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The Participation of the Nobility in the Reconquest and in the Military Orders¹

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Abstract

Starting from the general framework of the Crusades and the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, together with the involvement of the nobility in these two processes, the author seeks to clarify to what extent the participation of the Portuguese nobility – exalted by some chroniclers and literary sources – in both the Reconquest and the military orders was effectively materialized through diplomatic and genealogical sources from the 13th and 14th centuries. Earlier studies have made it possible to conclude that, despite its adoption of the lineage system, the Portuguese nobility did not promote the exclusion of the second-born sons from the paternal inheritance. This weakens the idea that a substantial proportion of them joined the ranks of the military orders, so that it is possible that the same orders also incorporated villein-knights and members of the urban aristocracies.

Keywords

Nobility; villein-Knights; military orders; Reconquest; Middle Ages

Nobility and Crusades

When Pope Urban II made his famous speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095, exhorting Christendom to liberate the holy places in Palestine, he was far from imagining the dimension and consequences of the phenomenon to which his words were to give rise. The movement of the

¹ This text was originally presented at the *4th Conference on Military Orders. The Military and Knight Orders in the construction of the western world* (Palmela, 30 January to 2 February 2002).

Crusades did in fact assume truly exceptional proportions. Above all it became a question of expansion, both in territorial terms by extending the frontiers of Christendom to the Near East, and by founding various Christian kingdoms there, and as is obvious, in human terms and in terms of the spread of faith. Yet in addition to conquest and expansion, the Crusades also gave rise to new realities and structures. Among these, one must, I believe, inevitably highlight closer contacts established between West and East, with undeniable repercussions at the economic, cultural, artistic and intellectual levels. At the level of structures, I must emphasize the creation of the Christian kingdoms in the Near East and the appearance of the military orders. Being the embodiment of the idea of the *militia christi*, the military orders appeared precisely within the context of the Crusades as the legitimately and canonically armed hand of Christianity.

At this level, one cannot fail to give great importance to the emblematic case of the oldest and most prestigious military order, linked even today to the principles that lay behind its now remote genesis. In fact, the Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, Rhodes and Malta initially appeared (in 1080) as an institution created for the lodging and the provision of hospital assistance to all those who, in their quest for redemption, made their way to the holy places of Palestine. As is well known, after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 it was necessary to protect the crowds of pilgrims converging there from all over Europe, which gave rise to the need to create institutions that were capable of guaranteeing such protection and providing military support to the subsequent conquest and occupation of the territory.

It was within such a context, in the course of the first quarter of the 12th century, that this institution was transformed into a military order – with its initial hospitaller function being relegated to a somewhat secondary position – being followed thereafter by the appearance of the Orders of the Knights Templar, the Teutonic Knights and the Holy Sepulchre. The initial success of these orders in the Holy Land and the prestige that immediately surrounded their appearance led to their benefiting from countless large donations, which soon transformed them into genuine territorial, feudal and economic potentates, being established in practically all of the kingdoms of Christendom.

Right from the beginning, the nobility, especially that originating from France, England and the Empire, was linked to the movement of the Crusades, taking an active part in military actions and playing an important role in the colonization of the territories conquered from the Muslims. It is particularly interesting to note that in most cases, the nobility took with them to the Near East the model of organization that had gradually been developed and implanted in western Europe during the Middle Ages – in other words, the feudal and manorial systems. However, this fact did not stop many of these knights from allowing themselves to be seduced by the exoticism, climate and different cultures that they gradually absorbed. Ultimately, they formed a quite different group from the one that had existed in the places from which they had come. In this context, their intermingling with the Byzantine or other orthodox aristocracies was an extremely important factor, as was duly noted by Rudt-Collenberg in his excellent synthesis of the nobility of the Latin states in the Near East – Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, Tripoli, Cyprus and Armenia².

Let us now shift our attention to another geographical space of Christendom. By the time of the First Crusade, the Iberian Peninsula had long been a space of crusades, although this movement of territorial expansion designed for the spreading of faith, colonization and settlement, this “holy war”,

² RUDT-COLLEBERG 1978: LXXXVII-CIX.

was known here as the Reconquest. Towards the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, largely thanks to the efforts of Ferdinand the Great and his son, Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile, most notably with the important conquests of Coimbra, Toledo, and other settlements, the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula became much more dynamic in its scope. Yet at the same time, such a movement required even greater care and attention in the defense and colonization of the newly reconquered spaces.

Under such circumstances, it is easy to understand the interest of the Iberian monarchs in seeking out the support of institutions such as the military orders, which had appeared in the context of the Crusades, and for this very reason were endowed with a clearly warlike vocation, so that the first donations made to the orders of the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar dated from the first quarter of the 12th century. However, as is well known, the services initially provided by these orders were not exactly brilliant, and it can even be stated that it was only from the last quarter of the 12th century that the results of their efforts became visible – coinciding to some extent with an increase in highly beneficial royal donations – with their actions throughout the 13th century being truly remarkable. Meanwhile, and also from the second half of the 12th century, the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar began to share their activity with the new military orders. These were orders with strictly peninsular roots, such as the Orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Avis, this final group being of Portuguese origin. Later, under circumstances that are well known to everyone, the Order of Christ was to appear, and was intimately linked to the movement of overseas expansion.

The Portuguese Nobility, the Reconquest and the Military Orders

The idea that the Portuguese nobility played an active part in the process of the Reconquest and that it abundantly supplied the contingents of the military orders is, I believe, for most people a deeply ingrained notion. A certain romantic view of the Middle Ages and of the actual role of the nobility, combined with the wording of epic narratives or chronicles, such as those dedicated to the deeds of Dom Gonalo Mendes da Maia, the Fighter, or to the Master of the Order of Santiago, Dom Paio Pires Correia, have also helped to cement this idea. The reality is, however, somewhat removed from this idealized picture, with regard to both the Reconquest and the Military Orders.

Let us succinctly analyze these two points, beginning with the first. The participation of the nobility in the Reconquest, especially from the second half of the 9th century, i.e. from the establishment of the domains of Porto and Coimbra to the end of the 11th century, is an undeniable fact, as proved by the different personal trajectories of various members of the comital families of Portucale and Coimbra, and, above all, during that last century, by those members of the families of the *infanoes* (feudal lords – nobles of the second rank) who gradually distinguished themselves until they came to occupy the pinnacle of the hierarchy of nobles, thus filling the gap created by the decline and extinction of the comital nobility³.

As is also well known, some of these families had already been afforded the lofty status of *ricos-homens* (rich men – the top rank of the nobility) by the turn of the 11th to the 12th century and thereafter provided the main support for the youthful Dom Afonso Henriques. However, the support

³ For more information about this process, see, above all, MATTOSO 1982: 37-114.

and companionship shown at São Mamede in 1128 were soon to be eroded to a considerable extent. Overlooking, for the moment, perfectly plausible reasons relating to military strategy and logistics, such as the city's greater proximity to the frontier, it seems clear that there were also reasons of a political nature underlying the decision taken by Dom Afonso Henriques in 1131 to establish his court at Coimbra. In effect, the young king must have felt himself to be heavily constrained in Guimarães, in the heart of the feudal north, with his freedom of movement being greatly restricted by the high density of lay and monastic landlords. Dom Afonso Henriques therefore preferred to breathe more freely close to the line formed by the River Mondego.

This set of circumstances may, however, be open to another interpretation. This is, as is obvious, a mere hypothesis, and as it happens, there are no data to confirm the idea. Even so, it seems to me to be something worth putting forward as a possibility. The question to ask is, after São Mamede, did the political program or - perhaps better put - the strategic priorities of the Infante and the nobility, coincide? It seems undeniable that the future of Dom Afonso Henriques depended on a demonstration of his warlike capacity, so as to assert his opposition to both his cousin Alfonso VII and the Muslim enemy. The consolidation and expansion of the territory southwards became his unequivocal preference, which explains why he moved to the city that best served his project. And it is in this way, I believe, that the problem should be addressed.

We should also ask if the powerful barons from the county of Portucale, who fought alongside the Infante at São Mamede would not have preferred an attack northwards, in order to prevent the spread of the hegemony of the Galician faction supported by Dona Teresa? It is possible that the Infante's political project was directed firstly towards Galicia rather than more southerly areas, which would explain the presence of several Galician nobles, such as the Counts of Celanova, alongside Dom Afonso Henriques, and the attacks launched against Galician territory – such as the counties of Toronho and Límia. This action spoke to the opposing projects of the Infante and some members of the old northern lineages, and to the deteriorating relationship between the nobles and the Infante, with the latter consequently departing for Coimbra.

Whatever the case, the fact of the matter remains that from then on, whether through disinterest or because the king deliberately pushed them away, the absence of the high nobility from the Reconquest seems to be quite evident. First of all, after 1131 we find Dom Afonso Henriques surrounded by a group of individuals of various origins – Franks, *Moçárabes*, Asturians, etc. – who were unconditional supporters of his military campaigns and would later occupy either extremely important governorships (*alcaidarias*), from Coimbra to the line of the River Tagus, or receive important seignories, so that, in short, they formed a fairly homogeneous group with particularly close links to the king. I do not need to spend more time describing the characteristics of this group, that of the Knights of Coimbra, which was so masterfully analyzed some years ago by Professor José Mattoso⁴. Secondly, and serving as a complement to the previous explanation, it was rare for members of the high nobility to be found close to Dom Afonso Henriques, if we accept, almost as an exception, the participation of the ensign:

The nobility evidently took part in the foreign war from the 11th to the 13th centuries. But it would be a serious illusion to attribute to them the principal

⁴ MATTOSO 1982: 181-227.

merits of the conquest of the territory, as many nobles were trying to make people believe from the end of the 13th century, and as recent historiographers have also believed. In fact, after the direct participation of armies of counts and feudal lords in the occupation of the valley of the River Douro in the 11th century, the active role between 1064 and 1147, or, in other words, between the conquest of Coimbra and Lisbon, fell to nobles of a middle or lower category from the regions of Viseu, Lamego and Coimbra, sometimes under the command of Galician counts, such as the Travas, and the vassal-knights from the *concelhos* (townships or rural communities). Later, between 1147 and 1217, this role fell to the armies of Afonso Henriques and his son Sancho, to the military orders and to certain bands of marginal characters, such as the one commanded by Geraldo Sem Pavor, the Portuguese El Cid. In fact, this active support role fell predominantly to the military orders between 1217 and 1249, the date when the Algarve was definitively conquered. The members of the high nobility who took part in the royal army were only the high dignitaries of the court, among them the ensign. It is to be supposed that such participation was little more than honorific. The effective intervention was due above all to knights of the second and third categories, who fought alongside the vassal-knights⁵.

In this sense, it seems clear to me that the fact that there were no seigniories to the south of the River Vouga possessed by members of the most powerful noble families must necessarily be the clearest possible expression of their disinterest and distancing from the king⁶. Thus, the old nobility seem to have preferred to consolidate their northern estates, expanding their area of influence into regions that were closer at hand, as occurred in Trás-os-Montes and in the upper valley of the River Douro with the Braganções, or in the middle valley of this same river and in the Beira Alta with the lords of Baião and, above all, of Riba Douro. The establishment of seigniories further south over the course of the 12th century was left, apart from the lineages founded by the already mentioned companions-in-arms of Dom Afonso Henriques, above all in the hands of important monastic communities, especially the Cistercian monks and the Canons regular, along with the military orders. The time has now come for us to discuss these monastic and military orders.

In the two decades that followed their initial appearance and establishment in Portugal in the second decade of the 12th century⁷, the orders of the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar were not particularly successful, only beginning to play an important military role after the conquest of Lisbon and Santarém by Dom Afonso Henriques in 1147. Being responsible for the building of some castles along the line of the River Tagus, the Orders of the Temple of Jerusalem and of St. John

⁵ MATTOSO 2000 (1): 301.

⁶ Regarding the location of the estates of the main noble families throughout the 12th century, see, above all, MATTOSO 1982: 68-74 and 207-227 (for the estates of the “King’s knights”), and 1985 (1): 136-189. For the 13th century, see VENTURA 1992: 565-736 (it should, however, be noted that the estates located further south, and even in the Alentejo, were obtained outside the context of the Reconquest).

⁷ More recent research suggests that 1112 was the year when the Knights Hospitaller arrived in the county of Portucale (cf. COSTA 1999/2000: 97).

of the Hospital gradually began to consolidate their actions from the beginning of the 1160s, with the peninsular Orders of Santiago and Avis appearing in the following decade.

Being subject until the end of the 12th century to the vicissitudes of the ongoing wars, sometimes making advances and sometimes suffering humiliating retreats due to the terrible attacks launched by the Almohads, the role of the monastic and military orders in the Reconquest was to prove decisive, especially from the reign of Dom Afonso II until the definitive conquest of the Algarve in 1249. Meanwhile, the accumulation of countless privileges and the generous royal and private donations gradually transformed these monastic and military institutions into genuine territorial and feudal potentates⁸.

All this is well known, but what was the role and/or connection of the nobility with these institutions? This is the question that we must now analyze, even though it is not one about which we can make any truly safe pronouncements. After underlining the important role played by Dom Gualdim Pais Ramirão and Dom Gonçalo Viegas de Lanhoso at the head of the Order of the Temple of Jerusalem and the Order of Avis in Portugal, respectively, José Mattoso states:

These two masters must therefore have contributed most powerfully to the attraction of numerous recruits to the two militias. This happened precisely during the period when the noble families were forming their own lineages, which made the military orders the most suitable solution for the problems arising from the need to find a place for the disinherited young men who were not supposed to marry. There were no longer enough posts in the service of the king or as vassals of the feudal lords (who were few and did not have the resources to sustain large numbers of troops) to absorb all the young knights. The clerical life did not seem to attract them greatly during this period, and the monastic life was not suited to them all. These two individuals are, however, the only two members of the military orders that we can safely identify in social terms until the end of the 12th century⁹.

Two friars, even if they were masters, constitute little evidence, but the fact that the military orders only began to demonstrate their real importance from the last quarter of the 12th century may serve to explain this incoherence¹⁰. It must therefore be supposed that the picture altered profoundly during the 13th century, since this was the period when, on the one hand, there was a consolidation of the lineage system and, on the other hand, the military orders began to enjoy their unequivocal success. Let us see if this was the case.

Let us begin by analyzing the information contained in our mediaeval peerage books, genuinely privileged sources for our knowledge of the Portuguese mediaeval nobility until the mid-14th century. Besides the two masters of the Order of the Temple and the Order of Avis to which we have already referred, and who lived in the 12th century, the *Livro Velho de Linhagens* and the *Livro de Linhagens do Deão* enable us to count, for the 13th century, two priors and four friars belonging to the

⁸ An excellent synthesis of this process is to be found in MATTOSO 1982: 227-232.

⁹ MATTOSO 1982: 233.

¹⁰ José Mattoso is the first author to have found this fact rather strange and to have sought to justify it (MATTOSO 1982: 235-239).

order of the Hospitallers, and one master (Dom Martim Martins da Maia) and two friars from the Templars. This amounts to nine members in total, and from only two military orders¹¹. But obviously there were more. The *Livro de Linhagens do Conde Dom Pedro*, the most complete and the latest to be compiled, raises this number to twenty (12 from the Order of the Hospital, 4 from the Order of Santiago and 4 from the Order of the Temple)¹². It must be admitted that the numbers are not very impressive, and the same feeling persists even when the count is further raised to thirty-four, thanks to the four members of the Order of the Hospital, the two from the Order of Avis and the eight from the Order of Christ, who can be situated in the first half of the 14th century.

