185), up to Afonso IV (1325-1357), the seventh monarch of the same dynasty. From this perspective, Portugal is subjected to a narrative treatment that is totally independent of the Iberian context, something that was contrary to what had happened until then, as can be seen, for example, in the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*. The question of the authorship of the *Crónica de 1419* remains open, but, in the wake of the critical edition by Adelino de Almeida Calado, it is no longer really acceptable to attribute it to Fernão Lopes,⁶ as Artur Magalhães Basto⁷ and Lindley Cintra⁸ wish it to be. While remaining an anonymous text, in

¹ For an overview and summary of medieval Portuguese historiography, see Luís Krus, "Historiografia", in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, organized and coordinated by Giulia Lanciani and Giuseppe Tavani, Lisbon, Caminho, 1993, pp. 312-315, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, "Historiografia na Idade Média", in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, edited by Joel Serrão, vol. VI, Lisbon, Iniciativas Editoriais, s.d., pp. 418-420 and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Historiografia Portuguesa. Doutrina e Crítica*, vol. I, Lisbon, Verbo, 1974. For a literary studies perspective, see Isabel de Barros Dias, *Metamorfoses de Babel. A Historiografia Ibérica (Sécs. XIII-XIV): Construções e Estratégias Textuais*, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2003.

² On the subject of the medieval chronicle in Portugal, see Luís Krus, "Crónica", in *Dicionário da Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, pp. 173-175 and, for a literary studies viewpoint, Albano António Cabral Figueiredo, *A Crónica Medieval Portuguesa. Gênese e Evolução de um Género (Sécs. XIV-XV). A Dimensão Estética e a Expressividade Literária*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras, 2005.

³ *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra (ed.), 4 vols., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História and Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1951-1990.

⁴ See Diego Catalán Menendez Pidal, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos. Cuatro Estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal*, Madrid, Gredos, 1962.

⁵ *Crónica de Portugal de 1419*, Adelino de Almeida Calado (ed.), Aveiro, Universidade, 1998.

⁶ Idem, *ibidem*, pp. XXV-XXVII

⁷ A. Magalhães Basto, *Estudos. Cronistas e Crónicas Antigas. Fernão Lopes e a "Crónica de 1419"*, Coimbra, Universidade, 1960.

⁸ Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra, "Introdução" to the *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344*, vol. I, pp. CDV and CDVII-CDIX.

all likelihood the author compiled and rewrote diverse earlier texts which formed the basis for the work. This strong probability points to the active recording and preservation by the Crown, at an earlier date, of accounts of a historiographic nature. However, irrespective of knowing who the author was or of pointing to signs that there had been a royal concern with producing historiographic records and accounts, what must be stressed is that the *Crónica de 1419* is not a chronicle of Christianity, nor a chronicle of Spain but rather a chronicle of *Portugal*. For the first time, the kingdom is the field of observation, as also happens in the later chronicles of Pedro I, Fernando I and João I, all of which were incontestably written by the pen of Fernão Lopes in the 1430s and 1440s.⁹ The superimposition of the history of the monarchy onto the history of the kingdom, which is extremely noticeable in these chronicles, renders monarchy and territory as one, presenting them as elements which merge into one single reality. Such assimilation promotes an image of the supreme authority of the king *over his kingdom* and, simultaneously, constitutes a *physical, material and territorial* element in the identity of the monarchic institution.

The second topic to be considered in the present analysis concerns the *central subject* of the royal chronicles - the monarch himself. As the kingdom is the central object of observation, it ends up being assimilated into the monarchic institution and into the very person of the king himself. From this perspective, *the history of the kingdom is the history of the deeds of the king*, and this is a fundamental element in the identification of the kingdom of Portugal with the person and actions of its monarch and, by extension, of the Portuguese Crown. Thus, the guiding thread of the narrative is inevitably that of the history of the monarchy and the deeds of the monarchs. All importance is given to political history, as much by the themes dealt with (law, justice, relationships with other kingdoms, war and peace, protection of subjects) as by the general objectives (the justification and exaltation of the sovereign's acts). This affirmation of the king's authority and his supreme political and military power, recorded for prosperity in the chronicles, is divulged to the "target audience" of these chronicles - the court nobility and high royal functionaries, those who read the chronicle accounts, and especially those who hear them being read.

These aspects are expressed in their most concentrated form in that masterpiece of the chronicle genre and of medieval literature, the *Crónica de D. João I* by Fernão Lopes, in which a discourse is developed to give historical legitimacy to the Avis dynasty. In fact, João I, the founder of the second Portuguese dynasty, was an intruder from the outset, if not a usurper. It is worth briefly recalling the circumstances of the dynastic crisis unleashed with the death of Fernando I (1367-1383). After celebrating the peace that brought an end to the third war between Portugal and Castile, which had taken place in this reign, Fernando I proposed that Juan I, the Castilian monarch and a widower since 1382, should marry his daughter, Beatriz (born in 1372). The marriage was agreed in the Treaty of Salvaterra de Magos (2 April, 1383). The Treaty was later approved by the Castilian *Cortes* held in Valladolid in August 1383 and by the Portuguese *Cortes*, which met in Santarém in September of the same year. When Fernando died in October 1383, what had been set forth in the Treaty of Salvaterra should have ensued. In short, Portugal and Castile would remain separate kingdoms; but were Fernando I to die without leaving a legitimate son, as indeed happened, Juan I of Castile and his wife, Beatriz, would become the king and queen of Portugal, with their sons succeeding to the Portuguese Crown. Should there be no sons from this marriage nor any other legitimate daughters of Fernando I, the Portuguese Crown would be inherited by the King of Castile and his respective descendants. The widow of the Portuguese monarch, Leonor Teles, would become regent of Portugal until a son of Juan I of Castile and Beatriz reached the age of 14. This was what was laid down in the Treaty of Salvaterra, but the reality turned out to be very different. Opposition by various social

⁹ Fernão Lopes, *Crónica do Senhor Rei Dom Pedro oitavo rei destes regnos*, Damião Peres (ed.), Porto, Civilização, 1965; Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. Fernando*, Giuliano Macchi (ed.), Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1975; Fernão Lopes, *Crónica del Rei Dom Joham I de Boa Memoria e dos Reis de Portugal o Decimo*, Parte I, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1977; Parte II, William J. Entwistle (ed.), Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1977.

sectors to Leonor Teles' regency and the Castilian military intervention in Portugal led João (illegitimate son of Pedro I and Master of the Military Order of Avis) first to the government and then to the throne of Portugal, thereby giving rise to the new dynasty.

The *Crónica de D. João I* is the chronicle of *this king* and his reign, written by the chronicler, Fernão Lopes, who was granted this mission by João I's successor, his son and heir, Duarte (1433-1438).¹⁰ And it is here that we come directly to the third topic for analysis, which concerns the *authors* of the chronicles and the position they held in relation to the task entrusted to them. Fernão Lopes' close links to the royal family and his performance in the important post he held as Crown Archivist, at least from 1418 onwards, clearly reveal his profile as a high functionary in the king's service. His status was raised even higher in 1434 when he was nominated official Chronicler of the Realm with the express duty of writing the chronicles of the kings of Portugal, a task for which he would receive annually the sum of 14 thousand *reais*. This clearly shows the extent to which royalty understood the importance of chronicles, directly investing in them financially and, above all, politically. Their aim was to construct a certain vision, or version, of the history of the kingdom emanating from the *centre* of power that was the Crown. In addition, as in the case of Fernão Lopes and the *Crónica de D. João I*, the chronicler sought to contribute to the legitimization of the Avis dynasty by defending its founder. As mentioned above, such legitimization could not be based on the Right of Succession, and even less on the Treaty of Salvaterra. Hence, the space and the importance that Fernão Lopes attributes to popular action and above all to the urban population, as well as to the intervention of João das Regras, the great defender of João I at the *Cortes* of Coimbra in 1385, where he was proclaimed king. Let us say that these were "atypical arguments" for the period, which Fernão Lopes used with recognized mastery to justify and defend João I's accession to the throne. His brilliant historiographic construction, the use of narrative and documentary sources, the testimony of people who had been present at some of the events of 1383-1385, and his repeated declarations of love and affection for the "truth" should, however, be understood from Fernão Lopes' perspective, which was to defend the legitimacy of the Avis dynasty. Fernão Lopes' construction of discourse, the narrative sequence, the liveliness of the style, the conception of history, the rationality of the argumentation and the care taken to find grounds for his version of events, all become more original and credible when considered in relation to the objectives he sought to reach and his own very strong convictions.

Consequently, the chronicles thus produced are *documents*, insofar as they *record* and try to *prove* those facts considered worthy of being remembered and which have the monarch as the protagonist, or even hero; but the chronicles are also *monuments*, insofar as they commemorate these royal deeds and seek to establish an enduring memory that exalts them.¹¹ Thus, the royal chronicles of the 15th century and, in particular, the *Crónica de D. João I* may be incorporated within a wider "program" which included the building of tombs, the founding of royal chapels, and the construction of royal palaces (such as Sintra) and the Monastery of Santa Maria da Batalha,¹² which evoked the victory over the Castilian armies at the Battle of Aljubarrota (14 August, 1385).

These *chronicle monuments* continued to be constructed throughout the 15th century and into the early 16th century, primarily by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (Fernão Lopes'

¹⁰ On Fernão Lopes, his life and beliefs, see Teresa Amado, *Fernão Lopes, Contador de História*, Lisbon, Estampa, 1991, by the same author "Fernão Lopes", in *Dicionário de Literatura Medieval Galega e Portuguesa*, pp. 271-273, Maria Ângela Beirante, *As Estruturas Sociais em Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1983, João Gouveia Monteiro, *Fernão Lopes. Texto e Contexto*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1988 and Luís de Sousa Rebelo, *A Concepção do Poder em Fernão Lopes*, Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1983.

¹¹ About this subject, see the article "Documento/Monumento", by Jacques Le Goff, in *Enciclopédia Einaudi*, 1. *Memória - História*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1984, pp. 95-106.

¹² Very well known approaches to this subject are Armindo de Sousa, "A Morte de D. João I (Um tema de propaganda dinástica)", *Studium Generale*, Porto, Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 1984, pp. 417-487, as well as Luís Adão da Fonseca, "Ínclita Geração. Altos Infantes (Lusiadas. IV. 50). Algumas considerações sobre a importância das circunstâncias históricas na formação de um tema literário", *IV Reunião Internacional de Camonistas. Actas*, Ponta Delgada, 1984, pp. 295-302.

successor in 1454), Duarte Galvão (c. 1445-1517) and Rui de Pina (appointed Chronicler of the Realm in 1497). They did not hesitate to attribute a transcendent mission to the Portuguese Crown, which is expressed through the revival and relaunching of a crusading ideal in which the Portuguese monarchs become the staunchest and most faithful players. This is the main “line” that can be found in Zurara’s *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*,¹³ in many detailed episodes in Duarte Galvão’s *Crónica de El-Rei D. Afonso Henriques*¹⁴ and in the works of Rui de Pina, especially in his additions to the *Crónica de Portugal de 1419* (entitled *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*),¹⁵ which primarily concern the royal version of the account of the Battle of Rio Salado (1340), in which Afonso IV becomes the main protagonist leading the victory against the Moors (in contrast to a previous account which attributed this role to Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, Prior of the Military Order of the Hospital).¹⁶

Lying behind the monarchy’s interest in the chronicle genre was the aim of appropriating the past and of “constructing” this same past so that an absolute identity could be established between the history of the kingdom and the history of the monarchy. The success and the enduring quality of some of the central themes to be found in the vision of history presented by the royal chronicles demonstrate how this discourse of identity also served as a major factor in the legitimization and affirmation of the power of the Crown. By testifying to this success, the royal chronicles became not only the political memory of the monarchy, but also the main basis for the historical memory of the nation, extending far beyond the medieval age.

¹³ Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta*, Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (ed.), Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1915.

¹⁴ Duarte Galvão, *Crónica de El-Rei D. Afonso Henriques*, s.l., Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra e Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1986.

¹⁵ *Crónicas dos Sete Primeiros Reis de Portugal*, Carlos da Silva Tarouca (ed.), 3 vols., Lisbon, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1952-1954.

¹⁶ This refers to the account introduced in the *Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, José Mattoso (ed.), Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1980, 21G15, pp. 239-257. In relation to this account, see António José Saraiva, “O Autor da Narrativa da Batalha do Salado e a Refundição do Livro do Conde D. Pedro”, *Boletim de Filologia*, XXI, 1971, pp. 1-16, Luís Krus, *A Concepção Nobiliárquica do Espaço Ibérico. Geografia dos Livros de Linhagens Medievais Portugueses (1280-1380)*, Lisbon, JNICT – Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1995 and Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, “O Sangue, a Cruz e a Coroa. A Memória do Salado em Portugal”, *Penélope*, 2, 1989, pp. 27-48.

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Canons and Cities: Cathedral Chapters and Their Social Composition in Medieval Portugal

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Abstract

There has been recently a notable growth in the number of studies written on the nature of cities in the medieval period and, at the same time, a rise in the number of analyses of cathedral clergy, both of which have unquestionably contributed to an advance in our knowledge of these areas. In this context, conclusions centering on the existence of spaces of intersection and influence between urban and ecclesiastic elites are relatively common.

One of the main objectives of this study is to identify, in the Portuguese case, the spaces of intersection, influence or differentiation between these elites and to establish trends and chronologies in the social composition of these institutions. For this purpose, use will be made of the data collected in four case studies carried out for the dioceses of Braga, Lamego, Lisbon and Évora between the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century.

This attempt to establish a global and comparative vision will still allow for the identification of several main questions that remain open, namely those relating to the presence of certain social groups inside these cathedral chapters and the importance of ecclesiastic careers for the strategies adopted by some families.

Keywords

Religious History, Social History, cathedral clergy, ecclesiastic and urban elites.

Resumo

O crescimento dos estudos sobre cidades no período medievo e, em paralelo, a multiplicação das análises sobre clero cardinalício, nomeadamente capitular, ocorrido em múltiplas historiografias no decurso das últimas décadas do século XX, contribuiu para o avanço indiscutível de conhecimentos nestas áreas. Neste contexto, a constatação da existência de espaços de intersecção e de influência entre elites urbanas laicas e elites eclesiásticas constitui hoje uma afirmação relativamente comum, baseada nas análises das composições sociais de alguns dos universos capitulares do final da Idade Média.

Um dos objectivos desta comunicação é o de aferir e identificar estes espaços de intersecção, de influência ou de diferenciação entre estas elites para o caso português, de forma a estabelecer tendências e cronologias ao nível da composição social destas instituições e a definir os níveis de relações e de mútua interdependência ou resistência. Análise feita, em particular, a partir dos dados recolhidos em quatro estudos de caso elaborados para as dioceses de Braga, Lamego, Lisboa e Évora e para uma cronologia compreendida entre a segunda metade do século XIII e os meados da centúria de Trezentos.

Desta forma, a partir de uma análise comparativa entre as quatro dioceses procura-se ainda identificar espaços de interrogação em aberto, nomeadamente em torno da presença dos vários grupos

sociais no interior dos universos capitulares e da importância jogada pelas carreiras eclesásticas no interior das estratégias de algumas famílias com incidência local.

Palavras-chave

História Religiosa, História Social, clero cardinalício, elites urbanas e elites eclesásticas.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a large number of studies were published in different national historiographies about bishops and the dominant groups of cathedral chapters in a range of dioceses in the late Middle Ages.¹ Following a relatively long period during which research was concentrated on the regular clergy and on the analysis of monastic institutions, there has been a recent move towards the examination of secular ecclesiastic bodies, namely collegiate and chapter groups. Portuguese researchers have also followed this trend.²

The novelty of this more recent research lies not only in the selection of dioceses as the object of study, including its bishops and chapters and the way in which they were organized, but also in the kind of research objectives set and the methodologies used in the identification and in particular in the characterization of the chapter populations examined.

Many studies have involved the adoption of practices and methodologies developed in particular historiographic contexts, especially in the French sphere, and have followed patterns developed during the course of analyses focusing on the study of institutions linked to the crown. As was the case with works analyzing groups associated with the crown administration, researchers examining secular ecclesiastic bodies were attracted at an early stage towards the study of the populations that formed them: bishops and chapter members,³ seeking to reconstitute the social composition of these groups by producing collections of biographical accounts and drawing up “catalogues of prosopographic populations”.⁴

Using a wider range of sources providing more comprehensive information than those available for other types of clergy, namely its regular members, these studies examined the social composition of various chapters and thus brought the lives of bishops, canons and other portionists from the 12th to the 15th century into sharper focus, whilst also looking into networks of personal relationships and dependence, strategies for the acquisition of wealth and social ascent, and the various

¹ Among others, attention is drawn to those written by Lop Otin (2003: 371-404) and Cárcel Orti (2005: 971-1047).

² Coelho (2006: 205-223).

³ See the classical studies of Hélène Millet, and in particular her PhD dissertation of 1982 entitled *Les Chanoines du Chapitre Cathédral de Laon (1272-1412)*.

⁴ The discussion that has been held about the definition and use of prosopography can be found in a large number of studies. See, among others, the analysis made under the scope of the projects *Gênese de l'État Moderne* and *The Origins of the Modern State*, especially *Informatique et Prosopographie*, Hélène Millet (ed.), 1985; *Prosopographie et genèse de l'État Moderne*, Françoise Autrand (ed.), 1986; *L'État Moderne et les Élités. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique*, Jean-Philippe Genet and Gunther Lottes (eds.), 1996; *Medieval Lives and the Historian. Studies on Medieval Prosopography*, Neithard Bulst and Jean Philippe Genet (eds.), 1986. More recently, Katherine Keats Rohan is one of the authors responsible for new studies about the use of prosopography.

social ties and careers which made these men of God undeniably stand out as leading figures in their time.

While the publication of a large number of these studies in different historiographies has undoubtedly contributed towards an increase in our knowledge about many members of the secular clergy, the institutions which they served and their relations with other contemporary power-centers, it nevertheless remains the case that many questions are still unanswered. One area in which this is particularly true is that of the links which were established or may have existed between these groups and the urban elites with whom bishops and canons were associated. In fact, the focus on the secular clergy in numerous studies has raised new questions about the relationship of the Church and its members with the cities in which these groups operated and lived, and, in many cases, also where they came from.

In 1977, Hélène Millet stressed the contribution of the project entitled *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* towards the study of urban elites in a now classic paper presented at a meeting on *Urban Elites in the Middle Ages*, in which, pointing to the example of Amiens, she showed how on some occasions the history of the medieval city has been constructed without due attention being paid to the Church and the ecclesiastic institutions operating in cities (Millet, 1997: 319-334).

In their efforts to gain an understanding of the process of the definition and identification of local elites as the product of the attempts made by a group or groups to impose themselves within urban contexts marked by social and economic diversity, some researchers, taking into consideration the process of the formation of urban elites and oligarchies and the strategies they employed for consolidating and perpetuating their predominant role, have tended to construct their discourse on the basis of a vision that focuses on the interior of the specific groups examined and have regarded other groups as either constituting centers of opposition or being of secondary importance. To some extent, this trend has also negatively influenced studies on the secular clergy.

Seen as elements of a transnational hierarchy, privileged actors at the seats of papal and royal power or protagonists of the groups and corridors of the central power, the bishops and canons of the late Middle Ages are now attractive objects of study, especially in relation to the reconstitution of ecclesiastic career paths and strategies for the formalization of central governance.

Thus, the actions of these figures at the local level can to some extent be seen as being subordinated to their more relevant role as actors in wider-ranging networks of power.

Obviously, a lack of source material and the incomplete nature of existing sources have contributed towards this process. The predominance of archival documentation concentrating on the management of wealth by bishops and canons and on the appointments to benefices has meant, for some time now, that research into the relationships between bishops and canons and the cities in which they operated has assumed a role of secondary importance.

Nevertheless, the monographic studies which have been produced on bishops and canons have brought the importance of these links into sharper focus. This is due, in the first place, to the central economic importance of the institutions they served. And secondly to the fact that they derived advantages from stipends and a range of other valuable benefices, as well as from the leisure, wealth and social standing that the status of canon normally brought with it, which meant that the holders of these offices were key figures in the life of the city and undoubtedly qualified them as members of urban elites, with whom they shared habits, a notably high standard of living and the different forms of privileged access to disposable income (Rodrigues, 2000: 237-254).

However, as far as the role that chapter clerics played in urban elite groups and their relationship with them is concerned, this is only one side of the coin. A second aspect has, inevitably, to do with their social background and their belonging to kinship networks whose influence was felt far beyond their mere membership of the chapter group. What is more, questions dealing with this

relationship should not be couched solely in terms of chapter members belonging to urban elite groups, but should also take into account the interests that economically or politically dominant urban families might have in ensuring that their members pursued an ecclesiastic career, especially in the local chapter. Furthermore, an awareness is needed, wherever possible, of chronological variations in the social desirability of this option.

In fact, when one examines a chapter population and its relationship with both the urban space within which it operated and the elite urban groups relevant to the context, one invariably encounters ecclesiastic populations, the majority of whose members were associated with these cities and well-defined kinship groups, although they did not always belong to dominant families in the cities where they held their stipend.

This is due to the frequent moves from one place to another which were a feature of ecclesiastic careers in the Middle Ages. Thus, it is possible that only a small number of chapter members had access to a stipend in their home diocese, the city in which their kinship group was dominant.

In those cases where this was true, it is inevitable that one should question how far lay members of the kinship group and those who had chosen an ecclesiastic career influenced each other, and to what extent their interests and strategies were commonly shared. In the final analysis, the question hinges on the notion of self-identification and the development by ecclesiastics of ties that bound them to their family and those that bound them to the institutions they served. However, an examination of the relationship between ecclesiastics whose principal stipend was not received in their home diocese and lay elites should be couched in very different terms.

In view of all this, the obvious conclusion to be drawn is that there is a need for examining the social and family background of medieval chapter members. There has been an increasing focus on this in all studies seeking to reconstitute chapter populations, and a knowledge of this background has come to be regarded as an essential requirement for understanding the relationship between the members of secular bodies and the dominant elite groups in the city in which they operated. This involves not only the overall characterization of kinship and social recruitment by chapter institutions,⁵ but also an identification of the characteristics determining the composition of each chapter at the local level.

Nevertheless, such investigation is made yet more difficult by the limitations deriving from the lack of systematic studies of the social composition of urban elites, especially those to be found in most Portuguese cities, and the incomplete nature of the information that is available on the parents and social backgrounds of many chapter members.

Despite these limitations, in this paper we put forward a case study examining four different chapters of dioceses in Portugal that have been the object of monographic studies, with a view to constructing a global comparative picture of the social composition of these chapters covering a period which coincides roughly with the late 13th century and most of the 14th century. The aim is to examine the links between chapter members and urban elites, providing an answer to some of the questions raised, and defining the limits of this type of reconstitution, while we shall also attempt to identify the possible common ground shared by both groups and gauge how far they influenced each other.

1. The composition of cathedral chapters: the limits of an analysis

⁵ This was one of the main aims of the project entitled *Fasti Ecclesiae Portugaliae*, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology between 2002 and 2005.

We shall take as our target population the cathedral chapters of the four Portuguese dioceses of Braga, Lamego, Lisbon and Évora. As we have already said, this paper is based on monographic studies carried out in the course of the last few years. While their chronologies are not completely coincident, we can nevertheless establish a common frame of reference within which comparisons can be made between different dioceses, covering the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century.

Just as a different period of time was examined in each of these studies, so the range and aims of each one varied, and we shall highlight some significant differences between them. While some studies have focused on individual cathedral chapters, their frame of reference being extended to cover the relationship with other sources of power, as is the case with Mário Farelo's study of Lisbon (Farelo, 2003, 2005), others have sought either to construct a global vision of the diocese over a short time span, as is the case with Anísio Saraiva's study of Lamego (Saraiva, 2003) or to trace the development of diocesan institutions over a period of several centuries, as is the case with a study of Évora (Vilar, 1999). Meanwhile, a different approach was adopted for the diocese of Braga: basing her work on a number of Master's degree dissertations studying chapter organization during different periods (Rodrigues, 2005), Ana Maria Rodrigues published a compilation of Braga cathedral chapter members identified for the period from 1245 to 1374 and produced a short biographical account for each member (Rodrigues, 2001: 141-170).

In fact, most of these studies adopted the individual biographical account (Homem and Freitas, 2001: 171-210) as the means for presenting the facts relating to each canon, some of them being longer than others. The most obvious difference between the various studies lies in the organization of the information. While some used annotated accounts of the trajectory of each canon in greater or lesser detail, as is the case with the study of Braga, others organized the same information on the basis of a questionnaire divided into sections covering the life and career of the ecclesiastic in question. An individual or comparative reading of completed questionnaires provides a clear and rapid means of access to the general characteristics of the social micro-population analyzed.⁶

While, in terms of the range of their object of analysis or their chronology, the studies carried out may sometimes differ in one way or another, all of them seek to systematize existing knowledge about the social composition of the respective chapters and, on this basis, to characterize the chapter body and the relationships that it developed with other power sources and groups.

Some of them, besides examining cathedral chapters, contain a characterization of the episcopal group, tracing the career paths of bishops, their family links and their strategies for the consolidation of trajectories. In this paper, however, the group of dominant bishops in each diocese will not be examined individually as a separate object of study. This is not because they were less important within the urban context than were chapter members, but rather because the evolution of the way in which they were appointed and their dominant profile in some of the dioceses under consideration means that they were much less markedly influenced by local pressures than were chapter members.

In fact, the studies which have examined Portuguese dioceses from the 13th to the 15th century have increasingly drawn attention to the idea that the appointment of bishops, especially from the 14th century onward, was increasingly independent of network intrigue at the local level, and increasingly subject to the dictates of the crown and papal intervention. In fact, solid evidence for this has been provided on a growing scale. Indeed, as we move away from the period when chapter members were largely responsible for conducting episcopal elections and papal intervention was limited to a few dioceses closely aligned with pontifical power and influence, it can be seen that the

⁶ Some of the problems of these studies can be seen in the papers published by K. Keats-Rohan (2002).

degree of influence exercised at the local level over the appointment of bishops of dioceses diminished significantly.

So, we have here a number of bishops whose method of appointment had become distanced from the dominant pattern to be found in the appointment of chapter members, even if these appointments were also dependent on many different influences and protagonists. The careers and trajectories of bishops also distanced them in many cases from the contradictions inherent in those cities which were the sees of dioceses. Thus, for most Portuguese dioceses already analyzed, the 14th century marks the beginning of a reduced influence of the cathedral chapter in appointing the bishop and therefore the end of the system of promoting ecclesiastics, especially deans, from among chapter members to the office of bishop. The trend in Portugal (Homem, 1998; Vilar, 2001: 581-694) was thus similar to that found in other countries, with a substantial shift in policy by the crown and the papacy in the appointment of bishops.⁷

This is therefore a set of dioceses which were relatively dissimilar in their importance for the organization of medieval Portuguese society, its wealth and economic power. We can nevertheless paint a comparative picture which is particularly relevant.

Up until the end of the 14th century, the post of archbishop in the northern diocese of Braga, the only archdiocese in Portugal, was coveted by many ecclesiastics as the pinnacle of their career, and the diocese was characterized by its economic importance and the social value of its benefices (Marques, 1987: 365-366). Meanwhile, the diocese of Lamego provides a stark contrast to Braga: its status as a restored diocese meant that its social standing was lower (Saraiva, 2003: 23-26; Costa, 1977: 83-90). Furthermore, it was situated in the interior of the country far from the corridors of crown power, offered clergymen lower incomes than dioceses such as Lisbon and Évora, and thus was obviously less attractive.⁸

The two northern dioceses of Braga and Lamego were thus very different. Let us now turn our attention to the two others: Lisbon and Évora. These cities are situated in the territory which was conquered from the Moors and integrated within the kingdom during the central decades of the 12th century. Here we find dioceses and diocesan institutions, especially in Lisbon, whose importance and centrality were consolidated as the 13th century progressed, such a trend being accompanied by an increase in the city's propensity for attracting ecclesiastics. These structural differences between the two cities produced chapter institutions with different characteristics in terms of their social composition, the number of canons and the importance of the wealth and benefits accruing to them.

While the cathedral chapter in Braga was made up of 36 canons (Lima, 2003: 19-20; Marques, 1988: 327-328), there were around 31 canons in the Lisbon chapter (Farelo, 2003: 66-67; Farelo, 2005: 779-781). Évora meanwhile had no more than 18 canons and 3 dignitaries (Vilar, 1999: 113-114), and Lamego only nine canons and three dignitaries (Saraiva, 2003: 107-108). These chapters therefore differed greatly, not only in their numerical importance, but also in their incomes⁹

⁷ Nieto Soria (1988: 197-205), Díaz Ibáñez (2003: 37-40). Nieto Soria gives us curious numbers about the episcopal elections in Castile between 1250 and 1350. As this author stresses, around 50% of the elections studied were made by the chapter, only 34% were influenced by the pope's intervention, while the royal influence is clear in 37% or 38 % of elections. However, in many of the elections studied, there was more than one influence at work.

⁸ The values included in the list of 1320 provide a clear picture of the differences in incomes between dioceses. Almeida (1971), vol. IV: 91-144.

⁹ For example, the taxes in the list of 1320-21 for the different chapters are: Braga – 7550 pounds, Lamego – 1500 pounds, Lisbon – 12742 pounds and Évora – 7500 pounds. These values show the huge differences between the incomes of the chapters analyzed.

and the range of available benefices, and these factors affected the social composition of each institution. The evidence shows that there were considerable differences between them in terms of their social composition, which is hardly surprising and indeed ties in with the conclusions reached in other similar studies.

In fact, all the monographic studies carried out have discussed to what extent different social groups were represented in medieval cathedral chapters, although in some cases no conclusive evidence has been unearthed or no clear conclusions have been reached, especially with documentation for the 12th and 13th centuries (Dias Ibañez, 2003: 150-156).¹⁰ The lack of reliable source information on the social origins of canons has meant that no final conclusions have been reached as to the relative importance of social groups in the majority of these bodies. Authors have therefore opted for accounts indicating the causes and importance of their presence, as is the case with the recent paper on Castile dealing with the incorporation of the nobility into the high clergy (Dias Ibañez, 2005: 557-603).

This paper provides us with a picture of the spread of nobles originating from different strata of the nobility throughout distinct Castilian dioceses. But, at the same time, the author stresses the need to develop new monographic studies on the integration of the nobility into the ecclesiastic hierarchy (Dias Ibañez, 2005: 598-599).

Due to the lack of data, with few details being available on the family background of many ecclesiastics originating from the nobility, there is an even greater degree of difficulty when the aim is to identify and trace the presence of urban families, especially when they are not part of an identified nobility, in terms of their trajectories in the medieval chapters: it is difficult to trace even the names of individuals.

However, despite these limitations, comparative analysis allows for distinguishing features to be identified within chapters. Let us briefly examine the presence of the nobility within the cathedral chapters under consideration as the basis for an assessment of the relative importance of different groups within the chapters. Contrary to the prevailing scenario in more easterly areas of Europe, especially within the Empire (Pycke, 1986: 90-91), where the presence of nobles in medieval chapters seems to have been a predominant feature during the Middle Ages, in Portugal as in other documented cases, the nobles, especially the high nobility close to the king's court, do not appear to have been concerned with ensuring that their sons were systematically established in ecclesiastic careers (Millet, 1982: 77-86; Laszlo, 2007: 15-30). In fact, during the 13th century, and even into the 14th century, the dominant noble lineages appear to be absent from the chapters;¹¹ this observation could be extended to include the episcopacy itself, although some representatives of the court nobility who were close to the first kings can be identified among the bishops of the 13th century.¹²

¹⁰ As far as the 14th and 15th centuries are concerned, it is normally easier to establish the origin of a greater number of ecclesiastics for these periods than it is for the previous centuries, as has been proved by studies made, for example, by Iluminado Sanz Sancho (1989: 694-716, published in 2006: 245-265, Miguel Santamaria Lancha (1990: 47-78) and Lop Otin (2005: 635-669).

¹¹ For the identification of lineages belonging to the court's nobility for the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, we have used the classifications provided by Pizarro (1999: 537-541). In this book, the author defines the differences between various groups of the nobility, especially the differences between the court nobility and the local nobility. As we will see, this latter group presents us with more problems in the identification of its members than does the former, even if its presence in the cathedral chapters is more important.

¹² Estevão Soares da Silva and Egas Fafes de Lanhoso are two possible examples of bishops, belonging to the high-ranking nobility of the 13th century, whose careers led the former to the post of archbishop of Braga and the latter to the government of the diocese of Coimbra and the archbishopric of Santiago de Compostela, during the first half of the 13th century. See Ventura (1992 (II): 750-755).

In fact, the presence of the nobility in Portuguese cathedral chapters seems to have been restricted to a group of middle and low-ranking noble families who saw it as a means of social ascent, especially throughout the second half of the 13th century. In many such cases, the choice of an ecclesiastic career by members of these families often seems to have played a key role in the strategies adopted for the consolidation and affirmation of the family, thereby increasing access to benefits and alliances for kinsmen. Lineages such as the Portocarreiros, the Zotes, the Molnes, the Homens and the Vasconcelos are the best examples of families whose members are recurrently identified as taking part in the cathedral chapters of Braga and Lisbon.

