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The *Santidade de Jaguaripe* Revisited: Tupi Catholicism or Cannibalism?¹

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Abstract

This essay seeks to review recent contributions to the analysis and interpretation of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, a political and religious movement of indigenous origin that caused a great stir in the city of Salvador, Bahia in the 1580s. At the center of the debate are the interpretations of this phenomenon that have prevailed since the 1990s, and their acceptance or rejection by more recent investigations. The impressions presented here stand on the border between historiography and ethnology, and, in addition to providing an overview of the question, they are also intended to provide a reflection on the models for interpreting the contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples, especially in relation to the emergence of different forms of hybrid religiosity arising from the shock of the conquest and the subsequent Catholic evangelization.

Keywords

Santidade de Jaguaripe, Bahia, Brazil, Portuguese Empire, Evangelization

Resumo

Este ensaio busca passar em revista contribuições recentes para a análise e a interpretação da Santidade de Jaguaripe, movimento político e religioso de origem indígena que alvoroçou a Cidade da Bahia, Salvador, na década de 1580. No centro da reflexão, estão as interpretações que prevalecem sobre o fenômeno desde os anos 1990, e suas sobrevivências ou rejeições em investigações mais recentes. Situadas nas fronteiras entre contribuições historiográficas e etnológicas, as impressões apresentadas aqui buscam, para além de realizar um balanço sobre o estado da questão, contribuir para a reflexão sobre os modelos de interpretação do contato entre europeus e indígenas, sobretudo no que toca ao surgimento ou não de formas de religiosidade híbrida, saídas do choque da conquista e da catequese.

Palavras-chave

Santidade de Jaguaripe, Bahia, Brasil, Império Português, Catequese

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I.

The city of Salvador was founded in 1549 in the Bay of All Saints, growing in power and economic importance in the second half of the sixteenth century due to the activities of Portuguese institutions and the advance of the colonial frontier. The lands bordering the bay immediately proved suitable for agricultural production, particularly sugar cane. In addition to fertile land, two other features proved to be fundamental for the success of the Portuguese occupation. Firstly, the bay itself and the rivers that fed it not only provided fresh water to the plantations and powered the sugar cane mills, but they also served as a kind of inland sea, facilitating communication and the transportation of people and cargo to and from the port of Salvador (Schwartz 1986: 75-97). Secondly, this favorable environment had attracted indigenous people to the region long before the arrival of white people, so that the rapidly developing city was already supplied with another essential ingredient for the Portuguese colonial enterprise: people who could be enslaved and put to work on the plantations.

It was in such a scenario, around 1580, that a rebellious movement with a religious and political background, known as the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, came into being. It had undeniable indigenous origins, but it also drew *mestiços*, Africans, and even white people to its ranks, attracting a great deal of attention among the colonial society of that time. Portuguese administrators and landowners, interested in guaranteeing political stability and maintaining control over the indigenous labor force, tried to take action to prevent its spread. The Jesuits, who were arguably co-responsible for the creation of the *Santidade* and who were by then already on a collision course with Portuguese colonizers, left some written records of its activities. And, later, during its first visit to Brazil in 1591-1595, the Portuguese Holy Office gathered together various testimonies about the *Santidade*, thus creating the largest volume of documentation regarding the movement.

Based on these documents, the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* has been the subject of numerous research projects throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This article seeks to review the contribution of the various authors and papers that have recently revisited the *Santidade*, without, however, neglecting the main features of the many earlier studies of this subject.

II.

Studies on the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* have a fairly well-defined starting point. Like many subjects related to Brazilian historiography, the topic bears the hallmark of Capistrano de Abreu, who played a major role in the professionalization and institutionalization of this discipline and was responsible for the production of many historical articles and theses, along with a large number of archival discoveries and publications. In the introduction that he wrote for the publication *Confissões da Bahia* (1922), Capistrano noted that, in the text which was about to be published, there were reports of an interesting religious movement that had been active in Bahia in the 1580s. Supported only by confessions and denunciations (the inquisitorial processes would only be analyzed several decades later), Capistrano did not have much data with which to assemble his text. Even so, in the few paragraphs that he dedicated to the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, Capistrano definitively left his mark on its interpretive tradition.

One of these marks was the link that he established between the *Santidade* and other similar phenomena previously described in the writings of missionaries and chroniclers from the sixteenth century. Based on the works of Jean de Léry, Manuel da Nóbrega, and Juan de Azpilcueta, Capistrano gave a brief description of what the *Santidades* meant for the Tupi. He stated that through their traveling and preaching, the *caraíbas*, the “sorcerers or prophets” who led these movements, were responsible for maintaining the unity of belief among the indigenous people of the Brazilian coast, a phenomenon that had been witnessed by the first Europeans who wrote about them. Capistrano did not mean that there was any clear stability in the “traditional attitudes” of the indigenous people, nor that their beliefs and rites had remained undisturbed by the impact of colonization. Using examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as evidence that the natives of this region were accustomed to incorporating foreign elements into their reformulations of their myths of origin, Capistrano stated that the sixteenth-century indigenous people also “assimilated” the overseas novelties “without any aversion,” and that, furthermore, there was a penchant among them for “syncretism.” The historian used as evidence of his claims two or three passages that he drew from other manuscripts, while also describing the path followed by Antônio, the leader of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, who, before becoming a *caraíba*, had himself lived in a Jesuit mission on the island of Tinharé. Antônio’s preaching served as a testimony to the naturalness with which the natives of the Brazilian coast incorporated “Christian accessories onto the solidity of native foundations” (Abreu 1922: 25-26).

In Capistrano de Abreu's interpretive outline—it would be absurd to say that he offers anything more than an outline—even the Catholic elements that were to be found in the colonial *Santidades* acquired this exterior quality. They are accessories, or appearances that have been placed around a “pagan” core. This idea combines well with his insistence on using the terms “scene setter” and “staging” to describe the leaders and the rituals promoted by these movements. It is not advisable to extrapolate what little Capistrano said, but what emerges from his brief comments is an idea of “syncretism” as a juxtaposition of elements of different origins without any evident integration between them. And, in the case of the *Santidades*, the elements originating from Christianity would be mere disguises, satellites placed around a well-preserved and active pagan core.

Thirty years after Capistrano, the historian José Calasans afforded continuity to some of these suggestions in his first study entirely dedicated to the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, entitled *Fernão Cabral de Ataíde e a Santidade de Jaguaripe*. Focusing on the land and the slave owner that afforded shelter to the natives of the *Santidade*, this 1952 booklet followed Capistrano closely, elaborating slightly on the association between previous *Santidades* and the one that surfaced in Bahia in the 1580s. Calasans also followed the path of “religious syncretism,” or “Catholic-Pagan syncretism.” But, unlike Capistrano, who heard in the *Santidade* the echoes of an indigenous background and concluded that the white people were deluded by its Christian varnish, Calasans tended to give importance to the influences of the Catholic religion—“the influx from the outside” (Calasans 2011 [1952]: 21). This shift in interpretation was influenced by the Jesuit historian Serafim Leite, whose words Calasans repeated when depicting the *Santidades* as “corruptions” of Christianity (Calasans 2011 [1952]: 21; Leite 1938: II, 23). It is quite true that Calasans did not show the same contempt that can be detected in the Jesuit's writings, which treated the colonial *Santidades* as undesired and accidental outcomes of missionary activity; nor did he ignore its internal structure, going so far as to imagine the logic that governed the actions of its leaders—set in a belligerent and anti-colonial framework. However, his efforts to understand the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* on its own terms were minimal, and his focus was in fact on the landowner who gave them shelter. Calasans did not make any extensive use of the works of sixteenth-century chroniclers and missionaries, nor did he make use of the anthropologists who had already dealt with the *Santidades* before him (Métraux 1928; Nimuendajú 1987 [1914]), nor even of the Holy Office processes. Like Capistrano, Calasans stuck to the denunciations and confessions made to Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, who traveled through Bahia and Pernambuco between 1591 and 1595. The first analysis of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* to include all of these aspects only

appeared in 1995, when Ronaldo Vainfas, a historian closely involved with the Brazilian historiographical renewal of the 1980s, published *A heresia dos índios: catolicismo e rebeldia no Brasil colonial*.

Since its publication, *A heresia dos índios* has been a mandatory reference in other studies of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*. Its success is due, in part, to the pioneering nature of the work and the depth with which Vainfas covered the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the book's longevity is also explained by the fact that, despite the criticisms it has received along the way, the interpretive model that Vainfas offers of the *Santidade*—and in a broader sense of all the cultural clashes between Europeans and indigenous people—has not yet found a rival capable of displacing it completely.

In this brief essay, I will review some works and authors that have established a dialogue with *A heresia dos índios* in order to openly criticize it, to amend it, or even to situate themselves as its continuation. Due to the limits of space and the plurality of heirs that *A heresia dos índios* has spawned, and also due to the nature of the present discussion, I will prioritize some aspects that, in my view, are fundamental to the debate. These constraints of time and space, as well as the editorial and historiographical success of *A heresia dos índios*, which has influenced all analyses of the subject for the past twenty-five years, compel me to make certain choices.

III.

Previously, I mentioned the pioneering spirit of *A heresia dos índios*. It is true that Ronaldo Vainfas followed several of the paths first revealed by Capistrano de Abreu and José Calasans, and that he dedicated his book to both of them. However, *A heresia dos índios* went beyond its predecessors, eliminating all vacillations between a façade of Christianity and a Christianity distorted by the accidents of a poorly executed conversion. In fact, Vainfas followed the route offered by syncretism as an explanatory key, exploring the coexistence of Tupi and Catholic elements in the colonial *Santidades*. But he gave special emphasis to the interactions between them, instead of merely observing their presence or juxtaposition. Following Carlos Fausto's suggestion that to call these movements syncretic meant nothing without examining Tupi prophetism, Vainfas engaged in an unprecedented exploration of sixteenth-century chronicles, Jesuit epistolography, and, finally, the inquisitorial processes created by Heitor Furtado de Mendonça (Vainfas 1995: 45; Fausto 1992).

A fundamental advance provided by *A heresia dos índios* was its analysis of the *Santidade*'s rituals and the speeches of its leaders as recorded by the Holy Office. By examining the testimonies offering a glimpse of the group's hierarchies, the way they named and organized themselves, the rites of passage and the regular rituals that they celebrated, Vainfas produced an analysis that viewed the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* as a Tupi-Catholic amalgam, or—to use the expression that he himself employed to embody the idea—a “Tupinambá Catholicism.” Certainly, this argument is based on the information that the appointed leader of the *Santidade*, Antônio, had engaged in Jesuit catechesis before travelling to the backlands of Bahia and building his movement. In the hands of Antônio (or Tamandaré, for the indigenous people), the teachings of the missionaries were then merged with Tupi myths to give rise to a hybrid, amalgamated derivation, which was neither purely pagan nor purely Christian.

By following this path, Vainfas avoided the risk of interpreting the *Santidade* as a Catholic corruption in the Serafim Leite way of conceiving things. He did this by understanding the creation of this “Tupinambá Catholicism” as a two-way movement, albeit based on asymmetrical relations of power. In the genesis of this “compromise formation,” not only did the indigenous people assimilate elements of catechesis, but missionaries also played an active role in its development. In their efforts to translate and transmit the concepts of the Catholic faith, they ended up incorporating the native logic into their way of thinking, “Tupinizing” themselves and the doctrine that they preached. If Antônio and his *Santidade* had had “ambiguous,” “hybrid” identities, says Vainfas, then the Jesuit catechesis would also have been marked by this same blurring of boundaries.