How can these facts be explained? Let us immediately state our firm belief that in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, there cannot have been a total of forty individuals joining the military orders. How many members of these militias were overlooked in the documentary records of their own time? In fact, this is the sense to be given to the words of José Mattoso that are transcribed below, when he seeks to understand and interpret the intriguing silence of the sources:

But those knights who, on joining the orders, did not rise to important positions of leadership, did not distinguish themselves through actions that were out of the ordinary, and did not give rise to new branches of noble families, were in fact probably not remembered by their own families and consequently became forgotten. We cannot doubt, however, that membership of the fraternity of religious knights was one of the main attractions for the young men that were kept away from their homes by the nature of the lineal structures, just as, at exactly the same time, the convents of Benedictine nuns, and those of the Cistercian nuns from the early 13th century, were filled with the young ladies of these families. The extremely large numbers of donations made by the kings and by the families of the high, middle and low nobility, especially to the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, help to confirm this suspicion. Anastácio de Figueiredo's work about the Hospitallers, who had property and estates all over the country, even in the heart of the great manorial region of Entre Douro e Minho, provides an abundant illustration of how the nobles bestowed upon them the greatest possible generosity - not only because they piously believed in the spiritual benefits that they would derive from this connection with institutions that were so closely linked to the Tomb of Jesus Christ, but also because they felt the need to favor those who received their young sons and kept them occupied¹³.

In this way, everything would seem to indicate that the contingent of nobles in the military orders would have been much greater than the documentary evidence allows us to see. Let us therefore

¹¹ *Livros Velhos de Linhagens*, 1980. Besides those indicated in the text, there is also a reference to two more friars, but without any indication being given as to their order, as well as to two masters of the Order of Alcântara, two masters of the Order of Calatrava and one master of the Order of Christ, this latter figure obviously being from the first quarter of the 14th century.

¹² *Livro de Linhagens do Conde Dom Pedro*, 1980.

¹³ MATTOSO 1982: 235.

accept that the relatively uninspiring careers of many of them justified their being largely forgotten. But then one could not expect that the same type of brilliance, i.e. distinguished action in battle, would be shown by all those who, for similar reasons, must have entered into other institutions of the regular or secular clergy, which were endowed with equal generosity with donations by the kings and the families of the different levels of the nobility. And yet it seems that in exactly the same way there is a marked silence to be noted in relation to these people and their actions.

I cannot put off dealing with what seems to me the fundamental question for understanding this phenomenon, or in other words, the adoption by the Portuguese nobility of the family model based on a lineal structure, in keeping with a process that would have started around the mid-12th century and which was already completed across the various strata of nobility by the end of the first few decades of the following century. Everyone knows the work of José Mattoso, who was the first person to perceive, analyze and interpret this phenomenon. Consequently, I will refrain from mentioning here the main works in which that illustrious historian laid out his conclusions, with which, generally speaking, I immediately declare myself to be in agreement. I should like, however, because of their innovative nature, to recall some of his articles gathered together in the collection entitled *A Nobreza Medieval Portuguesa*, published in 1981¹⁴, along with most of the pages of what I consider to be his most brilliant and inspiring synthesis, *Ricos-Homens, Infanções e Cavaleiros*, published in 1982.

In all this process, however, there is one point on which I cannot agree, and about which I have already had the opportunity to present my analysis and draw my conclusions, based on the study of a vast number of wills and letters relating to the division of inheritances. Thus, until proven otherwise, I do not believe that in Portugal – just as I am convinced for most of the Iberian Peninsula – second sons were excluded from the paternal inheritance, with the system of hereditary division remaining in force at least until the appearance of the system of primogeniture at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century¹⁵. If I am correct, this means that the number of nobles entering the monastic-military orders – just like the other monastic institutions or secular clergy – was not so high as the previously quoted words of José Mattoso would have us believe, since all brothers received the same share of the family estate. It should not, however, be assumed that this fact meant a lesser expression of celibacy, since the analysis of this phenomenon, within the scope of the universe of the 2,354 individuals that served as my database for the above-mentioned study, reveals numbers that cannot fail to impress:

MEN – 12th C – 29.4% / 13th C – 39.3% / 1st half of 14th C – 57.1%

WOMEN – 12th C – 22.7% / 13th C – 38.0% / 1st half of 14th C – 41.3%

There is, however, one very significant difference between male celibacy and female celibacy - whereas the former was mostly and unequivocally lay in nature, the latter was clearly understood to be mainly religious in the 13th century¹⁶. Only in this way is it possible to understand why it is so much easier to identify the social origin of nuns, with it almost always being possible to discover to which family they belonged, in contrast to what occurred with the members of the military orders, with monks or with members of the clergy.

¹⁴ “Cavaleiros andantes: a ficção e a realidade” and “Sobre a estrutura da família nobre portuguesa” (MATTOSO 1981: 353-369 and 371-386, respectively).

¹⁵ PIZARRO 1999 (II): 565-592.

¹⁶ PIZARRO 1999 (II): 489-490.

Conclusion

All these considerations have been intended to clarify some aspects of the problem, but I do not doubt that the main question still remains unanswered. To restate the question, who comprised the ranks of the military orders at that time, and what was their sociological composition? Even with all the limitations that I have just summarized, we should be prepared to accept that a part of the friars came from the nobility, perhaps in smaller numbers than might have been expected, but even so in substantially greater numbers than those that we are able to identify from the limited data available, although because of some rule or regulation of which I am unaware, they were led to assume a certain anonymity in relation to their family origins. Even accepting all this, the question still remains: from what social classes did the others come?

I venture to put forward an idea that is not an answer, but a simple suggestion for further study: to try to discover if the military orders may not have gradually absorbed a part of the members of the municipal militias, i.e. from among the villein-knights or the urban aristocracy. This origin would explain the absence of any identifying family information at a time when surnames were only used amongst the nobility. Basically, beginning in the 11th century and during a good part of the 12th century, war was the point of entry that allowed certain military professionals to be admitted to the nobility. José Mattoso himself stated some time ago: "There was therefore a whole period during which men of arms of non-noble origin could become men of arms *per naturam* and thus enter into the category of nobles"¹⁷.

If this did in fact occur at different moments of the 11th and 12th centuries, the same thing may have happened throughout the first half of the 13th century, but in a different way, i.e. not in terms of ennoblement, at least not immediately, but strictly and exclusively at the level of entry to the military. In other words, since the frontier with the Muslims was shifting progressively southwards, especially after the advances into the Alentejo region, what was to be done with the individuals who enjoyed a privileged social status under the scope of charters that had been granted previously within the context of a direct war with the Muslims? If it is true that after the conquest of Alcácer do Sal and until the definitive conquest of the Algarve, it was the military orders that genuinely led the military effort of the Reconquest, should one exclude the hypothesis that, in the face of necessity, the same orders may have incorporated into their ranks a certain number of villein-knights or even members of the urban aristocracies of Evora or Beja, as well as from other Alentejo towns, about which so little is known¹⁸?

These are questions that, like many others, need to be answered by specialists on the military orders. I do, however, believe that a profound analysis of the social hierarchy of the mediaeval commanderies, a detailed survey and systematic analysis of the wills or other personal data of the friars, together with the various prosopographical surveys and genealogical reconstructions already undertaken by historians studying the nobility, would perhaps make it possible to clarify a little better the doubts that have been raised in this article. In conclusion, I believe that specialists working in these two areas - the military orders and the nobility - only stand to gain if they join forces with a view to improving

¹⁷ MATTOSO 1982: 175.

¹⁸ MATTOSO 2000 (I): 372-373.

our knowledge of two of the institutions that most marked the history of western Europe, and which were certainly fundamental in laying the foundations for the support of mediaeval Christendom.

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A Modern Diplomat (1618-1680)

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Abstract

Modern diplomacy in Portugal was shaped by historical circumstances that gave it very individual characteristics. The congresses and the peace of Westphalia (1644-48) allowed diplomatic relations to be re-established in a Europe that had seen its system of representation shaken to the core by the schism caused by the Reformation and the Wars of Religion. Portugal had managed to seize the opportunity created by international circumstances to restore its independence, which Spain and the Papacy refused to acknowledge for almost thirty years. While war-based diplomacy required secret missions and specific negotiations, peacetime diplomacy constituted different demands. Using Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo's life-history – he was the first diplomat sent to Louis XIV to justify the peace with Spain (13 February 1668) that went against the treaty with France signed less than a year before (31 March 1667) – we can define behaviour connected to the conditions surrounding diplomatic activity, as well as identify aspects that provide an understanding of the worldviews of a small social group, a governing elite in the period when the modern State was being established and the absolute monarchy was being consolidated. This involves studying the process involved in the creation of modern diplomacy – starting from the concrete case of Portugal – and its contribution in defining the foreign policy of European states and developing international relations, including the impact of the external conjuncture of events on domestic policy at a time when the concept of Europe gradually started to replace the mediaeval notion of Christendom.

Keywords

Early Modern Period, Absolutism, Diplomacy, War, Inquisition, Mercantilism.

1. This study introduces both theoretical and methodological problems involved in the research that culminated in my doctoral thesis, submitted at the University of Lisbon on 29-30 April 2004. The thesis was one of the winners of the Aristides de Sousa Mendes Prize in the same year, awarded by the Portuguese Diplomats' Association, and the first volume was published in 2005, with sponsorship from the Diplomatic Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (IDI), the Association of Friends of the Diplomatic Historical Archive, and the Centre for History at the University of Lisbon (CHUL). The second volume, an exhaustive documentary appendix of unpublished manuscripts, awaits digital publication. It includes a complete and systematic transcription of the official letters and reports produced by Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, the most significant letters from his private correspondence, as well as biographical documents and sources

related to the challenges and internal restrictions that required either his direct or indirect intervention.

2. My research – entitled Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, a modern diplomat (1618-80) – attempts to sketch the cultural and social framework within which a diplomat operated in early modern times, at a period of important significance for Portuguese diplomatic history, as it meant the recovery of international relations interrupted under the period of Spanish dominion (1580-1640). This involved gathering data on others who exercised the same functions at that time, information that covers the multiplicity of ties that linked a series of individuals, as well as a similarity in modes of behaviour. Adopting a comparative method enables some wider conclusions to be drawn, whether it relates to a man, a people or an age – although it is, to some extent, empirical in the simple fact that the broader the terms of comparison, the more accurate the results. The whole constitutes a discourse that is greater than the sum of its parts.

As my doctoral thesis was written according to the Portuguese Decree-Law 388/70, which required complementary exams, I added a research project on the process of creating modern diplomacy and its contribution towards political decision-making, entitled *The Age of the Diplomats (1640-1750)*. This problem is introduced from an interdisciplinary perspective that covers political anthropology and cultural history (vision of the world, rituals), sociology (social background and professional career paths), and geopolitics (information networks, external relations).

Having assumed the influence of politics as a simple truth, I opted to pose the question of decision-making in terms of the specific and practical formulation of political ideas rather than by studying their underlying theory. The diversity surrounding this process of political definition over the ages is essentially found in the mechanisms used to mould it, the means that the authorities had to channel opinions and implement the decisions taken. However, the apparently simple question of who took the decision is harder to answer than it may seem at first sight. In legal terms, although the authority is known, the true “decision-making centre” is often left in the shadows, remaining an enigma that is hard to reveal. The politician responsible, the person who has the final word in the decision-making process, the prince who governs – evidently the king during the period in question, but equally a dictator, president or prime minister – does not do so alone. He is surrounded by ministers and councillors who are – to varying degrees – critics, fawners or subservients, and are certainly all courtiers. Among the various potential groups, ranging from the military to magistrates, men of the cloth to men of business, diplomats interest me for three fundamental reasons:

Firstly, their mixed social and professional background. As they were recruited in the palace environment of the court or military nobility, from amongst the practicers of law or through the confidentiality of certain members of the secular and regular clergy, this avoided dependence on an excessively hierarchical and pre-existing social framework.

Secondly, for research purposes, diplomats have all the advantages of those who travel without any of the difficulties. As they were far away, diplomats were forced to write, a fact which enables genuine conversations to be reconstituted. Moreover, their duty to inform meant that they were always on duty. They provide (empirical) terms of comparison with other nations, which they came to know far better than those who travelled constantly from one land to another. As they settled, they lived among the local inhabitants, came into contact with the host nation’s elites and were forced to deal with them. Thanks to professional imperatives – the search for news, novelties, rumours and anything that could be of interest to the power they represented – these “negotiators”

came into contact with a wide range of people. This meant that their circle of social relations was habitually broader than that of the vast majority of their contemporaries, both in terms of the number of countries where they lived and the extent of the human contacts that they managed to make.

Finally, the problem of decision-making is not clear. Rather, it hides behind a veil of ambiguity and multiple lies that were uttered for the sake of “reasons of State”. Diplomats were not even a homogeneous group – if such a thing exists – nor were they the closest group to the source of power. However, given their functions, they were particularly well positioned to express themselves on foreign policy, an area that was normally forgotten but that emerged as relevant whenever there was a war.

The above list raises a series of questions that can be further developed, ranging from conditioning factors within the cultural model to standard practices. Partly because the problems that were faced, such as selecting leading figures for certain embassies (compensating for their lack of training by having the financial means required due to the importance of external signs of wealth), favouritism, relations between diplomats and of these with the Secretaries of State, offer abundant material that help to reconstruct the social mechanisms; but also because the official and personal ties that link diplomats to ministers and counsellors are reflected in the language used in their correspondence, which is simultaneously formal and informal, often straightforward and critical, deserving a linguistic analysis, as it is impossible to use written sources critically without awareness of the conventions of letters, diaries, wills, proposals, treaties or decrees. The activity of writing has a close relationship with society and requires a concern with the general framework if we want to understand diplomats’ ideals, concepts or images, their intentions and protests, their complaints or demands, and their opinions on the country either where they were or where they were going.

3. As Lucien Febvre said, history is truly a ‘daughter of the times’ (*fille du temps*). The question of political decision-making, between the making of alliances and the “deep forces” (to quote Pierre Renouvin), is now a more current issue than ever – despite the fact that the systematisation of data should be carried out in accordance with the historical integrity of the age in question rather than as a function of their relationship with current theories and practices. Nowadays, although the speed of communications and changes in social habits have altered the diplomat’s *modus faciendi*, the substance of diplomacy has remained unchanged. Information, negotiation, promotion or propaganda and protecting the interests of the State are still the essentials in conducting any foreign policy. Equally, its relationship to domestic policy cannot be neglected, although the problems are fundamentally different: while the leader controls the life of the country using the paraphernalia of administrative means, the police and the legal system, he is less sure when faced with the reactions of foreign countries, as he has no means of control over their decisions. In the seventeenth century, delays in the circulation of correspondence could cause serious embarrassments, yet they simultaneously afforded diplomats greater room for manoeuvre and greater autonomy, since their instructions were sufficiently ambiguous for them to be able to deal with the unexpected. In certain specific circumstances, the ambassador had to take decisions on his feet and act without waiting for orders when these could not reach him in time. Obviously, if all went well, the ruler took the credit, while if things went badly it was the negotiator who was always at fault.

The abundant correspondence demanded by the diplomatic function reveals the production of a political discourse that – analysing the prince’s interests – expressed the collective needs and gradually established the permanent rules in the relationships between States. Yet

diplomats did not merely exchange letters. They also wrote memos, reports, works on the “art of negotiation” and the social and moral demands required to carry out political functions. Using the writings of Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo and his protectors, friends or correspondents, I have attempted to understand how the world of these “negotiators” (to use the seventeenth-century expression) was gradually constructed, thought about and represented, and how their conceptual structure or their way of thinking was created.

Just as contemporaries can “see what is going on”, the comments made by diplomats, as recorded in the abundant official, formal and private correspondence, are essential for understanding the political options taken in modern Europe and analysing its system of international relations. This raises a methodological problem. While the sheer abundance of sources makes selection difficult, and historians potentially run the risk of being buried beneath a genuine avalanche of documents, it is simultaneously deceptive in that the diplomatic correspondence offers a simplistic vision of reality. Not only because the instructions deliberately use an ambiguous language, trying to hide essential points; but also because the official letters are frequently limited to mere casuistry, being filled with basic, day-to-day information that bears no relationship to the causes that may have lain behind them. Therefore, it is vital to cross-reference the available data with information from other sources, namely from the Finance, War and Inquisition Councils, and even local or private archives. Within the context of international relations and foreign policy, using national archives (in Portugal these are exceptionally fertile, but unfortunately widely scattered and poorly organised) is not enough. There is a need to use foreign archives that show the other side of the coin. In this specific case, my research was not only carried out in Portugal, but also in France, Spain, England and Germany.