In the case of the Portocarreiros, their presence in Braga seems to have been particularly important, beginning with the government of João Viegas de Portocarreiro as archbishop (Ventura, 1992, vol. 2: 757-758). Their presence included: Fernão Anes de Portocarreiro, dean from 1247 to 1273 and the holder of various other benefices (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 331-332), and also the cousin of João Viegas (Rodrigues, 2005: 52-58); Gonçalo Gonçalves de Portocarreiro, archdeacon of Couto from 1288 to 1289 and nephew of the archbishop (Rodrigues, 2005: 98-100; Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 324-325); and Martim Peres de Portocarreiro, canon of the same chapter (Rodrigues, 2005: 166-169), nephew of Fernão Eanes and one of the main beneficiaries of his will (Pizarro, 1999, vol. II: 341-342; Rodrigues, 2005: 166-169).

Identified as a lineage that belonged to the middle-ranking court nobility, the presence of this family in the Braga chapter is mentioned until the end of the 13th century, a period that marked the pinnacle of the family's splendor, when they were close to court circles. Later, during the course of the 14th century, members of this family were no longer referred to in the documentation about the Braga chapter, and during this period the family lost their political influence (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 319-322).

The presence of the Zotes in the Braga chapter seems to have occurred a little later, from the early 14th century onward. Martim Martins Zote (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 1: 378; Rodrigues, 2005: 67-68), canon of Lisbon (Farelo, 2003, vol. 2: 81-82) and Palencia, was also dean of Braga and the most visible member of this lineage identified in both the Braga and Lisbon chapters.

Other families from the middle-ranking court nobility were also identified as belonging to the Braga chapter, such as the Vasconcelos (Estevão Anes de Vasconcelos and Diogo Gomes de Azevedo, linked to Estevão Anes on his mother's side), Cogominhos (Afonso Fernandes Cogominho), Cunhas (Gonçalo Gomes da Cunha, Vasco Rodrigues da Cunha), Pimenteais (Gonçalo Eanes Pimentel, Martim Vasques Pimentel) and Pereiras (Rui Vasques Pereira).

Few members of the Molnes and Homem families can be identified as chapter members. Estevão Pires Homem, canon and dean of Braga from the 1340s onward, and Vasco Peres Homem, canon and dean of Braga in around 1309-1318 (Rodrigues, 2005: 70-71 and 221-222; Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 317) and probably the brother of Estevão Homem (Rodrigues, 2005: 70), consolidated the presence of this family in the Braga chapter during these years. Meanwhile, Abril Esteves de Molnes (Rodrigues, 2005: 193; Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 408) and Gonçalo Esteves de Molnes, canon and dean (Rodrigues, 2005: 69), and nephew of Dom Gonçalo Pereira, are identified as the representatives of this family of middle-ranking nobles with deep roots locally, where most of their assets were concentrated, despite their only enjoying average political standing (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 403-404).

Besides these individuals, members of other families with a local implantation have been identified in the Braga chapter, such as the Camelos (Nuno Gonçalves Camelo).

In any case, in spite of their differences, none of these families were part of the high-ranking court nobility, but they were nonetheless part of a group characterized by an accentuated social ascent during the course of the 13th century and, in some cases, with deep local roots (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 540). But, as we will see, this is a feature that is common to other cathedral chapters.

Despite all these references, the truth is that the canons identified as noblemen are not a predominant feature of the list of 234 canons and dignitaries of the Braga chapter recorded for the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, even if the low numbers recorded can be explained by the difficulties in identifying many of the holders of canonries. However, their role was of considerable importance when compared with other dioceses.

In fact, in Lisbon, just as in Lamego and Évora, the presence of high-ranking noble lineages is much less evident and quantitatively less significant than in Braga. Lisbon provides a good example here: while the nobility are present within the cathedral chapter group, albeit in lower numbers than in the diocese of Braga, this presence seems to be limited, except for rare exceptions, to members of the Vasconcelos, Cogominho, Zote, Magro and Dade lineages that José Augusto Pizarro identifies as members of the nobility with only average importance at court (Pizarro, 1999, vol. 2: 540, table VII; Farelo, 2003: 103).

In some cases, these families were also present in the Braga chapter, which might be said to reveal a strategy of investing in an ecclesiastic career that was common to different members of the same lineage, but their influence was usually restricted to one or two individuals who served within the chapter, either in succession or simultaneously; accumulating wealth either on the basis of a single main benefice or a series of benefices. This was the case, for example, with the following figures: Afonso Fernandes Cogominho and Gonçalo Fernandes Cogominho, who were brothers as well as canons of the Lisbon chapter, while the former also held the office of treasurer (Farelo, 2003, vol.2: 14-17); Egas Lourenço Magro, Estevão Eanes Bocharado and Martim Dade, this last one being associated with the Dade family; and Estevão Rodrigues de Vasconcelos (Farelo, 2003, vol. 2: 187-189). They were all members of the Lisbon chapter.

The presence of the nobility appears to have been much more limited in Lamego during the short period covered by Anísio Saraiva's study, with the Alvarengas and the Távoras, two of the few noble families identified, being families with landed estates in the region of the diocese (Saraiva, 2003: 154-155). In Évora, the presence of the court nobility was bolstered by representatives of members of the regional nobility or local elites. For example, the Oliveiras and lineages that would become more visible during the course of the 14th century (Vilar, 1999: 165-166), such as the Britos (Gomes, 1995: p. 97 in particular). In fact, in this southern diocese, most of the above-mentioned lineages seem to be absent in favor of locally established families whose process of ennoblement (were this to happen) tended in some cases to take place somewhat later than that of the families referred to previously.

Thus, despite the differences which existed between the dioceses examined, it is possible to paint an overall picture in which the main feature is a lack of members of the high court nobility in the ecclesiastic hierarchy. In fact, an ecclesiastic career appears to have attracted only the members of socially ascendant families from the middle-ranking court nobility and middle-ranking local lineages, who used a range of strategies to place their members in the chapter and thus benefit from the advantages of holding a high position in the ecclesiastic hierarchy.

Meanwhile, there was a relatively more sizeable noble presence in Braga as compared with other dioceses, with only Lisbon approaching the northern city as a rival in this regard, due to its growing economic and political importance. In fact, the geographic situation of the diocese of Braga covered the quintessential manorial region of 13th-century Portugal, where many of the estates of the most important Portuguese nobles of that period were rooted, as well as those of the lineages that had resulted from their segmentation, and this is an important consideration to be borne in mind when seeking to explain the larger numbers of nobles to be found amongst the bishops and canons of this diocese. On the other hand, the fact that Braga remained as the see of the only Portuguese archdiocese until the end of the 14th century meant that many ecclesiastics aspired to the post of archbishop or canon of Braga as the crowning moment of their career.

The behavior of the Portuguese nobility is not very different from that of its counterparts in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula or beyond the Pyrenees. Studies carried out into cathedral chapter populations in Castile, France and England point to similar trends: the reduced presence of the nobility, limited to families of average courtly standing and usually including many regionally-based families,¹³ especially in the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century. These families often had links with different chapters, and the pursuit of ecclesiastic careers by their family members formed part of their strategies for achieving and consolidating power, drawing advantage from their holding of benefices and canonries in different chapters and churches and ensuring that family members were placed within the ecclesiastic hierarchy as part of a successful career within the Church.¹⁴ In fact, they pursued not only the wealth afforded by these positions in the church hierarchy, but also the influence that they provided, sometimes even reaching close to the king's circles, as well as the capacity to appoint their parents and servants to other benefices and the opportunity to strengthen their ties with other lineages.

However, the statements made earlier about the apparent absence of the high court nobility from most of the cathedral chapters, and the apparent predominance within these bodies of a middle-ranking nobility and regionally-based lineages, also raise a remarkably large number of questions about the concept of nobility that is used and about the underlying model used for the classification of nobles.

In fact, for our classification, we have recurrently used the criterion of proximity to the king and participation in the royal circles of a court nobility defined for Portugal from the second half of the 13th century onward (Ventura, 1992), together with the possession of landed estates as recorded in the contemporary sources (Pizarro, 1999). In accordance with this definition, we have considered different levels within the court nobility, although we also draw a distinction in relation to a regionally-based (although not necessarily exclusively rural) nobility. In fact, many of the lineages mentioned had quite sizeable rural estates, from which, in some cases, they drew part of their onomastic identification as a lineage. However, such identification tends to play down the differences and divisions which characterized the nobility, even within a time span that extends no further than the mid-14th century and skirts around some of the problems underlying the identification of the nobility in urban centers, as we shall see later on (Duarte, 2001: 91-108; Val Valdivieso, 2001: 71-90). It does, however, show itself to be operational as a means of establishing some of the specificities of an analysis designed to investigate the links between the social composition of some chapters and the dominant elites of those urban centers.

2. Urban elites and ecclesiastic elites: two sides of the same coin?

Studies of dioceses have long focused on the presence and even the predominance of ecclesiastics with urban family backgrounds, sometimes also associated with important positions in the city's government, in many diocesan chapters (Millet, 1982: 77-86; Lop Otin, 2005: 638-639; Díaz Ibañez, 2003: 150-156). For many families involved in the business or government affairs of the city who were also very often interested in the control of knowledge (Nebbiai – dalla Guarda, 1997: 385-442; Crouzet-Pavan, 1997: 9-28), the fact that some family members carved out a successful ecclesiastic

¹³ Besides the studies already mentioned for Castile and France, we may also consider the analysis made by Jacques Pycke (1986: 85-93) and David Lepine (1995: 48-54), in which the presence of the nobility in the chapters is reaffirmed, but without there being any evidence of a predominance of the high nobility in these groups of canons.

¹⁴ The Portocarreiro family is a good example of a strategy followed by different members of the lineage at various levels of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. Pizarro (1999, vol. 2: 319-346).

career, which could result in their holding a range of valuable benefices or obtaining a place high up in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, often conferred a degree of benefit on the kinship group as a whole by contributing towards the career consolidation and ascent of various close kinsmen.

The restructuring of family links which bound ecclesiastics to chapters or other bodies of the Church hierarchy demonstrates the importance of kinship and friendship networks in the structuring of individual careers. These are networks which are in general easier to identify and reconstitute than those which theoretically link these ecclesiastics to city affairs. Thus the difficulty lies in the identification of the background of the members of these internal networks rather than in the identification or reconstitution of networks at different levels.

Let us consider again the data provided by studies that have focused on the dioceses in question. In this paper, we have sought to establish a number of questions raised by them as a whole, despite differences between the studies deriving from variations in their chronological or thematic range.

The first question which arises is inevitably concerned with the geographic origins and social background of the members of the chapters considered. All the studies carried out have stressed the incomplete nature of source material with regard to these two kinds of information. The lack of references to the life of ecclesiastics before they joined the chapter and the predominance of documentation dealing mainly with the management of their wealth and chapter life means that very few references are available which allow us to place members of the clergy within the context of their background.

But let us examine the geographic origins of the canons of the dioceses of Braga, Lamego, Lisbon and Évora: all present at least a few canons with well-defined geographic origins, and an analysis of the sparse data which exists enables some comments to be made. Looking at the diocese of Braga, if we take as our starting point the period from 1278 to 1325, which coincides with the reign of Dom Dinis and which was studied by Justiniana Lima, one can conclude that about 25.5% of chapter members came from the home diocese while the geographic origins of 65.5% of them are unknown (Lima, 2003: 37-40). Similar figures exist for the period from 1245 to 1374: the number of dignitaries and canons whose geographic origins are known is approximately 18.5%, while fewer than 10% came from the home diocese.¹⁵ The geographic origins of the other chapter members cover a wide area, extending into the north and centre of the country, and as far inland as Coimbra and Lamego, while there are also some chapter members from Évora, whose presence in Braga is associated directly with the presence and influence of the archbishop Martinho de Oliveira.

In the case of Lamego, an inland diocese, the number of canons whose geographic origins can be traced is about 23%, but only 10% can be identified as coming from the home diocese (Saraiva, 2003: 159-160). Despite the differences between the two dioceses, the figures are roughly similar. The geographic origins of chapter members extend over an area reaching as far as Guimarães and Braga, although it is difficult to say exactly how far inland they extended; the majority of the chapter members identified came from or had kinship ties with Lamego and the surrounding parishes or from the two northern cities already mentioned.

As for the southern dioceses of Lisbon and Évora, the overall picture is slightly different. With regard to the diocese of Lisbon during the period from 1277 to 1377, the number of chapter members whose geographic origins can be traced to the home diocese is around 4.9%, while the number of foreign ecclesiastics is 29% of the total, reaching 37% if we consider only the dignitaries; other chapter members come from the north and from the diocese of Évora (Farelo, 2003: 68-69), but the small

¹⁵ These numbers were obtained from the biographies published in the already mentioned study by Ana Maria Rodrigues.

number of those whose geographic origins can be identified does not provide conclusive evidence as to the question of their local or regional recruitment.

The difference between the figures obtained for the various dioceses is itself sufficiently demonstrative of the differences between these dioceses. Let us now examine the case of the southernmost diocese, Évora. Direct references to the geographic origins of many chapter members in the Évora diocese are very rare and even indirect references are few and far between, while links with the members' places of origin can only be established with any degree of certainty for around 10% of those identified. Among these, the predominance of ecclesiastics from the Évora region seems quite significant, while family references point to the presence of many canons from the home diocese who belonged to kinship groups linked to Évora (Vilar, 1999: 160-170). This scenario is even more significant if we take into consideration the absence of members of the high and even middle-ranking court nobility among chapter members and the small number of foreign clerics found to be present in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Thus, there is no doubt, in view of the differences in the figures, that at an early stage Lisbon stands out from among the dioceses analyzed, providing evidence of a growing degree of centrality and importance for the city in the context of the system of distribution of stipends controlled by papal power and the crown, making the city a platform for the establishment of ecclesiastics who came either from different domestic dioceses or from abroad. The presence of a relatively large number of foreign clerics reflects this centrality, and the presence of ecclesiastics who came from the noble families noted above also points to the same trend: the increasing importance of Lisbon.

Meanwhile, looking at the other dioceses, the figures show the importance of local recruitment in the composition of chapters, despite the low numbers obtained, even in Braga, the only archdiocese in the country. The same importance is also visible in the recruitment of the dignitaries of some of these chapters. In the case of Braga, for example, among the deans of this period we find members of the middle nobility, in some cases with local roots, and members of local and ecclesiastic families. In Évora, local recruitment is also quite important among the twelve deans and the eleven precentors identified for this period.¹⁶ In the cases of Lisbon and Lamego, the existence of such a situation is more difficult to conclude. For the latter diocese and for the short period studied by Anísio Saraiva in a total of five deans and three precentors, the canons coming from the region of Guimarães were very important, but this predominance can be explained by the presence of Gonçalo Esteves, the dean and brother of Antoninho Esteves, who was himself also dean of the same chapter in subsequent years. Gonçalo Migueis, Vasco Eanes and Lourenço Fernandes, dignitaries of this diocese during the first fifty years of the 14th century (Saraiva, 2003: 213-249) were probably also from Guimarães. For Lisbon, the lack of information does not permit us to draw any clear conclusions. However, the important presence of foreign ecclesiastics and the small number of nobles identified inside the group of dignitaries are two pieces of evidence that should be stressed.

In conclusion, and if we take the chapter dignitaries as providing one of the best clues to the composition of the chapters, it is clear that although the predominance of local recruitment cannot be proved by the available documentation, it is clear that this form of recruitment was probably quite significant in most of the chapters considered. And although the place in which a stipend was held by an ecclesiastic did not necessarily coincide with his place of family origin, but was more likely to be bound up with questions of his availability under particular circumstances or the value of the benefice in question, it is also true that the seeking of a local position was far from being a minor concern for many families.

¹⁶ Canons belonging to the Oliveira and Brito families or others only related with the city or the region can be identified for almost half of the dignitaries.

However, a more accurate picture of the importance of these local links can only be provided by cross-referencing data on geographic origins with information on the family and social background of some of these clerics. As was mentioned above, we are interested here in gauging in particular the degree of influence enjoyed by the families predominating at the local level in the social composition of chapters, so we must first assess to what extent urban oligarchies within diocesan circuits were represented in chapter populations.

Firstly, it is obvious that an approach of this type comes up against a basic source of difficulty that has already been referred to, namely the lack of studies on local oligarchies and their composition in medieval Portugal. This makes it difficult or even impossible to cross-reference information on the composition of ecclesiastic groups and the urban elites of many of the dioceses considered in this paper. The exceptions are Lisbon and Évora, for which we have some data, which nevertheless needs organizing.

Let us look first at Lisbon. As Mário Farelo stressed in his Master's degree dissertation, the studies made about Portuguese chapters have shown the importance in these chapters of families "who at the regional level managed to exercise a considerable measure of influence over economic, social and even political affairs" (Farelo, 2003: 97). However, it is difficult, for Lisbon, to define the scope of this influence due to the lack of information available. Nevertheless, the cases studied for this diocese demonstrate firstly the presence of canons from families with backgrounds in crown service. The growing presence of the crown administration and the king in Lisbon is necessarily reflected in the structure of the urban elite of the city, in which crown service takes on a central role at an early stage, in contrast with other places. Families such as the Escolas, the Valentines, the Rebolos and the Nogueiras provide examples of this, although, as the author stresses, analysis carried out on the basis of case studies allows us to surmise that it would require one or two generations for one or more members of these families to accede to a place in the chapter. In other words, it would take this long for the lineage to become established as part of the elite of the city (Farelo, 2003:101-102).¹⁷

The families of members of the Lisbon chapter are linked not only to crown office but also to trade. The most notable example is that of the Palhavãs, but other trading families may also be identified when systematic studies are carried out into the elites associated with the city.¹⁸

The chapter of Évora presents a somewhat different picture. Located deep inland, Évora did not enjoy such a degree of centrality and importance as Lisbon, although there had always been a certain degree of crown influence in the selection of bishops from an early stage. The same kind of influence is not easily detectable for chapter appointments; local families and bishops who were appointed to the diocese seem to have constituted two essential elements in influencing the composition of the Évora chapter.

¹⁷ Miguel Martins is one of the authors to have dedicated some time to studying the personalities and families of Lisbon during the Middle Ages, and these studies have contributed to the general knowledge about the political and economic groups in this city. Among others, we can mention Martins (1997 (3): 10-60; 1997 (5): 10-47; and 1997 (6):10-43).

¹⁸ We hope that the future work of Mario Farelo about Lisbon and its elites will permit us to learn something more about these families, their composition and their trajectories. In the same way, further and more detailed studies into the families present in Lisbon will make it possible to increase our knowledge about the links between these groups and the University which, alternating with Coimbra throughout the 14th century, was to be installed for some time in Lisbon. In such a context, it would also make sense to study the links between the university world and the cathedral chapter, since the presence in the city of the university would tend to favour an increasing number of higher educational backgrounds amongst the holders of canonries. (Mattoso, 2000: 395-420; Rodrigues/ Vilar 2004: 611-629).

As far as the influence of the bishops is concerned, it should be noted that many canons or candidates for the office came from the families of those appointed to the diocese as bishops, or from among their dependents. In fact, a change of bishop or, in particular, a long period of episcopal incumbency would see an influx of new canons linked to circles close to the bishop and therefore led to significant changes in the composition of chapter populations (Vilar, 1999: 170-175).

Belonging to families with some standing in the region also seems to have been a determining factor in terms of accession to the office of canon. Canons can be identified as being linked to families such as the Oliveiras, the Britos, the Ciciosos and the Pestanas; thus links can be established between families associated with council government and the chapter over a period of several generations (Vilar, 1999; Beirante 1985).

For many of these families, ensuring that their members were established in an ecclesiastic career, especially in the Évora chapter, seems to have become a common practice and was facilitated by the presence of kinsmen already present in the ecclesiastic structure, whose influence provided a privileged means of access for new recruits. There is some doubt, however, as to the importance that the holding of these stipends had among the strategies developed for the assertion and consolidation of these families. In other words, to what extent did the holding of benefices, and the influence conferred thereby, affect the careers of other family members?

Let us examine a relatively well-known case study: that of the Oliveiras of Évora. It is clear that the election of Martinho Pires de Oliveira I as bishop of Évora in the mid-13th century greatly contributed to the ascent of the lineage and led to a nephew of his obtaining the office of archbishop: this was Martinho Pires de Oliveira II, a cleric and representative of the king in Rome and later archbishop of Braga. It also led to the marriage of some of his nieces to members of the middle-ranking nobility close to the court, and there is a long list of canons linked to the family who held office in the Évora chapter throughout the 14th and 15th centuries (Vilar, 1999: 52-56). At the same time, members of the family can be identified as being associated with the administration of the district and with the holding of crown offices at the local level, particularly in the second half of the 14th century and throughout the whole of the 15th century (Beirante, 1995: 535).

Thus, members of this family seem to have held office not only in local administration, but also in the cathedral chapter throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, and a degree of mutual influence would have been a constant factor, with its evident impact on urban life. Indeed, the influence of this family at the local level caused a measure of unrest within the city and the Oliveiras were at times accused of favoritism, as well as of instigating violence against other groups and families in the city. This occurred at the end of the first half of the 13th century, around 1237, at the time of the election of Martinho Pires (Vilar, 1999, 51) and also about a hundred years later at the time of the attempted election of João Afonso de Brito (Vilar, 1999: 79).

The Britos provide an example of a different model of ascent, involving a family holding both chapter and episcopal office and some of their members following an ecclesiastic career. However, the presence of the Britos in local government administration is not easily detectable: from an early stage, the lineage is associated with the holding of ecclesiastic benefices but not offices in the council administration (Beirante, 1995: 556). It is possible that, like other families such as the Touregãos (Beirante, 1995: 569-570), the Britos' influence derived from their control of economic power, but not necessarily from the holding of such offices. This may explain the importance conferred on ecclesiastic careers, which provided some members of the family with access to the court (Gomes, 1995:97).

Other families such as the Pestanas seem to have acceded to office in the chapter long after beginning to serve in city administration or local crown appointments. Evidence for this is provided by local documentation from the second half of the 13th century of the holding of administrative offices,

as well as during the course of the 14th and 15th centuries (Beirante, 1995: 610-634), while the evidence of the presence of members of this family in the Évora chapter shows that this came relatively late in the day, perhaps only in the 15th century (Vilar, 1999: 342) despite family links between the Oliveiras and the Pestanas.¹⁹ The placing of members of the family in the Évora chapter or in an ecclesiastic career seems rather like the icing on the cake in terms of a set of strategies for the implantation and consolidation of the influence of the Pestanas, for there is no evidence for such a strategy either before this process began or during its initial stages.

We are therefore faced with a differentiated group of families, with remarkably different strategies and with networks of influence and interconnections of similarly unequal coverage. Families that, in some cases, would become part of a locally established nobility of great importance, as was the case with the Oliveiras in Évora or some lineages linked to Lisbon, in a process that it does not, however, seem possible to extend to all the families identified.

And this gives rise to one of the key problems to be found in this analysis, rooted in the difficulties that are inherent in differentiating between members of a small local nobility (or one that enjoyed links with families of greater importance, under whose protection they would benefit from and flaunt their positions of local power) and groups of knights and citizens of popular origin (Duarte, 2001: 91-109; Cláudio, 2003), whose influence in the city's local government and economic life was exerted in close conjunction with this small nobility, sometimes only recently ennobled.

But the different patterns which emerge for Évora are probably similar to those which existed in other dioceses, principally in Lisbon. In fact, the diverse range of scenarios and the place occupied by the family or the urban group in the local hierarchy should be taken into account rather than a dominant model of relations between urban elites and oligarchies, on the one hand, and chapter groups on the other.

In general, for many urban families with some economic or political power in the city, influence based on the holding of benefices deriving from offices held in the local chapter was a factor of prime importance. However, the centrality and importance of an ecclesiastic career or the holding of benefices in the local chapter varied according to the support base of the families in question. Thus, it is evident that while many families sought to stake a claim in the chapter and pursue ecclesiastic careers by placing various members of the same generation or subsequent generations in the chapter or in a career in the ecclesiastic hierarchy, for others this option seems to have been less important.

In fact, the holding of benefices and the choice of an ecclesiastic career seems, in the case of Évora, to have taken on a greater degree of importance for families undergoing a process of consolidation and assertion, such as the Oliveiras in the early 14th century, although their members continued to be present in the chapter during subsequent generations, regardless of changes in family fortunes, while, for other lineages which had sometimes played a role from an earlier stage in local power circuits, the presence of members in the chapter could be of secondary importance.

Thus, the Évora chapter displays a greater degree of social permeability than, for example, that of Lisbon; according to the data provided by Mário Farelo, some families acceded to chapter office only after consolidating their position in the local administration.

But, as Maria José Lop Otin stressed in the case of the Toledo chapter (Lop Otin, 2005: 638) when stating that this chapter followed the rule in incorporating members of all the groups and social sectors living in the city, it may also be true that this was a rule in most of the cathedral chapters in the Middle Ages and, in one way or another, most medieval chapters were, more or less, real images of the city.

¹⁹The brother of Martinho Pires de Oliveira I, bishop of Évora, Pedro de Oliveira married Elvira Anes Pestana. (Vilar, 1999: 48-49).

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The Rise Of A New Consciousness: Early Euro-African Voices of Dissent in Colonial Angola

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Abstract

Events such as the 1820 Liberal Revolution in Portugal and the 1822 declaration of independence in Brazil appeared to the Creole elite based in the coastal centers of Portuguese West Africa as the prelude to a new socio-political order. Moreover, the arrival of hundreds of political refugees and convicts in Angola - from Brazil as well as from Europe - during the decade of 1820-30 helped considerably in spreading revolutionary ideas on that side of the Atlantic Ocean, fueling the hopes and aspirations of a society in which individuals or families were exposed to sudden and at times unpredictable alterations of their social status - often more than once in a lifetime, as the cases of Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo and Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses would seem to confirm.

This paper focuses on these two paradigmatic figures who embodied the discontent that spread among Luanda and Benguela traders and who confronted the authorities as nobody else dared to do in order to defend the interests of a Euro-African elite that, already during the first half of the 19th century, was struggling for more power and was progressively assuming an attitude suggestive of some kind of economic nationalism.

Keywords

Angola, 19th century, Creole elite, liberal ideals, dissent.

Resumo

A revolução liberal de 1820 em Portugal e a declaração de independência no Brasil em 1822 foram acontecimentos vistos pela elite crioula implantada nas regiões costeiras da África Ocidental como um prelúdio para uma nova ordem política e social.

Entre 1820 e 1830, com a chegada de centenas de refugiados políticos a Angola, provenientes do Brasil e da Europa, foi facilitada a difusão das ideias liberais, circunstância que trouxe algum alento a uma sociedade onde o percurso de muitos dos seus membros se tornava, por vezes imprevisível como aconteceu com homens como Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo e Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses.

Este artigo focaliza precisamente estas duas figuras paradigmáticas que personificaram o descontentamento vivido pelos comerciantes de Luanda e Benguela, os quais confrontavam as autoridades na defesa dos interesses de uma elite euro-africana.

Palavras-chave

- Angola, século XIX, elite crioula, ideais liberais, discórdia.

During the first half of the 19th century, Angolan society was characterized by the presence of a semi-urbanized commercial and administrative elite of Portuguese-speaking Creole families - white, black, some of mixed race, some Catholic and others Protestant, some long-established and others cosmopolitan - who were mainly based in the coastal towns of Luanda and Benguela. As well as their wealth, derived from the functions that they performed in the colonial administrative, commercial and customs apparatus, their European-influenced culture and habits clearly distinguished them from the broad population of black African peasants and farm workers. In order to expand its control over the region, Portugal desperately needed the support of this kind of non-colonizing urban elite, which was also used as an assimilating force, or better as a source for the dissemination of a relevant model of social behavior. Thus, great Creole merchants and inland chiefs dealt in captive slaves, bound for export to Brazil: the tribal aristocracy and the Creole bourgeoisie thrived on the profits of overseas trade and used them to live in style, consuming large quantities of imported alcoholic beverages and wearing fashionable European clothes.

The suppression of the slave trade, however, put an end to this situation of mutual advantage and altered forever more the relationship between colonizers and the so-called *sons of the country*.

In order to understand and contextualize the specificity of the subsequent opposition to the colonial regime put forward by the local Creole elite, it is necessary to retrace the events which unfolded in the Portuguese-speaking world during the 19th century, taking into account different moments of rupture or external influences, together with the most important channels of cultural dissemination of the time. It has to be recognized that the cultural identity of this particular social group strongly relied on metropolitan or Brazilian models in both their forms and contents, but it would be superficial to claim that the cultural imaginary formed in Angola during this period of time totally lacked any original or peculiar features.

On the other hand, how could people's ways of thinking fail to be influenced by the ideological origins of the revolutions that had been taking place in Europe and America since the late 18th century? Events such as the 1820 Liberal Revolution in Portugal and the 1822 declaration of independence in Brazil appeared as the prelude to a new socio-political order and the arrival of hundreds of political refugees and convicts during the decade of 1820-30, from Brazil as well as from Europe, considerably helped in spreading revolutionary ideas¹. The political debate was fueled by journals and pamphlets mainly originating in Brazil but, on the

¹ On the question of the potentially subversive influence of political criminals, see also *Ofício do Governador*, AHU, Angola, 27/03/1821, cx. 140, *Ofício do Governador Castel Branco*, 18/11/1824, doc. 145, cx. 146 and 19/10/1825, cx. 149-A.

other hand, the most conservative aspects of Portuguese liberalism were strongly and officially emphasized in Angola because of the constant fear of a possible social and political uprising.

As a matter of fact, the two personalities to whom this article is dedicated suffered systematic persecution at the hands of the Portuguese authorities and their tormented lives are evidence of the trials awaiting those who decided to assume a critical attitude towards the colonial establishment. On the one hand, we have a former convict born on the periphery of the empire, who had adventurously managed to climb the social ladder and become a serious threat to the establishment. On the other hand, we have the scion of a noble Luanda family who, thanks to the education received in Europe and his long-term experience in diverse fields of colonial administration, breathed life into a revolutionary project that sought to achieve progressive autonomy for his country. Arsénio de Carpo's life and Carvalho e Meneses' work perfectly represent both the spirit of the Creole elite and all its contradictions, providing a privileged starting point for better understanding and contextualizing it, focusing our attention on a society in which family, business or social links acquired a special value. In mid-19th century Angola, a good deal or a good position, for instance, often depended on these links, and individuals or families were exposed to sudden, and at times unpredictable, alterations of their social status. This often occurred more than once in a lifetime, as the cases of Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo and Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses would seem to confirm.

Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo

Perfectly embodying the discontent that had spread among the traders of Luanda and Benguela, Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo emerged as a paradigmatic figure, never keeping quiet and confronting the authorities as nobody else dared to do in order to defend the interests of a Euro-African elite that, already during the first half of the 19th century, was struggling for more power and progressively assuming an attitude suggestive of some kind of economic nationalism. Already in 1853, for instance, he publicly invited the people of Angola to stand up for their right to emancipate themselves from Portugal².

An insightful and adventurous man, he became not only an opulent trader, but also a prominent public personality in the colony. He published a series of pamphlets concerning politics and personal matters and a collection of poems³, later regarded as a fundamental point of reference by the ensuing generations of dissatisfied *sons of the country*. Moreover, from his numerous contributions to metropolitan newspapers, it is possible to establish his political profile, the causes he defended on behalf of the social group which adopted him and the reasons why colonial authorities considered him a threat to public order and metropolitan monopolistic and centralizing interests.

² Pacheco (1992-94). Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo, uma Vida de Luta contra as Prepotências do Poder Colonial em Angola. In *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, Nos. 16-17. Lisbon: IICT, p. 51.

³ Entitled *Dedo de Pygmeu* - Pygmy's finger - CARPO (1843). *Dedo de Pygmeu*. Lisbon: author's edition, J. J. Andrade e Silva, Arsénio de Carpo's literary effort would be republished in 1887 by the Luanda newspaper *O Futuro de Angola*, providing an example and a reference for the following generations of Creoles who were dissatisfied with the colonial regime.

Nonetheless, Arsénio de Carpo's life also represents the rise and fall of one of Luanda's last great slave traders, showing the unsteadiness of such a position in the aftermath of abolition. Highly dependent on a successful transcontinental network, Arsénio de Carpo struggled throughout his life to achieve and maintain a privileged status, an embodiment of the ambiguity of the Creole elite. At that time, in fact, recourse to liberal ideals was often motivated by the fear of losing advantages granted by exposure to European culture and the individual quest for personal interest often omitted the public interest. It is not by chance that Arsénio de Carpo's main biographers, Carlos Pacheco and João Pedro Marques, provided two totally opposite versions of this figure, bringing back to life, on the one hand, a freedom-fighting hero agitating for the emergence of a new country and, on the other hand, a reckless and fallacious slave trader.

Born in Funchal in 1792, Arsénio was the son of illiterate and unfortunate emigrants, who were forced to return to Madeira after a failed attempt to make a fortune in Brazil; he soon started to work as a mason, like his father, but in 1817 he was arrested in Lisbon for joining the plot led by Gomes Freire de Andrade ⁴.

