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The Preparation of Embassies and the Protocols Followed by Royal Portuguese Ambassadors in the Late Middle Ages[1]

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Abstract

Diplomatic correspondence and the information transmitted through letters of instruction, which gave diplomats the necessary support for the performance of their duties, have become a highly important subject in the study of medieval diplomacy. In documents of this type, we can find some quite remarkable and valuable information about what could or could not be said in diplomatic contexts, outlining the rituals, attitudes, and procedures that a diplomat was required to adopt in the course of his international mission. Together with the letters of instruction, diplomats also carried with them letters of credence (commonly known as credentials). These were the documents that the various monarchs gave to their legitimate representatives, and which were designed to be presented at the courts visited by each diplomatic mission. These letters were essential for guaranteeing the correct conduct of negotiations, since, besides presenting the diplomats and expressing the wish that they be afforded credence in their role, these documents also explained the purpose of their missions. Thus, letters of instruction and credence are fundamental tools that enable historians to complete the picture of external relations through the description that they provide of other aspects of communication and symbolic representation, which sometimes tend to go unnoticed in different types of documents. In order to better understand certain fundamental aspects of this analysis, we complemented the information obtained from the aforementioned documentation with data from other documentary sources that indicate some of the protocols that were used in dealings with princes and kings of other realms, as well as the specific characteristics that some of the royal counsellors should have.

Keywords

Letter of instruction; letter of credence; diplomacy; ambassador; protocol; Middle Ages

Resumo

A correspondência e troca de informações, através das cartas de instrução que davam o suporte necessário à atuação de um diplomata, constitui um tema da maior

[1] A first version of this work was presented at *Splendid Encounters 6: Correspondence and Information Exchange in Diplomacy (1300-1750)*, a conference held at Lisbon Nova University, 28-30 July, 2017.

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relevância para o estudo da diplomacia medieval. Neste tipo de documentos encontram-se informações bastante singulares sobre o que podia ou não ser proferido nesses contextos: os rituais, as atitudes e os procedimentos que um agente diplomático deveria assumir na sua missão internacional. A par das cartas de instrução, os diplomatas também se faziam acompanhar por cartas de crença (também designadas por credenciais), documentos entregues pelos diversos monarcas aos seus representantes legítimos, a fim de serem apresentadas no destino de cada missão diplomática. Estas cartas eram imprescindíveis à boa execução das negociações, pois, além de apresentarem os diplomatas e manifestarem a vontade de que se lhes fizesse crença, também expunham os propósitos das próprias missões. Deste modo, as cartas de instrução e de crença são instrumentos fundamentais para que o historiador possa complementar o quadro das relações externas, atendendo a outras vertentes mais do foro da comunicação e da representação simbólica e que por vezes passam despercebidas noutras tipologias documentais. Com o propósito de melhor compreender os aspetos fundamentais envolvidos nesta análise, completámos os dados da documentação já referida com os de outras fontes documentais que indicam alguns formulários específicos a usar em atos endereçados aos governantes de outros reinos, bem como as caraterísticas que alguns dos conselheiros régios deveriam ter.

Palavras-chave

Carta de instrução; carta de crença; diplomacia; embaixador; protocolo; Idade Média

1. Introduction

Despite the increasing interest currently being displayed in medieval royal diplomacy in Portugal[5] and Castile,[6] Portuguese historians continue to pay scant attention to the letters of instruction and credence that were given by kings to their representatives in other kingdoms in the late Middle Ages. With the greater historiographical focus in the 1990s on individuals specially linked to government circles and on the symbolic dimension of power, diplomacy has come to be seen less as a branch of political history and more as a separate area with its own distinctive cultural background, based on a complex game of representations and rituals (Branco; Farelo, 2011: 231-59).

The main goal of this paper is, in fact, to examine the logistics involved in the preparation of diplomatic missions and the protocols that were used by royal representatives of the Portuguese king in a foreign Court towards the end of the Middle Ages. Taking into consideration the data presented in a recent study on Portuguese ambassadors to the Iberian kingdoms in the fifteenth century (Marinho, 2017), as well as the information provided by some letters of credence and instruction, we will focus our attention on examples of the procedures (both before and after this period) related to diplomatic missions.

Diplomatic correspondence and the information transmitted through letters of instruction, which gave diplomats the necessary support for the performance of their duties, have become a highly important subject in the study of medieval diplomacy. In documents of this type, we can find some quite remarkable and valuable information about what could or could not be said in diplomatic contexts, outlining the rituals, attitudes, and procedures that a diplomat was required to adopt in the course of his international mission. Together with the letters of instruction, diplomats also carried with them letters of credence (commonly known as credentials). These were the documents that the various monarchs gave to their legitimate representatives, and which were designed to be presented at the courts visited by each diplomatic mission. These letters were essential for guaranteeing the correct conduct of negotiations, since, besides presenting the diplomats and expressing the wish that they be afforded credence in their role and welcomed by the visited king, these documents also explained the purpose of their missions. Thus, letters of

[5] In recent years, some PhD theses have been presented on this topic, allowing us to form a clearer idea of Portuguese royal diplomacy in the late Middle Ages. Cf. Faria, 2012; Santos, 2015; Lima, 2016; Marinho, 2017.

[6] The most relevant studies in this area are: Beceiro Pita, 1997: 1735-1744; Beceiro Pita, 2009: 193-228; Salicrú I Liuch, 2007: 77-106; Cañas Gálvez, 2010: 691-722; Villarroel González, 2018: 117-146.

instruction and credence are fundamental tools that enable historians to complete the picture of external relations, through the description that they provide of aspects of communication and symbolic representation, which sometimes tend to go unnoticed in other types of documents. Thus, letters of instruction and credence are fundamental tools that enable historians to complete the picture of external relations, through the description that they provide of other aspects of communication and symbolic representation, which sometimes tend to go unnoticed in other types of documents (La Clavière, 1892: 602-32; Tovar, 1932: 206-31; Péquignot, 2008: 17-43; Péquignot, 2017: 126-46).

2. The Documentary Sources

The main documentary sources used in this study consist of a number of deeds copied (along with many other documents of different types and diverse contents) into a manuscript (*Códice 177*), forming part of a huge and rich collection of volumes known as the *Manizola* Collection and housed in the Public Library of Évora, in Portugal.[7] Although it is not possible to determine when, why, or indeed who, was responsible for copying so many documents, this volume is a *codex diplomaticus* (Cárcel Ortí [ed.], 1997: n. 75, p. 36), which means that it may have been written by someone who was directly linked either to the contents of the documents copied or to the institutions to which they referred. Certain particular documents in this collection caught our attention, as they are copies of letters of instruction and credence from the 1450s and 1460s. As previously stated, such documents were not only of paramount importance for the process of communication and the symbolic representation of the Portuguese Crown, but they also now enable us to reflect on the ceremonial role played by the representatives of the Portuguese kingdom. The guidelines that they contain and the code of behavior that they prescribe may indeed have been among the particular features that caught the attention of the person responsible for the copies contained in *Códice 177*. In the 1450s and 1460s, following a long period of regency (1438-1449), Portuguese diplomacy was entering a new phase and embarking on a new relationship with the Castilian kingdom, which extended into the decade of Toro (the 1470s). But there may have been other reasons behind the compilation of these copied documents: the prestigious status of the diplomats, the time period of the missions, or even

[7] The *Manizola* Collection is the result of the efforts made in the nineteenth century by José Bernardo Gama Lobo, the second *Visconde da Esperança*, to gather together a number of important historical documents. The collection is kept at the Public Library of Évora, in accordance with this aristocrat's last will and testament. About the incorporation of this collection into the library of Évora, as well as the Archives of the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, see Lopes, 2014.

the purpose of the missions themselves may also have served as powerful motivations for making the copies. Finally, we cannot exclude the possible role played by someone connected to the monastery of São Vicente de Fora, as the volume begins with a copy of the Chronicle of the Martyrs, translated from Latin into Portuguese, which, at that time, was kept at that monastery,[8] and also includes other documents related with the institution, such as the life story of a clergyman from the Order of Saint Augustine,[9] and a letter from the Jesuits in Goa.[10]

We do not know the circumstances under which these documents were copied into the manuscript kept in the *Manizola* Collection, or why they appear immediately after the already-mentioned documents without any apparent connection between them. Nevertheless, as far as the history of Portuguese diplomacy is concerned, the importance of such a large number of copies of letters of instruction and credence should be underscored, because, as is well known, there are few medieval documents of this type to be found in Portuguese archives.

In fact, there are several reasons for the scarcity of this type of document: firstly, they were not written at a specific administrative office (for example, the Chancery), but rather in the royal private chamber, being the direct result of an order issued by the king; secondly, both the credentials and the letters of instruction were given directly to the ambassadors, who might (or might not) have kept them in their own personal archives, which have generally not been preserved over time; finally, there was no need to preserve these documents as they were rendered redundant once the goal of the mission had been accomplished.

Besides these letters of instruction and credence, we were able to gather together some letters of accountability, or reports, sent by the ambassadors to the king, who was interested in obtaining information about the progress or outcome of the missions as quickly as possible. So, each ambassador would have written the king one or more letters of accountability, depending on the length of negotiations, informing him about the steps that had already been taken and responding to the new instructions or requests received in the meantime. Some other documents, such as general letters missive (Cárcel Ortí [ed.], 1997, n. 404, p. 99) relating to the preparation of the diplomatic missions or to the

[8] The manuscript starts with the title "*Cronica Velha dos Martires que foi tirade do latim em lingoagem dos livros de latim que estão em São Vicente de Fora da cidade de Lixboa*." Cf. Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 3.

[9] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 13.

[10] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 16.

missions themselves, were also sent and received either by the representatives or by the king, outlining the progress of the mission and the agreements that had been reached.

3. Letters of Credence and Instruction and the Skills of the King's Representatives

As has been said, the letters of credence and instruction constitute the main documentary basis of this study. We are aware that this type of document only reflects the written instructions addressed by the king to the ambassadors. Nevertheless, many other instructions may have been transmitted orally whenever the king provided specific verbal orders or issued general guidelines relating to these. Usually, these letters contained various elements relating to the context in which the mission was to be undertaken. Besides presenting the mission's objectives, they outlined the procedures that a diplomat should follow at a foreign court, as well as in the general international context, and gave some advice about how to achieve the king's goals as quickly and efficiently as possible.

In order to begin negotiations, a letter of credence was mandatory because "in addition to introducing the diplomat and manifesting the desire for him to be recognized by the other party as such, they also explained the mission's purposes."[11] So, the diplomatic agent was presented at the foreign court through a letter of credence, which may (or may not) have been attached to the letter of instruction addressed to him by the king. Without such a document, he did not have the important guarantee of being accepted by the visited king, since it was this that would publicly express such acceptance. In the drafting of these letters, the Portuguese monarch used a standard formula to request the visited king to receive the holder of the credential as faithful and true, saying that the diplomat would be speaking on the Portuguese sovereign's behalf.

On their return to Portugal, the diplomatic representatives would transmit to the king the message(s) from the visited monarchs, as expected. From a certain point of view, the diplomats seem sometimes to have performed a bilateral role, as they were responsible for the coordination of missions both inside and outside the country. In fact, it was possible for certain individuals to be chosen by several parties. For example, on October 20, 1451, the emperor gave a letter of credence to João Fernandes da Silveira (who had been sent to his court as a representative of the Portuguese monarch), charging him with the task of negotiating with King Afonso V on his own behalf.[12] During that same mission,

[11] Adapted from Marinho, 2017, vol. 1: 258.

[12] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 30v-33.

the already mentioned J.F. Silveira, received another letter of credence from Queen Leonor to be presented to the Portuguese king ("*Senhor, vosa irmãa vos emvia tambem a dizer por mim por vertude da cremça que vos della trouxe que a desabafeis daqueles portugeses que laa sam em os mamdardes todos vir*").[13]

The agents involved in the missions were of great importance in both social and political terms. To illustrate their relevance, some remarks are made here about the social background and careers of four such diplomats, because these factors can help to explain their commitment to representing the king in certain diplomatic affairs.

Lopo de Almeida undertook important missions between 1433 and 1486 (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 104). He was a nobleman of the royal house, an erudite scholar, and the first Count of Abrantes (1476). He was the son of Diogo Fernandes de Almeida, the personal educator/tutor (*aio*) of the Princes Duarte, Pedro, and Henrique, the king's sons (Freitas, 1996: 78 and 175). In 1442, he married a daughter of Pedro Gonçalves de Malafaia, who was also a royal officer and an ambassador (Marinho, 2015, p. 83-96). Lopo de Almeida held numerous royal offices, most notably as Overseer of the Treasury (*vedor da Fazenda*, documented between 1433 and 1438), a member of the royal council (from 1443 onwards), and the Chief Overseer of the Treasury (*vedor-mor da Fazenda* from 1445 to 1475). Furthermore, King Afonso V entrusted him with eight diplomatic missions to the Holy See (1451-1452, 1463, and 1471-1472); Siena (1451-1452); the Holy Roman Empire (1452); Morocco (1458); Castile (1463); and, finally, France (1463) (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 112-113). His social and political profile was decisive in determining the king's choice, together with the experience that he had gradually been gaining, and his own personal wealth, which he used to sponsor his activity.

Álvaro Lopes [de Chaves] undertook diplomatic missions between 1462 and 1508 (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 35). He was also a nobleman of the royal house, and a knight of the Military Order of St. James. There are documents that present him as the royal secretary (1462-1495) and a general notary of the kingdom (1481), offices that provided him with a profound knowledge and understanding of the political scene. He participated in a diplomatic mission to Castile, between September and December 1468, which had been prepared with information provided by Cide de Sousa, another royal representative.[14] Since he was the royal secretary, he was probably unable to be absent from the court for long periods.

[13] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 33-33v.

[14] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 36v-37v. Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 36.

Cide de Sousa undertook important diplomatic activity between the 1430s and 1460s (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 47). He was also a nobleman of the royal house and the cousin of Rui de Sousa, one of the representatives charged with concluding the important treaty of Tordesillas (1494) signed between Portugal and Castile (Moreno, 1994: 12-4; Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 245). He was a servant (*criado*) of the House of Queen Leonor, both in Portugal and Castile ([1433]-1445). He held a similar position at the Court of Aragon (1445-[1452]). Later, he was captain of the ships of Afonso V of Portugal (1453-1454), Overseer of the Treasury (*vedor*), and counsellor of Queen Joana of Castile (1456-[1468]). Between 1445 and 1454, he travelled to Naples, Guinea, and Ceuta as a representative of the Portuguese king. Back in Portugal (after the death of the Castilian Prince Alfonso[15]), he participated in two missions to Castile in the second quarter of 1468 and helped to prepare another one, led by Álvaro Lopes de Chaves (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 51), as already mentioned. This man's experience justified his being chosen to undertake various missions that were quite diverse in terms of their objectives and destinations.

Another very significant example is presented by the case of João Fernandes da Silveira, whose activity spread over 40 years (1443-1483) (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 75). A Doctor of Law (1443) and the first Baron of Alvito (1475), he was the son of Doctor Fernão Afonso da Silveira, the principal chancellor and ambassador of King João I of Portugal (Homem, 1990: 298-9). He was a clergyman of minor orders (*clerigo de ordens menores*) of the Lisbon diocese until he married, firstly Violante Pereira (1448), and secondly Mécia de Sousa Lobo, the granddaughter of Lopo Dias de Sousa, the Governor of the Military Order of Christ (1373-1417). This man was a member of a very prestigious social network. As a royal servant, he held various offices, including the positions of vice-chancellor (1443-1444), chancellor of the *Casa do Cível* (1445-1463), royal counsellor (since 1451), and privy scribe to the king (*escrivão da Puridade* [1481-1484]). Furthermore, he represented King Afonso V on many diplomatic missions: Castile (1453, 1454, 1455, 1463, and 1474); Aragon (1450 and 1463); Holy See (1449, 1451, 1452, and 1463); and Siena (1451 and 1452) (Caetano, 2011; Marinho, 2017, vol. 2: 79-81).

João de Porras also played a quite distinct role in the sphere of Iberian diplomacy.[16] He is documented as a nobleman and the royal counsellor of the Castilian king. Consequently, he was a representative of Enrique IV and other unidentified Castilian

[15] Prince Alfonso of Castile died on June 5, 1468.

[16] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 59v-61. Pina, 1790-1793 [c. 1490], cap. 180: 545.

noblemen in an embassy sent to Portugal from Castile in the second half of 1468.[17] But, during the conflict in which Afonso V opposed the Catholic Monarchs, he represented the Portuguese kingdom in approximately 1476, having succeeded in obtaining the obedience of the city of Zamora to the Portuguese king. In that same year, he was appointed Overseer of the Treasury (*vedor*) of the House of Afonso V,[18] which is clear evidence of the king's confidence in him, even though, in the past, he had represented Castilian interests.

The social profile of these royal representatives made them almost natural members of the delegations sent abroad. They all enjoyed long careers, and it seems that, once they had undertaken these missions, they could hardly fail to be chosen for others that would take place later. Their academic training in law, and their continuous participation in negotiations with a particular kingdom to which they had been sent, made these men exceptional figures in the diplomatic field.

In the collection of laws enacted by King Afonso V during the 1440s (the so-called *Ordenações Afonsinas*), there is a chapter in which some considerations are made regarding the special features that royal counsellors should have (*Dos conselheiros do rei*).[19] It is, indeed, a very suggestive text about the requirements and the criteria used in the selection of these royal officers. In its preamble, this legal text evokes antiquity in order to emphasize some of its arguments. Prestigious figures, such as King Solomon, and ancient intellectuals, such as Seneca and Aristotle, are used to demonstrate the great virtues that royal counsellors should have. For example, the philosopher Seneca had demonstrated the crucial importance of the knowledge acquired by counsellors, as well as their commitment to previous agreements and their availability to receive advice ("*como os homens ham de seer percebidos nas cousas que ham de fazer, acordando-se e avisando-se sobre ellas antes que as façam*").[20] Inspired by these intellectuals, the author of the legal text enumerated certain skills and features that counsellors were expected to have:[21] they should have a good understanding of the topics under discussion ("*Boo entendimento*"),[22] knowledge, and common sense ("*De boo siso*").[23] They should also be wise ("*Homens que saibam das coisas*"), well-informed ("*Ser*

[17] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 59v-61; fl. 66.
[18] Pina, 1790-1793 [c. 1490], cap. 180: 545.
[19] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, vol. 1, tít. 59: 340-345.
[20] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, vol. 1, tít. 59: 340.
[21] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, liv. 1, tít. 59: 340-5.
[22] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, liv. 1, tít. 59: 341.
[23] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, liv. 1, tít. 59:341.

bem entendidos"), shrewd or astute ("*Captar as coisas*") and, last but not least, they should be a friend of the king ("*Ser amigo do rei*").[24]

Accordingly, some other documents and chronicles from the period that we are examining also highlight certain characteristics that royal officers were expected to have, such as prudence, discretion, patience, guile, loyalty, a good memory, and speaking skills. In addition to all these virtues, the ambassadors should, in particular, be able to avoid any *lapsus linguae,* convince listeners, and use vocabulary that was appropriate for the situation. Although such characteristics were not exclusive to this type of representative, they certainly had a special significance for them (Marinho, 2017, vol. 1: 244-257).

These attitudes were only part of the diplomat's expected overall conduct, besides knowing how to interact, dress, speak, and behave at a foreign court (Marinho, 2017, vol. 1: 244). The ambassadors were also expected to master all questions relating to the existing protocol. There are some quite illustrative examples to be found in our sources. For example, Rui de Pina, a Portuguese chronicler, wrote that Alfonso Enriques from Castile (while visiting the regent Pedro of Portugal) had failed in his mission because he had no common sense and was not sufficiently discreet or prudent ("*Não havia porém n'elle aquele tento, descrição e prudencia, que a pessoa de tal cargo pertencia*").[25] In contrast to this, the English King Henry IV, when talking about the mission undertaken by Pedro Faleiro and Fernando de Castro, both of whom were Portuguese, classified their attitude as exemplary because they expounded the different questions clearly, correctly, and graciously.[26]

As has been said, the way in which the diplomatic agents expressed their messages was crucial. In fact, the words that were used in international communication were of paramount importance, hence the care that was taken over the writing of the letters sent by the kings. This was why specific formats and standard models existed for the writing of documents. In Portugal, some of these documents were systematized by King Duarte (*Livro da Cartuxa*)[27] and others by King Afonso V, the latter models being duly set out in the *Livro Vermelho*.[28] This set of forms adapted the formula for writing the address and the greetings expressed in the letters to the status of the recipient, as well as the final greetings, depending on whether they were addressed to the Pope, or to Christian or Muslim kings.

[24] Alfonso X, 2004, parte II, tít. 9, §2.

[25] Pina, 1790-1793 [c. 1490], cap. 53: 289.

[26] Santarém, 1865:197.

[27] Duarte, D., 1982.

[28] *Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V* (1793). In José Correia da Serra (ed.), *Collecção de livros ineditos de historia portugueza dos reinados de D. Joaõ I, D. Duarte, D. Affonso V, e D. João II*, vol. 3. Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias: 393-541. This book had this title (*Red Book*) due to the color of its original cover; it was copied in the sixteenth century during the reign of King João III, because the original had been damaged by water.

For example, the address in letters missive sent to the king of Castile should be like this: "*Muyto alto, eixcelemte e poderoso Principe, primo Irmaõ e amiguo. Nos Dom Affonso &c. vos emviamos muyto saudar como aquelle que muyto amamos.*" As far as the final greetings were concerned, the formula should be like this: "*Muyto alto, muyto eixcelente e poderoso Principe, Primo Irmaaõ e Amiguo. Noso Senhor aja sempre vossa pessoa e Real estado em sua santa guarda.*" On the outside of the letter, the so-called "*Sobre'escrito*" (envelope), the following words should be written: *"Ao muyto alto, muyto exicelemte e poderoso Primcipe Dom Anrique per graça de Deos Rey de Castella e de Liam &c. nosso muyto amado Primo Irmaaõ e Amiguo.*"[29] In the case of Muslim kings ("*Dytado para todos os Rex Mouros*"), the correct formula was as follows: *"Muito nobre, e muito homrado antre os Mouros N. Rey de tal Reinno. Nos Dom Affonso &c. vos fazemos saber…*" There were no final greetings made in the letters addressed to these kings. The address written on the outside of the missive ("Sobre'scrito") should be as follows: "*Ao muito nobre, e muito homrado amtre os Mouros Rey de tal Reinno.*"[30]

The language of communication, both written and spoken, was one of the key elements in the diplomatic process. In the fifteenth century, ambassadors probably expressed themselves in Romance languages whenever possible. Sometimes, especially outside the Iberian Peninsula, Latin was mandatory. For example, in the preparation of his marriage to Leonor of Portugal, Emperor Frederick III used Latin when he wrote a letter to Afonso V of Portugal, establishing the credentials of his representatives.[31] Furthermore, in diplomatic missions, Latin could make communication easier, and this was another reason why the participation of clergymen was so important: besides belonging to a "super-structure," such as the Church, they were also fluent in this language. Interpreters (Péquignot, 2009: 217-221) are to be found documented in these sources, particularly in the East, where Arabic languages were in common use. One cannot exclude the possibility that there were some letters that used encrypted writing (using regular Latin characters or different signs) or even included encoded messages, especially when they dealt with top secret matters.[32] Preventive measures of this nature could be reinforced by using encoded names when referring to representatives. In this way, the identity of the representative remained unknown. There are several examples for the time period that we are considering. *Vitória* was one of these: he remained unidentified, and we do not know if he was related to the Portuguese King Afonso

[29] *Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V…*, vol. 3: 402.

[30] *Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V…*, vol. 3: 406.

[31] ANTT, *Leitura Nova - Livro dos Extras*, fl. 239v.

[32] Although there is no evidence of such letters in Portuguese archives, it is possible that they existed. About this strategy used in letters missive, see Serrano Larráyoz, 1998: 171-82.

V or to Juan Pacheco, the Governor of the Military Order of Santiago, since, during the third quarter of 1468, he served as a courier[33] between them both.[34]

It seems that the documents copied in *Códice 177* correspond to a set of guidelines or an appropriate code of behavior for any ambassador. According to what they outline, during the negotiation process, royal representatives were called upon to be careful with regard to certain people and to remain attentive to the news circulating at the visited court. Of course, in such contexts, listening was as important as speaking. In the diplomatic domain, all possible precautions and safeguards needed to be taken. So, we can clearly understand why the king introduced certain clauses, using expressions such as "you will say no more" ("*lhe não direis mais*").[35] The king was objective in the instructions that he gave. Guided by the same prudent attitude, the king advised his officers not to believe in other news that might be sent from the Portuguese kingdom, in order to avoid scandals created by people who were not close to the king's service ("*não deveis dar fee a outras cousas que de caa se lhe emviem a dizer por pesoas que não desejem muito noso servyço e tem vomtade de dar maneira a bolicios e escamdalos como ho hão acostumado*").[36]

As loyalty to the king was mandatory, his diplomatic agents should always be aware of who they were negotiating with, in order to guarantee the full realization of their mission. The requirements for success were bilateral, but the king's choices were naturally decisive for the achievement of the mission's objectives. Indeed, the king had to choose people who would not cause damage or create any misunderstanding ("*não ponha em ello taes pesoas que não comsymtam dano nem emgano seu*").[37] Above all, the king had to pay special attention to those whom he had selected as his representatives, as well as to the things that were stated between them ("*Pelo que caa symto e conheço, me parece que Sua Senhoria deve muito olhar com quem trata e que do que com elle se asemtar tome tal seguridade qual cumpra*").[38] The documents emphasize the need to choose a trustworthy and efficient person ("*pesoa sua muito fiavel que com gramde eficácia lhe fale sobre... e lhe certifique que...*").[39]

The ambassadors improved their skills (natural/innate, or acquired through their experience in previous missions) by receiving specific training, by attending European

[33] On the subject of medieval diplomatic couriers, see Moreno, 1972: 5-8; López Gómez, 2015 1-26.

[34] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 57-59 and fl. 61v.

[35] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 24v. Published by Marinho, 2017, vol. 2, doc. 1: 215-22.

[36] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 60.

[37] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 61.

[38] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 61.

[39] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 59. Published by Marinho, 2017, vol. 2, doc. 6, pp. 230-3.

universities, or even by holding positions in the royal administration. This is generally why they were people of a high social status as well as being members of important institutions, such as the Royal Council, Royal Chamber, High Courts, Royal Treasury, and Royal Chancery, as previously stated. Consequently, they were perfectly aware of the way in which the different questions should be presented or discussed with the visited king or his representatives. On July 4, 1433, the fourth Count of Ourém drew attention to the importance of choosing representatives from among people of a high social standing. At the time of the Iberian final *Reconquista*—the Granada War—the Count of Ourém proposed sending an embassy to Castile composed of three prestigious noblemen whose social profile would improve the mission's goals. He stressed three requirements that were considered to be essential: the first was to be well-known everywhere ("*por ser mais notificado a todo o mundo*");[40] the second was to avoid the denial or rejection of what was considered to be a just cause ("*porque sabendo o dicto Rey de Castella e seu conselho esta cousa (...) averiam empacho de negar cousa tam Justa*");[41] and the third was to achieve the objectives as quickly as possible ("*porque geralmente as grandes pesoas, se bem entendydas são, arecadão mais asynha as grandes cousas que as outras pesoas somenos*").[42] This last statement highlights a curious set of factors that were based on the social condition of the diplomatic agent. It was not enough to be a prestigious person. Being well understood was a necessary and complementary condition. By successfully combining these two characteristics, diplomats would achieve their objectives much more quickly. The Count of Ourém concluded his argument by recommending to the king that he pay especially close attention to the choice of his representatives, who should be well-informed and easily understood ("*as grandes pesoas se bem entendydas são, arecadão mais asynha as grandes cousas que as outras pesoas (...) que pois taes pesoas emviaes que grande tençon tendes naquilo a que os mandaes*").[43]

As has been said, when the ambassadors left the Portuguese Court, they took with them at least one letter of instruction containing specific guidelines about the matters that were to be addressed and the manner in which these should be dealt with at the foreign Court (Marinho, 2017, vol. 1: 257). Thus, it is not surprising that these documents started with an instruction, such as "what you, F., will say on our behalf" ("*o que vos, F., da nosa parte direis a*"),[44] or "these are the things that you must request" ("*Cousas que vos mandamos que ajais*

[40] Duarte, D., 1982: 71.
[41] Duarte, D., 1982: 71.
[42] Duarte, D., 1982: 71.
[43] Duarte, D., 1982: 71.
[44] There are some examples of detailed references in the *Manizola* documents. See Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fls. 33v, 36v, 57.

de requerer")[45]. Nevertheless, while such instructions were mandatory (being very exact and specific about the topic that should be negotiated), there were also other directions that were less precise, such as allowing the diplomatic agent to inform the other party about an issue only after being asked to do so. On the other hand, we must be aware that many subjects and attitudes would have been extremely hard to predict beforehand. Some ambassadors had a *carte blanche*, which let them decide what was the most appropriate manner or moment for talking about the *negotium*.

Besides these general statements, the letters of instruction could also include other specific directions about the best way of conveying messages to the visited court. Generally, the king advised the ambassador to be careful and to talk as best he could ("*dizei o milhor que puderdes*")[46] about the matter under discussion. However, on certain occasions, the monarch would give specific instructions as to how his representative should act. This was the case, for example, in 1451, when Lopo de Almeida and João Fernandes da Silveira visited the Emperor, and the king specified exactly what his representatives should say and how they should address him ("*Esta hee a maneira como tereis em requerer ao emperador*").[47]

The actual contents of the letters of instruction varied according to each instance—in certain cases, we realize that some of these documents were written at a time that was very close to the final completion of negotiations, since they dealt only with the topics that would be included in the desired final agreement. On other occasions, the letters gave orders for the representative to undertake several missions, which were usually related to one another. Profiting from the journey of João Fernandes da Silveira to Rome, the Portuguese king ordered him to give his greetings to the Florentines and Sieneses, notifying them about the journey to Turkey as well as asking them to open the ports to the Portuguese fleet. This ambassador was instructed to act in a similar fashion in Venice, where he was to insist on the topic, but only after returning from the Holy See, armed with the Pope's response.[48] This meant that one journey could be used for multiple diplomatic purposes. These joint efforts were certainly conditioned by both time and money.

[45] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 29v.
[46] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 30v.
[47] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 30v.
[48] Letter of instruction dated April 20, 1456. Marinho, 2017, vol. 2, doc. 1: 215-222.

4. Procedures and Rituals

The success of the missions also depended on the observation of the protocols, rituals, and ceremonies required on these occasions. As was to be expected, diplomatic agents normally adopted the noble codes and procedures of the visited court. In Portuguese archives, there is no evidence of any specific written formalization of protocols relating to the period that we are concerned with here. Nevertheless, according to the *Livro Vermelho*, there were some rules and precedencies established by the Portuguese royal council for visits to the Portuguese Court by foreign ambassadors ("*Detriminaçaõ do Conselho d'ElRey acerqua da maneira que se aja de ter com os Embaixadores dos Rex e Principes estramjeiros, que a sua Corte vierem*").[49]

These precedencies were taken into account not only in the Royal Chapel, but also at all other ceremonies of the Court ("*e esa mesma maneira se tenha em quaesquer outros luguares d'asentamentos asy em Cortes como em todolos outros*").[50] As this chapel represented the stage upon which the most important action took place, the positions ("*asentamento*") occupied by the different people attending the ceremonies enable us to understand how the hierarchy was established. In fact, the positions occupied at the ceremonies of the Portuguese court were determined in accordance with the political importance of the person (emperor, king, or prince) who had sent the ambassador. For instance, a clergyman representing a foreign king would have a seat on the benches of the priests, ahead of the archbishops and bishops of the Portuguese dioceses. Otherwise, if he were the ambassador of a prince, he would have a seat on the same bench as the priests, but only ahead of those who enjoyed an equal ecclesiastical status. Another document highlights the importance of precedence in the case of ambassadors and even the monarchs themselves when visiting the Portuguese court: in January 1471, the Royal Council, assembled at Santarém, established the hierarchy of visitors, naming them in their order of importance as the Emperor, the King of France, the King of Castile, the King of England, the King of Hungary, the King of Aragon, etc. At this time in Portuguese history, people's sitting positions were also considered to be important in other political spheres, such as at the royal "parliament" (*Cortes*), where a sequence was established for the seating of the representatives of the municipalities as well.[51] All these regulations naturally reflected the way in which power was interpreted and exercised.

[49] *Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V* ..., vol. 3: 420-421.

[50] *Livro Vermelho do Senhor Rey D. Affonso V* ..., vol. 3: 421.

[51] For more information about the Portuguese "parliament," see Sousa, 1990 and Sousa, 2014.

The information given by the various documents copied into *Códice 177* of the *Manizola* Collection also enables us to reconstruct certain aspects of the procedures and rituals of a diplomatic mission in the 1450s and 1460s, following the initial phase of preparation and instruction (*fase de instrução*). In fact, on arriving at the court to which they had been sent, ambassadors would present their credentials, immediately following the official greetings.[52] But it was possible that the visited monarch already knew beforehand that these representatives of other kingdoms were expected to arrive because he had previously received a letter of credence brought by a messenger, as is indicated by the following sentence: "whose arrival, from what we had seen in their credentials, would very soon take place" ("*cuja cheguada polo que vimos per suas cremças seraa muy em breve*").[53]

Having presented their credentials, ambassadors would then seek to schedule an official meeting as soon as possible. This meeting could take the form of a private audience with the visited king or with a council or assembly, at which they would make a public speech in order to explain the goals of the mission. This happened, for instance, on April 20, 1456 in the context of a mission to Rome, when King Afonso V of Portugal decided that if the Pope refused to listen to the ambassador, then the latter should make a public speech in front of the cardinals and other witnesses, who would then be expected to transmit the message to the pontiff (Marinho, 2017, vol. 2, doc. 1: 215-222).