Any reconstitution is a work of synthesis, demanding a methodology that enables the alternative character of situations and sequences to be defined, the feasibility of changes to be gauged, and continuities and general trends to be discovered. A merely functionalist approach necessarily runs the risk of studying social life as seen exclusively from outside, without considering the aims of the players involved or their assessments of the situation. Yet it must be recalled that approaches to the complex area of cultural history demand a lengthy apprenticeship and may create stereotypes. In an attempt to avoid this, I constantly tried to test ideas by gathering together as many documents as possible, making these small pieces of reality the anchoring points for a critical reflection, and avoiding excessively imaginative reconstitutions based on often fragmented information and quantitative data, ironically almost always inaccurate.

4. One specific individual, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo – a diplomat who is known to a slight extent for his texts on economic policy relating to the introduction of manufactures and other mercantilist measures in accordance with Colbert’s model – emerged as a fertile subject for my proposed research. Since it is impossible to examine a man’s life without placing him inside the historical context and his social environment, this biographical study sought to contribute to a greater clarification of the era in which he lived, considering the possible alternatives and understanding the criteria that guided political action.

A biography can be written in several ways. Any attempt to reconstitute the restrictions on, and choices made by, one specific man – questioning his experiences, defining his horizons and interests, examining the relationship between his social contacts and alliances of dependency and solidarity, analysing his discourse and behaviour, making a comparison between the shaping of his ideology and attitudes (whether contradictory or otherwise) that distinguished his way of facing problems – involves different levels that can be superimposed, run parallel, or occur

simultaneously or successively. This posed a series of questions, as the role of diplomat that he played was one defined by his own culture, and we all are “imprisoned” – according to Fernand Braudel – by our mentalities and assumptions. Should the research follow his steps on a sequential basis, seeking to establish the phases of his life – some brilliant, others obscure – from the cradle to the grave? Should it reconstruct a series of events, design a narrative that only differs from a novel because it is based on a real character and supported by unpublished documents from archives, like a biographical essay or auto-biographical record, according to the documentary basis used in the research and the cross-referencing of information?

The first problem is methodological, whereas the second is essentially one of form. The scorn that Lucien Febvre (1930, 1945) poured on historicising, positivist, battle-and-event based history did not target the process of writing history or question narrative as a structure of discourse. History has never stopped narrating man’s actions, but has merely done so in different styles. Rather, Febvre’s comments attacked diplomatic history per se when separated from other forms, presented as a history of “winners” and personified by the State, monarchs, ministers and counsellors, created from the perspective of the major powers and placing far greater emphasis on products than on processes. He saw political phenomena as being far removed from history, establishing the two as clearly different things, and called for a “history that does not arbitrarily isolate the fundamental interests of the governed from the wishes and whims of those who govern”. This was a reaction against the interest in diplomatic history as the study of “high politics”, which became possible due to the opening of state archives in the nineteenth century. He challenged the supposedly “objective” (meaning “scientific”) nature that was claimed for such studies, but which ultimately transposed the problems of the present to the past instead of trying to understand societies from the starting-point of their internal conflicts. This led diplomatic history to go through a long period of crisis that impacted on all areas of historiography, including German and Anglo-Saxon work. Despite always maintaining an interest in political phenomena, this approach was undoubtedly far more radical in French historiography owing to the dominance of the *Annales* School.

In 1937, Henry Hauser insisted that economic and demographic questions played the preponderant role in international politics, while recalling that, around 1880, Albert Sorel had confirmed a transformation in the material conditions of diplomacy. However, it was essentially following the works of Renouvin and Duroselle (1950s and 1960s) that old-style diplomatic history, with its close ties to events, was gradually replaced by the new history of international relations. The political phenomenon was rediscovered, but now with only a relative autonomy, being seen in combination with the internal socio-economic context and the interplay of forces on the international scene. This renovation was led by P. Gordon Lauren (1979), J. C. Allian and J. Black (1985), L. Bély (1990) and M.S. Anderson (1993). The history of diplomacy regained a position where it was related to the decision-making mechanisms, the concept of “national interest”, the role of the individual, the figure of the man of State, and seen in interaction with cultural history, yet also paying attention to geography, demographic conditions and the economy and society. The roll of issues addressed was expanded, and phenomena of collective psychology, shifts in public opinion and religious controversy also started to attract particular attention, while the specificities and details of etiquette and ceremonial occasions started to be studied as expressions of political rituals that allow for a better understanding of the relationship between culture and power.

5. Human life develops along several planes at the same time, running in parallel or coming together, in a synchronous fashion that is the result of different and sometimes contradictory

chronologies. A straightforward narrative is evidently not enough to capture the multiple challenges, the drama of choices, the contradictions of man and the dynamic of societies. I consequently structured the data collected according to an inventory of the problems, hypotheses that I gradually organised and systematised using the logic of thematic coherence, establishing the main guidelines that would develop into three different sections that were nonetheless interconnected by the actions, doubts, proposals and hopes of one specific person. Ranging from the individual to his insertion in the collective, from the socio-cultural world to his personal absorption, from the barriers in Portuguese society to international challenges and demands, this biographical study established a model for a specific type of man – the diplomat – born in a country – Portugal – during a time of war; a country that had recently regained its political independence from Spain and was searching for a place among other European countries – France, England, the United Provinces – that were competing with it for overseas trade and conquests in the territories of the Portuguese empire in Africa, India and South America.

5.1 The first section, which was simultaneously both a point of departure and the foundation for the thesis, aims to characterise Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo's social and cultural milieu, covering his life from birth to death, his family origins and ties of patronage, his scholastic and academic training, his published works, his career as a magistrate and his diplomatic missions. This allowed for the reconstruction of an entire life that – like every life – is far from being a straightforward or linear path. Besides this, there is also an entire social process, a sort of web linking the structural features and the challenges of a conjuncture of events set within a broad historical framework. Not neglecting the specificities of the individual career, this section seeks to define the atmosphere and challenges of an era. Macedo was born in Lisbon (1618) into a family of popular origin. His father was the son of a small landowner, who had studied law at the University of Coimbra and become a magistrate. His mother's family were linked to the crafts, and there were suspicions that they had some Jewish ancestry. Although this was never clarified, it prevented the diplomat from gaining the much required confirmation of "clean blood" that would have enabled him to become a 'familiar' of the Inquisition. He died in Alicante (1680), while on a major diplomatic mission to Turin that was to finalise the preparations for the marriage between the heiress to the Portuguese throne and the Duke of Savoy. Although the negotiations continued despite his death, they ultimately foundered. He followed a career in the magistracy, having achieved a degree in law, serving as a judge, high court judge and member of the finance council, and as a diplomat, firstly as the secretary to the embassy under the Count of Soure (1659-60) that tried to include Portugal in the Conference of the Pyrenees, then as an envoy to Paris (1668-76), and finally as an extraordinary envoy to Madrid (1677-79).

The study of his case reveals an educated and cosmopolitan society, an unusual group, an elite with unique characteristics that can only be more accurately defined by prosopographic research. Equally, my investigation into conceptions of the world and attitudes towards life, ideas and intentions, daily life and the material conditions for the practice of diplomacy, moral and pedagogical reflections when fulfilling the political functions of the courtier, the importance of rituals and etiquette in the work and correspondence of Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, led me to consider the question of worldviews that are still far more open than other themes. The history of mentalities is complex and inexhaustible. However, it was possible to draw up a socio-cultural profile and to accompany the progressive construction of a "profession", not yet a career but – starting from the restraints imposed by recruiting diplomats from among those trained for the magistracy – the variety of tasks that ultimately made diplomacy coherent with fulfilling functions

inside the country, at the secretary of state's office, in courtrooms or government councils, and abroad in a succession of posts. As regards the last such issue, Macedo was several times proposed as a future secretary of state, but was ultimately appointed as a financial councillor.

Actually, given their social background or legal training, seventeenth-century Portuguese diplomats never stopped offering their advice and trying to arbitrate. Their functions as political agents and advisers were bound up in the practice of negotiation, in drawing up reports and their use of propaganda. Only artificially and *a posteriori* could the ways of thinking and projecting themselves on the outside world, the ideas and forms of their mentality be separated from external influences that ranged from the economic conjuncture to the political situation, not forgetting social constraints. Among the elements of continuity, there are glimpses of factors that brought transformations: the growing importance of bureaucracy, since, beginning in the regency of Prince Pedro (1668-83), diplomats gradually addressed their correspondence to the secretary of state – and not to the sovereign himself – until a Foreign and War Secretary was finally created in 1736, according to the modern division that separates foreign and domestic affairs; the limited financial resources, which affected payments to diplomats (Macedo, who did not have a personal fortune, spent almost eighteen months in Paris without funds), espionage and the stimulation of propaganda activities; the problem of passing news to agents who acted according to the instructions received, but were often isolated due to the delays in communications (correspondence between Lisbon and Paris took over two months to complete the round trip), a concrete question that had undeniable effects in terms of diplomatic practice. At the heart of all this, the role of the court was seen as fundamental. Although it still only operated intermittently in Portugal, it was nonetheless the centre for political action, the setting for rivalries, intrigue and influence, the theatre where the king gradually gained a decisive importance as the arbiter of foreign policy, as the lord of war and peace.

5.2 The second section focuses on Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo's contribution to, and observations on, the major internal issues in Portugal. During his lifetime, the colonial space changed and new economic options emerged, yet politics and religion continued to go hand in hand. Thus, I ultimately distinguished two points that are interrelated – issues of economic policy and of power – in an attempt to answer a series of problems. As from 1668, once peace had been signed with Spain (supported by England and running counter to commitments made in the treaty for a league signed with the French in the previous year), the attempted reconstruction of Portugal involved the idea that political restoration demanded efforts at deeper levels. This process was faced with conflicts, conspiracies, blockades and a series of difficulties at several levels. One of the worst problems was the parlous state of the Portuguese economy, the result of a major imbalance in trade at a time when the direct export of Portuguese products was very low and profits from the trade in products from the colonies and the mainland had passed almost exclusively into the hands of English, Dutch and French merchants. The privileges that these merchants gained from agreements signed with the Portuguese government were the means that Restoration diplomacy found to overcome the attempted Spanish trade embargo. Simultaneously, imports continued to remain at high levels, partly due to structural problems in the Portuguese economy, partly due to their direct or indirect relationship with the trade opportunities granted to the same foreign merchants.

The dire economic situation was compounded by a serious domestic situation caused by the deposition of King Afonso VI (1667) and the regency of Prince Pedro (1668-83), and the major controversy in Portuguese society regarding the Inquisition and the New Christians. The

doubts raised about the *modus operandi* of the Portuguese Inquisition among the Roman Catholic curia led to the Inquisition's activities being suspended by Pope Clement X (1674) until Pope Innocence XI restored it in the old style (1681) – as the Portuguese court desired – after long and difficult diplomatic negotiations. The Inquisition had established its dual status as an ecclesiastical court and crown court, which enabled it to adopt a relatively autonomous strategy within the Church. As a state within the State, it used the pope to counter the king and vice-versa, when papal decisions could not guarantee its total autonomy. The special characteristics of its constitution – especially regarding the confiscation of the goods of those convicted of heresy or Judaism and the appointment of the Inquisitor General – demonstrate economic interests and close ties to political power. In addition, its power to control and discipline the people – including the clergy themselves – must also be considered, as well as its censorship of books (even though this was not as strict as it may initially have seemed, since the bags of diplomats and many travellers escaped its control).

The relationship between the Inquisition and society was by no means a peaceful one, especially at times when the legality of its exercise of power (as in this period) was being challenged. The problem of succession is one of the weaknesses of monarchies, and even in the relatively common situation of the monarch being a minor, regencies are generally characterised by political instability. In the period in question, Portugal was facing a far rarer situation: a case of “incapacity” that encouraged the emergence of political factions and competition. At such moments, these factional issues often triggered conflicts that could affect the entire society and worsen an already fragile economic situation. The fact that the country had no “crowned king” to lead it called royal authority itself into question and encouraged major internal upheavals. The imprisonment of Lisbon's leading contract-holders and some members of their families (1672) was followed by a request for a general pardon and for the Inquisition's operating methods to be reformed, a request presented by the Portuguese Jews of London, via the Jesuits. The pope's demand that some of the cases be sent to Rome for proper analysis gave rise to fierce debate in Portuguese society, whipping up deeply-rooted social conflicts based on superstition and faith. This led to an extremely serious political and religious conflict that lasted almost seven years and was to have far-reaching economic and social consequences.

Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo was well aware of all this. Study of his proposals for economic development and scrutiny of the moral and religious climate from other times reveal hidden pressures and a collective “non-awareness” that was poorly understood by contemporaries. They show received ideas, feelings and fears, social and moral codes: “ghosts” that were shared by the whole of society at one specific moment. Macedo's work was marked by the “reforming” spirit of an alert diplomat who did not challenge the regime, but who wished to correct its errors and improve the processes that could bring “happiness” to his fellow citizens. This included “modernising” Lisbon, the capital of his country, with public lighting and daily refuse collection; writing proposals (which he called “papers” or “discourses”) that were designed to stimulate the various sectors of production by developing agriculture in both Portugal (rice production) and Brazil (transplanting Asian spices); exploiting Portugal's natural wealth (marble from the Arrábida hills) and introducing manufacturing, especially for the goods that had caused the imbalance in trade (baize, serge and silk stockings).

He was also concerned with international competition, exchange rates and financial problems, proposing that a large Oriental Trade Company be created and that privileges be granted to New Christians so as to attract Jewish capital. He also worked on monetary reform, gave advice during negotiations with the Dutch, pondered the imbalance in trade in accordance with the

country's interests and the commitments established by treaties, and proposed restrictions on conspicuous consumption and reciprocal customs duties. The idea underlying his proposals was that political restoration also involved restoring the Portuguese economy by re-establishing trade with Asia and recovering the territories lost to the United Provinces, especially Cochin and Cannanore, which the Dutch had conquered after signing a treaty with Portugal in 1661. Sadly, it proved to be impossible to regain these lands under the 1669 treaty, which managed to renegotiate the war debt to the Dutch through payment in salt, a difficult set of negotiations owing everything to the work of Ambassador Francisco de Melo, supported by a Portuguese Jewish agent (Jerónimo Nunes da Costa) and Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo.

5.3 Finally, the third section covers Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo's diplomatic activities when dealing with foreign challenges, analysing his role in conjunction with other contemporary agents. This involved two key periods: the negotiations for Portugal to be included in the Peace of the Pyrenees, and the problem of neutrality vis-à-vis efforts to impose French hegemony within the context of the Dutch War (1672-78). In most cases, a country's foreign policy is a choice from amongst several options. It may use war and armed force, or diplomacy (its instrument of peace), but the borderline between these is not clear. Clausewitz (1831) noted that not even war is an isolated act, nor are its results at all absolute. It has its own language, but not its own logic, in that it cannot be separated from political relations. Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo was a witness to this: the open and brutal force of armies, the hidden corrosive power of corruption and propaganda, and the subtle and cunning strength of diplomacy, all instruments available to States in order to defend their interests, satisfy their desires, justify their decisions or demonstrate their power.