Naturally, *A heresia dos índios* is a book traversed by the theoretical approaches that marked its time, a trait that was detected by those who wrote about the book, and which was also revealed by the author himself, transparent in indicating his influences. The idea of a “cultural compromise formation,” for example, owes as much to Carlo Ginzburg's *sabba* as it does to Serge Gruzinski's “idolatry” and “indigenous Christianity” (Ginzburg 1991; Gruzinski 1988). Vainfas drew his inspiration from both of these authors, regarding the *Santidade* as a unique configuration, born out of shocks and compromises between different cultural formations in contact with one another. Viewed from Vainfas's perspective, Antônio, his allies, and his followers would be the builders of a new phenomenon, an anti-colonial insurgency that derived from the scenario of a progressive domination by the white people. On the one hand, this explains Vainfas's refusal to follow Gruzinski in applying the concept of idolatry to scenarios that had occurred prior to the arrival of the white people,

because it was in this new environment that this concept would come to exist, even though it was filled with reprocessed components from the indigenous past. Above all, it explains why Vainfas adamantly refuted the understanding, defended by the anthropologist Hélène Clastres, an authority on the subject, that the myth and the search for the “Land without Evil” (central to his interpretation of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*) had emerged unscathed from the conquest of the Americas. *A heresia dos índios* even moves in the opposite direction, being based on the idea that, as a result of violent contact with white people, the indigenous myths were converted into a form of anti-colonial resistance. This is a fundamental shift: having been created amidst war and culture shock, the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, instead of fulfilling its prophecies within the time proposed by the myths, redirected its energies towards opposing the catastrophe of the conquest, identifying its enemies as the white people—a characteristic that was shared with other less well-documented *Santidades*.

Vainfas considered that the indigenous people underwent acute transformations, being significantly affected by the wars promoted by the first governors-general of Brazil, the installation and advancement of the Jesuits’ missionary policy, and the brutal sequence of epidemiological outbreaks, all of which, taken together, destabilized the Tupinambá society. One of the signs that indicated a gradual departure from a “native authenticity” was precisely the incorporation of various elements of Catholicism made by/into the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*. Nonetheless, in this analysis, the transformation of the colonial *Santidades* is far from being regarded as the degeneration of a primeval religion. Understanding this syncretism requires indigenous components to be taken into account, since they actively participated in the formulation of this unintended hybrid. This is what can be gleaned from certain passages, such as the one claiming that the metamorphosis of the “Land without Evil” came about through the action of “its prophets and shamans, and through ceremonies that reinforced the historical traditions of that culture”; or the one that states that this change took place “without harm to its originality or to the indigenous cognitive system” (Vainfas 1995: 46).

In other passages, the Jesuits do appear central to the development of the Bahian *Santidade*, together with the *caraíba*, Antônio. For Vainfas, most of the “beliefs and cultural hybridities woven into Amerindian *Santidades*” would not have been generated either in the hinterland or in Jaguaripe, but in the Jesuit missions: “it seems,” he concludes, “to have been inside the mission itself that the exotic and surprising Tupinambá Catholicism was elaborated” (Vainfas 1995: 117). At the time, Vainfas himself admitted the potentially heretical nature of this proposition.

IV.

A book that follows Ronaldo Vainfas's ideas is *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*, by Alida Metcalf, published in 2005 and recently translated into Portuguese (Metcalf 2019). The connections between Metcalf and Vainfas can be traced back to the publication of *A heresia dos índios*. In the review that she wrote of the book in 1996, Alida Metcalf was already sympathetic to the idea that there was a significant distance between the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* and the other *Santidades* described by Europeans in the mid-sixteenth century (Staden, Thevet, Léry *et al.*). According to Metcalf, the main distinction made by Ronaldo Vainfas lay in the fact that the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* incorporated Christian elements, which proved that it was not a mere inertial manifestation of a previous Tupinambá religiosity. Moreover, another indication of this confluence of elements from diverse cultural origins emerged in the second characteristic that described the *Santidade de Jaguaripe's* novelty: the power of attraction that it exerted over non-indigenous people—Africans, *mestiços*, and even white people, whether they were born in Brazil or not (Metcalf 1996: 315).

Metcalf herself reinforced the argument of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe's* novelty in “Millenarian Slaves?” This article largely corroborates Vainfas's argument that the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* should be seen as an original response, born from the brutality of colonial domination while standing against it. In its construction, the oppressed would have activated native elements as well as “syncretic beliefs, language, and rituals drawn from their immediate experience in colonial society” (Metcalf 1999: 1534). Still, Metcalf deviated from *A heresia dos índios* by proposing that the *Santidade* led by Antônio could be better explained as a millenarian movement instead of a syncretic derivation of the pre-contact indigenous messianism (although she did not exclude the influence of the “indigenous tradition”). Her analysis relied heavily on the demographics of the movement, which included a majority of enslaved natives among its followers. More importance should therefore be given to the dramatic conditions that the colonial yoke imposed on the natives, as well as on Africans and *mestiços*, whether they were enslaved or free. The *Santidade de Jaguaripe* would then be an “almost classic example” of a millenarian movement: it was a new creation, which had originated in a “bitter and painful present” and dreamed of a “radiant future wherein all evil will be erased” (Lanternari 1963 *apud* Metcalf 1999: 1532).

It was not, therefore, “a movement of Indians independent of the planters and Jesuits, and it was not a movement untouched by Christian evangelization” (Metcalf 1999: 1542). Supported by Vainfas, for whom missionary action was central to the creation of the

Santidade, Metcalf explores the Jesuit catechesis in search of the Jewish-Christian millenarian ideas that are present in its teachings. Here, again, the Jesuits assume a central role, insofar as they are responsible for shaping the common language that brought enslaved people from different origins together around a “shared vocabulary” (Metcalf 1999: 1547).

In the short biographical note that accompanied “Millenarian Slaves?” Metcalf announced that she was working on a research project on Jesuits and *mestiços* as “go-betweens” in sixteenth-century Brazil. This project led to *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*, a book published in 2005 that revisits the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* in its last two chapters. There are remarkable continuities between the article and the book. More interested in the role played by intermediaries in making the colonization of Brazil feasible, Metcalf reformulated the argument in these terms, although she did not abandon her concern with framing the *Santidade* as a millenarian movement and with identifying it as a religious response to a particular context of acute social crisis. Therefore, the idea that the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* catalyzed the marginal experiences of the early days of Brazil was maintained, as it would have brought together indigenous people who had strayed from their traditional ways of life: Africans uprooted by the transatlantic slave trade, and *mamelucos*—*mestiços* born from Portuguese fathers and native mothers—who, because of their “bicultural ambiguity” and “fluidity,” naturally occupied a prominent place among the go-betweens.

Therefore, the movement’s novel feature, created at the center of different influxes, remained: the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* continued to be an original response to the advance of the Portuguese conquest. But *Go-Betweens*, based on the argument that millenarian movements “invariably become political,” also sought to consider the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* in those terms, concluding that Antônio and other *Santidade* leaders from the second half of the sixteenth century were no longer anchored to traditional forms of socio-political organization. The opposition and resistance emanating from the new *Santidades* would therefore be fundamentally different from those offered by indigenous people in the first decades of their contacts with white people—a time when their main catalysts were the traditional leaders: the chief, the shaman, and the *caraíba* (Metcalf 2005: 196).

According to this argument, Antônio was part of a new wave of leaders, a new type of representational go-betweens—that is, individuals who “through writings, drawings, mapmaking, and the oral tradition shaped on a large scale how Europeans and Native Americans viewed each other” (Metcalf 2005: 10). In their role, these new *caraíbas* reinterpreted the teachings of the Jesuits and the myths of Tupi origin to redefine identities and formulate alternatives both to the traditional way of life and to Portuguese colonization.

Their followers were not the same as in the early days, since they did not live in traditional villages, but in Jesuit missions, or else they were enslaved on sugar plantations.

The new leaders, formed in a new context and followed by subjects who lived in previously unheard-of oppressive situations, gave way to new forms of resistance and, in the end, to a “new kind of religion” (Metcalf 2005: 232-233).

V.

Between “Millenarian Slaves?” (1999) and *Go-Betweens* (2005), another important work for the purposes explored here was defended as a thesis (2001) and later published as a book: *Religião como tradução: missionários, Tupi e “Tapuia” no Brasil Colonial*, by Cristina Pompa (2003).³ Despite not directly dialoguing with each other, *Go-Betweens* and *Religião como tradução* follow, each in its own way, some of the fundamental arguments raised by Ronaldo Vainfas in *A heresia dos índios*. Like Metcalf, Pompa does not have the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* as her central object of analysis, since she focuses on the reciprocal translations that guided the dialogue between missionaries and indigenous people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the hinterlands of Northeastern Brazil (it is fair to say that in Metcalf’s book, the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* occupies much more space). However, despite the focus on indigenous people from the interior, the first part of *Religião como tradução* deals with the European presence on the Brazilian coast in the sixteenth century and the first missionary ventures, which were to prove essential in formulating the expectations of those who, in the following centuries, would go on to preach in the hinterland.

This does not mean that, in examining the coastal background that informed the hinterland experience, Pompa set the scene based naively on the works of authors who had previously dealt with this subject. On the contrary, in several passages, she proposed a revision of assertions that have long been considered valid by both ethnologists and historians alike. In one of these reviews, Cristina Pompa questioned the very premise that the migratory movements of the indigenous people in the sixteenth century had an exclusively religious basis, associated with the search for the “Land without Evil” or with an original indigenous messianism, both of which were linked to a scenario prior to the arrival of the Europeans. In revisiting the sources, Pompa finds no substance for such conclusions—in fact, she even questions the validity of treating the search for the “Land

³ Due to the restrictions on access to libraries during the COVID-19 pandemic, I was unable to consult the now out-of-print *Religião como tradução*. Hence the quotations made here refer directly to the thesis.

without Evil” as a given among the coastal Tupi from that period (Pompa 2001: 136 *ff.*). Furthermore, she declares that the records are not sufficient to characterize the *Santidades* of the sixteenth century as a kind of messianic preparation for migratory movements, as the influential anthropologist Alfred Métraux and others had previously argued. On the contrary, the “great ceremonies conducted by the *caraíba*” would have the appearance of “periodic festivities of cosmic and social renewal,” which would end once the refoundation of the world, performed ritually as a community, was completed. In fact, when these festivities did come to an end, the prominence achieved by the prophet would evaporate, and he would then retreat to the solitude of the jungle and “his eternal wanderings” (Pompa 2001: 117, 181).