For reasons of courtesy, which ambassadors should always demonstrate, but also for reasons of secrecy and personal security (to protect the diplomats themselves), these representatives could only leave the emperor's or the king's court after receiving his permission to do so.[54]

Once the diplomatic mission had been accomplished, or sometimes at specific moments during the negotiations, the diplomat was required to inform the king of the progress that had been achieved, generally by sending him a report. In fact, such feedback was decisive for ensuring the success of the mission and for obtaining rapid justice ("*breve justiça*"),[55] that is to say for achieving the desired goals more easily. It also allowed the Portuguese king to know what guarantees the foreign authorities were prepared to both provide and accept, thus evoking the fundamental principle of reciprocity in the field of diplomacy (Marinho, 2017, vol. 1: 75).

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[52] Thus, for example, in 1451, if the Count of Ourém did not greet the emperor, the remaining diplomats were expected to do so and then they would hand their credentials to the emperor. Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 30v.

[53] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 57v.

[54] Santarém, 1865, p. CXLIX: 69, 136, 142.

[55] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 122v-123v.

When negotiations lasted a long time, the king was also to be informed of the reasons for the delay, since lengthy negotiations might damage the final agreement. Nevertheless, all information about both friends and enemies was to be sent to the king by the diplomatic staff, as well as by others. For example, on September 11, 1465, Afonso V of Portugal advised his representatives not to receive any "unacceptable responses;" if this happened, a previous memorandum ("*ementa de apontamentos*") that they had brought with them should be used to support the bilateral agreement to be sent to the king aiming at obtaining his approval.[56] This shows how the king's negotiators were aware of the need for complementarity in terms of actions in order to better achieve the desired goals.

Once the negotiations were completed, the diplomatic agents were finally able to return to their country, traveling either together or separately.[57]

5. Final Remarks

Despite the fact that the documentary evidence provided by letters of credence and instruction referred only to a specific decade in the fifteenth century, we were able to gather together information—from the complementary sources that we have already referred to—about certain ceremonies and rituals relating to the Portuguese royal diplomatic missions of the middle of that century.

Initially, representatives were sent on the king's behalf, having been selected on the basis of their social profile and the personal relationships that they enjoyed with some members of the royal court. The experience that they had gained as a result of their participation in previous missions was also decisive for their being chosen as representatives. Together with the rationalization of resources necessarily implied by the long journeys required by external relations, such circumstances explain why the same individual might sometimes be chosen as the representative of both parties involved in the *negotium*.

In fact, there was no professional or permanent diplomatic corps in Portugal until the end of the Middle Ages. For this reason, as far as the fifteenth century is concerned, the use of the term "embassy" is very limited. Although the expression was already to be found in use in 1456, in a document referring to a mission sent to the Holy See,[58] none of the other missions were given any specific diplomatic label.

[56] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 33v-36v.
[57] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 30v-33.
[58] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 24-29v.

However, at the same time, it was already possible to identify in Portugal clear signs that fundamental changes were being introduced into the organization of diplomacy in accordance with the experiences gained by the king's representatives on foreign soil. It was precisely during this period that the intense relations that Portugal enjoyed with the most diverse foreign kingdoms led to the development of specific knowledge that further transformed relations with the external entities. In the so-called *Livro Vermelho*, the Royal Council of Afonso V of Portugal set out rules of institutional conduct (establishing, for example, the different positions to be occupied during ceremonies held at the Court), which went far beyond the general norms of aristocratic behavior. In the absence of specific rules for ambassadors, the king's representatives reproduced, at the most diverse European Courts, many of the ceremonies and common aristocratic gestures that had been inherited from ancient times. Thus, through the experience that it had gained in external relations, the Portuguese Crown implemented what was clearly a diplomatic practice (Branco & Farelo, 2011: 258-259) in the modern sense of the term. A "diplomatic corps" that began to take shape at this time and would later materialize in the sixteenth century through the presence of permanent ambassadors (*embaixadores resydentes*)[59] in foreign courts.

[59] Biblioteca Pública de Évora, *Fundo da Manizola*, cód. 177, fl. 122v-123v.

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The Cost of Graduation and Academic Rituals: Material Expressions of Student Life in the Late Middle Ages in Portugal[1]

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Rui Miguel Rocha[3]

Abstract

Medieval universities were always institutions where certain rituals were regularly performed in varying forms and at different places and moments. Such practices have also been identified as taking place at the Portuguese University, where they marked important moments in a student's life, involving, for example, processions or graduation ceremonies. These were solemn events displaying a strong urban identity, which followed routes that passed by important and symbolic places in the city (cathedrals, churches, public squares, etc.), often complemented by the celebration of religious masses and sermons. The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the urban itineraries followed by the members of universities and the costs and revenues involved in these acts, as expressed in the university statutes issued by King Manuel I (c. 1503).

Keywords

Middle Ages; Portuguese University; academic rituals; university finance; urban space.

Resumo

A universidade foi sempre uma instituição fortemente ritualizada nas suas práticas, expressas em diferentes formas, espaços e momentos do quotidiano académico. Assinalavam momentos marcantes da vida estudantil, como a concessão de graus ou a realização de procissões, com passagens por lugares importantes e simbólicos da cidade (sé, igrejas, praças públicas, etc.), complementadas por missas e pregações. Tal apropriação do espaço citadino pelos escolares é identificável nas fontes documentais, nomeadamente nos estatutos universitários ordenados pelo rei D. Manuel I (c. 1503). O objetivo deste artigo é reconstituir os itinerários urbanos estudantis e as práticas económicas e financeiras que lhes estavam associadas.

Palavras-chave

Idade Média; Universidade portuguesa; Rituais académicos; Finanças universitárias; Espaço urbano.

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Medieval universities were, in essence, a typically urban phenomenon (Le Goff 1957: 9-14). The city was, in fact, a decisive factor behind their origin—as universities were the successors of cathedral schools (Frova 1995: 332)—as well as determining their institutional characterization (Verger 1992: 48). This penetration into and appropriation of the city by scholars, together with the numerous privileges granted by the competent authorities inevitably led to great tension between the various university members—teachers, students, and officials (Marques 1997: 69-127)—and the populations of the cities where these emerging institutions were established. This was the case, for example, of the pioneering *generalia* of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford (Kibre 1961), a phenomenon that historiography commonly describes as *town and gown* (Brockliss 2000). Lying at the root of these conflicts were not only the numerous privileges granted by kings, popes, and municipalities (Nardi 1992: 77-107), but also the bohemian lifestyle of many of the scholars (Schwinges 1992: 195-243). There were also several violent intellectual debates that were responsible for several bloody confrontations, the most important of which was the one that affected the University of Paris in the thirteenth century (Heer 1998), pitting the Faculty of Arts against the Faculty of Theology over the reintroduction in the West of the lost works of Aristotle, known by the generic name of *Logica Nova* (Lohr 1982).

Naturally, the close connection between medieval universities and cities also manifested itself in a peaceful way, which was in fact the most common and visible aspect of this relationship, as far as we can glean from what is known about student life in the Middle Ages (Moulin 1991). Obviously, these links were reflected at an architectural level, with the construction of school buildings (Lobo 2010), and certainly at an economic level, with the creation of colleges (Bartolomé Martínez 1995: 326-373), the concession of specific housing districts for scholars (Schwinges 1992: 213-222), and, finally, the activity of the university and its members as economic actors themselves (Gieysztor 1992: 108-143). Yet it was also visible in the frequent and large-scale public rituals and ceremonies typical of university institutions. Indeed, these rituals were sometimes very elaborate affairs (Chiffoleau, Martines, and Bagliani 1994), taking the form of processions, religious masses, and sermons (Destemberg 2010: 337-341), as well as other academic acts, such as graduation ceremonies (Destemberg 2009: 113-132), which will be analyzed later on. These occasions involved a wide diversity of different features, such as parades, banquets, and the mandatory wearing of scholarly garments and insignia, among others (Veloso 1997: 149-151).

In fact, not unlike its medieval counterparts in other countries, the Portuguese University always had an ambiguous relationship with the cities (Lisbon and Coimbra) that

hosted it throughout the period under study here (Mattoso 1994: 23-35), clearly visible in the interaction between the university bodies and the urban powers (Coelho 2007: 309-326), and especially between the students and the local communities (Norte and Leitão 2018: 513-527). At times symbiotic, these relationships very often seem to have been rather disruptive, to the point where they caused some of the numerous relocations of the Portuguese *studium generale*. On occasions, this situation was even mentioned explicitly in the historical documentation, as for example in the bull of Pope Clement V, which clearly refers to the "grauiam dissemtiones et scandala" (severe disputes and scandals) provoked by scholars (Moreira de Sá 1966: 41–42).

The more peaceful appropriation of the city by scholars, which obviously displayed its own symbolic and material aspects, is also clearly identifiable in medieval documentation, namely in the university statutes issued by King Manuel I presumably at the beginning of the sixteenth century. These statutes were designed to reform Portuguese University, which at that time were under the tutelage of the Archive of the University of Coimbra (Dom Manuel I 1503). In this paper, reference will be made to the most recent edition of this source, published together with the statutes of other universities by Manuel Augusto Rodrigues (Rodrigues 1991: 29–41). These are only the third set of regulations relating to the Portuguese *studium generale* known to be in existence, but they are certainly the most complete of the three. We can find in them a great deal of information about the day-to-day life of the institution, making it possible to reconstruct the students' urban itineraries and the concrete practices associated with them, as well as their economic repercussions for the university, its members, and other institutional agents.

Besides the relevance of this economic approach, it is important to highlight the almost complete absence in the Portuguese historiography of any comprehensive and specialized studies about academic rituals (in contrast to the attention that has been given to this topic internationally). In the Portuguese case, the notable exceptions are Teresa Veloso's essay about the Middle Ages (Veloso 1997) and the monograph by Armando Carvalho Homem about contemporary practices, with its heavy emphasis on academic garments (Carvalho Homem 2006).

The date of publication of the statutes is linked to the fourth relocation of the Portuguese University, after its foundation at the end of the thirteenth century by King Dinis (Sousa Costa 1991: 71-82), which often traveled back and forth between the cities of Lisbon (1290-1308; 1338-1354; 1377-1537) and Coimbra (1308-1338; 1354-1377) during the Middle Ages, this being a unique feature among European medieval universities of this

period (Dias 1997: 33). In fact, the statutes correspond to a time when the university was located in Lisbon (Martins 2013: 41-88), which is why this article will focus on this geographical area, already the capital of the kingdom at this time (Oliveira Marques 1988: 80-91).

Academic Rituals

As stated before, academic rituals were an important part of the academic year and we can find evidence of this in the source, as most of them are described in a detailed manner, in close connection with the urban space. These events, sometimes involving ecclesiastical rites, included: the public reading of statutes (Rodrigues 1991: 30); elections of academic bodies (Rodrigues 1991: 32); funerals of scholars (Rodrigues 1991: 33); daily masses before lectures (Rodrigues 1991: 33); legal hearings under academic jurisdiction (Rodrigues 1991: 35); processions, sermons, and solemn masses on festive days (Rodrigues 1991: 33–34); and graduation ceremonies (Rodrigues 1991: 36–38). Due to the quantity and quality of the available data and the importance of such acts in the everyday life of the academy, this paper will focus only on the last two of these activities: processions and graduation ceremonies.

All these public practices had to comply with an assortment of regulations, with the different events being framed by the academic year, starting on October 19 (the day after St. Luke's Feast Day)— symbolically marked by the delivery of an inaugural speech by highly regarded scholars, such as Pedro de Meneses (Pedro de Meneses 1504), André de Resende (André de Resende 1534), and Jerónimo Cardoso (Jerónimo Cardoso 1536)—and ending on August 15 (the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary). Many of these special moments in academic life were punctuated by the holy days of the liturgical calendar. All the public ceremonies had to be announced previously and all members of the academy were required to be present at such acts, which could not take place on school days (Rodrigues 1991: 31). Furthermore, the wearing of academic dress was compulsory at all ceremonies (Rodrigues 1991: 39).

Academic Processions

As far as the first group of academic rituals is concerned—processions, together with sermons and solemn masses—there were five events mentioned in the regulations that

took place on the Lisbon city streets: the procession to the Monastery of Our Savior, a convent of Dominican nuns, which took place on December 25; the procession of the Virgin Mary to the Convent of Our Lady of Grace, of the order of the Hermit Friars of Saint Augustine, which took place on March 25; the biannual procession to the Monastery of St Dominic; the procession to the Parish Church of St. Nicholas; and, finally, the procession to the Monastery of Our Lady of the Conception, affiliated with the Portuguese military Order of Christ, all of which took place on non-stipulated dates (Rodrigues 1991: 33-34). All these public ceremonies organized by the university were governed by a series of rules. The unjustified absence of bachelors was punishable with a fine of three gold doubloons, paid to the university treasury. Certain formal procedures also had to be honored—university members were compelled to wear full academic dress and had to organize themselves into pairs in order to participate in the acts while the teachers of grammar and logic, equipped with red poles (academic insignia), were in charge of leading all processions (Rodrigues 1991: 34).

The map shows the itineraries of the academic processions all around the city as accurately as possible (see Figure 1). For instance, we can clearly see the points of arrival for some of the processions and the points of both departure and arrival of others. Only the itineraries themselves are hypothetical, although three variables were taken into consideration in their design—the wider routes, the distance covered by the procession, and the city's topography. It should be noted that the map shown here dates from the late sixteenth century, which is not very far removed from our timeframe, meaning that this is the most accurate depiction of the city at the time and the most suitable for our purpose. It is part of the large collection of maps assembled in the work known as *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Braun and Hogenberg 1572).

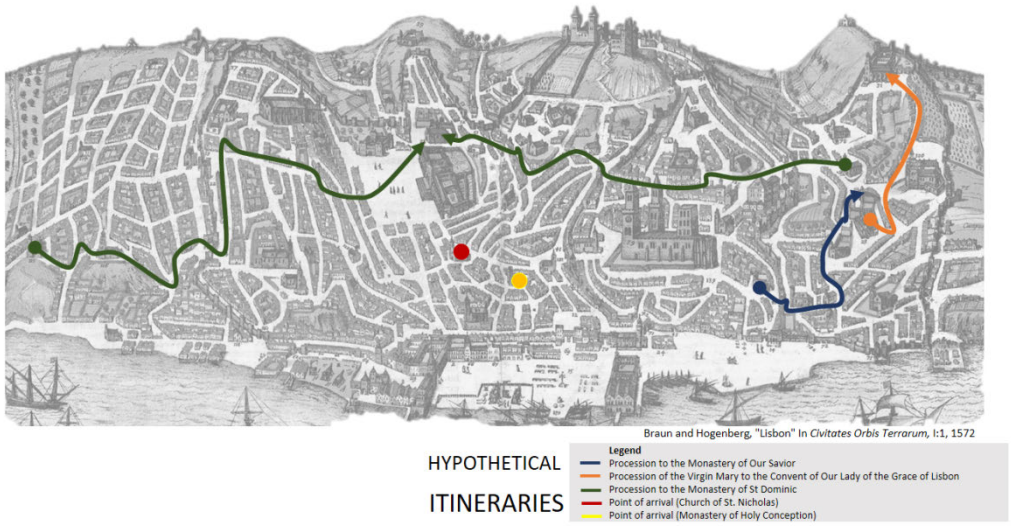

Figure 1: Academic Processions

All five events are described in the source. The first relates to the annual Christmas Day procession to the Monastery of Our Savior (Rodrigues 1991: 33), celebrating the donation of school buildings to the university by Prince Henry, its former protector, in 1431 (Moreira de Sá 1974: 177–78). The procession was followed by a mass conducted by the theology teacher. Teachers and students were each required to pay 10 *reais* to the sisterhood of the monastery, as well as 100 *reais* to the other monasteries in attendance, with the payment of the full amount being shared between all the contributors (Rodrigues 1991: 33). The information found in the source enables us to attempt to establish a hypothetical, yet quite probable, itinerary for the procession. Even so, the point of arrival is beyond dispute. There are some doubts about the point of departure as the name of the church mentioned in the document is ambiguous, since São Gião could refer to the church of both São João (St. John) and São Julião (St. Julian). We believe that the document refers to the church of St. John as this was located close to the students' quarter and to the university itself. Furthermore, it is quite interesting to note that the final destination of the procession—the church of Our Savior—was adjacent to the university. Considering all these aspects, the most probable route was through St. Peter's Gate, passing through the students' quarter and in front of the *studium* building until finally reaching the church. All of this means that we are able to claim with some confidence that every Christmas Day in the early sixteenth century, students and teachers would go to the Monastery of Our Savior where they would attend the mass celebrated by the theology teacher.

As for the second procession, this would take place on Saint Mary's Day (March 25), followed by a solemn mass (Rodrigues 1991: 33). Like the previous one, it was

presided over by the Chair of Theology and it was meant to celebrate the donation of houses to the university in 1431 (Moreira de Sá 1972: 59–61). According to the document of donation signed by Prince Henry, the procession was supposed to start at the university buildings (Moreira de Sá 1970: 28–30) and finish at the Convent of Our Lady of Grace of Lisbon, of the Order of the Hermit Friars of Saint Augustine (Moreira de Sá 1970: 28–30; 1972: 59–61; 1974: 177–78). As far as the costs of this particular procession were concerned, the church would be presented with 100 *reais*, two candles, and one pound and one ounce of incense, all at the expense of university funds. The rules were strict and could not be neglected by the friars, or else they would be punished (Moreira de Sá 1970: 28–30).

In the case of the other three processions, the references are quite scanty. As far as the Monastery of St. Dominic of Lisbon of the Order of Preachers was concerned, the regulations prescribed two annual processions with different itineraries, to be followed by homilies (Rodrigues 1991: 33–34). Although there is no indication of the dates when these processions took place, it is quite likely that they were connected in some way to the patron saints of the churches mentioned as places of passage in the description of the occasions: St. Catherine of Lisbon and St. Thomas Aquinas (the latter probably being a reference to the parish church of St. Thomas of Lisbon, also a patron of the university). If so, the processions probably occurred on the feast days of these two saints, November 25 and March 7, according to the liturgical calendar prior to the Reformation of the Council of Trent.

As far as the routes taken by the fourth and fifth processions are concerned, the only available information relates to the place of arrival: the parish church of St. Nicholas, the ancient Bishop of Myra in the fourth century, also known as the Bishop of Bari, and the Monastery of Our Lady of the Conception of the Military Order of Christ (Rodrigues 1991: 33-34). Again, it is possible to extrapolate the dates of such events by using the Catholic liturgical calendar, which places them on December 6 and August 15, which was the last day of the academic year. In these cases, the statutes clearly indicate the priests who would be responsible for conducting the masses celebrated after the processions. The teacher of natural philosophy, or a person of his choice if he were unavailable, would officiate at the Church of St. Nicholas; and the teacher of moral philosophy (or metaphysics) would deliver the homily at the Templar Monastery, which ended with a high mass. Some financial reports can also be found relating to this last procession. The king himself offered a total amount of 4,000 *reais* for the celebration of this occasion. A sum of 3,000 *reais* was destined for the payment of the priest and 1,000 *reais* were allocated as follows: one *cruzado*—roughly equivalent to 400 *reais* (Ferreira 2014: 39)—for the mass and

for the purchase of candles and incense, with the remainder being given to the university treasury (Rodrigues 1991: 33–34).

Some facts concerning the above-mentioned events could help to explain why those specific ecclesiastical houses were chosen and not others, since the landmarks used in academic processions were not chosen randomly. Firstly, it is possible to explain the two annual pilgrimages made to the Church of St. Dominic in Lisbon because of the predominant position enjoyed by the Dominican Order in the spiritual order of the kingdom from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, a situation that was commonly found in the Christian world in general. On the other hand, the procession to the Monastery of Our Lady of the Conception of the Templar friars can be easily explained by the fact that Prince Henry and King Manuel I were both governors of the Order of Christ (Silva 2002). This Order of Christ was the successor of the previous Order of the Temple, which had been suppressed by Pope Clement V in an Apostolic Decree, the bull *Vox in Excelso*, issued on March 22, 1312 (Demurger 1989: 320). As for the choice of the collegiate churches of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas, both under the king's patronage, this may well be explained by their links to the funding of the university during the fifteenth century. Thus, the Church of St. Thomas had already been assigned to the *studium generale* before December 10, 1414 (Moreira de Sá 1969: 71–78), and the Church of St. Nicholas since May 17, 1430 (Moreira de Sá 1969: 395–96). In turn, the significant role played by Prince Henry the Navigator as a former protector of the university in its improvement at numerous levels, including in material terms (Moreira de Sá 1960), was the reason stated for the processions to the Monastery of Our Savior and to the Convent of Our Lady of Grace of Lisbon (Rodrigues 1991: 33).

In general, it is important to highlight certain aspects relating to the revenues and expenses of the formal acts considered here. It is possible to identify three entities that received payments—the priests responsible for the liturgies, the university itself, and some monasteries—which were paid both in kind and in cash. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, in the case of the priests, the most prestigious teacher of theology and the teachers of natural and moral philosophy were responsible for conducting the solemn masses, for which they received important sums in cash. Secondly, the treasury of the university received payments in cash from the king in order to fulfill his processional wishes. Similarly, the absence of the bachelors who had graduated from the Portuguese University resulted in a fine paid by the offenders to the university treasury. Thirdly and finally, for numerous reasons, some monasteries received donations, in some cases contingent on the presence of

representatives of those monasteries. These donations could also be made either in cash or in kind, with the latter donations usually being associated with the liturgical rites (for example, in the form of candles and incense) granted by the king, the university, and individually by its teachers and students (Rodrigues 1991: 33-34).

Graduation Ceremonies

The other academic rituals to be considered in this analysis are the graduation ceremonies (see Figure 2). We can very briefly identify three different types of academic degrees, as was also the case at other similar institutions all over Europe in the same period: the bachelor's degree, the licentiateship, and the doctorate (Frijhoff 1992: 358).

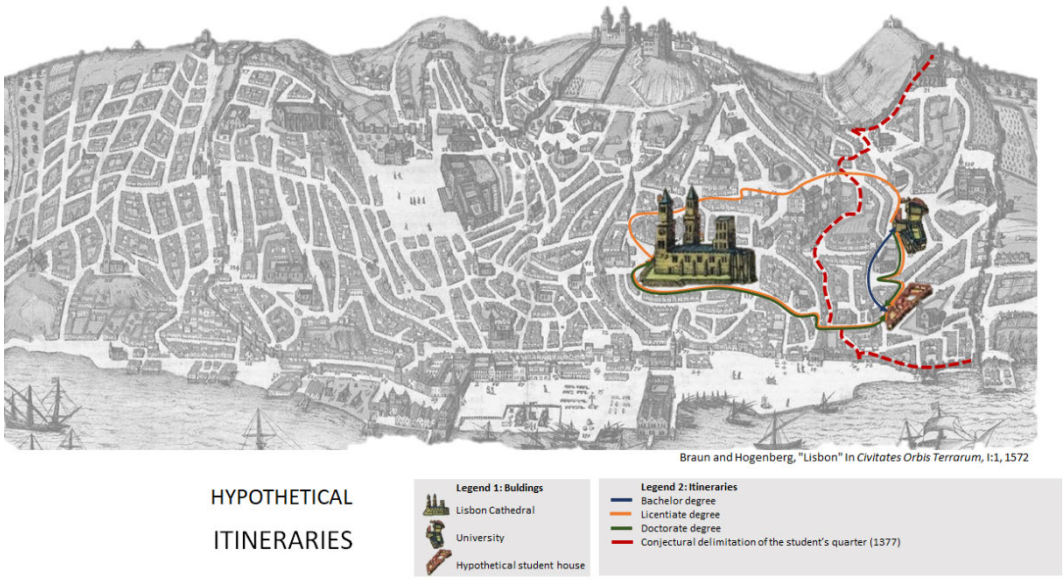

Figure 2: Academic Graduations

Since they were considered to be public acts, all these academic ceremonies followed a strict protocol, namely with regard to seating arrangements and the dress code. At all ceremonies, the chancellor (inherently the teacher in charge of the Chair of Civil Law) would be seated in the middle, with the rector to his right, while the other participants were distributed on either side of the altar (Rodrigues 1991: 39) according to what was considered the hierarchy of knowledge in medieval times (Le Goff 1957: 83-85). Therefore, the doctors of theology, the doctors of canon law, the doctors of civil law, the masters of medicine, and the masters of liberal arts would be seated in keeping with their decreasing order of hierarchy. They would be duly identified by the color of their tassels: white for

theologians, green for canon lawyers, red for civil lawyers, yellow for physicians, and blue for artists. In each faculty, the professors would sit at the front, and behind them the graduates in order of seniority. If any of the king's magistrates (*desembargadores*) attended these acts, they would be seated immediately to the rector's left, regardless of the nature of their academic degree, or even their lack of one. The university's administrative staff and counsellors would be seated separately from the other members of the academy (Rodrigues 1991: 39).

Nevertheless, despite these general prescriptions, each degree ceremony had its own specific rules and guidelines, for example, in relation to the costs involved and the itineraries that were followed. The least important of the three, the bachelor's degree, was understandably the cheapest and least complex. Under such circumstances, the itinerary established by the statutes for the ceremony would be drawn between the candidate's house, if this was located in the students' quarter (a specific area of the city assigned to the university and its members) and the university buildings. This particular graduation ceremony began when the university members, led by the rector and the beadle with his distinctive pole, set off in the direction of the scholar's home in order to collect him. They would then all return together in a procession to the university where the graduation examination would be carried out (Rodrigues 1991: 36). Prior to the lecture and its ensuing discussion—the two parts of which the examination consisted, as dictated by the scholastic formula (Bonfil 2004: 179-210)—an opening address would be given by the candidate. After the examination was completed, the student would request his degree by giving a closing speech, immediately followed by the offering of specific gifts to certain academic members and by the graduation oath addressed to the beadle. The ritual would end with the award of the bachelor's degree by a doctor or a master, depending on the subject that was examined, followed by a blessing addressed to God and to the entire audience. The award of the degree implied the offer of a pair of gloves and a cap to the sponsor, gloves to the rector and the teachers who attended the graduation ceremony, one gold doubloon to the beadle, and, finally, one gold doubloon, together with fine fabrics, to the university (Rodrigues 1991: 36).

In the case of the licentiateship, several important differences can be noted. For instance, the graduation ceremony was centered around three places instead of just two: the candidate's home, in the students' quarter; the university buildings; and Lisbon Cathedral, where the licentiate would take his oaths and complete his graduation examination. All of these places were contained within the eastern area of Lisbon (Rodrigues 1991: 36–37). For

the sake of convenience, although we cannot precisely identify a candidate's home, we chose a location where there would probably be houses used for student residence according to the delimitation of the university residential quarter established by King Fernando (Moreira de Sá 1968: 5–9), one of the predecessors of King Manuel I. Moreover, these acts were considered to be highly important, as can be seen from the full participation of all the members of the university in them, albeit not always at the same phase of the examination. As far as the different stages of the examination ritual were concerned, as defined by the statutes, the examination was scheduled to take place over a particular period of time, and then, on the morning of the first day, the bachelor would meet his friends, sponsor, and beadle at the university and they would go together to Lisbon Cathedral to attend the mass of the Holy Spirit. Afterwards, the chancellor and the sponsor would have a meeting, probably inside the cathedral, to decide upon the lessons that the candidate should read for the examination. The bachelor would then go back to his home alone and study for two days. During that period, the candidate had to send one measure of white wine, one measure of red wine, and a chicken to the examiners, rector, and beadle and twice that amount of food and drink to the sponsor and chancellor. Besides the above-mentioned expenses, the graduate had to pay three gold doubloons plus 2000 *reais* to the university treasury or else offer fabrics in their place to the beadle. After the two days had elapsed, all the members of the university, suitably clad in academic dress, would come to his house to collect him. Then they would proceed with torches in an orderly fashion to the cathedral again where the examination would finally take place at sundown. Once it was completed, the bachelor and his friends would go back to his home and wait for the results. In the meantime, the examiners (and the beadle for bureaucratic purposes) stayed in the cathedral to either approve or fail the candidate. After making their decision, they would send a messenger to the bachelor's house to announce their verdict (Rodrigues 1991: 36–37).

In the case of the doctorate (applicable to students of theology, canon law, and civil law) and the master's degree (applicable to students of medicine and liberal arts), the procedures were similar to those followed for the licentiateship. As in the previous situation, the candidates were escorted from their houses to the city's cathedral by the doctors and masters and all the members of the university who wished to honor them, in order to attend the morning mass of the Holy Spirit. A dress code was imposed on the participants and specifically on the candidate, who was required to wear appropriate academic dress (still without a cap), or, in the case of friars, their habits. They also had to consider the previously described hierarchical rules of precedence for public acts in the

examination room, with the candidate being seated opposite the chancellor on a lower seat at a table, accompanied by two bachelors or licentiates. From that seat, he would begin his examination by reading a brief lesson, which would then be discussed by the rector and by some chosen members of the candidate's faculty. After this, the candidate would offer a considerable number of gifts—gloves to all the bachelors and noblemen as well as caps to the chancellor, sponsor, licentiates, doctors, and university officials. As part of the ritual, an honorable man was appointed to praise the candidate's virtues in Latin while also underlining some minor flaws in Portuguese. A pledge would be made to the scribe afterwards, followed by a speech made by the examinee himself, requesting the concession of the degree from his sponsor, who would ultimately award him the degree and the corresponding insignia (a ring and a cap with a tassel), ending with a symbolic kiss on the candidate's face. To complete the ritual, all the university members would have dinner together at the expense of the newly-appointed graduate. The exception was the liberal arts master, whose sole obligation was to provide a meal to the graduates. Just as was the case with the bachelor and licentiate degrees, the candidate was obliged to pay fees in order to obtain a doctorate. Under these circumstances, the applicant for a doctorate would pay five gold doubloons to the university and 3,000 *reais* to the beadle as a reminder of the tradition of dressing this official properly in accordance with the old statutes (Rodrigues 1991: 38).

Some remarks should be made regarding the gifts made by the candidates in the context of the three graduation ceremonies (see Table 1).

DEGREE	OFFERS	RECIPIENT OF THE PAYMENT
Bachelor	1 golden doubloon	University treasure; Beadle
	1 cap and 1 pair of gloves	Sponsor
	1 pair of gloves	Rector and examiners
	Fine fabrics	University treasure
Licentiate	1 measure of white wine	Examiners; Beadle; Rector
	1 measure of red wine	
	1 chicken	
	2 measures of white wine	Chancellor; Sponsor
	2 measures of red wine	
	2 chickens	
	3 golden doubloons	University treasure
	1 measure of fine fabric or 2.000 *reais*	Beadle
Doctor / Master	1 pair of gloves	Bachelors; Noblemen
	1 cap and 1 pair of gloves	Licentiates; Doctors and Masters; University officials; Chancellor; Sponsor
	5 golden doubloons[1]	University treasure
	3.000 *reais*	Beadle
	1 dinner[1]	University members[2]

[1] Exemption for candidates with teaching positions

[2] The master on Liberal Arts offered dinner only to doctors and masters, and university officials

Table 1: Offers by the Candidates vs type of Degrees and Recipients of the payment

First of all, the expenses were proportional to the hierarchical level of the degree, with the candidates for a bachelor's degree being the least overburdened with costs, while those applying for doctorates had the greatest expenses. This can be easily understood as the candidates for a doctorate had to benefit all those taking part in the public act, with no exceptions being made, while the bachelor and the licentiate were exempted from having to offer gifts to undergraduates and noblemen. Furthermore, the amount paid to the university treasury differed substantially among the candidates: those applying for a bachelor's degree paid only ⅕ of the amount paid by those applying for a doctorate and ⅓ of the amount paid by those applying for a licentiateship. In turn, we can find different levels among the beneficiaries at the ceremonies—the university officials (mainly the rector, the beadle, and the chancellor), the examiners, and the sponsors were quite often offered gifts by the candidates and only rarely were gifts made to graduates and noblemen.

According to the statutes, most of the tributes were paid in kind, albeit with some exceptions. The most important of these was the university, which almost always received monetary payments. Apart from the university treasurer, only one of the officials of the *studium generale*, namely the beadle, received monetary payments, as he was the main administrative agent. The money could be paid either in gold doubloons or in *reais*. As far as the payments in kind were concerned, we can note some differences since we can find records relating to gifts of academic garments (namely gloves and caps), fine fabrics, and food, such as chickens, red and white wine, and full meals.

The items most frequently offered by the candidates, with the exception of the licentiates, were academic garments, once again consisting of gloves and caps. In contrast, the offer of full meals (dinners) was an exclusive obligation of the candidates applying for doctorates. Yet, although licentiates were not obliged to pay for full meals, the statutes required the presentation of some agricultural products. As far as the gifts of food were concerned, candidates applying for bachelor's degrees had no obligations whatsoever.

Final Remarks

Considering all that has been said above, some main conclusions can be drawn. In the first place, due to the sheer quantity and quality of the data, the statutes are a reliable, useful, and fertile source for the study of academic rituals and their associated expenses. Also, among the academic rituals described, there was a clear emphasis on processions and graduation ceremonies, governed either by general or specific regulations.

Furthermore, the public acts of the Portuguese academy must be understood in the light of the general characteristics of medieval universities, such as their heavily ecclesiastical dimension. Yet, there were also some specific features in the case of the Portuguese University: its royal tutelage, the policies of its protectors, and, most probably, its funding strategies. The liturgical calendar was also of major importance for the scheduling of the academic year. These circumstances also seem to have influenced the choice of specific ecclesiastical houses for the performance of academic public acts.

Additionally, most academic itineraries, specifically those followed in the graduation rituals, were confined to a clearly circumscribed area of the city. This perimeter was located in the eastern side of the city landscape, within a triangle formed by the university buildings, the city cathedral and the students' quarter.