Embarking for Rio de Janeiro in 1820, he changed his surname - Santos - to the rather grandiloquent Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo, probably borrowing it from a play he had seen at the theatre, a juvenile passion. Deeply fascinated by Roman sonorities and connotations, Arsénio loved to boast of his presumed classical erudition by quoting Latin authors or evoking personalities such as Titus or Nero. However, his choice of names also denotes a touch of megalomania, evidence of his need to stand out, and it can be considered as the first step towards a career based on self-promotion⁵.

Already branded as "one of the most indomitable *sans culottes* of his time"⁶, Arsénio returned to his native island where, in 1823, he was arrested and condemned to five years' exile in Angola for evoking British protection in the event of a secession of Madeira from Portugal and for his incendiary words and sarcastic remarks on the monarchy, the Church and the saints.

Arsénio initially appealed to have his sentence commuted, hoping to serve his imprisonment in a more welcoming location such as Cape Verde, but he eventually decided to withdraw his appeal⁷. According to João Pedro Marques, he was probably persuaded by the

⁴ The Portuguese general Gomes Freire de Andrade (1757-1817) was accused of being the head of a liberal plot against the absolute monarchy. Since the royal family and the Court had fled to Brazil in 1807, the king João VI was represented in continental Portugal by a British military government led by William Carr Beresford. Freire de Andrade was arrested for treason and hanged together with eleven other plotters. Lord Beresford's brutal methods unleashed protests and intensified anti-British feelings in the country, eventually leading to the Revolution of 1820.

⁵ Azevedo (1873). *As saudades da terra: Historia das ilhas do Porto-Sancto, Madeira, Desertas e Selvagens*. Funchal: Typographia Funchalense, p. 806.

⁶ *Biografia ou vida publica de Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo* (Rio de Janeiro: n.p., 1846), p. 7. Anonymous biography attributed by João Pedro Marques to Luís António Carvalho de Castro. MARQUES (2001). Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo: um percurso negreiro no século 19. In *Análise Social*, vol. xxxvi, No. 160. Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, p. 612.

⁷ MARQUES 2001: 613.

prospect of getting rich quickly through activities related to the slave trade in Angola. Moreover, his decision could also have been influenced by his network of Freemason acquaintances⁸.

Following Arsénio's movements can also shed some light on a form of association about which little is known, as far as Angola is concerned. We know for certain that he joined the *Caridade* (Charity) lodge, which had been active in Luanda since 1837⁹. The origins of this lodge are mysterious, since it is almost impossible to untangle the intricate web of sects and affiliations which appeared in the Portuguese-speaking world during that period. According to Oliveira Marques, the *Caridade* lodge could have been subordinated to the *Oriente Passos Manuel* lodge based in Porto, as well as to a Brazilian branch of the *Grande Oriente* lodge: in any case, it should not be confused with the *Caridade Lusitana* lodge, established in Luanda in 1844 as a branch of the *Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido* (GOLU), one of the oldest Grand Lodges in the world, founded in 1802¹⁰.

It seems unlikely that Arsénio de Carpo became a freemason in Portugal, which he left for Angola in 1824, later to return, once again as a prisoner, only in 1845. In his biography dedicated to Arsénio de Carpo, Carlos Pacheco is inclined to think that he received his initiation in jail, but Brazil is another possible option, since at least until 1834 Dom Miguel's temporary return to the throne compelled a significant number of Portuguese liberals to flee to Rio de Janeiro. Dom Miguel, the brother of the abdicated king Pedro IV, had returned from exile to claim the throne in 1828. As pressure mounted for a return to absolutism, Miguel dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Peers and summoned the traditional *Cortes* of the three estates of the realm to proclaim his accession to absolute power. The *Cortes* proclaimed him king and nullified the Constitutional Charter granted by Pedro two years earlier. This usurpation did not go unchallenged by the liberals, but Miguel suppressed any rebellion and many thousands of political opponents were either arrested or fled abroad. There followed five years of repression.

Of all the contingents of this Diaspora, freemasons certainly belonged to the category of people most persecuted by the Crown and the Church¹¹. It is probably in this context - and thanks to his friend Tomás Tolentino da Silva, a cleric at Funchal cathedral and an angry liberal and freemason - that Arsénio became acquainted with freemasonry in general and with the group of Portuguese dissidents who printed the periodical *Gazeta Estrela* in particular. This publication had been known in Angola since the 1820s, but it had to be read under cover because of the measures taken by the Miguelist Governor-General Nicolau de Abreu Castelo Branco, who had outlawed it "for referring irreverently to His Majesty the King and to the highest Portuguese authorities (...) and for inciting subversive elements to unleash disorder"¹².

⁸ PACHECO (1993). Leituras e Bibliotecas de Angola na Primeira Metade do Século 19 - Subsídios de uma Primeira Tentativa de Abordagem. In *Vértice*, serie II, No. 55. Lisbon, Ed. Caminho, p. 80.

⁹ *Papéis do Marquês de Sá da Bandeira, Carta de 1844 para aquele Marquês*, sender unknown, AHU, Angola, room 12, folder 827, 1844.

¹⁰ See OLIVEIRA MARQUES (1986). *Dicionário de Maçonaria Portuguesa*, vol. I. Lisbon: Editorial Delta, col. 271.

¹¹ PACHECO 1992-94: 79.

¹² PACHECO 1993: 89. However, the situation changed after the liberals' definitive victory: Pompeu de Carpo came back to Angola, raised a fortune through more or less licit traffic and, when he decided to stand as a candidate to represent Angola at the *Cortes* in 1845, he was able to count on the support of the

During his imprisonment, Arsénio de Carpo served in the army¹³, but, at the end of the 1820s, his military career was cut short by the Governor-General Castelo Branco and he became an innkeeper. Back then, in Angola, this was a logical choice for a political exile: inns were privileged gathering places where business, politics and plots were discussed. New ideas were spreading through Angola after the success of the liberal revolutions in Europe and South America and the local imaginary was being invaded by a heady desire for freedom. During the years following the independence of Brazil in 1822, soldiers and residents were often accused by the authorities of supporting “revolutionaries”, a general term used to define liberals who were organized into Masonic lodges and desired the unification of Angola and Brazil.

Contacts between innkeepers and slave traders were frequent, since *aguardente* was Angola's main import to be exchanged in the inland regions for slaves. Arsénio probably also worked as a representative for a well-established trader between 1826 and 1830, the years encompassing the signing of the treaty between Britain and Brazil for the abolition of the slave trade and its coming into force. Aware of the fact that Angola had fallen on hard times, slave traders tried to exploit this period to their utmost before leaving for Brazil.

It seems that Arsénio followed the trend: after serving his ban and after being imprisoned again because of some sonnets mocking the governor's authority, he left Luanda bound for Recife, Brazil. At least until the 1840s, Angolan and Brazilian oligarchies traded almost exclusively among themselves, and Pernambuco, a territory located in the Brazilian Northeast, was the main marketplace dealing with Luanda.

After spending some years in Brazil and in the United States, Arsénio returned to Angola in 1837, where he started working for the slave trader Francisco Teixeira de Miranda – also known as Mirandinha. Arsénio's main activities consisted in buying goods in America and distributing them to his agents¹⁴, who traveled to the inland regions and exchanged them for slaves. Arsénio organized the export of these slaves to Brazilian markets, relying on a network of front men who signed record books and documentation on his behalf, thus keeping his name unblemished¹⁵. It was certainly a risky activity: the transient nature of such a profession was basically explained by the fact that slave traders, officially outlawed, were often no longer able to secure their business simply by bribing the authorities or buying the silence of greedy or ambitious associates.

However, by the time of his return to Luanda, Arsénio was an accomplished and wealthy cosmopolitan, creating a sensation in the capital for the sophisticated luxury he liked to

barons of Portuguese politics and masonry – leading Septembrist figures such as Sá da Bandeira – and his British correspondents, such as the Tory, Lord Aberdeen. Pompeu de Carpo's alternating fortunes allow us to understand the evolution of freemasonry in Portugal from the status of a persecuted breeding ground for dissidence during the civil war period into one of the arms of institutional power after the liberals took over.

¹³ The decree, issued on 12 February, 1676, obliging all fit convicts to serve in the colonial army remained in force until 1869.

¹⁴ The agents leading those expeditions were called *aviados* or *pumbeiros*. Often traders' sons or relatives, *aviados* could be white, mulatto, free black or “civilized” slave intermediaries, while, according to colonial terminology, *pumbeiros* were “shoeless blacks”.

¹⁵ Arsénio used to brag about his cunning system in the texts that he published. CARPO (1846). *Resposta à Refutação Antecedente*. Lisbon: n.p., pp. 64-65.

display. In fact, even though the suppression of the transatlantic traffic had been a serious blow to Luanda traders, instead of renouncing their luxurious lifestyles, they tended to turn luxury into a powerful social weapon that, at the same time, allowed them to both confront the central government and obtain respect or at least recognition from the colonial authorities. Arsénio de Carpo, as this letter from a British emissary seems to confirm, paved the way: “The only slave trader that I met in Angola lived there as a prince. That was a professional necessity, rather than a matter of extravagance or natural bent for luxury. A slave trader basically depends on authorities’ tolerance and benevolence: the only way to attract powerful friends is to act as a magnate, being generous, holding parties and gatherings. It’s not different from a diplomat’s life” (Perry Eardley-Wilmot 1853: 7).

Anyway, by the end of the 1830s, the Portuguese government was to undertake the first serious effort aimed at ending slave smuggling. The consequence was an inevitable clash with Luanda families involved in the traffic. Arsénio de Carpo, elected as interim president of the Luanda Municipal Council in 1837, rapidly became their leader.

Taking advantage of his literary skills, he wrote several times to Lisbon asking for the Governor-General António de Noronha’s head and for the perpetuation of the traffic, accusing “overzealous ministers and ill-informed councillors” of unleashing the abolitionist storm over Angola, instigated by their grim British allies¹⁶. His point was that an abrupt application of the abolitionist law would have been equal to a death sentence for Portugal, Spain and Brazil.

Already in his seventies and unable to bear the pressure, António de Noronha resigned: slave traders gained some time and Arsénio de Carpo rose to the top. Strongly backed by the Septembrist front, now in power, Arsénio de Carpo even pursued a career in politics, presenting himself as a candidate for both the senate and the *Cortes*, hoping – in vain – to be elected as the representative for Angola.

During this period, he also managed to supply British ships at the port of Luanda, generously offering his estates to influence British friends, who were apparently unaware of the fact that their man in Luanda was one of the last slave traders in the area. In 1848, he even traveled to London and paid homage to Queen Victoria. His purpose was to promote the creation of a Portuguese West Africa Company and to raise funds for the construction of a steam sawmill on the banks of the Kwanza river and a railway to connect Luanda to Calumbo¹⁷.

However, by the mid-1840s, Portugal could no longer tolerate ambiguities, trapped as it was between the persistent pressure exerted by Britain and France in order to achieve the full application of the decree abolishing the slave trade and the desperate need to affirm its authority in Africa. The Cabralist¹⁸ Governor-General Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha, who considered

¹⁶ *O Paquete do Ultramar* (Lisbon, 26/10/1839).

¹⁷ CARPO (1848). Projecto d’uma companhia para o melhoramento do Comercio, Agricultura e Industria na Província de Angola, que se deve estabelecer na cidade de São Paulo de Assumpção de Loanda... Lisbon: n.p.

¹⁸ In 1842, a military coup led by António Bernardo da Costa Cabral promulgated the restoration of the 1826 Constitutional Charter, abolished by the September Revolution in 1836. The Cabralist regime remained in power, with brief interruptions, until the Regeneration (1851). Cabralism is normally associated with the right wing of the liberal movement, while the previous regime – Septembrism – is usually associated with the left wing.

Arsénio de Carpo the greatest slave trader of the region and the colony's public enemy number one, expelled him as soon as he set foot in Angola¹⁹.

Arsénio de Carpo was therefore forced to move to Lisbon where, still backed by the Septembrist left-wing press and by freemasonry, he had the chance to maintain his standard of living²⁰. Cleared, for lack of evidence, of the accusation of slave trading and misusing his power as a member of the Luanda Municipal Council, he savored his triumph and posed a further menace to his Cabralist opponents by trying to put himself forward as a candidate for the position of Governor-General of Angola. In 1849, as soon as the Cabralist governor had left Angola, Arsénio de Carpo returned to Luanda, reestablished his network and then tried to do the same in Brazil. Unfortunately for him, during this period, the Brazilian empire also started to take appropriate disciplinary action in order to dismantle the slave trade. Arrested in Rio and expelled from the empire²¹, Arsénio returned to Luanda, discredited and financially ruined. Put on trial for insolvency, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment on São Tomé Island.

Already approaching his sixties, Arsénio was convinced – as usual – that he was the victim of a political plot. Nonetheless, he was granted the chance to be transferred to Saint George's Castle, in Lisbon. After his conviction was revoked in 1853, he spent his last years desperately trying to restore his discredited reputation: he published the documentation attesting to his presumed innocence and made a living out of legal trading, but he never managed to rid himself of the tag of a slave smuggler²².

Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses

The offspring of a prominent family from Luanda, Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses shared with Arsénio de Carpo the same liberal idealism, the same powerful arch-enemies, and a tormented life in exile. While Arsénio de Carpo was basically an autodidact, however, Carvalho e Meneses' higher social standing granted him the chance to be educated in Lisbon and to come into contact with the intellectual trends sweeping across the metropolis during the 1820s, especially as far as the debate on national decadence was concerned. During that period, Portugal's objective difficulties in maintaining its colonial empire while ravaged by civil wars, constrained by a huge foreign debt and unable to attend to its population's basic needs gave rise to the first authoritative voices of internal dissent. Among others, the romantic

¹⁹ OLIVEIRA Mário António Fernandes de (1981). *Alguns Aspectos da Administração de Angola em Época de Reformas*. Lisbon: Edição da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, pp. 167-191 and OLIVEIRA Mário António Fernandes de (1997) [1985]. *A Formação da Literatura Angolana 1851-1950*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, pp. 27-42. "I hope this dangerous, restless and ambitious man will never set foot in the province of Angola again." *Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha a Falcão*, Reserved, 11/09/1845, ANTT, M.ne, cx. 386.

²⁰ Newspapers such as *O Patriota* and *A Revolução de Setembro* allowed him, in their pages, to wage his political and personal battles against the common enemy: Cabralism and its representatives in both Portugal and Angola.

²¹ Arsénio met the same fate as the two hundred Portuguese citizens who, after being expelled from Pernambuco, asked for permission to settle in Africa. Supported by the Portuguese crown, in 1849, they founded Moçâmedes, which rapidly became Angola's third largest coastal colonial centre.

²² *Boletim do Governo Geral da Província de Angola* (Luanda, 05/11/1853), pp. 4-5.

poet Almeida Garrett stigmatized the venality and inexperience of politicians, the profligacy of the court and the pretension of the country's aristocrats, while appealing to newly independent Brazil as a symbol of hope, youth, exuberance and energy²³. On the other hand, he was convinced that Portugal, and consequently its remaining overseas possessions, were suffering from an unrelenting decadence, basically caused by its disastrous policy of expansion²⁴.

Clearly influenced by Almeida Garrett, Carvalho e Meneses became the most important spokesman for the radical political views of the Creole community in Angola, pointing, in turn, to the rampant bribery and corruption, the ineptitude and arrogance of governors, badly chosen public functionaries, scandalous patronage and political intrigues as the main causes of post-abolition stagnation.

Prophetically, he also foresaw a gloomy future for the Portuguese empire, since he wrote: "No measures have been taken to prevent the rulers from facing people's righteous resentment towards violence, abuses and arrogance. But this resentment produces a kind of hatred that, when not quenched by acts of justice, passes from father to son and one day will irreparably lead to a general conflagration" (Carvalho e Meneses, 1848: 151).

After returning to Angola in 1823 to resume the post of public copyist and accountant (which he had previously held in Mozambique), Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses was dismissed and expelled by the Governor-General Nicolau Abreu Castelo Branco in 1829 because of his opposition to Dom Miguel's transient victory²⁵.

At the time of the liberal comeback, in 1834, Carvalho e Meneses recommended to the new metropolitan government the establishment of a clearer division between civil and military powers and later defended his principles and convictions as a deputy to the *Cortes* (1839-1841). To this end, he also wrote the *Geographical and Political Account of the Portuguese Dominions*, featuring a geographical and political description of the Kingdoms of Angola and Benguela and the origins of their decadence; an overall picture of the country and its resources; a series of suggestions about how to raise from misery a dominion that a beneficent and dynamic rule could make extremely profitable for Portugal.

The analysis of his thought is extremely important because Carvalho e Meneses introduced in a concise and direct style, without excessive frills or unnecessary rhetoric - and more than half a century in advance - all the themes, proposed solutions and claims that would later characterize the struggle by *Angolense* intellectuals at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.

Above all, it is easy to isolate in his writing a proud sense of belonging to the Creole elite, celebrated in the exaltation of those individuals - or families - who had arrived from Europe at the beginning of the settlement process and who had managed to prosper despite the

²³ Almeida Garrett (1991) [1824-1827]. *Da Europa e da America e de sua Mutua Influência na Causa da Civilização e da Liberdade - Doutrinação da Sociedade Liberal*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, p. 84.

²⁴ Almeida Garrett 1991: 69.

²⁵ From 1826 to 1834, Portuguese society was shaken by the *Liberal Wars*, fought between the Liberals, under Pedro IV, at times King of Portugal and Emperor of Brazil, and the Absolutists or *Miguelistas*, as they were called after their leader Dom Miguel (Pedro's brother). The Liberals supported a Constitutional Monarchy, while the Absolutists believed in Miguel's divine right to rule.

scant support that they received from the motherland. Nonetheless, this feeling was soon followed by one of growing pessimism, since it was clear that a flawed administration and management of the colony had definitely brought an end to the Creole elite's golden age: "But all that faded like smoke: in their great majority, the emissaries of power found that ignorant people were easier to control and this led to the progressive extinction of our reduced but nonetheless regular educational system. Anyway, the decadence of the colony was also induced by the anti-political method adopted to settle these territories" (Carvalho e Meneses 1848: 53-54).

Carvalho e Meneses was clearly referring to the institutionalized influx of common criminals into the colony. A convinced liberal, he supported the ideal of a wise government guaranteed by the Charter and could not tolerate the way in which "the few gifted native citizens remaining in the country have been excluded, through frivolous pretexts, invented crimes or false information, from military or civil posts, all to the good of a flock of birds of prey and ill omen." He was not afraid to mention among the major culprits the Miguelist Governor-General Nicolau de Abreu Castelo Branco, who had already suffered Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo's ruthless rebukes.

As far as the troubled transition from slave to free labor was concerned, his position was similar to that of Arsénio de Carpo: Portugal needed nothing more than slaves from Angola and therefore discouraged and opposed any other activity in the colony. But now that the traffic had been abolished, the locals were left with nothing²⁶. That was why Portugal's domination progressively came to be perceived as a burden in the coastal centers, and Carvalho e Meneses was then among the first to talk about decentralization, dreaming about the establishment of trading companies and denouncing the violence suffered by the natives: "Thanks to the progress of civilization and to the liberal institutions we are now enjoying, everybody is aware of the fact that the colonies can be linked to the metropolis through the establishment of relationships based on mutual commercial interest, without the inconveniences posed by a forced and heinous obedience which never really benefited Portugal (...) The remedy for decadence lies in the foundation and management of companies specializing in trade, agriculture and industry" (Carvalho e Meneses 1834: 29).

Considering the natives "idol worshippers rather than barbarians" and assuming that European civilization was totally unknown to them mainly because of the oppression and plundering perpetrated by the authorities, Carvalho e Meneses nonetheless expressed the ambiguous and instrumental sympathy for the "uncivilized" that was so typical among the Angolan Creole elite. Remunerated work and investment in education already appeared to him as viable solutions, in order both to win the natives' confidence and to obtain some profit from local activities: "It is necessary to bring civilization to the natives through methodical teaching; instead of trying to abruptly modify their customs and religious principles, since interest is the real motor of the human heart, it would be better to attract them by remunerating their services, accustoming them to work without resorting to violence and distracting them from fighting wars in which they end up enslaving each other" (Carvalho e Meneses 1848: 33).

²⁶ CARVALHO E MENESES, Intellectual mulato de Luanda replica a discurso de Sá da Bandeira. In *O Paquete do Ultramar*, No. 164, 18/01/1840, p. 657.

That was how, in his opinion, the British and Dutch managed to make profits from their dominions, supported as they were by agronomists, engineers, doctors, traders and assorted highly motivated technicians. He thought that the political administration of the colony could be improved by making some changes in the colonial hierarchy: a neat separation of powers, to be obtained through the election of a civil political authority that would then be assisted by a military authority, could facilitate the supervision of both public and military officials, while the appointment of an independent commissioner could effectively monitor both civil and military public issues. He urged the creation of a ministry entirely dedicated to the colonies, thereby eliminating the fragmentation of colonial affairs into different secretaries of state. He also pleaded for the abolition of the ivory monopoly and for a reform of the settlement and convict system, proposing that the compulsory draft should be limited to unskilled individuals who were unable to offer any contribution to local agriculture and industry.

In 1842, traveling back to Luanda on the warship *Amélia*, he was shipwrecked off the coast of Moçâmedes. He managed to reach Luanda, but the following year he was forced to return to Lisbon. The publication of his booklet did not pass unnoticed, but despite all adversity and spurred by emotional and personal involvement, Carvalho e Meneses rewrote and published an updated version of his work in Lisbon.

According to his claims, before he embarked on the warship *Amélia*, one of his many political opponents convinced the authorities that he was taking with him to Angola all that was necessary to set up a newspaper designed to spread subversive ideas of independence. It is true that Carvalho e Meneses owned a printing press, which he intended to ship to Angola, but a foreboding eventually induced him to get rid of such a dangerous piece of property by selling it to a former administrator of the National Typography. Unfortunately the *secret* police - as he referred to them - were not aware of this latest transaction and the order was given to prevent his ship from reaching the colony, whatever the cost.

Carvalho e Meneses took the opportunity to bitterly point out how his initial idea to introduce a printing press into Angola in order to contribute to the province's development was exploited in a rather different way by the Governor-General Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha: "Once appointed Governor-General, Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha immediately understood how important it was to control a printing press. He then ordered one, so that he could publish the acts of his dictatorship or brag about presumed marvelous improvements in the pages of official bulletins filled with elegies probably written by himself, while nobody is free to publish thoughts which are not in harmony with the lord of the land (...) Well, since freedom of the press is not prohibited overseas, no authority should be allowed to act like a censor and everybody should be free to print their ideas and complaints, as long as no abuse is committed of this right enshrined in the constitution. We agree that official bulletins should not report rebukes or complaints against the chief of the province or other authorities, but all the publications issued in the province are printed by the government and this cannot be tolerated" (Carvalho e Meneses 1848: 191).

To add insult to injury, at least until the 1970s, colonial propaganda celebrated Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha as the father of the printed press in Angola, a far-seeing governor who contributed to the progress of civilization.

According to Carvalho e Meneses, the constant rumors about independentist threats in the colony were also often imputable to the government authorities. His keenness for

the prosperity of his homeland was unquestionable, as was his loyalty to the Portuguese crown. His frustration was caused by the fact that the free exercise of the same rights that in Portugal constituted the pillars of a new socio-political order was undermined in Angola by harsh despotism. And as far as the chance to achieve independence is concerned, he was firmly convinced that nobody would have dared to make an attempt at achieving what was considered totally impossible. *Independence*, in fact, was the favorite word used to legitimate all injustices inflicted on overseas people, and especially on the natives. The constitution ensured political equality among all the monarchy's subjects, but to them these words were nothing more than "scratches on a piece of paper called Fundamental Law, torn off whenever it is convenient for the men in charge. The idea of independence does exist, it is true, but it only exists in the imagination of plotters or rulers such as Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha (...) it exists in the minds of those who hate the progress of civilization and demand blind, slave-like obedience. Such an inhuman kind of obedience runs contrary to the spirit of our century and therefore urges the people to revolt" (Carvalho e Meneses 1848: 152).

Conclusion

At this stage, it was indeed impossible to imagine a separatist movement in Angola. Conspiracy and subversive behavior mainly appealed to mestizo soldiers, legal practitioners, civil servants or trading agents. By fighting the authorities, they had less to lose in socio-economic terms than wealthy landlords or slave owners who, even if they were dissatisfied with Portuguese restrictions, were not disposed to provide the decisive support to promote a large-scale rebellion. That was why, in most cases, the few uprisings and riots which took place were directed more against unpopular governors than against Portugal²⁷. After all, the Portuguese, unable to efficiently patrol the coasts, did not pose any serious obstacles to the perpetration of clandestine slave-related activities, but nonetheless they could offer protection in the case of a native or slave rebellion, which was feared by Creole merchants as much as the loss of their business.

Many old Creole families simply decided to move to Brazil, and those who stayed still had to build up and hone their political perception, not to mention a new national identity.

Only in 1866 did the first non-official periodical publication appear in the colony. *A Civilização da África Portuguesa* (1866-1869), owned and run by António Urbano Monteiro de Castro, Alfredo Júlio Cortês Mântua and Francisco Pereira Dutra, was a weekly publication dedicated to the defense of local administrative, commercial, agricultural and industrial interests. Their articles also denounced the arrogance of metropolitan emissaries and stigmatized the abuses committed by colonial administrators. That was the starting point for the development of a journalistic activity that was destined to take root in Luanda and to rapidly increase over the following decades. Between 1866 and 1900, in fact, forty-six more periodical

²⁷ A clear example of this trend is provided by the riot that occurred in 1836: the Governor-General Domingos de Saldanha died suddenly and citizens gathered at the town hall to discuss the formation of a provisional government. However, the widely hated and greatly feared leader of the infantry regiment, Commander Andrade, dissolved the Assembly and claimed power. The garrison troops immediately sided with the residents and eliminated Andrade. CARVALHO E MENESES (1848). *Demonstração Geographica...* Lisbon: Typographia Classica, p. 196.

titles were registered in the capital and their diversity testified to the existence of a rich cultural life with no equal anywhere else in Africa at the time²⁸. Those first rudimentary newspapers turned out to be the main vehicle for local literary proclivities: Luanda and Benguela rapidly became centers of lively cultural, social and political activity, hosting debates in which the ideals of the French revolution were openly supported, and developing an ever greater determination to achieve political autonomy from Portugal.

With the launch of the so-called 'free press period', the colony of Angola enjoyed a sort of intellectual euphoria: in this kind of journalism, exhibiting a taste for controversy and devoted to the defense of local values and interests, both the *sons of the country* and Creolized Portuguese found a way to express their heterogeneous positions not only about politics and trade, but also about art, culture and social criticism, and to uphold their economic and administrative interests against the arrogance shown by some governors, at variance with the most reductive metropolitan policies. The definition of a 'free press' is, of course, quite a rough one: it is more correct to say that settlers and locals tended to define as representing a 'free press' those publications that were issued by private printers, in order to distinguish them from the official government gazette. If it is true that a certain number of publications saw the light during this period, it is also true that their life was never easy, with the colonial censors being constantly on the alert.

Among the most active journalists and editors of the period, José de Fontes Pereira, Mamede Sant'Ana e Palma, Lino Maria de Sousa Araújo, José da Ressurreição Arantes Braga and, significantly, Arsénio de Carpo Júnior deserve a special mention for the many years that they devoted to this activity and for their painstaking efforts to keep their publications alive despite the troubled and often dangerous relationship between the local independent press and the colonial authorities. Whenever they were forced to halt either by the colonial authorities or by financial difficulties, these journalists would continue their struggle with a new title and a new publication, again presenting issues and concerns raised by Euro-African members of the colonial society.

In this way, the prominent themes introduced by Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses and Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo during the first half of the 19th century (progress and education, social injustice, decentralization, autonomy, and open criticism of the colonial system) were taken up again by the following generations of the *sons of the country* and inspired a series of concrete proposals of autonomy - or even claims for independence - developed during the first decade of the 20th century by José de Macedo, António Joaquim de Miranda and António de Assis Júnior, or expressed in the anonymous collection of articles entitled *Voz de Angola clamando no deserto* (1901).

It is not by chance that José de Fontes Pereira, considered by many to be the doyen of modern Angolan nationalism, quoted Joaquim António de Carvalho e Meneses and the notorious episode of the "sunken printing press" in order to show how the presence of the Portuguese was substantially felt as a burden, hindering every kind of development in Angola: "aware of the power that such a skilled politician could deploy using a weapon [the printing

²⁸ Ervedosa, *Roteiro da Literatura Angolana* (1985) [1974]. Havana: União dos Escritores Angolanos, p. 28.

press] that is so dangerous to the interests of the metropolis, in Portugal they preferred to lose a warship rather than allow this engine of civilization to disembark in Luanda”²⁹.

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²⁹ FONTES PEREIRA (1886). *O Futuro de Angola*, No. 56, Luanda, 12/12/1886.

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A Note on Two Recent Books on the Patterns of Portuguese Politics In the 18th Century

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Abstract

This article discusses two recent studies about the model of the Portuguese political system in the late Ancien Regime. According to the first of these, there was a gradual change towards a system of centralized royal decision-making. This silent transformation had originally begun during the reign of João V with the introduction of an advisory body, the Council of State (*Conselho de Estado*), which was later replaced by regular discussions with more or less transient *validos* (royal favorites). Despite reinforcing the power of the *Secretarias de Estado* (Secretariats of State), the consulate of the Marquis of Pombal did not substantially change the pattern, with the “dictator of Portugal” (M. Cheke) behaving as an epigone of the traditional *validos* and being little affected by the contemporary Enlightened policy. In contrast, the other study discusses the way in which Pombal took advantage of Lisbon’s earthquake to install a brand new system of government, based on a cohort of trustworthy followers of his political plans. These people were decisively inspired by the contemporary ideas of reform, namely by advisers originating from Italy and Austria, whose thinking was based on new concepts of the public good, planned government, civil service and meritocracy.

Keywords

absolutism, enlightenment, *pombalismo*, corporate monarchy, government.

Resumo

Este artigo discute dois estudos recentes sobre o modelo do sistema político português nos finais do Antigo Regime. Segundo o primeiro, teria havido uma mudança gradual no sentido de uma progressiva centralização do processo de decisão real. Esta silenciosa transição teria começado durante o reinado de D. João V, com a intervenção de um órgão colectivo, o Conselho de Estado, o qual viria a ser substituído na função de aconselhamento do rei por discussões mais ou menos regulares com validos de carácter transitório (favoritos reais). Apesar de reforçar o poder das Secretarias de Estado, o consulado do Marquês de Pombal não teria alterado substancialmente o padrão de governo, tendo o “ditador de Portugal” (Marcus Cheke) assumido um epigonal comportamento de um valido tradicional, pouco influenciado pelo modelo político do iluminismo contemporâneo. Pelo contrário, o outro estudo discute o modo como Pombal aproveitou o terramoto de Lisboa para instalar um sistema de governo completamente novo, baseado numa corte de seguidores fiéis das suas ideias políticas. Estes os seguidores eram decisivamente influenciados pelas ideias de reforma, nomeadamente oriundas de publicistas austríacos e italianos, cujo pensamento se baseava em conceitos novos de interesse público, de governo planificado, de serviço público e de meritocracia.

Palavras chave

absolutismo, iluminismo, pombalismo, monarquia corporativa, governo.

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Two of the leading Portuguese historians writing on Portuguese politics in the 18th century have recently published somewhat divergent opinions about the innovative nature of the political pattern of *pombalismo*¹. Although the aim and scope of each book are different, the contrasting positions that they adopt about the changes in political models during the course of the 18th century, covering the reigns of both João V and José I, are well grounded empirically and clear enough to invite fertile discussion. Both authors are excellent *connoisseurs* of the period; both have engaged in widespread prosopographic research that enables them to fully understand the personal networks of the ruling groups; both are well informed theoretically, although they have somewhat different leanings: Nuno G. Monteiro is more given to a “social history” approach; José Subtil is more attracted by authors such as Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault and therefore leans more towards a symbolic-oriented narrative or even towards a narrative in which the greatest prominence is afforded to an objective mechanism, such as communication channels or the handling of administrative affairs.

I have tried here to place the two studies in a form of dialogue, keeping to a minimum my own opinions about a theme whose empirical background I cannot claim to master as well as they do.

In a synthetic chapter on the baroque monarchy, Nuno G. Monteiro reassesses the prevailing impression of an overwhelming continuity in the patterns of politics after the Restoration of Portugal from Spain right through to the end of José I’s reign. For him, once the war was over, the dominant political models deviated notably from the corporatist model, installing “a new configuration of centers of power, together with different mechanisms for the structuring of social elites” (p. 28).

Insisting on his thesis about the singular lack of corporations in Portugal that could mediate between the royal and the “(micro-)local” levels, the author also reasserts his claim that Portugal was not a “composite monarchy”. This is true only if we choose to take a narrow view of the formally institutionalized (and mostly territorial) corporations; but it is highly questionable if our field of vision is widened sufficiently to take into account ecclesiastical bodies, proto-bureaucratic formations equipped with legal warranties, or even larger municipal corporations, not to mention the centrifugal overseas domains. For him, the fact that palatine courts were established within the Court is in itself enough to be able to disregard their capacity of corporate resistance.