The return to the sources highlights a major issue. As we have seen, Hélène Clastres was Vainfas’s main target for assuming that the search for the “Land without Evil” had continued unaffected by the arrival of Europeans. Cristina Pompa, on the other hand, focused her criticisms mainly on Alfred Métraux, responsible, in her opinion, for the “original sin” of giving “forced treatment” to the colonial documentation and contemporary ethnographic data (collected from among the Apapocuva, Tembé, and Chiriguano in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) overlapping with the sources dealing with the Tupi of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pompa 2001: 132-133). The projection of the present onto the past, anchored in the idea of immutability in native culture, would end up making it impossible to detect the interference of Europeans in the Amerindians’ messianic expressions. Thus, the migrations of indigenous people, supposedly led by prophets, tended to be seen as a “native cultural institution” whose existence did not depend on the colonial environment. Pompa argues that the “classic literature,” as well as other texts written at the time when she wrote her thesis, presented serious difficulties in seeing native cultures as “something in progress, in permanent dynamic tension between symbolic systems and historical contingencies” (Pompa 2001: 108).

Returning to the sources is the key to moving in another direction, and, in this sense, Pompa follows *A heresia dos índios* closely. When consulting these sources, for example, the author argues that it is inevitable to give some importance to the presence of white people, given that the records relating to the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* and other religious manifestations also deal with “the ill treatment of *Peros* [Portuguese], the wars between Portuguese and French involving indigenous groups, the fear of priests, epidemics, the loss of credibility of the great shamans in the face of evangelization, the presence of *mestiço* shamans” (Pompa 2001: 148-149). Following Vainfas, the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* that emerges from *Religião como*

tradução is unthinkable outside the atrocious context to which it was linked. The same applies to the strategies conceived and choices made by the agents who were involved in it (Pompa 2001: 130-131).

Cristina Pompa continues along the path opened up by Ronaldo Vainfas by paying attention to the ritual dimension of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* in which symbols of different origins were activated and updated in a complex interplay of the symbolic universes brought into contact with each other. Like Alida Metcalf, Pompa also follows *A heresia dos índios* by claiming that the new movement effectively created a “new religion, reconciling multiple religious horizons: that of the Indians, that of black slaves, that of the *mamelucos*, that of the colonists” (Pompa 2001:110). While Vainfas occasionally linked the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* to the search for the “Land without Evil,” in accordance with the path followed by Hélène Clastres and Alfred Métraux, Pompa draws attention to his great contribution of considering the movement a “hybrid” and “fluid” formation, typical of the “colonial situation,” formulating an interpretation that lives up to its complexity by delivering a “web of three-dimensional meanings in which blacks, colonists, Jesuits, Tupi and inquisitors ‘made cultural alterities familiar’” (Pompa 2001: 130).

VI.

In 2005, two years after the publication of *Religião como tradução* and in the same year that Metcalf published *Go-Betweens*, Renato Sztutman defended his thesis *O profeta e o principal: a ação política ameríndia e seus personagens*, later published in book form in 2012. In his research, Sztutman offers a dense treatment of what he calls indigenous political action by revisiting the ethnology of the twentieth century and, occasionally, sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In close dialogue with Pierre and Hélène Clastres, Sztutman is interested in demonstrating, above all, how the so-called “religious domain” paved the way for possible forms of political articulation among the indigenous people. This leads him to revise the definitions of the spheres of politics and religion, and compels him to revisit Clastres’s thesis, which understood the ancient Tupi prophetism as a kind of counterpower, initially formulated as a rejection of the political centralization around great warriors, but which would itself sometimes end up constituting another form of political condensation (Sztutman 2012: 54).

The shamans that emerge from *O profeta e o principal*, depending on the conditions, stop rejecting the concentration of power and become leaders themselves. Inspired by the

ethnology that dealt with Melanesia, Sztutman understands that the shamans and the warriors who were capable of concentrating large groups around themselves reached this condition through a process of magnification—collective and singular at the same time—as fractal people. This was achieved by the absorption and incorporation of “dangerous alterities” with which each of them dealt. In the case of warriors, this Otherness was constituted by human enemies; in the case of shamans, by non-humans and the supernatural (Sztutman 2012: 72-74).

In both scenarios, the appropriation of these alterities would be defined by the Tupi opening up to the Other, and this is one of the several ideas that Renato Sztutman draws from Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, arguably the most influential contemporary Brazilian anthropologist. For the Tupi, the constitutive notion of the group was defined less by a distinctive comparison with what was external to them and more by an “ontological incompleteness” that launched them towards the Other in search of its absorption, “where becoming and relationships prevailed over being and substance” (Viveiros de Castro 2020: 190-191). In the warrior’s path, this was done by preying on and devouring their enemies. These acts were connected with the refusal and overcoming of mortality, a central issue for the Tupi, although they were not the only ones capable of addressing it. The “pacification” of the Tupi of the Brazilian coast, through the advance of colonization, forced them to abandon cannibalism and their original warrior logic, which required the ritual destruction of their enemies in order to assimilate their qualities. The alternative path in search of getting closer to the gods and reaching immortality, which would be followed by indigenous people from then on, would be the one offered by the connections with the supernatural. In other words, this would occur through the process of absorbing the agency of the Other via the shamanic way—this Other being the white people, perceived from early on as possessing “the divine science of non-mortality, an attribute of the *mair* and the *karaíba*.” This explains, moreover, why the word “*caraíba*” became synonymous with “European,” in addition to characterizing the Tupinambá prophets and the “демиurges and cultural heroes, endowed with high shamanic science” (Viveiros de Castro 2020: 174 *ff.*).

For Sztutman, this shift from war to shamanism did not mean a profound change in the way things were, placing him in disagreement with those who emphasized the disruptive nature of colonization. Nor would it have forced the indigenous people to formulate new solutions, by confronting them with unprecedented situations. The shaman’s path would have been part of the pre-contact Amerindian arsenal, and choosing to follow it would have been more of a shift in emphasis, rather than an originality. This argument is in keeping with

others mentioned by Sztutman throughout his thesis, such as the one that understands the adoption of firearms as a catalyst of processes consistent with native logic, instead of something that provoked a revolutionary transformation (Sztutman 2012: 341; Viveiros de Castro 2020: 191-193), or the argument that sees the rise of women to religious leadership not as an interference caused by the introduction of the Marian cult into evangelical environments (Vainfas 1995: 116), but as the liberation of something that already existed in theory, and which had come up against the inflated male role fueled by the predominance of war (Sztutman 2012: 419, 502-503).

The thesis advanced by *O profeta e o principal* therefore insists on the “irreducibility of the indigenous world to the colonial world,” even in those contexts that “historians might describe as conducive to miscegenation,” such as the case of the Jesuit missions in Bahia or São Paulo where the natives sought refuge from the hardships of a colony in formation (Sztutman 2012: 174). It is not surprising, therefore, that, in adopting this line of thought, Sztutman ends up opposing Ronaldo Vainfas’s interpretation of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*. For Sztutman, the problematic issue does not lie exactly in the perception that white people and indigenous people appropriated elements of one another, or in the fact that these exchanges involved a complex game of reciprocal translation. What he refutes is that there necessarily arose a third way, a syncretic or *mestiço* world formed through the contact and the shaping of the previous two (Sztutman 2012: 177-178).

The appearance of alien elements in the midst of the rituals of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* would therefore have represented a fundamental value for the Tupi, namely the absorption of the Other. The effective adoption of alien signs, reinforced by the very frequency with which *mestiços* and even white people began to gravitate towards the church/*maloca* built in the lands of Fernão Cabral de Ataíde, would then serve as a validation of the power of those directly involved with the movement. In the perception of those who participated in *Santidades*, the displacement of the colonial society would take place not through the destruction and erasure of its features—its direct and simple denial—but by its being swallowed up. Thus, the traces of Catholic religiosity that were to be found in the rites witnessed in the hinterland, in Jaguaripe or in the dispersed nuclei in the sugar plantations would not be involuntary reinforcements of the same white society that the natives sought to destroy in a flagrant paradox, as Vainfas thought (1995: 109). For the Tupinambá, the extirpation of their enemies would instead involve their capture and incorporation, through what may be considered a cannibalistic process in a broader sense.

This proposal ends up changing our way of understanding the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*. In exploring Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's argument, namely that "being like white people—and being white people—was a desired value in the indigenous symbolic market" (Viveiros de Castro 2020: 193), the path of analysis suggested by Sztutman would lead to another meaning being found for the integration of Christian cosmology into the indigenous prophetic discourse, the adoption of clothing and objects of worship, or even the organization of the movement into popes, saints, and bishops. They would not be a disfigurement of the Tupinambá way, but, in fact, a strong indication that this way of being—this native "machinery"—was still in full operation. Christian elements, therefore, would not have harmed the Amerindian authenticity. This authenticity would still be there and it would constitute the main driving force behind the actions taken, and the very core of indigenous "being."

Interestingly, and perhaps unexpectedly, this perspective echoes the introduction that Capistrano wrote for the publication of the *Confissões da Bahia*. Although, for Sztutman the "native foundation" would have remained intact by willingly swallowing up the "Christian accessories," seeing in them a way of accessing the supernatural.

VII.

Over the past decade, some researchers have sought to incorporate Sztutman's contributions into historiography. In a 2017 article, for example, Almir Diniz de Carvalho Júnior relied on them to probe indigenous conceptions about baptisms, the adoption of Christian names, and the very construction of corporealities and individualities, based on records made by missionaries who traveled to Maranhão and Grão-Pará between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Carvalho Júnior understands that the route developed by Sztutman helps us to understand the actions of the "colonial indigenous' on the way to becoming Christians" (Carvalho Júnior 2017:49). That is to say, the actions of those indigenous people who, in one way or another, had already witnessed the interference of the colonial world, as was the case with those who directly felt the weakening of native war as a matrix of indigenous life.

It is important to note that Carvalho Júnior makes no mention of Sztutman's condemnation of the perspective of cultural miscegenation, which he himself had previously explored (Carvalho Júnior 2005) and which still prevails in studies on the culture shock experienced in interactions between indigenous people and Europeans. This is partly

explained by the fact that, in this article, Carvalho Júnior was interested in contacts in which the native and alien perspectives remained relatively identifiable. However, other investigations that have ventured into more nebulous contexts (such as the case of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*) have shown how challenging it can be to incorporate these ideas into historical research and to manage the dissonances derived from them.

One of these investigations is Carlos Henrique Cruz's dissertation, *Inquéritos nativos: os pajés frente à Inquisição*, defended in 2013. His interpretation recognizes the hybridism of colonial shamans in the way suggested by Sztutman. In other words, not as a miscegenation forged in contact with white people, but as a result of the native's tendency to hybridize through the absorption of alterities. However, Cruz also tries to protect and reiterate part of the argument of *A heresia dos índios*. Faced with Sztutman's assessment that the book supposes an inevitable destruction of the indigenous perspective and the creation of a "mameluco and lacerated world," Cruz argues that Sztutman fails to perceive the "complexity of Vainfas's analysis," which gave equal treatment to, and was supported by, an "interaction of both Amerindian wills and cultural structures, as well as Christian and colonial ones" (Cruz 2013: 90). Sztutman's formulation, however, is based precisely on the refusal to understand these interactions as producing syncretisms or miscegenations.

Despite drawing closer to Sztutman, since his dissertation deals with the actions of eighteenth-century Amazon shamans and sorcerers, Cruz's analysis appears to lead him towards the subject of crossovers and cultural exchanges in which the native element itself does not appear to be any more relevant than others. The combination of European concepts of devils and sorcery with the "invisible war" inherited from the native system, such as it was carried out by the shamans, seems to indicate that different influxes permeated the conceptions that the operators of the supernatural made of their own abilities and occupations. In the dissertation's conclusion, he recognizes the "colonial situation" as inducing "hybridities," "miscegenations," and "cultural exchanges and translations"—although not in a mandatory way—and he ultimately depicts the colony as a "world in formation," which echoes the creation of a third group, rejected by Renato Sztutman (Cruz 2013: 207).