The peace of 1659 was nothing more than a brief ceasefire that Louis XIV broke at the first opportunity (the War of Devolution, 1667-68). Portugal seized the chance, since the time was ripe for peace with Spain. Macedo, who had watched helplessly as the Portuguese cause had been abandoned at the Pyrenees for the sake of French interests, was ultimately chosen to explain to the French king why the undertakings made to him (protecting Portuguese interests) had been broken. The complex web or chessboard of international relations, always different and always the same, emerges from his letters and from the cross-referencing of the information to be found in Portuguese and foreign texts. Questions may well be asked about the positions adopted with regard to foreign policy and international pressures; the challenges and interests of the different powers in a complex web of bilateral and multilateral relations; the means used to take decisions; the pressure imposed by "stronger" countries and the often decisive role of the "small" countries; the negotiations (official, secret, personal); the players (kings, ministers, counsellors, diplomats); the tools (diplomacy, armies and fleets, propaganda and espionage); the interweaving of war and peace, allegations of "just cause" to congresses and U-turns in alliances, while war was continued as a means of deliberately influencing ongoing negotiations.

A global vision of Portugal's geo-strategic position reveals that the country was caught between a large, powerful Spain and the Atlantic, that it had an almost-lost empire in the Indian Ocean and a vast and emerging Brazil, whose economy was based on slave labour supplied by Africa. Within the framework of the Franco-Dutch War, the diplomat's writings proposed a political alliance with France, since this could counterbalance Dutch and English interests in the Orient. Yet while the debate on foreign policy alignments divided politicians, the Portuguese people were above all concerned with economic and religious problems. The patriotic proposals for national defence, led by the "French party", put forward the idea of an alliance to prevent potential threats from Spain. The support of France, confidently expected to emerge victorious from the war

with Holland, enjoyed the court's approval because of the supposed advantages and greater facilities in recovering the lost colonial territories. However, public opinion was not concerned with medium-term or geographically distant issues, either in Europe or overseas, as was abundantly demonstrated by the Cortes (Portuguese parliament) held in 1674.

The Jewish question and the suspension of the Inquisition, the plot against Prince Pedro (1673) and fears of another war with Spain all help to explain Portuguese distance from international commitments. While never completely abandoning such issues, Portugal maintained an extremely cautious foreign policy, resisting the pressure from Louis XIV and his English ally (a stance that Charles II took after the Secret Treaty of Dover and against his own parliament, which was hostile to his Catholic Portuguese queen). When faced with questions related to the balance of power in Europe that had an impact far beyond its borders, the Portuguese government abstained, sacrificing Cochin and Cannanore, which would anyway have been hard to recapture. Was this a case of hesitation, the result of some inconclusive discussion between the different power groups, or a case of caution dictated by observing the contradictions and precarious nature of international alliances? Was it a deliberate policy of neutrality or a decision that was prudently and progressively postponed until such time as the interplay between the major powers was clearly defined? The regent's delay in making a favourable reply to French requests, pondering the decision within the context of a fragile and contradictory situation at home, with factional upheaval and confrontations, made this alliance impossible. After the war, Carlos II of Spain's marriage to Louise d'Orléans, Louis XIV's niece, increased the fears among some counsellors and public opinion regarding the former Spanish supremacy and the recent French hegemony.

6. In conclusion, although – in the medium and long term – the proposals made by Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo ultimately failed both in terms of foreign policy and in the battle to stimulate the internal economy, the bases that led to the development of stable diplomatic relations had been established. Portuguese diplomacy modelled itself on the French system, which Macedo's correspondence disseminated far and wide, adapting it and assessing it according to the possibilities and interests of the mature experience of a State that had constantly given proof of its capacity to exercise its independence. The distinguishing feature of Prince Pedro's regency was that it distanced itself from Louis XIV's attempts to impose French hegemony, but Portuguese reticence was selective and not everything was simple or clear. The economic policy adopted by the Council of Finance brought enthusiasm, hope and some success. Even the English, who tried to renegotiate the trade agreements of 1654 and 1661, took almost thirty years to achieve their goal, with Ambassador Sir Francis Parry failing in 1672, but with John Methuen succeeding in 1703. Yet the question must be posed within the context of the Spanish War of Succession. Given the dilemma of the continental blockade formed by Spain and France, there was always the possibility of the Atlantic alliance with England and the promises made from the other side of the sea.

Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo's Publications

- 1642 CONCLVSIONES LOGICAS DEFENDENDAS (...) svb patrocínio R. P. M. Benedicti Pereira Societatis IESV, Vlisippone, Off. Laurentij de Anueres, 1642.
- 1650 Soneto, Madrigal e Elegia, *Memórias fúnebres sentidas pelos ingenhos portugueses, na morte da Senhora Dona Maria de Attayde*, Lisboa, Off. Craesbekiana, 1650, fls. 22, 26, 59.
- 1661 DISCURSO POLÍTICO QUE O CONDE DE SOURE (...), deu ao Cardeal Mazarine (...) MOSTRASE POR 27 RAZOENS forçosissimas, como França por justiça, e por conveniencia não devia fazer a paz sem inclusão de Portugal. Foi impresso em Pariz na Lingoa Franceza no anno de 1659, Lisboa, Off. de Henrique Valete de Oliveira, 1661.
- 1666 Juízo histórico político sobre a paz celebrada entre as coroas de França e Castela no ano de 1660. Lisboa, Off. de João da Costa, 1666.
- 1668 *Aristippo, ou Homem de Corte escrito em lingua Franceza por Monsieur de Balsac*, Paris, Off. de Estienne Maucroy, 1668.
- 1669 *Panegirico histórico genealógico da Sereníssima Casa de Nemurs. Offerecido à Senhora Rainha da Gram Bretanha*, Paris, Off. de Estienne Maucroy, 1669.
- 1670 *Nascimento e Genealogia do Conde D. Henrique Pay de Dom Affonso Henriques I Rey de Portugal*, Paris, Off. de Roberto Chevallion, 1670.
- 1676 *Advertencias al adicionador de la Historia del Padre Juan de Mariana, Impressa en Madrid en el Año de 1669 escritas por Mr. de Cohon Truel, Gentilhombre Francez, Cavaleiro de la Orden de Santiago, Teniente General de la Artilleria y Engeniero Mayor de las Fortificaciones de la Beira en el Reyno de Portugal*, Paris, 1676.
- 1677 *Vida da Imperatriz Teodora. Offerecida à Princeza N. S.^{ra} Jurada Successora destes Reynos*, Lisboa, Off. de Joam da Costa, 1677.
- 1729 *Discursos Políticos e Obras Métricas de Duarte Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, Ulyssiponense, Dezembargador dos Agravos, do Conselho de S. Magestade, & do de sua Fazenda, Enviado Ordinario à Corte de França, & Extraordinario à de Castella, & Turim, Cavalleyro da Ordem de Christo, &c., (...)*, Coimbra, Off. de José Antunes da Silva, 1729, 28 pp.
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The Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 – Public Distress and Political Propaganda

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Abstract

This article examines the impact of the Lisbon earthquake on the international political sphere. The shock waves of the event reflected the basic ideological traits of the eighteenth century. For the first time in the western world, the press helped to create the illusion of proximity and unity among the peoples of different European nations. Furthermore, the 1755 earthquake launched the modern debate on how to think and act in a world where such catastrophes are likely to occur.

On the eve of the Seven Years' War, the destruction of the capital of the Portuguese empire also triggered diplomatic and political reactions. Pombal's attempt to turn Portugal into a prosperous and politically strong country contributed towards minimising the disruptions to social and economic routines. Against the backdrop of the 1755 earthquake, and using the European war as an immediate cause, the Marquis of Pombal, minister of King Joseph I, laid the foundations for a press policy commensurate with the scale of the catastrophe.

Keywords

Catastrophe; Marquis of Pombal; War; International Policy

In the months immediately after the 1755 earthquake, the quaking ground aroused curiosity amongst readers and stirred the imagination of writers, who turned their minds to producing fantastic portrayals of a partially devastated Lisbon. Age-old fears and myths emerged amidst the terrifying descriptions of ruins in hundreds of tracts written at the time in almost every European language. They were published and republished to great success, especially in 1755, 1756 and 1757, when the subject was most topical (Löffler 1999). To a large extent, this unexpected effect on the public sphere resulted from the way in which the print media of the time overlapped with the massive output of texts about the earthquake (Araújo 1993). This system generated new channels for the spread of information, succeeding thanks to the dissemination of accounts supported by witnesses who were felt to be credible (Buescu 2005).

The challenging nature of the event is mentioned by contemporary writers, who were shocked by the loose bits of circulating news. On 16 January 1756, the Gazette de Cologne noted that “the earthquake is still on people’s lips”, and added that central Europeans were beginning to convince themselves that they had also felt the earth shake around 1 November (Campos 1998: 272). To a large extent, the spread of such feelings was caused by the language of those writing about the catastrophe. The sensational nature of the event was heightened by descriptions of the survivors’ panic, whose writings, whether real or non-existent, were to become a central theme of the larger circulation newspapers. Due to public pressure, personal and family letters were touched up and added to before going to press. Similarly, under the disguise of artful envelopes and other wrappings, wildly fictitious tales were published about life stories and episodes, which never in fact occurred. This expressive mixing together of facts and ideas embodies the common perception of the event and the reactions which it generated, and explains the commercial success, in Europe, of many accounts and printed material about the Lisbon earthquake. Most of the writings produced should be labelled in terms of “genre typology as *relações de sucessos*, that is popular news pamphlets” (Espejo Cala 2005:67).

This genre of literature included numerous circumstantial texts – anonymous or otherwise – in prose or in romance verse. Purportedly, they were transmitting news. They were printed on thick paper folded into small pamphlets and sold cheaply. A lower form of literature on the lookout for all kinds of unexpected situations and disasters, the *relações de sucessos* tended to use highly emotional language. These typically distorted accounts contained omissions, elements of fantasy, sloppiness and uncertainty. They were short-lived and hastily written. Distributed by blind sellers, they were the main sources of information for the illiterate, “who might find it hard to distinguish reliable accounts of the earthquake from the made-up anecdotes that were included in the reporting, like the story of how some lucky few had been saved thanks to the Virgin Mary’s miraculous intervention” (Espejo Cala 2005:71).

The huge spread and popularity of these brief works can be explained, on the one hand, by the power of the message behind them, and, on the other hand, by the beliefs, feelings and world views of most 18th-century readers. This popular literature, with its sensationalist background, used exuberant motifs, commonly presented as a “particular account”, a “genuine letter”, a “fantastic description”, an “accurate report”, etc. The fact that all these writings were reporting real events in no way guaranteed the truth of these accounts, which exaggerated, falsified and distorted, in order to better appeal to their readers.

In a world dominated by contradictory expectations – Halley’s Comet was expected in 1757 or 1758 – terrifying predictions and allusions to fantastic displays of fanaticism also appeared in the larger-circulation newspapers, spreading fear and arousing people’s compassion. Together with this kind of news, pamphlets told of terrifying occurrences, whilst random compilations of sermons by charismatic preachers were also released. In England, the *Serious Thoughts occasioned by the late Earthquake at Lisbon* by the Methodist John Wesley, first published in London in 1755, had been published on several separate occasions by the end of the century (Kendrick 1756; Ingram 2005; Webster 2005). Judging by the publishing success of other texts of various religious confessions, which also attributed the 1755 earthquake to the wrath of God, few 18th-century Europeans would have been unaware of the superstitious terrors fuelled and divulged by such tormented minds.

Political Power and the “Media War”

The message that God had helped to shape history was particularly well received at that time. Far beyond the providential interpretation of history, on the eve of the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), the destruction of such an important trading city as Lisbon – given its position on the Atlantic routes and its role as a global trade centre – together with the annihilation of the splendid court of King João V, generated a kind of “revolution”. The political climate of insecurity and instability posed a definite threat to “the balance of Europe”, as defined after the Peace of Utrecht (1713).

After the Lisbon earthquake, Portugal was in no condition to take either the English or French side. Nor, without help, could it effectively fend off any hostile act. But despite the doubts, Portugal’s position was still an important one, especially for its ally England (Boxer 1956; Estorninho 1956). For that reason, and also for philanthropic motives, the main European powers offered material aid, both in kind and money, and made available other kinds of help, sending specialists and observers to Lisbon (Araújo 2005). The French Court enjoyed the services of the publicist, spy and adventurer, Ange Goudar (Hauc 2004). He came to Portugal in July 1751 – and not 1752, as he claimed in the preface to his book about the earthquake – on a secret mission to advise the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and War, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. He returned to France before the disaster. Making use of the avalanche of information about Lisbon’s destruction, early in 1756 he published a work entitled *Relation historique du Tremblement de Terre survenu à Lisbonne le premier Novembre [...] précédée d’un Discours politique sur les avantages que le Portugal pourrait retirer de son Malheur*. Originally, the book, printed in the Hague, bore no reference to either its author or printer. The immediate success of the work is evidenced by the four editions printed in 1756 alone, all in French. The third edition, falsely attributed to a Lisbon print shop, bears a significant change to its title (Barreto 1982: 415). The *Discours politique* now took pride of place, and preceded the distant, distorted and error-strewn report of the damage caused by the quake. For its part, the text was also revised so as to constitute a violent attack on the Portuguese Inquisition.

In the work, Goudar says that Portugal, a victim of its ally’s covetousness, had been allowing its Brazilian gold to be drained off by Great Britain, because of its balance of trade deficit. He estimates the losses of British firms based in Lisbon at the time of the earthquake at 64 million cruzados. In addition to that excessive sum there were the incalculable losses caused by the temporary interruption of regular trade with Britain. He blames the English for Portugal’s industrial backwardness, and suggests that the catastrophe represented a unique opportunity for a radical change in Portugal’s alliances and economic policy. This change in Portugal’s foreign policy would take place with France’s help, which would take the hand of this Iberian nation and help its trade and industry to re-emerge from the ashes. Guided by such concerns, Goudar’s text became a veritable political “propaganda weapon” on the eve of the Seven Years’ War. Ostensibly backing the interests of France and the continental countries that supported its colonial intentions against England, the *Discours politique* showed that Portugal still played a pivotal role on Europe’s diplomatic chessboard, and that one possible consequence of the quake could be an end to the favouritism shown towards Britain in Portugal’s Atlantic trade. For that reason, the *Theatro Universal de Novidades Politicas e Marciaes, e Elementares e Prognóstico para o anno de 1757* noted

that the whole of Europe feared England's belligerent interference in French business, adding, on behalf of the French, that it was written in the stars that Portugal would not remain neutral in the conflict.

As demand for information about the European conflict grew, so did interest in Goudar's book. From its very first edition, it was owned, read and commented on in many European countries, including Portugal, and in Brazil, as is clear from the Edict of 8 October 1756 issued by the General Council of the Holy Office, which severely condemned its errors, insults and political falsehoods. Later, in August 1777, it would again be censured and banned by the Royal Board of Censors, indicating the continued demand for the work, which aroused the Portuguese public's curiosity until at least the time of the French invasions (1807-1814). Various editions and handwritten copies of the book circulated clandestinely in Portugal and its overseas territories.

Meanwhile, when Spain changed its foreign policy of neutrality and turned against England, allying itself with France, Goudar's work was published in Spanish (Molina Córton 2003). It circulated anonymously under the title *Profecía política, Verificada en lo que està sucediendo à los Portugueses por su ciega afición à los Ingleses*. It was published in 1762, in the same year in which French and Spanish troops, allied under the Family Compact signed between Louis XV and Charles III, invaded Portugal. This represented the last attempt to drag Portugal into the war, and led to an increase in English aid to Portugal, with military command being handed to the Count of Schaumburg-Lippe.