Moreover, in financial terms, most of the expenses involved in processional acts were related to the payment of priests (invariably a university teacher), the endowment of ecclesiastical houses, and contributions to the university treasury. Among the contributors, we can identify the king himself, scholars, and the university (acting both as a contributor and a recipient). These payments could be made either in cash or in kind, but, in the latter case, they took the form of liturgical implements.

Finally, in the graduation ceremonies the costs were borne entirely by the candidates, being paid in proportion to the importance of the degree. Whether receiving payments in cash or in kind, the beneficiaries were mainly the university officers, the sponsors, and the examiners, as well as the university itself, which mostly received cash payments. The payments in kind were quite diverse, including clothing, fine fabrics, and food.

To sum up, academic rituals played an important symbolic (and, by extension, financial) role in the medieval Portuguese University, as was the case all over the Christian world. This was clearly visible in the need felt by King Manuel I to put many of the rules for these ceremonies into writing. These rituals and solemnities would necessarily have a notable impact on the city's landscape, where the most important moments of the academy's life were displayed. In the precise itineraries of these processions, which took place in the city's main streets and squares, the university presented itself as a strongly cohesive group, quite distinct from the rest of the society.

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Zenonian Laws on Sea Views and the Image of the City of Lisbon[1]

Hélder Carita[2]

Abstract

Following the 1755 earthquake, the royal decree that issued directives for the rebuilding of the city of Lisbon emphatically declared the abandonment of the Constitution of Zeno. This decree had its origins in Roman Law and the Code of Justinian, protecting the views from houses facing the sea and, in the case of Lisbon, views over the River Tagus.
Although historiographers of urbanism consider this law to be either extinct or forgotten, it was upheld for centuries in Portugal and had a significant bearing on the city's architecture, helping to mold an urban culture that prized Lisbon's visual features and landscapes. I propose to examine the way in which these laws were incorporated into, and applied within, Portuguese law. Above all, I examine how they were understood and experienced in the day-to-day life of the city, where, in the various records of petitions, agreements, contracts, and legal disputes, we can find constant references to these laws, which became a source of privilege and a zealously guarded asset, particularly among the social elite.

Keywords

Lisbon, urbanism, architecture, Zenonian laws, Roman Law

Resumo

Na sequência do terramoto de 1755 o decreto régio com as directivas para a reedificação da cidade de Lisboa afirmava de forma peremptória a abolição da Constituição Zenoniana. Esta lei que recuava na sua origem ao direito romano e ao código justiniano estabelecia a protecção às vistas das casas voltadas ao mar e, no caso de Lisboa, as vistas sobre o Tejo.
Considerada pela historiografia do urbanismo como extinta ou ignorada, esta lei manteve-se em vigor em Portugal durante séculos, tendo uma significativa influência na arquitectura como numa cultura urbanística que tendia a valorizar os aspectos visuais e paisagísticos da cidade de Lisboa. Propomo-nos analisar a forma como estas leis foram integradas e aplicadas no direito português, mas, sobretudo, examinar a maneira como foram entendidas e vividas no dia-a-dia da cidade, onde, através de petições, acordos, contractos e conflitos jurídicos, constatamos uma constante referência a estas leis que aqui vemos emergir como um privilégio e um bem guardado com zelo e orgulho, sobretudo entre as elites.

Palavras-chave

Lisboa, urbanismo, arquitectura, Leis Zenonianas, direito romano

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I - Introduction

In what was apparently an unexpected occurrence, the decree of June 12, 1758, which formally rendered official the plan and strategies for rebuilding the city of Lisbon (Silva 1830: 624), explicitly and definitively abolished the Constitution of Zeno. The text of this decree established that the plan would be devised "without heed to the Constitution of Zeno and the opinions of learned figures who would seek to thwart (prohibit) buildings that might block views of the sea."

In his work *Lisboa Pombalina*, José Augusto França mentions this development but interprets it as a mere legislative precaution, referring to such laws as "old Zenonian laws, which were already being ignored" (França 1977: 150). Perhaps due to the eminence of that venerable historian, the significance of these laws and their impact on the image of the city of Lisbon, together with their implications for the history of urban planning in Portugal, have never been the subject of an in-depth study.[3]

However, the Constitution of Zeno was not, in fact, disregarded in its time, as we find that, despite its official revocation by royal decree, it continued to exert an influence for several centuries to come through its impact on the daily lives of the people of Lisbon. Indeed, a mere two years after it was revoked, the Marquises of Abrantes drew up a notarially approved agreement with their neighbors (AN/TT, PA, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, P.1, Doc. 2) regarding the views from their property, the Palácio de Santos,[4] while, also in 1760, the friars of the Convent of Grilos requested authorization from Lisbon City Council for an extension to their monastery, with the accompanying text stating: "which (works) will not deprive anyone of their view, as it is bordered, on one side, by the waterfront, and, on the land side, backs onto other buildings belonging to the monastery" (AML, *Livro de Cordeamentos 1760 –1768,* n.n.).

The lingering deference to this law in the Portuguese legal sphere is also demonstrated by a ruling from the Portuguese Supreme Court, issued during the reign of Queen Maria I and dated 1786 (Castro 1786: 578). Due to doubts about the scope of the 1758 decree, this ruling once again confirmed the revocation of the Zenonian laws relating to sea views, officially extending its application not only to the area earmarked for the rebuilding

[3] As far as the legal aspects are concerned, it would be remiss not to mention the recent study by Cláudio Monteiro, *O Domínio da Cidade*, a PhD thesis presented at the Faculty of Law of Lisbon University, 2010, which includes a chapter devoted to the Constitution of Zeno.

[4] Now the residence of the French ambassador in Portugal, this building served as the royal palace between the reigns of King Manuel and King Sebastião before passing into the possession of the Lancastre family, the Masters of the Order of Santiago, and, subsequently, the Marquises of Abrantes (Carita 1995).

of Lisbon but also "to all districts of the capital and the other cities in the kingdom." Once again, this underlines the significance, spread, and persistence of these laws.

Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, various licenses, council rulings, legal proceedings, and family archives bore testimony to the continuing endurance of these laws in the day-to-day life of the city. It is worth noting that, in the documentation, the Zenonian laws are normally referred to as laws relating to "views of the sea" or "views," so that, in most cases, it is not immediately apparent that the text is actually dealing with the Zenonian laws. This opacity has made it all the more difficult to undertake any in-depth investigation of the application and impact of this obsolete legislation, forgotten over time. In my case, it took years of grappling with documents replete with references to issues relating to views before I was finally able to embark on an investigation focusing on this subject in the context of Portuguese legal history.

Protecting the views of buildings and public spaces, this law shaped an urban culture, based on aesthetic concepts of "decorum", which ultimately favor the city in adapting to the geography and preexisting landscape.

Clearly testifying to such values was the emergence of the designation of "royal views," as mentioned in documents from that time, this term being synonymous with sweeping views of the river as opposed to those of a more lateral or truncated nature.

Whether explicitly or implicitly, the possibility of enjoying views over the River Tagus and the sea seems to have remained a kind of entitlement, even after the abolition of the regulations surrounding them. This had implications for Lisbon's morphology and cityscape as well for the aesthetic premises underpinning Portuguese urban planning in the modern age.

II - Roman Law and Zenonian Laws on Sea Views

An examination of Zenonian laws on sea views within the context of Portuguese jurisprudence entails going back to classical antiquity and conducting a brief investigation into the origins and meaning of such legislation within Roman Law in general, and the *Corpus Juris Civilis* in particular.[5] In their original incarnation, these laws formed part of the Constitution of the Emperor Zeno (474–491). Promulgated during this emperor's reign,

[5] At the European level, the most comprehensive and in-depth study of this subject was conducted by Belén Malavé Osuna (2000). In Portugal, it is also worth highlighting the work of Adriana Freire Nogueira (2010). Both of these studies examine such legislation within the context of Roman Law.

under the auspices of the Eastern Roman Empire, this constitution[6] was the result of a set of rules implemented by Adamantius, the *praefectus urbi* of Constantinople, following the fire that had devastated much of the city during his tenure.

Their legislative contents focused on urban construction, i.e. establishing the minimum distances allowed between buildings and their permitted heights while, at the same time, the regulatory control of heights further extended to rules prohibiting the construction of new buildings that would deprive their neighbors of a sea view. Laws relating to views of the sea were only applicable to cases involving a distance of up to 100 feet between buildings and ceased to apply once this distance had been exceeded. The text authorized the construction of buildings that obstructed "a sea view if it is only from kitchens or 'latrines' or 'privies', or from stairways, passageways, connecting corridors or passages that most people call galleries."

Some decades later, the Constitution of Zeno was included among the major group of laws brought together as a whole during the reign of Justinian (527–65). Given the overall name of *Corpus Juris Civilis* – Code of Justinian, a college of jurists led by Tribonian put together this extensive and reformative compilation, which comprised four sets of documents. An initial set of twelve books, called the *Codex*, represented the systematization of laws promulgated by the ancient emperors from the time of Hadrian until the reign of Justinian and was published in 534 AD. The Constitution of Zeno was included in this *Codex*—in *Book 8*, Title 10, to be precise—which deals with legislation on private buildings. This was followed by the *Digestum*, or *Pandectas*, a larger set of fifty books, which applied the laws to real life, with commentaries from leading Roman jurists. A third body of work, called *Institutas*, served as a kind of legal teaching manual for jurists scattered all around the Empire. Finally, the updating of legislation during the reign of Justinian led to the creation of a new body of texts that brought together the laws published after 534 AD, dubbed *Novellae* (the "New Constitutions" or "Novels") or *Authenticum* ("Authentic Laws"). This legislative compilation included two new laws expanding upon and clarifying the Constitution of Zeno. Promulgated between 538 and 540 AD, these were known as Novel 63 and Novel 165. The first sought to prevent the fraudulent calculation and use of distances between buildings and sea views, while the second clarified the scope of the concept of "sea view" (*prospectus maris*), which was expanded to cover all direct frontal views as well as lateral views or those from an oblique angle. These two Novels

[6] As they were written in Greek, the official language of the Eastern Roman Empire, these laws are also known as Zeno's Greek laws.

concentrated exclusively on sea views, further attesting to their importance under Emperor Justinian and highlighting the urban planning problems that they posed.

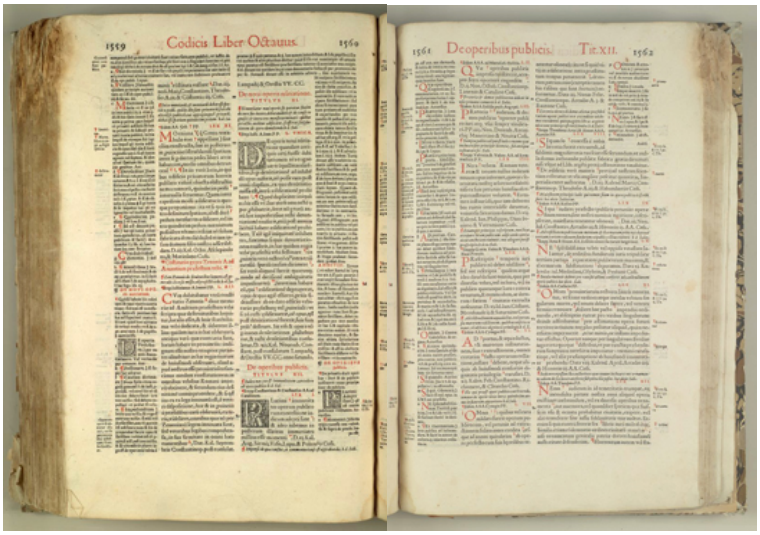

Fig. 1–2. Transcription of the Constitution of Zeno in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, Lion, Hugues de la Porte (ed.), 1588, Book VIII, pp. 1559–62.

The Code of Justinian remained in force throughout the period of the Byzantine Empire until the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when the city was captured by an Ottoman army under the command of Sultan Mehmed II. The survival of these laws and their application in Byzantine jurisprudence is highlighted by their inclusion in the *Hexabiblos,* a series of laws organized by theme (rather in the manner of the Portuguese royal decrees), which was compiled in 1345 by the judge Constantinus Armenopolus. During the Ottoman period, the policy of tolerance adopted by the Turkish authorities towards the customs and laws of the vanquished citizens meant that the Greek Orthodox communities spread throughout the former empire continued to be governed by this body of legislation into which the Constitution of Zeno was incorporated.

Studies conducted by Dimitri Philippides confirmed the continuing survival on the Greek islands of architectural and urban planning traditions deriving from the Zenonian laws (Haquim 2014: 15–21), who discovered that the laws relating to sea views were being applied in various communities in the Aegean Islands. This explains the architectural tradition of urban clusters shaped by their close relationship with the landscape and the preservation of sea views.

In Western Europe, the Constitution of Zeno appears to have been of minor importance, especially if we consider that the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476 AD) preceded the promulgation of the Code of Justinian (529 AD). With the revival of Roman

Law throughout the Middle Ages and a growing awareness of the Code of Justinian as a whole, the Constitution of Zeno, originally written in Greek, was eventually translated into Latin, and was thereafter known as the *De aedificiis privatis*.

As the study of law gained ever greater prominence at the University of Bologna, European jurists came to see the Constitution of Zeno as an isolated example of local law without any general application, with the result that it was not transcribed into the legislative framework. Legal historians such as Biondo Biondi and Valentino Capocci have expressed serious reservations as to the extent of its dissemination across Europe during the Middle Ages (Biondi 1936: 363–84, Capocci 1941: 155-84).

Portugal, however, represented an exception to the rest of Europe: the affinities between Lisbon and Constantinople were such that the Constitution of Zeno was incorporated into Portuguese jurisprudence.[7] These laws acquired legal legitimacy in the modern age thanks to an important clause in the *Manueline Ordinances*, which was continued in the Philippine Ordinances (Silva 1991: 275). In fact, these ordinances stipulated that if the text of the ordinances lacked legal guidance on a specific matter, Roman Law should be applied in its place. The *Manueline Ordinances* stated that "[i]f the matter in question is not provided for by the Law, manners or customs of the kingdom, we order that it be put to trial if it is a matter that entails a sin according to the sacred canons; and if it is a matter that does not entail a sin, we order that it be judged according to the Laws of the Empire" *(Manueline Ordinances,*1521, Book II, Title 5).

In the specific case of legal provisions about sea views, their inclusion in Portuguese jurisprudence as subsidiary law was examined by the jurist Manuel Pegas in his work *Commentaria ad Ordinaçoens Regni Portugalliae*, which stated, "and given that the Royal Ordinances do not grant this privilege, the view of the sea is provided for by the common law of the Romans, which the Royal Ordinances order be upheld, should provision for particular matters be lacking" (Pegas 1681, Book VI, 94).

III – From Private Law to Public Law

The first documented mention of the protection of sea views appeared during the reign of King Manuel I in a license granted to Vasco Corte Real, Jorge de Mello, and Dom

[7] The transposition of the Constitution of Zeno into Portuguese law is touched upon, albeit briefly, in Monteiro (2013).

Martinho Castelo Branco, the Count of Vila Nova. Dated 1521 and signed by André Pires,[8] this license guaranteed a sea view (or a view of the River Tagus, in this case) to the houses of these eminent state officials, certifying that buildings could not be erected in front of them. These buildings, referred to as the "boticas dos ferreiros" (blacksmiths' forges) formed a long, low architectural complex located beside the Ribeira das Naus. Constructed in the early sixteenth century as part of a joint enterprise between the royal house and the Lisbon City Council (Carita 1999: 53), this set of buildings served as an important support facility for shipbuilding. The importance of such workshops to the national economy was such that there was a strong possibility that they might be enlarged through the addition of extra floors, which posed a threat to the views enjoyed from the grand houses. This case proved to be something of an exception, insofar as the license was respected for over two centuries and the long, low complex maintained its Manueline form until the time of the earthquake, as we can see from pictures of this area showing the workshops stretching along the Ribeira das Naus.[9]

Another royal license was issued for a very similar case in the city, dating from 1517 and authorizing construction work upon a plot of land belonging to the monks of the Carmo Monastery, situated on the slopes of the Carmo Hill and enjoying sweeping views over the city's Baixa district and the River Tagus. In order to protect the views of the houses clustered on the hill, the license specified that new buildings not on the hill should be no higher than 10 spans (2.2 meters). The text stipulated that "the houses built on the said land cannot be taller than ten spans from the ground upwards, but those on the hill can be any height desired."[10]

The fact that these two licenses bore dates that were so close to one another may, in fact, be a reflection of the sweeping urban reforms that were a feature of the Manueline period in Lisbon. This was a time of intense legislative activity, stimulated by the circle of António Carneiro, the royal secretary, and André Pires, as they wrestled with issues relating to urban law and converted them into specific regulations.

[8] AN/TT, *Místicos*, Book 6, p. 145.

[9] Among the various pictures of the area around the Ribeira das Naus, the panorama of Lisbon depicting the departure of St. Francis Xavier for India, and dating from the early eighteenth century, gives us the most detailed impression of how this would have looked. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

[10] AN/TT, *Cartório do Convento do Carmo*, packet 20, p. 1, Sequeira 1939: Vol. I, 254-5.

Fig. 3. António de Holanda. View of Lisbon in *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques de Duarte de Galvão.* Illumination on parchment. © Museu-Biblioteca Condes de Castro Guimarães, Cascais. MCCG no. 14.

One hugely significant aspect of the way in which the Zenonian laws' provisions regarding sea views were interpreted in Portugal was the extension of their application from the private sphere to the broader domain of public law. This transition is clearly documented between 1575 and 1577 in records relating to a conflict between the Lisbon City Council and one Francisco Álvares. In fact, the dispute did not arise over the view from a house but rather from a desire to protect the views from a street, in this case a public thoroughfare—the Estrada de Xabregas. The dispute was documented in two entries in the *Livros de Vereação*. The first entry tells us that Francisco Álvares was called before the City Council to argue his case on July 12, 1575, with the text stating: "and as **the view from the street to the sea** would be obstructed, the City Council summoned the aforementioned Francisco Álvares to appear and provide a reason why such work should be necessary." The text also makes reference to the site: "a plot of land with olive trees that runs from the walled garden belonging to Dom Diogo Deça to the edge of the wall of the garden of the estate and houses that belonged to Christovam de Brito, which is located in Calçada da Cruz da Pedra beside the Madre de Deus Monastery along the seafront, where part of the road that once ran to Enxobregas also lies."[11]

[11] AML – *Chancelaria da Cidade, Livro III de Vereação,* p. 6.

Two years later, a record dated January 31, 1577 recounts how Francisco Álvares came to a mutually satisfactory agreement with the Lisbon City Council, and donated a strip of land adjacent to the Madre de Deus Monastery that overlooked the sea: "He is content not to have work carried out on that section of land that looks down to the sea, and, of his own volition, wishes the whole stretch of the waterfront to belong to the city." In the text of the agreement, Francisco Álvares introduced a clause that obliged the City Council to agree that nothing would be built there, with the text providing the necessary clarification: "on condition that the city may at no time cause any work to be undertaken on this site other than the building of a wall, which may be no higher than five spans."[12]

The perception of sea views as a public good or an urban entitlement that needed to be preserved was a question that arose periodically in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To this end, the Lisbon City Council petitioned the king for permission to demolish a cluster of houses built on the banks of the Tagus, "on the salty beaches of this city." The letter, dated 1678, stated that "the houses, which are raised on walls, may be torn down, as they serve no purpose whatsoever and block the view of the sea and are detrimental to the **adornment and beautification of the city**" (Oliveira 1894, vol. VIII: 492).

This connection between sea views and "adornment and beautification" also appeared in another letter that underlined the aesthetic value of a sea view from Terreiro do Paço. In this instance, in 1678, the City Council requested permission from King Pedro II to demolish the curtain wall and bulwark that had been built along the waterfront of Terreiro do Paço, arguing that "it is useless for defending this city and that delightful square, while simultaneously **robbing it of its sea view**, and rendering the beach beyond the curtain wall a filthy place that is unfit to be the first view of the royal palace (…) which can only be avoided if His Highness grants permission for this Chamber to have the curtain wall and bulwark torn down, levelling the whole beach area, and thus restoring the view of the sea."[13]

Such cases reveal that the City Council was concerned not only with the views from Lisbon's houses but also with the squares and open spaces of the city, seeking to balance its built components and to enhance the relationships between the different elements. This concern was further bound up with the question of decorum and "adornment and beautification" that proved to be key features of the image of Lisbon.

[12] AML – *Chancelaria da Cidade, Livro III de Vereação,* p. 1616v.

[13] ACML, *Livro IV de Regimentos de Consultas e Decretos do Sr. Rei D. Pedro II,* p. 215 v.

IV – "Royal Views" and the Work of Manuel Álvares Pegas

The way in which the Zenonian laws were understood and applied in Portugal was brought into sharper relief by the studies of the jurist Manuel Pegas in *Comentaria ad Ordinaçoens Regni Portugalliae* (Figs. 4-5). [14] In this lengthy work, organized in accordance with the tradition of the medieval glossators, the writer performs a detailed analysis of each of the subjects set out in the *Royal Ordinances*. The subject of sea views is included under the heading of "Obligations of the Inspectors of Weights and Measures" in the chapter entitled "Buildings and Services," which comments on different aspects of these laws accompanied by transcriptions of rulings and verdicts issued by various judges, providing clarification on how these were applied. Despite being limited to a specific elite who enjoyed the power to uphold their rights, the array of cases covered in this work provides us with a valuable overview of the disputes that took place all around the city, proving that this law was well and truly active and that the city's residents had recourse to it with some frequency.

The sheer range of cases is particularly apparent when the question of lateral and secondary views is addressed. A ruling by the Supreme Court in 1670 refers to the existence of legal disputes between a number of eminent families, including those of the Counts of Vimioso, the Counts of Pontével, the Counts of Feira, the Marquises of Fronteira, and even the Royal Cupbearer himself. The text states: "and if he has another view, or one from the side, he cannot prevent the other one from building, as in the case of the Count of Vimioso versus the Countess of Feira, or that of Dr Joseph Pinheiro versus Manoel de Melo, or that of João Rebello do Campo versus the Count of Pontével, or that of the Marquis of Fronteira versus the Royal Cupbearer" (Pegas 1682: VI, 102).

In the commentary and the cases transcribed, it is possible to discern a partnership between the judges of the Supreme Court and the officers of the City Council, in particular the master stonemasons who were called upon not only to conduct inspections but also to propose formal solutions, indicating that they were fully aware of these regulations. As such, in the dispute between Simão da Costa Freire, Lord of Pancas, and Canon Gabriel Marques Godinho (1669), following a survey carried out by the master stonemason, the final ruling states: "It is ordered that the roof be altered and rebuilt in the fashion advised by the Master Carpenter" (Pegas 1681: VI, 93).

[14] Comprised of 16 books, this work, published between 1680 and 1703, provides a commentary on the *Royal Ordinances* and details the various verdicts and rulings issued by the foremost jurists of the time for each of the themes covered therein (Pegas 1680–1703).

Fig. 4–5. Title page and page 102 of Book VI of the *Comentaria ad Ordinaçoens Regni Portugalliae* by Álvares Pegas, which includes his commentary on the Constitution of the Zenonian Laws on Views of the Sea.

Of even greater interest to this study is the emergence of a specific category of view, described as being a "royal view." Due to its huge symbolic power, I believe this to be a particularly significant development in the process of interpretation that this law underwent in Portugal as well as the associated implications for urban planning and the culture of the territory. This category appears to have originated from an attempt to apply the law more rigorously, which led to the creation of a "royal view" category characterized by a sweeping, frontal panoramic view of the sea. Such royal views were distinguished from those of a lower rank—oblique, lateral or truncated—which were now excluded from such privileges, thus making the law clearer and far easier to apply.

This is evident in the dispute between Bento de Freitas and Pedro Arce, in which the judge ruled as follows: "The houses are not deprived of their view (…) most of the sea view remains from the other large windows, and nor do the houses enjoy a royal view, which is considered to be a sea view for these purposes (…) with qualities that do not apply to the appellant's house" (Pegas 1681: VI, 98). The same term appears in the case of Pedro Gomes de Oliveira versus António Carvalho, where the judge concluded his verdict by stating: "The main view from the appellant's house is not a royal view, but rather from a roof" (Pegas 1681: VI, 101).

The fact is that the text of the Constitution of Zeno does not contain any reference to the category of a "royal view," nor do the two other laws included in the *Novels* that were promulgated during the reign of Justinian I and covered the application of this law in detail. Designating such views as "royal" undoubtedly conferred upon them a distinct note of

prestige and denoted a certain appreciation of the opportunity to enjoy nature, thus contributing towards an image of the city defined by a number of crucial points and an urban morphology punctuated by scenic highlights.

V – From the Seventeenth to the Mid-Eighteenth Century

Throughout the seventeenth century and until the middle of the following century, we see that the privilege of having a sea view was an everyday concern of city-dwellers. Due to its legal scope, the work of Manuel Pegas is particularly revealing about the disputes that took place between the owners of private houses, mentioning cases in which laws had been infringed. Documentation from the Lisbon City Council and family archives also provides references to precautionary measures taken in order to safeguard individuals' rights to sea views.

On two occasions, in 1704 and 1760, the Lancastre family—the Counts of Vila Nova and the owners of the Palácio de Santos—signed notarial agreements with their neighbors, in which the latter undertook not to assert their right to obstruct the expansion of the palace. As the Lancastre family were Grand Masters of the Order of Santiago and were ranked among the highest nobility in the kingdom, it is particularly noteworthy that even they were required to come to an agreement with their neighbors, who were of considerably lower social status. The text of the agreement stated as follows: "and Antonio Vicente and his wife acknowledge that their houses owe to the Palace of His Excellency the Count of Vila Nova the courtesy of not preventing the aforementioned palace from being raised to any height, whether in whole or in part, should the present or future Lords and owners of the said palace wish to do so, even though raising the palace would deprive the aforementioned houses of their sea view" (AN/TT, Private Archive, *Casa de Abrantes, Comendadores Mores*, Packet 1, Doc. 2).

Fig. 6. "Landing of King Philip II of Spain in 1619," in João Baptista Lavanha, *Viagem da Catholica Real Majestade de Filipe II*. Madrid. Engraving by Ioam Schorquens, after Domingos Vieira Serrão, 1622.

While most of the aristocracy tended to respect this law, one exception was Prince Francisco, the brother of King John V, who had work done to various palaces next to the Corpo Santo Church, disregarding the fact that this would block his neighbors' sea view. We know of this case because the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Loreto, which owned the building that had been deprived of its view, made an application to the City Council in 1753 immediately after the death of the Prince, requesting that: "With the granting of official licenses from His Majesty or the City Council, we seek to have restored what was taken from us, and to improve the property by doing so" (AML*, Livro XVIII de Consultas e Decretos d'el-Rei D. João V*. p. 133).

The Lisbon City Council Archives house a vast collection of documents that cover a wide range of lawsuits and legal proceedings, not only relating to architecture but also to urban planning, in which we can note the development of a discourse that included workers, council officials, building inspectors, master stonemasons, and other stakeholders from across the whole social spectrum. To take one example, when urban redevelopment work was being undertaken in Largo das Portas do Sol in 1678, the City Council made a precautionary request to the King that no property leases be granted in the area as a means of preventing "the harm that could be caused to the neighbors who have noble houses in this area, if they are deprived of their sea view" (AML, *Livro V dos Assentos do Senado Oriental,* p. 8). This case is particularly significant if we bear in mind that this square is now considered to be one of Lisbon's most iconic open spaces and is regularly featured in all manner of tourist material.

Another interesting case is the application submitted to the City Council by the Brothers of the Holy Sacrament in the parish of São Miguel de Alfama in 1753 for the construction of two residential buildings. The text stated that the appellants acknowledged that "this cannot have anything more than a small second floor, as it would otherwise rob the neighboring properties of their sea view" (AML, *Livº II de Reg e Cons. e Decr. do Sr Rei D. José I*, p. 61v).

Fig. 7. Anonymous – *Lisbon viewed from the Palace of the Marquis of Abrantes*. First half of the eighteenth century. © Collection of the Museum of Lisbon | CML | EGEAC, MC.PIN.264.

The plans for a new quay running all the way from the Ribeira das Naus to Belém, which were developed during the reign of King John V, belong to the category of strategic urban planning. Had this project come to fruition, it would have had an impact comparable to that of the aqueduct as it would have required an accumulation of sediment along the riverside all the way from Terreiro do Paço to Belém. The project envisaged the construction of houses along the riverfront between Terreiro do Paço and Alcântara. These would create a line of urban façades punctuated by canals and streets running perpendicular to the riverfront along the banks of its tributaries. According to the brief created as part of the process, the project had two drawbacks, as mentioned in the text: "There are only two possible obstacles of note: firstly, that **many of the houses there will lose their view of the sea**." I was unable to ascertain the official reasons for the discontinuation of this project, despite its having the backing of the Secretary of State, António Guedes Pereira. It seems to me that the project's brief was clearly aware of the fact that the urban plans would

cause the view's obstruction of a large number of houses and palaces situated along the waterfront, whose owners occupied important positions within the royal administration.

VI – Conclusion: From Order to the "Adornment and Beautification of the City"

The incorporation of the "Zenonian laws on sea views" into Portuguese jurisprudence allows us to detect unusual parallels between Constantinople and Lisbon, two large metropolises which, despite being located at the opposite extremes of Europe, both owed their origins and subsequent development to their close relationship with the sea and shipping routes. In both places, the Zenonian laws on sea views became part of a cultural backdrop in which the sea played a key role in the city's history and self-mythification, while the way in which these laws were adopted and applied in Portugal impacted on the country's architectural culture and laid the foundations for urban planning in the modern age.

The importance of the Tagus and of views of this river as a defining element of Lisbon's image, as reflected in the iconography of the city from the early sixteenth century onwards, was constantly highlighted over the centuries in the form of illuminations (Fig. 3), engravings (Fig. 6), and paintings (Figs. 7–8), with abundant depictions of the city as seen from the river, making this an iconic image of Lisbon.

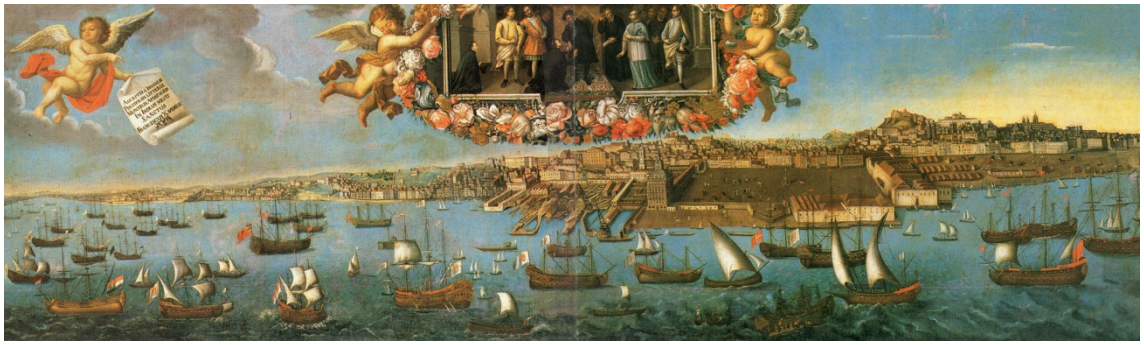

Fig. 8. Anonymous. *Panoramic View of Lisbon and Departure of St. Francis Xavier to India*, c. 1730.
© Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. Lisbon.

As outlined above with specific examples, this culture of prizing sea views is most aptly demonstrated in the references to the category of "royal views," which, notably, did not appear in the original legislative text from the fifth century AD. By drawing a distinction between sweeping views over the Tagus and the sea, as opposed to lateral or oblique views, this designation introduced a certain hierarchy and a clearly symbolic dimension into the way in which people approached the idea of enjoying views of the city. In this sense, I

contend that urban morphologies and design are defined not only as a function of the way in which buildings and spaces enjoy views of the landscape but also the extent to which they can be enjoyed from the outside, thus lending an expressly scenographic dimension to the image of the city.

At the same time, moving beyond the original content and scope of these legal documents, in Portugal, the Zenonian laws took on the status of public law and constituted a common good when applied to urban spaces such as streets and squares—a phenomenon that was not envisaged in the original text and brought its own particular undertones to the quintessentially Portuguese urban culture. The fact that sea views were prized in this way established a connection between the landscape and the constraints caused by the terrain, so that enhancing the attributes of the site ultimately made a crucial contribution to an urban planning approach that made the city's image a central consideration.

By making allowances for the place itself and respecting the rights of others, this law was fundamental for a type of urbanism shaped by values of *decorum*, as Rodrigo Almeida Basto argues in relation to the villages of Minas Gerais and the traditionally Portuguese approach to town planning, which he sees as "based on attention to customs, the conditions of the place itself, and the pre-existing structures" (Bastos 2014: 227). In the same way, one could sum up by saying that the Zenonian laws appear to have made a defining contribution towards a fundamental characteristic of Portuguese urban planning, identified by Alexandre Alves Costa as the intelligence of a place, which he defines as "a unique compatibility between organicity and rationality in one's understanding of the landscape and urban functionality" (Costa 2007: 13).

Abbreviations

AN/TT – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Torre do Tombo National Archives)
AML – Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa (Lisbon Municipal Archives)
PA – Private Archive.
Cod. – Codex
Livº. – Livro (Book)
P. – Packet
Doc. – Document

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães and the Early Modern History of Portugal and its Empire: A Tribute

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Iris Kantor[2]
João Paulo Salvado[3]

Joaquim Romero Magalhães died unexpectedly on December 24th, 2018. News of this tragic event, received on the eve of the Christmas holiday, took the Portuguese academic world entirely by surprise. The shock was all the more significant as less than two weeks before, on December 12th, he had appeared in public at a ceremony held at the University of Algarve at which he was awarded an honorary degree. Recorded on video and posted online,[4] the event bears witness to the recognition, high regard, and affection afforded to Magalhães by Portuguese scholars and his fellow Algarvians. Although he appears fragile in the video, the evident delight with which he took part in the celebrations gave no clue as to the proximity of his sudden demise.