Therefore, the key idea in this book is the trend towards a centralization of the political decision-making process around an ever smaller ruling group formed from *grandees* and *suchlike*. This reduced notion of centralization also presupposes a similar shrinkage of the concept of realm (and power), as if both realities represented no more than a simple transaction between the king and the high nobility, to the exclusion of every other political entity, even one as conspicuous as the Church, with its multiform apparatus, or the *noblesse de robe et de plume*, who populated the Court at several levels.

The author is, however, less assertive in talking about the consolidation of the royal capacity to rule. Figures are given about the growth of royal servants, which support his conclusion of a “slow” and “petty” reinforcement of the crown apparatus (p. 31). However, it is hardly possible to find evidence of any closer political linkage of these new officers to the crown, as their previous highly protected legal status was maintained: they remained unaffected by any attempts to install a commissary-based administration in civil government or in the crucial social area of justice. Even if we overlook everything but the transactions between the king and the aristocratic

¹ Monteiro, 2006; Subtil, 2007.
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group of the grandees, it can be said that the king's incapacity to control (either directly or through some high-placed political broker) the aristocratic playground of the grandees into which the *Conselho de Estado* (Council of State) had seemingly turned² prolonged the decerebration of the corporate monarchy, albeit continuing with a different mood.

The reign of João V would be the period that marked the beginning of a gradual change³ (p. 33), led by a circle of courtiers who were educated and informed about the outside world. One of the most convincing arguments has to do with the changes made to the image of the king, portraying him as a faithful follower of the religious orthodoxy, as well as a powerful ally of Roman diplomacy. Both aspects resulted in a reinforcement of the centrality of the royal religious spaces – such as the Royal Chapel, now the *Basilica Patriarcal*, or the Mafra monastery – in the life of the Court. Another outcome was the progressive loss of protagonism of the *Conselho de Estado*, which was increasingly replaced by informal assemblies and, eventually, by the taking of decisions by the monarch, assisted by his principal minister, the Secretary of State. The setting up, in 1736, of three *Secretarias de Estado* may have represented a decisive turning point in the pattern of government; however, Monteiro, agreeing with other scholars, is highly skeptical about the results of such a reform. The system of issuing a private decision supported by an array of high courtiers continued until the end of the reign. From this hazardous evolution (“sem rei nem roque” (with neither rhyme nor reason), a saying that seems to be contemporary with this period and relates to an eminent personage from amongst these ad hoc assistants to the king), it is not easy to draw an overall conclusion about the central political issue: was the Portuguese government inaugurating a new pattern, definitively removed from the corporatist model? The “fall of the Council of State” should surely have meant a gain in the king's independence from a permanent group of grandees. However, he did not move in the direction of a planned despotism, of the kind that was being developed at that time in the Enlightened principalities of Europe; instead, he established a rather erratic form of despotism, changing his policies just as frequently as he replaced his counselors.

Whilst the realm was apparently enjoying the peaceful benefits of a golden and sleepy moment, the complete absence of any planned policy can be deduced from the scarce quantity and poor quality of the legislation that was produced, and from the lack of any consistent plans for dealing with the huge issue of overseas policy (despite a series of rather poorly enforced measures adopted for Brazil, where the gold rush had already begun). As Monteiro says, if we discount the apparently impressive foreign policy, what remains is the maintenance of the traditional system of services and awards, some of which were poorly tolerated by the law courts, which were responsible for the supervision of judicial decisions. Most of the time, the palatine administrative paperwork concerned the management of the king's graces and favors, in keeping with a pattern that lay at the very heart of the corporate monarchy⁴. The already mentioned silent change should rather be seen as a regression, with the pattern of government by councils involving a return to a highly personal and erratic style of royal government, in which the king's decisions were inspired by all and sundry. Nothing could have been further removed from the idea of planned despotism, shortly to be inaugurated by subsequent events and personalities.

² As Monteiro reminds us (quoting a French report, 1684, used by E. Prestage) “The King is a Prince with no lack of spirit [...] ; however, as he feels himself to be too dependent upon the nobility [...] he does not dare to decide anything on his own, forwarding everything to the Council of State [...] A principal Minister does not exist in Portugal; rather it is the members of the Council of State who are called ministers”.

³ Cf. Monteiro, 2006: 47 ff.

⁴ Cf. Monteiro, 2006: 37: “day-to-day policy [...] was still and continued to be the same”.

Any evaluation of the pattern of government to be found under José I is necessarily subject to a theoretical divide. It can be judged either as a form of government by *validos*, in keeping with an accepted 17th-century style (Sully, Richelieu, Olivares) or as a form of cabinet government, led by projects and not by personalities, embodying the intellectual *apport* of the Enlightenment. Closely linked to this divide is a yet more fundamental partition: that between personal rule and Enlightened rule, the latter being the one that prevailed in Northern and Central European politics (cf. p. 230 ff.).

This distinction is a rough one and only ideal-typical, as Monteiro stresses. Whatever the case, this form of rule with a 17th-century orientation was seemingly characterized by:

- the existence of a *valido* or prime minister, whose power derived from his mere insinuations into the king's will;
- the overwhelming dominance of the Court over the public space, giving no room for public opinion independent of that of the ruler;
- the absence of any intellectual and political links between intellectuals and the ruler(s);
- the absence of a ministerial government;
- the absence of a coherent political program, with all efforts being directed towards gaining personal possession of the royal will;
- the reinforcement of the ruler's network of clients;
- the enrichment of the ruler.

The question is: was this the situation under Pombal? Or does Pombal's rule correspond to the typical pattern of the most conspicuous Enlightened monarchies, like that of Walpole's England, Fleury's or Turgot's France, Friedrich's Prussia or von Caunitz's or von Haugwitz's Austria?

For sure, Portugal was neither England nor France, nor Prussia, Austria, or even Tuscany. This is because, in actual fact, none of these really states corresponded to any of the others. Once more, the idea of a *Sonderweg* proves to be a projection of the concept that history has canonical models of development.

It is easier and more sensible to answer the first question: did the government of Portugal, under Pombal, continue to follow the model of a regime based on rule by *valido*, as briefly outlined above?

It seems beyond dispute that Pombal exploited the aftermath of the earthquake in the most efficient manner, namely by convincing the king that he was his most immediate and reliable source of aid. In fact, he already was. As he did not belong to the traditional elite of the *grandees*⁵, achieving this position was no mean feat. Nonetheless, together with the protection that he certainly enjoyed at Court, his experience of life in the more "Enlightened" countries proved to be a valuable asset. Secondly, he demonstrated, over the following years, that his reputation was entirely justified; he was not only able to bend men to his will, but also to rule a kingdom, introduce reforms, produce a better administration, reform education (even to the point of discussing some core university programs personally), reorganize the country's financial administration, and rebuild the army, just as he also supervised the rebuilding of the capital city.

He certainly enjoyed overwhelming power over the public space, leaving no room for the expression of dissent. However, taking advantage of his own readings, together with those of his closest supporters, he was perfectly happy to import – selectively, it is true – the results of debates that had long been taking place outside. Anyone who has read the cumbersome prologues of

⁵ See the synthesis of his biographical notes in Monteiro, 2006: p. 48 ff.
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contemporary legislation or studied the academic programs or textbooks of that time (which shaped the way of thinking of the new generation, who both fueled and carried on the revolution) cannot but be impressed by the underlying thesaurus of readings and by the consequent renewal of doctrinal horizons. Without daring to risk what was perceived as the (inner) *pax publica*, they profited from the (outer) public space. By virtue of a general clause which afforded complete discretion to lawyers and courts, the extreme was reached whereby the laws of the “most cultivated and refined Nations of Europe” (*Estatutos da Universidade*, Faculdade de Leis) were enforced in Portugal in relation to what were considered to be crucial matters” (“in political, economic, mercantile and maritime matters”, II, V, 2, § 16). This was the link that could be found between the intellectual elite and the rulers. It did not take the form of personal contact, or involve the issuing of fanciful invitations to foreign philosophers; instead, it was based on the almost immaterial contact that books can provide. Through laws and reforms, through propaganda, a virtual public space was set up, whose impressive development was already visible in the late 18th century, and which, later on, was continued and eventually gave rise to the revolution.

The existence of a government depends upon concepts. Is a polyphonic body, like the Council of State, a government? Or, at the other extreme, does a cohort of faithful followers amount to a cabinet? Most certainly not; instead, it is something in between: an amalgam of independent-minded individuals who have been gathered together because of their common agreement about the basic outlines of a policy, but who nonetheless enjoy the possibility of dissenting, perhaps without brilliant results, but also without any dramatic risks. Both Nuno G. Monteiro and José M. Subtil are to be numbered amongst the few historians who, being well acquainted with Pombal’s political personnel, can decide if this condition was fulfilled in the day-to-day handling of public affairs. However, if it was not, its absence is not to be attributed to the lack of a strategic program, but rather to the insufficient autonomy of the ministers.

For the most part, those ministers were clearly Pombal’s protégés. Anyway, he did not operate according to the model of the old beneficial system, in which services were requested in return for economic (mostly, landed) rewards. His clients were now people who had earned his political trust and were minimally capable of performing the required tasks. As became evident after his fall, Pombal did not have an eager cohort of clients, but perhaps a legion of more or less critical followers, since they could now publicly express their opinion and continued to do so in the ensuing decades, celebrating their hero as a reformer - and surely not only because of their alleged Masonic or anti-clerical comradeship.

José M. Subtil’s book has a more precise focus. His point is to emphasize the major influence of Lisbon’s earthquake (1755) upon the structural changes in the political system of modern Portugal.

This implies that, for him, the thesis of a meaningful political reform under João V cannot cope with the empirical data, no matter whether one adopts a prosopographic or an institutional approach to the study of government personnel, government organization or the political/administrative culture. Being an expert both in the prosopography of ruling groups – including the grey areas of pure bureaucrats and magistrates – and in the structure and performance of the highest level of administration, he is able to finely scrutinize the processes of political decision-making, as well as the group of people that effectively held decision-making posts. Establishing a division in the years immediately after 1755, Subtil transmits the idea that the early years of José I’s reign continued to be largely subject to the traditional patterns of governance that had prevailed throughout the reign of his father, who had mostly preserved the

institutional design, the composition of political elites and the overall model of politics of his predecessors⁶.

His conclusions point to the continuation of the old system of government.

According to his opinion, which is based on a careful analysis of the ruling personnel and institutions, João V's reign was not a period of sensible innovation insofar as the general practices of power in the late 17th century were concerned: the hegemony of the *grandees*, the majority enjoyed by the traditional lawyers in palatine courts and councils, and the lifelong holding of posts, together with the recognition of the rights of succession of offspring. Based on an account of José I's enthronement, Subtil concludes that the most important posts at Court continued to be held by the high nobility in 65% of the cases, mostly representatives of old noble houses (prior to João IV the percentage had been 85%) (p. 63). Of the 85 members of court councils, 71 were high court judges (*desembargadores*). Most of the councils and courts were populated by old men at the end of their careers: this was the case with the *desembargo do Paço* (the kingdom's Supreme Court, p. 74), *Conselho da Fazenda* (the Treasury Council, a body that Subtil considers to have been responsible for the coordination of policies, p. 76), *Mesa da Consciência* (a royal body with consulting powers, charged with administering the properties and governing the affairs of the Military Orders, p. 77), *Conselho Ultramarino* (the Overseas Council, p. 78) and the *Senado da Câmara* (the Senate, p. 80), as well as the *Casa da Suplicação* (the Petitions Division), a second instance court, which nevertheless benefited from a profound renewal at the end of the period⁷).

Subtil's analysis of the guests invited to José I's enthronement and the ceremonial structure of the event confirms that, at that time, the symbolic order of the old politics still prevailed (p. 87).

Before beginning his analysis of Pombal's period of rule, he explains the nature of the divide, by pointing out the set of characteristics which, having been ascertained by historical evidence, marked the turning point in the transition to a post-corporatist administration:

- a. Privilege gave way to personal trust and merit;
- b. The award of civil posts evolved from inheritance to being based on precariousness, becoming dependent upon the monarch's discretion;
- c. Traditional courts and councils with a stable legal status and established procedures were replaced by ad hoc and temporary boards and *Intendentes*, who acted as mere commissars of the Head of Government;
- d. Symbolic power shifted from the high nobility and was awarded according to political loyalty and professional merit;
- e. Lawyers reassessed their power by molding their education and culture to a new legal paradigm, centered on public utility or, in a broader sense, utilitarianism;
- f. The Court was replaced by the government as the locus for politics.

According to Subtil, what triggered the whole change was the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which provoked the final collapse of the corporatist and polysynodal political system.

Monteiro – as well as others, namely Ana Cristina Araújo – had already emphasized the political impact of the catastrophe of 1755 (p. 81, ff.), pointing out how this had promoted the

⁶ In spite of a reform of the State Secretariats (1736), which has tended to be overrated historiographically, even though historically it proved to be ineffective and was soon reabsorbed (cf. p. 86).

⁷ Surely due to the fact that this court did not represent the end point in a bureaucratic career; anyway, the average age of the *desembargadores* was 53.

personal importance of Pombal, who took advantage of the situation to seize the reins of power, even before this was formalized by his appointment as *Secretário de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* (Secretary of State of the Affairs of the Realm), almost six months later, on 4 May, 1756). His rush to the royal palace to assist the monarch⁸; the creation of an inorganic government, in which the grandees and the presidents of the palatine courts were mostly present, despite their being rapidly inundated by the flood of written orders issued by Pombal⁹; the dramatic widening of the scope of State action¹⁰; the eventual affirmation of the *Secretariats of State* as a center of political decision-making (albeit acting as Pombal's *factotum*). However, as the basic tenet of Monteiro's narrative is to lay emphasis on an ongoing process of change, beginning in the late 17th century and whose last phase (*pombalismo*) was seemingly a moment of extreme dramatization, propaganda and apologetic historiography, less importance tends to be given to the structural nature of the changes.

What happened was the opposite, in Subtil's view. The earthquake had the same concentrated impact as a war (both in terms of the time itself and in terms of its occurring in one central political spot): the unexpected and sudden destruction¹¹ of the administrative apparatus (p. 112 ff.¹²), the Herculean tasks to be performed, the dramatic acceleration of the pace of administrative activity, the need for technical skills and for a strict centralization of decision-making and action. The "providential" nature of the catastrophe in forcing the country into a process of modernization was immediately perceived by some contemporaries, who compared it to a gigantic flood, which had to be tackled urgently, efficiently and ruthlessly, if necessary (p. 111). It was, however, not a remote or seasonal war. It was here and now that the disaster struck. Practical needs called for expedient measures, which served as a test for later, more definitive reforms in the future. In some cases, as Subtil points out, the situation was similar to a state of emergency, making it possible to ignore previously sacrosanct private rights, such as that of property ownership. As happened in the destroyed areas of the city, where reconstruction imposed a *tabula rasa* on the old rights of land ownership (pp. 130, 134 ff.)¹³, a brand new sensitivity to public interest – a key concept in the years to come, both before and after the revolutions – came into being in a civil context. Because of fraudulent bankruptcies, an *ad hoc* board was set up to prevent and punish attempts against the Public Good, reinforcing the mechanisms of economic control in a way that was congenial to mercantilism, but was now combined with a new sense of discipline.

The way in which people were chosen and brought together as an efficient tool of active government led to the setting up of task-oriented teams (p. 118 ff.), comprising people of quite diverse profiles. This led to a dramatic change in the nature of the established social hierarchies, of the sort that only a catastrophe could blur. Later on, when people's spirits had recovered (p. 120), it was already too late to return to the old hierarchies. Moreover, the very practice of government

⁸ Which also denotes a fine sense of understanding of the seriousness of the situation, along with an acute political flair.

⁹ But probably also paralyzed by their own inability to work within such a new pattern of government.

¹⁰ Described in greater detail for the following years in Ch. 10 of Monteiro's book.

¹¹ For a synthesis of the damage caused, see Subtil, 2007 (p. 125 ff.).

¹² With a highly detailed description of the everyday life of administrative business.

¹³ Subtil argues that this weakening of the concept of property and its subjection to public interest lay at the origin of subsequent land reforms concerning entailed property (*morgados, capelas*) and life annuities over estates (*cansos*).

itself set entirely new standards for the choice of personnel: from now on this would be based on personal confidence, efficiency and technical skills (p. 121 ff.).

The intensity of this overwhelming political rupture would be greatly increased by another political earthquake – the (problematic) attempt on the king's life (1758), followed by an alleged plot against Pombal himself, arising from the criticism of his major political decisions, which were confirmed by the crown. Taking advantage of the ungodly turn of events, Pombal set up a notorious political investigation committee – the *Junta da Inconfidência* – to which he invited both faithful and dubious political supporters. This clever stratagem allowed him to test the fidelity of those invited onto the committee, enlisting those who readily accepted the commission among his faithful political cohort and expelling the reluctant ones from the Court or sending them to jail. As a side effect, this act drew a line of distinct partition through the political class: scorn and hatred divided the newly chosen political personnel, who were seen as collaborating in Pombal's dirty work, from the older elite linked to the members of the traditional aristocracy, who were immediately labeled as collaborators in the conspiracy. Finally, he also succeeded in decapitating the upper echelons of the high nobility. The way was thus paved for the introduction of new political personnel, while the new regime that was requested in response to the almost complete destruction of the realm's capital called for an active and effective government, similar to the models to be found at that time in Central-Western Europe, a region that was familiar to the man who had formerly served as a diplomat in Josephine Vienna.

For Subtil, the brand new State summit, formed by Pombal's unconditional supporters, was the government of 1756 (7 September), politically homogeneous, faithful to Pombal, and consisting of his own brother, Francisco Xavier Mendonça Furtado, ex-governor of Brazilian Maranhão and seemingly his privileged informer on Brazilian affairs (p. 90). The matrix of a government of "*criaturas*" remained in operation until 1766, while the personal protection afforded to the Prime Minister by the military was reinforced and the core supervisory institution of the "police" (*Intendência Geral de Polícia*, 1799) was installed (p. 91). The traditional palatine courts were not only repopulated with new politically updated personnel¹⁴, but were more strictly controlled in their decisions, namely through the reform of a discrete institution (one to which less attention has been paid by historians), the *Procuradoria Geral da Coroa* (the Crown Prosecution Service). This body was not only given the task of reviewing the advice proffered by the traditional courts before the concentration of the final decision in the *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino* headed by Pombal¹⁵, but also served as the core tool of government¹⁶. Its members belonged to the cream of the "pombalistas" (José Seabra da Silva, João Pereira Ramos de Azevedo Coutinho, and José António Salter de Mendonça)¹⁷. After the domestication of the traditional administration, a new one was installed, inspired by the models of bodies led by both intendants and commissars

¹⁴ The cleansing of the *Desembargo do Paço* was completed in 1761. The *Casa da Suplicação* was placed under the presidency of one of Pombal's indefectible supporters (Pedro Gonçalves Cordeiro Pereira). The same pattern of renewal was followed for the other palatine courts (*Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, *Conselho de Estado* and *Senado da Câmara de Lisboa*) (cf. p. 97).

¹⁵ Cf. Subtil, 1996: Ch. II.

¹⁶ Controlling key departments, such as the *Intendência Geral de Polícia*, the *Erário Régio* (the Royal Treasury, itself restructured according to a centralized and efficiency-oriented pattern), and the *Junta do Comércio* (the Board of Trade), which supervised the new mercantile companies (cf. Subtil, pp. 99-100).

¹⁷ On the politics of reshaping the central administration between 1766 and 1777, see Subtil, 1996: Ch. IV. *e-JPH, Vol. 5, number 2, Winter 2007*

typically found in France and Central Europe (cf. 93)¹⁸. The personal dependency of these new types of civil servants was reinforced by their loose professional links: the *alvará* (royal charter) that created the new offices emphatically declared that their posts “had the nature of a merely precarious performance of service (*serventia*), always removable at my royal discretion”. Their situation was further legislated for in a subsequent general royal charter of 23 November, 1770, in which the civil servants’ “customary right” to inherit their parents’ posts was declared “erroneous, abusive and unfounded”.

Precisely because of the narrower scope of his work, Subtil can be more detailed and systematic in the discussion of his topic. On the other hand, his personal style of anticipating the aims that are to be proved and basing his arguments on the availability of the required evidence makes his discourse very clear and convincing. Monteiro, on the other hand, sets himself a more complex task. His topic is the overall history of a reign, furthermore centered on the person of the king. Pombal was surely the reflected image of the king; however, this bizarre optical effect – highlighted in the editorial project itself – causes his portrait to become somewhat blurred, as if one were trying to describe Philip I’s face from his shadowy reflection in the mirror that can be seen in the background of Velazquez’ *Las Meninas*. Nonetheless, some less shadowy parts of his book are to be found in his concept-oriented discussions – namely those on the subject of enlightenment, despotism and government in Ch. 14 – or his somewhat fuzzy assessment of the renewal of political patterns during João V’s reign, an evaluation whose only purpose, in a book on José I, is to introduce a general guideline which is then unrelentingly followed throughout the text, that of downgrading the effects of Pombal’s political innovations. According to Monteiro, these were begun before him, later adapted and balanced by him during his period of office, and were almost completely suppressed after he had gone¹⁹.

¹⁸ While, in the first half of the 18th century, only half a dozen posts of *Intendente* were created, another fifty or so were set up in the second half of the century (cf. Subtil, 2007, p. 101).

¹⁹ This last step is very hard to prove in the case of the core matter of legal education. Almost one hundred years later, Pombal’s “creatures” at Coimbra’s Law School – namely, Pascoal de Melo – continued to structure the very nature of the teaching of law, therefore being responsible for the development of the intellectual groupings of the State’s liberal elite in both Portugal and Brazil.

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Evidence for *Pombalism*: Reality or Pervasive Clichés?

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It was a great pleasure for me to be given this chance to write a reply to António Manuel Hespanha's review of my book (*O terramoto político (1755-1759) : memória e poder*, Lisboa : Edual, [D.L. 2007]. - 175 p.) in conjunction with Nuno Monteiro's biography of José I, both of them dealing with the same period. Furthermore, these comments could mark the beginning of a debate that is fundamental for historians of 18th-century Portugal, namely on the genealogy and political meaning of *Pombalism*.

The research that I undertook for this paper and other studies has led me to reach the following three conclusions:

1) The political system implemented by *Pombalism* meant a complete break with what came before;

2) Lisbon's famous earthquake (1755) created the appropriate climate for such a break to take place;

3) The subsequent Marquis of Pombal, who acted as the catalyst for this transformation, was supported in his strategy by an assorted variety of politicians, amongst whom the most notable were a group of high court judges (*desembargadores*). In choosing the title *Terramoto Político* (Political Earthquake) for my book, my intention was to correlate the cataclysm with that political change

However, did *Pombalism* really mean an abrupt change or was it a form of continuity in which the essential differences were somehow disguised? Was it a moment of rupture, a singular event, or was it the natural outcome of a mature political process? In either case, what did *Pombalism* turn out to be?

To suggest that it triggered discontinuity represents an attempt to relate *Pombalism* with a huge change in the political system. As far as I can see, this is my book's strong point. Moreover, including *Pombalism* in the natural cycle of development of the political process has inevitable implications. It will suggest that this period did not produce any real structural changes and that Pombal's consulate (1755-1777) was nothing more than a period of absolutism, rescued later on by the advent of Liberalism. If I have indeed correctly understood the meaning of the term Enlightenment, or more precisely its polymorphic streams based on the relationship between rationality and power and between power and knowledge, *Pombalism* displayed as much of a certain type of Enlightenment as it lacked the features of other types. It did generate new powers that produced new knowledge, which in turn generated newer layers of power, all of them creating a regime dominated both by rationality and by an array of innovative disciplinary mechanisms. To invoke the support of an unexpected witness, I recall the speeches of Borges Carneiro to the Sovereign Congress (1821-1822), a judge who became one of the most radical supporters of the first period of Portuguese liberalism and who had the utmost admiration for the Marquis of Pombal

and his institutional reforms, although he was to emphasize one undeniable flaw: the Marquis was not a constitutionalist.

Who or what were the agents of this change? A political program? A revolutionary zeal? A group of dissenters who disagreed with the political situation? I tried to show in my book that the catalyst for this enormous political transformation was the political climate created by the earthquake of 1755. However, I did point to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, as well as to a network of his political accomplices, mostly *desembargadores*, as the co-agents of this change.

On the other hand, I tried to explain this phenomenon by choosing documents containing information that might provide fitting answers to the problem in hand. In other words, documents that would make it possible to form insights into the political arenas – actual existing spaces that were completely destroyed by the earthquake – and to more easily ascertain the administrative reality that followed the quake, in order to outline the positions adopted by the political actors, who either faced the crisis or ran away from it. This choice of documents would also enable me to achieve a further series of aims: to analyze the political outcome of the confrontation of these two strategies; to identify social problems and political solutions; to create an inventory of the institutional innovations that were implemented; to assess the quality of the bureaucratic instruments; to survey the extent of the newly implemented disciplinary devices; to understand just how chaotic everyday life was and to determine the nature of the intrigues to be found at the Royal Palace; and, finally, to identify the forms of resistance and opposition to the government. In short, the problems arising in the course of the research were to be solved through a thorough selection of documents that was directed, not towards discussing contemporary or future imaginary scenarios, but towards highlighting the very importance of the phenomena that were actually being lived through.

However, can one grasp this supposed evidence from the very “reality” of events? How can one avoid the abstraction or the interplay of interpretations that have already taken root in our historical memories? Should research be focused on analyzing that precise period of time or should it, instead, consider those periods that either preceded or followed it? Or should one attempt to make a comparison between two realities: the political situation prior to the earthquake and the ensuing cycle of *Pombalism*?

Nevertheless, the period that followed *Pombalism* has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Actually, the short reign of Dona Maria I (1777-1786) and the various phases of Dom João VI's reign (official regencies between 1786 and 1816 in Portugal and Brazil, kingship between 1816 and 1826 in the same territories) have been left out so as to disconnect *Pombalism* (and later, the French invasions) from the implementation of liberalism in Portugal. It is therefore necessary to refer to this particular period, because either *Pombalism* did not produce any lasting effects, being just an atypical moment in the political process leading towards liberalism, or instead the political practices of the late 18th/early 19th centuries were themselves rooted in *Pombalism*.

The ordinary analysis of the first decade of Dona Maria I's reign – and the identification of a volte-face (*Viradeira*) still upheld by the overwhelming majority of essays on the subject – fits the former line of historical reasoning and is, in turn, concurrent with the glorification of the liberals. The latter would perhaps have had sufficient awareness to organize the 1820 revolution against a historical continuum engraved in absolutism, either with or without the Enlightenment. This so-called volte-face was largely triggered by Pombal's political trial and the demonstrations against him and his style of rule, so that it should not be immediately likened to the reactionary movement which opposed the reformist movement (referred to here as *Pombalism*) and eventually succeeded in its purpose.

Did such a volte-face actually exist after the fall of Pombal? Thereby canceling out all that had happened after the earthquake and up to the death of Dom José?

It is commonly known that the Marquis of Pombal never accepted the succession of Dona Maria I. He made arrangements to impose Salic Law so that Dom José¹ could take the throne. Therefore, the queen was not prepared to govern. In her first years of rule, she frequently resorted to the aid of advisors, who formed the famous *junta da rainha* or *junta nocturna* (31 March, 1778).

These advisors were a reformist group of *desembargadores*, all closely identified with *Pombalist* politics, except for the Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira.² The latter created the position of State Minister and Assistant State Secretary, a position to be held by the Marquis of Angeja, who had himself been opposed to Pombal's regime. However, neither of the two were responsible for any known relevant initiatives to overthrow the system, nor did they leave any visible impressions on the positions they held. Dom Pedro José worked, under the Pombalist minister Martinho de Melo e Castro's tutelage, on the reform of the Navy and – as did Dom Tomás Xavier and Teles da Silva – as president of the *Erário Régio* (the Royal Treasury) during the reign of Dona Maria I. All of them did really nothing more than simply continue to apply the *Pombalist* financial policy. The Viscount had even intended to build a new monumental building to house the *Erário Régio* in Praça do Príncipe Real. He was appointed Secretary of the new Ministry of Finance (1788), holding this position under the tutelage of Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (1801), the son of one of the most remarkable overseas governors at the time of Pombal, Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho.

In the first government of Dona Maria I, Martinho de Melo e Castro and Aires de Sá e Melo, two Pombalist ministers, retained their positions as State Secretaries. Even one of the outstanding mentors of the Pombalist reforms, José de Seabra da Silva, saw his titles and favors reconfirmed (1 March, 1778), on returning from the garrison of Pedras Negras (Brazil). The Portuguese *Procurador-Geral da Coroa* (Public Prosecutor), João Pereira Ramos de Azevedo Coutinho, another prominent Pombalist reformist, also remained in office.

After nine years, the most important positions in terms of Marianist policy were still largely held by *Pombalinos*: the Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira and the Marquis of Angeja, respectively, Secretary of State for the Affairs of the Realm and Assistant Minister, Martinho de Melo e Castro and Aires de Sá e Melo, Secretaries of State for the Navy, War and Foreign Affairs, José Ricardo Pereira de Castro, High-Chancellor of the Realm, Luís de Almeida Soares Portugal (Marquis of Lavradio), president of the *Desembargo do Paço* (the Supreme Court), Bartolomeu José Galdes de Andrade, Chancellor of the *Casa da Suplicação* (the Petitions Division) and *Procurador da Fazenda da Coroa* (Crown Treasury Prosecutor), João Pereira Ramos de Azevedo Coutinho, *Procurador Geral da Coroa* (Crown Prosecutor) and Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique, General Intendant of Police. In other words, of these nine highly placed leaders, only one, the Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira, was an anti-Pombalist and conservative, since the Marquis de Angeja had been very sick since 1783. It was this hard core of men who controlled events related to the crisis caused by the fact that the queen had begun to transfer some of her power, due to health problems (1786-1788). This situation propelled the reformists into a position of complete political control.

¹ See Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, Lisbon, Editorial Verbo, 1982, vol. IV.

² The composition of this advisory body was as follows: Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira, José Ricalde Pereira de Castro, Manuel Gomes Ferreira, Bartolomeu José Nunes Galdes de Andrade, João Pereira Ramos de Azevedo Coutinho and Gonçalo José da Silveira Preto (see Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *História de Portugal*, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 339).

During these first years in the reign of Dona Maria, the Intendancy General of Police saw its scope of action widened under the leadership of Diogo Inácio de Pina Manique (1780). With the support of the Duke of Lafões and the Abbot Correia da Serra, the Lisbon Royal Academy of Science was founded (1779), being inaugurated ten years after the publication of its famous *Memórias*, in which, for example, what stood out was the criticism of entailed estates, echoing certain legal doctrinal positions that had already been expressed by the main academic jurist of Pombalism, Pascoal de Melo. Amongst others, institutional novelties included the *Academia do Nú* (Academy of the Nude), the *Aula Pública de Desenho e Pintura* (Public School of Painting and Drawing), the *Aula Real de Pintura* (Royal School of Painting), the *Real Biblioteca Pública de Lisboa* (Lisbon Royal Public Library), the *Museu de História Natural* (Natural History Museum) and the *Real Casa Pia* (a charitable institution and home for beggars and orphans). Following on from the *Lei da Boa Razão* (Law of Good Reason) and the Reform of the University of Coimbra (1772), a reform of the *Ordenações Filipinas* (the compilation of laws produced by the king Filipe I) was planned in 1783, with the *Junta Ordinária da Revisão e Censura do Novo Código* (Ordinary Council for the Revision and Censorship of the New Code) being set up for this purpose.

After the death of Dom Pedro III (5 May, 1786), the uncle and husband of Dona Maria I, the prince successor and the Marquis of Angeja also both died within a short space of time (1788). The sick queen definitively abandoned government. The second son of the royal couple (Prince João, aged 19) came to power. To replace the Marquis of Angeja, the Viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira was appointed Assistant Minister, with the *desembargador* José de Seabra da Silva being appointed Secretary of State for the Affairs of the Realm, while Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho (the Viscount of Balsemão, a dedicated reformist and a high-ranking royal officer from the Pombalist period) was appointed Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs. Referring to the appointment of Seabra da Silva, Lebzeltern wrote in a letter to the son of the Marquis of Pombal (20 December, 1788): “La nouvelle nomination de Mr. de Siabra, qui avait toujours été imbu du même esprit & des mêmes principes de cette administration jusqu’au moment où il s’attira sa disgrâce, est un nouveau triomphe pour la mémoire immortelle du Grand Ministre”.³

During this government, an attack was launched against the jurisdictional powers of the Crown’s representatives (Legislative Proposal of 19 July, 1790 and Decree of 7 January, 1792). This attack came in the shape of the reform of the prison system, the expropriation of the Church’s possessions (Law of 9 September, 1796 and Decree of 23 February, 1797)⁴; political and administrative communications were rationalized and reinforced with the nationalization of the postal services, the *Correio-Mor* (18 January, 1797) and the beginning of the building of the royal road between Lisbon and Coimbra, along with the royal mail (*mala-posta*) service. The Royal Police Force was created to intervene in several areas under Lisbon’s territorial administration. A series of new forms were introduced for the government of the city, such as the population census, inquiries, births, deaths, marriages and sickness statistics, new cemeteries were built for health reasons and crime prevention was initiated. In 1789, the commission in charge of the whole reform of the legislation presented its plans for a New Code for Public Law and Criminal Law, due to the influence of Pascoal José de Melo Freire.⁵⁶

³ BN, *Colecção Pombalina*, Códice 708, fl. 106.