Another recent investigation, this one specifically dedicated to the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, resulted in Jamille Santos's dissertation, *Ecos da liberdade: profetismo indígena e protagonismo tupinambá na Bahia quincentista*, defended in 2015 and published in 2019. Santos is less conciliatory and actively rejects Vainfas's interpretation, considering that his choice of miscegenation as an analytical key ends up annihilating what was indigenous about the Bahian

Santidades, emptying them of their “meaning of a historical struggle and the survival of indigenous ethnic groups” (Santos 2019: 33). Like Sztutman, her denial of the *mestiço* way also became a search for “indigenous political action.” However, in the end, her notion of political action is different from the one offered by the anthropologist and does not lead to the perception of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* as the magnification of its *caraiíba*. Instead, she proposes a conscientious and bellicose understanding of the *Santidades* as an appropriation of other “cultural elements,” which results in a reconfiguration of “cosmologies, social organization and worldview in an attempt to understand and overcome colonial domination” (Santos 2019: 32-33, 95).

Moving away from one of the most stimulating arguments provided by Sztutman, Santos’s return to inquisitorial sources, which are always elusive about the nature of indigenous agency, does not lead to any great advances in the perception of what she understands as conscientious appropriation. In the end, *Ecos da liberdade* ends up delivering an interpretation that, on several occasions, comes very close to that of the author that she so vigorously refutes. This is evident, for example, in her idea of the *Santidades* as an inversion of colonial society in the form of resistance, which is not very far removed from Vainfas’s “insurgent idolatry” (Santos 2019: 216-223; Vainfas 1995: 31-33, 69, 227-229). But it is also found in her understanding that the native myths were reformulated in a belligerent manner in the face of violent conquest (Santos 2019: 209-210; Vainfas 1995: 105 ff). In other passages, colonial Brazil also appears as a scenario of “fluidity” and “permeability between cultures” (Santos 2019: 68) in which religiosities of different origins are intertwined “in a synthesis of different elements, characterized by cultural hybridism” (Santos 2019: 81).

The arguments proposed by Carlos Cruz and Jamille Santos do not seem to achieve their objectives, partly because Sztutman is not interested in the result of colonial interactions, or whether or not they created a “third way.” These mattered only insofar as they showed the way in which “indigenous people took over Christianity and other aspects of the West to redefine the meaning of their existence, to produce singular and collective subjects” (Sztutman 2012: 486). In applying Sztutman’s ideas to an investigation of the transformations that took place in colonial environments, their interpretation would necessarily have to be changed to account for when and how the “native machinery” eventually stopped operating—if it ever stopped operating—or if (and how) this machinery remained when the indigenous people were gradually submerged in the records under other designations (Almeida 2008).

But there are other major issues at stake here. Sztutman announces that his method starts with a search for the contextualization of the ancient Tupi, placing the investigation “in history” and relying on primary and secondary sources. Later, he places the investigation “outside” it. This second phase, in which we find the potential controversy of his approach, tries to take advantage of recent ethnographies about Amazonian peoples in order to reveal “common principles with the reality of the ancient Tupi” (Sztutman 2021: 120-122). The proposal is naturally a risky one, and, as we saw earlier with Cristina Pompa, the overlapping of modern and contemporary materials is generally a problematic maneuver. This does not mean that recent ethnological research cannot contribute to the reexamination of colonial sources: there is a lot of *Araweté*, for example, in “*O mármore e a murta*,” which received an excellent reception among historians (Viveiros de Castro 1986, 2020; Almeida 2017; Santos 2017; cf. Agnolin 2005). In the end, what matters is the return to the sources in order to evaluate the hypotheses. In this sense, it is significant that Sztutman does not reexamine the records relating to the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, and instead bases his argument on what was stated by Ronaldo Vainfas and Ronald Raminelli (1996)—to a lesser extent—and on what he has extracted from other “times and spaces.”

He does not return to the sources simply because he does not consider it necessary to do so, and the material obtained indirectly seems suitable for receiving a treatment that is derived from other analyses. After all, for the author, taking advantage of twentieth-century ethnology would also be a way of circumventing the fixation that historians have with written records and contexts, which would ultimately render them unable to fulfill the well-intentioned desire of recognizing indigenous agency. As he says, and with good reason, “it is not enough to claim that they are agents of their own destiny, it is necessary to understand what this agency means.” The point is that much of the research undertaken under the scope of what is known as New Indigenous History, which is careful to avoid regarding integrated or assimilated indigenous people as “less Indian” (Monteiro 2001: 4-5), ends up exploring different paths of access to historical change, necessarily including the agency of the indigenous people and, at the same time, rejecting the inevitability of their extermination (Almeida 2003; Carvalho Júnior 2005; Garcia 2009).

The openness to the Other as a fundamental trait of the Tupi is well accepted, as indicated by the frequent references to Viveiros de Castro in the historiography. The central issue—and here the considerations of Cristina Pompa delve deep into the occupational vices of historians—seems to be one of examining the individuals and groups that were involved in particular cases by returning to the records. In the case of the *Santidades*, the positions

occupied by the *caraíbas* and their personal trajectories are still fundamental, as Capistrano de Abreu pointed out almost 100 years ago. With regard to Antônio and the *Santidade de Jaguaripe*, specifically, some questions may still remain unanswered in the absence of any fresh evidence. For example, we may never know for certain the conditions of his passage through the Jesuit mission in Tinharé. Nor the reasons that caused Antônio to disappear from the records, only to reappear again in the rumors originating from the hinterland, which caused unrest among the masters but enthusiasm among the enslaved and those under Jesuit control. In any case, many of those who participated in his movement were indigenous people inserted in a colonial environment of exploitation that had been violently imposed upon them for decades. Hence Alida Metcalf's understanding of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* as a new phenomenon, and of its *caraíba*, interestingly, as a go-between—albeit still indigenous—capable of communicating with the different groups that were forced to live together in Bahia.

Capturing Otherness was a delicate process for the Tupi. For the warrior who tried to put it into practice, the absorption of the Other was followed by a period of instability in which he needed to prove himself capable of taming the alterity that lay within him. The same was true for shamans, who tamed “non-human or extraordinary beings” by becoming familiar with them. In both cases, failure would result in the shamans and warriors being subjected by the forces that they sought to dominate and, consequently, transformed into enemies of their own group (Sztutman 2012: 91, 431). This image of an inner cosmic struggle—or, to complicate things, a cosmic struggle in which the subjects are dissolved into a pre-individual state (Sztutman 2012: 388)—may be a good way of illustrating the reinterpretation of the *Santidade de Jaguaripe* offered by the route of shamanic magnification. Sztutman's argument has already made a move towards devouring Vainfas's *mestiço* way. Now it is time to wait and see if it survives this attack.

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Women and Communal Discipline in the Portuguese Nation of Hamburg during the Seventeenth Century

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Abstract

Transgressions and their related punishments are among the most important tools for analyzing the values that have been imprinted within a given community. In addition to identifying the norm and the relative deviations therefrom, they also make it possible to interpret the occurrence of these phenomena in a specific place, reflecting a reality in constant evolution over time. In this article, I focus on the discipline exercised by the governing council of the Portuguese community of Hamburg between 1652 and 1682, in order to understand what this reveals to us about the social, cultural and religious history of that community in one of the most important periods of its history. My research focuses specifically on the role of women as the agents and targets of transgressive and disciplinary practices, respectively, in order to understand what these cases reveal to us about the attitudes and perceptions shared by the ruling class about women and their condition in the Portuguese-Jewish communities of Western Europe during the early modern period.

Keywords

Sephardic diaspora, Portuguese nation, Communal discipline, Women, Hamburg

Resumo

Matérias de transgressão e disciplina constituem uma das ferramentas mais importantes para analisar os valores impressos numa determinada comunidade. Além de indicar a norma e seu desvio relativo, possibilitam também uma interpretação situada desses fenómenos, reflectindo uma realidade em constante evolução ao longo do tempo. O presente artigo debruça-se sobre a disciplina exercida pelo conselho executivo na comunidade portuguesa de Hamburgo entre 1652 e 1682 para compreender o que revela sobre a história social, cultural e religiosa dessa comunidade num dos períodos mais importantes da sua história. A investigação incidirá especificamente sobre o papel das mulheres como agentes e alvos de práticas transgressoras e disciplinares, respectivamente, de modo a compreender o que estes casos nos revelam sobre as atitudes e percepções partilhadas pela classe dominante acerca das mulheres e da sua condição nas comunidades judaico-portuguesas da Europa Ocidental, durante o período moderno.

Palavras-Chave

Diáspora sefardita, Nação portuguesa, Disciplina comunitária, Mulheres, Hamburgo

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Introduction

Recent studies in Sephardic history have emphasized the important role played by Iberian-Jewish women in the functional, economic, and institutional dynamics of community life, both in Iberia and beyond (Melammed 1998 and 1999; Roitman 2005; Lieberman 2011; Galasso 2011; Bernfeld 2012 and 2017; Brunelle 2012). These contributions have enabled us to discover a whole range of opportunities and career choices hidden behind the roles traditionally assigned to women in the early modern period, and the ways in which their identities were negotiated partly through their social rank, economic situation, and family constraints. When considering some of the studies already produced in this field, we are immediately struck by the fact that there is one area that, somewhat surprisingly, few historians of women have sought to investigate—namely the gendered attitudes and perceptions shared by the ruling elite in relation to deviant behavior, and the type and severity of the disciplinary measures that they imposed in accordance with their worldview. In assessing this theme, I will concentrate specifically on the Portuguese Jewish community of Hamburg and the attitudes that its leaders displayed towards women in general when dealing with different cases of female deviance between 1652 and 1682.

The study of female deviance thus calls for a more profound investigation of the institutional dynamics of congregational life and the way in which these reflected the political, cultural, and social aspects of a given community, in this case, the Portuguese-Jewish community of Hamburg in the second half of the seventeenth century.² Founded by Portuguese immigrants from the metropolis and, to a lesser extent, by exiles from Antwerp, following the blockade of the port in 1594, the Portuguese-Jewish community of Hamburg came to administer one of the main trading posts for Iberian, Levantine, and American products in Northern Europe. The rapid development of this tight-knit community, bound together by commercial relations and ties of kinship, was truly remarkable. From a maximum of 100 members in 1610, the community had grown to around 800 individuals by 1670, a date that roughly coincided with the peak of its economic and cultural development.