Besides the profound impact his work had on the formation of a generation of Portuguese and Brazilian early modernist historians, Magalhães's role in deepening our knowledge of the early modern history of Portugal and its empire deserves recognition beyond Portuguese academic circles. It is this conviction that inspired eJPH editors to organize this dossier, which consists of the testimony of several historians on the life and ideas of Joaquim Romero Magalhães. It comprises nine texts but more could have been included, such was the impact of his teaching, the innovative rigour of the approach he adopted in the interpretation of problems and key phenomena for the explanation of the historical development of Portugal and its overseas territories, and the benefit to society of his life and work. While no attempt is made here to deal exhaustively with the topics he covered or the historiographic contribution he made, we believe that this dossier provides an excellent means for stimulating interest in the author and his work, whose value, diversity, and literary charm deserve reading the works he wrote in the Portuguese language.

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[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tw1YlABjfQI&t=828s

Without delving too deeply into the topics focused on by the nine authors who contributed pieces for this dossier, we emphasize the innovative character of Magalhães's approach to the examination of themes which had hitherto received little attention from Portuguese scholars. One of these is the exploration of the relations between history and territory in studies of the Algarve region and the interest aroused in the history of cartography as well as the stimulus he provided for students and researchers in the field. Also worthy of note is his sensibility and recognized rigour of his approach to the study of both social categories and processes of reproduction, and the complexity of social mobility strategies. Another influential aspect of the work of Magalhães concerns the history of municipal structures as institutional spaces of fundamental importance in defining the architecture of power in the early modern age. As indicated in these pieces, the spatial scope of such approaches is often extended to cover the territories colonized by Portugal, as is also the case with some of his analyses in the field of economic history. In this regard, his work on demographic dynamics, agrarian production structures, and the discussion of taxation as an instrument for the formation of the early modern state has stood the test of time and continues providing inspiration for the academic community to carry out further study and research on such themes and interpretations. An extension of his interest in power relations, his studies on the Inquisition focused on the various forms of socio-economic impact of the institution.

It is also important to highlight the role played by Romero Magalhães in the renewal of Brazilian historiography over the last three decades through both his role as a key figure on the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries) (CNCDP 1998-2002) and his work in building and nurturing a network of contacts, putting to good use the erudition and charisma he displayed up until the end of his life.

From the 2000s, he consistently kept a high profile, working as a researcher at Brazilian universities, presenting papers at meetings, contributing articles to scientific journals in Brazil, and giving interviews in the social media, which had the effect of encouraging a critical rapprochement between Portuguese and Brazilian historiographers at the turn of the 21st century. His contribution was recognized by the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute) of which he was a member and which conferred on him the status of foreign correspondent in 2001. In this role, he was received by Admiral Max Justo Guedes and gave a lecture on the methods of government of Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, governor and captain-general of

Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1759), later published in a collection of articles based on his studies of Brazilian history (*Labirintos Brasileiros*, São Paulo: 2011). It might be claimed that, perhaps out of a love for Brazil, he focused his attention too narrowly on the country to the detriment of the other parts of the Portuguese empire. As he stated in an interview with *Revista de História do Brasil da Biblioteca Nacional* in 2013: "One cannot study the history of Portugal without studying the history of Brazil." Sérgio Campos Matos, with whom he collaborated on the project *Dicionário dos Historiadores Portugueses* (Dictionary of Portuguese Historians),[5] rightly stressed that Magalhães' lifelong approach to academic work nevertheless provided both a useful counterbalance to the excesses of the short-term approach imposed by the requirement for academic production and encouragement for carrying out research framed in the long-term, a goal for which historians should aim.

This dossier also seeks to provide recognition for Romero Magalhães's role and influence in the formation of a generation of historians whose works on the history of Portugal and its empire in the early modern period are now classic texts. If students of history are prepared to read Magalhães in the original, they will perhaps recognize in many of today's standard works the undisputed influence of his ideas and research methodology.

[5] http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/site

Joaquim Romero Magalhães: A Testimony

Francisco Bethencourt[1]

Abstract

Testimony of friendship and intellectual exchange with Joaquim Romero Magalhães; conditions of archival work; conditions of academic production within a collegial atmosphere.

Keywords

Archives; collaboration; collegiality; friendship

Resumo

Testemunho da criação de amizade e troca intelectual com Joaquim Romero Magalhães; condições de trabalho em arquivo; condições de produção académica num espírito colegial.

Palavras-chave

Arquivos; colaboração; colegialidade; amizade

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The Portuguese National Archive of the Torre do Tombo was a meeting place when I was a student in the late 1970s and 1980s. I was living at Travessa do Possolo at the time, near the headquarters of the Parliament in the old monastery of São Bento, where the archives occupied a wing. The reading room was small, perhaps 100 m^2. It was furnished with large, austere chairs and oak tables—ideal to avoid napping. There were twenty seats supervised by an archivist, whose desk was perched on a platform. It had not only the configuration of an old classroom, but also the practice: when the students, and even accomplished researchers, could not decipher a difficult abbreviation or enchained late sixteenth century handwriting, they would ask the archivist for help, which was always competently provided. Next to it was the catalogue room—much smaller, perhaps 30 m^2—overseen by an extraordinary member of staff, probably with elementary education, who knew everything. These public areas were completed by a tiny cafeteria, without a place for tables, accessed through a two-meter-long counter opened to the corridor.

This small universe was magical: the relation with the archivists and even with the director was direct, the information flew naturally without formal appointments, the access to the manuscripts, despite scarce catalogues, was relatively easy. I could not have done my doctoral thesis without the (then) manuscript catalogue of the Inquisition elaborated during many years of work by Maria do Carmo Dias Farinha, who generously lent it to me. All readers ended up knowing each other. New encounters were consolidated at lunch time with conversations in the restaurants around the Parliament. On the menu was the discussion of sources, research projects, and findings of the day.

The Torre do Tombo was a much more exciting place than the Department of History of the Faculty of Letters, then in a difficult transition process from a largely forgotten past and a future that was difficult to define, due to scarcity of knowledgeable and leading scholars, except for Isabel Castro Henriques, Piteira Santos, Joel Serrão, and Barradas de Carvalho. In many cases, the students brought new books and new ideas unknown to many of the academic staff. I preferred the autodidactic life at Torre do Tombo, where I prepared my essays and explored different types of sources, while I read everything I could to build up a theoretical and methodological basis of work.

It was there that I met Joaquim Romero Magalhães in 1978 or 1979, when he left the Ministry of Education, where he had been secretary of state. Joaquim had decided to complete his PhD and engage with the new academic life opened up by the revolution. He had previously written a superb BA final thesis, at the level of a typical British PhD, on the economy of the Algarve in the sixteenth century. He decided to widen the study to the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the first systematic study of a region during the Portuguese Ancient Regime. He developed comprehensive research on the economic and social relations of the Algarve with the other regions of Portugal, but particularly with Andalusia and North Africa. He broke away from the compartmentalised and nationalist approach that prevailed in Portuguese historiography.

The conversation between the two of us started at lunch time one day and never finished until, sadly, he passed away. We shared the same passion for the past and also for the present; the issue, for both of us, was how to establish the links that could be helpful in understanding the main lines of continuity and discontinuity. Our friendship developed because Joaquim had enormous curiosity, not only concerning my research, but also the new lifestyle of my generation. At that time, an age difference of 13 to 17 years was significant, but I never noticed that gap with Joaquim, whom I considered as an older brother.

Curiosity is a rare gift. In Lisbon, it was normal to find amusing characters, who livened dinners, telling stories or enchaining jokes (I remember Mário Vaz, who died very young), while writers and artists played a charismatic role in nightlife, such as Baptista Bastos, Manuel da Fonseca, Luís Pacheco, and Vitorino. Intergenerational mixture was healthy, but two-way communication and a real exchange of ideas were not so frequent. The discussion progressed within generational groups around shared interests or political ideas. Although the political scene was quite compartmentalised, new types of sexual behaviour and new social problems helped to create bridges. Feminism was already in those days a powerful alternative to the dominant male chauvinism of the left.

When I settled much later in Cambridge, I remember the shock provoked by my partner Ulinka, who systematically would ask anybody what did they do, or what were they working on, expecting reciprocity. I discovered that reciprocity is rare—people do not ask much, either because they believe they know everything through gossip, or because they are encapsulated in their own small world. Friendship is based on reciprocity, but human relations should be much more about discovering and reaching out to the others.

Joaquim certainly had curiosity and gladly engaged with reciprocity—he was not isolated in his research or in his cogitations. He asked questions about my work and contributed to equal exchange without prejudices of age. It was with him that I better discussed Braudel and Wallerstein as well as the crucial work of Magalhães Godinho, who was his PhD supervisor and would also be mine at Universidade Nova. I still possess a copy of *Ensaios II* offered to me by Joaquim. At that time, I was interested in Max Weber

and Pierre Bourdieu, and these conversations allowed for a solid reflexion that created a long-lasting theoretical base.

I benefited a lot from hearing the developments, in real time, of Joaquim's thesis, with new issues he was facing and new methods with which he was experimenting. At that time, I was involved in the seminars on the Inquisition created by Isaías da Rosa Pereira at the Faculty of Letters. A shared interest raised from the work on these trials: I was eager to discuss the ways to interrogate those sources, while Joaquim understood their importance for the study of social and economic history of the Algarve. He also engaged with the Inquisition in a more systematic way: he identified specific periods of inquisitorial activity, which remains useful nowadays.

Joaquim became a very good friend. He stayed in the guest room of my flat on his frequent visits to Torre do Tombo, before the archive moved to the splendid new facilities at the Cidade Universitária (although communication and conversation were lost in the process). In 1979 or 1980, I contacted Magalhães Godinho, who involved me in the crucial meetings of the Associação de História Económica e Social. In 1981, when I completed my degree, I found a research position at the Gulbenkian Institute of Science, where Robert Rowland had opened an area of Sociological History. There, I presented a data-based project related to the trials of the Inquisition. The next year I went to the Universidade Nova, where Magalhães Godinho had opened a series of jobs in the Department of Sociology: I was selected along with Diogo Ramada Curto, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, Jorge Pedreira, and Rui Santos; David Justino and Margarida Marques were already there. It was a very dynamic period in which we developed our theoretical knowledge in Sociology, Anthropology, and Political Sciences. In those intensive years of learning, Joaquim played a very important role at the meetings of the Associação de História Económica e Social.

When Joaquim discussed his PhD in the famous Sala dos Capelos, in Coimbra, I attended the event with Diogo and Pedro. I have a fantastic photo of the four of us at the door of the room; each of our expressions could not be better defined. I was then preparing my MA thesis—the research had become more focused. Although previous dispersion had been extremely useful, the search for new sources left seeds that fructified in other periods of life. I spent ten years going to the Torre do Tombo two to three times a week, which gave me a formidable basis for what would come next.

We had then a collegial vision of academic life as a collective enterprise of knowledge that should be nurtured. Joaquim contributed significantly to this vision. I shifted my interest in magic and religion to the Inquisition. It was then that I decided to do

my PhD at the European University Institute, in Florence, where Robert Rowland had become a member of the academic staff. I needed an international experience and I already had a good knowledge, through temporary attendance, of the seminars in Paris conducted by Jean Delumeau, Roger Chartier, and Pierre Bourdieu. My period in Italy was crucial in developing a comparative vision that stayed with me, structuring my work. I definitively broke away from the nationalist framework of traditional historiography. I enlarged my interest in global history and visual culture, consolidated then by a fellowship at the Warburg Institute in London.

Joaquim participated in the discussion of my thesis in Florence. At that time, in the early 1990s, he was editing the sixteenth-century volume for the *História de Portugal* co-ordinated by José Mattoso. He gently insisted that I publish a chapter on the Church and another on Cardinal Henry for the section on biographies of kings. I managed to write these chapters after completing my thesis. It was an excellent experience, since I could synthesise my research on the church that had been buried in my first book on magic while I underlined the importance of chapels and of what I called the sociability of death, i.e. the burial places of noblemen and wealthy people. The volume is the most balanced and stimulating of the *História de Portugal*, a testimony to Joaquim's excellent background, at ease with economic, social, political, and cultural history.

This experience was also important because it provided me contact with Círculo de Leitores and Guilhermina Gomes, who invited me to participate in other initiatives with an unsurpassable competence and gentleness. In the meantime, I went to Brown University for a temporary position as a Visiting Scholar, where I met Onésimo Teotónio Almeida, an excellent scholar who became a friend. There I consolidated standards of work and teaching that were crucial for my future life. Joaquim participated in the committee for my *agregação*—it was the last formal situation in which we were together. In the following years, I would become the director of the National Library, while Joaquim became the president of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, where he left his mark as an outstanding historian engaged with public impact.

The collaboration with Joaquim was kept under those circumstances, but I would like to underline his important input later, in 2003, when I organized a conference on the work of Magalhães Godinho at the Gulbenkian Cultural Centre in Paris, with Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, then at the Sorbonne, which inspired a thematic issue of *Arquivos do Centro Cultural*. Joaquim presented in Paris an excellent paper on the correspondence between Magalhães Godinho and Charles Boxer, studying their parallel lives, which clarified much

of the crucial historiography on the Portuguese expansion. The presence of Immanuel Wallerstein at the conference inspired the thematic issue of *Review* around the work of Magalhães Godinho, who had been awarded the Balzan Prize in 1991. I naturally kept in contact with Godinho when I moved to the United Kingdom; he wrote me a moving letter a few months before he died.

Life tends to separate people because we move to other places, we change areas of activity, and we develop different centres of interest, mainly when we create a family. We are pulled by divergent threads. Friends from high school or the university disappear because the framework changed, we discover incompatibilities, or we simply cease to find common ground. We change throughout life; therefore the opposite can also happen, we may re-encounter people that were meaningless to us in high school and revealed to be much more interesting later. My itinerary through different countries could have dissolved the friendship with Joaquim. It did not happen. We kept in contact, collaborated, and maintained curiosity for reciprocal activities. I followed his work until his last and always stimulating books on the origins of the First Portuguese Republic, João Chagas, and early modern Portugal.

The period of doctoral research, preceded by an MA, means an enchantment for research and an exchange of ideas unique to a university career. It is possible to experience a similar feeling when one is lucky enough to obtain a two or three-year sabbatical, but it is not the same thing because one is not learning and preparing for a first crucial exam. The discussion of a PhD is a defining moment of the career, with all the nuances that one can introduce in this peremptory statement. The fact that the friendship between Joaquim and me survived that specific period—having been only interrupted, sadly, by death—proves a depth and reciprocity of feelings that survived divergent and distant lives, built around new interests and new perspectives.

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães's Thoughts about Early Modern Portugal

Leonor Freire Costa[1]

Abstract

Joaquim Romero Magalhães's essays on Portugal's early modern economy raise several questions about the contribution of the empire and of the crown's fiscal needs to institutional innovation. In these pages we pay a tribute to the author's intellectual legacy by summarising the research avenues he opened up throughout his academic life, partly gathered in the collection of articles intitled Miunças

Keywords

Early Modern Economy; Portuguese Colonial Empire; Taxation; Public Debt

Resumo

Os ensaios Joaquim Romero Magalhães sobre a economia portuguesa no período moderno abordarem questões fundamentais sobre o contributo do império e das necessidades fiscais da coroa para a emergência de inovações institucionais. Nestas páginas prestamos um tributo ao seu legado intelectual, sintetizando as diferentes pesquisas que o autor seguiu e cujos resultados foram em parte reunidos na colectânea de trabalhos intitulada *Miunças*.

Palavras-chave

Portugal; economia do período moderno; império colonial; impostos e dívida pública

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1943-2018) has left us with an extensive and remarkable series of publications resulting from his search for a comprehensive view of Portugal's identity, a country built with (and from) a colonial empire. He enjoyed remembering the contribution of renowned authors in the field of Portuguese social thought, such as Jaime Cortesão, acknowledging this author's main concept of the Atlantic Ocean as an economic space determining Portugal's path to modernity (Cortesão [1930] 1964; 1940). In a nutshell, without its colonial offshoots, Portugal would have remained as a kingdom entirely integrated into the Hispanic polity, just as did Catalonia.

Already widely recognized ever since his early academic years due to his innovative vision of the Algarve from the time of the Discoveries until the eighteenth century, Joaquim Romero Magalhães gave us printed testimonies of his intuition as a social scientist, expressing himself in a careful and studied prose, occasionally sarcastic in tone but always demonstrating his boundless erudition (Magalhães, 1970; 1993). As his former PhD student, I am indebted to him for the most rewarding conversations that we had and for his teaching. Therefore, I am taking advantage of this journal's special issue to recall a set of essays recently reprinted by the University of Coimbra Press in a four-volume collection entitled *Miunças*. The choice of this concept (*Miunças*) to highlight some carefully selected essays underlines Romero Magalhães's fondness for agrarian themes as well as his expert knowledge about the fiscal procedures that were to affect the lives of rural people for several centuries. *Miunças* was the name of certain taxes levied on a variety of agrarian products, usually combined with the payment of the tithe. Nowadays, however, the concept has come to mean "odd scraps," suggesting the reader will find in each volume smaller fragments of a much greater work, although, in this case, the essays are far from being insignificant. In this collection, Joaquim Romero Magalhães has gathered together several articles that raise new questions about the economic, institutional, and political history of early modern Portugal. More than anything else, these essays are particularly valuable for the suggestions that they provide for possible avenues of future research.

In the limited number of pages allotted for my collaboration to this special issue, my tribute to Romero Magalhães will focus on Volume 3 of the collection, which is concerned with the subject of "*espaços, tratos e dinheiros no Portugal moderno*"[2] (Magalhães, 2013). This is a set of essays dealing with the colonial scope of the Portuguese economy, although, in three of them, special attention is given to domestic forces that did not involve the empire. As a disciple of Fernand Braudel, Romero Magalhães is concerned in this

[2] Spaces, trade, and money in early modern Portugal.

volume as much with the geography as the history of a people who left clear evidence of their motivations in the way that they organized their economic production and distribution. In this sense, the economy is seen as a means for the social appropriation of resources as well as a political system that involves an unequal distribution of income and different uses of money. These themes are the unifying element of fifteen essays, each of them assigned by Romero Magalhães to a friend and former student, in a very subtle demonstration of his affection.

The first chapter summarizes six centuries of history, dating from the time that Portugal became a separate kingdom from Leon until 1807, when the Portuguese royal court fled to Brazil after the country's invasion by Napoleon's army. The central question in this essay is in keeping with Cortesão's teachings. Romero Magalhães claims that the Atlantic Ocean determined the make-up of Portugal—it was the sea that enabled the Portuguese to engage in collective action against the Spanish domination from 1580 to 1640. Again, in 1807, the nation's Atlantic offshoots enabled the royal court to resist the power of the French empire when the government was transferred to Brazil. However, this is not a history of a nation of seafarers. It is a history of the Atlantic as a platform of communications that connected the country to a wider world outside Europe.

The next three texts deal with the Portuguese archipelagos in the Atlantic (Madeira, the Azores, and São Tomé and Príncipe). The economies of these islands represent the earliest experiences of a plantation system, revealing the role that was played in the Portuguese colonial expansion by foreign capital and investors from different European origins. This is why Romero Magalhães recalled that "Portugal is at the very origin of capitalism. Although less so due to Portuguese investment." The author made use of contemporary chronicles to provide a lively description of the effort that was made to improve empty spaces. In these chapters, as well as in another one about eighteenth-century Brazil, Romero Magalhães leads us to see colonization as a collective effort dedicated, above all, to the clearing and opening up of extensive areas, spaces that were created without either law or order. In the early days of the exploration of the Atlantic, much of the Portuguese emigration relied on carefully organized and regimented work on manorial lands. So great was the fear of settling deserted islands that many of these emigrants claimed that they would have preferred to serve at military strongholds in North Africa. Nevertheless, it took only thirty years—one single generation—for these islands to be turned from deserts into the first experiences of a system that would then arrive in the Caribbean, a century and a half later.

The theme of the Atlantic islands is followed by a brief essay on the Portuguese in Asia. The limited amount of space afforded to this part of the Portuguese empire clearly underlines Romero Magalhães's lesser interest in this particular topic from the country's colonial history. The main argument is, nevertheless, a provocative one, when he recalls that war in Asia was not an end in itself, but instead a necessity in order to satisfy a job description. The goal, then, was clearly revealed in a letter quoted by Romero Magalhães, sent by a father to his son, who had just been made governor of the state of India: "Son, ship the pepper and then get some rest."[3]

Respecting the chronological sequence in the arrangement of the essays, two foundational texts on the economy and taxation in seventeenth-century Portugal come next. Here, we find a unique work on the beginnings of Portuguese public debt and the social uses of this financial instrument in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the author reminds us, for more than fifty years, trade (the exploitation of the pepper monopoly) and not war was the reason for the largest increase in debt. This seems to have been a fairly distinctive feature of Portuguese history when compared with other European experiences in the making of the modern state. Although it was mercantile activity that led to the king's indebtedness, the aristocracy turned out to be the final beneficiary of the financial yields from this chain of exchange. Romero Magalhães assumes that much of this debt, forever locked in the form of perpetual securities, was held by the nobility because these bonds were viewed as an asset of identical value to real estate.

The pepper trade was indeed one of the determining factors behind the king's debt, which, in seventeenth-century Portugal found the necessary institutional arrangements to be converted into a "public debt," just as was the case elsewhere. However, Romero Magalhães also reminds us that war necessarily led to financial changes, especially in the form of fiscal innovations, of which the income tax known as the *décima* is the best example. In his own quite distinctive style, the author highlights the antagonistic role played by the two social bodies that mostly structured the Portuguese fiscal system: on the one hand, the municipalities—the local powers—which assisted the central power and greatly contributed to the local implementation of uniform taxes; on the other hand, the Church, which had the best information about the income to be collected but was also the one that avoided cooperating with the State's demand for yet more taxes.

This seventeenth-century Portugal of fiscal modernization was largely composed of an agrarian world that promised some changes, too. For reasons that have yet to be

[3] Letter from Tristão da Cunha providing some colorful advice: "*Manda pimenta e deita-te a dormir.*"

discovered, historians can find no immediate evidence of any substantial gains in productivity. Romero Magalhães looked for changes in production under an apparently immutable institutional order that allowed for new ways of dividing agricultural output between large and small landowners or between landowners and tenants. He concluded that improvements may have derived from the greater diversification of crops and suggests that Portugal, too, could have undergone an agricultural revolution, although Romero Magalhães claimed that further research was still needed.

The Atlantic theme is resumed in the final essays, with attention now being paid to Portugal's connections to Brazil's gold mines. Two fundamental and entirely innovative studies on the making of the Brazilian economy in the eighteenth century are to be found in this volume of *Miunças*. Once more, Romero Magalhães's attention was drawn to the conflicting forces underlying the processes of social change. The central power in Lisbon required emigrants to go and populate the hinterlands of the overseas colonies but the seat of the empire in Lisbon did not know how to discipline these masses. While, in Portugal the municipalities behaved as loyal agents of the king's disciplinary and centralizing power, in the immense Brazil of Minas Gerais, the municipalities behaved as organized nuclei of resistance against the taxation imposed from Lisbon.

The building of an economic space in the faraway, lawless regions caused taxation to become the obvious instrument of a top-down structural order. The tax models centered around gold production are addressed in the two final chapters dedicated to Minas Gerais. Furthermore, in these essays, there is room for the individual. As such, there would necessarily have to be room for one of the most charismatic figures in Portugal's history—Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal. During his government, viewed through the lens of Romero Magalhães, Brazil was still threatened by the risk of insubordination from lawless people who retreated into the woods "where it is said they caused a thousand disarrays" (p. 240). Given this dimension of the Brazilian territories, where people could easily escape from public order, the Marquis of Pombal appears not only as the minister who replaced the old forms of taxation on gold (one fifth of the gold extracted), but above all as the politician who inflicted a unifying order dictated from Lisbon. This ambition of imposing a hierarchical organization came up against ancestral forms of bilateral channels of communication based on the principle of governors reporting directly to Lisbon and not to the Viceroy, first in Bahia and later in Rio de Janeiro.

Miunças ends with an essay on Portuguese historiography. According to Romero Magalhães, writing history needs intuition but history is not intuition, particularly economic

history. The specialized field of economic history was only truly developed in Portuguese universities after the revolution of April 25, 1974, which restored democracy in the country, demonstrating that economic history is a field that is perhaps more susceptible to ideological adulteration than, for instance, the history of art.

At the end of the collection, the reader of *Miunças* is led to think of Portugal as a country that had limited human resources for developing the spaces that it built. Empty spaces predominated at the expense of cooperation and conflict. Joaquim Romero asked new questions and to many he offered new answers. Nonetheless, his intention was perhaps to leave one question unanswered—what were the special links that bound Portugal and the empire together, given the tenuous lines of communication that required months of travel? What prevented the "tyranny of distance" from activating its forces of disintegration?

It will take many more generations of historians before we fully come to terms with the questions raised by the pioneering work of *Miunças*.

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães and the History of Luso-Brazilian Cartography

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Abstract

The History of Portuguese Cartography underwent strong development during the Estado Novo, within a framework of nationalist historiography, supporting colonial postulates. The old charts were presented as evidence of the leading role of Portuguese science during the Renaissance, and as proof of the primacy of the Portuguese geographic discoveries and the rights of colonial occupation and exploration of different territories. With the democratic regime, in the early 1990s, the future of this field of knowledge in Portugal was not quite auspicious. Only two small study groups interested in the History of Cartography coexisted at the University of Lisbon and at the Institute for Tropical Scientific Research.
The studies and the diffusion of the History of Luso-Brazilian cartography gathered momentum in Portugal from the mid-1990s, with the presence of Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) at the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, as Commissioner (1999-2002). His mission was to carry out the challenging task of "commemorating" the official arrival of the Portuguese navigators to South America. The "discovery of Brazil" and the relation between Portugal and Brazil, not only in the colonial period but also since the independence of that territory in 1822 to the present, were the major subjects for the organisation of great exhibitions, for publishing historical research works and primary sources, for granting scholarships, for the development of research projects, for organizing scientific meetings, for providing assistance to research centres. Under his supervision old maps and charts were always present in these events and works.

Keywords

Cartography, map, chart, plan, Portugal, Brazil

Resumo

A História da Cartografia Portuguesa conheceu um período de franco desenvolvimento durante o Estado Novo, no quadro de uma historiografia nacionalista e defensora dos princípios coloniais. Os mapas antigos foram analisados como provas do papel de vanguarda da ciência portuguesa nos séculos XV e XVI, como testemunhos da prioridade dos descobrimentos portugueses e dos direitos de ocupação e exploração colonial de territórios africanos, americanos e asiáticos. Na sequência da implantação do regime democrático, no início da década de 1990, a situação da História da Cartografia em Portugal, não era a mais auspiciosa. Apenas dois pequenos grupos de investigadores se interessavam pelo

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tema, na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa e no Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical.

Os estudos e a divulgação da História da Cartografia Luso-Brasileira ganharam um novo impulso, com a presença de Joaquim Romero Magalhães na Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (1996-2002). A principal missão era "comemorar" a chegada oficial dos navegadores portugueses à América do Sul. O "achamento do Brasil" e a relação entre Portugal e o Brasil, não só no período colonial mas também desde a independência do território, foram os grandes temas para a organização de exposições, edições de fontes e estudos históricos, concessão de bolsas de estudo, estabelecimento de projetos de investigação, organização de reuniões científicas, apoio a centros de investigação e a instituições académicas e culturais. Sob a coordenação de Romero Magalhães, em muitas destas realizações estiveram presentes os mapas antigos, com um destacado papel.

Palavras-chave

Cartografia, mapas, plantas, Portugal, Brasil.

The history of Portuguese cartography enjoyed a notable development during the period of the *Estado Novo* within a framework of nationalist historiography, offering its support for colonial postulates. Events organized in celebration of the historical anniversaries of overseas expansion, both in Portugal and abroad, always paid special attention to early maps as unique and privileged documents. They were presented as evidence of the leading role played by Portuguese science during the Renaissance and as proof of the primacy of the Portuguese geographic discoveries as well as the nation's right to the colonial occupation and exploration of African, American, or Asian territories.

One remarkable publication in particular stands out in the extensive and diversified program on the history of Portuguese cartography from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century: the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, by Armando Cortesão (1891-1977) and Avelino Teixeira da Mota (1920-1982), published in five large-format volumes as part of the commemorations of the fifth centenary of the death of Henry the Navigator in 1960 (Cortesão and Mota 1960-1962).

In the early 1990s, after the death of Luís de Albuquerque (1917-1992), the most widely recognized Portuguese researcher in the History of Science, Nautical Science, and Cartography, the future of this field of knowledge in Portugal did not appear to be particularly auspicious. Apart from a few scattered contributions, only two small study groups interested in the history of cartography coexisted with one another. One was at the *Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga* (Center for the Study of History and Antique Cartography) at the *Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical* (Tropical Research Institute) (CEHCA-IICT), consisted mainly of historians and was coordinated by Maria Emília Madeira Santos (1941-), carrying on the work of A. Teixeira da Mota. Another one was at the *Centro de Estudos Geográficos* (Geographical Research Center) at the University of Lisbon (CEG-UL) and gathered together geographers under the guidance of Suzanne Daveau (1925-), with important links to the French Thematic Cartography and Semiology of Graphics of the 1970s and 1980s and to the *Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya* and its seminars on the History of Cartography since 1991 (Alegria 2011).

The studies and dissemination of the history of Luso-Brazilian cartography gained momentum in Portugal from the mid-1990s onwards, with the presence of Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) at the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (CNCDP—National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries): "Cartography has been a stimulus and a challenge for Portuguese

history—finding out what is shown to us and unravelling what lies hidden behind that representation." (Magalhães 2012: 9).

Romero Magalhães was appointed Chairman of the Scientific Council of the CNCDP in January 1996 and was immediately entrusted with the task of organizing, in Lisbon in the following year, the 17th International Conference on the History of Cartography (ICHC)—the most internationally important scientific meeting on the subject—under the coordination of Imago Mundi, Ltd. As chairman of the organizing committee, Magalhães contacted the research teams of CEHCA-IICT and of CEG-UL and established a detailed work program, comprising thematic sessions, exhibitions, a field trip, and a number of cultural activities.

The worldwide conference of specialists in the History of Cartography, held at the National Archive—*Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*—was a success, with 162 participants of 29 different nationalities and 42 papers submitted and discussed in 15 sessions: Sixteenth-Century Military Cartography, Cartography of India, Cartography of the Indian Ocean, Cartography and Diplomacy (I, II and III), Art and Cartographic Representation (I, II and III), Official Mapping of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, The Cartography of Deserts, Mountains and Roads, The Cartography of Water Features, Cartography: The Moral and Social Dimensions, The Medieval World and Paradise, and Map-Making (Edson 1998).

Those who attended the conference will especially remember the six exhibitions of antique maps which were held in conjunction with the meeting: *Cartografia e Diplomacia no Brasil do século XVIII / Cartography and Diplomacy in 18th-Century Brazil*, curated by Inácio Guerreiro (1937-); *As Fronteiras de África / The Frontiers of Africa,* curated by Maria Emília Madeira Santos at the Cordoaria Nacional; *Cartografia de Lisboa: séculos XVII a XX / Cartography of Lisbon: 17th to 20th Centuries*, curated by Ana Cristina Leite (1959-) at the Museu da Cidade; *Macau: a cidade e o porto / Macao: the City and the Port*, curated by J.M. Malhão Pereira at the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos; *Tesouros da Cartografia Portuguesa / Treasures of Portuguese Cartography*, curated by José Manuel Garcia (1956-) at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo; and *Lugares e Regiões em Mapas Antigos / Places and Regions in Old Maps*, curated by Isabel Cid and Suzanne Daveau at the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora. The six corresponding catalogues were then published. These are reference works relating to the cartographic material contained at the main archives and libraries in Portugal (Magalhães, Garcia and Flores 1997, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1997d, 1997e).

In the "Presentations" of these catalogues, Romero Magalhães wrote about the history of cartography, saying: "A fascinating field of study, one in which Portugal has produced excellent scholars, and which needs to be renewed today with fresh young blood. People capable of learning by example. People who do not stop to carp over difficulties or dwell on past glories" (Magalhães, Garcia and Flores 1997: 10). About the exhibitions, he stated: "Seen as a whole, the collections of fine pieces shown at these six exhibitions tell us a great deal about what we were and what we are. Our successes and our failures. Our negligence and our not inconsiderable lack of historical perspective. But also about how much we Portuguese contributed to the image of the world" (Magalhães, Garcia and Flores 1997: 11).

The 17th International Conference on the History of Cartography was a significant moment for the study of this subject in Portugal, bringing together disparate researchers from different fields of knowledge and making known, both to the international academic community and to the Portuguese themselves, the cartographic treasures stored at Portuguese and Brazilian institutions, dating not only from the "Golden Age" of Renaissance but also, and above all, from the least studied period, ranging from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

In February 1999, Romero Magalhães was appointed Commissioner-General of the CNCDP, succeeding António Manuel Hespanha (1945-), a historian who had been in charge of the commemorations of Vasco da Gama's voyage and the establishment of the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean in the early sixteenth century. The primary mission of the new Commissioner was to carry out the challenging task of commemorating the official arrival of the Portuguese navigators in South America. The "Discovery of Brazil" and the relationship between Portugal and Brazil, not only in the colonial period but also from the time of the independence of that territory in 1822 until the present day, were the major themes for the organization of large exhibitions, the publication of historical research works and primary sources, the award of scholarships, the development of research projects, the organization of scientific meetings and the provision of assistance to research centers, and academic and cultural institutions, as well as for the organization of theatrical performances, music, dance, cinema, and cultural entertainment. (Magalhães and Salvado 2002).