⁴ See José Subtil, *O Desembargo do Paço (1750-1833)*, Lisbon, Edial, 1996, in particular Ch. V.

⁵ See António Manuel Hespanha, “O Projecto de Código Criminal Português de 1786”, *La “Leopoldina”*, Milan: Giuffrè, 1988, vol. II, pp. 1631-1642.

Yet other important institutions were founded: *Junta do Exame do Estado Actual e Melhoramento Temporal das Ordens Religiosas* (Council for the Examination of the Current State and Temporal Improvement of the Religious Orders, Decree-Law of 21 November, 1796) and the Lisbon Public Library (Charter of 27 February, 1796), whose first Director, António Ribeiro Santos, was one of the most prestigious Portuguese supporters of the Enlightenment.

A new political cycle, which will not be mentioned here, began with the French invasions and the retreat of the royal family to Brazil (27 November, 1807).

Although I have sought to demonstrate in my book that a factor alien to human action – a seismic cataclysm of massive proportions – could also be the cause of historical change, leading to the transformation of a political system dating back to the mid-16th century, it can, however, be seen that the new model itself became irreversibly consolidated through the effects of human action.

Another question which appears continuously, but which I do not touch upon in my book, is the political significance seemingly attached to the jurists. Their influence was completely different before and after the earthquake.

Before the earthquake, the jurists controlled both legal and administrative domains, as well as the knowledge that served to guide a power that was based on justice and on an “economy of grace and favor” – the royal government of the prince. They were legitimated by royal power and they also represented the limits of that same power, while their own powers were limited by dogmatic doctrine. Nowadays, we know all about this reality as a result of modern legal historiography, particularly that of António Manuel Hespanha. After the earthquake, the jurists retained their key role because they were driven by the need to solve problems for which traditional jurisprudence had no answer, at least speedily and efficiently; consequently, they became involved in politics. This was a kind of activity that called for another kind of knowledge, dividing the jurists into those who were receptive to politics and those who thought that the traditional methods could still solve the problems caused by the earthquake. At first, actual practice made a natural selection of the most skilled. After a while, the renewal of the University of Coimbra was to produce the new knowledge required for the new political tasks.

The new elite of jurists began by underestimating the dogmatic body of intangible legal truths and instead followed another type of legal approach, based on what they called *Boa Razão* (Good Reason, the political reason that guides public well-being). Therefore, the jurists turned into political actors, upsetting the traditional legal system as they started to consider alternative views of the world and society. On the other hand, due to the increase in the number of scholars, as a result of the French invasions, many of them were no longer able to find available places in the Crown’s administration, which led to a wave of discontent with the regime. These circumstances explain why the jurists played such an important part in the Revolution of 1820.

The Patterns of Portuguese Politics in the 18th Century or the Shadow of Pombal. A Reply to António Manuel Hespanha

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The practice of book reviews unfortunately has very few roots as yet in Portuguese academic circles. There have been many important works that have had no critical reviews at all. The realization that my recent book on Dom José was afforded a critical analysis less than a year after its publication, and what is more in a review written by António Hespanha, to whom I am connected by so many ties, is something that therefore gives me cause for celebration. The fact that his commentary is centered on only one of the book's dimensions, that it is made in parallel with a commentary on another work, written by José Subtil, and that it has as its fundamental axis the criticism of some of the theses that I put forward, discussed in opposition to those of the other work being reviewed, in no way diminishes my satisfaction.

In his preamble, Hespanha notes that, whereas Subtil is influenced by Foucault and Bourdieu and “leans more towards a symbolic-oriented narrative”, I myself am “more given to an (enriched) “social history” approach”. Without forsaking my right to be included in the social history tradition, I cannot fail to be surprised by this commentary. In fact, the influence of Pierre Bourdieu's work (or a part of it) and even the obstacles resulting therefrom have been accurately underlined in a review that was made of my past work¹. Furthermore, it does not seem to me that Hespanha gave due importance to some essays by this author written precisely about modern state building², a theme that, after all, partly conditions what is under discussion here.

But, let us cut to the chase. And the essential point here is that the whole of the initial phase of António Hespanha's work, produced more than two and a half decades ago, was dominated by the criticism of the state-centered view of the Modern Age. Fighting against established ideas and the generally accepted thesis of an early centralization of the monarchy, he repeatedly insisted on stressing the plural nature of the mechanisms of power in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. In the second half of the 18th century, which marked the beginning in Portugal of the period of the Marquis of Pombal, it was no longer the eve, but the actual time of Leviathan, that had finally begun to rise up. In his own words, the “contradictory developments of a political structure that had arisen in order to preserve the feudal system were also to be found in Portugal from the second half of the 18th century onwards (...) The State became autonomous and

¹ Although I am talking, above all, about the Bourdieu who wrote about “house societies” (cf. the studies collected in Bourdieu, 2002); on this subject, cf. Santos, 2000.

² Cf. Bourdieu, 1993, and 1997.

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its own policy was set as the objective, at least provisionally”³. Seen from this point of view, the so-called Pombaline period could not help being regarded as an essential moment of rupture. Basically, his vision of the period has not therefore changed.

Naturally, this is not the appropriate place for a detailed discussion of the dichotomous views of the Modern Age. In fact, characterizing the political system that existed before 1750 as essentially not being state-centered has great pedagogical virtues in that it helps us to distinguish the Ancien Régime from the Contemporary Age. But, as it seems certain that something changed between the 15th and the 18th century, it must be admitted that this is of little help in explaining the changes actually occurring in the medium term. What changed with the Restoration, what was gradually altered in the central administration over the following hundred years - none of this is given much room for expression when the period is seen from a perspective that gives special emphasis to explaining precisely what remained unchanged between the 15th and the 18th century.

But, while this remains the basic question, the diversity of views about the period gains a concrete expression in other areas. Hespanha stresses that “insisting on his thesis about the singular lack of corporations in Portugal that could mediate between the royal and the “(micro-)local” levels, the author (I myself) also reasserts his claim that Portugal was not a “composite monarchy”. This is true only if we choose to take a narrow view of the formally institutionalized (and mostly territorial) corporations.” The question is very clear: unlike me, Hespanha thinks that Portugal, in its European dimension⁴, can be conceived of as a composite monarchy. This is an idea that I consider unsustainable, for the concept is essentially related not to monarchies in which there existed corporative institutions, but rather to those monarchies in which there continued to exist territories with differentiated institutions, inherited through their autonomous existence prior to their incorporation and subject to the authority of one and the same crowned head. The concept therefore presupposes a territorial dimension⁵. I have no idea where Hespanha is able to discover these characteristics in the kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves.

In talking about this subject, it is important to highlight the type of tensions that did not exist in Portugal, but which were frequently found in other monarchies. In line with many other previous studies about 17th-century France, it is worth quoting Sharon Kettering: “two fundamental obstacles stood in the way of strengthening the Paris government and extending its authority over the French countryside (...): the great nobles and their provincial clienteles (...) and the provincial Estates, sovereign courts, and municipal governments, independent regional institutions that staunchly resisted the expansion of the central government” (Kettering, 1986, p. 232). Would it be possible to say the same thing about Portugal? Besides the remote inheritance of an absence of provincial institutions, the very political process itself subsequent to the Restoration of 1640 favored the transfer of the high nobility to the court of Lisbon, a reduction in the powers of the feudal landlords⁶ and even, as has recently been pointed out⁷, a significant renewal of the political and social elite at the center. In conclusion, in Europe, at the end of the 17th century, the Portuguese crown did not have to fight against corporate or feudal powers of a

³ Hespanha, 1981, p. 68.

⁴ The institutional nature of the empire, mainly in Brazil, is a different question that I will not go into here.

⁵ Cf. Elliot, 1992.

⁶ Cf. Monteiro, 2003, pp. 107 and ff.

⁷ Cf. Costa e Cunha, 2006.

regional nature, contrary to what was happening in neighboring monarchies, and this fact had enormous implications for the political process.

Although, in the end, Hespanha questions the relevance of my extensive discussion of the reign of Dom João V in a biography devoted to the king Dom José I, the synthesis that he presents of what I have stated about the same subject is, by and large, a correct one. The treatment that I give to the matter is justified, not only by the fact that some of the changes introduced by the Marquis of Pombal had their roots in the previous reign, but also because Dom José lived most of his days with his father as the reigning sovereign. Contrary to what the critic suggests, however, I never actually speak of “centralization”, but rather of a reduction in the number of political actors and the erosion of such important political institutions as the Council of State. The institutional centers of potential resistance were therefore restricted in their number. And, although they did not yet function as the center of government, it was in 1736 that the three Secretariats of State were created, so that it seems to me rather excessive to speak of a “regression”.

But, having reached this point, the reviewer then goes completely off the rails, attributing to me ideas that I did not write, and do not even have. He says, for example, that I establish a theoretical opposition between “government by *validos*”, on the one hand, and “*cabinet government*”, on the other hand, the first being defined as “personal rule” and the second being defined as “Enlightened rule”, led by projects and being characteristic of Central and Northern Europe. I do not recognize myself at all in this division and I do not know where on earth the reviewer discovered this. On the contrary (Monteiro, 2006, pp. 230 and ff.), I seek to underline the links of continuity between the 17th-century reformers and the so-called “Enlightened despots” of the 18th century. A (variable) part of what these reformers had as projects already came from the past, but the contexts of the mid-18th century were different and, partly because of this, so were the results. Furthermore, as has been persistently stressed⁸, unlike the case of the 17th century, most of the 18th-century reformers were kings and not ministers. The most notable European exception was, precisely, Pombal himself, a fact that is generally recognized anyway in the European bibliography on this theme.

But the most powerful point of divergence is when Hespanha identifies an ideal type of “a form of rule with a 17th-century orientation”. This would be characterized, amongst other things, by: a) “the existence of a *valido* or prime minister”; b) “the absence of any intellectual and political links between intellectuals and the ruler(s)”; c) “the absence of a ministerial government”; d) “the absence of a coherent political program, with all efforts being directed towards gaining personal possession of the royal will”. And, finally, he questions whether Pombal would be akin to that ideal type or was closer to “the typical pattern of the most conspicuous Enlightened monarchies, such as that of Walpole’s England, Fleury’s⁹ or Turgot’s France, Friedrich’s Prussia or von Caunitz’s or von Haugwitz’s Austria”.

I don’t know where Hespanha unearthed his ideal type of “government by *validos*, in keeping with an accepted 17th-century style (Sully, Richelieu, Olivares)”. In any case, I don’t find my way of thinking reflected in this at all, except naturally for the existence of the *valido*, but with all the ambivalences that I highlight later on. In my opinion, Pombal resembled and even saw himself reflected in the great reforming *validos* of the 17th century, but the characteristics that he

⁸ Scott, 1996; Swann, 2000, p. 18; Beales, 2005, p. 42.

⁹ The inclusion in this list of the name of Cardinal Fleury, the former tutor and de facto prime minister of Louis XV (although he was never formally appointed as such) between 1726 and 1743, is very strange and I do not know what basis Hespanha has for invoking him; cf. Chaussinad-Nogaret, 2002 and Antoine, 1989.

in some ways shared with them in no way correspond to those that Hespanha points out. With greater or lesser efficacy, all the above-mentioned 17th-century *validos* created a circle of intellectuals in their service, the same thing happening with Pombal, as I underline quite clearly (Monteiro, 2006, pp. 202-205, 235). On the other hand, it was Hespanha himself who some years ago stressed the “programmatic” dimension of Olivares’ performance¹⁰, which is also undeniably to be found in Richelieu¹¹. In my book, I seek to establish the limits of what was known about any kind of “political project” developed by Pombal before he was called to be Secretary of State, and to distinguish this from what he began to outline afterwards, according to the different sets of circumstances that he was exposed to and the influences that he underwent. Finally, the idea that a *valido* meant the absence of a “ministerial government” is totally absurd. Right from the outset, the expression “ministeriat” came into widespread use precisely to designate Richelieu’s government. And, in my book, I insist on seeing this as one of the decisive dimensions of Pombalism. In order not to write at too much length on this subject, I shall point to just two quotations: “The main characteristic of the central administration in the Pombaline period was the new centrality acquired by the Secretariats of State, which tended to strip the councils of their powers or to control them politically by decapitating them and appointing magistrates who were in tune with the cabinet” (Monteiro, 2006, p. 193); and “institutionally, the government of the Marquis of Pombal represented the formation of the “government” – the Secretariats of State, now Ministries – and the supremacy of the government and the respective ministers over the other institutions of the central administration, namely over the councils, although these continued to remain in existence until 1833, as well as over the Grandees of the Realm, who previously, through the Council of State, had formed a central core in the process of political decision-making. At the legal level, it also expressed the affirmation of the principle that the royalty could change the order of things. It was in the reign of Dom José that the reforming and authoritarian intervention of the State and government in many areas of society can be truly said to have begun. This legacy would never again be forgotten. All this remained after Pombal, just as a part of the political elite that accompanied him or found themselves to be represented by him continued to exist, even though they were subsequently to introduce, as they did in fact do at the end of the century, a set of reforms based upon another kind of doctrine, or, in other words, one that was clearly Enlightened and economically liberal” (Monteiro, 2006, pp. 261-262).

What seems to me to be perfectly fair to reject here is the almost “Leninist” view and the idea of a complete break with the past that Hespanha lends to Pombal’s performance, attributing to him a “planned policy”, indissociable from his “planned despotism”. In fact, I sought to demonstrate that before he rose to lead the government, what was to be found in Carvalho’s ideas were essentially economic mercantilist conceptions and precepts about strengthening royal power that were drawn from the practices of “reasons of State”, almost all of them having their roots in the 17th century. Only very belatedly, as is known, did he adopt concepts from modern natural law. It was for his anti-Jesuitism that Beccaria praised him, and not for his penal humanitarianism, for in these matters the penal ferocity of the Pombaline period had other models, which came unequivocally from the past. Now, as I have tried to suggest, this Pombaline anti-Jesuitism was a result of his first years of experience in government and did not derive from any of his previous experiences: when he rose to become Secretary of State, Pombal was seen by many as the man of the Jesuits in opposition to Alexandre Gusmão – likewise the authority of the Secretariats of State,

¹⁰ Cf. Hespanha, 1989.

¹¹ Cf. the respective political testament, which formed part of Pombal’s library; cf. Hildesheimer, 1995.
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which only really began to be effective in Pombaline times, even though it is true that these were a creation of the previous reign. It therefore seems to me that the actual political history of that time does not fit in with the schematic views of the Pombaline period of which Hespanha seems to be so fond.

Finally, I should like to stress that there is still a great deal to be discovered and researched. In this particular regard, I believe that Hespanha is completely unaware of one of the topics which, I dare to presume, affords some originality to my reading of Pombal, or at least of the relationship between the king Dom José and the future Marquis of Pombal. I am referring to the “drama” of the “prime minister”. After Louis XIV had cast an anathema on that institutional figure, “prime ministers” were almost always badly regarded in continental monarchies, for it was claimed that they usurped functions that were the responsibility of the king alone¹². That is why, even if there were in fact various prime ministers, the office did not formally exist in any of the great continental monarchies (Spain, France, Empire) in what can be said to be a stable and consolidated fashion. Even in the case of Portugal, such disparate figures as Dom Luís da Cunha, the Duke Teles da Silva and the queen Dona Mariana Vitória expressly condemned the possibility of its creation. Both because there always hung over prime ministers the stigma of illegitimacy and usurpation and because such an office did not formally exist, Pombal, the most prominent prime minister in 18th-century continental Europe, was insistently compared by his contemporaries to Olivares, Richelieu and Mazarino. And, according to his own words, he himself adopted Sully, Richelieu and Mazarino as his predecessors. I did not discover this. It was, in fact, Pombal himself who stated that the 17th-century “*validos*/prime ministers” were his political models: “not seeking to compare himself (the supplicant, Pombal) with the Duke of Sully in worthiness, it was, however, certain that he considered himself equal to him in disgrace”; “His Majesty considered that it would not befit his royal character were the house of a Prime Minister to whom he had entrusted the greatest affairs of the realm to be confused amongst the lesser figures of Portugal; against the Examples that the kings Henri IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV had practiced with the above-mentioned Duque de Sully; with Cardinal Richelieu; with Cardinal Mazarino; and against what the other Great Monarchs had also practiced in similar cases” (Monteiro, 2006, pp. 242-243). Later, because such an office did not formally exist and because this incriminated him, he contradicted himself and gave another sense to the use of the expression “prime minister”: “as the respondent, he only understood himself to be and was in reality the first of the Ministers and the Secretaries of State as their senior figure (...) the same custom established that he should be called prime minister and the most senior secretary of state or the secretary of state of the Affairs of the Realm”. And, to conclude, he maintained that “after all that had been said, it seemed to him appropriate to conclude that if such an abstract title as Prime Minister were to be found on some dispatch issued under his name, it could only be because of the crass ignorance of the official who had drawn up the document, or because of those errors and slips of the pen, into which similar clerks were frequently induced” (Monteiro, 2006, p. 243).

Two and a half centuries later, the figure of the minister of Dom José I continues to merit fully justified attention, both inside and outside Portugal, and to enjoy a prominent position in 18th-century European history. But this does not mean that those diverse and contradictory opinions that were formulated about him even while he was still alive or the interpretation his figure has continued to arouse have disappeared. The important thing is that the debates about him should help to clarify the grounds for the adoption of opposing points of view, and, at the

¹² On this theme, see, amongst others: Berenger, 1974; Scott, 1996; Brookliss, 1999; Escudero (ed.), 2004. *e-JPH, Vol. 5, number 2, Winter 2007*

same time, should stimulate further investigation into a personality and a period that are still very far from being suitably researched.

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Biographies of the Kings of Portugal

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Biographical studies have recently recovered their importance as a relevant historiographic tool for the study of the past. In fact, the role of the individual as a historical agent has acquired a renewed status as researchers and the public at large have accepted that the definition of structures and events, cycles of prices, deaths and births, production, political systems or social architectures are just one perspective for the understanding of history, even though they continue to be necessary for its full knowledge. Structuralism has helped to convey a perception of major historical phenomena, but it has not been able to explain many events or to emphasize the contribution made by so many individuals in bringing about great changes. In other words, it has been unable to highlight the importance of individual determination as an agent of History.

The project known as the “Biographies of the Kings of Portugal”, published in 34 volumes by the *Círculo de Leitores*, with the collaboration of the *Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa*, has sought, first of all, to fill a major gap in our historiography, since many monarchs had never before been subjected to any form of academic biographical study.

Therefore, this collection aims at providing readers with a journey through time in which they can get to know the men and women that ruled this country throughout eight centuries as well as their families, friends and enemies, their schemes, their visions for the country, their political projects and their government.

At the same time, it has presented a perspective of the national and international events that shaped each monarch’s life – the rhythms of time and the conflicts between nations and civilizations, as well as the role played by Portugal in the history of both Europe and the world. It has provided an understanding of each of these individuals throughout time and, consequently, of the limitations that surrounded their lives, making it possible to perceive how our kings adjusted to these dynamics or how they caused disruptions that were to change the natural course of History. The authors have also tried, whenever they can, to analyze the core of each king and queen, showing their passions, their affections and their conception of royalty; sometimes they have even succeeded in catching a glimpse of their dreams and ambitions.

When they analyze the characteristics of the court and the habits of each sovereign, the authors show the daily life of the Portuguese monarchs from the 12th to the early 20th century.

Thus, each book provides a framework for understanding the time when these monarchs lived. The lives of these kings and queens overlapped with one another in time, so that every book (each of which is intended to be an independent piece) analyzes epochs and events that have also been studied by the authors of other biographies. Each one analyzes the same events from the viewpoint of each character, presenting us with different, as well as complementary, visions of History, based nonetheless on a precise methodology that reveals one single evolutionary line of events.

These books, written by various authors (all of them university professors or researchers) have all followed the same criteria: the public thus finds in all of them the kings' lives, their affections, their family, their government and the national as well as the international events of their time. Each author has his or her own style and each biography has its different problems. Consequently, in these 34 volumes, there is a guiding thread based on the above-mentioned criteria, but the personal style of each author also guarantees a diversity that shows the wealth of the biographical study and the complexity of the human being.

We are certain that Portuguese historiography has been enriched by this new, all-embracing, but nonetheless particular approach to the study of almost 800 years of Portugal's existence. After the summaries produced in recent decades, which have given us an insight into the main strands of the country's evolution, this collection brings a different approach, in which the human side of History can be clearly gleaned from the small details, such as the ambitions and traumas, the palace intrigues, the convictions and the indecisions, the family disagreements, the loves and hates, or the military campaigns. These facts can often be seen to have changed the course of history unexpectedly or even illogically when we look at the general framework of events, but they gain greater clarity when we are able to fit them into the context of the lives and personalities of the monarchs.

While providing us with a new political history of Portugal, the collection "Biographies of the Kings of Portugal" has made our past more understandable to its readers and to all those engaged in research into Portuguese and European History more generally.

"Biographies of the Kings of Portugal"

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Economic and Financial Debates in the Portuguese Parliament (1821-1910): Outcome of a Research Project

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1. Introduction

This paper seeks to provide an interpretive overview of the information contained in the database constructed as part of a research project dedicated to the study of economic and financial debates in the Portuguese parliament, during the period of the constitutional monarchy.¹

The database is composed of 5355 records of debates that were held in the Chamber of Deputies of the Portuguese parliament between 1821 and 1910. When considered as a whole, these debates help us to form a precise idea about the situations, problems and vicissitudes that the Portuguese economy and public finances passed through in the course of the period under analysis: from the Liberal Revolution of 1820 until the implantation of the Portuguese Republic in 1910.

The summary that is now being made does not focus on any one specific theme, period or speaker, for these are matters that will have to be taken up by those using this database in order to study the debates as a source for interpreting the vast range of subjects that came under discussion in parliament. By making this research tool available to all those interested in its use, we are seeking to make a contribution towards the recognition and enhancement of an important historical source that allows us to deepen our knowledge not only about the way in which parliament functioned at that time, but also about the way in which the affairs of public life were dealt with in Portugal, in this particular case in relation to economic and financial matters. The purpose of presenting this summary is precisely that of highlighting the heuristic potentialities of the information that has been gathered together and systematized through a computer program easily accessed at <http://cisep.iseg.utl.pt/dpef>.

¹ <http://cisep.iseg.utl.pt/dpef/> This is a research project entitled *Economic and Financial Parliamentary Debates (1821-1910)*, carried out, under the coordination of José Luís Cardoso, at the Research Center on the Portuguese Economy of the School of Economics and Management of Lisbon Technical University, with the participation of the Faculty of Economics of Porto University and the Institute of Social Sciences of Lisbon University. The project is funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology, under the scope of the POCTI program (Operational Program for Science, Technology and Innovation), co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) (POCTI/HAR/44207/2002) and the Bank of Portugal. I wish to thank the other members of the research team – António Almodovar, Carlos Bastien, Maria de Fátima Brandão, João Carlos Graça, Pedro Lains, Jorge Pedreira and Rui Ramos – for their collaboration and contributions that made this project possible. I should also like to thank the project's research trainee, João Vargas, for preparing the materials that provided the basis for this overview.

Throughout the different phases of the constitutional monarchy, parliamentary debates were the hub for assessing and deciding upon government measures to tackle economic and financial problems. Budgets, taxation and fiscal policy, the public debt, internal and external loans, credit instruments provided by the banking and financial structure, contracts and concessions, customs regimes, the public activities and investment made in support of the agricultural, industrial and transport sectors, the public supply of goods and services in the education and health sectors, the problems occurring in the administration of the colonies and their respective solutions: these are just some of the examples of matters that were brought into and out of parliament, being debated by an enlightened public opinion and testifying to the fervor and enthusiasm of a country bent on solving its short-term problems, as well as determined to define or mark out the possible future directions for its development.

Such paths also led into areas where the vicissitudes of the economic cycle were discussed, along with the causes and consequences of financial crises, the pros and cons of a greater openness to the outside world, the poverty and misery to which less-favored social groups were condemned, the rebellions caused by people's dissatisfaction over taxes, or even the popular discontent that rapidly spread and appeared to condemn the impact of premeditated policies to failure.

The parliamentary debates about these different subjects were fairly intense throughout the period under analysis. Sometimes, the content of the debates reveals some superficiality and lightness in the treatment of matters that one might have thought would have merited greater attention or concern on the part of politicians. On other occasions, however, they are surprising because of the visionary zeal that transcended the actual episodes serving as the motivation or pretext for debate. As a whole, there is, however, no doubt about the important role played by the parliamentary structure in institutionalizing the discussion of themes relating to economic and financial policy in Portugal, during the period of the constitutional monarchy.

In the following sections of this paper, an overall analysis will be made of the contents of the debates, bearing in mind the thematic categories covered, the most relevant subjects discussed under each category, the main references of authority to be found in the debates and the most frequent speechmakers. For each of these levels of approach, an attempt will be made to highlight the most significant characteristics of each decade in the period under consideration.

This project both complements and enriches other partial or thematic studies of the Portuguese case that, in one way or another, take the debates and work of parliament as their central area of reflection.² It further adds to studies undertaken for other countries and historical periods,³ allowing for a better assessment of the requirements and impact of the legislative measures and decisions about economic policy that were prepared in parliamentary sessions. The conclusions and results of this project also make it possible to open up new avenues for approaching parliamentary debates as a privileged source for the study of economic and financial matters.

2. Distribution of debates by thematic categories

Table 1 summarises the distribution of the 5355 debates on economic and financial matters, recorded throughout the period under study, according to the thematic categories resulting from our joining together of the various subjects discussed in parliament. An analysis

² See, in particular, Almodovar and Cardoso 2005, Cardoso 1991, Pereira 1988, 1991, Pinheiro 1991, Silbert 1968 and Valério 2001.

³ See, in particular, Augello and Guidi 2002, 2003 and 2005, Fetter 1975, 1980, Gambles 1999, Gordon 1976, Grampp 1987, Green 1997, Harris 1997 and Schonhardt-Bailey 2006.

of this table shows that the most frequently discussed subjects were matters relating to the budget, fiscal policy, public works, public expenditure and customs policy. Aggregation of 3 of the first 4 themes (budget, taxes and public expenditure) shows that more than a third of the debates were centered on matters relating to public finance and the financial structure of the State.⁴

	Total	Percentage
State budget and accounts	766	14.3044
Taxation and fiscal policy	646	12.0635
Public works, transport and communications	549	10.2521
Public expenditure and social policies	539	10.0656
Foreign trade and customs policy	486	9.0756
Political and legal framework	435	8.1232
Contracts, concessions and monopolies	327	6.1064
Currency and financial institutions and banks	269	5.0233
Trade and the internal market	263	4.9113
Internal public debt	239	4.4631
Property regime	234	4.3697
External public debt	192	3.5854
Colonial administration and policy	170	3.1746
State education	135	2.5210
Labor and employment	105	1.9608
Total	5355	

Table 1. Distribution of parliamentary debates by themes

Such a fact is not surprising, given that matters relating to budgetary policy and its implications – from the point of view of both income and expenditure – were necessarily a priority of a State committed to the pursuit of developmentalist policies that called for a continuous increase in public expenditure and therefore resulted in the permanent need to increase its sources of financing. It should further be added that the progressive dismantling of the fiscal system of the Portuguese society from the *ancien régime*, namely its ecclesiastical and feudal tax systems, gave some room for manoeuvre and perspicacity in this redefinition of the whole financial structure of the State.

An analysis of **Table 2** allows us to conclude that the themes relating to public finance were particularly important after the beginning of the Regeneration in the 1850s, and that they continued to be so over the next few decades. The hegemony of the debates taking place on the budget demonstrates how this matter was the central subject in the discussion of economic and financial themes, taking up a large part of the work that was done in the legislative sessions. Only in the *vintista* and *cabralista* periods was the predominance of the theme of the State

⁴ For the importance of these subjects in Portuguese parliamentary debates and in the organic structure of parliament, see the studies compiled in Valério 2006a and 2006b.

budget and accounts less notable, due to the lack of stability at these times in the presentation of public accounts, a situation that was only achieved during the Regeneration.

	<i>No. of debates</i>	<i>1821 -- 1910</i>	<i>1821 -- 1854</i>	<i>1855 -- 1850</i>	<i>1851 -- 1860</i>	<i>1861 -- 1870</i>	<i>1871 -- 1880</i>	<i>1881 -- 1890</i>	<i>1891 -- 1900</i>	<i>1901 -- 1910</i>
State budget and accounts	766	14,30	0,30	9,77	15,75	27,60	20,58	12,55	19,30	20,37
Taxation and fiscal policy	646	12,06	7,92	13,79	7,13	16,82	22,13	10,74	12,57	6,23
Public works, transport and communications	549	10,25	1,52	4,80	15,37	12,74	16,30	15,94	12,20	7,34
Public expenditure and social policies	539	10,07	26,68	15,44	0,96	4,33	5,15	5,19	5,10	11,38
Foreign trade and customs policy	486	9,08	12,38	13,96	5,63	1,77	3,77	11,35	7,83	7,52
Political and legal framework	435	8,12	8,53	8,02	14,74	6,00	7,03	8,45	4,92	5,50
Contracts, concessions and monopolies	327	6,10	7,77	2,27	7,07	4,57	2,40	10,33	7,10	8,99
Currency and financial institutions and banks	269	5,02	3,04	5,50	8,84	3,36	7,03	2,70	4,55	5,32
Trade and the internal market	263	4,91	6,86	3,14	3,05	1,20	3,60	8,12	4,55	8,44
Internal public debt	239	4,46	9,76	4,54	5,71	4,09	2,40	2,09	2,00	5,14
Property regime	234	4,37	6,71	9,07	6,43	10,09	-	0,12	0,55	-
External public debt	192	3,59	-	2,70	9,19	5,04	0,86	1,72	7,83	3,67
Colonial administration and policy	170	3,17	4,57	3,31	0,32	1,20	4,80	1,97	5,28	4,04
State education	135	2,52	3,04	2,09	0,32	0,24	3,08	5,53	4,01	2,94
Labor and employment	105	1,96	2,89	1,49	0,16	-	1,02	4,05	2,18	3,12
Total	5355									

Table 2. Distribution of themes throughout the period 1821-1910

The high frequency of debates on taxation also reveals some instability in the fiscal system, which was subject to various reforms and counter-reforms within relatively short periods. The most important of these reforms occurred in 1860 when the various pre-existing taxes were merged together. However, before a decade had elapsed, these same taxes were separated once again. This happened, for example, with the personal property tax and the road tax. Another

important moment in these debates also had to do with the discussion of direct taxation, with the introduction in 1880 of an income tax similar to the one that existed at that time in England. This was a fairly controversial reform, which, perhaps for this very reason, lasted only a short while. Two years after its approval, a new debate on this same theme drastically reduced the scope of this tax.

Tables 1 and 2 also show a high number of debates on the theme of public works, transport and communications. The attention given to these subjects is particularly evident from the 1850s onwards and arises from the very nature of the developmentalist policy of the Regeneration, which involved expensive and prolonged programs of investment in infrastructures and necessarily called for continued parliamentary debate. Initially, this strategy even generated significant consensus between the different parliamentary forces. The most intense phase of debate on these matters was to be found in the 1880s, when the perverse effects of this model of development became clear: i.e. when the return that had been expected on the investment made finally proved to be insufficient to allow for control of the public debt accumulated in the meantime with the financing of these same investments and when, as a consequence, the Portuguese state began to draw closer to a situation of bankruptcy, which eventually befell the country in 1891.

As far as the theme of foreign trade and customs policy is concerned (fifth in the order of importance of debates), it should be noted that the most productive period was at the end of the first half of the century. It was then that important discussions took place about the direction being followed in foreign policy, the pros and cons of protectionist and free-trade options and the implementation of such policies through the approval of customs tariffs. It was also in the 1880s that an increase was again to be noted in the discussions taking place about foreign policy matters, most notably about the successive adjustments that were made to customs duties, culminating in the approval of a new customs tariff in 1892.

The relative importance of debates on the political and legal framework, as well as on contracts and concessions operated under a monopoly system, shows that the members of parliament had a clear understanding of the dual requirements of discussing matters of an economic and financial nature: on the one hand, economics and finance were an integral part of a much vaster edifice containing all the functions and forms of State performance; on the other hand, the themes of public interest in economic and financial matters were largely dictated and aroused by the need to solve the individual problems and interests that were making their voices heard in the legislature.

3. Subjects dominating parliamentary debates

Table 2 immediately shows that the period between 1821 and 1834 was predominantly marked by debates about public expenditure and customs policies. The high number of debates about expenditure is due, above all, to discussions about the payment of civil servants and the maintenance of the military apparatus (in the most relevant matters, this trend is represented by the frequent discussions about pensions and pecuniary benefits, essentially for members of the military). This predominance can be noted in *Table 3*, which, like the following tables, shows the main subject-themes touched on in each of the significant sub-periods.