"The radical change in the political climate also marked a striking shift in the interpretation of the earthquake of Lisbon" (Téllez Alarcia 2005: 61). The new media war, with the 1755 earthquake as its background and the European war as its forthcoming cause, included the personal contribution of the future Marquis of Pombal. To sway international public opinion in Portugal's favour, the statesman wrote a text alluding to a "political prophecy", to be published in the *London Chronicle* newspaper. In a clear attempt at camouflage and propaganda, he attributed his thoughts to an anonymous British citizen. He attacked the types of propaganda used to prise Portugal from its alliance with England, claiming that enemies sought to "paint" the English "with such colours as to make them odious and unbearable" in the "imagination of the Portuguese peoples". And, referring to the practical aim of his criticism, he added: "this was demonstrated to the entire European public by the famous lampoon printed and published in Madrid at the start of 1762, entitled *Profecía política, Verificada en lo que està sucediendo à los Portugueses por su ciega afición à los Ingleses*. This defamatory text lived up to its seditious title and made it clear that the purpose of its writing was to denigrate both nations and to make the latter horrifying and unbearable to the former" (Barreto 1982: 414).

Pombal's expedient of using the European press to minimise the effects of the catastrophe, counter mistakes or commonly held views and take advantage of the situation laid the ground for a persistent domestic and international propaganda campaign in support of King José I's enlightened absolutism. This is something entirely new and modern, clearly showing that he understood the importance of European public opinion in the century of Enlightenment. Concurrently, upon the orders of the future Marquis of Pombal, agents and publicists sent out anonymous flyers and published opinion articles to support the international campaign against Jesuits in the main European capitals, as illustrated by Claude-Henri-Frêches (1982). Although these are two distinct, albeit parallel, propaganda issues, we wish to underline the resemblance between these political acts

of the Marquis of Pombal, which sought to programme the European public debate agenda so that it would be in tune with the priorities of the Portuguese government, after 1755.

Pombal and the History of the Catastrophe.

Following a notable diplomatic career in London and Vienna, and after having been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War, the Marquis of Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, was named King José's Secretary of State in May 1756. He distinguished himself through his efficient political action in restoring public order, guaranteeing supplies to the capital, normalising institutions (Dynes 1997; 2005) and managing the urban reconstruction process (França 1987; Rossa 2004). In order to gain a clearer idea of the extent of the damage caused by the earthquake, on the advice of Padre José Luís Cardoso, Ribeiro Sanches, Soares de Barros, Miguel Tibério Pedegache, João Jacinto de Magalhães and other scientifically trained men who cooperated with the government, the enlightened minister ordered the launch of a modern national seismology survey of great scientific, political and social scope. The January 1756 survey comprised 13 questions, called for the direct observation of nature, and required the objective recording of all anomalies noted in the earth's crust, watercourses and climate (Sousa 1919: I, 7; Barata et al. 1988: I, 43; Fonseca 2004: 121).

But Pombal did not just take control of the crisis. He also planned major reforms (Serrão 1982; Maxwell 1995). Having the trust of King José, and always at odds with certain members of the titled nobility, in little more than three years Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo was in control of the government at the head of the State Department. His rise would be marked by the crushing of a conspiracy in 1756, and by the drastic death sentences that were passed on several members of the nobility implicated in the attempt on the king's life in 1758.

The closing of the political ranks around Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo helped to present an international image of King José I as an enlightened despot. Immediately after the earthquake, the Portuguese embassy in London tried to curry the British government's favour and counter Anglican and Protestant exaggerations and opportunism regarding Portuguese Catholics. Counter-propaganda leaflets, such as *A Satirical Review of the manifold Falsehoods and Absurdities hitherto published concerning the Earthquake* (1756), and other anonymous invectives published in certain London periodicals, sought to frustrate criticisms and religiously motivated attacks on the Catholic royalist policy of José I (Rodrigues 1976). Their aim was also to reassure British subjects and blame Jews and other refugees – just like the author of *Discours Pathétique* – for the growing public fear and uproar in Britain (Oliveira [1756] 2004). In short, Portuguese diplomats were not indifferent to criticisms from Protestant sectors, and in particular the provocative pamphlets of the foreign-based Portuguese libertine Francisco Xavier de Oliveira (Rodrigues 1950).

In order to lay the foundations of a press policy commensurate with the scale of the catastrophe, the future Marquis of Pombal put together a fine group of writers, and a smaller number of faithful collaborators internationally, to regulate news about the earthquake, civil protection and the politics of those affected, as well as about Lisbon's reconstruction. He mobilised some of the great names of the day in literature and culture (Diogo et al. 2001): the mathematician and astronomer, Joaquim Soares de Barros, at the time a corresponding member of both the Berlin Academy and the Paris Academy of Science; the physicist and instrument maker, João Jacinto de

Magalhães, a member of several academies, who enjoyed good contacts in the international scientific community; the doctor, counsellor and philosopher, Ribeiro Sanches, renowned throughout Europe and living at the time in Paris; the theologian and counsellor, António Pereira de Figueiredo, identified with Febronius's theories; and, amongst others, the career soldier, Miguel Tibério Pedegache Brandão Ivo, of Swiss ancestry, endowed with great technical and artistic talent, a man of the Enlightenment, and close to the future Count of Oeiras. This little-studied figure of Pombal's regime – who before the quake had listed the most famous literary figures in Lisbon in letter form for the *Journal Étranger* – was responsible for writing the first news of the catastrophe authorised by José I's government, in his capacity as a correspondent of that newspaper. The report, dispatched on 11 November 1755 and published in December in Paris, would be developed and republished in Portugal at the start of 1756, under the title *Nova e fiel relação do terramoto que experimentou Lisboa e todo o Portugal no 1º de Novembro de 1755*, and initialled M.T.P. This same correspondent was probably the source of the famous collection of engravings comprising six enigmatic views of Lisbon in ruins: Praça da Patriarcal, the Opera House, Santa Maria Basilica, São Roque Tower, São Nicolau Church, and São Paulo Church. They were engraved in Paris in 1757 by Jacques Philippe le Bas, an engraver of the French Court, in keeping with drawings sent from Lisbon by M. Paris and T. Pedegache.

While, in the images, the firm lines capture the ruined beauty of the magnificent buildings, in the text, the author's accuracy, power of observation, mathematical spirit and political calculation provide a commanding description of the catastrophe. In French, and then in Portuguese, the start of the earthquake is described thus in the official version: "at about twenty to ten in the morning, with the barometer at 27 inches, 7 lines, and the Reamur thermometer at 14 degrees above freezing, clement weather, and pure atmosphere, the earth shook with three impulses" (Pedegache 1756:3). Curiously, as if plagiarism were involved, the same description is given by Joaquim Moreira de Mendonça in *História Universal dos Terramotos* (1758). In Pedegache's text, the scale of the destruction is not hidden. As for the number of victims, he warns readers that "nobody knows, nor will ever know, the number of people who perished in this tragic disaster" (Pedegache 1756:31). Even so, he adds that approximately one tenth of the population died, which in round numbers equates to about 20 000 or 24 000 deaths: an appropriately moderate estimate. Guided by modern philosophical and naturalistic concerns, this adviser to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo had read Buffon's *Theory of the Earth*, and called attention to the regular intervals between the great earthquakes of 1309, 1531 and 1755. He explicitly launches the suggestion of cyclical earthquakes of a similar magnitude hitting Portugal again. Science in the public service gave a relative dimension to this evil, encouraged the spread of knowledge and gave pragmatic scope to political action and urban reconstruction. The curious building techniques used for new constructions mirrored those used for cages, making it possible to better withstand any future tremor.

In the field of "political medicine" – the expression coined by Ribeiro Sanches – public health led the way in civilising the urban world of the Enlightenment, by improving city dwellers' quality of life and health. Prompted by the Duke of Lafões, the head of the Royal Judiciary, Catherine II of Russia's Portuguese doctor wrote the *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos*, published in Paris (1756), Lisbon (1757) and later Madrid (1781; 1798). Ribeiro Sanches' opportunity for reflection comes in the appendix to this work, which provides some considerations on earthquakes, with reference to the most recent one on 1 November 1755. The final version

received the patronage of the Lisbon Court, as demonstrated by the bill for 3.500 Tours pounds drawn in Lisbon and discounted by Thomas & Sons' banking house in Paris in February 1756. Even if of no great use, inasmuch as its advice was not entirely followed, the fact that it was associated with a Portuguese doctor respected by European science and individuals concerned with the *Encyclopédie* was a point in favour of the enlightened policy of José I's minister, who continually raised hygiene and health concerns in the rebuilding of Lisbon.

With regard to the 1755 earthquake, we know of more examples of information manipulation and propaganda. One might take just two examples linked to the catastrophe, which became well-known internationally through the press. The first follows publication of *As Memórias das Principais Providências que se deram no Terramoto que padeceu a corte de Lisboa no ano de 1755*, attributed to the Arcadian Francisco José Freire and published under the pseudonym Amador Patrício Lisboa. This compilation of laws bearing the signature of minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, less than a year after he joined the titled nobility as Count of Oeiras, is clearly political. This is shown by the work's dedication, which, because of its high-level patronage, was produced without a printing licence. In fact, *Memórias das Principais Providências* is a monument to the majesty of José I in book form, whose "immortal honour and greatness" it promotes. A living expression of its time, more than anything this ostentatious book embodies a people's victory over misfortune and the triumph of the political actions of their leaders.

But the way in which the press imposed the majesty of the king and his minister did not end there. The advertising campaign for *As Memórias das Principais Providências que se deram no Terramoto* continued in France in subsequent years. In June and July 1759, the mathematician and astronomer, Soares de Barros, published an article on the wise governance of King José's minister in the *Journal des Sçavants*. And in April 1760, the *Journal Étranger* published a systematic description of the Lisbon earthquake and a favourable review of *Memórias das Principais Providências* by the physicist and secularised abbot, João Jacinto de Magalhães. The first author was highly regarded in academic circles in Paris and London. As he had good international contacts, the Portuguese government granted him a pension in exchange for the support and information he provided to the diplomatic representative of Portugal in Paris, Monsenhor Salema (Ferrão 1936). The long scientific career of Jacinto de Magalhães, immediately after he was secularised and moved abroad, featured many commitments of the kind, as illustrated by some of the letters he exchanged with Pombal's advisers and with Portuguese refugees who were not blessed with identical political protection (Carvalho 1951).

Abbot Magalhães said that, after the earthquake, it was important, among other things, to save any remaining property and punish the deserters, looters, arsonists and thieves who had moved quickly into action. Entry-points into Lisbon were policed by soldiers, and the bloody repression of real and assumed criminals was decreed. Images of the disaster from that time explicitly depict the threat of the death penalty. Unusually, the spectacle seems not to have aroused the population's morbid curiosity or vengeful fury, because people were scattered and concerned with more prosaic and immediate tasks.

The wish to make up for and replace religious fear with "statutory terror" (felt to be more rational and effective) and the need to set society – threatened by crime – back on an even keel, made the death penalty acceptable to the despotic minister. By veiling punishment in a cloak of justice, the general effect was to shift ritualised fear from Heaven to Earth. As a secularised expression of power,

the cruel and bloody portrayal of royal justice was also a core element of absolutism's strategy of self-consecration. In short, under Pombal's government, the death penalty had a higher political profile. It became known not only for its elements of cruelty, but also for the conspiratorial nature of the trials and sentences, which worsened after the 1755 earthquake.

In his ode, *Au Soleil, sur les malheurs de la terre, depuis le désastre de Lisbonne, en 1755*, the poet Le Brun accurately linked the tragic event to the attempts to assassinate the king of France in 1755 and the king of Portugal in 1758. But the idea of transforming an unexpected and brutal event into an essential turning point in the exaltation of royal power can already be found in Father Pereira de Figueiredo's *Comentário latino e português sobre o terramoto e incêndio de Lisboa* (1756). This work also saw a degree of success in Spain, Italy, France and Austria. This theoretician of political regalism later developed a historical view of Pombal's government in the *Diário dos Sucessos de Lisboa, desde o terramoto até ao extermínio dos jesuítas* (1761), originally written in Latin, as was the former book, and destined to be read in Portugal and abroad. In it, he saw Pombal's government polarised by two fundamental events: the 1755 earthquake and the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759. The latter is shown to be closely connected with the dramatic execution of the Marquis of Távora and others implicated in the attempted assassination of 3 September 1758. The trial highlighted the persecution of the Jesuits, and in particular Father Gabriel Malagrida, accused of having inspired the plot. The condemned men were publicly executed in Praça do Cais de Belém in 1759. Although the Jesuit was found guilty of collusion with the would-be assassins, he continued in imprisonment at Junqueira. He was sentenced by the auto-da-fé of 1761. The Inquisitor-General, Paulo de Carvalho de Mendonça, was the brother of the future Marquis of Pombal.

In narrating these and other facts, the *Diário dos Sucessos de Lisboa* glorified the official version of history during the period and was published in the year in which the Duke of Lafões, the head of the judiciary, died, a few months after it was decreed that the Portuguese government's relations with the Holy See were severed, and the Count of Oeiras ordered the exile of several members of the Court. The rise and consecration of the king's leading minister should not, therefore, be disassociated from these complex events. The *Diário dos Sucessos de Lisboa*, reprinted in 1766, circulated throughout Europe, seeking to inform people of the enlightened governance of the future Marquis of Pombal and to show that, for wise men and men of action, the 1755 earthquake represented a new era of progress and glory for Portugal. Thus, in response to the domestic and international crisis of 1755 to 1761, the Portuguese State produced a positive balance sheet for the work carried out, and, in the face of superstition and common-sense truths, imposed an unquestionably secular interpretation of the catastrophe and its consequences.

Conclusions

In brief, in a context featuring the Lisbon earthquake (1755) and the early stages of a war involving the main European powers (1756), the effects of natural risk – exhaustively discussed in surveys, memoirs, accounts, and studies which, according to Gregory Quenet, gave rise to the “first popular debates on science in the Age of Enlightenment” (Quenet 2005: 367) – together with the uncertainties underlying the termination of the European conflict, as expressed publicly by

reporters, diplomats, anonymous observers and reputed figures, revealed to 18th-century philosophers a new view of the natural and social world.

In Portugal, the Marquis of Pombal shared with the enlightened elite an experimental conception of nature. In January 1756, he designed a national survey to discover the causes and origin of the natural disaster, minimise future risks and assess the damage the earthquake had caused. Through another scheme, the enlightened minister of King José I attempted to legitimate history on the basis of the doctrinal work of his direct advisers. The statesman, who efficiently managed the crisis by solving the immediate effects of the cataclysm, rebuilding the capital according to a plan, silencing his rivals and publicising his policies internally and internationally, enhanced the idiosyncrasy of the enlightened absolutist rule of King José I. He also adopted a modern attitude by clearly separating the purpose of God from the signs of nature and the will of human beings. From this point onwards, the “victory of the Marquis of Pombal” – in the words of Susan Neiman (Neiman 2005: 279) – arose from the development of a coherent political agenda which was founded on past events and, in the aftermath of the earthquake, focused on the dissemination of Natural Philosophy, the enhancement of knowledge that could be of use for the State, legislative reform and on imposition of the History of National Rule.

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On Communism and the Nation –Notes from the History of the Colonial Question in the Portuguese Communist Party

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Abstract

This article analyzes the positions adopted by the Portuguese Communist Party in relation to the colonial question. Before doing so, however, the article discusses the general problem of the national question in the history of the PCP, addressing some topics that are important for a discussion of communist historiography. This discussion is part of a larger debate concerning the analytical identification between nation and culture, on the one hand, and between politics and power, on the other. In dealing with these dichotomies, some topics are presented for discussion, relating to studies on both the Portuguese Empire and the Leninist theory of imperialism.

Keywords

Nationalism, communism, internationalism, colonialism, historiography

1. Introduction

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese king Dom Luís found himself sailing along Portugal's Atlantic coast. By chance, he and his crew encountered a small boat sailed by fishermen. The king spoke to them and asked if they were Portuguese, but they immediately answered, "No, we are from Póvoa do Varzim", which was at that time a small fishing village near Porto (Mattoso 1998: 14). I recount this brief story to illustrate one basic point: like other countries, Portugal as an imagined community is a recent construct. As we all know, the process of imagining a national community is a complex and controversial issue that divides social scientists (Anderson 1998; Smith 1995). Nonetheless, there are some points that seem to be widely accepted: states create nations and not the contrary; nations are a modern phenomenon, although we may discuss the pre-modern roots of modern nations; the main producers of the images of a

nation are men from intellectual and political circles; the image of a nation requires an image of the past.