In some of the most important activities programmed by the CNCDP between 1999 and 2001 under the direction of Romero Magalhães, we find early maps being used as historical sources within the framework of political and diplomatic history, a scientific

testimony in the field of the history of science and technology, and museum objects closely linked to the history of art. The Commissioner-General would later declare that: "The National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries (1987-2002) has always paid special attention to cartography, and, as far as exhibitions are concerned, several innovative studies and investigations have been produced as a result of these" (Magalhães 2012: 11).

Among the great exhibitions organized by the CNCDP, two of them paid particular attention to cartographic documents: *A Construção do Brasil*, *1500-1825 / The Construction of Brazil, 1500-1825*, curated by J. Romero Magalhães and Tiago C. P. dos Reis Miranda, held at the Palácio da Ajuda, Lisbon, in 2000; and *Outro Mundo Novo Vimos / We Saw Another New World*, curated by J. Romero Magalhães and José Luís Porfírio, held at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, in 2001. These were unique opportunities to see close-up and at first-hand the cartographic treasures that had previously been known only from high or low quality reproductions and which have always been present in the international bibliography.

At the first exhibition, the following items were displayed, among others: the chart depicting Brazil and the South Atlantic from the *Miller Atlas* (c. 1519) by Lopo Homem / Reinéis, housed at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*; the *Atlas* by Lázaro Luís (1563), housed at the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*; the *Atlas* by Fernão Vaz Dourado (c. 1576), housed at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*; the *Roteiro de todos os sinaes que há na costa do Brasil* by Luís Teixeira (c. 1590), housed at the *Biblioteca do Palácio da Ajuda*; the *Descripçam do Continente da America Meridional* (1746), from Guita and José Mindlin's Collection in São Paulo; and many others from the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, the *Biblioteca Pública de Évora*, the *Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra*, the *Casa da Ínsua*, the *Direção dos Serviços de Engenharia* and the Mapoteca (map library) of the *Ministério das Relações Exteriores* (Itamaraty) in Rio de Janeiro (Magalhães and Miranda 2000).

Displayed at the second exhibition were: the *World Map* by Lopo Homem, from the already mentioned *Miller Atlas* (c.1519); the *World Map* by Henricus Martellus (c. 1470), housed at the British Library; the *Atlantic Chart* by Pedro Reinel (1485), housed at the *Archives Départementales de la Gironde* (Bordeaux); the *Códice Valentim Fernandes* (c. 1507), housed at the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*; and also a number of nautical charts belonging to Portuguese institutions, such as the *Roteiro do Mar Roxo* by D. João de Castro (c. 1540), housed at the *Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra* (Magalhães 2001a).

But the main attraction at the *Outro Mundo Novo Vimos* exhibition was the map known as the *Cantino Planisphere* (c. 1502), probably the most famous image in the history of cartography, which returned to Lisbon five hundred years after being drawn by an anonymous Portuguese cartographer. The negotiations required for the return of the map, its insurance, its transportation overland from Italy, and its arrival in Lisbon under the protection of a complex police operation rightfully made it the star of the exhibition. The cartography of the Portuguese geographical discoveries had never played such a leading role since the Portuguese World Exhibition (1940), the commemorations of the fifth centenary of the death of Henry the Navigator (1960), and the 17th European Exhibition of Art, Science, and Culture (1983).

The dissemination of the images of old Portuguese maps was also achieved through itinerant exhibitions of posters, such as *Fronteiras de África / The Frontiers of Africa*, curated by Maria Emília Madeira Santos, based on the above-mentioned exhibition and organized for the 17th International Conference on the History of Cartography, and *A Construção Territorial do Brasil / The Territorial Construction of Brazil*, curated by Renata Malcher de Araujo (1963-), with 3500 collections of posters spread among several institutions in Portugal and around the world.

There were many historical sources and studies published by the CNCDP. On cartography, we may mention the essays by André Ferrand de Almeida (1968-) and Mário Clemente Ferreira (1968-) included in the Colecção Outras Margens: *A Formação do Espaço Brasileiro e o projecto do Novo Atlas da América Portuguesa (1713-1748)* and *O Tratado de Madrid e o Brasil Meridional. Os trabalhos demarcadores das Partidas do Sul e a sua produção cartográfica (1749-1761)*. These are two important books by young postgraduate researchers at the Lisbon Nova University, supported by the historian Luís Filipe Thomaz (1942-) and Admiral Max Justo Guedes (1927-2011).

Also, a privileged channel within the CNCDP itself was opened for the dissemination of cartographic images in the form of *Oceanos,* a scientific journal edited by Romero Magalhães, which published 11 thematic issues between 1999 and 2002. The journal's scientific and graphic quality can be seen in its reproduction of the antique maps extant in the archives and libraries of Portugal and other countries, which complement and illustrate the articles, many of which are hard to find and known only in the form of low-resolution copies. Among the issues devoted to Brazil were: *O Achamento do Brasil / The Discovery of Brazil* (39); *A Formação Territorial do Brasil / The Territorial Construction of Brazil* (40); *A Construção do Brasil Urbano / The Construction of Urban Brazil* (41); and *Ilhas Fantásticas / Imagined Islands* (46).

Between 1998 and 2001, two inventories of cartographic material were undertaken almost simultaneously under the tutelage or with the support of the CNCDP and Romero Magalhães: *A Cartografia setecentista do Brasil nas coleções da Biblioteca Nacional / Cartography of Brazil in the collections of the National Library (18th century)* (1998-2000); and the *Inventário da coleção cartográfica da Casa da Ínsua / Inventory of the Cartographic Collection of the Casa da Ínsua* (1999-2001), a private collection of maps, charts, and plans in which eighteenth-century Brazil was depicted on different scales. Assuming that the oldest Portuguese manuscript cartography relating to Brazil was fully described and studied in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (1960-1962), the projects sought to evaluate the image of Brazil in Portuguese and foreign manuscript and printed maps from the eighteenth century, based on two of the best-known cartographic collections existing in Portugal.

In a partnership between the CNCDP and the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, the first project resulted in various projects, including: an exhibition of original maps and charts, *A Nova Lusitânia: a Cartografia setecentista do Brasil nas colecções da Biblioteca Nacional / The New Lusitania: The Cartography of Eighteenth-Century Brazil in the Collections of the National Library*, held at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon from November 2000 to February 2001; a seminar, *A Cartografia do Brasil: conhecer as colecções / The Cartography of Brazil: Getting to Know the Collections*, held at the same institution in February 2001; a printed catalogue entitled *A Nova Lusitânia: imagens cartográficas do Brasil nas colecções da Biblioteca Nacional (1700-1822) / The New Lusitania: Cartographic Images of Brazil in the Collections of the National Library (1700-1822)* (Garcia 2001); and an online catalogue, *A Cartografia do Brasil nas Coleções da Biblioteca Nacional, 1700-1822 / The Cartography of Brazil in the Collections of the National Library, 1700-1822* (http://purl.pt/103/1/index.html), which is still an important reference both for the detailed description it provides of the documents and for the scanned images that it displays.

As Romero Magalhães said in the "Presentation" of the first catalogue: "Due to several accidents, the studies of the History of Cartography have been somewhat marginalized in Portugal. Few scholars, and few good results in terms of the advance of knowledge. And, obviously, that is why so little progress has been made in an area where the Portuguese stood out over the centuries. Not only as cartographers, improving our forms of representation and knowledge about the Earth, but also as researchers into the History of Cartography. […] Trying to reverse this lack of commitment has been a constant concern within the CNCDP. And because many working tools have been delayed or paralyzed, it was considered necessary to promote the process of inventorying and

cataloguing the universe of maps and charts existing in Portugal. Because even this has been lacking, which is such an elementary and primary precondition" (Magalhães 2001: 11).

The second project followed the Olazabal Albuquerque (Casa da Ínsua) family's loan of dozens of manuscript maps from the original collection of the fourth Governor of Cuiabá and Mato Grosso (Brazil), Luís de Albuquerque de Melo Pereira e Cáceres (1739-1797), for the *Cartografia e Diplomacia no Brasil do século XVIII* exhibition. The process of inventorying and describing this collection, undertaken at the Arquivo Distrital do Porto, resulted in a book: *A mais dilatada vista do Mundo. Inventário da colecção cartográfica da Casa da Ínsua / The Widest View of the World: Inventory of the Cartographic Collection of Casa da Ínsua* (Garcia 2002). In the "Presentation" of the volume, Romero Magalhães stated: "The valuable set of maps of the Casa da Ínsua—whose existence was revealed by the summary inventory of Teixeira da Mota, and of which some specimens were already known—merit close attention. An evident effort was made in these maps to know more about the Southwest of Brazil and to depict it in a better way. […] Therefore, a complete and reliable catalogue is now available to scholars, which really does deserve to be considered a reference work for cartographic studies" (Magalhães 2002: 10).

After completing his mission at the CNCDP, the historian maintained his interest in and support for the history of Luso-Brazilian cartography. In March 2004, Magalhães took part in the workshop *A Cartografia da Capitania de São Paulo: espaços, imagens e caminhos*, organized by the Museu Paulista and the Jaime Cortesão Chair of the University of São Paulo. In 2006, he attended the international seminar *Portugal en la Región Platina: Colónia de Sacramento. Homenaje al Prof. Doutor Luís Ferrand de Almeida y su obra*, organized by the Portuguese Embassy in Montevideo, which had an important exhibition of Portuguese military cartography from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Almeida and Garcia 2006). In 2011, the historian participated in the *Seminário Internacional Formas e Representações do Império: ciência, tecnologia e política, séculos XVI ao XIX*, at the Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins in Rio de Janeiro, with a paper on astronomy, cartography, and political history.

In 2009, the Imprensa Nacional—Casa da Moeda in Lisbon published *História do Brasil nos Velhos Mapas / The History of Brazil in Old Maps*, by Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960), in its collection of the author's complete works. It was an old and longstanding project that Romero Magalhães was finally able to accomplish: a new edition of a work by one of its most influential authors. Cortesão had left the book partly prepared in Brazil in 1957 but the first edition only appeared in Rio de Janeiro in 1965-1971. The volumes were out of print for a long time and therefore hard to find. For Magalhães, it is not a book about the

History of Cartography: "it is a matter of giving privilege to a documentary specimen, the maps, and through them (and other sources) reconstituting Brazilian history [...] it is a historical construction, in which the lesson that he seeks to discover in the maps is used to support the author's more general theses on the spatial formation of Brazil." Magalhães further adds: "Jaime Cortesão assumed that, above all, the maps expressed the political wills of the rulers. Although they transmitted a codified view of reality, they mainly reflected the purposes of those who were in charge" (Magalhães 2009: 15).

Despite his interest in early maps, Romero Magalhães's extensive bibliography contains only a few texts on the history of Luso-Brazilian cartography published in thematic issues of scientific journals or resulting from his participation in scientific conferences in Brazil, such as the case of "Mundos em miniatura: aproximação a alguns aspectos da cartografia portuguesa do Brasil (séculos XVI a XVIII)," published in *Anais do Museu Paulista* (Magalhães 2009a) and later in the collection known as *Labirintos Brasileiros* (Magalhães 2011: 35-49), or "Saberes e política: os astrónomos em Mato Grosso, 1782-1789," published in *Formas do Império* (Magalhães 2014) and later in *Avulsos de História Moderna* (Magalhães 2017: 431-444). He tried to give the first and last word to those who had been more attentive to the subject. Mapping "is no more than reducing the real spaces to apprehend them through tiny drawings. One attempts to see the amplitude of the real world through a dimension that the human eye can encompass. A way of seeing that tells us where we are and which path we want to walk. [...] For those who are not experts, the task is very complicated, since you must have in your eyes the key, the convention or the code that enables the interpretation of the drawing. And this is neither intuitive nor immediate. It has a story" (Magalhães 2011: 35).

In the Luso-Brazilian academic community, among the few specialists in the History of Cartography was Admiral Max Justo Guedes, one of the last disciples of Jaime Cortesão. For the organization of exhibitions and seminars, the publication of sources and studies, or the scientific, diplomatic, academic, or political contacts to be established Guedes was always a friend and advisor to Romero Magalhães on cartographic matters (Magalhães, 2011a).

Professor Romero consulted maps: "Measure, calculate, depict. Miniaturize the world in order to understand it. Humankind's quest to gain dominion over space, estimating and conquering distances with the ingenious device of cartography. […] The final form of a map is in itself a history lesson of enormous profundity, one which

demands the subtle application of different analyses, using innumerable data and multiple disciplines in an effort to comprehend a complex phenomenon embodied within a manageable framework. Concrete. Material. Often opaque in its present appearance because the key to its decipherment is missing or obscure" (Magalhães 1997: 10).

The last news we have of his interest in old maps was the gift he made to the *Arquivo Municipal de Loulé* shortly before he died—the *Carta Corográfica do Reino do Algarve* (1842) by J. B. da Silva Lopes, drawn on the scale of 1:200,000 (Lopes 1842). This is the map that would later accompany every copy of the *Corografia ou Memória Económica, Estatística e Topográfica do Reino do Algarve* (Lopes 1841) by the same author, which rarely happens. Romero Magalhães had bought it from a well-known Lisbon second-hand bookdealer and considered it one of the treasures of his library. It is now where it should be, available to all, just as the presenter of this gift had wished.

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The Role Played by Joaquim Romero Magalhães in the Creation of the Course of Economic and Social History at the University of Coimbra

Álvaro Garrido[1]

Abstract

This article summarizes the academic career of Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) and highlights his role in creating the discipline of Economic and Social History at the University of Coimbra, as well as in Portugal as a whole. Romero Magalhães's historiography forms part of the international discussions that have taken place about the relationship between history and economics and emphasizes the challenging and belated institutionalization of Economic History in the Portuguese academic sphere. Both this lengthy delay and his academic affiliations, in particular the influences he drew from the *Annales* School, help us to understand both how he perceived history and how he sought to write it. The article also includes a description of the process followed in the creation of the discipline of Economic History at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra and explains the scientific and educational understanding that Romero Magalhães assigned to economic and social history.

Keywords

Portugal; History; Economics; Historiography; University of Coimbra; Romero Magalhães

Resumo

Este artigo sintetiza o percurso académico de Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) e coloca em evidência o seu papel na criação da História Económica e Social na Universidade de Coimbra e em Portugal. O artigo enquadra a historiografia de Romero Magalhães nos debates internacionais sobre as relações entre História e Economia e salienta a difícil e tardia institucionalização da História Económica no espaço académico português. Esse retardamento e as filiações académicas de Romero Magalhães, particularmente as influências que recebeu da Escola dos *Annales*, ajudam a perceber o modo como entendia a História e como a procurou escrever. A criação da História Económica na Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra e o entendimento científico e formativo que Romero Magalhães atribuiu à História Económica e Social completam o artigo.

Palavras-chave

Portugal; História; Economia; Historiografia; Universidade de Coimbra; Romero Magalhães

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) was a leading Portuguese historian who was also very well-known abroad. He gained his expertise in early modern history and played an important role in the institutionalization of the discipline of Economic and Social History in Portugal at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC), where he taught from 1973 to 2012.[2]

Born in Loulé, in the Algarve, he was the son of a high-school teacher—who was also a writer—and a piano teacher from the Faro School of Music. Upon completing high school, he pursued his studies at the University of Coimbra in 1959. In the following year, he decided to abandon his pursuit of a law degree and study history, a path that he shared with several other prominent Portuguese historians. Although his time as a university student was marked by a period of national cultural stagnation, he helped to break down Salazar's oppressive regime and gave his support to the burgeoning opposition movements. In 1963, Romero Magalhães was a member of a student fraternity called *Prakistão* and president of the University of Coimbra Student Theatre Group, and, in 1964, he was President of the Coimbra Academic Association. Studying at a small-minded and inward-looking university, he sought to expand horizons in the cultural life of the academy and amid the student movement.

He defended his graduate degree at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra, in 1967, submitting a bold thesis on economic and social history, a kind of historical chorography about a peripheral region in the sixteenth-century Portuguese maritime expansion, namely the Algarve. The book was published in 1970 by Edições Cosmos and caused quite a stir in the apathetic world of Portuguese historiography, which, at that time, had only just begun to address the subject of economic and social history.

After a very short stint as a secondary school teacher, he began his teaching career at the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (FEUC) in 1973. Before then, from 1967 to 1970, he was drafted into the army and served in Africa during the most intense period of the Portuguese colonial war. He completed his PhD in 1984 with a dissertation that he submitted to FEUC entitled *O Algarve Económico, 1600-1773,* supervised by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, which rapidly came to be considered a remarkable essay in Portuguese historiography and was later published by Editorial Estampa in 1988. A historian of the *Annales* School, Magalhães Godinho faced dictatorial powers and

[2] I have based these short bibliographical notes on both my own notes from the time when I socialized with Joaquim Romero Magalhães at FEUC and on information graciously provided by the family as well as on the biographical overview by Maria Eugénia Mata and Nuno Valério, included in the volume of essays in tribute to Romero Magalhães: "Joaquim Romero Magalhães", in A. Garrido, L. Freire Costa and L. M. Duarte (eds.), *Economia, Instituições e Império*, Coimbra, Almedina, 2012, pp. 13-19.

censorship and revolutionized Portuguese historiography. Godinho challenged the imperial historicism of the *Estado Novo* and saw in Romero Magalhães his principal disciple in the context of the cultural and scientific backwardness surrounding Portuguese universities.

Romero Magalhães took his examination for tenure as a full professor at FEUC in 1993, submitting a bold report for the creation of a master's degree in the History of Europe, an academic route he had begun to follow when Portugal joined the European Economic Community in 1986. He became a Full Professor in 1994 and retired in 2012.

History and Economics

History had already achieved a broad institutional expression and become established as a state science in the late nineteenth century, even in Portugal, a peripheral country on the European stage. Through its connections with economics and sociology (which were originally limited to law schools), and benefitting from a broad critical approach, history paved the way for the development of unprecedented epistemological combinations (Pereira, 2010: 27-28).

As with other scientific revolutions, the interdisciplinary affirmation of History found its main vehicle in economic and social history. In this strengthening process, however, it had to produce arguments that could help it compete with other sciences and to fight for institutional recognition in order to guarantee its individual status. In the famous *Combats pour l'Histoire* (1952) and the incisive *Apologie pour l'Histoire ou métier d'historien* (1949), Lucien Febvre and March Bloch, respectively, had already begun to lay the foundations for economic and social history. The founders of the *Annales* movement spearheaded this renewal by countering the intentions of Simiand and Durkheim, who sought to unite the social sciences based on the sociology model, something that Romero Magalhães seems never to have forgotten in the way he taught economic history at the University of Coimbra.

In an unprecedented intellectual revolution, History became associated with the *Annales* movement, responding to problems by combining geographic and material bases with the categories of social analysis inspired by Durkheim's work (Curto, 2013: 27). Despite reciprocal gaps, economic history made impressive progress after the Second World War in England, France, and Sweden. In other countries, such as Portugal, progress was slow and sometimes peculiar. As Hobsbawm noted, in general "the study of economic

mechanisms was divorced from that of the social and other factors which condition the behavior of the agents who comprise such mechanisms" (Hobsbawm, 1998: 118).

This reformist movement and the affirmation of economic and social history were also due to the efforts of economists and some of their theories. Joseph A. Schumpeter's views on the relationship between economics and history are well-known and particularly charismatic, especially when he called for an understanding of the interdependence of social phenomena and warned that, in essence, the object of economics is to study the nature of the "historic process" itself. According to the Austrian economist, whose analysis Romero Magalhães endorsed, development is not only an economic phenomenon but also a structural civilizational process, since it involves multiple dimensions. Schumpeter flattered historians and went so far as to argue that most of the errors made in economic analysis were due to a lack of historical knowledge rather than to any weaknesses in "economic science" itself (Schumpeter, 1996).

The reflections and claims made by John Hicks (1904-1989), who advocated that "historical time" is an essential category in economic analysis, were no less sensitive to the incorporation of the historical perspective and of historians' working methods into "Economics." In one of his most challenging books, *A Theory of Economic History* (1969), Hicks proposed an analytical balance between general and specific phenomena. In this essay, often quoted by Romero Magalhães, the British economist defended a balance between regularities and occasional facts, a combination that was designed to achieve an integrating perspective on human activities (Hicks, 1969).

Critical opinions voiced by several authors have recently come to the fore to question the view of neoclassical economics and to prompt economists to return to history, since mainstream economics tends to exclude social and political factors from economic analyses. These promptings call for the deep rooting of the economy in institutions in general and in political power in particular, an approach that the *Annales* historians had already incorporated into their interdisciplinary and globalizing method. This critical view of the Economy in its purest form intuitively endorsed by Romero Magalhães, rejects the reductionist and imperial concept of economic science.

Invoking Karl Polanyi's economic anthropology and other original references, Pierre Bourdieu was one of those who fared better in renouncing an economic thought that was purged of historical or ethnological references. According to the French sociologist, Economics is rather "the paradoxical product of a long collective history,

endlessly reproduced in individual histories, which can be fully accounted for only by historical analysis" (Bourdieu, 2000: 15-18).

The Long Road Followed by Economic History in Portugal

The institutionalization of economic history in Portugal was a slow affair, marked by specificities that were typical of the country's semi-peripheral or intermediate status (Wallerstein, 1984). Despite the prospects opened up by historians who rejected the historicism cultivated by the *Estado Novo's* teaching and propagandistic policies, economic history was late in beginning to make its appearance.

Due to the longevity of Salazar's regime and the government's constraints on social sciences, economic history emerged and established itself as a discipline that was separate from other realities. As a result of the ideological stifling of the Portuguese university and the stigma linked to the Marxist connotations of the words "economic" and "social," historical research and the teaching of history only progressed as part of a historiographical counter-culture. It is no coincidence that until the revolution of April 25, 1974, most of the historians who succeeded in renewing Portuguese historiography did so outside the system. They were high-school teachers, publicists, and intellectuals, partly influenced by Marxism and, in some cases, by the structuralist and globalist influence of the *Annales* movement (Magalhães, 2009: 14-16).

Despite these signs of a rapprochement with economic and social history, the discipline began its life in Portugal outside the academic sphere and away from the formal context of higher education. The Faculties of Letters of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Porto, created under the scope of the positivist reformism of the First Republic, were slow in developing an interest in economic history. For a long time, research and teaching were based on the publication of documents and on a belief in an eminently archive-based erudition, creating a gap that was difficult to bridge in view of the international historiographical vanguards (Magalhães, 2009: 10-11).

Ways of Writing History: A Historiographical Profile

Romero Magalhães combined historical erudition with an almost literary style and a scathing sense of irony. He regarded history as a writing craft that was centered on explanation, but he refused to surrender to its rhetorical embellishments. He was always of

the opinion that research based on the study of documents and other historical sources compelled the historian to develop an archive-based ethics and to use these traces of the past in a two-pronged view of the instrument of evidence and the imaginary horizon: firstly, the publication of sources, and, secondly, their study and analysis.

Romero Magalhães was influenced by the great French historiographers of the *Annales* School, mindful of the concepts and methodological resources of various social sciences but averse to sociologisms, and he did not believe in a poetic approach to the archives. He did, however, regard both the archives themselves and the archivist as mediating agents between the historian and the state (Granger, 2013: 110-11), hence his concern with the Library of the Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra (where he was a teacher of librarianship) containing an extensive bibliographical collection on economic and social history—on History, in general—thanks to his commitment and vision.

As a bibliophile and a humanistic historian, he imagined historiographical problems and developed research ideas based on the reading of old booklets, leaflets, travel writings, speeches, memoirs, and other printed documents. This daily practice, not only for research purposes, but also for the preparation of his classes in economic history and other subjects, formed the basis of his working method.

As a research historian, he combined his mastery of the archives with an enormous analytical intuition about the contexts of human action and the predicament of historical processes. Attentive to the nature of spaces, he easily combined Braudel's *longue durée* with other time-concepts and scales in order to explain the relationship between the action and the *milieu*. Romero Magalhães's historiography shows various traits that he inherited from Braudel, but one of them is particularly striking: time is also geographical while history includes multiple intertwined temporalities and requires the researcher to look for the dialectics of globality—sets and subsets. He used his narrative imagination to breathe life into those contexts interwoven with human and institutional action.

"World temptation" (Granger, 2013: 181-96), or the utopia of devising a history of the empire's spaces and powers, mindful of the ties, encounters, and trading links that existed between them, is evident in several works by Romero Magalhães, even though the author never actually called it "global history." Following the publication of *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (1963-1971), by V. Magalhães Godinho, and the history essays by António Sérgio—as well as the work by Jaime Cortesão, whom he greatly appreciated—Romero Magalhães strove to determine why Portuguese society in the

modern period was commodified so early, while nonetheless being far removed from the vanguard of modernization.

Romero Magalhães's historical analysis never lost sight of the structures, contexts, historical and geographical problems, and other heuristic categories disseminated by the *Annales* School. He never lost his identity as a historian and he studied economics in order to understand society in its seemingly static structures and transformations. When he focused on social history, he appeared not to forget Le Roy Ladurie's warning about the "imperialist nature" of that discipline. This attribute took hold of all aspects of history, since it was closer to other social and human sciences to which it owed numerous analytical tools (Duby et al, 1994: 56).

Romero Magalhães dealt more with the socioeconomic transformation of spaces and people while taking account of the micro-scales and a certain geographical determinism. He focused on the topography of powers without forgetting Marx's premise, whereby an economy is always historically specific (Hobsbawm, 1998: 124). The explanatory descriptions he made about the social organization of a particular *space-time* were chiefly concerned with the way that men produced and distributed the product of their labor. The theoretical and methodological influences of Romero Magalhães's historiography never appeared contradictory with regard to his very own style of writing and thinking for himself.

Many of his works were intended to encourage his students and to open up new horizons. He was the sort of teacher who got involved in research work and never wanted to be a researcher who did not teach, or someone who thought classes were unnecessary for writing better history. The wealth of publications that he left us with—books, chapters in collective books, essays, and more than one hundred papers—are a measure of his fine writing and reflect his historical erudition. Some of his published works on such important topics of early modern history as the municipalities, the Inquisition, and tax laws in the Brazilian empire were collected together in five volumes, which he named *Miunças,* published by Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, the last work published posthumously.[3]

Romero Magalhães was a remarkable historian who wrote with the simplicity of a genius. He was thoroughly familiar with the art of writing, but challenged it intuitively, seeking a logical explanation in sources that would be capable of giving meaning to human action.

[3] For a bibliography on Joaquim Romero Magalhães, updated in 2012, see the final section of the collection of memorial tributes: A. Garrido, L. Freire Costa and L. M. Duarte, *op. cit.*, pp. 617-28.

As an academic, he believed in persistent reformism, in using reason, and in democratic decisions. He was emotional, forthright, and always committed to the public cause. He served as chairman of the Executive Council of FEUC between 1985 and 1989, a position that he held once more, between 1991 and 1993. He was also chairman of the Scientific Council of the same Faculty, between 1989 and 1991.

Economic and Social History at FEUC

In the final years of the *Estado Novo*, it was already difficult to stem the tide of the intense movements for the reform of Portuguese historiography, especially in the field of economic and social History, which was the discipline that had most transformed the way of seeing and making history in other countries. The long life of the Portuguese dictatorship did not prevent economic history from being included in the curricula of various universities. This growth was due to the progress of research in that specific area and indirectly to the dynamics of economic growth and European economic cooperation of the country, which stimulated the expansion of the teaching of economics, as well as engineering.

At the height of Marcelo Caetano's government when Schools of Economics were very much in demand and technicians specializing in economic planning and administration were lacking, the Minister Veiga Simão decided to create a Faculty of Economics at the University of Coimbra (Decree-Law Nr. 521 of December 15, 1972). The decision was fully supported by the heads of the Faculty of Law, where political economy had been taught since the nineteenth century. FEUC began its activity in 1973-4, still during the dictatorship period. The economics and business administration courses—attended by two hundred students, and with curricula that closely followed those of ISEG—conferred undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. Joaquim Romero Magalhães was hired and took office on October 4, 1973 (Ferreira, 2003: 111).

The first economic history course in Portugal was included into a degree in economics at the Lisbon School of Economics (now ISEG) in 1972, under the direction of the historian Joel Serrão, several decades later than in various developed countries. One year later, Romero Magalhães was entrusted with the coordination of the discipline of Economic History at FEUC (named *História Económica I e II*). Similarly, in 1972, the chair of Economic History was placed in the hands of the economist Alfredo de Sousa (1931-1994) at the new *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa* (ISCTE – Higher Institute of Business and Labor Sciences).

Why teach history at a Faculty of Economics? Assuming that economics is not an independent social science—this sensible understanding was more common at the time than it is today—the pedagogical assumptions of that initial course were entirely in keeping with the dynamics of the renewal of historiography that was finally gaining momentum in Portugal.

The status of the discipline of economic history in the curricula was not that of a residual subject, nor was it placed in a subordinate condition subordination in the overall plan for the Economics course that had recently been inaugurated in Coimbra. It should be remembered that this was a period of major turbulence in the international economy, with external turmoil being caused by the 1973 oil crisis together with the domestic uprising of the April Revolution and the first experiences of freedom.

The Economic History syllabus designed by Romero Magalhães combined the holistic views of the *Annales* School (Braudel, Ladurie, Meuvret, Morazé, and Vilar) with a few Marxist elements; it also encompassed Schumpeter's and Kondratiev's economic development cycles, and the growth and development approaches of Kuznets and Perroux, as well as some Political Economy considerations drawn from the German Historical School (List and others). The subjects that he taught in the first years covered such important matters as monetary questions and the history of prices (the American Hamilton, the French Labrousse and Simiand, and the essential work by Magalhães Godinho, *Prix et Monnaies au Portugal*). As it was a mandatory annual course for first-year undergraduate students, the subjects spanned the early modern and contemporary periods, without overstepping the boundaries into the "history of the present." Most of the lessons covered the structures and contexts of the relevant period, its economic thought and crises—presented as "cyclical economic fluctuations" of capitalism.

The course did not just explain the relevant theory and the different methodological positions, it also conveyed a subtle educational message to students: nothing is exogenous in economic history. Explaining economic phenomena involves understanding the balance of power, social relations and mental representations, or the "psychology of society," as Keynes referred to all of these ideas (Keynes, 1919, 9). Overburdened with economic theory and the models based on its internal logic—albeit fewer than today—economics students were encouraged to develop an awareness of the historical dimension of economic analysis and to recognize that only history allows for the study of the different forms of economics in its interactions and balances of power. The fundamental assumptions of Romero Magalhães's economic historiography highlighted the

relevance of economic facts throughout history and the need to convince students that economics is universal insofar as the economy affects every aspect of human life.

Establishing a symbolic relationship between history and economics was a challenging utopia that made it necessary to assert the autonomy of historical discourse in the education of future economists. In contrast to the reasoning of *Cliometrics* regarding the heuristic nature of that relationship, Romero Magalhães believed that the teaching of history in an economics course would be all the more useful if it could establish its own autonomy, standing alone and avoiding copying "economic science" (economics). Some of the ways of helping future economists to follow the call of the Marxist economist Pierre Vilar—"thinking historically" (Congost, 1997)—was to offer concepts of time and promote interpretations with historical depth. In the education of economists, History was regarded as an indispensable tool for working in companies and organizations as part of a global social reality.

Following the turmoil of the years immediately after the revolution in Portugal, the teaching of economic history at FEUC was strengthened in the 1976-77 academic year with the introduction of the subject of the economic history of Portugal into the study program for the degree in economics. The first chair of the discipline was occupied by the medievalist A. H. de Oliveira Marques, one of the most prominent Portuguese historians, who had long believed in the importance of economic and social history in university education.[4] This chair was created at the initiative of Joaquim Romero Magalhães, who, in the meantime, had transferred to the Constituent Assembly and had been sworn in as Secretary of State for Educational Guidance in two governments headed by Mário Soares (1976-1978).

Despite these developments, economic history was definitively established as a discipline in Portugal after the revolution of April 25, 1974. The country's political democratization and social transformation further encouraged the adoption of economic history, particularly economic and social history, at all the Colleges of Economics and Arts and Humanities. These dynamics soon expanded and were strengthened even further. The launch of the journal *Revista de História Económica e Social* in 1978 and the foundation of the Portuguese Association of Economic and Social History in 1980, both at the initiative of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho supported by a group of young teachers that included Romero Magalhães, were real breakthroughs. It only took a short time for Portugal to have a network of researchers in this field of expertise. The extraordinary open-mindedness of the Portuguese Association of Economic and Social History and its vibrant scientific meetings have been key to the affirmation and internationalization of economic history in Portugal.

[4] Cf. Jaime Ferreira, "Nos 30 anos da FEUC", *Notas Económicas,* Junho 2003, pp. 102-34.

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The CNCDP Years[1]

Tiago C. P. dos Reis Miranda[2]

Abstract

After presiding over the Scientific Council of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, Joaquim Romero Magalhães held the position of Commissioner-General from February 1999 to November 2002. He focused his attention on the 500th anniversary of Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage to Brazil. This text recalls some of the main aspects of those celebrations and presents a personal view on events and circumstances that have yet to be made public.

Keywords

Brazil; Commemoration; Cultural Diplomacy; Discoveries; Letter of Pêro Vaz de Caminha

Resumo

Após presidir o Conselho Científico da Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, Joaquim Romero Magalhães desempenhou funções de Comissário-Geral entre fevereiro de 1999 e novembro de 2002. O foco da sua atividade foi o advento dos 500 anos da viagem de Pedro Álvares Cabral. Apresentam-se aqui alguns dos mais importantes aspetos dessas celebrações e um testemunho sobre episódios e circunstâncias ainda não divulgados.