	No. of debates
Civil servants (pay)	22
Pensions and pecuniary benefits	20
Reform and regulation of charters	20
Reform of the <i>Companhia Agricultura e Vinhos Alto Douro</i>	15
Amortization of the public debt	12
Political/commercial relations with Brazil	12
Regulation of religious corporations	11
<i>Companhia das Vinhas do Alto Douro</i>	10

Table 3. Most discussed subjects in the period 1821-1834

As far as the question of foreign trade and customs policy is concerned, the most notable issues were the customs reorganization of the country after the liberalization of Brazilian trade and, subsequently, after the political independence of Brazil (12 debates on Portuguese-Brazilian relations), as well as problems related to the reform of the Douro wine trade. It is not therefore surprising to find that the most frequently used keywords are: public treasury, public expenditure, salaries and pay, agriculture and civil servants.

In the period after the civil war and until 1850, a clear primacy can be noted in the debates on public expenditure, as well as those on taxation and fiscal policy. The importance of the themes covered under the category of public expenditure continues to be connected to the maintenance of the military apparatus and the re-establishment of order, the problems arising from war indemnities and the distribution of pensions. The importance of fiscal policy is, above all, linked to the need for governments after the civil war to consider the increase in State revenue as their priority aim. In this way, amongst the main subjects of debates, we find the liberalization of land ownership, the reform and regulation of charters, authorization for the collection of public revenue, the foundation of the Board of Public Credit and the sale of national assets.

In this and other periods, one should note the importance of debates held in response to the Crown's speech, which represented an opportunity to discuss different matters of economic and financial policy, a chance to review the subjects that had most influenced public opinion. Consequently, besides prolonging reflection on themes that were considered essential each year, they also demonstrated the importance of the parliamentary institution as a space of power with the capacity to set the political agenda.

	No. of debates
Reform and regulation of charters	69
Response to the Crown's speech	49
State budget	47
Authorization for the collection of public revenue	28
Pensions and pecuniary benefits	26
Board of Public Credit	22
Sale of national assets	21

Table 4. Most discussed subjects in the period 1835-1850

For the period from 1851 to 1860, which marked the beginning of the period of the Regeneration, the occurrence of debates was closely linked to the discussion of new projects for public works, transport and communications, with there also being a high number of debates on public accounts and budgetary policy. The Regeneration represented a period of stabilization in government terms that proved to be essential for the pursuit of a policy of investment in infrastructures designed to provide the basis for a growth in public and private wealth. To achieve their aim of *material improvements*, governments resorted to credit and an increase in taxation.

The financing of this development program was fairly widely discussed in parliament and there was a clear increase in the number of debates held on the external public debt (agreements with foreign creditors and loans for public works), beginning in the 1850s, as well as on fiscal matters throughout the 1860s and 1870s. The debate on the State budget became a central feature in financial discussions, since the period of political stability brought about by the Regeneration was accompanied by the stabilization of the process for the presentation of the public accounts. Also notable was the increase in the number of debates on monetary questions throughout this decade, on the adoption of the gold standard and on the relationship between the Bank of Portugal and the State.

	No. of debates
State budget	90
Agreements with foreign creditors and loans for public works	50
Construction of the railway (contract)	47
Response to the Crown's speech	44
Parliamentary appreciation of the actions of the dictatorship	21
Free importation of cereals	20
Award of the tobacco contract	18

Table 5. Most discussed subjects in the period 1851-1860

The period between 1861 and 1880 was dominated by budgetary questions, as well as by taxation and fiscal policy. This cycle of the Regeneration placed an emphasis on the increase in taxes and on the fiscal reforms that would make it possible to finance the policy of building infrastructures, as well as to cover public loans in particular. In the 1860s, the relative importance should be underlined of debates on the property regime (disentailment of ecclesiastical property), which followed the same spirit of looking for income to sustain and cover the deficit created by the investment policy.

	No. of debates
State budget	96
Response to the Crown's speech	29
Public loans	19
Disentailment of ecclesiastical property	17
General tax on consumption (establishment)	16
Construction of the railway (contract)	16

Table 6. Most discussed subjects in the period 1861-1870

	No. of debates
State budget	98
Construction of the Beiras railway	19
Royal water tax	19
Colonial administration	18
Reformulation of personal property tax	18
Response to the Crown's speech	16

Table 7. Most discussed subjects in the period 1871-1880

During the period between 1881 and 1890, an analysis based on the thematic categories and subjects that were most frequently discussed shows that there was relative equality in their frequency of occurrence, although more debates took place on public works, transport and communications. This greater importance given to the theme of public works is a reflection of the debates in which members of parliament discussed shipping contracts, road building, the construction of the stretch of railway between Barca d'Alva and Salamanca or the improvements of the port of Lisbon. Another fact that can be highlighted from the period in question is the central place occupied by the discussions on the budget, due in particular to the change in the methodology used for the discussion and presentation of the public accounts for parliamentary control under the form of a rectified budget.

As far as the period from 1891 to 1900 is concerned, the most easily recognized feature is the predominance of the customary thematic categories: budget and public accounts and taxation and fiscal policy. These years were particularly marked by the situation of a financial crisis, naturally leading to greater discussion in parliament of themes relating to budgetary policy and an increase in revenue, both through taxation (stamp duty) and customs duties (reform of the customs tariffs). Although this is not perfectly visible through an analysis of categories, it is important to mention matters relating to the public debt, not only because of the great frequency with which debates occurred about the conversion of the external debt into an internal debt, but also because of the fact that most debates on the State budget and the response to the Crown's speech were filled with references to matters of this nature.

	No. of debates
State budget	46
Rectified budget	37
Response to the Crown's speech	29
Indemnity bill	25
Payment of debt to tobacco contractors	20
Shipping contracts	18
Nationalization of the manufacture of tobacco	17

Table 8. Most discussed subjects in the period 1881-1890

	No. of debates
State budget	86
Reform of customs tariffs	20
Stamp duty	18
Response to the Crown's speech	17
Conversion of the external debt into an internal debt	17

Table 9. Most discussed subjects in the period 1891-1900

At the end of the period under study, i.e. between 1901 and 5 October 1910, the predominance of budgetary matters remained the norm. One should, however, point out the significant increase in the number of debates on public expenditure and social policies. The importance of these debates is due to the greater participation of the Republican members of parliament in the discussions taking place on expenditure on the royal family and the control of such amounts. This decade was also marked by an increase in the number of parliamentary debates on trade and the internal market. The high percentage of records of these debates is essentially due to the discussion of the measures taken to overcome the crisis affecting the wine growers in the Douro region.

	No. of debates
State budget	95
Steps taken to combat the wine growers' crisis in the Douro region	31
Public loans	21
Appropriations and expenditure with the Crown	20
Response to the Crown's speech	17

Table 10. Most discussed subjects in the period 1901-1910

4. Authors referred to and figures of authority

The study of parliamentary debates not only allows us to accompany the pace of legislative activities or to better understand the parliament's role of supervising and controlling the government, or just purely and simply to get to know more about the themes and problems on which the members of parliament focused their main attention at each phase of the constitutional monarchy. Besides all this, it also helps us to know more about the way in which political decision-making was legitimized with regard to matters directly related to the functioning of the economic and financial system.

For this reason, it is essential to understand the parliamentary performance of both the members of the chamber and those in government who enjoyed greater doctrinal and theoretical preparation for discussing the matters on the agenda. Just as, generally speaking, it is important to understand the degree of permeability of the parliament to messages originating from the academic fields on which their speeches were grounded, namely in the fields of political economy and public finance.

The discourse of economists and the language of political economy are undeniably present in the minutes of parliamentary meetings.⁵ However, the references made to economists in debates specifically about economic and financial matters were much fewer in number than the references made to those who were directly responsible for the implementation of economic policy, both in Portugal and abroad, whose example would seem, in the view of the members of parliament, to have greater legitimizing power than that of any theoretical or doctrinaire economist. This even happened in cases in which those responsible had long ceased to be in office, as is manifestly the case with the Marquis of Pombal, the author who was most frequently referred to in parliament throughout the period between 1821 and 1910.

Table 11 records the twenty authors most frequently referred to in the Portuguese parliament for the period as a whole, and for each of the decades considered one by one. In the first column, the table shows the total number of parliamentary debates on matters relating to economics and finance, in which the authors identified are either referred to or quoted. It should be noted that, besides the names of important economists, politicians and statesmen, the database also includes a record of the names of members of parliament or ministers whenever these were mentioned in debates as important authors of reference in the discussion of themes

⁵ This theme has earned the attention of the members of the research team associated with this project. Some of the provisional results of this type of approach can be found in Bastien and Cardoso 2006 and Brandão 2006.

in which they had played a crucial role (examples of this situation in the table are provided by the names of Mouzinho da Silveira and Passos Manuel).

Table 11. Authors most frequently mentioned in Parliamentary Debates

	No. of debates	1821 -- 1834	1835 -- 1850	1851 -- 1860	1861 -- 1870	1871 -- 1880	1881 -- 1890	1891 -- 1900	1901 -- 1910
<i>Marquis of Pombal</i>	131	34	33	27	5	10	15	3	4
<i>Robert Peel</i>	101	--	24	38	8	16	7	2	6
<i>Napoleon</i>	64	17	12	15	12	4	2	1	1
<i>Thiers</i>	62	--	8	10	5	22	9	5	3
<i>Adam Smith</i>	57	17	12	10	6	7	1	--	4
<i>J.-B. Say</i>	56	22	16	4	4	5	1	3	1
<i>Bentham</i>	48	21	17	7	--	1	2	--	--
<i>Mouzinho Silveira</i>	45	--	4	15	7	4	11	2	2
<i>Gladstone</i>	43	--	--	4	6	13	12	2	5
<i>Pitt</i>	43	6	13	10	8	2	2	3	--
<i>Michel Chevalier</i>	41	--	5	23	2	8	3	--	--
<i>Dom Manuel</i>	37	31	5	1	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Colbert</i>	36	7	11	7	1	--	--	--	--
<i>Guizot</i>	34	--	7	4	9	6	5	2	1
<i>Dom José</i>	34	25	8	1	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Bismarck</i>	32	--	--	--	--	6	17	3	6
<i>John Stuart Mill</i>	32	--	--	2	7	12	7	1	3
<i>Montesquieu</i>	31	7	8	4	5	5	2	--	--
<i>Bastiat</i>	30	--	2	8	6	10	4	--	--
<i>Passos Manuel</i>	28	--	--	--	4	10	12	--	2

Table 12 makes it possible to form an overall view about the use made of the main economists quoted, bearing in mind the thematic categories of the debates in which their works or teachings were evoked. Because these were political debates about economic and financial themes, it is obvious that one cannot expect the mention of economists in parliament to represent a fully grounded recognition of their worth or a detailed assessment of the importance of their works. Members of parliament did not have either the time or the interest – not to mention other attributes that they certainly did not possess – to discourse at length about the authors that they quoted, since they rarely referred correctly to the work that they

were talking about, and even more rarely showed any profound knowledge about these authors through the reproduction or discussion of substantive theoretical or doctrinaire arguments that they had gathered from somewhere.

In this way, the references to economists and political economy as a science that helped the legislature to correctly conduct the affairs of State functioned, above all, as a kind of political guarantee that protected the speakers by providing them with a safety net.

	A. Smith	Say	Bentham	Chevalier	Stuart Mill	Bastiat
Taxation and fiscal policy	16	8	7	4	13	7
Public works, transport and communications	1	-	-	9	3	2
Political and legal framework	4	3	10	6	5	4
Contracts, concessions and monopolies	2	1	4	5	1	3
Foreign trade and customs policy	13	17	5	3	2	6
Currency and banking and financial institutions	6	6	-	14	2	3
Public expenditure and social policies	4	2	11	-	1	-
Trade and the internal market	2	2	3	-	-	-
External public debt	-	-	1	-	-	-
Internal public debt	2	1	-	-	-	1
Budget and state accounts	1	4	-	-	3	4
Colonial administration and policy	5	7	2	-	2	-
State education	1	-	1	1	1	2
Property regime	5	3	10	2	2	1
Labor and employment	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	57	56	48	41	32	30

Table 12. Debates with references to economists by thematic categories

5. Main parliamentary speakers

The speeches made by members of parliament and representatives of the government are the raw material inventoried, analyzed and recorded in this database of parliamentary debates on economic and financial themes.

Regardless of the importance of the subject-matters that gave rise to debate and confrontation, the essential concern here is to capture the arguments put forward by the main speakers polarizing parliamentary discussions. In their capacity as members of parliament or ministers with government responsibilities and therefore under an obligation to account for and explain their actions, the speakers are the active presence that frequently dictates the interest and public impact of the debate itself and, in this way, its importance for understanding the problems at issue and helping in the search for a solution.

The personality and personal attributes of the speakers are elements that determine the intensity with which debates develop, with levels of emotion and vehemence that come across quite clearly as one reads the parliamentary gazettes. For this reason, it is undoubtedly important to question and analyze this database with a view to studying the speakers in parliamentary debates, whose presence proved to be fundamental not only for the way in which these same debates were conducted, but also for their eventual outcome.

Some speakers clearly displayed greater parliamentary rhetorical talents than others. The desire, capacity and predisposition to encourage the parliamentary audience to adopt certain stances or take particular decisions are characteristics that distinguish speakers from one another and differentiate between their missions. In all parliamentary sessions, one can clearly see the leadership qualities naturally displayed by some members of parliament, their voices standing out amidst both the peacefulness and the heatedness of the disputes taking place.⁶

Table 13 shows the most important speakers for the whole of the period under analysis, listing them

⁶ It is now possible to enjoy detailed knowledge of the activity of Portuguese parliamentarians by consulting their collected biographies in Castro 2002 and Mónica 2004.

	Total Debates
ÁVILA, António José de	540
MELO, António Maria de Fontes Pereira de	471
CARVALHO, Mariano Cirilo de	457
MAGALHÃES, José Estêvão Coelho de	394
CARNEIRO, Manuel Borges	361
SILVA, Carlos Bento da	340
PINTO, Agostinho Albano da Silveira	318
MIRANDA, Manuel Gonçalves de	285
FRANCO, Francisco Soares	276
NOGUEIRA, António Cabral de Sá	273

Table 13. Main speakers (1821-1910)

according to the number of debates in which they took part. *Tables 14 to 21* show the most frequent speakers for each of the decades.

FRANCO, Francisco Soares	276
MIRANDA, Manuel Gonçalves de	241
BORGES, José Ferreira	212
CASTELO BRANCO, João Maria Soares	196
QUEIRÓS, José Peixoto de Sarmento	188
FREIRE, Agostinho José	186
TOMÁS, Manuel Fernandes	186
SARMENTO, Alexandre Tomás de Morais	185
MACHADO, Manuel de Serpa	166

Table 14. Main speakers (1821-1834)

PINTO, Agostinho Albano da Silveira	311
ÁVILA, António José de	262
MAGALHÃES, José Estêvão Coelho de	227
CAMPOS, José Alexandre de	217
MAGALHÃES, Rodrigo da Fonseca	213
GRANDE, José Maria	200
NOGUEIRA, António Cabral de Sá	198
SILVA, Augusto Xavier da	187
MAGALHÃES, Joaquim António de	169
CASTRO, José Joaquim Gomes de (1st Count of Castro)	168

Table 15. Main speakers (1835-1850)

ÁVILA, António José de	235
MELO, António Maria de Fontes Pereira de	227
SILVA, Carlos Bento da	160
MAGALHÃES, José Estêvão Coelho de	153
RIBEIRO, José Maria do Casal	131
ÁVILA, Joaquim Tomás Lobo de (1st Count of Valbom)	92
SOTTO MAIOR, António da Cunha Pereira	88
RIBEIRO, José Silvestre	80
VIEIRA, Rodrigo Nogueira Soares	74
CALDEIRA, António Correia	63

Table 16. Main speakers (1851-1860)

SILVA, Carlos Bento da	85
MELO, António Maria de Fontes Pereira de	76
ÁVILA, Joaquim Tomás Lobo de (1st Count of Valbom)	66
NOGUEIRA, António Cabral de Sá	53
SILVA, João António dos Santos e	41
PIMENTEL, António de Serpa	37
ALMEIDA, José de Morais Pinto de	36
CORTE REAL, José Luciano de Castro Pereira	35
ALMEIDA, José de Morais Pinto de	34
RIBEIRO, José Maria do Casal	32

Table 17. Main speakers (1861-1870)

CARVALHO, Mariano Cirilo de	158
CUNHA, António José Barros e	137
CORTE REAL, José Luciano de Castro Pereira	104
FREITAS, José Joaquim Rodrigues de	101
PIMENTEL, António de Serpa	90
ARROBAS, António Maria Barreiros	75
MELO, António Augusto Ferreira de (Viscount Moreira Rei)	68
MACHADO, Adriano de Abreu Cardoso	67
FERREIRA, Tomás António Ribeiro	65
MELO, António Maria de Fontes Pereira de	57

Table 18. Main speakers (1871-1880)

CARVALHO, Mariano Cirilo de	195
RIBEIRO, Ernesto Rodolfo Hintze	111
CORTE REAL, José Luciano de Castro Pereira	105
NAVARRO, Emídio Júlio	99
CARVALHO, António Maria de	90
CARRILHO, António Maria Pereira	78
ARROIO, João Marcelino	71
FERREIRA, José Dias	69
SOUSA, D. José de Saldanha de Oliveira e	68
CASTELO BRANCO, João Pereira Franco Pinto	67

Table 19. Main speakers (1881-1890)

CARVALHO, Mariano Cirilo de	95
CASTELO BRANCO, João Pereira Franco Pinto	72
SOUSA, José Adolfo de Melo e	70
ARROIO, João Marcelino	59
MONTEIRO, Luciano Afonso da Silva	55
SOUSA, António Teixeira de	47
GARCIA, Frederico Ressano	42
BURNAY, Henrique (Count of Burnay)	41
FERREIRA, José Dias	40
BRITO, Elvino José de Sousa e	38

Table 20. Main speakers (1891-1900)

SOUSA, António Teixeira de	58
ESPREGUEIRA, Manuel Afonso	55
NOGUEIRA, António Rodrigues	49
SANTOS, João Pinto dos	47
CAMACHO, Manuel Brito	46
CENTENO, António	42
LIMA, José Maria Pereira de	40
RIBEIRO, Ernesto Rodolfo Hintze	39
COSTA, Afonso Augusto da	35
MOREIRA Jr., Manuel António	35

Table 21. Main speakers (1901-1910)

6. Conclusion

The results presented here are but a small sample of the wide range of different research studies that can be undertaken based on the information contained in the database constructed under the scope of the research project entitled *Economic and financial debates in the Portuguese Parliament (1821-1910)*.

This presentation has also sought to provide some suggestions of possible avenues to be followed in the overall interpretation of the debates recorded. An analysis was made of the fields of information that best served to characterize, in a summarized form, the nature, contents and protagonists of the economic and financial subjects under discussion throughout the different legislatures formed in the course of the constitutional monarchy.

The identification of the date and number of the parliamentary gazette in which each debate is transcribed can be obtained via the research facilities accessible online at the following address:

<http://cisep.iseg.utl.pt/dpef/>

Once you have identified the debates that correspond to the research undertaken, these can also be consulted and read (preferably in a digital format) at the address provided by the Portuguese parliament (Assembleia da República) at:

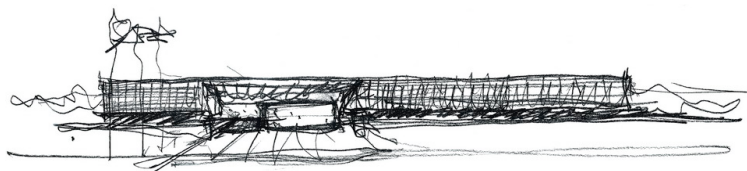
<http://debates.parlamento.pt/monarquia.asp>

It is hoped that, in the future, it will be possible to make a more direct and functional link between these two addresses. In any case, the research facilities that have already been obtained make it possible to adopt an optimistic stance about the possibility of renewing Portuguese historiography in those fields of study where the study of parliamentary debates is regarded as indispensable or advisable.

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***Brasiliانا* USP**

BRASILIANA USP PROJECT

Concept and overall direction

István Jancso

Project commission

Director

István Jancso, Professor, Institute for Brazilian Studies

Ana Lúcia Duarte Lanna, Director of the Institute for Brazilian Studies

Pedro Puntoni, Director of the Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin

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University of São Paulo Development Foundation (Fundação de Apoio à Universidade de São Paulo)

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Brazilian Ministry of Culture

Lampadia Foundation

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1. The project

THE BRASILIANA USP is a project of the Dean's Office of the University of São Paulo that is to be conceived and carried out through two institutions: the Institute for Brazilian Studies (IEB) and the Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita e José Mindlin (BBM). The partnership brings together two highly mature institutions with decades of collective experience: the IEB, comprising four and a half decades of dedication to research and teaching while, at the same time, maintaining a documentary and bibliographic collection that is unique within the Brazilian university system; and the BBM, a collection built up over the course of nearly seventy years, which prior to its being donated to the University was considered in qualitative terms the most valuable private book collection in Brazil.

With this Project, the University will make available for research and instructional purposes the world's largest collection of Brazilian materials managed by a university, access to which will be provided via the Internet (World Wide Web). However, the primary purpose of the BRASILIANA USP Project will always be to carry out the University's institutional goals – graduate and postgraduate education research, and the communication of these results – within the strategic sphere of the nation.

The BRASILIANA USP project will be housed in a building at the heart of the São Paulo campus, between the Dean's Office and the Departments of Philosophy, Letters, and the Human Sciences. The 20,000 square meter structure, which is currently under construction, was designed according to the most rigorous professional standards for a building of its kind by the architectural firms of Eduardo de Almeida and Rodrigo Mindlin Loeb, with the assistance of the School of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo (FAU). This team modeled its project after the most esteemed North American libraries, including the Beinecke Library of Yale University, the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress, as well as the National Library of France. In addition to maintaining the collections of its constituent libraries, guaranteeing optimal conditions for its users, and carrying out its regular activities of research, instruction, and public outreach, the new building will house the project to construct a Digital Library of Brasiliana.

2. The brasiliana of the University of São Paulo

The University of São Paulo is the safe-keeper of one of the largest collections of Brasiliana in Brazil. Despite a highly diversified set of holdings that includes manuscripts and works of art, pride of place is reserved for its collection of books. Through the donation of Guita and José Mindlin's collection, the Brasiliana of the University has acquired a unique shape and depth, and for this very reason has taken on a significant responsibility to the Brazilian nation as a whole. By necessity, access to such a collection should be expanded and democratized. In order to accomplish this strategic goal, a digital

library will be created that will serve principally as a reference library, in addition to being a functional and useful instrument for instruction, study, and research on Brazilian themes and topics.

The BRASILIANA USP project emerges out of a strategic agreement between two institutions, the IEB and the BBM, whose purpose is to preserve and protect documents and bibliographic material for research on Brazilian themes. The project's larger goal, however, is to involve the entire university community and, if it is successful, to offer a model for expanding a Brazilian documentary and bibliographical collection via the Internet.

2.1. Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita e José Mindlin (Guita and José Mindlin Library of Brasiliana)

The “Biblioteca Brasiliana Guita e José Mindlin” (BBM) is a unit of the Associate Dean's Office of Culture and Public Outreach of the University of São Paulo. It was created in January of 2005 to house and unify the repository of Brasiliana assembled over the course of eighty years by the collector and bibliophile José Mindlin, who, in conjunction with his spouse Guita and their children, donated the collection to the University of São Paulo in a gesture of extraordinary generosity toward the Brazilian nation. With its thematically suggestive selection of books and manuscripts, the BBM Brasiliana is considered the most important collection of its kind amassed by a single individual. It holds nearly 15,000 titles comprising 40,000 volumes: works of Brazilian (and Portuguese) literature, travel narratives, historical and literary manuscripts (including originals and typographical proofs), periodicals, scientific and instructional texts, iconography (including plates and illustrated albums) and artistic books (engravings). A portion of the donated collection belonged to the renowned bibliophile Rubens Borba de Moraes, whose library was maintained by Guita and José Mindlin since the former's death. Among the countless treasures, certain are particularly noteworthy: Von Martius's *Flora Brasiliensis* (40 volumes), together with a complete set of the naturalist's published works; one of the most complete collections of works by travelers and visitors to Brazil, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries; the principal works from the Dutch period, with editions of Barlaeus and Montanus, as well as a nearly unique collection of Dutch pamphlets from the first half of the seventeenth century; first editions of several important literary figures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; rare manuscripts, including one of the few known copies of Gabriel Soares de Souza's “Notícia do Brasil” (1580), a unique copy of the manuscript of the *Relation de la Mission des indiens Kariris du Brésil*, written by father Bernard de Nantes in 1712; the first editions issued from the royal printing press in Brazil at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and collections of (extremely rare) scientific journals from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In short, Guita and José Mindlin's library of Brasiliana is a unique collection: it has been awarded numerous prizes and is admired and recognized throughout Brazil and the world as the result of a life of

dedication, of a passion for the written word, and a love for Brazilian culture in all of its manifestations.

2.2. O Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (Institute for Brazilian Studies)

The Institute for Brazilian Studies was created in 1962 through the initiative of historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. It is a unit that provides research space for scholars from diverse fields and, in addition to allowing for the organization and examination of primary sources that comprise its collection, brings together documentation that supports research projects related to the history and culture of Brazil.

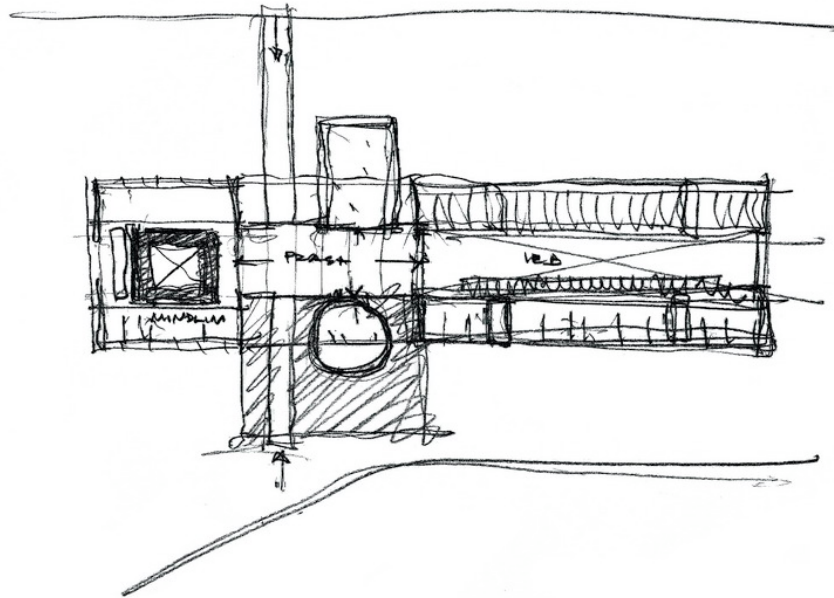
The repository itself contains an important collection of personal archives of several Brazilian artists and intellectuals, distributed throughout the Institute's Archive, Library, and Visual Arts Collection. The unique character of the collection as a whole rests on its diverse array of materials: original manuscripts by individuals who have made signal contributions to Brazilian culture, rare books, works of art, and other more recent acquisitions made through donations or purchases. The Library contains more than 140,000 volumes (including special collections, books, and periodicals). The Archive holds nearly 400,000 items, among which are included manuscripts, letters, photographs, sheet music, sketches, and other documents produced by such important Brazilian intellectuals as Mario de Andrade, Anita Malfati, Camargo Guarnieri, Caio Prado Júnior, Fernando de Azevedo, Graciliano Ramos, Guimarães Rosa, Ernani Silva Bruno, José Honório Rodrigues, Milton Santos, Pierre Monbeig, Osman Lins, the Baron of Itararé, et al. The Visual Arts Collection comprises some 3,000 objects which come primarily from the extraordinary collection of Mario de Andrade.

Without question, this collection represents the largest repository of Brasiliana of the University of São Paulo and is recognized as among the most important in Brazil. Because of the Institute's interface with the scholarly community, its daily activities make it a laboratory for new methods and new techniques of conservation and cataloguing. For this reason, the Institute for Brazilian Studies serves a function not only as a center for research on subjects relating to Brazilian history and culture, but also as a site of innovation for the latest applied information technologies.

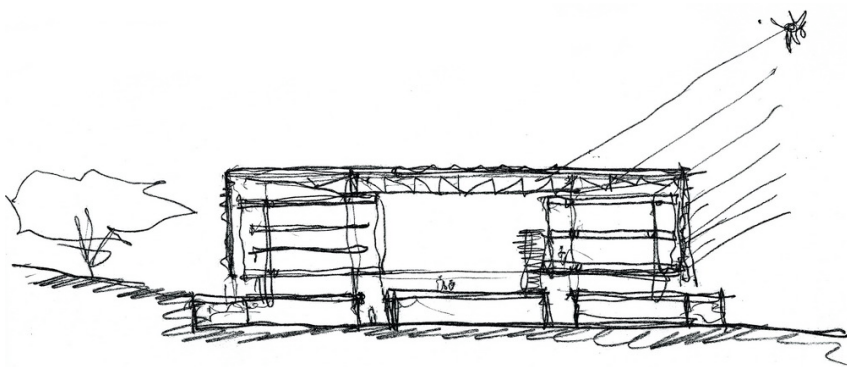
In the last several years, the IEB has undergone an intense process of reorganization and renovation. The Institute has hired new professionals, including curators as well as technicians, developed projects bringing together curators and researchers from other centers at the University, and increased its schedule of courses, seminars, and cultural events for scholars and the broader public. As an educational center for training archivists and paleographers, the Institute is currently in the process of developing a graduate program *stricto sensu* in archival organization.

3. A new building

The BRASILIANA USP project will be housed in the heart of the USP campus, between the Dean's Office and the Departments of Philosophy, Letters, and Human Sciences.

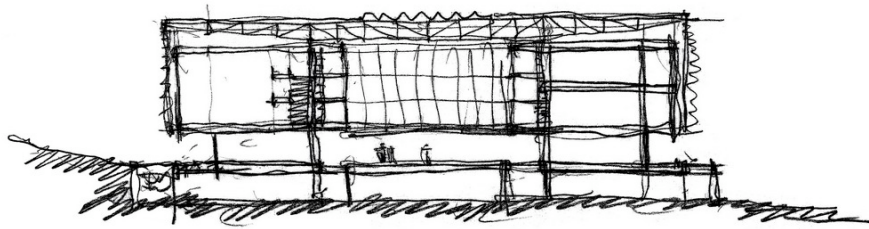


The 20,000 square meter building, currently under construction, was designed according to the most rigorous technical requirements by the architectural firms of Eduardo de Almeida and Rodrigo Mindlin Loeb, with the assistance of the School of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo (FAU). It is scheduled to open in 2009.



4. The digital library of Brasiliana

The University of São Paulo maintains a bibliographical and documentary collection related to Brazilian themes and topics that is unparalleled both in Brazil and in the rest of the world. The magnificent resources of the Biblioteca Brasileira Guita e José Mindlin and Institute for Brazilian Studies are important components of this collection. Because the University felt a responsibility to increase access to its collections, and was fortunate at the same time to have the technical and technological capabilities to carry out such a goal, the BRASILIANA USP project was conceived as a strategic imperative: a project to create the Digital Library of Brasiliana comprising a national network of public and private institutions that are willing to take part. Through this initiative, the University of São Paulo will provide unrestricted access to public collections of scholarly documentation and other information that it maintains.



The proposal to create a Digital Library of Brasiliana is based upon several distinct principles. A digital library should be organized based upon its intended use, including: scholarly research and investigation; formal and informal education; and the desire for knowledge and cultural formation on the part of members of society at large. Given this orientation, the library does not intend to be a collection of rare books, nor does it aim to represent itself as a privileged repository of cultural patrimony. Rather, moving away from a disposition that is proprietary in nature, the project intends to construct a reference library that will rapidly become an instrument for research and investigation. This digital library will serve as a virtual showcase for the magnificent collection of the University, beginning with the combined resources of the IEB and the BBM. Over time, the digital project may offer a model for technological management of a collection that can be used by other libraries, archives, and public and private institutions. As such, the Digital Library of Brasiliana can be seen as an instrument that would multiply its own impact in a variety of spheres: not only making access universal, but also democratizing the means to consolidate national memory and provide a broader and more inclusive perspective on Brazilian culture.

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David E. Bertão, *The Portuguese Shore Whalers of California, 1854-1904* (San Jose, Calif.: Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, 2006)

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The definitive role of the American whaling industry in the Portuguese settlement of the United States is not as well-known as it might be. Before the mills attracted Atlantic islanders to southeastern Massachusetts, and before Azoreans began to settle in the agricultural regions of California, it was the presence of Azoreans and Cape Verdeans on American whalers sailing out of New Bedford and other ports of New England that promoted Portuguese settlement there. Similarly it was the large Portuguese presence on American whalers that facilitated the arrival of these islanders in San Francisco during the heady days of the California Gold Rush.

With his book, *The Portuguese Shore Whalers of California, 1854-1904*, David Bertão has produced an exceptionally well researched and comprehensive study of nineteenth-century shore whaling in California. While the title implies a limitation solely to the Portuguese, such is not the case, for — while the vast majority of these whalers were indeed Portuguese — there is also a sprinkling of individuals of various nationalities, whose participation is discussed as well.