As is to be expected, most of the cases related to female deviance in the Portuguese community of Hamburg were situations in which females had already been assigned specific roles, whether professional or domestic. Moreover, there were considerable differences in

² On the subject of the Portuguese-Jewish community of Hamburg, see Kellenbenz (1958), Whaley (1985), Studemund-Halévy (1994-97 and 2000), Kaplan (1994), Salomon and Leoni (2001), Braden (2001), Wallenborn (2003), Poettering (2013), and, more recently, Martins (2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2020, 2021, forthcoming).

relation to the violence of their transgressions, with women generally being less likely than men to be involved in acts of deliberately aggressive behavior. According to the current historiography on early modern female deviance (Rublack 2001; Walker 2003; King 2006; Sharpe 2013; Heijden, Pluskota, and Muurling 2019), there were considerably fewer instances of transgression among women than among men, with the proportion of cases measured in terms of gender, over the thirty-year period considered here, amounting to roughly ten cases of male transgression for each female transgression (Martins 2018: 220-229).³ It could easily be argued that both the less aggressive nature of such cases and the relative rarity of their occurrence could account for the more tolerant stance adopted by the governing council towards instances of female insubordination. Based on the many cases of transgressive behavior presented in the protocol book of the Portuguese community of Hamburg,⁴ this article will argue that, quite to the contrary, although these differences were conspicuous, they did not in any way influence the different attitude that was displayed by the community's leaders towards female transgressive behavior, nor in the latter's potential legal accountability.

Transgressions were judged by the *Mahamad*, the elected leadership of the Portuguese community of Hamburg, which was vested with the power to punish and expel wrongdoers from its midst. Such cases were usually brought to the *Mahamad* by word of mouth, denunciation, or complaint, and followed a predetermined procedural path characterized by witness testimonies or confessions of guilt, steps that were then followed by an assessment of guilt and then the communication of the final sentence or punishment.⁵ The right to judge these cases internally in accordance with Jewish law and customs was unofficially recognized by the city authorities, who counted upon the Portuguese leaders to maintain order and peace within their community in exchange for logistical support in the control and discipline of recalcitrant members.⁶

Dating back to the medieval Iberian model of Jewish communal administration, the *Mahamad* was the basic institution of leadership in the Portuguese communities of the

³ Considering only serious cases of transgression, or transgressions that were punishable by expulsion. A somewhat different picture seems to emerge in relation to Holland, where the rates of female deviance were particularly high (Heijden 2016: 160).

⁴ Staatsarchiv Hamburg (StAHH), Jüdische Gemeinden 993, Protokollbuch (1652-1682), Band I-II (referred to hereafter as *Livro da Nação*).

⁵ Determining accountability in cases of transgression was often a lengthy and complex process. The offenders were frequently protected by their peers, forcing the *Mahamad* to employ a variety of methods in order to obtain the desired information. These included, for example, maintaining secrecy about the identity of the witness, threats of expulsion, or even financial incentives for cooperating members (*Livro da Nação*, I: 18, 380, 523).

⁶ These privileges were regularly renewed and formed the basis of the collaboration between the Portuguese community and the Senate in matters pertaining to discipline (*Livro da Nação*, I: 39, 297, 434).

Western Sephardic diaspora, characterized by its oligarchical nature and an autocratic orientation in the exercise of its power (Ferro 1979: 29-30; Tavares 1982: 120, 122, 125).⁷ The *Mahamad's* functions were diverse and wide-ranging, including most notably the promulgation of communal statutes, the hiring of officials, the external representation of the community and its financial administration, as well as matters relating to discipline and justice (Martins 2018: 83-88). Among the families most frequently represented in the *Mahamad* of the Portuguese community of Hamburg between 1652 and 1682 were the Curiels (alias Nunes da Costa)⁸ and the Senior Teixeiras (Teixeira Sampaio),⁹ two notable New Christian families, sharing between them no less than thirty-six appointments for the post of *parnas*, a lay syndic or warden (Martins 2018: 90). These were by far the most important clans in the community during the period, playing a key role in the control and management of its religious, social, and political life.

Adultery, Squabbles, and Promiscuous Behavior

One of the most notable cases of female transgression in the ledgers of the Portuguese community of Hamburg relates to the story of a married Portuguese woman named Esther, who, when visiting Glückstadt during her trip from Amsterdam to Hamburg, was exposed to the “bad influence” of Jacob Meatob, ultimately resulting in her becoming pregnant (*Livro da Nação*, I: 201-202). Having heard of the case, the governing council of the community, the *Mahamad*, attempted to gather all possible information from witnesses, even calling upon Esther to testify. At first denying any of the accusations made against her, Esther then contrived to confess, in tears, that it was Jacob Meatob who had put her through this “unfortunate situation” (*Livro da Nação*, I: 201). When asked by the *Mahamad* if she was married, she answered affirmatively but stressed that she had previously asked her husband for a divorce, which he ultimately didn't wish to grant her. To avoid the news of this transgression being leaked and eventually entering the realm of state justice, the main preoccupation of the *Mahamad* was to ensure that the case remained secret, preventing it from spreading throughout the community as well as within Christian circles. The moral

⁷ According to Maria José Ferro Tavares, the Portuguese-Jewish communities of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were administered by a body of lay leaders elected annually by the members of the community (Ferro 1979: 29-30; Tavares 1982: 120, 122, 125).

⁸ About the most prominent member of this family in Hamburg, Duarte Nunes da Costa (alias Jacob Curiel), see Israel (1990:333-353).

⁹ About its most notable member, Diego Teixeira Sampaio (alias Abraham Senior Teixeira), see Studemund-Halévy (2000:790-795).

implications of Jewish female adultery could be most harmful for the image of the community, not only fueling Christian resentment, but also involving the concrete danger of imprisonment (*temores de prisão*), as mentioned by the *Mahamad* (*Livro da Nação*, I: 201). Consequently, Meatob was ordered to send Esther as far away as possible, more precisely to the Danish city of Glückstadt, and to fund her stay there. In deciding upon the appropriate punishment for the case, the *Mahamad* stressed the need to pass an exemplary sentence, not only due to the overt “offense to God and his laws,” but also because of its unprecedented and “abominable” nature (*Livro da Nação*, I: 201). Surprisingly, Meatob was, in fact, the one to be punished, since he was obliged to follow a long list of strict penances and religious duties for a long period of time, as well as to pay a hefty fine.

In assessing the rationale behind the *Mahamad*’s decision, we must necessarily ask why it was that the responsibility for the crime rested entirely upon Meatob’s shoulders, when it was Esther who, being married, had not only committed the crime of adultery, but who had ended up, as a result, giving birth to an illegitimate child. In fact, there is no indication to suggest that this was a case of non-consensual relations or that Esther had, in any way, been forced to engage with Meatob against her will. Yet, through their legal decision, the Portuguese leaders unequivocally expressed their wish that only the man should be stigmatized, carrying the guilt and culpability of the act of “illicit communication.” In no way was Esther punished by the Portuguese authorities, and much less did they attempt to make her repent for her sins. Instead, the tone adopted by the *Mahamad* reveals a complacent attitude towards Esther, as if she were, in fact, more of a victim than an accomplice.¹⁰ In their study of adultery among the Portuguese Sephardim in the Caribbean, Ben-Ur and Roitman (2014: 202) justified the lack of female accountability in one particular case of adultery as a way of protecting the honor of the cuckolded husband, who was a well-respected and wealthy member of the community. Given Esther’s low status within the Portuguese community,¹¹ and, concomitantly, that of her husband too, it is unlikely that such a scenario would have applied in this particular case. Also, in view of the unequivocal condemnation of female adultery in Iberian law and practice at the time (Abreu-Ferreira 2015: 103-118), it is similarly unlikely that this apparent leniency would have derived from Portuguese and Spanish mores.

¹⁰ In fact, this situation seems to have recreated the norm that prevailed until the end of the fourteenth century in Western Europe, according to which it was men, and not women, who were the main culprits in crimes of adultery. See Hacke (2004: Chapter 9) and Molina (2001: 171). On female adultery in Portugal and the interaction between law and social mores, see Abreu-Ferreira (2015: 103-118).

¹¹ As revealed in the protocol book, Esther worked as a maid in the house of a Portuguese woman (*Livro da Nação*, I: 201).

Instances of transgressions that resulted in squabbles and altercations were a common feature of the everyday life of the Portuguese Jewish congregation of Hamburg, especially during the community's main festivities, which were times of great emotional and religious fervor (Swetschinski 2000: Chapter 5; Martins 2018: 281-283). The cause of these disagreements is still a heavily understudied phenomenon, and although their origin is multifaceted and varied from one community to another, many factors such as inter-family rifts, political and diplomatic affiliations, and religious and spiritual beliefs conflated to create a general state of anxiety and communal unrest at specific times of the year. Much of the vast and complex repertoire of violent transgressive behavior, such as personal vendettas, verbal and gestural insults, and outright aggressions, seems to have followed a pattern that was more or less defined by the religious calendar.

Unlike many of the predominantly male transgressions registered in the protocol books, cases of altercations between men and women, or exclusively between women, were relatively rare in the Portuguese community of Hamburg. Despite their small number, it would be appropriate to ask whether, in fact, the same level of vigilance and seriousness was demonstrated in cases in which only women were involved. Such was the case, for example, with the widow Sara Naar Pardo, who, after causing a great scandal in her aunt's house by threatening and insulting everyone present, was acquitted by the *Mahamad* of the need to perform any form of penance (*Livro da Nação*, I: 304). In fact, her violation of the community ordinance concerning verbal abuse does not seem to have been considered particularly disturbing by the *Mahamad*, who merely prohibited the widow from entering her aunt's house thereafter without the latter's consent.

Another similar case involving verbal insults and affronts was the altercation between the wives of Gresco Ysrael and Izaque Gadelha (*Livro da Nação*, II: 331). Initially attempting to appease both parties, the *Mahamad* immediately sought to ensure that neither of the women would bring the case to local justice, dissuading them from doing so through the threat of expulsion. Indeed, the incident was resolved without any further inquiries or any kind of penalty for the "major disturbance" caused, and the women were effectively cleared of their transgressions without ever having to justify themselves to the communal authorities. Interestingly, it was a man, most likely a relative of one of the quarrelling women, who ended up being sanctioned in this case, for vehemently challenging the *Mahamad's* prohibition (*Livro da Nação*, II: 331).

Much has been written about the sexual mores of Portuguese male Jews in their nightly escapades to local brothels and their sexual encounters with Christian or German-

Jewish women as well as other transgressions (Bodian 1997: 65-66; Kaplan 2018).¹² Yet, despite this abundance of male transgressive behavior, little has been written on the recreational activities of Portuguese women and the way in which their often less welcome lifestyles were viewed by communal leaders, especially with regard to their communal control and discipline. By way of example, the prohibition of any activities involving dancing, music, and instruments, even if practiced in the privacy and quiet of people's own homes, leads us to believe that, at least in this regard, the motivations of the Portuguese leaders were not merely restricted to male considerations. Despite the most immediate concerns about the external repercussions of such festivals, dancing as a practice that led to moral depravity and sexual licentiousness—especially with women of other religious faiths—seems to have been a much more fundamental reason behind the decision of the secular authorities to ban this form of activity.

Similarly, the fact that the *Mahamad* felt compelled to install grilles inside the synagogue in order to prevent women from becoming “lecherous” (*devassas*), is indeed clear evidence of what was considered to be improper and promiscuous female behavior (*Livro da Nação*, I: 91).¹³ Such practices were treated with the utmost severity by the leaders of the Portuguese community, especially during religious celebrations, when casual companionship and physical contact were deemed inevitable. Greatly disturbed by rumors about the behavior of “harmful *Tudesca*”¹⁴ on festive occasions and their negative influence on the community, the *Mahamad* called for these to be temporarily banned from the city during times of religious celebration (*Livro da Nação*, I: 98). Whether this measure was in fact enforced is not known, although it remains clear from the stated examples that the wardens and protectors of the Portuguese community had serious reservations about the unbridled effects of female attraction on the overall decorum of the community, both in moral and behavioral terms. Here too, no names were ever mentioned, nor does it appear that any such behavior actually resulted in punishment. It would seem as if, when women were involved, the *Mahamad*'s perception of the situation was collective rather than individual in nature, taking the whole for the part, and ending by providing a gendered account of legal accountability.