The study of Portuguese images of the past has flourished in recent years. As post-modern theories have come to influence the national intelligentsia, the study of representations and images has become a productive field in Portuguese social sciences, resulting in the publication of important studies on Portuguese colonialist ideology (Ribeiro 2004; Alexandre 2000; Castelo 1998). Unfortunately, the study of the socio-economic structures and dynamics of the Portuguese Empire has become a less significant area for researchers. In Portugal, we can say that the study of “representations” no longer depends on the study of “realities”.

As we know, neither the first nor the second type of focus sheds any light on such a concept as “the truth”. Consequently, it is important to note that the less we care about the history of social dynamics – labor relations, for example – the more prone we are to value cultural dynamics as isolated from socio-economic forces. The risks associated with an essentialist approach to culture are exacerbated when discussing, for instance, the history of the Portuguese language. It is a risk that can perhaps best be summarized in the idea of *Lusofonia* – a concept that in a certain way develops the idea that a people owns a language, which rests upon a fetishistic approach to the language, and collides with the principle that a language belongs to the person who uses it at the moment when he or she chooses (Margarido 2000: 7).

While this article recognizes the need to study the “stone” (taken here as the figurative expression of reality), and not merely the “image of the stone” (i.e., representations), this article mostly deals with the study of an “image of the stone”, an image which is not the product of any hegemonic political power but quite the contrary: the image produced by those who were not “in charge” – i.e. Portuguese communists. Nevertheless, the general lack of consideration for what we may simply call socio-economic historical items emerges, to some extent, as an intellectual bias even when writing the history of the communist policy on the colonial question.

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was founded in 1921, and underwent a profound reorganization at the end of the 1920s and again at the beginning of the 1940s. This second reorganization effort was so decisive that we may say that the contemporary PCP emerged at precisely that moment. The central question that I am studying in my Ph.D. project concerns the relationship between communism and nationalism in the party’s history. One of the central issues guiding me in this task is precisely the approach that the party adopted toward the colonial question. I have not chosen the colonial question randomly, but because of the strong link that exists between national politics and the colonial question in contemporary Portuguese thought. From the end of the nineteenth century until 1974, almost all of the country’s political projects for regeneration involved the Empire as a central component. For republicans and fascists alike, the Empire was a way to recover the nation’s “lost glory”. As such, we can hardly speak about a non-colonialist nationalism in Portugal¹.

While analyzing the PCP’s positions on the colonial question, I found myself confronted with the historical views brought to bear on these positions, and so I ended up first addressing a theoretical problem, which I discuss in the first part of my text. Only after discussing it will I be able to draw any conclusions about the PCP’s positions on the colonial question.

2. Rethinking Anti-colonialism: history versus the nation

¹ The clear exception comes from a non-nationalist political tradition – for instance, the anarchist group brought together by the newspaper *A Batalha* during the 1920s (Castro and Garcia 1995).

The PCP's historical involvement with the colonial question is usually summarized from one of two standpoints. The first describes the PCP's progressive evolution from a proto-colonialist to an anti-colonialist position. This is an idea that is present, to some extent, in the first historical analysis of the PCP and the colonial question, a chapter in an extremely original book by the historian José Freire Antunes (Antunes 1980: 81). The second perspective highlights the difficulties in finding any radical differences in the colonial positions of the PCP and those of the liberals or the republicans. This view is sustained by the two major works published on the PCP and the colonial question²: an article written by the Portuguese historian João Madeira and a Ph.D. thesis produced by the French historian Judith Manyà (Madeira 2003; Manyà 2004: 224).

In different ways, these views conclude that the PCP regularly renounced the anti-colonialist principles theoretically maintained by Leninist parties. It is not my purpose here to counter such assessments. Indeed, Madeira, Manyà and Pereira's excellent research makes their conclusions appear to be quite solid. Nonetheless, I believe that the PCP's colonial policy cannot be completely summarized by any general claim that the party had a perpetually instrumental attitude toward anti-colonialist values. There is at least one other side to the story, which I believe is currently devalued. For us to face this hidden feature of the question, it seems to me that we need to change our perspective. Mainly, we need to re-establish the historical autonomy of anti-colonialist principles from the quest for national independence among communist political cultures.

Normally the quest for national independence has been the principal factor in explaining the existence of anti-colonialism among Portuguese communists. This analytical option implies two assumptions: first, that greater value is given to the nation-state over communist criticism of the predominant economic and social relations; second, that this criticism consequently is devalued. These assumptions structure our historical understanding, making us somehow reluctant to consider some important features of communist political cultures. Even if we take into account the profound nationalization of communist political cultures in the 20th century, it still remains clear that communist political culture tends to give less importance to the nation-state and is more committed to socio-economic criticism.

As a starting point, I will describe the PCP's overall approach to the colonial question in terms of two groups of positions. The first consists of a set of positions toward the colonial question based on a criticism of the dynamics of social and economic relations. The second consists of positions which are formed on the basis of a quest for national independence – a quest that could be satisfied either in terms of Portuguese national independence (this idea was invoked when accusing Salazar and his government of selling the colonies to the imperialist powers) or in terms of the right of African nationalist movements to independent nationhood. As times, both of these apparently contradictory nationalist demands seemed to co-exist in PCP policy.

Historians tend to ignore the first position group. They devalue an approach to the colonial question grounded in social and economic criticism. It seems that they take it for granted, as if the socio-economic perspective is something so abstractly and absolutely – almost religiously,

² There is a recent work that also deserves our attention. It is a chapter from the last volume of Pacheco Pereira's biography of Álvaro Cunhal, which has recently been published. In it, Pereira focuses mainly on the 1950s and the relationship between African militants and Portuguese communist militants, and he shows that he is not particularly concerned with searching through the history of the PCP's positions on the colonial question. Pereira's viewpoints deal with theoretical issues that are different from those I discuss in this article. While some of them are quite singular, others develop issues already debated by Manyà. Pereira's emphasis on the African nationalist militants' historical revision of communist militancy is quite interesting.

I would say – present in communist political culture that it does not deserve any historical analysis. In keeping with this attitude, analyses quickly conclude by suggesting that the PCP's position on the colonial question was, above all else, one of ignorance or showed a lack of respect for the cultural life of African peoples. By linking the concept of culture to the sphere of politics and not to that of economics, these views indirectly reproduce and enhance one of the PCP's own approaches and tend to overlook or devalue another one. In other words, they end up considering the colonial question from the logic of nationalist reasoning, referring either to the established imperial nation or a potential insurgent nation. General interpretations tend to limit communist history to one of two broad analytical frames: African national independence or Portuguese colonial nationalism. Following such general interpretations, we could conclude that the nation *per se* was not a problematic issue confronting communist political cultures; to some extent, communist political cultures unproblematically managed the idea of the nation.

Underlying this whole problematic is the concept of culture. In part, what lies beneath the predominant, biased interpretation of the nation is a definition of culture that is increasingly restricted to a national community and to the state form. The political nationalization of culture produces something that might be described as the militarization of culture, or the idea that culture is a thing more than a relation, something that needs to be defended and protected as the homeland of sovereignty and nationhood (Eagleton 2003: 84). In short, national heritage – and not economic relations – is the home of culture.

By pointing to the analytical/historical lack of awareness of the cultural dimension of economic relations, I am not suggesting that the predominantly nationalist approach to culture can be explained entirely by the misleading nature of analytical interpretations. A significant number of the PCP's considerations about economic relations favored a materialist approach, one that regularly ignored the qualitative (cultural) dimension of economics. Indeed, E.P. Thompson's concept of the "moral economy" as aimed against both liberal and socialist intellectual and political paradigms should be emphasized (Thompson 1995). Nevertheless, at this point I would like to recall two general kinds of understanding of communist history: firstly, emphasis should be given to the close link between a communist tendency towards adopting an "amoral" approach to economics and the nationalization of communist politics (Szporluk 1988); secondly, it should be remembered that nationalization never became the exclusive and absolute preserve of communists, even if we consider it to be a growing tendency in communist policy (Neves 2005).

By linking these two understandings it becomes clearer what is at stake in some historical judgments of communist colonial policy: the tendency for the same perspectives and criteria to inform analytic/historical interpretations and what became dominant (and thus visible) political views. In a particular way, the transformations brought about by communist-dominated political cultures throughout the 1930s gave culture some of the organic properties commonly attributed to land: culture was defined in terms of territoriality and took on the air of heritage. Having been crystallized in this way, culture was then desocialized in order to become an identity whose essential content is nationality. More generally, the transformations that took place in political cultures across the ideological spectrum in the period after the Second World War encouraged this nationalization of culture. Since then, when dealing with questions of politics and culture, we have all tended to see culture mainly in terms of national political frameworks and we have been unable to see culture as being embodied in mobile economic relations. We prefer to look for a cultural dimension inside the nation and within the principles on which the state is based, taking all economic discourse as pure economism and promoting a commonsense division between culture and economy.

Most certainly, we can see the mark of economism in the communists' attacks on Portugal's economic exploitation of the colonies, but we can also see a conditioning "moral" pressure in the PCP's analysis. Even when we do not find any demand by the PCP for independent statehood for Portugal's overseas colonies, it is sometimes possible to detect a communist anti-colonialist feeling and position. In a socio-economic report on the 1942 famines in Cape Verde that is highly critical of the Empire, the PCP journalistic organ *Avante!* clearly calls upon colonized peoples to resist Salazarism –but not to fight for national independence. The article concludes that the famines indisputably show that only "a government freely elected by the people and interested in the solution of such problems will be able to free them from the condition of famine and slavery under which they still live". And although the report ignores any eventual struggle for national independence, *Avante!* stresses that the situation demands that the Portuguese people should adhere to a fundamentally anti-colonial principle: "a people that oppresses another people is not a free people"³.

3. Silent Bonds: the emergence of nationalism

Our first steps led us to perceive the nation as a problem, presenting a challenge to communist policies in terms of colonial policy. We were therefore encouraged to see the nation as a problem dealt with by communists and by the parties of the Third International in particular. We can now take another step toward focusing on the history of such a problematic.

If we do not wish to be astonished by facts, perhaps we should begin by emphasizing a cultural bond that unites opposite political factions, instead of simply taking into due consideration the most glaring forms of cultural rupture and political extremity. Traditionally, communism has been seen as a specific kind of alien force. In the Portuguese case, the impetus to alienate ourselves from communism comes mainly from the rhetoric of political warfare – see terms like "agents of Stalin", "delegates of Moscow", and "faces of evil". It is important for us to confront this kind of slogan in order to state that Portuguese communists were not simply or purely communists. They were communists, but communists in a specific context.

When discussing the formation of a communist, we generally claim that while he surely shared a set of common experiences with others, there was something different about him that turned him into a communist. Continuity and not only rupture must be taken into consideration. Consider this fact, for instance: some of the major Portuguese communist leaders came from families with direct political links to the republican movement that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. The republican tradition must surely be investigated if one wants to analyze Portuguese communism and, above all, the communists' colonial policies. Indeed, some of the central concepts of the Enlightenment – such as the idea of a civilizing process – entered Portuguese communism mainly via a national liberal tradition. But we must additionally note that the Marxist matrix *per se* also contributed to the Portuguese communist worldview through its progressivism. Some of Marx and Engels's texts on colonial and national questions – in which they express a number of culturalist views – give us precise and useful examples. Let us simply follow Marx's well-known reasoning on the issue of British domination over India:

India, then, could not escape the fate of being conquered [...] Indian society has no history at all, at least no known history. What we call its history, is but the history

³ "As Belezas do "Império Português" – A Fome em Cabo-Verde!". In *Avante!*, 19 October 1942, p. 2.

of the successive intruders who founded their empires on the passive basis of that unresisting and unchanging society.⁴

As we can see from this example, we need to broaden our understanding of continuity beyond the national context to include the effects of temporal limitations. We not only need to consider continuity in chronological terms, but we must also be aware of its synchronic dimension, so that we can uncover the bond between those who are, at a certain moment, heavily engaged in a cultural war, fighting against each other for state political power and ideological hegemony. Such a bond was clearly established between Portuguese communists and the Estado Novo.

One of the major battles of such cultural wars (Lebovics 1992) regarded the symbolic value of the rural world. Indeed, the rural world has been a principal field for the imaginative representation of battles in 20th-century intellectual life, from which Portuguese communists were certainly not absent. Despite the value attributed to modern industry and to the cause of the industrial proletariat, it was mainly from the depths of inland Portugal, from the rural countryside, that communists were able to build their national imaginary. So-called popular culture was, in most cases, a result of the intellectual image of the rural world. Rural Portugal, mainly the Alentejo, the land of the rural proletariat, was seen as the land where the real Portugal fermented. The “true Portugal” suddenly and sporadically appeared in national history, participating in the great, epic revolutions of the past, most notably in 1383, 1820 and 1910, dates that are analytically synthesized as moments of class resistance and national independence (Neves 2004).

As we know, defining national identity through the definition of popular culture and defining popular culture through the definition of the rural country are widespread intellectual practices. Most nation-building processes confirm this. The myth of the soldier Chauvin is traditionally seen as reactionary, though political factions adopting national or nationalistic discourse commonly invoke the idea of the land’s regenerative capacity. In the literary universe of Portuguese communism (which we may identify with neo-realism) the land has powerfully utopian implications. It represents the principle of work, which generates wealth and life, and a last safe haven (the last refuge for those living a clandestine life and the gateway to exile). Moreover, the land serves as a guarantee of stability against the disorder of the city and the increasing spread of emigration.

It might be said that if, for the Estado Novo, rural Portugal was the homeland of a Portugal that had always existed and was re-emerging after the defeat of liberalism, for communism, rural Portugal was the home of the secret and clandestine Portugal still waiting to be released and as yet unrevealed, the place in which the future was stored. (Leal 2000). In both cases, the rural world is where “the genuine country” can be found. That is why we need to look at the collaborative dimension of intellectual conflict between the elites, even when this conflict is painted, in political terms, as being black against white, communism against fascism. As Bourdieu once skeptically claimed, the fight for symbolic power is a conflict that expresses difference only because it departs from a reality of common representation in which consensus is expressed (Bourdieu 2001:11).

All manner of bonds were used by Portuguese communists when they imagined the behavior of the multitude and when they represented the people – in other words, when they invoked the concept of “the people” to refer to the multitude and imagined certain kinds of people

⁴ Karl Marx, “Os Resultados prováveis do domínio britânico na Índia”. In Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1978), *Sobre o Colonialismo*, vol. I, Lisbon: Estampa, p. 97

when describing it. The notion that those living in Portugal were Portuguese was a cornerstone of the Portuguese communist positions on the colonial question. In conceptual terms, the communists nationalized those who lived in Portugal – termed the “people,” as in the republican narrative – and considered their national identity on numerous occasions as being more powerful than other factors of mobilization, such as those based on class. The ideas that the “masses” had a sense of their own national identity and that they viewed the colonial question in these terms were strongly held by the communist leadership when imagining the so-called “people”, those whose representation gave communist parties their *raison d’être*.

4. Power Games: Communists imagining nationalism

Nationality was not an axiom of Marx and Engels’s theoretical writings. This unimportance is usually seen as a lacuna or an error, but we should also see it as an option. Even if he was an avid supporter of scientific analysis, Marx guided his own study of reality by using desires and aspirations as guiding categories. Besides this, from Marx’s standpoint the nation was not a neutral and unproblematic historical entity. It was the debate between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin about the right to self-determination, particularly the defeat of Luxemburg’s views that paved the way for the de-problematization of the national question in communist political thought. Hence, for the Third International, the nation became a progressively more viable field of action for communist politics.