In the first paragraph of the book Bertão graphically describes the realities of such an occupation:

“California shore whaling in the nineteenth century was a brutal and frightening way to make a living. Its reliance on small boats and primitive guns put the shore whalers’ lives at risk every time they attempted a capture. It was aboriginal whaling, with doses of Yankee technology and Portuguese ingenuity thrown in.”

In truth, whether practiced from a ship in mid-ocean or based on shore, the technique of whaling in the nineteenth century was essentially similar — a small boat manned by half a dozen men, armed with harpoon and lance, etc., confronting a behemoth of 30, 40 or even 100 tons. Bertão is careful to differentiate this traditional technique from the so-called “modern” whaling, practiced later, in the twentieth century, with “steamers, harpoon cannons, and sophisticated shore factories,” an industry that continued sporadically in California until 1972, and one that, in its pelagic version exists today among the few countries that continue to hunt the leviathan.

The book is divided into three sections that deal, in order, with the background of shore whaling itself; with the California counties in which it was practiced; and, finally, with the men who practiced it. Part 1, “The Business of Shore Whaling,” begins with a background on American whaling and the Azorean connection. Throughout the book, the text is richly illustrated with graphic images in

both black & white and color; and reference notes, placed alongside the relevant text, are easily accessible but non-intrusive.

Part 1 covers in great detail virtually every aspect of shore whaling: setting up the business, choosing a location, obtaining and paying crew members, the equipment needed, species of whales, types of whale oil and its marketing. As San Francisco, by the 1880s, grew to be the major US whaling port, it must have been a relatively simple matter to lure experienced whalers from that port to the various shore stations, for California shore whaling was a business ancillary to the more important pelagic whaling industry.

Part 2 examines each of the counties in which shore whaling was practiced during this period, from Crescent City in the far north to San Diego Bay near the Mexican border. Especially in this section, Bertão's work is a tour-de-force of local history methodology. He has not only located obscure publications dealing with shore whaling but has culled local newspapers of the period and various county archival records to present a comprehensive picture of each county's whaling activity.

In some eighty pages of Part 3, Bertão, after digging deep into federal, state, and local records, fleshes out the identity of sixty-four of these intrepid mariners in rich detail.

The Portuguese Shore Whalers of California is a book that I highly recommend for its wealth of information. It is a work of interest to the casual reader, just as much as it will be in the future for the serious researcher. Congratulations to Portuguese Heritage Publications of California for another fine offering.

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Couto, Dejanirah, Bacqué-Grammont, Jean-Louis, and Taleghani, Mahmoud (eds.) (2006). *Atlas historique du golfe Persique (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*, Zoltán Biedermann (coord.). Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. ISBN 978-2-503-52284-5

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Aim and Contents

The work under discussion is the first volume of a historical atlas of the Persian Gulf and is the result of a joint editorial project of the Parisian *École Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, the University of Tehran and the Iranian Center of Documentation and Diplomatic History. It was edited by Dejanirah Couto, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Mahmoud Taleghani, and coordinated by Zoltán Biedermann. Patrick Gautier Dalché and Elio Brancaforte collaborated in the production of this volume. The editors of this trilingual publication (French, English and Persian) set themselves the task of tracing the evolution of the cartographic representations of the Persian Gulf between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century. For this purpose, they selected around a hundred western maps, both prints and manuscripts, some of which had never been published before. The presentation of these maps – which consists almost always of the reproduction of the full image of the maps side by side with the amplified image of the Gulf area depicted in them, even when they are just maps of this specific region – is organized according to the main national traditions that produced the most representative pieces of the whole during the period under consideration: the cartographic “schools” of Portugal, the Netherlands, France, Britain and Germany. Each of these traditions is dealt with in a separate chapter, introduced by an essay which sums up the general conditions of production, circulation and preservation of the maps in question. All the maps’ reproductions are accompanied by notes identifying them from a technical point of view and by a brief historical comment, which helps to retrace the relations between the several “schools” by giving indications of the charts’ genealogy. A list of the toponyms to be found in the amplified section of each of the maps in the atlas is also included.

Chapter I introduces the traditional geographical representations of the late medieval period, which formed the starting point of the new geography of the Renaissance and interfered for a long time in the construction of the world image that resulted from the great European discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Patrick Gautier Dalché deals with the subject in a contribution entitled “Knowledge and representation of the Persian Gulf from Antiquity to the Middle Ages” (pp. 43-45 – all page references relate to the English text), where he reviews how the Persian Gulf entered the geographical consciousness of the West from the moment of the expedition undertaken by Nearchus between the mouth of the Indus River and the Euphrates delta at the end of the fourth century BC. He also points out how this part of Asia gradually became less distinct in the mental and cartographic representations of the *oikoumene*, until the Mongol domination, the period of the Ilkhans and

accounts such as that of Marco Polo made it appear again in a clearer form. Despite the importance that the drawing of the *sinus Persicus* inherited from Nearchus continued to enjoy in the Western imaginary until the early modern period, in the thirteenth century it was possible to establish a relative differentiation vis-à-vis the two other geographic entities with which the Persian Gulf was more often confused – the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean as a whole. Furthermore, around the same time, the commercial dimension associated with the route linking Baghdad and India via Basra and Hormuz began to be emphasized. In order to illustrate this fact, P. Dalché refers to maps like the portolan chart of the Pizzigano brothers (1367), the *Catalan Atlas* attributed to Abraham Cresques (c. 1375) and the Venetian world map of Fra Mauro, which is the most ambitious known synthesis of cartographic knowledge about Asia produced before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean (1459). In addition to the corresponding sections of the *Catalan Atlas*, the editors illustrated this article with images from the 1478 Roman edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and from one of the known versions of Henricus Martellus Germanus' *mappa mundi* (c. 1489), all of them images that helped to perpetuate a drawing of the Gulf which would only be revised as a result of the successive surveys of the coasts of the area by the Portuguese during the first decades of the sixteenth century.

In Chapter II, D. Couto and Z. Biedermann introduce the Portuguese cartography of the Persian Gulf and its later echoes in sixteenth-century Europe (pp. 67-73). The text begins by confronting the main phases of the reconnaissance of the coasts between Hormuz and the Shatt al-Arab – which took place from 1507 onwards – with a concise review of the processes of gathering and synthesizing information that were practiced in the cartographers' workshops of Lisbon and Seville. The complex outline of the Persian Gulf, marked by the continuous coexistence of successive improvements in the hydrographic definition of the coasts with more elementary models, leads the authors to stress the non-linear character of the evolution of its representations and allows them to attempt to trace the genealogy of the main existing maps. The occasional recourse to the Ptolemaic drawing of the Persian Gulf, which reappeared in several maps produced during the sixteenth century in Italy and Germany – at a time when Portuguese cartography had already freed itself, for quite some considerable time, from that doubtful heritage – helps the authors to locate, in maps, the boundary separating the countries that first overcame ancient and medieval inaccurate geographic conceptions from those that only managed to do so later. On the other hand, a comment on the engraving of the Persian Gulf by Giacomo Gastaldi (1561) and its later insertion in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius (first printing 1570) serves the purpose of introducing the central subject of the different diffusion levels attained by manuscript and printed cartography in Europe, while, at the same time, affording a glimpse of the consequences that stemmed from this for the popularity of the several available models. 31 maps were selected to illustrate this chapter, most of them drawn in Portugal and based on information collected in the East, or, alternatively, drawn in other parts of Europe and based on previous Portuguese charts or resorting directly to Portuguese cartographers. It should be noted that only two of the maps of this series do not correspond to a planisphere or to a relatively wide-ranging regional chart: the folios representing the Persian Gulf belonging to the anonymous Portuguese Atlas kept in the National Maritime Museum of Greenwich ("Portulan 14", c. 1550-1560) and to the Atlas drawn possibly at Goa by Lázaro Luís in 1563.

In the following three articles of the book (Chapters III-V), Z. Biedermann presents a synthesis on the subject of the representations of the Persian Gulf in Dutch, French and English cartography from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. In the first of these articles, special attention is paid to the complex network of international contacts that made it possible for the geographic knowledge gathered by the Portuguese about Asia during the sixteenth century to be transmitted to the professionals who inaugurated the "golden age" of Dutch cartography at the end of that century. Some well-known connections are reviewed, such as the links between the manuscript production of the Portuguese Bartolomeu Lasso and Domingos Teixeira and the maps engraved by Jacob Florisz van Langren, Petrus Plancius, Cornelis Claesz and Jodocus Hondius, for instance, which were decisive in the composition of the most popular models of the Persian Gulf reproduced in the cartographic

workshops of the Netherlands until the middle of the seventeenth century. From that moment on, this dependence was broken by a series of hydrographic surveys undertaken by the Dutch in the Gulf region, allowing for the gradual replacement of most of the prototypes used until then, of both Portuguese and Italian origin. The notes that accompany the reproduction of the 23 charts selected for the chapter supply complementary information on this evolution, as well as on the distinct “lineages” of the outlines of the Persian Gulf included in several of the maps of the “Dutch school” (pp. 162-235). In contrast with the material made available in the preceding chapter, here we can find six charts dedicated exclusively to the Persian Gulf, most of them based on a prototype produced after the expedition to Basra carried out by Cornelis Cornelisz Roobacker in 1645. This model was a true starting point for the Dutch surveys of the area and it would be adopted afterwards by several French, English and Dutch cartographers (*cf.* pp. 188, 260, 280, 290, 328, 342 and 360).

The French cartography of the Persian Gulf seems to have been a different case, as it continued during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be highly dependent on charts previously drawn by Dutch, English and even German cartographers (p. 243). Despite successive reforms of the discipline put into practice as from 1666, the year of the foundation of the *Académie Royale des Sciences*, the fact is that the main maps produced in France do not point to any possibility that the French systematically gathered new hydrographic data on the Gulf, an area where they were only sporadically present during the whole period. At least, this is the conclusion to be reached when reading the text that introduces this chapter and the comments accompanying the 17 charts selected to illustrate it (pp. 244-297). The map of Persia printed by Giacomo Giovanni de Rossi in 1679, which is included in this series, helps to visualize the work of Italian cartographers at the end of the seventeenth century, a time when interest in the discipline underwent a revival in Italy (*cf.* Moreland and Bannister, 1989: 64). As regards the English cartography of the Persian Gulf, Biedermann once more stresses the contrast between a prolonged presence in the area by the British – which dated from the last years of the sixteenth century, but was reinforced by the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hormuz in 1622 – and the relatively discontinuous progress that can be observed in the cartographic objects produced in England by public or private initiative, whether prints or manuscripts. Once more, the permanent recourse to imported elements (Dutch or others) hindered the identification of a truly original and autonomous cartographic tradition (pp. 305-309). This idea is illustrated by 18 maps, among which the most notable are the six drawings on paper representing either the entrance to or the whole of the Persian Gulf (pp. 310-363).

“German Baroque and Enlightenment cartographers and their representation of the Persian Gulf from 1650 to 1760” is the title of the last chapter of the book, written by Elío Brancaforte (Chapter VI). On the basis of a sample of nine German charts produced between 1647 and 1773, the author retraces the evolution of the Persian Gulf representations offered to the German-speaking public during the period. The map of Persia produced by Adam Olearius (1647), still full of Ptolemaic resonances, is his starting point. Brancaforte stresses the fact that we are faced with a very peculiar cultural universe, which did not benefit from a regular relationship with the Gulf and where geography mainly performed the subsidiary role of illustrating the teaching of history, heraldry, politics, law or genealogy. Therefore, few of these maps seem to reflect a real interest in the incorporation of the new data gathered in the field, and most of them are no more than a belated, and often inexact, copy of the Dutch, French and English models (pp. 373-409).

On “national” issues and usages.

This stimulating book offers a broad view of the history of representations of the Persian Gulf in European cartography. Through the geographic scope covered and the number of reproduced materials, it complements other publications, such as the *Atlas of Geographical Maps and Historical Documents on the Persian Gulf*, published by Sahab Publishing Company (2nd edition Tehran, 1974), *Arabia in Early Maps: A Bibliography of Maps Covering the Peninsula of Arabia Printed in Western Europe from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1751*, by G.

R. Tibbetts (Naples & Cambridge, 1978), *La Péninsule Arabique dans les cartes européennes anciennes: Fin XV-début XIX^e siècle*, by Kh. Al-Ankary (Paris, 2001) and *General Maps of Persia, 1477-1925*, by C. Alai (Leyden, 2005). The notes analyzing each of the maps chosen to illustrate this *Historical Atlas of the Persian Gulf* help to interconnect the six essays that introduce the different cartographic traditions identified. In these six main texts, we note a recurring concern with inserting maps in the particular context of the society that produced them, a standard procedure among art historians, but one which is only now becoming common among historians of cartography (cf. Buisseret, 2003: XIII). On the other hand, the editors also found a good solution to the ever delicate problem of selecting cartographic specimens, providing a representative sample of the hundreds of maps available. The period under consideration – from the beginning of the exploration of the Persian Gulf by Europeans to the moment when the discovery of an accurate method of measuring longitude led to decisive improvements in the drawing of maps – was also well-chosen. The graphic quality of the volume is irreproachable.

Nevertheless, it is surprising that a project resulting from an original French-Iranian association does not examine or reproduce any Islamic map. This is the main flaw of the book, one which its title does not allow us to guess at. On the other hand, it might have been better to specify from the beginning that only a minority of the maps presented – mostly the latter ones – do in fact correspond to autonomous images of the Persian Gulf. On account of this, several of the chapter titles, as well as passages in which somewhat generic references are made to “maps of the Persian Gulf” (p. 34), are not always the clearest options. This question leads us to the problems that may stem from retracing the different “lineages” of the joint drawing of the Persian Gulf in this type of maps. As we have just recalled, most of them are small-scale general maps, in other words stylized world maps or charts of a part of the East that is much larger than the Gulf and its immediate surroundings. Thus, many of the doubts raised by the “evolution” of the outlines under examination can only begin to be cleared up after studying all of the available maps, retracing the genealogy of the remaining profiles and comparing all their toponyms. Of course, the comparative analysis of a certain segment, which is chronologically based, can offer countless clues about the complex construction of successive representations. Nevertheless, we should not generalize from the observation of small portions of a map, and, in particular, we should not be too surprised whenever the outline of a coast or a territory appears inexplicable in the light of a series of previous maps. As we know, what defined the art of the cabinet cartographer – which was what most of the cartographers represented in the book were – was the ability to combine different sources in order to produce a single, apparently homogeneous chart (cf. Pelletier, 2001: 92).

Another question raised by the reading of this Atlas has to do with the so-called “national schools” of cartography. Let us consider, for instance, the case of Portuguese cartography, which is dealt with in chapter II of the book. We should recall some of the many Portuguese-born cartographers and cosmographers who were in Spain’s service before and during the preparation of the voyage of Ferdinand Magellan: João Dias de Solis, Estevão Gomes, Diogo Ribeiro, Simão de Alcáçova Sotomaior, João Rodrigues, Francisco and Rui Faleiro. Or we should consider the case of the cartographers Pedro and Jorge Reinel, who worked in Seville during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as the available documentation testifies. Or also the case of the already mentioned Diogo Ribeiro, appointed *Cosmógrafo y maestro de hacer cartas e instrumentos de navegar* by the Emperor Charles V, and whose only known biographic details are those pertaining to the several years he worked in La Coruña and Seville. Finally, let us recall the work carried out by some of the most remarkable Portuguese cartographers at the Madrid court between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, such as Luís Jorge de Barbuda, João Baptista Lavanha – who, before settling in Spain, probably studied mathematics in Rome and knew in detail the work of Gemma Frisius – or Pedro Teixeira Albernaz (cf. Cortesão and Mota, 1987, I: 20, 87-89; *id.*, 1987, II: 123-125; Núñez de las Cuevas, 1991: 185; Cerezo Martínez, 1994: 174).

Situations such as these, characterized by the intense circulation of the more highly rated scientific agents, were, from very early on, the rule in the history of Iberian cartography. Without having to go back to the Iberian-Balearic origin of portolan cartography, we only need to recall the contribution made in the fifteenth century by cartographers and astronomers such as Jacome of Majorca (Jafuda Cresques?) and Abraham Zacuto to Portugal and to the preparation of its Atlantic navigations. Therefore, the shift in the scientific focus of attraction from Portugal to Spain that took place after the discovery of America – a trend that seems to have resumed after 1580, during the period when both crowns were united under the same king – is part of a long tradition of exchanges of people and ideas, which linked Majorcans, Catalans, Portuguese and Castilians from an early stage, but also several Genovese, Venetians, Germans and Arabs (*cf.* Martín Merás, 1993: 66-68; Núñez de las Cuevas, 1991: 174). This helped to shape a sort of common heritage of geographic knowledge, which makes the partitions of the history of cartography based on strictly national criteria appear very problematic. On the subject of some of the most important scientific and technological innovations in the field of astronomy in Britain and France during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Biedermann correctly notes that they should be seen, first of all, as the result of the intense cooperation that existed at that time between experts from different countries (*cf.* p. 306). Should that not also be the norm in the history of cartography, even in those circumstances when progress in the art of map-making depended not on letters exchanged between scientific societies, but rather on the competence of exiles or deserters and on the efficiency of spies?

Apart from these general questions, we have also identified a few cases where the writing lacks some precision. We list them here, so that they can perhaps be corrected in a second edition of the book. In the first place, there is the attribution of the authorship of the *Catalan Atlas* to Abraham and Jafuda Cresques, a view which is not consensual among historians of cartography (*cf.* p. 46). On the other hand, a couple of misprints must have been responsible for the misspelling of the names of the researcher Brian Harley and of the cartographer Henricus Martellus (*cf.* pp. 24, 32 and 56). On the subject of the “Cantino map” (1502), at a certain point it is said that: “The extremely accurate depiction of Africa, including its western, eastern and northern shores makes it particularly clear that diverse cartographical traditions were systematically blended in the royal cartographical workshop of Lisbon while ‘purely Portuguese’ data was not yet available” (p. 68). Once more, we do not doubt the “composite” character of a map of this nature, which was built upon a collection of materials of different origin. Nevertheless, this passage could be reformulated, considering that the data on the coastline of Africa between Gibraltar and the Bab-el-Mandeb strait included in the “Cantino” map is mainly the result of roughly a century spent by Portugal systematically gathering information in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Finally, we do not understand on what information the authors base their suggestion that the fragment of the planisphere by Diogo Ribeiro, kept in Dillingen’s Kreis- und Studienbibliothek, representing the northeast of Africa, Asia and the Indonesian Archipelago, might correspond to an autonomous regional chart (*cf.* p. 106). We believe that no doubts remain that it is but a fragment of a map, similar to the several planispheres produced by the author, which still survive and of which, furthermore, a second fragment exists, depicting a large part of the Atlantic (*cf.* Cortesão and Mota, 1987, V: plate 523).

Researchers know that objectivity is an illusion in cartography. Before projecting the world or part of the world in a map, a mapmaker projects in them a certain idea of order which precedes his own empirical observations. To say the same in other words: every society chooses to represent in maps what interests it, always pretending that these fabulous objects pass for an accurate representation of reality (*cf.* Black, 2000: 17-21; Besse, 2003: 309; Tricoire, 2004: 18). But the question is this: can a book dealing with maps shrink away from this illusion of the cartographic absolute? And when that book has the Persian Gulf as its subject? In a *New York Times* editorial of September 20, 1987, a journalist described the region as “a body of water nearly surrounded by Arabians who hate the name” and who, on account of that, prefer to call it the Arabian Gulf (*cf.* Nelson, 1997: 147). This kind of toponymic question resurfaces on the subject of the sea called the Sea of Japan by the

Japanese and the Sea of Korea or Tong Hae (East Sea) by the Koreans. The same could be said about Macedonia, Manchuria or the Malvinas. The editors of this Atlas politely avoid directly approaching this sensitive question, but everyone who knows the importance of names will understand that it was present from the beginning.

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Review of the book by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada
Curto (eds.) *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion*, 1400-1800.
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Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, is an extremely valuable contribution for all those interested in studying the Portuguese overseas empire. It is also a work that is particularly welcome in the market formed by the more than forty postgraduate courses in History already existing in Brazil. The book's quality is immediately guaranteed by the recognized excellence of its contributors, who include Stuart Schwartz, A.J.R. Russell-Wood and J. Thornton. These are senior researchers and experts in the travelers and chroniclers of the time, who are also fully conversant with the primary documentation and the recent postgraduate theses written in their specialist areas. New imperial spaces – particularly Africa – are analyzed in the book, which turns out to be an important innovation in comparison with the studies already published on the theme. Attention is also drawn to the concern shown with studying the relational dynamics between groups and territories within the imperial complex itself, in both economic and religious terms. In the same way, concern is also shown with adopting more general approaches to studying the performance of the Portuguese imperial economy over the long term, while, in the last part of the book, a study is made of the dynamics of the Portuguese empire within the overall context of the modern age. Lastly, the work also includes a number of other extremely valuable contributions, such as those provided by Jorge Pedreira, Luiz Felipe Alencastro, Isabel dos Guimarães de Sá and Anthony Disney, amongst others.

Besides this, the collection provides us with the chance to join in the debate on the political and economic dynamics of the Portuguese empire in the modern age. In the Introduction, the editors immediately criticize what they classify as a *postmodern* approach to the notion of empire. According to the editors, such an interpretation goes beyond a perspective that denotes a *nationalist* bias and instead lays emphasis on local power structures in detriment to the authority of the Crown over the empire's destiny. Being critical of this new interpretation, the editors draw attention to the dangers that it brings with it, since weakening the power of the State implies leaving the helm of the oceanic empire in the hands of the Catholic Church. Thus, as far as the editors of *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion* are concerned, without a monarchy there would be no empire. In principle, although this is a pertinent and valid premise, it does, however, require more precise examination of the nature of the power that was exercised within that monarch.

Two decades ago, such a monarchy was understood by the specialist historiography in this field to be in essence the State itself. As far as the French case was concerned, Emmanuel Le Roy

Ladurie (1987) defined the state as L'État Royal.¹ This is an important conclusion, as it avoids all types of imprecision in the way in which the monarchy, and therefore the monarchic state, can be contrasted with the autonomy of the local authorities, both within the kingdom and overseas. In the *concelhos* (councils, one of the most important expressions of local power) held across the vast area of Portuguese-speaking America, it was frequently the *senhores de engenho* (owners of sugarmills), businessmen and *lavradores* (cane farmers), amongst others, who placed their houses at the "service of His Majesty, the Republic and God". For these contemporary agents, there was no distinction to be made between republic and monarchy. They considered themselves to be vassals of His Majesty and therefore saw themselves as belonging to the monarchy, as forming part of the monarchic state. Such a statement reduces the temptation to establish a contrast between different levels of social co-existence under the embrace of Portuguese sovereignty in the modern age.

It was exactly with this concern in mind that Jerônimo de Albuquerque – a potentate in Pernambuco, a mestizo and a descendant of the Albuquerquees of the State of India – mobilized his networks of clients and *índios flecheiros* ("archer Indians") to take part in the recapture of Maranhão from the hands of the French in the 17th century. In the same way, according to the Overseas Council, in 1648, "the will and the unity of the people" in Rio de Janeiro was vital for the reconquest of Angola.² In this context, the phrase "unity of the people" was understood to mean a complex variety of political engineering formed through pacts made between *bandos* of potentates, between these and crown officers, plus the result of skilful trading in slaves. In the following century, Count Assumar was only able to ensure that the "*Morada do Ouro*" (the "Gold Residence" or the captainship of Minas Gerais) remained in the possession of the crown because he enjoyed the support of part of the local potentates and their armed captives.³ In fact, the authority of His Majesty on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe (West Africa) in the 16th century also depended on the *homens bons* (representatives of parishes and guilds) in the region, many of whom were mulattoes, and on the armed slaves who belonged to the *ordenanças* (territorial non professional troops).⁴ Something similar also took place in the remote region of Zambezi (East Africa) in the 18th century, in relation to the *prazeiros* (estate-holders) and their *Chikundas* (captives).⁵

With more empirical data available for Portuguese-speaking America, it can be clearly understood that the societies of the conquered territories were organized along the corporative lines of the second scholastics. The prince was at the head of society, although this doesn't mean that he was confused with it. Certainly, the monarchy and its men (clergy, nobility – in particular, the *fidalgos* – and people from different strata of the *povo* or common people) conquered and organized fortresses, garrisons and societies overseas. However, these men did so in keeping with the political conceptions that they had, as António Hespanha so clearly reminds us. Accordingly, the prince was the center, but there also existed the *concelhos* whose autonomy was respected and protected by the same prince. Perhaps in these men's conception of the world is to be found one of the most important secrets about the way in which the existence of the empire was managed and

¹ Ladurie, E. Le Roy, *O Estado Monárquico, França 1460 - 1610*, São Paulo: Cia Das Letras, 1994.

² Fragoso, João "A Nobreza Vive Em Bandos: A Economia Política Das Melhores Famílias Da Terra Do Rio De Janeiro, Século XVII. Algumas Notas De Pesquisa", In *Tempo. Review Of The History Department Of Universidade Federal Fluminense*, No. 15. Rio De Janeiro, Universidade Federal Fluminense/7letras, 2003, Pp. 11-35.

³ Mathias, Carlos Leonardo Kelmer. *Jogos De Interesses E Estratégias De Ação No Contexto Da Revolta Mineira De Vila Rica, C. 1709 - C. 1736*. Rio De Janeiro, Universidade Federal Do Rio De Janeiro 2005. (Unpublished Master's Degree Dissertation In History).

⁴ Serafim, Cristina M. S. *As Ilhas De São Tomé No Século XVII*. Lisboa: Centro De História De Além-Mar, Faculdade De Ciências Sociais E Humanas Da Universidade Nova De Lisboa, 2000.

⁵ Issacman, Allen And Isaacman, Bárbara. *Escravos, Escravagistas, Guerreiros E Caçadores*. Maputo: Ciedima, 2004

perpetuated.⁶ It made it possible for there to exist a relationship between the different and apparently *exotic* social hierarchies to be found in distinct parts of the empire and the center of that same empire. It is sufficient to remember the cross-breeding between the *homens bons* of Luanda and matrilineal lines of descent in the region, or the existence of *Paulista* potentates based on marital pacts and native archers, both of which were typical phenomena of the 17th century. These different forms of logic enjoyed the institutional support of the *concelhos*.⁷ It should be remembered that an overseas *concelho*, such as those to be found in America, could have an area of jurisdiction and a population larger than the whole of the Algarve.

For the vassals of the distant overseas lands, the Monarchy – the Monarchic State – represented a system of rules that made their lives in society viable. On the other hand, without the personalities from those different established local hierarchies – millowners from Pernambuco, estate-owners from Mozambique, traders from Luanda – there would have been no empire. As is known, the Portuguese State of the Ancien Regime did not have sufficient bureaucracy or armies to impose its authority on the kingdom, and much less so on all four corners of the world. It is best to be more specific: the conception of a State in Iberian Europe was not synonymous with the idea of an extensive and centralized civil and military bureaucratic network. The authority of the State was imposed by means of pacts, very often rather tense ones, between the prince and the local power.

It is worth remembering here that, in the different corners of the Portuguese overseas empire, the social agents (officers, clergy, landowners, traders, slaves, etc.) had their own assets and resources and that with these they created strategies, sometimes entering into conflict and thus ending in negotiations. This meant that pacts and negotiations were not limited to the relations between the local power and the center.⁸ They took place in the midst of the social stratifications observed in such areas. Or, in other words, between slaves, cane farmers and mulattoes, etc. In the same way, the workings of the empire were also affected by the government and trading networks that connected the oceans, the different political and administrative centers and the markets, and which thus made transatlantic travel, for example, a viable concern. Linked in this way were not just mutual interests, but essentially different types of resources and strategies, a fact that increased the capacity for intervention of some of these groups in the particular situations experienced across the Portuguese Empire.⁹ In other words, the different people involved in such networks acted as brokers (mediators, in the estimation of E. Grendi) between the different logics of the local powers and the monarchy.¹⁰

⁶ Amongst The Various Studies Produced By António Manuel Hespanha, See, In Particular: *As Vésperas Do Leviathan. Instituições E Poder Político. Portugal, Século XVII*. Coimbra, Livraria Almedina, 1994; “A Constituição Do Império Português. Revisão De Alguns Enviesamentos Correntes”, In: Fragoso, J., Bicalho, M. F., Gouvêa, M. F. (Orgs.), *O Antigo Regime Nos Trópicos. A Dinâmica Imperial Portuguesa (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*, Rio De Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2001, Pp. 163-188; And “Antigo Regime Nos Trópicos? Um Debate Sobre O Modelo Político Do Império Colonial Português”, In: Gouvêa, M. F. & Fragoso, J., (Orgs.), *Na Trama Das Redes. Política E Negócios No Império Português, Séculos XVI-XVIII*, Rio De Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2008, Chapter 1 (In Print).

⁷ Cf. Fragoso, João. “Capitão Manuel Pimenta Sampaio, Senhor Do Engenho Do Rio Grande, Neto De Conquistadores E Compadre De João Soares, Pardo: Notas Sobre Uma Hierarquia Social Costumeira (Rio De Janeiro, 1700 – 1760)”, In: Gouvêa, Maria De Fátima & Fragoso, João (Org.) *Na Trama Das Redes: Política E Negócios No Império Português, Séculos XVI- XVIII*, Civilização Brasileira (In Print).

⁸ Fragoso, João, “Fidalgos E Parentes De Pretos: Notas Sobre A Nobreza Principal Da Terra Dio Rio De Janeiro”, In: Fragoso, João, Sampaio, Antônio Carlos Jucá De & Almeida, Carla Maria De. *Conquistadores E Negociantes: Histórias De Elites No Antigo Regime Nos Trópicos. América Lusa, Séculos XVI A XVIII*. 1st Ed. Rio De Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007, Vol. 1, Pp. 33-120.

⁹ Gouvêa, Maria De Fátima S., “André Cusaco: O Irlandês “Intempestivo”, Fiel Súdito De Sua Majestade. Trajetórias Administrativas E Redes Governativas No Império O Português, Ca. 1660-1700”, In: VAINFAS, R.; SANTOS, G.; NEVES, G. P. (Orgs.), *Retratos Do Império. Trajetórias Individuais No Mundo Português Nos Séculos XVI A XIX*, Niterói, Eduff, 2006, Pp. 155-175.

¹⁰ Grendi, E. *Polanyi, Dall'antropologia Economica Alla Microanalisi Storica*, Milan: Etas Libri, 1978, Pp. 128-129.

It is therefore worth returning to some ideas that are particularly dear to the editors: the comparative analysis between the overseas empires of the modern age, as well as the societies that formed them. The study of the imperial dynamics, and with them of their societies, will only in fact be fully realized through an effectively comparative approach. In the case of the Portuguese Empire, for example, this discussion has to be taken forward through the formation of research teams that will work their way through the archives and systematically compare the different corners of the political geography of an empire that presented itself as a *multicontinental* monarchy. That is to say, a monarchy that largely depended on the resources that came from overseas and whose aristocracy was based not so much on the rents of its European rural landowners, but on the services that they rendered to the king; and, of course, these were mainly performed overseas.¹¹ Or, further, a monarchy that had organized societies in the course of its conquests, but whose decision-making process depended on delicate negotiations with the power groups living in these same societies. And this happened, not only because His Majesty depended on the revenue originating from the overseas colonies, but also because, the system of rules that had been agreed between the Crown and its vassals, established that the elites of the *concelhos* should also be consulted in matters affecting the *common good*. After all, the king was the king of Portugal and the Algarve, but he was also the king of the overseas colonies. It is obvious that this system had its incoherences and that, through these, the agents, of both the realm and the conquered territories, were able to transform this system. In order to understand these dynamics better, with the increased professionalization of the historian's trade, it is therefore important to devote much more careful consideration to the research undertaken in postgraduate programs being developed in the lands of former Portuguese conquests.

¹¹ Cunha, Mafalda Soares., "Governos E Governantes Do Império Atlântico Português Nos Séculos Xvii" In: Bicalho, Maria F. & Ferlini, Vera L. A. *Modos De Governar*. Sp: Alameda, 2005; Monteiro, Nuno F.G., "Governadores E Capitães-Mores Do Império Atlântico Português No Século Xviii", In: Bicalho, Maria F. & Ferlini, Vera L. A. Op. Cit.

A. H. de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007): Historiography and Citizenship*

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When António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques passed away on 24 January 2007, one of the key names in Portuguese historiography in the second half of the twentieth century disappeared, the author who had, above all, been jointly responsible for the emergence of what can best be described as the 'first modernity of the Middle Ages' and, at the same time, for his renowned studies of the First Republic.