¹² Examples of these attitudes in the Portuguese community of Hamburg can be found in *Livro da Nação*, I: 200, 264; II: 49.

¹³ Unlike men, women were not allocated seats in any predetermined order; they had to make do with the few seats available behind the synagogue complex, in a specially reserved gallery. In accordance with the prevailing segregationist practice in the wider Jewish world, this arrangement reflected the inferior status granted to women in Jewish law and tradition (Wigoder 1996: 363-365).

¹⁴ *Tudesco* (pl. *tudescos*) were Jews of German Ashkenazi origin.

Women Defying Communal Statutes

In assessing more closely what might be considered a different treatment towards women with regard to communal discipline, we must also consider cases in which the transgression took place within a statutory frame of reference; that is to say, cases in which previous laws prescribed a putative incrimination for either men or women suspected of having committed transgressions. Sephardic historians know full well that failing to comply with the appropriate ordinances was almost invariably followed, in the case of men, by a punishment resulting in a pecuniary fine, expulsion, or some form of religious penance intended to alleviate the burden of sin (Kaplan 1994; Swetschinski 2000). In fact, it would be extremely difficult to find an instance of male transgression that did not result in some kind of punishment. In some of the examples now presented, I shall display several instances in which women failed to comply with communal ordinances, revealing the *Mahamad's* attitudes towards female transgressive behavior. Ultimately, we seek to understand what these cases may tell us regarding the possibility of women being held accountable for their actions, but also, more generally, how these same attitudes reflected the ways in which women were perceived and regarded in the Portuguese community of Hamburg.

Instances of women disobeying the ordinances relating to the correct use of the *mikveh*¹⁵ were commonplace in the first years of the Bet Israel community.¹⁶ The *Mahamad* was constantly reminding them of the appropriate use of such baths, especially with regard to the ritual practices of bodily hygiene and the supervision of undesirable guests.¹⁷ On September 2, 1657, the *Mahamad* accused Maria Mendes of not complying with the accepted bathing prescriptions, therefore appointing a new woman—“of complete satisfaction and good Judaism” (“de toda a satisfação e bom judesmo”)—who would thereafter join Mendes in the task of assisting women in their bathing, but in strict compliance with communal regulations (*Livro da Nação*, I: 99). Despite her transgressive behavior, Mendes was not expelled, nor did her misdeed result in any form of punishment. Instead, she continued to work in the *mikveh* just as before, with her role as supervisor now being shared with a new assistant. In another more illustrative case, also related to the *mikveh*, Hana Penso was severely reprimanded by the *Mahamad* for allowing some *Tudescas* into the ritual bath even though she had previously been advised not to do so (*Livro da Nação*, I: 215). After careful

¹⁵ Jewish ritual bath.

¹⁶ *Kahal Kadosh Bet Israel* (“Holy Congregation of the House of Israel”) was the name given to the general congregation of Hamburg, founded in 1652.

¹⁷ Namely German-Jewish women or *Tudescas* (*Livro da Nação*, I: 99, 215, 257).

deliberation, the *parnassim*¹⁸ considered dismissing the *mikveh* supervisor, but revised their initial position in view of the apologies presented to them by Penso and her promise to mend her ways. In the end, Penso was allowed to stay and continued to serve at the *mikveh*, merely being given a deadline of fifteen days, during which time all Ashkenazi women would have to find another bath.¹⁹

Despite these transgressions, the women in charge of supervising these institutions were not expelled by the community, nor did their misdeeds give rise to any notable punishment. Conversely, in analogous situations, in which the supervisory duties fell within the purview of men, the latter's negligence incurred a penalty, albeit a pecuniary one. Such was the case, for example, with the legislation prohibiting the entry of women into the synagogue after the end of evening prayers (*Livro da Nação*, I: 120). Ultimately, after careful assessment of the incident by the *parnassim*, the responsibility for the act rested entirely with two men, *Hazan*²⁰ Joseph Palache and Izaque Nahamias de Crasto, who, by being in the company of the said women, had failed to prevent the transgression from occurring. Effectively, although the *escama* (communal statute) specifically applied to female behavior, the responsibility for this transgression was attributed exclusively to men.

Another piece of legislation, which, understandably, did not receive much approval from the women of the community, related to the ban on all women from entering the congregation's synagogue, allegedly for reasons of space (*Livro da Nação*, I: 472; II: 34). There is evidence that the *Mahamad* was forced to renew the initial ban on several occasions, suggesting that there was a high level of non-compliance with the newly implemented law, one which unwittingly called for drastic changes in female religious routines and communal worship.²¹ In all certainty, these pious women who transgressed the communal provision would rather accept the punishment than neglect what they considered to be a fundamental pillar of their religious life. In so doing, they argued not so much on the basis of moral certainty, nor due to any kind of legal claim, but on the basis of a personal decision that legitimized the preservation of their religious habits and practices. At one point, two of these women, the wives of Jacob Coen Lobato and Daniel de Lemos, were each condemned to pay one *Reichtaler*, after having been sighted inside the synagogue (*Livro da Nação*, I: 473). It

¹⁸ Elected members of the *Mahamad* whose role was to govern the community.

¹⁹ Hana Penso was to commit the same transgression at least twice more, without ever being sanctioned by the *Mahamad* (*Livro da Nação*, II: 257).

²⁰ Also known as the *Cantor*, the religious official who led the synagogal service.

²¹ Two of these instances were consecutive, as shown by the protocol book (*Livro da Nação*, I: 472).

was only after repeated warnings that the *Mahamad* was finally forced to fine these women, with the penalties being essentially more symbolic than preventive.

Bad Faith and Deceitful Female Transgression

Almost all of the cases presented make no suggestion of ill-intentioned transgressive behavior. They are instead, so to speak, transgressions in which the element of hypocrisy or bad faith is entirely absent. The question still remains as to whether instances of deceitful female transgression met with the kind of impetuous response that typically characterized the punishments reserved for men. The next case presents us with a situation in which a woman was involved in a fraudulent scheme, falsifying prescriptions from a communal institution in order to avoid having to pay for medicines intended for her own use (*Livro da Nação*, I: 450). In fact, the “recklessness and audacity” demonstrated by Ms. Queiroz earned her the disapproval of the *parnassim*, who did not hesitate to show their great indignation, acknowledging that she had demonstrated “tremendous insolence, in times of hardship, in seeking to take from the *Hebra*²² what did not belong to her.” However, despite the great scandal caused by the episode, the *Mahamad* refrained from imposing an exemplary punishment, instead producing the following curious statement: “Although her actions deserved greater punishment, we respect the fact that *she is a woman*, as well as a maiden in need, her and the rest of her house.”²³

Needless to say, no fine was imposed on the young girl, and although similar cases involving young men resulted in severe penalties and the performance of a harsh public penance, there was, in this case, no desire to oblige the young woman to atone for her sins. On the contrary, an important distinction was made by the *Mahamad*, based not only on the fact that the offender was poor, but, more tellingly, that she was a woman. This apparently served as a mitigating factor in the final assessment of the case, considerably reducing her chances of being held criminally responsible for her offenses and transgressions. Highlighting through punishment a crucial distinction between men and women in terms of communal discipline and, perhaps most importantly, in their capacity for moral and religious

²² The *Hebra* (*Hebra de Bikur Holim*) was a charitable institution of the Portuguese community of Hamburg, responsible for providing assistance to the poor, sick, and dying.

²³ “se bem isto meresia maior castigo *se respeita o [facto de] ser mulher* y donsela necessitada ella y os mais de casa” (emphasis mine) (*Livro da Nação*, I: 450).

judgment, the terminology used by the *Mahamad* was, in this case, particularly significant for what it implied about the highly submissive role of women within the community.²⁴

In fact, together with most of the examples analyzed so far, this last case seems to suggest that, contrary to what was commonly found in early modern Christian society, women in the communities of the western Sephardic Diaspora were not called upon to take part in the culture of public penance. The consequences of such an attitude, which granted the women of these communities a high degree of leniency when compared to men, effectively contradict an important historiographical current of thought which denies that there was any sort of widespread leniency displayed towards female transgressive behavior in early modern Western Europe (Ulinka Rublack 1999; Garthine Walker 2003: 113).²⁵ It remains, however, to be explained whether the considerations of the Portuguese leaders were based on the gentlemanly ideals of chivalrous virtue and honor, or whether, on the other hand, they revealed a sincere concern for the status and responsibilities of women within the community, namely in regard to their parental and domestic duties as well as other forms of communal responsibilities traditionally performed by women.

Banning and Excommunication of Women

Besides the aforementioned factors, one of the most notable differences between the instances of male and female deviance is the almost complete absence of cases in which women were excommunicated or banned from the community, whether temporarily or permanently.²⁶ As shown by a recent study (Martins 2018: 226), of a total of roughly seventy individuals expelled from the Hamburg community over a thirty-year period, only five were women: Mosa Rata, Hana Tudesca, Ribca Antonia Ladra, Sara Coen de Berberian, and a woman indiscriminately referred to as a “Portuguese female.”²⁷ In general, their offenses belonged to the group of transgressions typically committed by individual women during the modern period, i.e., the purchase of stolen goods, petty theft, and property offenses (Wiesner 2008: 123; Fairchilds 2007: 162). In this context, the most serious offenses committed within

²⁴ The historian Yosef Kaplan (2018: 137) goes so far as to use the term “radical paternalism” to describe the patriarchal model that was prevalent in the communities of the Western Sephardic Diaspora.

²⁵ The counterargument, which supports the thesis of greater benevolence towards female transgression, is defended by McLynn (2015: 128-129) and Wiener (1975: 39-40). A more conciliatory position can be found in Anne-Marie Kilday (2013: 56-57) and James Sharpe (2015: 169-171).

²⁶ In using the term “excommunication,” I am referring here explicitly to the *herem*, which was a form of expulsion that had a sacred component. Removal from the community without this sacred component is simply referred to as a “ban” and was generally considered to be less severe.