Palavras-chave

Brasil; Comemorações; Diplomacia Cultural; Descobrimentos; Carta de Pêro Vaz de Caminha

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I first entered into contact with Joaquim Romero Magalhães late in 1998, at the suggestion of Fernanda Olival and through the intervention of Francisco Bethencourt.[3] At that time, I had just completed my PhD thesis in Social History at the University of São Paulo, where I had also undertaken my previous academic training despite being born in Lisbon. Joaquim Romero Magalhães was the President of the Scientific Council of the *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (CNCDP—National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries) and the coordinator of the program of activities for the 500th anniversary of Pedro Álvares Cabral's voyage to Brazil. He was also expected to soon be confirmed as the successor of António M. Hespanha as the Commissioner-General of the CNCDP.

I was then living once again in Portugal and, for some years, had gradually grown used to functioning as a kind of "facilitator" of the studies or working missions of Brazilian researchers on this side of the Atlantic. I would perhaps be considered a "hybrid" with "cross-cultural skills" and rumor had it that Joaquim Romero Magalhães was having difficulty in finding the desirable balance between the appropriate qualifications and sensitivities for his new team of assistants. I now calculate, therefore, that it was with some curiosity and perhaps a slight interest that he agreed to consider the suggestion of my name.

I do not entirely recall the circumstances of our first meetings, but I do clearly remember that our very first encounter was over lunch in a modest restaurant, close to the *Casa dos Bicos*.[4] He was a relaxed and affable man, inquisitive and with a huge appetite—which I later discovered to be quite usual. I was shy and embarrassed but tried to match up to the description that he might perhaps have been provided with. After some time, and to my relief, I realized that we shared similar historiographical and personal references, mainly because he had spent some months as a visiting professor in the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Human Sciences at the University of São Paulo in 1991 and 1997.

I believe that this conversation resulted in an informal proposal being made for me to participate in a project of Luso-Brazilian microbiogaphies, to be published in the newspapers. Shortly afterwards, when he was already the Commissioner-General, Romero

[3] Fernanda Olival was in the final phase of writing her PhD thesis, supervised precisely by Romero Magalhães. Francisco Bethencourt had welcomed me some years earlier as a scholarship recipient to work on a project funded by the *Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica* (National Board of Scientific and Technological Research, which later became the *Fundação Nacional para a Ciência e a Tecnologia*—the National Foundation for Science and Technology), and he had known Romero Magalhães since the time of the inaugural seminars of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Nova University of Lisbon.

[4] An emblematic sixteenth-century building, in *Campo das Cebolas* in Lisbon.

Magalhães also entrusted me with the task of delivering an opinion on the idea of a large exhibition of original works in Washington, which, despite being recommended by the highest political authorities, threatened to undermine the plans already existing at the CNCDP. I believe that the way in which I performed this "test" contributed to his presenting me with the challenge of taking over as the head of his office, coupled with the promise of participating in the scientific design of one of the major exhibitions of historical works due to be held in Lisbon in the first semester of the following year.

The main lines of the program for the Brazil commemorations were, at that time, relatively well defined. Together with the "museological" aspect, there was also another one relating to exhibitions of panels and posters,[5] a third one, linked to seminars, talks, and conferences, a fourth one linked to publications, and also a fifth one relating to audiovisual products, shows, and concerts. These areas could be further subdivided into two or three blocks, each placed under the supervision of more than one of the six members of the executive committee, who, in turn, coordinated teams of quite different sizes. It should, in fact, be remembered that at the beginning of Joaquim Romero Magalhães's term of office as Commissioner-General, in February 1999, the CNCDP occupied two buildings in Lisbon's riverside district and a large warehouse in São João da Talha,[6] where altogether over one hundred collaborators worked. Some of them enjoyed the status and tenure of civil servants. Most, however, were employed on fixed-term contracts, had been at the CNCDP for more than three years, and nourished the hope that afterwards they would be able to work for the state, knowing that it would not be easy to achieve and that time was already running out. After all, the last great anniversary in the cycle of the "Discoveries" was due to occur in just over six months' time; everything pointed to the fact that the CNCDP would come to an end thereafter and be disbanded.

Romero Magalhães envisaged that his mandate would last for just over two years. The first year would essentially be spent finalizing some activities still connected with India and, above all, preparing projects about Brazil. The second year, which would possibly extend until December 2001, would be devoted to completing the planned program and

[5] More specifically, itinerant exhibitions of panels and three-dimensional objects (often replicas of old instruments or utensils), assembled by teams from the CNCDP, and exhibitions of posters, which were mailed, in their hundreds, to all types of Portuguese and foreign teaching institutions.

[6] The head office was at the *Casa dos Bicos*. The support building, belonging to the Army, was at Rua do Jardim do Tabaco, Nr. 23. The warehouse, in the *Bairro da Fraternidade*, had a floor space of several hundred square meters and sufficiently high ceilings to accommodate two floors, being rented from a private individual. The CNCDP also occupied a store in the *Palácio da Independência*, in Rua das Portas de Santo Antão, through an agreement that had been signed in January 1996 with the *Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal* (Historical Society of Portuguese Independence).

making a final assessment and report on the Commission's activities, which might include a proposal for a new state structure, into which the CNCDP's collaborators could be incorporated. The key moment in this timetable was, however, the period from March 9 to May 2 or 3, 2000, which coincided with the 500th anniversary of Pedro Álvares Cabral's departure from Belém and the end of his stay in Porto Seguro. Romero Magalhães believed that most of the planned activities would need to be concentrated into this roughly eight-week period, as this would be the only way of guaranteeing that the commemorations had a sufficiently significant impact. Even if this meant placing the CNCDP team under almost endless pressure and splitting it into groups working for several months in various cities and in two continents. Brazil's huge size and the importance that it had for Portugal called for such commitment.

I shall dispense with making an exhaustive list of what was in fact done and of the specific reasons justifying each of several dozen initiatives. Together with João Paulo Salvado, Romero Magalhães himself left us with a printed report of the activities undertaken by the CNCDP during his term of office (Magalhães; Salvado, 2002). Furthermore, in his capacity as the Commissioner-General, he wrote and published introductory texts justifying practically all of the events that the CNCDP promoted or sponsored: examples of a somewhat nervous but nonetheless precise and substantive prose, in which we can see the "craftsman" who, almost every day after reading the news, sat at his desk in front of his computer in order to edit at least one more page. It is better, therefore, to re-read him rather than to simply quote or summarize his writings.

In the space that I have been afforded here, what I should like to do is broadly describe three or four disappointments that Joaquim Romero Magalhães experienced at that time and that seem to me to be relevant for understanding what happened.

The first two of these disappointments are closely linked to one another and arise from a strategy developed with the aim of identifying material icons that would make it possible to project a positive image of Portugal in Brazil. At an early stage, and for various reasons, Romero Magalhães focused his attention on the panels of the *Adoration of the Magi*, by Vasco Fernandes,[7] and on the *Letter* of Pêro Vaz de Caminha.[8] In his opinion, these would be

[7] Panel from 1501-1506, painted in oil on oak, originating from the altarpiece of the chancel of Viseu Cathedral and housed at the *Museu Nacional Grão-Vasco* in Viseu.

[8] Manuscript parchment kept at the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, the national archives in Lisbon. To better understand the importance of this document in Portugal, which was distributed as a supplement in the daily press during the cycle of the commemorations of Brazil, see Miranda, Susana Münch, and Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (1999) and Magalhães, Joaquim Romero and Salvado, João Paulo, (2000).

the two trump cards of the commemorations and everything was to be done to take them physically to Brazil. In both cases, however, events were to take an unexpected turn.

"Grão Vasco's" *Adoration* was prevented from being featured at the head of one of the most decisive meetings of the Bilateral Committee for the Commemorations of the Voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral, under the pretext that it was too fragile. Raquel Henriques da Silva, who was the director of the Portuguese Institute of Museums at that time, limited herself to endorsing the technical reports issued in this regard. It later proved possible to display the altarpiece at the exhibition held in the Rei Dom Luís Painting Gallery at the Palácio da Ajuda: *The Construction of Brazil, 1500-1825*. Simultaneously, and by way of compensation, it also proved possible to send the famous *Hell* painting from the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*[9] to an exhibition at the Museu de Arte de São Paulo (MASP).[10] However, the horrors of *Hell* certainly did not carry with them the same message about the new American peoples as the noble and unexpected figure of King Balthazar paying homage to the Baby Jesus at the entrance to the scanty manger, and Joaquim Romero Magalhães was deeply hurt by these setbacks.

Pêro Vaz de Caminha's *Letter* had a longer and even more troubled story. One day, it will be well worth trying to reconstruct it in detail, because, when put together, some of its passages might resemble a detective novel. For now, it is enough to say that the approved idea in relation to this subject consisted of exhibiting the document in each of the three historical capitals of Brazil consecutively: Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and Brasília. Inevitably, however, keen interest began to be shown by other cities, and it was impossible to resist the pressure from almighty São Paulo, which was planning to hold its great *Rediscovery Exhibition* in the city's Ibirapuera Park. The person behind this initiative was Edemar Cid Ferreira, head of the Banco Santos and an emerging collector, who, offered to pay the costs of the *Letter's* tour around the country, counting on the firm support of Itamaraty.[11] Portugal had to agree to this request.

Unfortunately, little or nothing went as agreed between the various parties involved and both the document and the technicians who escorted it on its travels were subjected to the most incredible stress exerted by the team of the Santos banker. What was even worse was that, after some weeks, in an alleged effort to neutralize the possibility of greater evils,

[9] An anonymous work from 1505-1530, painted in oil on oak. It was incorporated into the collection of the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* in Lisbon, from the large deposit of works taken from the "Suppressed Convents."

[10] *Brasil 500 Anos – Descobrimento e Colonização*. The loan of this painting lasted from March 26 to May 20, 2000.

[11] The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations. The name "Itamaraty" is a word of indigenous origin and derives from the palace where the ministry was housed in Rio de Janeiro throughout most of the twentieth century.

and without the prior knowledge of the CNCDP, one or two of the folios of Pêro Vaz de Caminha's *Letter* were sent back to the *Torre do Tombo*, thus reneging on the deal that had been made and compromising the symbolism of the whole undertaking.

There then followed months of great tension, which I had the displeasure of experiencing on a daily basis. Perhaps no other episode of the commemorations threatened such a great danger of public unrest. Joaquim Romero Magalhães suffered immensely with the prospect of a media scandal and was the first to try to avoid it, agreeing that the matter should be resolved discreetly by the Portuguese Embassy in Brasília. Some years ago, he and I were also, conceivably, among those most consoled by the news of the denouncements that culminated in the trial and sentencing of Edemar Cid Ferreira for money laundering, fraudulent management, and criminal conspiracy. His property was apprehended, deposited at cultural institutions or auctioned in order to compensate a long list of creditors. In this way, at least, some justice was done.

The third episode had to do with the precise date on which the 500th anniversary of the discovery of Brazil was to be celebrated. Joaquim Romero Magalhães had always imagined that it would be difficult to successfully organize any kind of commemorative event on the so-called *Ilhéu da Coroa Vermelha*.[12] For this reason, in mid-1999, he instructed me to go discreetly to Porto Seguro to reconnoiter the terrain and to assess the risks of holding any ceremony there. I remember the whole journey very well, as I stopped, first of all, in Salvador. I also remember having landed in Lisbon, some four or five days later, with an extensive set of photographs, the memory of various dialogues with the Baiano people and half a dozen objects that I had acquired from the populations of *Pataxó* descent who lived on the Ilhéu. My opinion was categorical: that we should not allow ourselves to become linked with any type of event in Porto Seguro, even out of courtesy. Romero Magalhães smiled and agreed, satisfied with the confirmation of his suspicions.

Unfortunately, our counterparts had other ideas. It was at the *Casa dos Bicos* that the minister Rafael Grecca, charged with the task of leading the Brazilian commemorations, presented us with a detailed outline of an urban planning project that envisaged the erection of a great monument to the arrival of the Portuguese, situated between the tiny ancient island and the high sea, and the construction of other buildings in the immediate vicinity, with the most prominent feature being a shopping center generously planned for the native people, and which, in their honor, would be called "Pataxopping." In addition, a

[12] Nowadays, this island is, more precisely, a cove, situated at the southern end of the beach, where Pedro Álvares Cabral is supposed to have disembarked.

whole series of festivities were planned in the region. Romero Magalhães promptly declared that the CNCDP did not regard any of those ideas favorably and he also tried to influence the design of the coastal monument so that it would at least have a more contemporary, metaphorical appearance. It was all in vain. Probably due to a lack of funds, Rafael Grecca ended up not succeeding in realizing any of the pieces of his project but maintained the meeting of the delegations of the two countries scheduled to take place in Porto Seguro. The sad events that followed are well-known.[13]

By April, 2001, Joaquim Romero Magalhães was able to say that he had completed with distinction almost all of the items in his lengthy program of activities, particularly priding himself on the eleven oil paintings that he had commissioned from the best Portuguese painters centered around Pêro Vaz de Caminha's *Letter*, the many volumes of documents, journals, and monographs that he had published at the CNCDP, and the first of two exhibitions *Brasil, brasis: cousas notaveis e espantosas* (Brazil-Brazils: Remarkable and Striking Things), which, in his opinion, could well inspire a permanent exhibition in Lisbon recounting more than three centuries of the history of Portuguese America. The efforts that he made and the deprivations that he suffered were, however, quite considerable, including sacrifices of a family nature. What is more, the ministries responsible for overseeing his work were not always understanding of his efforts: there were consecutive cuts in the budget, in truly unfavorable circumstances, and, on several occasions, it proved impossible even to obtain a brief meeting to deal with sensitive matters. If we add to this the aforementioned disagreements and misunderstandings, we should not be surprised by the relative bluntness with which, on more than one occasion, the Commissioner-General spoke his mind.[14]

At a certain point, the reactions of some official bodies caused him to fear that Brazil was prepared to escalate these cases. Tired and disappointed, Romero Magalhães considered resigning, but the storm passed and he acquiesced to staying. Contrary to all initial expectations, he was to remain in his post until November, 2002, creating the conditions for celebrating the arrival of the Portuguese in Newfoundland—the rich "Land of the Codfish"—publishing more volumes of sources and some CD-ROMs, and giving

[13] The coverage of this affair by the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*, of April 23, 2000, for example, is available at: https://acervo.estadao.com.br/pagina/#!/20000423-38904-nac-0001-pri-a1-not (Consulted on April 30, 2019).

[14] For an illustration of Joaquim Romero Magalhães's directness in addressing people, see Leme, Carlos Câmara; Ribeiro, Pedro, & Lusa (1999). "A festa será dentro do Brasil e para os brasileiros," *Público*, Porto, April 22, p. 25; Leme, Carlos Câmara (1999). "Faço um favor aos portugueses ao querer ensinar as glórias de Portugal aos brasileiros." *Ibidem*, April 30, pp. 30-31, and Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (1999). "A festa a nada conduz." *Ibidem*, p. 31. In due time, an inventory should be made of these texts published in the press.

his support to documentaries and even some new exhibitions, such as *Outro mundo novo vimos* (We saw another new world), at the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, and *De Olisipo a Lisboa: a Casa dos Bicos* (From Olisipo to Lisbon: the *Casa dos Bicos*).

The dream of integrating the members of the CNCDP team into a new state structure, which was planned to be called the "*Casa da História*" (House of History), was not approved by the Council of Ministers and it finally evaporated on the night of the local elections in December, 2001, which led to the resignation of the Prime Minister António Guterres.[15] This ill-fated political process was perhaps the greatest generator of internal instability in all of Romero Magalhães's time in office.

When he ceased his functions, following a brief and rather curt letter of termination issued by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers at the end of a wintry day, some of the Commission's staff invaded his office, accusing him of not having been sufficiently committed to ensuring the recognition they believed they deserved. Everything took place in such a chaotic and untimely fashion that he had to collect his own copy of the last book to be published at the *Casa dos Bicos*[16] from one of the closed packages stacked on the stone floor of the building, halfway between the elevator and the exit. Even though only in passing, it is worth recording this incident for future memory among the long list of indignities suffered at the hands of the 15th Constitutional Portuguese Government.

There were, however, some brighter moments that, fortunately, I also remember. Shortly before the peak of the commemorations of the discovery of Brazil, it was with great satisfaction that the Commissioner-General accepted the invitation from the *Grêmio Recreativo Escola de Samba Unidos* in Tijuca to attend the "Parade of the Champions" in Avenida Marquês de Sapucaí, after they had come fifth in the Special Group with great support from the Portuguese community.[17] On his return to the *Casa dos Bicos*, he was in exultant mood. On March 9, at the *Igreja da Graça* in Santarém, he delighted in listening to four of the *Bachianas* by Heitor Villas-Lobos, performed by the Lisbon Metropolitana

[15] Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (2002). "O destino de pessoas: o caso da Comissão dos Descobrimentos," *Público*, Porto, December 8. Available at: https://www.publico.pt/2002/12/08/jornal/o-destino-de-pessoas-o-caso-da-comissao-dos-descobrimentos-177311 (Consulted on April 30, 2019). A debate was held in the press about the creation of the "*Casa da História*." See, on this subject, Lisboa, Eugénio (2002), 'A acção da CNCDP e a Casa da História', *Jornal de Letras*, Oeiras, May 1 to 15.

[16] The fourth volume of the *Cartas do 1.º Conde da Torre*, edited by Susana Münch Miranda and João Paulo Salvado.

[17] The venue used for the annual parades of the samba schools from Rio de Janeiro, popularly known as the "Rio de Janeiro Sambadrome", has the official name of *Passarela Professor Darcy Ribeiro* (Professor Darcy Ribeiro Catwalk), and is situated in Avenida Marquês de Sapucaí. Its construction, completed in 1984, was due to the efforts of the governor Leonel Brizola. For the background to this episode, see Martins, Filomena (2000). 'Figura da semana: Joaquim Romero Magalhães's, *Record*, Lisboa, March 11. Available at: https://www.record.pt/opiniao/detalhe/figura-da-semana-joaquim-romero-de-magalhaes (Consulted on April 30, 2019).

Orchestra with an expressive group of cellos conducted by Paulo Gaio Lima and the participation of the soprano Ana Ester Neves. Weeks later, back once again in Rio, when the replica of a flagship in which Brazil had invested so much money came to a sudden and unexpected halt at the entrance to Guanabara Bay, Joaquim Romero Magalhães was so amused that he couldn't resist taunting President Fernando Henrique Cardoso with the much simpler and more sober Portuguese vessel that, weeks before, had left the Tagus estuary with an amateur crew and was then reaching the end of its voyage at a steady pace, powered only by its sails. I can still hear him choking with the loud laughter that accompanied his repetition of this story.[18]

Romero Magalhães genuinely believed that the occasion of the 500th anniversary of Cabral's expedition might help to bring Portuguese and Brazilians closer together through their knowing more about one another, offering support for the dissemination of their icons, emblems, and cultural realizations. Not only was he hostile to conceptual effervescence, grandiloquent catchphrases, and other similar clichés in the historiographical arena, but he also sought, in his own way, to clear up misconceptions and to dismantle commonplaces and prejudices that cast a shadow over the relationship between the two peoples. He usually did so cordially and with good humor. These are perhaps the two main reasons that justify the affection, admiration, and recognition that many people also nourished for him.

It would be risky to attempt to say exactly how much the program developed by the CDNDP helped to diminish the gap that existed at that time. It is true that one could already feel a certain tendency towards a greater proximity, encouraged by the increased use of digital communications and the number of air routes that were beginning to interconnect both countries more regularly. Over the last decade, migration and tourism have worked in the same direction. Changes thus produced, especially in Portugal, have been huge. Looking back, I am tempted to say that, in his efforts to safely accomplish the commemorations of the discovery of Brazil, Joaquim Romero Magalhães was lucky to find the winds of History blowing in his favor.

Nevertheless, however far we may have come on average, there is still an urgent need for people who can distinguish themselves through the commitment that they dedicate to careful, thorough, and ongoing studies. Early on in his life, Joaquim Romero Magalhães experienced an unusual fascination for Brazil, fed by writers such as Érico

[18] The incidents at Porto Seguro and the replica of the flagship at the entrance to Guanabara Bay were the subject of various cartoons. It is worth consulting, among others, those drawn by Chico Caruso and published in the *O Globo* newspaper from Rio de Janeiro.

Veríssimo, Gilberto Freyre, Graciliano Ramos, José Lins do Rego and Jorge Amado, whose works had been regularly published in Lisbon since the 1940s.[19] He was deeply marked by the theatrical performances of Cacilda Becker, Procópio Ferreira, Tônia Carrero and Bibi Ferreira. And he was very keen of Brazilian music: from the melody of the national anthem, which he listened to being played, in an arrangement by Louis Gottschalk, on his mother's piano, to the opera ballo *Il Guarany*, by António Carlos Gomes, whose performance he had the pleasure of supporting at the *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos*.[20] Many other affinities were to appear afterwards, although not exactly as a result of any particular fondness for "vanguards" on his part. He admired the clarity and precision of João Capistrano de Abreu's explanations, the majestic volumes of the *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil* by Carlos Malheiro Dias, almost all that Jaime Cortesão sent to print in his exile, the unimpeachable rigor of José António Gonsalves de Mello, Fernando A. Novais's sophisticated capacity for analysis, and the singular brilliance of Evaldo Cabral de Mello. Whenever he talked or wrote about Brazil, Joaquim Romero Magalhães therefore felt rather confident of his opinions, because there was indeed a Brazil that he cultivated, which was present in his life and which helped him to define his own identity. In fact, much of the best work that he dedicated to the history of Portuguese America only came to light after the disbandment of the CNCDP.[21]

It is now strange not to have him close at hand to comment on the latest news from Rio de Janeiro or Brasília, which certainly would have exasperated him, as had habitually been the case over the last three or four years. I am sorry not to have any recordings of our conversations, nor even to have found the courage to propose to him an interview such as the one he encouraged me to conduct with his old master in the company of Alberto da Costa e Silva. Finally, I am sorry that it is not possible for me to submit this testimony to his reading, because there is no one else who would be able to correct it or contradict it with the accuracy and the pungent elegance of which he was capable.

Caxias, April 30, 2019

[19] On the changes that took place in the relationship between the Portuguese language markets in the mid-twentieth century, see Medeiros, Nuno Miguel Ribeiro de (2012).

[20] Joint production of the *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos* and São Paulo ImagemData, with recitals being held from October 10 to 14.

[21] See Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (2011). *Labirintos brasileiros*, and Magalhães, Joaquim Romero (2011-2017). *Miunças*. vol. 1 (Concelhos e organização municipal na Época Moderna), vol. 3 (No Portugal Moderno. Espaços, tratos e dinheiros) and vol. 4 (Avulsos de História Moderna. Instituições, pessoas e conflitos).

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Joaquim Romero Magalhães: The Writing of History

Pablo Oller Mont Serrath[1]

Abstract

This article deals with Joaquim Romero Magalhães' writing of history, emphasizing the importance of both form and style in his work. I make use of my own reflections and memories as his student and friend, as well as Professor Romero's book reviews, speeches as a member of PhD examination committees, articles and books. Even though an attempt is made to fulfill the formal requirements of this type of analysis, I must mention that this text is intended to raise questions and suggest possible directions for future research and does not seek to draw any definitive conclusions on the subject apart from the following—that Joaquim Romero Magalhães's writing of history deserves to be studied and exalted.

Keywords

Writing of history; methodology; narrative; art; science

Resumo

Este artigo versa sobre a escrita da História de Joaquim Romero Magalhães, com destaque para a importância da forma e do estilo em seus trabalhos. Uso reflexões e lembranças (de orientando e amigo), e resenhas, arguições, artigos e livros da lavra do Professor Romero. Ainda que procure cumprir os requisitos formais que se exigem de análise deste tipo, deve-se salientar que se trata de texto que busca levantar questões e sugerir encaminhamentos, e não propriamente tirar conclusões peremptórias sobre o tema. Afora uma: a escrita da História de Joaquim Romero Magalhães merece ser exaltada e estudada.

Palavras-chave

Escrita da História; metodologia; narrativa; arte; ciência

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"The writing of history, although always careful,
is perhaps a substitute for being a failed artist."
Joaquim Romero Magalhães, 2018

I first met Professor Romero—this is how Joaquim Romero Magalhães was known to some of his friends and students—in December, 2004 at the University of São Paulo, Brazil during the international seminar on *Lights in the Tropics: The 18th-Century Captaincy of São Paulo*, promoted by the Jaime Cortesão Chair, a research body of the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo in association with the Camões Institute, which is itself linked to the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From this first encounter, a friendship blossomed fueled by endless correspondence and many personal meetings in both Brazil and Portugal. In 2008, I started my PhD studies under the scope of the graduate program on Economic History of the University of São Paulo, focusing on the Portuguese Atlantic between 1640 and 1808 and supervised by Professor Vera Lucia Amaral Ferlini. In 2010, I was awarded a scholarship to undertake research in Portugal and so I consulted Professor Romero about the possibility of his being a co-supervisor of my thesis together with Professor Vera Ferlini. He accepted the invitation and a close relationship between student and advisor was then initiated, further strengthening the ties between us. This biographical background is provided in order to clarify the purpose of this article and the means of its preparation.

Even before I met Professor Romero in person, I had long admired his writing of history. My admiration grew over the years through my various readings of his works and the teachings that I received from him. This article deals with the making of history of Joaquim Romero Magalhães, emphasizing the importance of form and style in his works. I make use of my own reflections and memories as his student and friend, as well as Professor Romero's book reviews, speeches as a member of PhD examination juries, articles, and books. Even though an attempt is made to fulfill the formal requirements of this type of analysis, I must mention that this text is intended to raise questions and suggest possible directions for future research and does not seek to draw any definitive conclusions on the subject apart from the following—that Joaquim Romero Magalhães' writing of history deserves to be studied and exalted.

* * *

Until the *Belle Époque* period, chapters were dedicated to the subject of History as a literary genre in books about the History of Literature and chronologically arranged according to styles in various parts. After that moment, with the gradual disappearance of that suggested genre, historians were moved more by concerns relating to science. According to Novais and Silva, the result was "an irreparable loss" historians "began to write badly, sometimes very badly" (Novais and Silva 2011: 12-13). In this process, the traditional approach to history was "turned upside down" (Hobsbawm 1998: 84). Description and narrative were relegated to a lower level, allowing greater room for analysis and explanation. As a consequence, less care was taken about good writing. This was a misguided carelessness because narrative should not be abandoned. The great difference was that, with the advent of the social sciences, there was a constant tension between explanation and narrative in the writing of history. However, the reconstitution of events in the world of humankind continued to be the final goal of the historians' discourse (Novais and Silva 2011).

In this sense, the "revival of the narrative" typical of the so-called third generation of the *Annales* should not be criticized for its aspirations towards "stylistic elegance." Indeed, according to Lawrence Stone, "[the authors] are not content to throw words down on a page and let them lie there, with the view that, since history is a science, it needs no art to help it along" (Stone 1979: 4). As Eric Hobsbawm rightly pointed out, the emphasis placed on events or even on the individual should not be simply rejected in itself because it can represent a means "of illuminating some wider question, which goes far beyond the particular story and its character" (Hobsbawm 1980: 4). The problem is not the actual narrative, but the abandonment of the explanation and the renunciation of concepts.

Joaquim Antero Romero Magalhães was the perfect role model of a historian who knows how to skillfully balance analysis and reconstitution, combining clarity and elegance in his writing with a concern for scrutinizing the big "why" questions. Hobsbawm's disagreement with Lawrence Stone's criticism of the "revival of the narrative" can be exemplified by one of the chapters of the book *O Algarve Económico (1600-1773)*, in which Joaquim Romero Magalhães recounts the wars in which the Algarve region was involved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and provokes the reader: "A factual chapter, this one? Yes and No. Yes, in its determination of data that are indispensable for understanding the past. And no, because war does not fail to influence structural aspects, particularly in terms of a region's settlement" (Magalhães 1993: 101). The narrative was not there for mere aesthetic enjoyment but rather served the purpose of explaining the effects of the war

on the composition of the Algarve's population at that time. Even so, the facts were not just thrown down on paper in a random and slovenly fashion. Instead, they were carefully architected in prose written in a well thought-out and elaborate style.

It is impossible to think of Professor Romero's writing without mentioning a phrase included by Virginia Woolf in her novel *Orlando*, often recalled by Professor Vera Lucia Amaral Ferlini, a great friend of mine and of the professor and my advisor in Brazil: "We must shape our words till they are the thinnest integument for our thoughts." (Woolf 1963: 122). From among the literature written in the English language, if faced with a choice between James Joyce and Ernest Hemingway, Professor Romero would quite possibly have chosen the second. Hemingway is my insertion because we never got to talk about him; an author whose precise and syncopated style allows us to draw parallels with the writing of Professor Romero. Even more so if we take into account some of the rules of *The Star Copy Style*, a former style guide of *The Kansas City Star*, the newspaper for which Hemingway worked between 1917 and 1918 and which had a great influence on his style of writing: "Use short sentences. Use vigorous English. Eliminate every superfluous word. Never use old slang. Slang to be enjoyable must be fresh." (The Kansas City Star 1915). I certainly know that Joyce was not Professor Romero's predilection: he once wrote to me, "it is literature that is incomprehensible to me, Joyce's." He did not deny its relevance, but its form was not to his liking.

What Professor Romero preached and practiced was simple writing. Simple does not mean "poor," nor does it mean that it is not worked upon. Faceting the rough stone, taking away what is excessive, and allowing beauty to emerge is no easy task. He followed the teachings of the philologist Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, whose book *Estilística da língua portuguesa* (with its first edition dating from 1945) he once recommended to me. Rodrigues Lapa warned against writing with a "scent of mold," a "pretentious and inflated style, very fashionable in academies," emphasizing the writer's obligation to "use the word in its current sense," having always "present and fresh the feeling of the language of today" (Lapa 1991: 19). He also advocated conciseness in writing: "In a good style, one does not say anything more or less; what is needed, to the exact extent of what is thought and felt, is vigorously and clearly stated. And it is better to err on the side of sobriety than engage in a useless overloading of words" (Lapa 1991: 11).

Born "amidst books and papers," as he himself once said, Professor Romero—the son of Joaquim da Rocha Peixoto Magalhães, a philologist and teacher of French and Portuguese at the Liceu Nacional de Faro—came into contact with the best of Portuguese

literature at an early age. As far as the writing of history is concerned, his most evident influence came from France. Ever since the submission of his final work for the completion of his BA in History, presented to the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra in 1967 (Magalhães 1970), Joaquim Romero Magalhães' academic supervisor had been Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, who was strongly inspired by the *Annales* group to which he had contributed between 1947 and 1960 while living in Paris. It was only to be expected that the student under his supervision would also benefit from the influence of this French style of historiography. And so it was—the *Annales* left indelible marks on Professor Romero's work, beginning, most notably, with his concern for writing. While, on the one hand, in the early days of their activity, the historians of the *Annales* were fierce critics of the so-called *histoire évenémentielle* ("history of events"), consisting of a pure narrative without any problematization, they were, on the other hand, generally very careful about ensuring that their own studies of history were well written. Fernand Braudel is perhaps the best example. A great writer, and a great narrator. Another direct influence of the *Annales* on the work of Professor Romero was the relationship between history and geography, which is explicit in his studies on the Algarve (Magalhães 1970, 1993, 2012b). As far as these works are concerned, it would be remiss of me not to mention the account of a young Brazilian teacher who had read one of Professor Romero's books just before going to sleep. This reader became so captivated by the brilliant perfume of Professor Romero's description of the Algarve's landscapes that, during the night, he dreamt that he himself was in the Algarve, walking along the seafront and visiting the mountains. More recently, in his "Digressions on Geography and History," Professor Romero said the following: "The domains of history combined with geography exert a strong influence on the decisions of societies—albeit without any form of determinism. But the study of time and space can never be ignored when one seeks to understand and explain reality." (Magalhães 2017a: 19).

Among the Portuguese authors dedicated to writing about history, the admiration that Joaquim Romero Magalhães had for António Sérgio deserves a special mention: "[A]n essayist, no doubt an instigator of research, an architect of issues and problematizations, and at the same time a fearsome polemicist." (Magalhães 2012a: 332). In August 2010, he recommended that I read some of the writings of Jorge Borges de Macedo as well as António Sérgio's essay on "The Two National Policies," for my doctorate. A few days later, in reply, I wrote to him, commenting that Jorge Borges de Macedo, although not as seductive in writing as António Sérgio, says some interesting things. On August 18, 2010,

Professor Romero replied: "Sérgio, a philosopher and pedagogue, had brilliant ideas in history—without being a historian. And he's a great writer. Jorge de Macedo was a good historian [...] and a terrible writer. But he offers important ideas."

While valuing good writing, he did not neglect the other fundamental aspects of the work of a historian, starting with a well-thought-out research question and an adequate selection of time periods and spaces. Although he preferred wider issues and more extensive timeframes, this did not prevent him from dealing with certain more circumscribed themes, focusing on a character (Magalhães 2010), or even a company (Magalhães 1997), or reconstituting events that occurred within a period of just a few years, albeit a decisive one (Magalhães 2009). Concepts were also considered to be critical. In 1966, Roland Mousnier promoted an international colloquium at the Sorbonne on the theme of "Problems of Social Stratification: Castes, Orders and Classes." In the translation notes of the Portuguese edition of the proceedings of this colloquium, Professor Romero discusses the importance of concepts in history, a lesson that is still very pertinent: "If historians do not understand one another and use different concepts and expressions, how can History come close to the social sciences, which already have, at least partially, solved the problem of language? By mere copying and transfer? It is not enough and is simplistic. By using the words of the society one is studying? It is an uncontrollable Babel" (Magalhães 1988: 8).