The nation became a device through which communists were now acting upon the whole of reality, and this transformed the communists’ anti-colonialist position. The colonial question began to be formulated less and less alongside the national paradigm of politics. Episodically, we should not forget the importance of the debates in the Communist International on the Chinese question toward the end of 1920. But we can now advance a little further, directing ourselves toward the core of Leninism as a central doctrine. Progressively, the central Leninist theory of imperialism took on manifest importance as the dynamo of communist political thought. In conceiving power as being territorialized and centralized at one main point – the state and the nation-state – it directly declared the occupation of state power as “the” objective. As we know, the agenda of the international communist movement was therefore constructed around the aim of assuming state power. Power was more intensely identified with state power and transforming power relations was increasingly identified with the task of seizing state power. The profound impact of this conception of power is something that deserves close attention.

Let us briefly examine the case of class struggles: the negative value or the secondary importance attributed by mainline political communism and dominant Marxist historiography to the so-called “everyday forms of resistance” (Scott 1985) cannot be disconnected from the growing analytical identification between power and politics, and between political power and state power. Such identification soon proved practical, as it avoided debates on the hierarchical nature of the state form and the authoritarianism of nationalism as problems facing communist movements (Seth 1995).

It is obviously rather simplistic to reduce the causes of such a complex web of historical features to the effects produced by a political theory, even if the political theory in question is as symbolic and compelling as Leninism. And it is true that by re-reading Lenin’s theory of imperialism, we can see at least two avenues pinpointed as the routes of capitalist expansion: territorial and extensive expansion, on the one hand; and intensive and relational expansion, on the other. Lenin also considered in his fundamental text on imperialism that the power function of

the imperialist states could be diminished in the not too distant future (Lenin's own rhetoric against Kautsky's super-imperialist theory somehow skates over this point)⁵. But the principal developments of the Stalinist period clearly emphasized the territorial line of analysis and political orientation. It is not by accident that the dissident ways in which power was conceived in the Marxist tradition somehow established themselves, from then on, against the Stalinist paradigm – from the Frankfurt School to Antonio Gramsci, a hybrid case in which the concept of the national-popular was linked to the idea of counter-hegemony.

In general, and from the roots up, communist political critics invite us all to see the affective relationship between economic and political interests in social life. The Leninist theory of imperialism somehow developed this point analytically on a worldwide scale, but at the same time it stood for a strategy that promoted a distinction between the political and economic centers of power. And so the imagined center of power increasingly began to restrict politics to the national territory and institutions. In this way politics and nation-states became the home of culture, instead of concerning themselves with economics and social relations. And politics, both instead of and apart from culture, became the major field for policy and strategy.

The main consequence of this about-face was a reification of culture in national terms. This reification sustained a stepped-time frame for the concept of developed and underdeveloped countries, favoring the adoption of a progressive model of time that would gradually become applicable on a worldwide scale. Consequently, we see the adoption of a vanguardist notion of primary historical actors as responsible for submitting their countries to the various stages of progressive universal time. A country's proximity to socialism was closely linked to its degree of industrialization, and the immanent quest for a higher quality of life was linked to national productivity. Economic and social struggles were increasingly seen as being politically insufficient to bring about revolution, as Trotsky himself regretted (Mandel 1995). Class struggles were no longer seen as immediately capable of addressing new or counter-hegemonic cultural experiences. A teleological conception of history became a mainstay of communist thought and politics. In 1957, Jaime Serra, in his address to the PCP's 5th Congress, defended a change in the communist position on the colonial question, justifying his view by saying that Africa had entered into "the wheel of history"⁶.

5. Nationalism as Anti-colonialism

In 1957, the 5th Congress of the PCP approved the African people's right to national self-determination and maintained that the task of Portuguese communist militants was to contribute to the formation of movements whose first duty would be to fight for national independence. The political task was no longer to develop militant sections of the PCP in the colonies, a change that seriously weakened the idea that the independence of the colonies depended on the achievement of a democratic revolution in the metropolis. As far as the colonial question is concerned, historians of the PCP almost universally acknowledge 1957 as a watershed year, with party history consequently divided into "pre-1957" and "post-1957" periods.

⁵ "Old capitalism has finished. New capitalism is a moment of transition to something different". Vladimir Lenin (1981), "O Imperialismo, Fase Superior do Capitalismo". In V. Lenin, *Obras Escolhidas*, 1, Moscow/Lisbon: Progresso/Avante, p. 609.

⁶ Jaime Serra, "Sobre o problema das colónias – intervenção do Camarada Freitas (Jaime Serra)". In *V Congresso do PCP*, 1957. Archive: Fundação Mário Soares.

The historical significance given to 1957 is fair. Nonetheless, it leads to a tendency to describe the preceding period in terms of a timeline leading from proto-colonialist positions to anti-colonialist ones, incorporating the ambivalence of the preceding and consequent periods. As far as the preceding period is concerned, we should note that the sources presently available point to a far richer reality than could be contained in the abovementioned linear development (Neves 2001). Indeed, we can find anti-colonialist statements dating from the 1920s, just as we can find communist proposals to sell the Portuguese Empire to the British in the same decade. We can find racist declarations in the 1940s, but we also find the opposite. We can also see that the texts addressed to external audiences – electoral manifestos and other pamphlets – seem less anti-colonialist than internal documents. Finally, recalling the theoretical problem debated in the first part of this text, we can find clear attacks on capitalist social domination over Africans in the reporting of strikes and other paradigmatic aspects of proletarian life, and yet we can also find softer approaches that ignore certain aspects of Portuguese political domination over its colonies.

These ambivalences were exacerbated by the contradictory pressures emanating from the Communist International and from the moderate Portuguese antifascist opposition. But considering the affective links between the Portuguese communists' typical strategy with regard to political alliances and the Soviet strategy for leading the Third International, it is hard to see the PCP's greater attachment to anti-colonialist principles as a function of the party's degree of loyalty to the Communist International and the USSR. The major policies defended by the International in the 1930s were indirectly – but consciously – responsible for a devaluation of anti-colonialism among Western communist parties, such as the PCP and the French Communist Party. In order to facilitate antifascist alliances, communist parties softened their political positions regarding anti-colonialism.

The dominant teleological conception of history in communist political cultures is at the core of such instrumental tactics and is closely connected with a progressive vision of social development and a vanguardist conception of politics: the party guides social development so that history can be fully realized. In Portugal, to lead implied fighting for a democratic revolution, a revolution that was not yet projected as a permanent one in the socialist sense. Making antifascist alliances was the tactical move necessary for bringing about a democratic revolution, and so anti-colonialism and nationalism became tactical and instrumental devices, the first being devalued and the second given greater importance.

From the 1930s onwards, patriotism prevailed as a means of achieving internationalism. From then on, it was difficult to discern any rigorous opposition between nationalism and internationalism. In the Portuguese case – and our study tells us that the following conception may also be valid in reference to most Marxist-Leninist parties, at least in Western Europe – two opposing kinds of internationalism confronted each other within the same political culture: a nationalist internationalism and an anti-nationalist internationalism, with the first becoming increasingly dominant in communist political cultures. The influence of the communist front's strategies adopted in the 1930s, the dominant understanding of imperialism as an extensive form of expansion in opposition to the understanding of imperialism as an intensive form of expansion, the new world order of the Cold War introduced during the second postwar period, as well as a number of other trends, are factors that underlie the formation of a nationalist internationalism, which in turn gave rise to national-colonialist and national anti-colonialist positions.

But anti-nationalist internationalism nonetheless remained alive, even after the party congress in 1957.

6. Anti-colonialism as Anti-capitalism

Francisco Martins Rodrigues is now the name to bear in mind. He was an important PCP militant and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee in the early 1960s. He was the first person to create a leftist split in the PCP. One of the central ruptures between Rodrigues and the PCP concerned the different positions adopted with regard to the colonial question. Rodrigues' criticism of the prevailing PCP policy placed him in a situation of extreme political opposition to Álvaro Cunhal. He strongly criticized *Rumo à Vitória*, a text written by Cunhal that became the main strategic and political reference for the PCP. In opposition to Cunhal, Rodrigues defended a concept of the social struggle that was incompatible with any nationalist political project, which ran counter to one of the principal features of Cunhal's own thought. Rodrigues defended a socio-economic bias in opposition to the increasingly national focus of PCP policies. On the colonial question, Rodrigues defended the principle that the main distinction to be made was not between colonialism and fascism⁷. Rather for Rodrigues, colonialism was directly connected to capitalism, which he considered mainly as a social and economic relationship.

Politically, this change implied a rejection of any strategic or tactical move toward establishing political alliances with moderate sectors of the opposition. This had consequences at two levels. In order to combat colonialism, it was not enough to combat fascism, firstly because colonialism was one of the basic supports of Portuguese nationalism in general (not only of Portuguese fascist nationalism), and secondly because colonialism was directly connected to the dynamics of capitalism (not only with non-democratic capitalist interests). Thus, combating colonialism implied opposing republicans and democratic bourgeoisies, as well as fascists. There could therefore be no alliance with democratic colonialists:

To those who argue that attacking republican colonialism helps fascist propaganda, we will answer that concealing the Portuguese colonialist past is to conceal its very nature and that revealing it makes it possible for us to engage in a decisive combat against it.⁸

Anti-colonialism implied not only national self-determination, but also social self-determination. Rodrigues' position made him a radical critic of Cunhal's views concerning revolution in Portugal and in the colonies. The case to be made in defense of Rodrigues is that he fought against the prevailing understanding of imperialism as an extensive form of expansion, mobilizing support for an understanding of imperialism as an intensive form of expansion. His inspiration surely came from the growing influence of Maoism. But – and this is where Rodrigues' case is more interesting – such a position was only possible for Rodrigues because of the fact as a long-time PCP militant, he was already under the influence of a socio-economic bias.

Following this path, I should like to conclude by linking the debate within the PCP on the colonial question to studies of the Portuguese Empire carried out in the social sciences. The point to be provocatively emphasized is that Rodrigues' position was not only relevant in terms of the political debates that it engendered. Analytically and historically, we can find in Rodrigues' position the basis for the present-day consensus among Portuguese social scientists working on the Empire: colonialism was not a direct product of fascism, but it had its roots in the strength of a general nationalist feeling and in the general dynamics of global capitalism. So, we end up returning to our original point of departure, in which the need was stressed for studying the

⁷ *Revolução Popular – edição completa 1964-65* (1975). Lisbon: Voz do Povo.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 143.

Portuguese Empire not only in relation to the sphere of representations and ideas, but also in terms of economic and social relations.

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The Padre António Vieira Chair: Teaching, Research and Cultural Action

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The Padre António Vieira Chair in Portuguese Studies was created on 7 October 1994, as the result of an agreement signed between the Instituto Camões and PUC-Rio [<http://www.lettras.puc-rio.br/catedra/>]. Since then, the Chair has developed into an interdisciplinary space for the training of teachers and researchers in the social sciences.

Promoting academic exchanges between Brazil and Portugal, the Chair's main aim has been to deepen the cultural dialog that already exists between the two countries within the university context. Operating in close collaboration with the Graduate Studies program in PUC-Rio's Department of Letters, the Chair undertakes research in core thematic areas. In this sense, the formation of a team composed of researchers and research assistants has been one of the most relevant outcomes in the consolidation of the studies undertaken.

The Chair is involved in the training of teachers in the areas of Portuguese Literature and Culture, Portuguese Language, and Lusophone Literatures. Since 1994, fifty-six master's degrees and twenty-four doctorates have been completed in the department, many of the successful candidates having already joined the teaching staff of some of the most important universities in Brazil. Currently, there are twenty-eight students regularly enrolled in the graduate program in Portuguese Literary Studies at PUC-Rio, eighteen of whom are pursuing Ph.D. degrees, while the other ten are masters students.

Research projects

I. Literature and Urban Experience – The aim of this project is to study the ways in which the city is represented and the relationships these representations maintain with the wider universe of culture. With this aim in mind, attempts are being made to assemble an interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary bibliography in the field of urban studies, to construct a theoretical framework that makes it possible to read the images and representations of the city in poetic, narrative and reference works from 19th and 20th century Brazilian and Portuguese literature, and, from a comparative standpoint, to interact with texts from other literatures. This research is focused on the question of the legibility of the modern and postmodern city.

II. Representation and Testimony in Contemporary Literature – Research is directed toward the reading and analysis of the mechanisms by which individuals represent and report limit-experiences, focusing on writers and other artists working over the last fifty years. The aim is to detect a return to the forms, genres and languages enshrined in tradition and reinscribed as a strategy for representing and reporting historical processes, such as the one that took place in Portugal and involved the Estado Novo (New State), the Revolution of the Carnations in 1974 and the decolonization of the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Furthermore, attempts are made to map out the discursive territories created by voices that embody both extreme experiences of the curtailment of freedom and the diverging paths of displacement, migration and reconfiguration that identify societies marked by regimes of exception.

III. The role of the intellectual in modern society – Research seeks to identify and analyze the mechanisms of writing that have positioned the writer as a committed citizen and politically engaged intellectual in Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking African societies over the last few decades. It is dedicated to interpreting the “procedures” of reading/writing with which, in modern and postmodern societies, the writer calls into question the verbal scenarios that dominate everyday life through the production of “reality effects” and social control. The project also seeks to analyze the role of the writer as a producer of meaning and a constructor of alternative histories that unweave and then reweave the “fabric of narratives” with which the history of Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking African societies has been read over the last few decades.

IV. Literature, politics and culture: relations between Portugal, Brazil and Africa - Research here looks at the relations between Portugal, Brazil and Africa, highlighting the role played by tradition, or the break with it, in the construction of identifying cultural landmarks. Adopting a clearly comparative critical standpoint, an attempt is made to give shape to an in-between place, making it possible to generate new readings of Portuguese, Brazilian and (Portuguese-speaking) African cultural production that move between times and spaces where they are housed between present/past, colonial history/post-colonial experience, nationality/transnationality. Analysis is directed toward the production of Portuguese, Brazilian and African literature, essays and iconography over the last fifty years, focusing on the configurations and reconfigurations of cultural marks of identity and their possible relationship with media production.

V. Creditors, debtors and innovators in Portuguese Literature – This project examines the continued influence of Camões and Fernando Pessoa on poets who, whether they admit it or not, always retain them as present in their minds, even when rebelling against these indispensable references. Intertextual relationships are analyzed in which the poetics of either homage or opposition to the great names are manifested, allowing for the development of new forms of dialog with literary tradition.

VI. Vieira and the Portuguese language in the 17th century – This diachronic research effort, which has been under development since the 1990s, has placed the greatest emphasis on Vieira’s inflective words, with special attention paid to the factors that make it possible for migrations

to occur between processes of grammaticalization. Although the majority of linguistic changes in Portuguese were implemented during the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries, this research project offers valuable insights, particularly with regard to the introduction of concessive constructions. Among the most noteworthy features of Vieira's text are the syntactic processes used to express concessivity. The following are examples of items being researched: the use of the gerund; the agreement of the past participle with the direct object in periphrastic constructions with the verbs *haver* and *ter*; the links between compound tenses and periphrasis with *ter* and *haver*; forms of treatment; the prepositioned direct object; the emergence of the opposition between *lhe* (singular) and *lhes* (plural); the expression of finality through the use of structures introduced by the preposition *por* and the conjunction *porque*.

VII. The oratory of Padre António Vieira: the doctrinal message in a new style – This project considers Vieira's extensive and important oeuvre, specifically his *Cartas*, *História do Futuro*, and *Sermões*, placing special emphasis on the sermons. An examination is made of the way in which writing reveals the domination of the sacred books and the discursive expression of faith. In texts of high literary quality, descriptions are given of the ways in which the author makes critical use of the processes of oratory in general, and the baroque style in particular.