²⁷ The cases mentioned can be found here: *Livro da Nação*, I: 284, 527; II: 121, 162, 186.

the Portuguese community were all, without exception, perpetrated by males. In fact, men were the exclusive perpetrators of most of the serious transgressions recorded in the protocol books, among which were crimes such as vandalism, blackmail, fraud, assault (with or without weapons), whistleblowing (*malsinaria*), all sorts of religious transgressions, acts of disobedience, and even acts of piracy.²⁸ Other male-dominated offenses, such as leading a “low life” (*ma vida*), “idleness” (*ociosidade*), and “depraved vices” (*vícios depravados*), seem to point to a set of attitudes and behaviors collectively perceived as harmful to the moral and ethical standards shared by the community.²⁹

Although their lower share of overall transgressive behavior may account for part of the observed discrepancy, this fact alone fails to paint an accurate picture of the underlying reasons behind the low expulsion rate of women. This is seemingly a feature found in all communities of the Western Sephardic Diaspora and not merely in Hamburg, as confirmed by the records of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam and, to some extent, by those of the London and Livorno communities.³⁰ Beyond the confines of a particular community, the commonality of this feature is partly explained by the specific dynamics of social, cultural, and religious life, but it is also due to the prevailing attitude or mindset shared by the leaders of the Portuguese-Jewish communities of the time. Yet, like all shared aspects, this feature had its own particular patterns and specific moral values. Not all women were viewed in the same way through the eyes of the Portuguese leaders, just as not all men were considered to be alike in their behavior. The Portuguese seemed to clearly differentiate between what they considered to be the legal accountability of women of Portuguese-Jewish descent and that of women of German-Jewish origin, or *Tudeskas*, with the latter being more prone to being condemned by the *Mahamad*. This was the case with a number of Ashkenazi women whose lewd or improper behavior prompted the Portuguese leaders to bar them from their masters’ houses (*Livro da Nação*, I: 109, 216).

²⁸ *Livro da Nação*, I: 206, 239, 253, 261–262, 378, 383; II: 49, 165. A detailed account of some of these cases can be found in Martins (2018: 258–283).

²⁹ *Livro da Nação*, I: 45, 120, 384.

³⁰ See the Archives of the Portuguese-Jewish Community of Amsterdam, in the City Archives of Amsterdam (GAA, 334 PIG, Escamoth A; B; C), as well as those of the London community (Ascamot 5437–5488 of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation of London, Archives of the Congregation). For Livorno, see Toaff 1990.

The *Mahamad* as a Center of Power

While it is clear from some of the above-mentioned examples that women were treated differently in terms of their transgressive behavior and criminal accountability, this does not mean that they were unable to make use of communal institutions to enhance their own legal power, whether this was symbolic or effective. Women were able to use the communal authority to make themselves heard and to draw attention to the problems related to the domestic sphere in which they operated. This was the case, for example, with David Abendana, who was called before the *junta*³¹ at the request of his wife—Esther Abendana—and severely rebuked for “following an undesirable path” and giving a “bad life” (*ma vida*) to his spouse. Not satisfied with calling Abendana to attention, the *Mahamad* also warned him to change his “lifestyle” or he would be harshly punished in the future (*Livro da Nação*, I: 280). In the same way, women could call the attention of the communal leadership to cases of verbal insults or even domestic violence and make sure that the prevaricator would receive the appropriate punishment, as in the case of Daniel Habilho, who, after verbally insulting his sister-in-law, the wife of Jeosua Habilho, was promptly called before the *junta* and rebuked for his actions (*Livro da Nação*, I: 296).

The two above cases illustrate situations in which women were clearly not disregarded or ignored by the communal authority, nor was their power to intercede with the *Mahamad* any less than that of men, whether in personal or economic terms. Within the communal framework, the *Mahamad* provided a support for women in the handling of cases of domestic violence or in managing problems in the household. These institutions increasingly served as vehicles for women to effectively make use of their own rights and to enhance their power within both the domestic and public spheres, and, concomitantly, to test the boundaries of patriarchal authority in cases of domestic conflict. Such authority was thus restricted, not only on the basis of social rank (wealthy men would be less susceptible to the influence of their spouses when dealing with the communal authority), but also at the level of exposure attained by the female complainant and her ability to call the community’s attention to her specific needs. When cases in which particularly virtuous qualities relating to the patriarchal prerogatives were put to the test, such as the maintenance of a stable and harmonious family life, the *Mahamad* seemed to take charge of the matter, reserving for itself the right to decide in whatever way it considered to be more appropriate.

³¹ The board composed of the community’s elected leaders.

Family scandals and open displays of insubordination often attracted unwanted attention and, in the eyes of the community's leaders, led to a greater laxity in the moral standards upheld by households. The solution would then be to mediate between the two sides whenever possible, applying the appropriate level of severity and reminding the couple of their duties towards the community. Such was the case with Jacob de Tovar, who, for an unspecified reason, expelled his wife from the family home and left her with her mother (*Livro da Nação*, I: 309). His wife, Judica de Tovar, appeared before the *Mahamad*, complaining about the whole situation, stating that her husband ought to do what “honorable husbands do with their wives” and requesting the *Mahamad* to force him to “make his life with me” (*Livro da Nação*, I: 309).³² Appealing to the imperative of family duties, the *Mahamad* sought to convince Tovar to accept his wife, both with the incentive of financial benefits and with threats of severe penalties in the event of his refusal.

Some situations revealed a genuine concern with women's well-being, particularly when their safety was at risk. In cases where husbands exceeded their disciplinary prerogatives, wives had the right to turn to the communal authority in order to seek help and protection from their tribulations. Called upon to intervene, the *Mahamad* imposed its authority as the supreme arbiter in domestic matters, thereby reaffirming the rules of what was permissible and what was unacceptable behavior. In one of these cases, the arrival of Jacob de Matos in Hamburg, and his known tendency to abuse his wife, led the *Mahamad* to assist her in her escape to Amsterdam, guaranteeing funding for her trip as well as two years of *tamid*³³ through the community treasury (*Livro da Nação*, II: 38). Although a serious illness prevented her from ever leaving Hamburg, this case is indicative of the *Mahamad*'s concern with ensuring the protection of women in the community, whether in cases of known domestic violence or threats of imminent abuse by their husbands. By nipping the problem in the bud, the *Mahamad* also prevented domestic problems from slipping into the public domain and attracting the unwanted attention of local authorities.

Criminal prosecutions of men in cases of domestic violence are not known in the protocol book of Kahal Kadosh Bet Israel. At most, the men's power was curtailed through the intervention of the communal authority, requested by the women themselves or resulting from rumors of impending and serious household distress. The *Mahamad* could therefore counsel, advise, and give orders, but its capacity to actually punish domestic violence seems

³² On the issue of the family and its relationship with the *Mahamad* in the Portuguese community of Hamburg, see Martins 2018: 239-258.

³³ A monthly communal allowance granted to the poor.

to have been fairly limited. The vulnerability of women in this respect shows the ambivalence of communal involvement in instances of domestic conflict and the limitations of ill-defined communal injunctions with regard to family life—on the one hand, condemning domestic violence, while, on the other hand, failing to take action against the perpetrator of the violence. Such a contradictory attitude displayed by the *Mahamad* effectively blurred the boundaries of communal authority, especially when the prerogatives of male dominance and sovereignty within the household were involved. In the present case, we can only conjecture about the possible motivations for not intervening in what was certainly one of the few cases in which the behavior of the transgressor, or, more precisely, the male transgressor, went unpunished.

Although the scarcity of cases of female transgression does not permit an analysis of the different types of attitude displayed towards women of a lower class and those of an upper social rank, it is clear in the case of many male transgressions that wealth and social status heavily influenced the attribution of guilt and punishment, as well as the fact that those implicated in such transgressions may or may not have held some kind of communal office within the congregation (Martins 2018: 229-230). Other factors, such as age, a good reputation, education, and religious zeal, as well as proof of *modestia* and *bom judesmo* (modesty and “good Judaism”),³⁴ could be considered attenuating factors by the *Mahamad* in its dealings with transgressors. Another very important factor for the application of punishment was the space in which the transgression had taken place. If the transgression took place in a sacred space, then the possibility of a more punitive decision by the *Mahamad* would be considerably higher, as we saw earlier in the two cases involving a transgression in a synagogue. In both of these cases—the pious women being allowed into the synagogue and the men accompanying the women after the end of evening prayers—the *Mahamad* resorted to a punishment in the form of a pecuniary fine.

Cooperation, Negotiation, and Manipulation

The fact that women were less inclined to challenge the decisions made by the *Mahamad* or to enter into open disputes often served as a mitigating factor in their final condemnation. Far from surprisingly, their submission to the *Mahamad* was entirely predictable; due to the strong social and professional barriers that they faced, they would, unlike men, be less likely to secure a livelihood outside the community. In fact, the shared

³⁴ On the concept of *bom judesmo*, see Kaplan 2002.

assumptions of their dependence on the patriarchal organization of the community, both domestically and externally, helped to facilitate much of their relationship with the communal authorities. Rarely did women judge, comment, or otherwise publicly contradict the views expressed by the *Mahamad*. On the contrary, unlike men, they demonstrated a greater willingness to cooperate and negotiate in the face of adversity.

Such was the case, for example, with a Portuguese woman called Abarbanela, whose debt to the post office where she worked led the *Mahamad* to dismiss her, ordering the immediate payment of 24.15 *Reichtalers* (*Livro da Nação*, I: 131). Returning the next day to meet with the governing board, Abarbanela asked the *Mahamad* to reconsider their decision, arguing that she would not be able to support herself without her livelihood. Insensitive to her requests, the *Mahamad* refused the proposal outright, forcing Abarbanela to put forward an alternative solution: she undertook to show the receipts of the post office every fifteen days, pointing out that if she failed in her responsibilities, she would personally recognize the “fairness” of her dismissal before the *Mahamad* (*Livro da Nação*, I: 132). Her proposal was accepted by the syndics of the community, who negotiated the terms of the new contract with Abarbanela. From then on, all invoices were to be paid immediately, with the *Mahamad* reserving the right to determine what it considered to be the most appropriate procedure in her particular case. Four days later, an official statement issued by the *parnassim* granted Abarbanela the right to return to her post, provided that she fulfilled her financial obligations without fail (*Livro da Nação*, I: 132, 134). Indeed, no mention was made of her debts, from which we may easily assume that the community treasurer (or the *Mahamad* itself) would have assumed full responsibility for these, as was often the case.

In addition to cooperation, negotiation, or even discord, the dynamics of the relationship between women and the *parnassim* could be sporadically marked by manipulation in which women used the power of the communal authorities to their own personal advantage. In such cases, their roles were redefined according to their ability to turn an unfavorable situation into a more beneficial one, making use of their new condition to exert pressure and influence. The case of Raquel de Casseres is particularly elucidatory in this respect. When ordered by the *parnassim* to expel her son Abraham Selomoh de Casseres, Raquel expressed her strong reluctance to obey, arguing that, considering his youth, such a decision would only increase her son’s vices (*Livro da Nação*, I: 438). The *Mahamad* then sought to persuade her to act “for the good of the community,” going so far as to offer financial compensation for her to send her son away. Yet, despite having accepted this assistance from the community treasury, Raquel’s unwavering determination prevailed, and

she failed to comply with communal orders, even speaking freely to the *bacham*³⁵ of the community on one occasion.³⁶ What then followed made each side's position quite clear: the *Mahamad's* inability to secure a safe and satisfactory outcome for the case, and Raquel's manipulative endeavors to consciously postpone that decision whilst generating financial advantage from it.³⁷ In taking advantage of her parental responsibilities as a way of gaining financial benefit, Raquel's case provides a clear example of how parental authority could be manipulated to obtain a communal influence in relation to domestic affairs, and how some women used this dynamic to negotiate favorable outcomes.