According to Joaquim Romero Magalhães, a well-thought-out research problem, "coherent architecture," and a "well-written narrative and secure information" are indispensable requirements of any work written about history. When we notice the absence of these characteristics, we should not remain silent. Thus, in a critical review, he pointed out the failings of a *History of Portugal*, whose countless volumes began to be published in 1977: "It is a heap of data, not infrequently changed and afforded crude and careless treatment, citing bibliography which, although up-to-date, is poorly read, even more badly understood and re-expounded without any comprehension or elegance." (Magalhães 1979a: 121). Among the defects of the first volumes, two points are most intolerable in the analysis of Professor Romero. The first is the lack of problematization: "We notice its inability to expose problems, and remember that, without problems, there is no history. Mere narrative does not serve our purposes. Today we are required to use conceptual tools, to question the past in order to obtain an explanation and an understanding." The second is "the poor literary skills of the author," turning the introduction of one of the volumes into one of "the most painful readings of 22 pages I have ever engaged in" (Magalhães 1979a, 1979b, 1980).

Such criticism is harsh but accurate and correct. It is the criticism of an attentive reader who also served on committees as an examiner at the public defenses of master's degrees and PhD dissertations. On these occasions, Professor Romero did, in fact, present his arguments in the form of "always serene" communications, seeking not to "leave a record of academic virulence" while, at the same time, "not avoiding being vehement and above all provocative in the presentation" of objections (Magalhães 2017b: 11-12). His speeches on such occasions were interventions with lots of irony and much good humor, as Sergio Campos Matos has stressed (Magalhães 2017b: 285-290). He regarded criticism as "one of the mandatory attitudes of university members" and not even the students under his supervision escaped this. He said, with playful delight, that he had managed to find a minor slip in the information provided in the text of one of his students, a researcher known for her extreme rigor and competence. This was duly highlighted during the candidate's defense of her thesis, or, as Professor Romero used to say, during the "beheading of the innocent." It was no different with me. A sixteenth century that, due to a moment of inattention, became the fourteenth century, or an Island of Mozambique that was not explicitly differentiated from the mainland country with the same name were slips that were easily detected by the careful observation of the examiner, putting the candidate into an embarrassing situation, especially when the former decided to publish the speeches that he made as a member of an examination jury, consequently making public the mistakes that only family members and friends present at the defense of the thesis would know about. It is possible (is it really?) that some of those who defended their theses in his presence were not very happy with the publication of his *Provocações: por dever de ofício*, the book that gathers together some of the speeches that he made as a member of these juries between 1987 and 2014 (Magalhães 2017b). That is not the case for me, however, for I even contributed to the book, sending him a copy of the text of one of the questions that he had raised about my work, which Professor Romero no longer had. I also contributed by making a suggestion for the name of his book, which ended up prevailing. Fortunately, I was not put down in a particularly heavy-handed manner. In addition to allowing for the future correction of any misunderstandings, the highlighting of errors in the case of my PhD thesis served his own speech, lending it a certain bittersweet flavor when, at the end of his argument, he engaged in what he referred to as "bizarre and worthless antics" as he outlined the "gross blunders that insidiously find their way into all theses." His justification, too, came in handy: it was the old "*pecha coimbrã*" (the "Coimbra flaw") —"It's not okay just to praise people" (Magalhães 2017b: 264-265).

Having spent so much time with Professor Romero during all those years, as well as reading most of his works, I find that both experiences have brought me the certainty that the scientific nature of history is not incompatible with a certain literary pretension. It is not enough to explain, it is not enough to analyze, it is not enough to reconstitute. It is necessary to write well and to write beautifully. Beyond problematization, precision, and erudition, good history must also be touched by the muses. Clio is the most important of them all, certainly, but not only her. She wants to be accompanied by her sisters. If not all eight, at least a handful of them. Joaquim Romero Magalhães was touched by the muses. It was not, however, a mere question of divine grace, because competence, great erudition, and lapidary writing, as well as talent all require an intense and dedicated effort.

Despite not being a literary work, history also has its artistic elements. Having said this, we must recognize that Joaquim Romero Magalhães was not a failed artist. On the contrary. He was not just one of the greatest historians of his time. He was truly an artist of history writing.

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What I Learned from Joaquim Romero Magalhães

Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro[1]

Abstract

Precisely because they were grounded on a solid knowledge of institutional and social matrices of the Portuguese trans-continental reality, Romero Magalhães's works provide many relevant contributions on specific matters. Often there are less prominent ideas in the overall economy of a work that can be very striking to those who read them. I would like to emphasize three, which decisively influenced my understanding of Portuguese history and all my historiographical output.

Keywords

Municipal power; nobilities; regions; pombaline; reforms

Resumo

Exactamente porque alicerçada com solidez no conhecimento de matrizes institucionais e sociais da realidade trans-continental portuguesa, os trabalhos de Romero Magalhães fornecem muitas e relevantes contribuições sobre matérias mais específicas. Muitas vezes, existem sugestões relativamente secundárias na economia global de uma obra que podem ser muito marcantes para quem as lê. Gostaria de sublinhar três, que influenciaram de forma decisiva a minha maneira de entender a história portuguesa e toda a minha produção historiográfica.

Palavras-chave

Poder municipal; Nobrezas; Regiões; Reformas pombalinas

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As may have happened in other cases, invoking a great historian and a recently deceased friend inevitably has to include an aspect of personal testimony and, in this way, take on features which intersect with the intellectual and historiographical paths of the writer. That will be, in any event, be the form of my contribution.

I read and was profoundly influenced by the works of Joaquim Romero Magalhães long before I had him as my discussant for my PhD dissertation defense in 1995[2] and also in my aggregation academic jury in 2001 and with this our personal bond became closer. Although the titles of the books which were based on his academic dissertations reference the economy of the Algarve during the sixteenth century (published in Magalhães, 1970) and between 1600-1773 (PhD thesis defended in 1984 but only published in book form in Magalhães, 1988), his work, as is well known, cannot be reduced and confined merely to the disciplinary terrain of economic history. According to a broad classical tradition of historiography, notably the first Annales schools, he was a general historian who used economic indicators (and more in-depth research not confined to the Algarve) in his essential works on the early modern age in Portugal and its Empire. His most significant contributions lie in the areas of social and institutional history, with corresponding ramifications in the field of politics. In these fields, the works of Romero Magalhães constitute an authentic re-foundation of historiography, that is, they are part of a group that forced us to rethink Portuguese early modern history as a whole. The assertion of the "municipal power," that is, of the municipal institution as a fundamental institutional matrix in early modern times—contesting its atrophy in the fifteenth century and considering the "right science" and "absolute power" then proclaimed by the kings as "a purpose," "not a reality" (Coelho and Magalhães, 1986, 29)—represented a break from a very ancient historiographical point of view. It is true that other authors had previously made suggestions in this direction (cf. Silbert, 1966 and Boxer, 1965), and that others had followed this (cf. Hespanha, 1986, and Capela, 1987), but Romero Magalhães's contributions were decisive. The connection to the historical debates of the early modern period about the Portuguese reality, the strong empirical foundations, and the selective incorporation of more general bibliographic contributions were marks of the works of the author who assembled them like classic works, similar in many aspects to the studies of António Dominguez Ortiz on Spain, from which he frequently cited.

I would like also to emphasise that the work of Romero Magalhães is exemplary from this point of view, particularly for the historiography of the present. Firstly, although

[2] Later published in Magalhães, 2017

building on these Portuguese debates, he had never been associated with traditional perspectives on history, in particular, of the Portuguese empire and its more recent extensions; rather as critic of them, as it was in the whole of his activity in public office and in political life. Also, he was never seduced by the unrestricted translation of terminologies of today's fashionable historiography, whether in its "scientific" facet (economic history) or in its taxonomic and identitary strand. That is to say, he refused the uncontrolled and emphatically chronocentric wave of the imposition on the past of classifications from the present. Moreover, it is easy to perceive that the bibliography of the 1970s that has shown itself to be least resistant with the passing of time has been exactly that which was guided by this inclination for compulsive translation.

However, precisely because they were grounded on a solid knowledge of institutional and social matrices of the Portuguese trans-continental reality, Romero Magalhães's works provide many relevant contributions on more specific or less prominent matters. Often there are relatively minor ideas in the overall economy of a work that can be very striking to those who read them.

I would like to emphasize three, which decisively influenced my understanding of Portuguese history and all my historiographical output. I repeat and insist that what I am going to do is talk about the uses I made of Romero Magalhães's work and the ideas that I have appropriated in ways for which he is not to blame.

The first refers to the definitions of the Portuguese nobility, their statutes, and their hierarchies—a matter always complex but which previously was one of confused form (Macedo, 1971). As I wrote in the thesis I defended in 1986 and in an article published in 1987: "I think it was J. Romero (de) Magalhães who drew attention in recent historiography to an essential distinction: 'not to confuse (...) noblemen with noble people, although the confusion is even made in the documentation of the time, but it seems to me that there are very clear strata, on the one hand the upper entitled aristocracy, then the noblemen (*fidalgos,* the lords of the manor) and underneath this layer of noble people of the governance of the municipal councils.'" [3] More than three decades later, it seems clear that the research undertaken in the meantime has corroborated the above suggestion.

Of course, Romero's diagnosis referred mainly to the municipal elites, which he called the "oligarchies of the noble people of the governance of the municipal councils." (Coelho and Magalhães, 1986, 41) There were, however, other works that reinforced, amplified, and clarified this idea, including the research of Jorge Pedreira (1995) and

[3] Monteiro, 1987: 42, quoted from Magalhães, 1985.

Fernanda Olival (2001) on the qualifications of military orders. Of course, these taxonomies are more of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than of earlier periods.

In fact, this aspect was largely a result of Romero's research into the municipal councils, initially concerning the Algarve but extended to other territories and consolidated in 1986 in the overarching book published with Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho. This is where another fundamental diagnosis is presented: "local power is a-regional and anti-regional" (Coelho and Magalhães, 1986, 35). The argument is that the municipal oligarchies never liked to submit to each other, but of course the topic can be expanded.

In 1993, I used this reference to support the idea, taken up by Romero, that "the main counterpoint to the centralization efforts erected by the monarchy, especially after the mid-seventeenth century, was the local powers" (Monteiro, 1993, 275), and not just any kind of regional powers. The kingdom had not been extended by the integration of pre-existing communities, but by conquest, with no "regional rights, no actual provincial institutions, not even sharply diversified linguistic communities" (Idem, ibidem). This fundamental aspect of Portuguese reality was associated by Romero Magalhães, as we have seen, with the anti-regional feature of the municipal councils that in the kingdom never came to encompass entire provinces and tended to act as autonomous bodies within the institutional networks of the monarchy. It is true that this idea has been debated. It has been argued that the large municipalities acted as a regional power vis-a-vis parishes and other forms of local organization (Capela, 2005) or by the recent and innovative research on the joint action of various municipal councils, both in the kingdom, in the islands, and in Brazil (Bicalho, Cardim, Rodrigues, 2017). However, it can be argued that this was a very exceptional type of action in the kingdom. On the contrary, it may be pointed out that the municipal councils of the main captaincies of Brazil often acted as spokesmen of the same. The urban municipal councils of Brazil could act as head of a region rather than the kingdom. This reflection and research by Romero Magalhães thus opened up a wide area for extended research and fruitfull debate. In addition, it could also be suggested that others focuses of power may have crystallized at certain moments (the most evident being the house of Bragança in the Alentejo, as studied by Mafalda Soares da Cunha, 2000). But this crystallization of regional powers has not happened, as is well known.

Lastly, without this being an endorsement of the intellectual responsibilities of the options of my own work, I would like to underscore that a 2004 article by J. Romero Magalhães clearly influenced my interpretations of the Pombaline period. The statement that "the so-called Pombaline policy was not born ready and finished since Sebastião José

de Carvalho e Melo was appointed Secretary of State on 2 August 1750" (Magalhães, 2004) is not in itself an absolute novelty. In order to report the outstanding contributions, this idea was well supported in a set of articles by J. S. da Silva Dias, which Romero also cites, as well as in previous studies by J. Borges de Macedo. However, the very interrogative manner of that article, provided a more nuanced balance of that which is current in the Pombaline political options regarding Brazil which constitutes an essential inspiration for my own reflection and research on the subject (Monteiro, 2008). Certainly, it is a theme that still deserves much discussion.

I was subject to considerable criticism for questioning the pre-defined size, removing coherence, and minimizing some of the overall impacts of the so-called Pombaline policies (cf. Hespanha, 2007 and Paiva, 2009). It is possible that some interpretations were exaggerated and a great deal of research has still to be undertaken on the period in question within a connected perspective, which may alter much of what is thought. However, Romero's critical reflections were and are a source of inspiration.

Of course, these are not the main nor the most significant subjects of the wide-ranging and multi-faceted work of Professor Romero Magalhães, but they were those that marked me the most and that I think I should invoke. The friendship and admiration nurtured through him and the emotion of his sudden departure have stimulated me to summon up the reading of his works, part of which was carefully reedited and assembled in the last years of his life (cf. Magalhães, 2011a, 2011b, 2012, 2013 and 2017). Critical reflection on his remarkable legacy will certainly be an antidote to the uncritical and brainless taxonomic translation which, together with unrepentant parochialism, has guided more recent Portuguese historiography and its funding agencies.

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The Portuguese Inquisition in the Historical Writing of J. Romero Magalhães[1]

Fernanda Olival[2]

Abstract

This article seeks to identify the contributions made by the historiographical works of J. Romero Magalhães to the field of the History of the Inquisition, showing what marks they have left in the historiography and what impasses they have created.
The conclusion is that one of the essential features of the author's work was the way in which he wrote; it was also important for its discussion of the impacts of the Inquisition in the territory, as well as its periodization of the presence of the tribunal in Portugal.

Keywords

Historiography; Portuguese Inquisition: periodization; Inquisition and territory; New Christians; Social and Economic History.

Resumo

Este artigo tem como objetivo identificar os contributos dos trabalhos historiográficos de J. Romero Magalhães no campo da História da Inquisição: que marcas deixa na historiografia; que impasses criou.
Conclui-se que uma das notas essenciais do trabalho do Autor foi o modo como escreveu. Foi também relevante no plano dos impactos da Inquisição no território e na periodização da presença do tribunal em Portugal.

Palavras-chave

Historiografia; Inquisição Portuguesa: periodização; Inquisição e território; Cristãos-novos; História Económica e Social.

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Since Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), Pedro de Azevedo (1869-1923), and António Baião (1878-1961), the Inquisition has been a theme that is sometimes discussed in both the Portuguese and international historiography about Portugal. For a long period in the twentieth century, the subject seemed to be lying dormant, appearing only irregularly and almost completely disappearing from historiographical analyses. Since the 1980s, studies have sought to accompany the international debates taking place about the Iberian Inquisitions, step by step, further consolidating the knowledge already acquired about the Portuguese institution. Joaquim Romero Magalhães (1942-2018) (henceforth referred to as JRM) was part of this movement, although he only published five texts on the topic. These were written between 1981 and 1997, with all of them being reprinted: one in 1993, and the others between 2012 and 2017 (together with bibliographical updates). This is a clear sign that these papers still continue to be read in the academic community. They are:

- Magalhães, J. Romero (1981). E assim se abriu judaísmo no Algarve. *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*. (29): 1-73 [Reprinted in Magalhães, J. R. (2012). *O Algarve na Época Moderna*. Col. Miunças – 2. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade; Universidade do Algarve, 141-255].[3]
- Magalhães, J. Romero (1987). Em busca dos 'tempos' da Inquisição (1573-1615). *Revista de História das Ideias*. IX (t. 2): 191-228 [Reprinted in Magalhães, J. R. (2017). *Avulsos de História Moderna: instituições, pessoas e conflitos*. Col. Miunças – 4. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 185-233].[4]
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- Magalhães, J. Romero (1997). A Universidade e a Inquisição. In *História da Universidade em Portugal*. Vol. I (t. 2). Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra – F. C. Gulbenkian, 971-88 [Reprinted in Magalhães, J. R. (2017). *Avulsos de História Moderna: instituições, pessoas e conflitos*. Col. Miunças – 4. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 261-82].[7]

In his presentation of *Miúnças-4*, JRM explains that the Inquisition was a topic in which he was interested, although he did not "invest in continued studies" (M4, p. 8).

[3] In this article, this collection will be referred to as: M2 (from its Portuguese name of "Miúnças").

[4] This paper will be referred to as: M4a.

[5] All citations referring only to the page numbers are taken from this book chapter, 1988 edition.

[6] This paper will be referred to as: M4b.

[7] This paper will be referred to as: M4c.

This article seeks to identify the relevant marks, impasses and contributions of JRM (1942-2018) to the global historiography about the Portuguese Inquisition. This is a first attempt to study his historical discourse and practice.

1. In the beginning was the writing.

What makes JRM's work so different and special is, first of all, the way in which he wrote, despite his fondness for "global explanations" (p. 23). The impact of his writing is such that it is difficult to translate his prose into other languages. His texts take the form of a narrative discourse, but one in which trend lines and numbers appear quite regularly. They are a mixture of rigor and irony, combined with the heartbeat of the time and its distinctive language, as much when he writes about woodland and cattle as when he writes about the Inquisition. Let us consider a passage from *O Algarve Económico*, one of the works in which his writing was at its most refined:

> The Inquisition did not inflict wounds indiscriminately. Ever. It launched a raid on Vila Nova de Portimão, one of the most active ports along the Algarve coast. And it wreaked great havoc. Among the women who were caught was one whose husband was in Peru. As has been said, Vila Nova de Portimão was one of the ports with the closest (and therefore illegal) links with the Indies. The number of women hunted down there (86, as opposed to 13 men) is far too unbalanced for us not to think about adventurous emigrations, seafarers spreading across the Peninsular empires. And that is how it was.
>
> The fact that, during these years in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there were changes of residence, with people actively upping and "moving home", is not surprising. The silver empire opened up to the enterprise of the Portuguese in 1580. And they certainly took advantage. (p. 365)

These are short sentences, sometimes extremely short, and straight to the point. There are some cases where a sentence consists of just one word. It is enough in itself and gives greater emphasis to what he is trying to state or express. This is the case, for example, with the word "ever" in the above quotation.

The measured reasoning that dictates the flow of his discourse is marked by his erudition as a historian, frequently expressed in the first person singular and even using the exclamation mark (p. 366). When he writes in the first person, this brings the historian within him to the fore, indicating the parameters of his analysis and the limits to his possible interpretations: "I managed to go further in my knowledge of the groups from Loulé and Faro" (p. 369); "I found no traces of two of them" (p. 369); "I was only unable to discover the identity of 11 of the 73 people enlisted" (p. 370); "one graduate – I did not discover what his subject was" (p. 370). "I insist that (…)" (p. 370); "to which I added women who were married to noblemen" (p. 371); "of 16 people taxed in 1631, I am sure that they went to Castile" (p. 372); "which does not seem to me to be any less" (p. 373); "so far, I have been unable to follow their tracks" (p. 375). Similarly brought into play through his use of the first person singular is the knowledge accumulated by the historian in his appreciation of a given reality, the fruit of a great deal of research in the archives: "Not even in the Cathedral Chapter do I sense any collective militancy in these actions" (p. 378). The verb "sense", used as a synonym for intuiting from the stored evidence, clearly describes his personal intervention in the establishment of highly probable knowledge. The reader can never forget the role played by this agent in pointing out hesitations and uncertainties or in underlining trends. The text is fed by sources and data, but the links between all of these are the result of the interpretive work done by the historian.

Here and there, JRM uses language that is close to what was spoken in the period that he is analyzing, employing almost popular or spontaneous expressions (for example, "*bufo*" ("grass" or "squealer") to refer to an informer or denouncer – M2, p. 169) in order to better express the reality that he is describing and the way of life at that time. On the one hand, this writing strategy emphasizes the sense of otherness – it is another time that he is referring to and whoever is reading should not forget this. In the passage quoted earlier, he referred to the "great havoc", the "women who were caught", "hunted down" or "the great hunt in the Algarve in 1631-1633" (M4b, p. 245). The whole family of words deriving from the root word "hunt" is frequently found in his texts about the Inquisition to translate the idea of people who are being persecuted with great intentionality and violence (M2, p.148, 149, *passim*). We also notice clear signs of a more popular spoken language, such as: "The hunt for New Christians began big-time in the South when the commercial movement was already drastically declining" (p. 368); "If things were already pretty bad, they got even worse" (p. 373); "A humungous leap in quality" (M4a, p. 193); "University that remained tight-lipped" (M4c, p. 273).

On the other hand, his search for empathy – with the reader – sometimes leads him to use here and there a sprinkling of adjectives that are hyperbolic or relatively judgmental in their description, in order to catch the reader's attention: "to swell the murky spectacles of Evora" (p. 372); and "to scorch the earth" (p. 379), a literary figure of speech that associates the Holy Office with the fire ("the starting point was the fire, and the more [the defendants] spoke, the further they moved away from it" – M2, pp. 172-3). The same can be said about the use of certain verbs (M2, p. 144) or expressions (M4c, 261) or even: "The machine was beginning to be stoked" (M2, p. 155) and "the fire was extinguished after the Auto da Fé of 1761" (M4b, p. 249). JRM intentionally used this type of vocabulary and figures of speech, taking the part for the whole, as a rhetorical device.

The result of all this is a captivating style of writing, which easily wins over whoever reads it, thanks to this use of past and present colloquial language. JRM reminds us that History is, first and foremost, a written text, even for those who are permanently concerned about the "central problem", the "state of the art", the methods or the theoretical framework. For him, all the questions relating to epistemic justification should be below the surface of the text and not necessarily in the visible space, since he wrote in order to be read, as he frequently told his students. Anyone perusing the documentary appendixes to some of his articles or the appendix of tables, maps and graphs in his *O Algarve Económico*, understands that the statements that he makes are supported by excellent archive-based research and good statistical treatment, which also included correlation matrices. There, and in his brief notes (never occupying more than 25% of the print area), were the foundations for the analysis that he developed. He ceaselessly repeated that what was important should be stated in the body of the text and not be used to swell the notes. It upset him to see History texts where pages and pages were filled with just a few lines, with lengthy digressions padding out the footnotes.

Together with the uniqueness of JRM's writing style, we can also note some less positive marks, which are particularly evident in *O Algarve Económico*, dating from 1988. Like others historians of his generation, he was not bothered by the use of expressions such as "national" (pp. 366, 385, 386) or "bourgeoisie" (applying these terms to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and even referred to the "national mercantile bourgeoisie" (p. 381). The same can be said of his use of the terms "bureaucracy" or the "blocked society" (an expression that he borrowed from V. Magalhães Godinho).

2. From the impact of the Holy Office to the institutional apparatus

As Francisco Bethencourt and Marcocci have already stressed, JRM was particularly skilled at highlighting the local and regional impacts of the Inquisition (Bethencourt 2012: 152, 155; Marcocci 2013). We should also add to this his ability to draw attention to institutional mechanisms. Viewed on a finer scale, JRM's work has become a major reference in relation to three great topics: the notion of opening up Judaism; the confirmation of the direct economic consequences of the actions of the Inquisition at the local and regional level; the periodization relating to the Holy Office.

According to JRM, the Inquisition knew that it was not easy for it to act outside the cities where its tribunals were located (M4b, p. 248). "Opening up Judaism" was equivalent to the Inquisition's consistent entry into a territory. It corresponded to a "large-scale" operation (p. 370) resulting from a coming together of various factors. As far as the territory was concerned, the tribunal did "a first-class job" (p. 371) to use JRM's description. In *O Algarve Económico*, he provides us with a very clear description of the operation about the Inquisition's entry into Lagos: "Once again, there is yet further evidence of what I already said in relation to Faro, in 1633: the Inquisition would prepare a "casting of the net", it would tip off an authority about this, and any attempt made to escape would be taken as yet further evidence of guilt. If there were just one denunciation, then the problem of an arrest with just one set of testimonies would be resolved, as the person's flight would be equivalent to a second testimony" (p. 377). Previously, the Inquisitor-General, Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas (1616-1628), would have protected the Algarve (M2, p. 169). Local assistance was fundamental for the success of the intervention (p. 378). JRM considered that this support would not come from the local councils, or from the agents of the Crown's peripheral administration, or even from the cathedral chapter. The same could be said for 'familiars' and 'commissioners' (local residential officers) of the Holy Office. For the intervention to be effective, the Inquisition would have to enjoy the support of a leading figure, such as the bishop and possibly the governor, too. It should be noted that this local impact of a prelate with previous inquisitorial experience, as was the case with Dom Francisco de Meneses (Bishop of the Algarve from 1627 to 1634), deserves greater attention than it has been afforded so far (Paiva 2011: 156–79, 213-60). JRM considers him to have been a "fundamental piece" in the Algarve puzzle (M2, p. 160). It would be interesting to see if the same thing happened in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula.

As JRM says, "[t]he Holy Office had succeeded in doing what was termed in its clean-cut language as *opening up Judaism and entering into* the Algarve" (p. 371). This was how he summarized the operation undertaken in the Kingdom of the Algarve. "Opening up Judaism" and the equivalent "entering into" were expressions that came from that time and were used by the Inquisition itself. All of this is explained in the text "*E assim se abriu Judaísmo no Algarve*" (And, in this way, Judaism was opened up in the Algarve) (M2, p. 155, 191), which was his first text on the Inquisition. In fact, in 1632, when discussing a statement made by a woman from Faro, a member of the Évora Inquisition had mentioned that the Algarve city was a place that "is being discovered anew, and where there are so many *gente de nação* ("people of the nation", i.e. New Christians)"; at the same time and in the same context, the Inquisitors from Évora considered that, with the denunciations made by the aforementioned woman (who had, in fact, denounced her own mother-in-law), the conditions had been created for "opening up Judaism in the Algarve." In other words, they planned to order the arrest of this woman from Faro and, because her aforementioned daughter-in-law and a granddaughter were already imprisoned, she would suppose that they had denounced her. Due to these circumstances, she would therefore confess and certainly denounce more New Christians. It was this multiplying effect, based on the importance of guessing who had been the denouncer, as a defense strategy, which set the process in motion. JRM was highly attentive to the terminology of the time. It was as if these words summed up the contemporary picture better than any description that the historian might make.

In the context that has just been presented, another pivotal notion to be found in JRM's text is that of the "*redada*" (the casting of the net) (p. 376, *maxime* p. 380). Or, in other words, arrests would be more effective if people were caught in a net and not just one by one in isolation. The tactics of denunciation and defense were conditioned by this circumstance. Knowing whether A or B were Judaizers, based on the statements gathered from the sources of the Holy Office, did not guarantee any certainty. For JRM, there were Judaizers who were created as a result of the inquisitorial context. On this subject, he quoted Saraiva, Kamen, Bennassar, Novinsky and Salomon (p. 380, n. 65). "It is this aspect of the defense tactics that makes me highly skeptical about the Judaism of the New Christians. When many of them were arrested at the same time, they were all Judaizers. When the arrests were isolated, they were all very good Catholics… Perhaps, for this reason, the Holy Office preferred to cast the net all at once" (p. 380). In keeping with this logic of action, as described in his analysis, there was also a refining of the sieve in order to target the merchants and the rich, since these were considered to be attributes of the New Christians.

The economic impact of the action of the Holy Office is a classical subject of debate. In a wide range of literature on this theme, beginning with the political practice of "arbitrism" and other reformist authors of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and since then, too, the Inquisition has been regarded as one of the factors justifying the Portuguese (and Iberian) economic backwardness in the European context. It was closely linked to the Peninsular "black legend", which has been steadily fueled since the eighteenth century. However, it should be stressed that few authors directly confirmed this claim. JRM did so in 1988. Because he mastered the structural data so well, he was able to demonstrate that the Inquisition's action in the Algarve from 1633 onwards had deepened the depression that had already existed for some time (p. 373). He showed that there began to exist conflicts between the commoners and the punished merchants; that many merchants disappeared; that they lost the lands that they had; that the entry of the Holy Office led to an increase in the emigration to Castile and the Indies. In JRM's well-grounded reading, the persecution undertaken by the Inquisition denoted the end of a stage in the economic life of the Algarve. It intervened in the richest area of the region (Faro-Loulé-Albufeira), where it benefited from the assistance of a cooperative prelate (M2, p. 175).

How did JRM characterize the Holy Office? As a "Tribunal linked both to the State and to the Church, finding itself at the intersection between the two, it served them both and was served by them both"; it was an entity that fought for the values arising from this "close connection" (M4a, p. 185). He characterized it as a polychronic institution[8], essential in the affirmation of the Church's power (M4a, 201). He also saw the Inquisition as a machine (M2, pp. 155, 160), an "all-powerful, bureaucratic" organization that "never slept" (p. 387) in the defense of its values, but did not understand the world; he considered that it regarded the New Christians who fled as Judaizers (p. 369). The basis for its "firm and constant" support would always be found among the more popular sections of the population (M4b, p. 255). It was an institution that, in his opinion, knew how it was acting because it had data such as the 1631 tax or the royal survey on tax debts of 1632-1633, in the case of the Algarve (p. 370); and which, outside the urban centers where it had a tribunal, did not have the "resources corresponding to its fearsome image, nor its legendary reputation for efficiency" (p. 370). This was an institution whose actions were dictated by its interest in confiscations, depriving people of their property rights. In JRM's words: "Faro could be attacked and reduced: as it was the one that most mattered to the

[8] He considered it to be polychronic, because it had various times (M4a, p. 186), and not polymorphous, as Jean-Pierre Dedieu had considered it – M4b, pp. 235, 465.

confiscation ("*fisco*") authorities, and also because, in that city, it enjoyed the dedication and know-how of Dom Francisco de Meneses" (p. 373). As already explained, this bishop had previous experience of the Holy Office (he had been a deputy of the Coimbra Inquisition since 1607 and was an inquisitor at this same tribunal, in 1611-1617, moving from there to the Lisbon tribunal in 1617), and, in that context, had audited the accounts of the confiscation authorities[9]. It was for that reason that he considered that the Holy Office "knew how to choose and only accepted what was convenient to it" (p. 380); and that it did not intervene at random. In the Algarve, once the city of Faro had been exhausted, the Inquisition turned its attention "to the good fruit-producing estates of the region of Albufeira" (p. 375). With the destructive persecution unleashed against the mercantile community, the tribunal behaved, in JRM's sometimes deterministic view, as it was meant to do: "The Holy Office fulfilled its role" (p. 375).

In keeping with Bartolomé Bennassar, whom he quoted, the Tribunal of Faith was also regarded by JRM as an entity that instilled fear in people. In fact, the Holy Office became a synonym for this very word: "In the rest of the territory, the effective presence of this fearful dread was not felt uniformly (…) the informative material was already dealt with, the fear was internalized in those who would potentially be condemned" (M4a, p. 198). When, in the time of Dom Pedro de Castilho, the sermons of the *Autos da Fé* began to be printed, JRM stressed that "at the time, this would have been a fundamental element in the spread of fear into inquisitorial procedures, without which the desired outcome would not be successfully achieved" (M4a, p. 203). JRM also considered that "fear and terror are nouns that were used by the inquisitors without any shame or compunction" (M4b, p. 238) and this same fear was also aroused by the *sambenitos* (M4b, p. 247). In the final stage of the Inquisition's lifetime in Portugal, he pointed out that the institution lost power "because it ceased to strike fear into people" (M4b, p. 244). This was the very core of its power.

Although JRM characterized the Holy Office as a crystallized entity, he stressed that it changed over time. JRM drew inspiration from Jean-Pierre Dedieu (Dedieu 1979), Francisco Bethencourt (Bethencourt 1984) and José Veiga Torres (Torres 1978; 1986) to identify various phases in the life of the institution, which were to become fully established features of subsequent historiography: 1536-1547 (establishment/the struggle for recognition); 1548-1572 (organization); 1573-1604 (expansion); 1605-1615 (reorganization); 1616-1673 (autonomy); 1674-1681 (paralysis); 1682-1765 (stability – subordination); 1766-

[9] M2, p. 150.

1821 (decline-end) – M4a and M4b. The two articles that JRM wrote on the subject must be read sequentially, since the more recent text (M4b) complements, corrects and enlarges upon the first one. In the 1987 article, he stated that, from 1616-1617 onwards, the Inquisition embarked upon a period of a great manifestation of power that would reach its peak in 1620-1649 (M4a, p. 205) and, in 1992, he stated that it was regarded as "all-powerful" between 1616 and 1673, seeking to show "that it was indispensable" (M4b, pp. 239, 249). It should be noted that he did not give any reasons justifying why he considered that the tribunal was "entirely subordinate to the royal power (1682-1765)" (M4b, p. 239). He did not comment on this.

He framed the above-mentioned phases under four structural headings (the institutional organization; the agents and the spaces covered; the rhythm of repression and the type of crimes; the relationship with other powers), which gave a certain substance to the divisions that he suggested. Or, in other words, he did not confine himself to marking out periods by identifying milestones in which there was a clean break or a change in direction. There is a complete crossover of data shaping each period that he considered. For this reason, each of them has a certain density in his analysis. They are genuine political and institutional complexes. In this regard, mention should be made of the fact that he drew attention to the impact of the general pardon of 1605: the Portuguese Inquisition passed "from a period of ostentatious behavior to a period of prudent activity" (M4a, pp. 196-7), which led it to reorganize itself; its full coverage of the territory and the generalized spread of the Tribunal dated from the years immediately following this (1605-1615) (M4a, p.204; M4b, p. 248).

In short, JRM avoided any form of anodyne academic writing and wrote with genuine concerns about style and with the clear intention of capturing the reader's attention. This option led him to use a language that gave greater value to the expressions of the time that he wrote about and to spontaneous colloquialisms from the present. JRM's historiographical texts are unmistakable. There is no monotony in his writing. He did not only do this in relation to the Inquisition, however, although it should be said that the image and global memory of this tribunal particularly lent itself to these possibilities and enabled JRM to immediately interest his readers. This was achieved both through the way in which he appealed to their emotions and through the intricacy of his language, which, at first sight, appears to be quite simple. At the same time, the texts that he produced reveal an elaborate erudition and careful attention to the institutional contexts, and even to the

dominant prosopographic traits. In this field, he strove to shed some light on the General Council (M4a, pp. 197-198; M4b, pp. 244-245), something that was very rarely attempted at the time when he was writing about the Holy Office (1981-1997).