Born in Cascais on 23 August 1933, he completed his secondary education in Lisbon and, after briefly studying at the Higher Institute of Economic and Financial Sciences (Lisbon Technical University), he took a first degree in Historical and Philosophical Sciences at the Lisbon University Faculty of Letters (FL/UL), completing his studies in 1956 with a dissertation entitled *A Sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV* (Portuguese Society from the 12th to the 15th Century), under the supervision of Virgínia Rau (1907-1973). After spending a year on a scholarship studying in the Federal Republic of Germany, where he worked with Hermann Kellenbenz (1913-1990)¹ at the University of Wurzburg on the early stages of what was to be his Ph.D. thesis, he was hired as an assistant lecturer at the faculty where he had taken his first degree. He remained a lecturer there until 1964, responsible for teaching the subjects of *Paleography and Diplomatics*, *Medieval History* and (occasionally) *Theory of History*, and assisting Virgínia Rau in the teaching of *Portuguese History I*. In these first years of his university career, he also supervised the teaching, at his own faculty, of a seminar on "The Black Plague in Portugal" (which would result in a group paper, presented at the *First Historical Conference on Medieval Portugal* [Braga, 1959]. The co-authors of the paper were Iria Gonçalves, Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos and Humberto Baquero Moreno, with Virgínia Rau responsible for the brief introductory text.)²

Oliveira Marques was awarded a Ph.D. in 1960, presenting and defending as his thesis the study that he had begun years before in Germany.³ The jury at his thesis were Virgínia Rau and Manuel Lopes de Almeida (1900-1980; from Coimbra University) and the jury at the

* Adapted and updated version of HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho – «A. H. de Oliveira Marques: percurso biográfico», in HOMEM; COELHO (Coord.), 2003: 11-17. This study, in its turn, was based on a speech (which had remained unpublished) delivered at the launching of a book by Oliveira Marques, in 1995.

¹ Oliveira Marques was to evoke the memory of this historian in the journal *Ler História*, 23 (1993): 117-124.

² RAU; MARQUES; GONÇALVES; RAMOS; MORENO, 1963.

³ MARQUES, 1959 and 1993.

complementary cross-examination sessions were once again Virgínia Rau and Manuel Heleno (1894-1970). On the awarding of his Ph.D., he was promoted to Senior Lecturer.

At the beginning of 1962, he completed the study that he was to present as his dissertation in the public competition for the position of Professor Extraordinary.⁴ But the “academic crisis” of that year was to make it impossible for quite some time to hold the public examinations involved in this process (for which Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão also presented himself as a candidate). Having taken a “position on the side of the students against the government” during the events of March/May (just like Serrão, as it happens), Oliveira Marques saw his public competition suspended twice, namely in May 1962 and November 1964. This second suspension coincided with an internal “intrigue” at his place of teaching, revealing some of the worst things that happened at that time in the Faculty of Letters of Lisbon University. As a form of protest, Oliveira Marques resigned from his position as Assistant Lecturer and, consequently, from the Civil Service.

Months later, he set off for the United States, where he joined the University of Alabama (Auburn) as an Associate Professor. He remained in the United States until 1969, later teaching at the University of Florida (Gainesville), as a Full Professor (1966 ff.). Dating from this period were his first works on 20th century Portugal (1967 ff., published in the reviews *O Tempo e o Modo* and *Ocidente*),⁵ as well as his project for a *History of Portugal*, to be published by Columbia University Press. He was to return to the United States in 1970 (March-June, as a Visiting Professor at the University of Minnesota [Minneapolis])⁶, and again in 1973 (September-November).⁷

Meanwhile, after Marcello Caetano (1906-1980) had risen to become head of government (1968), he decided to return to Portugal (1969, July), although he did not succeed in returning to the Civil Service; nonetheless, the Minister of National Education Veiga Simão awarded him a scholarship to study in Portugal and appointed him to a committee set up to study the reform of the degree courses offered by the country’s Faculties of Letters. It was during this phase that he was to be initiated as a freemason.

After the Revolution of 25 April 1974, and having abandoned his attempts to return to his former faculty (given the “revolutionary” turmoil that was being experienced there at the time), he accepted the position of Director of the National Library, where he remained from November of that year to December of the following year.

In July 1976, he was appointed Full Professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (UNL), initially on secondment, but later being given full tenure in February 1980; from November 1977 to October 1980, he chaired the Foundation Committee of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (FCSH) of the same university. As a member of the History Department at FCSH, he implemented the beginning of the Licentiate ship (introduced under the framework of the curricular reform of the minister Mário Sottomayor Cardia, Decree 53/78, prepared by a National Inter-University Committee, of which he himself was in fact a member⁸) and of the

⁴ MARQUES, 1968.

⁵ It is particularly interesting to consider, almost 40 years later, the series of articles MARQUES, 1967-1968-1969, in which the political personnel of the Monarchy and Republic are viewed from a clearly *prosopographic* viewpoint (generations/ages, places of birth, families, education/academic degrees, professions; the quantitative data are considerable), which makes these texts pioneering studies in Portuguese historiography.

⁶ At that time, he gave lectures at the Universities of Wisconsin (Madison) and Indiana (Bloomington).

⁷ He gave lectures at the Universities of Chicago, Illinois (Urbana) and Northern Illinois.

⁸ This Committee was chaired by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and its members also included Luís de Albuquerque (1916-1992), Luís de Matos (1911-1995), José Sebastião da Silva Dias (1916-1994), José António Ferreira de Almeida (1913-1981) and José-Augusto França.

Master's Degree courses, particularly those in *Medieval History* and *19th and 20th-Century History* (which were created at the beginning of the 1980s).

In May 1982, his university paid homage to him and marked the 25 years of his academic career by publishing two volumes of *Estudos de História de Portugal* in his honor.

In 1993, he moved to the Department of German Studies, where he was responsible for coordinating the area relating to the *History of Culture*. Later, he also took part in setting up the Department of Political Science and International Relations.

In 2001/02, he officially retired.

* * *

If there are any constant features to be found in Oliveira Marques' vast oeuvre, these can be identified as his capacity for synthesis, his facility for leading group projects and his propensity for "creating a School", for leaving a historiographic legacy. Let us look at some instances of these:

- a) His *Introdução à História da Agricultura* (Introduction to the History of Agriculture), which became a classic, was one of the decisive factors behind the emergence of a solid ruralism in the medievalist historiography of Portugal. And it is still used today as a textbook for introducing any young scholar to the theme. Without this pioneering work, it would not be easy to understand the appearance in the historiographic output of the 1970s and 1980s of monographs such as those by Robert Durand, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho or Iria Gonçalves, with the result that there is now much discussion of the landed estates of monastic houses (such as Alcobaça), agrarian regions, spaces or landscapes (such as the lower Mondego basin or the regions situated between the Douro and Tagus rivers).
- b) The program that he sketched out at the end of the 1970s for research into the urban centers of medieval Portugal resulted in numerous monographs by his pupils (dealing with centers ranging from Aveiro to Guarda, Ponte de Lima to Silves, Chaves to Abrantes...) and in a first *Atlas das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas* (Atlas of Portuguese Medieval Cities).⁹ Curiously, these studies were very poorly received by some of the "yuppies" to be found amongst our geographical scholars.¹⁰
- c) More recently, he established a whole new avenue of research into 15th-century Portuguese manor houses, whose greatest developments are yet to come.¹¹
- d) His studies on 20th-century Portugal, and particularly on the First Republic, taking us back to the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, lie at the basis of the more rigorous study of this phase of Portugal's (relatively) recent past. Although he assumed from the outset a *militant* stance (studying the Republic as a way of attacking the regime that came afterwards), the fact nonetheless remains that such a stance did not, strictly speaking, turn

⁹ MARQUES; GONÇALVES; ANDRADE (ed.), 1990.

¹⁰ See, for example, the unfortunate review of João Carlos GARCIA published in *Ler História*, 21 (1991): 195-199.

¹¹ Although his disciple João Silva de Sousa (Universidade Nova de Lisboa / Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas) has already been responsible for the production of various master's degree dissertations in this area, especially for the Beira region.

these works into a biased form of historiography, of the kind that sometimes seeks to produce a certain kind of essay-writing particularly favored by the press, especially the weekly newspapers.

- e) The collective works that he had been editing, with Joel Serrão, since the 1980s (the “Nova História de Portugal” [New History of Portugal] and the “Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa” [New History of the Portuguese Expansion]) have endowed Portuguese historiography at the turn of the century with some of the most erudite – I would even say, most scholarly – syntheses that it has ever seen, and they fully incorporate the results of the renewed interest in historical studies that Portugal has experienced, broadly speaking, over the last three decades; and contributing to these works were many of those who, in their capacity as students, either directly receiving academic guidance or purely and simply just through their reading, had learnt with Oliveira Marques, at least in part, the *historian’s trade*. It was therefore not in vain that Oliveira Marques had produced study guides, both for the Middle Ages and for the First Republic.

* * *

In August 2003, Oliveira Marques reached the age-limit for civil servants, so that he necessarily became a *Jubilee Professor* at UNL. Although his relations with the Institution had cooled somewhat – for reasons that have nothing to do with us here – he nonetheless ended up, in the autumn, giving a lecture at his FCSH. Yet the great celebrations organized to mark his retirement (“cum laude”) ended up being held elsewhere, since, having enjoyed an assiduous and fruitful relationship with the History Departments of the Faculties of Letters of Coimbra and Porto Universities¹² since the 1970s, he expressed the pleasure that he would have in giving lectures at both faculties; which they naturally accepted with delight and honor:

- In Porto, the date chosen for his lecture (20 May) was the one that marks the “History Department Day” each year¹³: Oliveira Marques gave a lecture there entitled “The genealogical history of the common man: micro-history or macro-history?”¹⁴;
- In Coimbra, everything took place on 13 November, the day when Oliveira Marques gave his lecture entitled “Directions in Portuguese Historiography”¹⁵, together with the launch of the book *Na jubilação universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques* (on the university retirement of A. H. de Oliveira Marques)¹⁶; at the end of the session, and to the complete surprise of all those in the room, the man being honored and João Alves Dias showed the audience the first copies of the *Atlas Histórico de Portugal e do Ultramar Português* (Historical Atlas of Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Territories, which had arrived

¹² At the second faculty, he was, from 2000 onwards, a member of the Editorial Board of the faculty magazine, the *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP]. *História*, 3rd series.

¹³ Since 2006, this department has been known as the *Department of History and Political and International Studies*.

¹⁴ MARQUES, 2003; the photograph that opens the book referred to in note 16 relates to this very occasion.

¹⁵ MARQUES, 2004b; on the same date, Coimbra University marked the centenary of the death of the scholar of *Medicine* and the University Rector, António Augusto da Costa Simões (1819-1903).

¹⁶ HOMEM; COELHO (Coord.), 2003.

fresh from the printers)¹⁷, a working instrument whose importance for the near future does not need to be stressed here.

At the end of this jubilee (retirement) year, two general assessments could be made:

- a) Above all else, many fundamental contributions were still expected of Oliveira Marques: the completion of the collective works that he was editing or co-editing (and, of these, the *Nova História de Portugal* (New History of Portugal) had finally (c. 1996) entered into “cruising speed”¹⁸; the publication of his long-awaited *Lisboa Medieval* (Medieval Lisbon); and the continuation of the training of new cohorts of students.
- b) At the same time, a path of sustained intellectual development had been embarked on, which maintained that History, as the oldest Human Science, had its own discourse, vocabulary and methods; this was a necessarily mistrustful posture that was consequently suspicious of certain interdisciplinary practices that tended to place the historian in the position of a genuine “vassal” in relation to concepts and methods that were in no way consolidated (some might see in this a *neopositivist* stance; would this necessarily be a crime...?¹⁹); on the other hand, he had shown himself to be somewhat indifferent to “fashions”, “crazes” or “post-modernisms”, being the author who in 1964 – in the first edition of *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa* (Portuguese Medieval Society) – had considered such questions as food, clothing, the body, hygiene, love, sex or death in the Middle Ages, and who in 1979

¹⁷ MARQUES; DIAS, 2003.

¹⁸ At the time of my writing this paper (April, 2007), only 2 volumes remain to be published, one of which is in print, the other nearing completion.

¹⁹ This statement was originally written in 1995. Attention should also be paid to the subsequent words of José Mattoso – an author who is exactly contemporary with Oliveira Marques (b. 1933) uttered in 2001 in an interview that he gave to Hilário Franco Júnior (FRANCO JÚNIOR, 2001: 215), and which include a markedly critical assertion of *neopositivism*. But the question does not end here. While the label of “positivist” is open to argument for a certain 19th-century historiography, and particularly for what is nowadays currently known as the French “methodical school” (see for all these cases CARBONELL, 1976; on positive Philosophy and “positivism”, see NOIRIEL, 1996: 55-59), it will be equally or even more questionable to talk of “neo-positivism” for currents of thought that, at the end of the 20th century, have remained completely unaffected by post-modernity, or else are already post-post-modern... That young authors avid to gain projection in the media should carelessly do so is perfectly understandable (even though it is nonetheless difficult to swallow...); but that authors of other generations with other responsibilities should do so...: see the case of Fernando Catroga, a few years ago, when assessing the teaching of Luís Ferrand de Almeida (1922-2006) in the field of the “Theory of History” (CATROGA, 2002-2003: 126-128); cf. the criticism that I made of him (HOMEM, 2006); cf. also the fundamental book by NUNES, 1995. Oliveira Marques was still being described as “the last of the positivist historians” at the time of his death: this was the title that the newspaper *Público* gave to the two pages devoted to his passing on 2007/01/25 (text by Isabel SALEMA, pp. 10-11), based on the testimonies of several young historians; one of them in particular justified this label by the close attention that Oliveira Marques gave to the “document”, to the primary sources, which he published in great abundance both for the Middle Ages and for later periods. Yet, if this were the case, it would also be possible to include amongst the last “great positivist historians” a certain Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão!... And, while we are on this subject, what can we say about the *obsession* with the “concrete” that was to be noted at certain phases in the work of Jorge Borges de Macedo (1921-1996)? Is it also possible to consider him as a “positivist”?... And so I must ask: is it logical to apply such a common description to authors who are so different and contrasting? Conclusion: there is still a great deal to be said about Portuguese historiography in the 20th century... Meanwhile, Oliveira Marques’ own position on the question of positivism may be seen in FERRO [Ed.], 1994: 140-141.

– in the second edition of *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Student's Guide to Portuguese Medieval History) – had outlined *Biography* or the *History of Institutions*, for example, as possible areas for future research by medievalists. This called to mind a passage from *Memoirs of Hadrian*, in which Marguerite Yourcenar caused the character to say something like this: “*To be right too soon is to be in the wrong*”.

Oliveira Marques would therefore have been in the wrong for several decades; and the wish that would certainly have been formed by his faithful, diehard readers was that he would long continue to provide them with the results of his being in the wrong...

But the years after 2003 were not easy. Already in a frail state (he had undergone heart surgery in 1997), beset with constant health problems (particularly in 2004 and 2005) and very little motivated by a university environment in which a number of *parvenus* were impudently beginning (and yet others were continuing...) to call him “out-of-date”, Oliveira Marques had moments when he seemed to be completely alienated from his intellectual interests. Even so, he never stopped working at all, and the problematics that lay behind his Porto lecture in May 2003²⁰ bore fruit in the form of more than one book, dealing with his ancestors; these volumes appeared in an edition produced by the author, and were not issued for commercial sale. These were:

- a) In 2002, the *Memoirs* of his father, Henrique António de Oliveira Marques (1902-1992)²¹, an engineer by training, and also the author of a *Dicionário de Termos Musicais* (Dictionary of Musical Terms)²², were published.
- b) In 2004, it was the turn of the *Memoirs* of his paternal grandfather, Jaime Artur Marques (1867-1945) to be published, covering the period from 1883-1907.²³
- c) Finally, in 2005, it was the turn of *Teatro* (Theatre), by Anacleto Rodrigues de Oliveira (1855-1932), his great-grandfather²⁴, a dramatist and stage director, who had become a surgeon – trained at the Lisbon School of Medicine – and had practiced as such in order to survive and dedicate himself to his great passion for writing plays and for the stage.

It is also interesting to note the historiographical parallels, at this stage of his life, with Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, who in 2005 published a political biography of his father, Colonel Vitorino Henriques Godinho (1885-1962).²⁵

At the beginning of December 2006, Oliveira Marques took part in three meetings held in Lisbon dedicated to reviewing and celebrating his work at the FNAC / Chiado bookshop and at the Library-Museum of the *Republic and Resistance*. At the latter venue, on December 11, 2006, he undoubtedly had a fragile appearance, but he did not look as weak as he had at various times in

²⁰ See *supra*, footnote ¹⁴.

²¹ MARQUES (Ed.), 2002.

²² MARQUES, H., 1996.

²³ MARQUES (Ed.), 2004; pp. VII-XLV, previous studies and chronology, by A. H. de Oliveira Marques; the volume presents a total of 24 photographic illustrations.

²⁴ MARQUES (Ed.), 2005; pp. VII-XLV, previous studies and chronology, by A. H. de Oliveira Marques; a total of 46 illustrations.

²⁵ GODINHO, 2005.

previous years; and he brightened up enough to enter into dialogue with the others present, particularly in response to questions asked by Fernando Catroga.

Perhaps for that reason, when Isabel gave me the news of his passing, as the day of 24 January 2007 was dawning, my immediate reaction was quite rightly one of *incredulity*: at a time when life expectancy has risen and the advances of medical science have multiplied the numbers of octogenarians and nonagenarians, why should Oliveira Marques leave us now, at the age of only 73?! I still had so many things to ask him...

Porto, 11 April, 2007

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A.H. de Oliveira Marques, the Historian's Legacy

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António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques, the historian and university professor whose memory is evoked in this paper, was born in São Pedro do Estoril, in the municipality of Cascais, on 23 August 1933, even though his family lived in Lisbon. He completed all the different levels of education in the capital, taking his first degree in Historical and Philosophical Sciences in July, 1956. He immediately set off for Germany, on a research scholarship, to prepare his doctoral thesis under the supervision of Professor Hermann Kellenbenz, which gave him the chance to peruse other European archives.

In November, 1957, he took up a post as an assistant lecturer at the Lisbon Faculty of Letters. In July, 1960, he defended his doctoral thesis, already printed as *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média* (Hansa and Portugal in the Middle Ages), obtaining a classification of 18/20 and becoming a senior lecturer. In 1961, he entered his name in the competitive examination to become an Extraordinary Professor of History, but he never got to take the examination due to its successive postponements, since, having survived an academic crisis in 1962, Oliveira Marques then sided with the students. This led him to resign from his job at the Faculty in November, 1964.

Having then been invited by the University of Auburn, in the United States, to teach courses in Medieval European History, he began his own personal tour of American universities in the academic year of 1965-1966. In the following years (1966-1969), he was hired by the University of Florida and in 1970 by the University of Minnesota, but he also taught courses and gave lectures in several others, such as New Mexico, Virginia, Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin and Indiana, as well as at Queen's College and various cultural institutions around the United States.

He returned to Portugal in September, 1970, but it was only after the Revolution of April, 1974, that he was again to occupy a position in the civil service, being appointed as Director of the National Library in Lisbon in 1974 and then, in July 1976, as a Full Professor at the newly-created Universidade Nova de Lisboa. As the Chairman of the Foundation Committee of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, he worked hard to give it a solid structure before its institutionalization in 1977. At that same Faculty, he was later President of the Scientific Council (from 1981 to 1983, and again in 1984). He continued to teach there until his retirement in 2003, lecturing various subjects in different undergraduate and master's degree courses, most notably that of Medieval History, which he himself created.

His teaching activity, to which he was highly committed, being delighted at the chance to work closely with his students, in no way hindered his academic work, for which his scientific rigor and methodical spirit were perfectly suited. He continued to spread his knowledge in courses and lectures that he presented in Brazil (São Paulo, Curitiba, Portalegre), Argentina (Buenos Aires) and Europe, particularly in Germany, France and England. His published work resulted in an extremely vast output that amounted to more than 765 titles, including monographs, articles, adaptations and translations, and book reviews, as well as 272 studies and annotations in the field of philately. In the Festschrift *Na Jubilação Universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, produced to mark his retirement, his contributions to the many themes that he worked on was celebrated – these included medieval history, paleography and diplomacy, the Portuguese overseas expansion, Portuguese-German relations, the history of the First Republic, the history of freemasonry, postmarks, the histories of Portugal and historiography. This wide-ranging coverage of academic subjects makes it impossible for us, in this brief note, to touch upon everything, however superficially. Given our specialist area, it will be the question of medievalism to which we will devote most of our attention, without forgetting to refer to his various works of synthesis and to the marks that he left on 20th-century historiography.

As early as 1959, in his doctoral thesis on *The Hansa and Portugal in the Middle Ages*, he introduced us to the subject of the trade relations between Portugal and the cities of the Hanseatic league, greatly elucidating the important role played by our country in European foreign trade. But it was later, during the 1960s, that this medievalist produced some major, and highly innovative, works. Even though their impact was only relative at the time, in later decades they were, however, to become unsurpassable milestones, as is clearly demonstrated by the successive editions that were published, especially at a time when Portuguese historiography was being renewed in a climate of openness and freedom generated by the outbreak of democracy. Dating from this time are books such as *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média* (Introduction to the History of Agriculture in Portugal. The cereal question during the Middle Ages), which acted as a major stimulus for the production of a rich vein of studies on rural history, frequently supervised by this same historian, such as my own doctoral work and that of Iria Gonçalves. Another important book was his *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa. Aspectos da vida quotidiana* (Medieval Portuguese Society. Aspects of Everyday Life), concerned with the discovery of human lifestyles, ranging from the material to the cultural and spiritual, which until then was almost an unknown subject in Portuguese historiography; and also the *Guia do Estudante de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Student's Guide to Medieval Portuguese History), an indispensable guide to the sources and works of medieval history, which greatly supported young researchers in their discovery of medieval history.

Meanwhile, it was during this same period (from 1963 to 1971) that he wrote more than eighty articles for the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (Dictionary of Portuguese History), which did much to bring Portuguese historiography up to date, while also collecting several of his articles together, about the history of the Portuguese population and about the nation's social and economic history, in his work *Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Essays on Portuguese Medieval History).

At the beginning of his activity as a lecturer at FCSH (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas) in the Universidade Nova, especially in the seminar on "Medieval Cities" for the Master's Degree in Medieval History, he set up a research program into urban history and, under his guidance, a large number of master's degree and doctoral theses were produced regarding the medieval urban centers of the North and South of Portugal. This work can be easily assessed by looking at the condensed synthesis provided in the

Atlas of Portuguese Medieval Cities, which he edited and on which he collaborated, as well as through the collection of studies that he published, in 1998, under the title of *Novos Ensaios de História Portuguesa* (New Essays on Portuguese History). And, after that, at the Research Center that he had created at the same Faculty, the Center of Historical Studies, a series of publications was also begun on the *Chancelarias* (Chancelleries) and *Cortes Régias* (Royal Courts), which were indispensable sources for medieval studies. These came out regularly and would continue to be published, even after his death, under the scientific and dedicated guidance of Dr. João Alves Dias.

During the time that he lived in the United States, Oliveira Marques was unable to enjoy access to medieval documentation and so he devoted himself to the study of printed sources that enabled him to get to know more about the 20th century. His works on the *História da 1ª República Portuguesa* (History of the First Republic, 1971, 1979, 1991) and his various books on *Afonso Costa* (life, work and documents, 1972, 1973, 1976, 1978) also turned this historian into a pioneer in studies on republicanism, which were further completed with another work dedicated to the *Maçonaria Portuguesa e o Estado Novo* (Portuguese Freemasonry and the New State, 1975). It should also be stressed that these themes continued to be worked upon by the author in the 1980s and 1990s. Certainly benefiting from this research work overseas were his two volumes comprising the *Antologia da Historiografia Portuguesa* (Anthology of Portuguese Historiography), which came out in 1974 and 1975 and were later completed with the *Ensaios de Historiografia Portuguesa* (Essays on Portuguese Historiography, 1988).

It was while he was still experiencing his period of American exile that Oliveira Marques became aware of the need to produce a work that could help foreigners to discover more about Portugal's historical past. And so, in 1972, a *History of Portugal* was published in Lisbon, London and New York, in English and Portuguese, filling a gap and proving to be highly innovative in its contemplation of the economic and social aspects involved in the construction of Portuguese history. With successive additions, increasing the study from two volumes to three, and reaching as far as the history of the present era, this work enjoyed widespread dissemination, resulting in thirteen editions and also being translated into French, Japanese, Spanish and Polish. Oliveira Marques later used it to compile his *Brief History of Portugal*, which was also published in French, English, Chinese, Romanian and German.

In an even more ambitious project for the writing of syntheses, Oliveira Marques devoted his energies – together with Joel Serrão, although he himself was the real driving force behind the project – to the publication of *Nova História de Portugal* (New History of Portugal) and *Nova História da Expansão* (New History of the Portuguese Expansion). These are now longer histories, with each volume having its own coordination and with the chapters being updated by specialists in the different subject areas. Because of their clarity and the information that they provide, these are to be regarded as highly didactic works, with ten volumes having already been published of the first work and eight of the second. And, as if to lend some visual support to these works, on the occasion of his retirement, the author published (in a work of joint authorship) a thick and graphically attractive *Atlas Histórico de Portugal e do Ultramar Português* (Historical Atlas of Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Territories, 2003), a work that was to prove highly useful from an academic and didactic point of view and amounted to “a collection of maps relating to various epochs and subject-matters”, which could “illustrate both analyses and syntheses.”

However, the master work of the writing of the *Nova História* was still not complete. Oliveira Marques was not to see the dream of the last years of his life come to fruition. His unexpected disappearance,

which had such a devastating effect on the Portuguese academic community, as well as, undoubtedly, on other historians overseas, occurred suddenly on 23 January, 2007.

Some of his works have remained unfinished, but others are to be completed in his memory. A few of them, such as the one that he wished to write about his own family, will remain in the form of nothing more than notes and echoes (apart from the three volumes that he had already published, with the memoirs of his father, his grandfather and his great-grandfather's theatrical work), for only he truly knew how to write these. But his extremely vast, forceful, academic and diversified historiographic output and the example that he provided as a university lecturer, historian and committed citizen will endure through time as anchors and compasses for all those seeking to plough the seas of research and follow the paths of knowledge over the course of the long human journey.

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“Tribute To A Portuguese Historian: A Foreign Historian’s Perspective On Oliveira Marques’ Principal Historical Studies In English”

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As a brief retrospective on and tribute to the pioneering contributions to the study of Portuguese history of the late Professor Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques (1933-2007), this is one historian’s perspective on the significance to our field of Oliveira Marques’ principal historical studies in English. For the purposes of this short study, I will discuss a selection only of two books and two articles, all published in English. In order of publication, they consist of the following: A.H. De Oliveira Marques, “Revolution and Counterrevolution in Portugal-Problems of Portuguese History, 1900-1930,” in *Studien uber die Revolution* (offprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1969), pp. 402-418; *Daily Life In Portugal In The Late Middle Ages* (transl. by S.S. Wyatt (Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1971); *History Of Portugal* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1972, 1st ed. in two volumes, 1976, 2nd.rev. ed. in one volume; “The Portuguese 1920s: a general survey,” in *Iberian Studies* (University of Keele, UK; vol. 2, Spring, 1973), pp. 32-40.

On the eve of Oliveira Marques publishing these studies over a period of four years, what from the purview of the foreign historian abroad was the state of the field of the general history of Portugal? And of the study of contemporary Portuguese History after 1890? Besides the barrier of language, several daunting difficulties, first of all, confronted novice students in this subject: the sheer scale of the long history of a former world power (more than 800 years of nationality; 2000+ years of civilization); the bewildering list of many dynasties and monarchs since 1140; for many American students, the lack of reference to a familiar comparator country, known to Americans, such as England, France or Germany; not one but several vast overseas empires stretching from Madeira to the Moluccas or from Cape Verdes to Macau; the invasion of many different ethnic groups since before Greek and Phoenician traders arrived; the availability in the English language of relatively few historical studies of any value, compared, say, to the case in Spanish studies, where Spanish history was better known outside Iberia and where more Spanish classics had been translated to English; the prevalence of censorship, either official or unofficial (self-censorship), in key periods of Portuguese History, and obscure and obscurantist hidden agendas of the published ideologues as well as the influence of conflicting ideological perspectives on these periods, especially during the Inquisition

(1536-1820) or during various dictatorial regimes, especially but not exclusively, the New State, 1926-1974. And the list could go on.

From my personal experience as a History student in North America during my graduate studies between 1959-63, Portuguese history was seemingly secondary to a history of southern Africa, namely, of Angola, the subject of my doctoral dissertation. And it was more than challenging for the novice to find useable, useful historical studies of Portugal's past in any language; further, if a few such volumes were available - and only the best research libraries would have a few - being able to understand fully Portuguese society and its seemingly labyrinthine history was difficult. This struggle came in several stages in my life: first as a graduate student preparing Portuguese History (included in southern European history, as a distinct field) for my doctoral oral examinations in 1961; then spending much of an academic year and a summer in Lisbon doing the research in libraries and archives on my dissertation on the history of 19th century Angola and Portuguese colonial rule between 1961-62; completing the dissertation, which referred frequently to Portuguese history, too, between 1962-63; preparing a book on the history of Angola up to 1970-71; preparing a study on the history of Portugal's First Republic(1910-26) during 1969-1978.

Some works in English were useful for the beginner: the books of H.V. Livermore(1947;1966 and later eds.) and of Charles Nowell (1952) were well-written, in lively styles, but I was baffled when I learned that Livermore had based much of his basic survey on a Portuguese classic which seemed inaccessible to me: the massive, forbidding, eight volume reference work of Damião Peres, *História de Portugal*, which had first appeared between 1928-35.

I was anxious to find brief, one-volume surveys which were both readable yet could unlock the many secrets of Portugal's storied past. A few books in French, published in the 1960s, seemed to fit this bill, but on closer examination, these handbooks had exciting interpretations but rarely discussed those subjects I was most interested in, such as colonial rule and the first Republic. And they lacked discussion in any depth.

The appearance of Oliveira Marques' new survey of Portugal's history, in English, in 1972, was fortunate for a semi-novice student of first Republic. *History Of Portugal*, for my research on the period, 1910-1926, was not only useful as a guide to various approaches to Portugal's contemporary history but as a concise set of interpretations of key issues and problems. Among the appealing features of the work was a learned but no-nonsense, iconoclastic approach to the geography of Portugal, one of the keys to the history of Portugal. Oliveira Marques wasted no time in puncturing a recent 'trial balloon' in geography, the American geographer Dan Stanislawski's theory that a distinct geography of Portugal's corner of the Iberian Peninsula was at the heart of the 'individuality' of Portugal.¹ With the exception of one unimportant geographic feature, wide coastal plains, by and large Portugal's geographic features, were the same as those of the comparable region of Spain. *Location*, Oliveira Marques declared, not topography was the greater key to the Portuguese historical enigma.

Similarly appealing to me as a historian, was Oliveira Marques' approach to the history of the first Republic. While more material on politics would have been helpful, for the politics of the Republic was the main focus of my 1978 book, the Portuguese historian's anatomy of society, culture and economic trends was invaluable; based on a mastery of a lot of material, his approach did not assign great importance to the roles of personalities, psychological history, and moral questions. In presenting a rationalist's approach to the study of the decline of Portugal and of its overseas empire after 1550 and taking into account the influential studies of C.R. Boxer, for example, Oliveira

Marques was critical of scholars who favored analysis involving moral judgements. He described them as “historian-moralists” or “moralist-politicians.”ⁱⁱ

In composing a volume on some sixteen years of Portuguese history, 1910 to 1926, this Historian longed for survey books and articles which could study concisely a problem or period or era, cite the bibliography available and present clear hypotheses. I discovered some assistance in two articles of 1969 and 1973, cited above. The 1969 piece published in a German scholarly periodical and the 1973 article published in a British journal were useful to me, since they discussed the critical generation of 1900-1930, when Portugal experienced three different political regimes (monarchy, republic, dictatorship), and the ‘in-between’ decade of the 1920s, an understudied period in Portugal’s turbulent Republic’s history, and a time of transition from the first Republic to the Military Dictatorship.

The more specialized and very different study, *Daily Life In Portugal In The Late Middle Ages*, was published a year before his general history appeared. This is ‘everyman’s history,’ a record of the medieval daily life of ordinary people and of some of the elite. As in the case of his work on the first Republic, Oliveira Marques’ approach to medieval Portugal was to focus in a new way on Portugal: not on political or administrative history or the history of the voyages of discovery, but to analyze Portuguese daily life from the 12th through the 15th centuries. The list of chapters with simple titles speaks for itself: The Table, Dress, The House; Hygiene and Health; Affection; Work, Faith; Culture; Amusements and Death. This book is made all the more useful as it contains key elements of a reference work; after the chapter-essays on the topics cited above, there are genealogical charts; notes; a critical bibliography; sources of illustrations and an index. The work is handsomely illustrated, too, with reproductions of engravings from manuscripts and books.

In conclusion, these works in English of Oliveira Marques performed an essential service for a foreign historian who was beginning to focus more exclusively on a new field: Portuguese History. Given the fact that so much of previous Portuguese historiography was so often super-loaded with ideologies and odd presumptions or dominated by myths or half-legends, it was refreshing to read the scholarly, rational and logical approach of a career historian who published in English, and a master of Portugal’s past. Of course, the cited works I have drawn from here form only a small part of Oliveira Marques’ vast output of published work in Portuguese. For the sake of posterity, including future historians of this corner of Iberia and of its overseas empire, an accessible, definitive, and complete Bibliography of his works would be an overdue and invaluable service to the field.

ⁱ Dan Stanislawski, *The Individuality of Portugal*(Austin,TX: Univ.of Texas, 1959).

ⁱⁱ A.H.de Oliveira Marques, *History Of Portugal*(New York: Columbia Univ.Press, 1972), vol.1, p. 266.