International Seminars

Since 1995, the Padre António Vieira Chair in Portuguese Studies has been hosting seminars at PUC-Rio that have sought to discuss themes and questions related to present-day concerns, to promote methodological approach, and to respect the tradition that has been bequeathed to us. The seminars also foster interdisciplinary discussion by bringing together researchers from Brazil and other countries, who represent various teaching and research institutions and disciplinary backgrounds. Seminars undertaken by the Padre António Vieira Chair are listed below:

- **“Revisiting Luís de Camões: 400 years of the *Rhythmas*” (1995)** – This first seminar organized by the Chair paid homage to Luís de Camões on the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of his lyrical work, the *Rhythmas*. The seminar addressed the princeps edition of the *Rhythmas* against the broad panorama of Renaissance culture.
- **“The 150th anniversary of the birth of Eça de Queirós” (1995)** – This seminar commemorated the 150th anniversary of Eça de Queirós's birth. In addition to honoring Queirós as a great Portuguese novelist, the main feature of this meeting was the exchange of experiences and the debate that took place between teachers who have used Eça's work as one of the central avenues of their research.
- **“The various faces of António Vieira” (1995)** – The three hundredth anniversary of the death of Padre António Vieira, the patron of the Chair, was commemorated with lectures given by four Brazilian and Portuguese specialists on Vieira.

- **“Vieira 300 years later” (1996)** – Taking advantage of the presence of Professor Margarida Vieira Mendes, a leading specialist on Padre António Vieira, as a visiting professor to the Graduate Program in Letters, this seminar was organized on the subject of Vieira’s work and brought together a new group of specialists.

- **“Cities in Dialog: literature and urban experience” (1997)** – This seminar was planned in close conjunction with the Chair’s research project on “Literature and the Urban Experience”, using texts that deal with the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon as its main axis. It also sought to promote the exchange of experiences between Brazilian and Portuguese researchers on the urban themes in literature and other disciplines.

- **“Must one be absolutely modern?” (1998)** – The main aim of this seminar was to create a forum for debating questions and theories referring to the terms *modern*, *modernism*, *modernity* and *postmodernity*. In this sense, Rimbaud’s famous and emblematic phrase was taken as the seminar’s theme, though it was presented as a question. Examining the issue from this standpoint, the Chair’s 6th seminar sought to prompt a debate on the theories of modernization and their determinants, particularly with regard to the insertion of cultural products in political, social and cultural fields.

- **“Culture and Democracy: the 25th anniversary of the April 25th Revolution” (1999)** – The linked themes of culture and democracy (as well as their impasses, advances, and retreats), which have been topical in the modern and now postmodern ages, functioned as the lynchpins for this interdisciplinary seminar. The commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Portugal’s Revolution of the Carnations, which took place on April 25th, 1974, provided the occasion for a reinterpretation through a comparison with the cultural effects of Brazil’s own return to democracy. The seminar also acknowledged the Portuguese writer José Cardoso Pires, an intellectual who resisted the dictatorship and defended democratic principles throughout his life in order to safeguard culture as a right to be enjoyed by everyone.

- **“Scenes from Modern Life and the Globalization of Culture: Madrid, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, the World (2000)** – The title of this seminar references Eça de Queirós’s project, “Scenes from Portuguese Life”, which was intended to map the society of his time. The title additionally refers to globalization as a force that calls national cultures into question, and contests the heretofore-dominant idea that the nation establishes cultural boundaries. The homage paid to Eça de Queirós, in the year that marked the centenary of his death, was coupled with a tribute to Cesário Verde, a writer considered decisive in the development of “modern” Portuguese poetry. These two Portuguese artists and intellectuals were considered together as a bridge for reflecting on this new fin de siècle period, in which cultural phenomena interact with tradition in new ways.

- **“Nostalgia for Scheherazade? – The state of the narrative at the beginning of the 21st century” (2001)** – This seminar invokes Scheherazade as an archetypal narrator, in whom tradition has placed all the supreme skills of the art of storytelling - prodigious inventiveness, seduction, the ceremony of storytelling, listening, plot and enchantment – in order to investigate the

role of the narrative at the beginning of this new century. What can the figure of Scheherazade teach us in these postmodern times? What today can be said to be the most appropriate form of storytelling?

– **“Theatre and Society: Gil Vicente – 500 years of theatre”** (2002) – This seminar maintained a certain openness in its choice of participants from different areas and from various Brazilian and Portuguese universities, although Gil Vicente served as its central figure remembrance, study and discussion. Vicente was selected for his role as the founder of Portuguese theatre and a playwright still considered as Portugal’s greatest, whose 500 years of theatre were commemorated in June 2002. The expansion of the seminar’s theme to encompass the relationship between theatre and society allowed for approaches based on centuries worth of challenging theatrical work and for reflection upon the role of the theatre in Brazil and Portugal.

– **“The Role of the Intellectual Today”** (2003) – The term “intellectual” certainly carries a double meaning, which can be seen in the historical and sometimes oppositional relationship between the formation and composition of the cultured classes and the political efficacy of a culture. The Chair’s eleventh seminar therefore set out to discuss, in general terms, the forms through which intellectuals as a particular category or social class, which is distinguished by its education and competence, acquire more specific connotations that point toward the role of the “socially committed” writer. Moreover, the seminar considered the term *intellectual* as a designation given to artists, scholars, scientists and, in general, anyone who, through his or her cultural endeavors, has acquired authority and influence in public debates.

– **“In 10 Years: Literature, Politics, Culture”** (2004) – University Professors from Brazil, Portugal and Mozambique met in Auditorium of PUC-Rio’s Rio Data Centre (RDC) to reflect upon events, works, authors and phenomena from literature, politics and culture from the past ten years. In 2004, the Padre António Vieira Chair in Portuguese Studies additionally commemorated its tenth anniversary of continuous activity.

– **“Species of Spaces”** (2005) – Its title taken from the book *Espèces d’espaces* (1974) by the French writer Georges Perec, this seminar sought to question space, or more specifically the reading of it. Based on this simple and open premise, space was chosen as a privileged category for thinking about the contemporary world. In the discourses of the most varied disciplines, there is a tendency to resort to this category and its correlates, such as place, non-place, in-between place, territory, limit, (de)territorialization, globalization, worldwide and local, center and periphery, nation-state, cosmopolitanism, etc., which have removed the category of time from the center of analysis. It has indeed been said that time, which was given a privileged place in Modernity’s formulations and proposals, is now giving way to space, to which the general context of postmodernity affords a privileged position. It is there that spaces have taken on new dimensions that, with the internationalization of cultures and economies, merit new forms of research. The chair’s 13th Seminar sought to open up debate to include an interdisciplinary perspective, or more radically, a post-disciplinary perspective.

The Chair's Research Forum

The idea of creating an annual forum arose from the need to grant visibility to graduate students' academic output. The aim is to broaden the horizons of discussion through exchange with researchers from other disciplines and academic institutions, always with the aim of enriching the work of all those involved.

The title of the chair's 1st research forum was "Photographs: Interpretations of Time in the Empire of the Ephemeral," with the expression "the empire of the ephemeral" taken from the French title of a book by Gilles Lipovetsky. In this study, Lipovetsky analyzed the central role played by fashion in contemporary societies. The forum once more brings this expression into play, broadening its scope and emphasizing its relationship with time and its interpretations as photographs. The meetings made it possible to engage in discussions and analyses about the universe of contemporary man. Presently, there is a constant concern with establishing oneself as an individual, and with asserting some particularity in the midst of the crowd, which means that we are constantly recording and photographing our own footsteps. In Lipovetsky's view, one of the driving forces behind this movement is a kind of dictatorship of fashion that involves the metamorphosis of ethics, a new economy of the sexes, and, above all, the explosion of consumption to meet the requirements of a hedonistic individual, the product of frustrated modern idealizations. The 1st forum brought together graduate students from PUC-Rio and other universities in order to promote multidisciplinary discussion of the representations of time and the snapshots that mark a literature in action.

Publications

Publishing has been one of the lynchpins of the Chair's existence. Since 2004, efforts have been made to diversify our line of publications, resulting in our present number of three annual titles – the *Semear* and *Gândara* journals and a book related to the Chair's international seminars.

Semear, designated an A concept by Qualis of CAPES and charged with disseminated professors and students' output, was given a new look, design and layout in 2004. From issue No. 11 onwards, in keeping with its monographic line, the journal will be dedicated to publishing works related to the Chair's various lines of research, as well as pieces by guest specialists petitioned in order to stimulate debate and responses from multiplicity of viewpoints.

Gândara, published by the Chair's research assistants, is regarded as a fundamental vehicle for encouraging dialog between researchers from different graduate programs by publishing works that are currently in progress or have recently been completed.

The book the Chair publishes annually under the auspices of the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG) makes it possible to disseminate the intellectual output of our international seminars to booksellers all over Brazil, as well as to reach a broader Brazilian and international reading audience through online bookstores. The books *Literatura, Política, Cultura* (2005) and *O Papel do Intelectual Hoje* (2004) are included in the Humanitas Collection, which publishes essays written in Brazil and abroad in the areas of the social sciences, letters and the arts.

* * *

To conclude, I should like to mention that the Padre António Vieira Chair's various activities have as their central aim the granting of a well-deserved, broad visibility to the Chair's research team in the academic sphere, in the field of cultural production taking place in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and among national and international audiences.

The Ius Lusitaniae Database

Pedro Cardim

Fontes Históricas do Direito Português is now available online at www.iuslusitaniae.fcsh.unl.pt. This webpage is the result of a research project funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (MCTES) and by POCTI (POCTI/HAR/38328/2001), with the participation of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)

Through the Ius Lusitaniae webpage, one may access a vast array of sources relating to Portuguese legal history, with a special focus on the early modern period. The site includes 30,000 digitalized pages and more than 17,000 items (royal letters, laws, *alvarás*, decrees, etc.). Not only does Ius Lusitaniae provide a general overview of this material, but it also allows for rapid and accurate searches for more specific items.

The Ius Lusitaniae database comprises the following digital collections

Almeida, Cândido Mendes de (org.), *Código Philippino ou Ordenações e Leis do Reino de Portugal recopiladas por mandado d'El-Rey D. Philippe I*, Rio de Janeiro, Tipografia do Instituto Filomático, 1870.

Carneiro, Manoel Borges, *Resumo Chronológico das Leis mais Uteis no Foro e Uso da Vida Civil, publicadas até ao presente anno de 1818*, 3 Tomos, Lisboa, Impressão Régia, 1818-1820.

Collecção Chronologica dos Assentos das Casas da Supplicação e do Cível. Segunda edição, augmentada com 33 Assentos (,,), Coimbra, Na Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1817.

Figueiredo, José Anastácio de (org.), *Synopsis Chronologica de Subsídios ainda os mais Raros para a Historia e Estudo Critico da Legislação Portugueza*, Lisboa, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1790.

Freire, Pascoal de Melo, «Instituições de direito civil português», *Boletim do Ministério da Justiça*, 155 (1966), 5; 156 (1966), 69; 161 (1966), 89; 162 (1967), 31; 163 (1967), 5; 164 (1967), 5; 165 (1967), 39; 166 (1967), 4; 168 (1967), 27; 170 (1967), 89; 171 (1967), 68.

Freitas, Joaquim Inácio de (org.), *Collecção Chronologica de Leis Extravagantes, Posteriores à Nova Compilação das Ordenações do Reino, Publicadas em 1603*, Coimbra, Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1819.

Lião, Duarte Nunes do (org.), *Leis Extravagantes e Repertório das Ordenações*, Lisboa, António Gonçalves, 1569.

Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V, Coimbra, Na Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1792 (Collecção da Legislação Antiga e Moderna do Reino de Portugal. Parte I. Da Legislação Antiga).

- Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel, Coimbra, Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1797.
- Ordenações Del-Rei Dom Duarte, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1988.
- Repertorio das Ordenações, e Leis do Reino de Portugal, Coimbra, Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1795 (Collecção da Legislação Antiga e Moderna do Reino de Portugal. Parte II. Da Legislação Moderna).
- Ribeiro, João Pedro, 1758-1839 (org.), Índice Chronologico Remissivo da Legislação Portugueza Posterior à Publicação do Codigo Filippino com hum Appendice, 2ª Impressão, Lisboa, Typografia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1805.
- Santarém, 3º Visconde de, ed. lit., Memórias e Alguns Documentos para a História e Teoria das Côrtes Geraes que em Portugal se Celebraram pelos Três Estados do Reino, Parte 1ª, Lisboa, Imprensa de Portugal-Brasil, 1924.
- Silva, António Delgado da (org.), Collecção da Legislação Portugueza desde a última Compilação das Ordenações, Lisboa, Typografia Maignense, 1828.
- Silva, João José da, Repertorio Alfabético e Chronologico ou Índice Remissivo da Legislação Ultramarina desde a epocha das descobertas até 1882 inclusivé, 1ª edição, Macau, Typographia do Seminario de S. José, 1886.
- Silva, José Justino de Andrade e (org.), Collecção Chronologica da Legislação Portugueza, Lisboa, Imprensa de J. J. A. Silva, 1854-1859.
- Silva, Nuno Espinosa Gomes da (org.), Livro das Leis e Posturas, Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa. Faculdade de Direito, 1971.
- Sousa, José Roberto M.C.C. e, Remissoens das Leys Novissimas, Decretos, Avisos, e mais disposições (...), Lisboa, Officina de João Antonio da Silva, 1778.
- Sousa, José Roberto Monteiro de Campos Coelho e (org.), Systema, ou Collecção dos Regimentos Reaes, Lisboa, Officina de Francisco Borges de Sousa, 1783.

It is important to stress that the first phase of this project focused on items from the main printed collections of legal material. In other words, the great mass of items to be found scattered around different archives was not covered, due to the fact that such work would require more resources than this project had available. Nonetheless, in the near future, we intend to begin exploring the material kept in the archives.

It should also be emphasized that some features of the website have yet to be implemented, such as that used for the indexation of norms. Another issue worth mentioning is the scanty presence in this database of material relating to overseas law, canon law and ecclesiastical law. We hope to fill these gaps as soon as possible.

The coordinators of this project decided to put the webpage online despite these issues. Please send us your suggestions and information about any bugs that you may find. Feedback should be sent to the following email address: ius_lusitaniae@fcsh.unl.pt.

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Materials For the History Of Elections and Parliament In Portugal, 1820-1926

[<http://purl.pt/5854/1>]

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There is a long electoral and parliamentary tradition in modern Portugal's political history, largely connected to the Liberal period as recorded in various sources. Preserving this historical legacy while making forgotten documents available and preventing the inevitable physical deterioration of others, as well as providing specialists and students with a useful research and educational tool, were the two basic aims that guided the creation of this new website, located in the portal of the National Library of Portugal.

In "Materials for the History of Elections and Parliament in Portugal, 1820-1926", which draws mainly on the National Library's collections of printed works, the user will find a detailed bibliographical guide, a synopsis of basic data and information (chronology of parliamentary elections and terms, electoral laws and results), and a significant number of reproduced texts (constitutions, rules of parliamentary procedure, electoral manifestos) and images (cartoons, photographs), organized into two periods: the Constitutional Monarchy and the First Republic. Links direct users to other Portuguese and foreign websites containing similar materials. See, for example, the website of the Assembleia da República, which allows visitors to consult historical parliamentary journals, and that of the Arquivo Fotográfico Municipal de Lisboa, where one can access a rich collection of photographs, some of which relate to the political life of the first quarter of the 20th century.

The "Materials" website is regularly updated, and may be improved through the incorporation of new materials, as well as through the suggestions and corrections provided by its users.

The "Materials for the History of Elections and Parliament in Portugal, 1820-1926" is the result of an agreement signed on 20 June 2005 between the National Library of Portugal and the team responsible for the research project "Parliamentary Recruitment in Portugal, 1834-1926", funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

Site map (abridged)

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