Attention is drawn, in particular, to his contributions about the impacts of the Holy Office (economically, socially, and in the territory as a whole), the notion of "opening up Judaism" and the periodization of the tribunal in Portugal, which was done almost completely in the form of political and institutional complexes (reminiscent of his mentor, V. Magalhães Godinho). JRM was very much concerned with showing the relationship between this power that was the Inquisition and other powers from that time, such as Royalty, the Church's agents and structures, the University and the Papacy. The Holy Office was unable to act and survive without the support and connivance of other powers and these relationships varied over time. Even the entry into a territory required the contribution of these elevated powers, such as the bishop, in order to have the desired efficiency. JRM highlights the importance of a prelate who had previous inquisitorial experience. Yet, he was not concerned with seeing whether the same thing happened in other regions.

This is, however, only a first incursion into the texts of JRM, undertaken just a very short time after his death. Certainly, the great richness of their contents still has a great deal more to offer.

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Algarve, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic[1]

Rui Santos[2]

Abstract

Joaquim Romero Magalhães was to begin with a regional historian rooted in the French *Annales* tradition of social and economic history. His regional history of the Algarve in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries overflows into the much wider and evolving complexes within which the Portuguese region was framed—the ageing Mediterranean and the growing Atlantic, and their shifting balance in the weaving of a new world economy. It is in the regional origins of Romero Magalhães's trajectory that we find many of the topics and problems that he developed in his historical travels across the empire.

Keywords

Atlantic; Joaquim Romero Magalhães; Mediterranean; Portugal; Regional history

Resumo

Joaquim Romero Magalhães foi, antes de mais, um historiador regional enraizado na tradição da história económica e social dos *Annales*. A sua história regional do Algarve entre os séculos XVI e XVIII transborda para os complexos muito mais amplos e em transformação que enquadravam a região portuguesa—o Mediterrâneo em envelhecimento e o Atlântico em crescimento, e o seu equilíbrio em mutação no tecer de uma economia mundial nascente. É nas origens regionais da trajetória de Romero Magalhães que encontramos muitos dos tópicos e dos problemas que ele desenvolveu nas suas viagens históricas pelo império.

Palavras-chave

Atlântico; Joaquim Romero Magalhães; Mediterrâneo; Portugal; História regional

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[1] By its very nature, a personal tribute expresses an opinion, although hopefully it is accurate as well. While I am responsible for all the mistakes and errors in judgment that this article may contain, I am indebted to the concise and systematic bio-bibliographical roadmap compiled in Mata and Valério (2012). All quotes from Portuguese texts and most of the titles mentioned in the article are my translations. In all quotes I have translated from Romero Magalhães's writings, I have kept his writing style using the historical present or future tenses whenever he did so.

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The title of this article quotes the landmark study on regional geography, *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico* (1945), by the Portuguese geographer Orlando Ribeiro. I use this quote to remind my readers that, to begin with, Joaquim Romero Magalhães was a regional historian deeply rooted in the French *Annales* tradition that viewed historical geography as a central component of social and economic history: a tradition to which some of Ribeiro's professors at the Sorbonne had already made a major contribution. Romero was the historian of the Algarve, the quintessential "Mediterranean Portugal" with its "[...] two natural sub-regions, the mountains and the seaside [...] the two Algarves well known to geographers" (1970: 135, citing Ribeiro, 1963). Furthermore, Romero's historical-geographical approach to the regional economy was very much inspired by that of Albert Silbert, the historian of other areas of *The Mediterranean Portugal at the End of the Ancien Regime*, published a few years earlier (Silbert, 1966), and of which Orlando Ribeiro wrote an extensive review (1970).

As a historian myself of social and economic questions relating to "Mediterranean Portugal," this is the natural vantage point from which to pay due tribute to Romero Magalhães for his teachings and for his unsparing, if always good-natured, criticism. He rightly chided me over my MA dissertation: "[...] the case-study constrains too much, and, when it is understood in its strictest sense, it is too conditioning" (Magalhães, 2017: 37). For all his acute sense of place and time, he was never one for confined spaces or narrow time frames: he always saw people, events, and places as points located within the more or less stable, but ever moving, coordinates of wider spaces, durations, relationships, and processes. This brings me to a second layer in the quotation in the title.

At least to historians and historical social scientists, the word "Mediterranean" inevitably evokes Braudel's 1949 book on the Inner Sea and the complex of peoples, realms, and empires toiling in and across these "liquid plains" (Braudel, 1987: 94) in the sixteenth century. It is especially fitting here to recall Braudel's emphasis on the outpouring of the Mediterranean world towards its "oceanic destiny," the ever growing Europeans' Atlantic, which began its history as a "Greater Mediterranean" (204-10). Above all, it was this ambitious program of total and interdisciplinary history, intended to be built from the ground up, which helped set the course for Romero's journey and very much maintained it throughout.[3]

[3] His first book cited the 1959 translation of *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* into Spanish by the Mexican *Fondo de Cultura Económica*. Portuguese-speaking readers would have to wait until 1984 for a translation, coincidentally in the same year as Romero was awarded his doctorate.

Together with Braudel, a second and more recent evocation is, of course, made here of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, both a disciple and a creative interpreter of the French historian, and the author in 1950 of a two-piece article about *The Making of the Atlantic World* (Godinho, 2005), and in 1956 of a booklet on the gold caravans of the "Saharan Mediterranean" (Godinho, 1956)—to mention but two works referring to both seas in their titles. Both of these texts were steps on a trail leading up to Godinho's *Doctorat d'État* at the Sorbonne in 1959, later reviewed and published piecemeal in Portugal (Godinho, 1963-1971).

It was this scholar (enveloped in the innovative aura of the *VIème Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* and, by then, an icon of democratic resistance to the Portuguese Fascist regime, particularly in the ideological battlefield of the history of the discoveries and empire) that the young undergraduate turned to for guidance in the writing of his first degree dissertation, approved in 1967, and later published as his first book in a collection that Magalhães Godinho edited for the publishing company Cosmos. Along with Braudel and many others from the first generation of *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* onwards, Magalhães Godinho, quoting Romero's biographical tribute to his master and friend, had taken part in that "[...] great work of attempting to historicize all social sciences, to fertilize history with the objects, theories and methodologies of the other social sciences" (Magalhães, 1988a: 8).

That is why the adjective "economic" in the titles of both Romero's books on the Algarve means that he took the region's economy—embedded in geographical constraints and opportunities, social hierarchies and networks, institutions and power structures, beliefs, and mentalities—as a focal point to much wider problems; an angle from which to exercise his "[...] ability to encompass the different chronological rhythms, relevant spaces and facets of total social facts" (Mata and Valério, 2012: 14). It is also why he always took his questions about the Algarve much further than the region itself, further even than that core complex of "Algarves" connecting it with Andalusia and Northern Africa (Magalhães, 1970: 235).

In keeping with Braudel's guidelines, and with Godinho's (1961) operational concept of a "historical-geographical complex"—akin to Braudel's soon-to-be-coined "*économie-monde*,"[4] though less abstract and schematic—Romero Magalhães's (1970) first

[4] At the risk of seeming pedantic, I have opted for maintaining the French term because I find the established English translation "world-economy," quite literally, equivocal. A mere hyphen is far too slight a difference to distinguish this term from the expression "world economy" (*économie mondiale*), two concepts that Braudel explicitly strove to set apart. "Economy-world" would be a much better translation, strange though it may sound to the English reader. At any rate, it is no more of a neologism than the French original.

book on the economy of the sixteenth-century Algarve framed the region's dynamism within a secular movement of

> [...] this Mediterranean Atlantic made up of the Peninsular South, North Africa, the Islands and, by the beginning of the century, the Western Mediterranean, a movement progressively displaced from the latter area towards West Africa, Brazil and the Indies of Castile (Magalhães, 1970: 208).

In turn, he described this moving complex from a broader perspective: the flows of licit and illicit trade penetrating deeper into the Mediterranean and into Northern Europe, through which Algarve's own products (fruits, fish, cork, tree barks used for tanning purposes) circulated, together with dyes, sugar, silver, and slaves, with wheat forming a staple part of the return freight.

Furthermore, such flows were subjected throughout the sixteenth century to two interrelated tensions—the one that existed between the two Iberian empires, headed by Lisbon and Seville, and the other between the still dominant Mediterranean economies and the challenging centers bordering the Atlantic North Sea. Caught up in this changing world, Algarve's economic and social dynamics depended on the region's place and role within it as a producer and an intermediary, forever in search of the wheat that its growing population wanted so badly. For, besides the fact that the soils were generally very poor for growing wheat, export-oriented fruit farming—that is, a monetized economy and a budding agrarian capitalism—had all but taken over the agrarian landscape.

Therefore, "[t]he commercial Algarve lives within a greater whole, lying at the mercy of the conjuncture, sometimes Mediterranean, sometimes Atlantic, or both, within this developing world economy" (Magalhães 1970: 215). This situation provided opportunities for the formation of trading groups, export agriculture, and some resource-based industries (fishing, salted fish, dried fruits, and shipbuilding), as well as for the regional workforce eventually becoming based on slave labor. Magalhães conservatively estimated slaves at 10% of the population in the second half of the sixteenth century—a source of deepening social polarization between the richer strata who could afford slaves and a pauperized free labor force deprived of part of their potential wages, just as these were declining in real value because of the inflation caused by the abundance of Castilian silver.

In the early seventeenth century, the Mediterranean and Atlantic conjunctures began to change, together with the balance between them. On the one hand, the inroads

that Portuguese merchants, including those from the Algarve, had been making into the trade networks of the Spanish Empire since the merger of the two Iberian Crowns in 1580 were decisively blocked from the 1620s onwards and the Castilian silver routes became more strictly controlled. On the other hand,

> [...] the economic recession of the Inner Sea, and the famines that accompany it, increasingly appeal to the Nordics. And their cargoes are never short of codfish, the fishing of which develops the western areas from Biscay to the North Sea. Now, in 1639, the tuna fisheries in the Algarve are given up for lost, and these were the same fisheries that had formed the core of the region's trade with the Mediterranean. Was this a result of competition? Or simply of changing fish routes? (Magalhães, 1970: 243).

Whatever the answer might be, it is hard to imagine a more striking example of the Atlantic supplanting the Mediterranean in economic terms than the replacement of tuna by cod in the Mediterranean diet—even more so when viewed from the perspective of the Algarve as a tuna supplier.

Coupled with the separation of the Portuguese Crown in 1640, the loss of its strongholds in Morocco, and the eventual distancing of the Andalusian trade, this leads us to the final questions of this first book:

> Will an ever less Mediterranean Algarve be replaced, during the seventeenth century, by an increasingly Atlantic Algarve, less and less linked to Spanish and Moroccan trade, more and more Portuguese and Brazilian? Did the Algarve share in the growing fortune of small Portuguese ports from 1620 to 1640, or was it dragged down by the economic recession of the Mediterranean? This is a beautiful story yet to be written... (Magalhães, 1970: 243).

That beautiful story became his doctoral thesis, supervised by Magalhães Godinho, defended in 1984 and published in 1988 (Magalhães, 1988b). Before addressing this second Algarve book, though, I must make a brief digression relating to some relevant changes in its context. To begin with, a major political change had taken place in Portugal with the

overthrow of the Fascist regime in 1974. Politically laden intellectual sources could be openly used and issues freely discussed, new questions could be openly asked.

As far as concepts and analytical models were concerned, Magalhães Godinho had published his essay on *The Structure of the Old Portuguese Society* in 1971 and revised it in 1975 (Godinho, 1975), stating his thesis about contemporary Portugal as a "blocked society": the social order of the *Ancien Régime* had taken hold of the resources of expansion and empire, and the structure that this created had blocked potential paths for change. In 1968, Braudel had published the book that became the first volume of his work *Material Civilization, Economy and Capitalism*, the third volume of which would be centered around the concept of *économie-monde* (Braudel, 1979). Largely influenced by Braudel, Immanuel Wallerstein had published *Mercantilism and the European World-Economy*, the second volume of his world-system triptych (Wallerstein, 1980).

The above books are three out of the four that Romero himself ranked as "*obras de base*" (fundamental works) in the bibliography of his *Economic Algarve*, *1600-1773* (Magalhães, 1988b: 432). The fourth is the one specifically dealing with regional history, the Marxist historian Pierre Vilar's *Catalonia in Early Modern Spain* (1962), which had not featured in the first book and certainly helped in highlighting social power and domination in the portrait of the Algarve's economic performance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As Romero explained in the introduction to his new book, the choice of terminus date for his study is emblematic. In 1773, the Marquis of Pombal—the Republican historiography's epitome of an enlightened reformist despot—launched a project to recover the Algarve from its diagnosed decadence, a "regional action with national intentions" that had failed (Magalhães, 1988b: 12). The purpose of his research, he said, was not to examine its failure, but rather "[...] the previous reality, the economic and social structure that had led to a blockage" (12). As a result, the author concludes in the last paragraph in the book, he found that the Algarve

> [...] grows modestly, from 1660 onwards, both in the countryside and in the ports, until it reaches the limits of a growth without development. Which, it is hardly daring to say, would not have been peculiar to the Algarve. It is only the great crisis of the 1760s and 1770s that imposes a serious reconsideration of Portugal as a country. And a diagnosis of its organic ills.

> Was it not the case that Portugal was suffering from an ancient disease, which had only then manifested itself? (Magalhães, 1988b: 412-3).

With this narrative of the region's "general ankylosis" (Magalhães, 1988b: 403), Romero went much further than paying mere lip service to his mentor's theory of a "blocked society." The story he told is a painstaking operationalization of the theory, seeking to unveil the underlying mechanisms that caused this blockage in the region's social structure, power, and institutions, and in the correlated weaving of new dependency relations.

As the center of the expanding European *économie-monde* shifted northwards to Antwerp, on its way to London, and both Lisbon and Cadiz became the economic capitals of "[...] complexes that, in the course of this story, slid more and more towards the periphery of the European world-economy," the Algarve lost the positional advantage it had held in the sixteenth century, changing from a regional intermediary between two booming empires to a "[l]and at the margin of anemic semi-peripheries," "marginal to two margins" (Magalhães, 1988b: 282, 403). If, during the first decades of the seventeenth century, its traders and ports still participated in a fair amount of trade between Castile and the African west coast, maintaining an important role in the supply of slaves, they later suffered from both empires' crises at their intersection. "It ruralizes, closes itself into a shell. It grows entirely dependent on Lisbon for the South Atlantic trade" (285).

Zooming into the region, the book portrays a territory that was politically fragmented into largely autonomous municipalities with a wide-reaching and effective power over the economy and the economic lives of their populations, their autarkic mentality preventing any kind of higher-order coordination. Local aristocracies, increasingly entrenched and endogamic, in alliance with the clergy, occupied the top institutional positions. In a process that reflected the loss of urban relevance and the overall weakening of merchant groups, these petty oligarchies—"[...] there are no Greats, the great are small. And they command" (Magalhães, 1988b: 395)—gradually closed ranks and crystalized in the course of the seventeenth century, becoming a major factor blocking any possibility of regional development. Moreover, they were obsessed with honor, status, and the "purity of blood"—that is, remaining clean of the stains of manual or commercial work, and, most of all, of any hint of New Christian blood. "The New Christian came to play the social role of the anti-honor scarecrow, in a world-view that bound together the common people and those who dominated them" (345).

This set the stage for the Inquisition to enter the scene. Denunciations of Judaism targeted New Christians, particularly the merchant groups. The holes that the seventeenth-century persecutions plugged in the already weakened fabric of the merchant networks allowed the French to take over the slave trade, and the Catalans the fisheries, while also making it necessary for English traders and capital to come and take control of their fruit trade at its source. Traders from the region continued to operate, but no longer in that area—they had dispersed abroad.

> One enterprising Algarve [...] is replaced by another, one that waits by the Mediterranean and Oceanic routes for the foreigners to take an interest in its products. And to take care of matters. [...] Paradoxically, the ferocious guardians of Roman orthodoxy were the most effective agents of the northern heretics. Even the first signs of renewal, such as the growth of sea trade in the Luso-Hispanic-Moroccan gulf, bear the English seal: Gibraltar. Dependency had settled in, it had structured itself (Magalhães, 1988b: 389).

Before bringing an end to this already overly long excursion, I would just like to point out that it is in the regional origins of Romero Magalhães's trajectory that we find, to begin with, many of the topics and problems that he developed in his historical travels across the empire: geographical descriptions, territorial organization and identity; the relationship between subsistence and monetized economies; local institutions in their relations with the monarchy, the fragmentation, distribution, and appropriation of power; slavery in trade networks and in the life and structure of society; and enlightened reformism. He smuggled all these topics and problems across from his Mediterranean beginnings into his subsequent Atlantic enterprises, and even further.

Like his fellow countrymen from the past, Romero Magalhães took his trade to distant shores. Fortunately, contrary to theirs, his kind of Atlantic trade promoted freedom rather than enslavement, and unlike those from the seventeenth century, he was able to carry out his enterprise without fleeing abroad. For this, we should all be grateful.

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Fabiano Vilaça dos Santos[1]

Contrary to the centralist view that has generally guided our understanding of the relationship between the metropolis and its colonies, and in keeping with the theses put forward by António Manuel Hespanha, the work *A Kingdom and its Republics in the Atlantic: Political Communications between Portugal, Brazil, and Angola in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* is imbued with the organizers' and the authors' concern with discussing several themes (without losing sight of the idea of a power center in Lisbon). These include: the dynamism of the dialogue and information that circulated between the kingdom and its republics; the decision-making process of central government bodies, such as the Overseas Council and the Office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions; the capacity for negotiation and mobilization of local representative bodies such as the municipal councils; and the action of the delegates of the royal power in the colonial sphere, such as the governors and other officials, who formed part of the colony's administration.

In this book, conceptions about the corporate, polysynodal, and pluricontinental character of the Portuguese monarchy are materialized in the form of studies on the political communications between Portugal and its territories in the South Atlantic, America (Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Pará, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais), and Angola, presented in the form of the partial results (the organizers are keen to inform the reader that the book is far from being conclusive) of the following project: "Political Communication in the Portuguese Pluricontinental Monarchy (1580-1808): Kingdom, Atlantic, and Brazil," coordinated by Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro. Databases are the main methodological tool placed at the service of this research—the one that covers the political

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communications between Portugal and its Atlantic territories consists of handwritten documents from the Overseas Council and the Office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions kept at the Historical Overseas Archive (Lisbon) and digitized in the context of the *Barão do Rio Branco Recovery Project*.[2] For Angola and Portugal, local collections of documents were also used in the creation of the database.

The book is composed of three parts, with 12 chapters written by 16 experts. The chapters generally have the following structure: an introduction, in which the current state of the historiography and the premises for examining the political communication in question are explained; the definition of the (quantitative and qualitative) methodology used for analyzing the themes of the political communication, according to the records obtained from the available documentation and incorporated into the Compol database through temporal reference points and established situations; and, finally, the conclusions and suggestions for new perspectives and approaches.

Part I, entitled "The Architecture of the Monarchy and the Circulation of Communication," begins with the chapter by João Fragoso, whose main goal is to discuss the concept of the Portuguese pluricontinental monarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in contrast to the concept of composite monarchies that are marked by the competitive performance of four separate powers, represented by the Crown, the royal officials with functions in the colonial administration, the municipal councils, and the families. One of the most relevant aspects of Fragoso's contribution to the concept of pluricontinental monarchy is his demonstration of the capacity of negotiation and the political commitment of the different instances of power—through an exchange of correspondence about governance, pleas for mercy, or military matters—which, ultimately, guaranteed the "management of the Empire."

Chapter 2, "Courts, Councils, and Attorneys," written by Maria Fernanda Bicalho, José Damião Rodrigues, and Pedro Cardim, is intended to fill a historiographical gap by discussing the *modus operandi* of the overseas councils in their attempts to manifest, or rather represent, their interests to the Crown. One of the highlights of the chapter is the approach that is adopted towards the councils, a subject that is still relatively unexplored and which José Damião handles perfectly in the case of the Azores. The performance of the attorneys of the American municipalities in Lisbon, mainly the municipality of Maranhão, caught my attention in particular, since these attorneys were quite frequently found at the courts in the eighteenth

[2] Sources available for consultation at the Digital Library of the National Library Foundation/RJ (*BNDigital*) – http://resgate.bn.br.

century. Perhaps the most famous attorney in the first half of the eighteenth century was Paulo da Silva Nunes, the attorney of the Councils of Belém and São Luís. His professional career is interesting to illustrate some aspects of the "constellation of powers" enunciated by Fragoso (p. 53-58). The correspondence and opinions of Silva Nunes connected the kingdom and its conquests in the north of Portuguese America, bringing the governors, councils, Jesuits, and local elites together around a structural issue—indigenous slavery.

In the third and last chapter of Part I, Maria Fernanda Bicalho and André Costa examine the polysynodal dimension of the Portuguese monarchy, focusing their analysis on the queries sent in 1642/1643 by the Atlantic republics to the Overseas Council, and the progressive erosion of their powers in the mid-eighteenth century, *pari passu* with the consolidation of the State Departments created in 1736, such as the Office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions. In fact, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Crown made efforts to promote the flow of political communications to that department. This can be seen in the letter sent by the Secretary of State Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado to the Marquis of Lavradio, the governor of Bahia, instructing him to send his proposals "from the Office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions, and never from the Overseas Council." [3] As far as the polysynody of the Portuguese monarchy's decision-making system is concerned, this chapter of the book encourages further research into the flow of papers to the Office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions and the "interference" in colonial affairs by the Office of the Secretary of State for the Interior Affairs of the Kingdom, by way of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, the Marquis of Pombal. For this period, whose time span covers the simultaneous action of the Marquis of Pombal and Martinho de Melo e Castro in their respective departments (1770-1777), one could also investigate the question of a possible overlapping of powers.

Dedicated to "Themes of Communication," Part II begins with a chapter that is apparently unconnected to the rest of the book, for it does not deal with matters typically associated with the daily life of the colonization and administration of the overseas regions. However, it offers possibly one of most original approaches in the book, since, in this chapter, Pedro Cardim and Miguel Baltazar show the importance of the dissemination of the royal regulations both in Portugal and in the overseas regions. Despite the difficulties that were encountered in compiling and locating the necessary records, for various reasons, such as the fact that many of the regulations were issued in a spoken form, and the effects

[3] National Archive (RJ). Fund Marquis do Lavradio. RD.0.CRP.10, fl. 75. Notification: February 10, 1768.

of local conditioning factors, this dissemination of royal regulations is both a theme in itself of the political communication.

The next chapter, by Carla Almeida, Antônio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio, and André Costa, conceptualizes and contextualizes the question of taxation and, with theoretical and methodological rigor, problematizes the lack of any structure that was geared solely towards taxation, since fiscal affairs were managed by different agents. The authors situate the theme in the field of politics instead of economics—jumping up the established order of the chapters just as Jucá himself does on an individual basis when conceptualizing the economy, currency, and colonial world trade. They demonstrate that the production of wealth, the exchange of goods, and monetary circulation were all matters of negotiation and political decision-making in the collegiate bodies of the monarchy, in addition to reflecting the social hierarchies that existed in the places where they chose to undertake their analytical exercise using the Compol database.

Returning once more to the correct order of the chapters, Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Roberto Guedes Ferreira characterize the war—a war of conquest, a defensive war—both in the Kingdom and in the conquered territories (Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Angola) and consider the provision and logistics of the troops as "military matters".

Avoid like this —in a precise execution of their methodology—the related issue of defense, which would imply placing emphasis, in the case of the Atlantic republics, on the managing institutions and the discourses conveyed in the political communication, similar to what was done in the case of the Portuguese councils". It is inspiring for experts in colonial administrative history to see the possibility of deepening the debate—within the framework of the administration's rules of procedure and due to the fact that the overseas governors were responsible for the political communication of military matters—on the effectiveness of the titles of captain-general for governors of some captaincies and of captain-general by sea and land for viceroys of the State of Brazil. In the latter case, we can conclude that they were not merely honorific titles, although they did directly affect the status of the royal officers and were, therefore, highly valued and even demanded in some cases.

The most extensive section of the whole book, Part III, is entitled "Institutional Agents and Areas of Communication." It brings together several contributions about the political and administrative action of agents of the Portuguese Crown in America and Angola, the spaces of representation of the local powers, and the groups that composed the corporate and hierarchical society of the Ancien Regime, both in the Kingdom and in the overseas territories. Francisco Cosentino, Mafalda Soares da Cunha, António Castro

Nunes, and Ronald Raminelli start with an ongoing historiographical essay on political and administrative history, in which the figure of the colonial governors differs from that provided by the interpretations of Caio Prado Júnior regarding their profile and attributions. The preponderant role of these agents in the exchange of information with the center in Lisbon is reiterated by a re-reading of the administration's regulatory instruments, which instructed the governors of the captaincies or the governor-general of the State of Brazil to communicate with the central power in Lisbon so that inquiries could be submitted to the synodal bodies of the monarchy. This was also the case with regard to the regulations for governors and captains-general of the State of Maranhão in 1655, which remained in force until the end of the colonial period. The proposition that the powers of the governors-general and the viceroys of America were broader and therefore differed from those of the governors of arms of the provinces of the Kingdom (although this is not made explicit here as it is in other citations) does not fail to be a criticism of Caio Prado Júnior. In *Formation of Contemporary Brazil*, although he acknowledged that the colonial governor had varied powers (military, for the governors of arms, and justice, in addition to other powers delegated by the king), the historian eventually considered this position to be similar to that of the governors of arms and, therefore, less the role of an administrator and more that of a military officer (1976: 301-2).

In the following chapter, considering the circuits of political communication involving the magistrates of the Kingdom and of several captaincies in Portuguese America, one of the main contributions of the authors to the ever-expanding historiographical production in Brazil is the indication, on the one hand, of a change in the main protagonists of political communications from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, when the general ombudsmen supplanted the governors as the people responsible for sending correspondence to Lisbon.

Othe other hand, the fact that, despite the distance between them and because of the diverse range of requests for political decisions, the colonial magistrates communicated more often with the Crown than they did with their peers in the kingdom. In general, the main contribution of the studies on the judiciary in overseas territories has been to explore the web of positions linked to the judiciary and, in certain periods and places, to observe the accumulation of functions under the authority of these royal officials.

Continuing his research into municipal councils and political communication, which is published on a regular basis, Ronald Raminelli shows an improvement in "The Political Power of the Councils" in comparison to what he had previously published in

Nobrezas do Novo Mundo (2015), not only in terms of the size of the sample that he uses but also in relation to his management of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data collected in the Compol database, which refers to the Portuguese and overseas municipalities. At this point, the complementarity of the conclusions must be highlighted. The decrease in the correspondence issued by overseas councils, closely linked to questions of local administration in the first half of the eighteenth century, occurred in parallel with the increase in communications between the governors and viceroys and the office of the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas Dominions in the second half of that same century (Chapter 3).

In Roberto Guedes Ferreira's contribution, the penultimate chapter, political communication emerges as an expression of political disputes and agreements between the different agencies of the power of the Crown, the governor of Angola, and the Council of Luanda, changing according to the circumstances, such as the apparent "refusal" of the municipality to meet the request for an increase in the teachers' salary. In the closing chapter, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Francisco Cosentino use information obtained from the databases of both the kingdom and the overseas regions to demonstrate that political communication functioned as a reflection of the social hierarchies and the identities of the different groups present in the corporate society of the Ancien Regime through petitions and representations that once again emphasized self-government, as well as the councils and their members' capacity for mobilization, not only in matters of municipal administration but also in the management of disputes and in the search for privileges.

An impression that I might have mentioned at the beginning but have left to the end so that it may reflect the experience of reading the book is my awareness that the text shows an exemplary organic structure as well as a careful articulation of the parts and chapters through the introduction written by the organizers and the chapter by John Fragoso *A Kingdom and its Republics in the Atlantic* is a first step towards identifying other possible approaches to political communication, based on databases and the use of the records of Portuguese municipalities, which previously was sometimes considered to be a secondary affair. The benefits of using these records are, however, much greater. The book confirms theses and opens pathways to internal communication circuits, for example between the main and the subordinate captaincies of the American continent. Last but not least, it stimulates the essential exercise of understanding that the political and administrative solutions in the pluricontinental monarchy derived from those dynamics and negotiations.

Hespanha, António Manuel. *Filhos da Terra: Identidades Mestiças nos Confins da Expansão Portuguesa.* Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2019. 366 pp. ISBN: 9789896714765.

Tamar Herzog[1]

In *Filhos da terra,* António Manuel Hespanha asks who was identified as "Portuguese" during the overseas expansion. Studying developments in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, he concludes that classification as Portuguese (both in the past and as applied in the present) was usually tied to certain cultural practices such as dress, utensils, religion, language, or modes of behavior. Rather than depending on origins or descent, or even political subjection, individuals who behaved as Portuguese could be considered thus by their contemporaries or by present-day historians even if they had no other ties to that country and resided outside the boundaries of the so-called Portuguese empire.

Identity as Portuguese was sometimes appropriated or even reclaimed. It could be imposed on other individuals, or used to identify them, regardless of what these individuals chose or desired. Why this happened and what were the results is the central question Hespanha tackles. How did these processes of extension happen and what types of association with the Portuguese led to the imposition (or appropriation) of group identity both in the early modern period and in contemporary imagination? Taking on certain Portuguese characteristics was often the easiest explanation, but, on occasion, so was benefiting from proximity to or even collaboration with the Portuguese.

These are all incredibly important questions. An older historiography tended to portray the Portuguese empire as a territorial entity with a center linked to a series of peripheries. A newer historiography has proposed instead that the empire was essentially a network of centers tied to one another economically and perhaps also politically. Some historians even ventured to describe an empire that spilled outside its so-called boundaries to "zones of influence" that formed an "informal" or "shadow" empire. But if the designation "Portuguese" was as fluid and conjunctural as Hespanha describes, if it was instrumentalized both in the past and in the present, what does it tell us about nation and empire? Can we at the beginning of the 21st century disassociate political and economic history from the social and cultural realm in which non-state and non-sovereign forms of

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hegemony operated? Could interrogating the meaning attributed to Portuguese-ness over time help us question the supposed dichotomy between Europeans and non-Europeans, Portuguese and non-Portuguese and, more generally, the chronological prediction that enabled previous generations to distinguish between pre-empire, empire, and post-empire?

Hespanha clearly demonstrates that the category "Portuguese" could apply to individuals who originated in that kingdom, but also to natives of other territories and continents or to individuals of mixed ancestry. It could be meaningful in interactions with the Portuguese but it could also bear important consequences (both negative and positive) in relations between native groups, some identifying others as Portuguese. There could also be a gradation, with some groups being identified as "more Portuguese" than others or Portuguese only in some ways. Including a positioning rather than fixed characteristics and often extremely ambiguous in nature, appropriating (or applying unilaterally) Portuguese-ness was both a means and an end for both those affected by this categorization and those who engaged in making it, now and in the past. It allowed them to imagine the successful expansion of Portuguese hegemony without the Portuguese necessarily wanting it or doing anything to merit it, also demonstrating that this extension could happen even before the Portuguese arrived at a particular location. Carried by the tools and the habits individuals chose to adopt because they needed or desired to, this hegemony was propelled by the circulation of both humans and objects. As a result, it was both extremely solid and incredibly ephemeral. It could begin before empire and could last after it had waned, but fragility was its most salient characteristic. Language, for example, perhaps lasted longer than fortresses—Portuguese serving as the *lingua-franca* of many areas—but as Hespanha rightly suggests, the meaning this had for different individuals could radically change over time. As with all cultural artifacts, repetition could render its use so natural that the connection to Portugal or its empire could fade away even while the practice itself still lingered. Portuguese characteristics, in other words, could continue to demarcate a difference, even an identity, but which one and why could— over time—become much less clear (or less relevant). Also, over time these artifacts could become less Portuguese yet maintain their prestige as originating, theoretically, in that country. They could function alongside other cultural traits that could be mostly non-Portuguese, thus creating a context that both assimilated individuals as Portuguese but also distinguished them from the so-called "canonical" ones.

Were contemporary Portuguese aware of the enormous potential of achieving some measure of hegemony through cultural artifacts? Hespanha seems to suggest that

sometimes they were. He describes how, on occasions, authorities and individuals attempted to capitalize on such developments, imagining the possibility of bringing these various groups of the so-called Portuguese under formal obedience. Other actors, however, sought to acquire only a limited influence over members of such groups and many abandoned all pretensions to "use" these Portuguese for imperial ends. At stake in taking one position or the other were beliefs regarding what was possible and what was just, but also which aspect of imperial policy was pursued: politics, economy, religion, or prestige, to mention but a few examples.

If there were multiple ways for being Portuguese (one could be born in Portugal under allegiance to the monarch, descend from Portuguese parents, have special relations with the king or the Portuguese, take on some Portuguese characteristics in certain ways but not others), there were also multiple ways to belong to the empire. One could be under direct sovereignty, be tied to the empire through political agreements or commercial ties, be subjected to Portuguese ecclesiastical patronage, or be identified with empire because of the sharing of some cultural or social practices. Yet, regardless of which road was taken, the forces at work seemed to take on the characteristics of a *deus ex machina*. If hegemony could expand independently of imperial actors and often before their arrival, and if it depended on local dynamics, then once hegemony expanded, it was likely to endure, even self-perpetuate. This is perhaps what post-colonialists pointed to when they described the impossibility of those formerly colonized to detached themselves from their former colonizers, indeed to a degree that, on occasions, gave former colonizers powers they lacked during the colonial period.