Final Remarks

This study has demonstrated that gender did in fact play an important role in the prosecution and punishment of transgressive behavior in the Sephardic community of Hamburg. As shown through the analysis of the various cases presented, not only were decisions based on the sex of the transgressors but gender also constituted a key criterion for determining the guilt of the transgressor, the type of punishment attributed, and its level of severity. The fact that gender affected the nature of the punishment that was given is in itself significant. However, the fact that it was very much at the forefront of the *Mahamad's* decisions obliges historians to completely reconsider early modern Sephardic perceptions on gender beyond the restricted scope of transgression and punishment.

The fact that women were rarely held accountable for their transgressions—especially when compared to their male counterparts—reveals a reluctance that seems to have pervaded the attitudes of the *Mahamad* when judging such matters and that was based upon two more or less clear assumptions. On the one hand, it derived from the nature of the communal organization and its socio-political constraints: the widespread assumption that the community's statutes were addressed expressly towards men in their conception, observance, and supervisory responsibility, and that, as a consequence, the culpability of women was reduced, just as it was also considered that women were far less likely to commit transgressions or to have the capacity to understand the statutes themselves. This situation is demonstrated by the conciliatory and often condescending tone used by the Portuguese *Mahamad*, demonstrating a patronizing attitude towards women in general. Secondly, such

³⁵ The *bacham* (pl. *bachamin*) was the salaried rabbi of the community.

³⁶ *Livro da Nação*, I: 438.

³⁷ *Livro da Nação*, I: 447, 464, 465, 474; II: 26, 98, 99, 105, 105a, 157.

attitudes were based on sex: in principle, women were less likely to be incriminated due to the very fact that they were women (as clearly stated by the *Mahamad* itself, on one occasion). Lying at the origin of this mindset was a distinction conceived by the Portuguese leadership, which viewed women as less suited to receiving punishment and considered punishment itself as something that ought not to be applied to women (the absence of women performing acts of penance in public ceremonies attests to this fact). Therefore, not only was there leniency towards female punishment in general, but, when it was applied, the penalty was often less severe than that given to men.

On the other hand, despite their relative unaccountability in the case of deviant behavior, women were not reluctant to demand what they considered to be their rights. Women could still make use of the community's leaders to enhance their power within the domestic sphere, whether by receiving their support for a stable and orderly marital life, or in defending themselves against domestic violence and impending threats. Whereas disagreements and aggressive behavior seem to have been quite normal features among men, women showed a remarkable tendency for cooperation, negotiation, and even for manipulation, qualities that almost certainly compensated for their inferior social status, broadening the range of options available to them in their dealings with the *Mahamad*.

As this would have required the consideration of elements of continuity which the available sources are largely unable to provide due to their fragmentary nature, the origin and development of these above-described gendered attitudes were omitted from this study. Despite this, however, it would be instructive to compare the attitudes of the ruling elite towards women during the first years of the community's existence, a period in which the emergence of public institutions caused the transfer of crypto-Jewish female prerogatives to the domain of male and public authority. Given the practical impossibility of assessing this information in the case of Hamburg, its relevance nonetheless remains as crucial as ever, especially given the specific circumstances surrounding gender power relations in Sephardic history at that particular time.

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Fernando II of Portugal and his Royal Castellated Palace of Pena (Sintra): Between the Construction of Neo-Medieval Revivalist Castles and the Beginning of the Debate on the National Architectural Style in Portugal

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Abstract

The predominant spirit of the nineteenth century was incorporated into architecture, which adapted and reinvented itself. Great attention was paid to medieval architecture, due to its direct connections with a period considered to represent the origin of many nations. It was against this background that Fernando II of Portugal ordered the construction of his “castle” of Pena, in Sintra. This essay seeks to analyze the context in which the Palace of Pena was built, focusing on its symbolism, comparing it to other nineteenth-century castellated residences, and examining the debate in Portugal about the national architectural style and its influences on Portuguese architecture.

Keywords

Revivalist architecture, Neo-medieval castles, Castellated palace, Pena Palace, National architectural styles, Fernando II of Portugal

Resumo

A arquitectura oitocentista incorporou o espírito dominante da época, adaptando-se e reiventando-se: a arquitectura medieval tornou-se objecto de atenção, devido às relações directas com a Idade Média, considerada a origem de muitas Nações. Foi neste contexto que Fernando II de Portugal ordenou a construção do seu “castelo” da Pena, em Sintra. O presente estudo pretende analisar o contexto no qual o Palácio da Pena foi construído, focando no seu simbolismo, comparando-o com outras residências acasteladas oitocentistas, e examinando o debate em Portugal sobre o estilo arquitectónico nacional e as influências na arquitectura portuguesa.

Palavras-chave

Arquitectura revivalista, Castelos neomedievais, Paço acastelado da Pena, Estilo arquitectónico nacional, Fernando II de Portugal

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Prelude

The period between the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries was a time of nationalism and great turmoil in Europe, with major political, social, and economic upheavals. It was the time of the Spring of Nations, with wave after wave of popular nationalist and liberal uprisings against absolutist regimes, causing many European royal houses to make statements about their sovereignty. It was also the age of Romanticism, a cultural movement that significantly shaped the arts, absorbing symbols and images of different collective identities and recovering their roots from the past, generally from the Middle Ages. And, furthermore, it was a time of chivalrous ideals and “new crusades against the Muslim infidels,” marked by various conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the independence of several Christian countries in Eastern Europe formerly under Ottoman rule, such as Greece, Romania, and Serbia.

Architecture also embodied the prevailing spirit of that time, adapting and reinventing itself according to values that drew their inspiration from the past. It was converted into a kind of repository for past memories and experiences that people somehow wished to see reincarnated. The typical architectural styles of the Middle Ages—the period in which the origins of many nations were considered to be rooted—began to reemerge and were revived once again. Medieval fortifications began to appear, identified with glorious events from the past, frequently linked to the defense of nations and the establishment of their independence. These monuments became territorial references and were clear statements of power by their rulers, as well as representing a source of nationalist pride among the people.



Fig. 1: Castellated Palace of Pena, Sintra. View from the southwest (photograph provided by the author).

The most paradigmatic case in Portugal was the construction of the nineteenth-century “castellated palace” of Pena in Sintra, the most emblematic Portuguese Romantic building. The uniqueness of the palatial complex (frequently referred to, throughout the nineteenth century, as a “castle,” “castellated palace,” “manor house,” or “palace”) left a deep impression on Portuguese nineteenth-century society. This can be seen, for instance, by the number of times that this castellated palace was mentioned in the nineteenth-century periodical press. It was referred to both in words and in pictures, as well as in the form of prints, engravings, and photographs (Santos 2007: 106-111).

Revivalist Castles as Symbolic and Cultural Paradigms

In 1838, as part of the program for the sale of assets appropriated by the National Treasury (*Fazenda Nacional*) through the confiscation of the estates and property of the extinct religious orders,³ the Board of Public Credit (*Junta de Crédito Público*) sold, by public

³ The Portuguese Liberal War (1831-1834) was a violent civil war, involving the liberal faction led by Pedro IV (1798-1834) and the absolutist faction led by his brother Miguel I (1802-1866), with Pedro emerging as the winner. This victory had fatal consequences for Portuguese heritage. Given the need to “re-found” the nation, a rupture with the old regime was unavoidable after the liberal triumph, introducing a new era in Portugal. The consequent upheaval resulted in major changes to the existing social, economic, political, administrative, and cultural structures. The representative symbols of the former regime (the absolute monarchy, a feudal aristocracy, the omnipresence of the Church and its vast possessions) were done away with. The clergy—

auction, the abandoned Convent of Our Lady of Pena (*Convento de Nossa Senhora da Pena*) and its surrounding lands, located at the top of the Serra de Sintra. The Hieronymite convent had been built between 1503 and 1511, following the design of Diogo de Boytac (c. 1460-1528) or, according to other sources, Giovanni Potassi.⁴ In order to express his gratitude for the successful voyage to India of Vasco da Gama (1469-1524), King Manuel I (1469-1521) ordered the reconstruction of the small hermitage already existing there and its enlargement into a convent, which he then donated to the Order of Saint Jerome. The Serra de Sintra was already famous for its mystical aura, and the site where the convent was built was considered sacred because of an ancient legend—a miraculous image of Our Lady had supposedly been found there in the Middle Ages, prompting the construction of the hermitage in 1372, which thereafter became a place of pilgrimage.

The sixteenth-century convent was bought by the Portuguese king, Fernando II (1816-1885), who, under the terms of the public purchase agreement, was compelled to carry out repairs to the former convent, as well as to preserve it as a national monument. Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the Portuguese king consort, who ruled under the name of Fernando II of Portugal, came from the aristocratic houses of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (of Germanic origin) and Koháry (of Magyar origin, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). Born in Vienna, he was educated in accordance with the strict rules of Germanic aristocratic traditions.⁵ As a result of the prevailing cultural atmosphere at the small Central European court where he was raised, Fernando II had shown an interest in the arts from a very young age. His cultural knowledge contrasted with the generally conservative Portuguese mentality, especially after the period of isolation to which the country had been subjected due to the Napoleonic Invasions (1807-1810), the subsequent transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil, the government of Portugal as a British protectorate, and the civil war between liberals and absolutists. After negotiations sponsored by the United Kingdom, Fernando II married the Portuguese Queen Maria II (1819-1853) in 1836.

especially its monastic sector—had been a pillar of absolutism and was regarded as an obsolete structure of the old regime, resulting in its persecution by waves of anticlerical fervor. Because of this, all religious orders in Portuguese territories were suppressed and their estates and property were nationalized in 1834. Without the means to pay for the earlier war efforts, and in order to accomplish the ambitious implantation of the new liberal regime, the main solution for overcoming the country's financial problems was to sell the religious property that had been appropriated by the National Treasury. As a result of the Royal Charter of 15 April 1835, this vast heritage was sold at public auctions, with the exception of those buildings that were considered to be monuments (constructions of historical and artistic value, linked to the national glories of the past, and destined for the use of public services, such as military barracks, universities, hospitals, libraries, municipal functions, etc.).

⁴ About this convent, see Santos 1996; Silva 1995: 279-291; Sousa 1841.

⁵ On the life of Fernando II, see Lopes 2013; Pereira 1999; Instituto de Sintra 1988; Teixeira 1986; and Ehrhardt 1985.

Fernando II would already have known about Portugal through books, as can be seen by the trips that he made immediately after arriving in his new country. He visited the most important Portuguese architectural monuments described in travel books and other texts.⁶ Sintra, near Lisbon, would have been one of his favorite places, since it was greatly appreciated by the European Romantic culture; this can be seen in the words of the Scottish poet George Gordon Byron (1788-1824), who, in 1809, described Sintra as a “glorious Eden,” “perhaps, in every respect, the most delightful in Europe” (Byron 1837: 25).



Fig. 2: Célestine Brélaz / Manuel Luís da Costa, *Pena*, 1840. View of the Royal Convent of Our Lady of Pena in Sintra (watercolor lithograph from the book by Célestine Brélaz, *Croquis de Cintra: Dessinées d'Après Nature & Lithographiées*).

⁶ For instance, Fernando II visited the Royal Abbey of St. Mary (*Real Abadia de Santa Maria*) in Alcobaça, the Monastery of St. Mary of the Victory (*Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória*) in Batalha, and the Convent of Christ (*Convento de Cristo*) in Tomar (Teixeira 1986: 292-300).



Fig. 3: [Illegible name], [*Castellated Palace of Pena*], 1886
(steel engraving from the illustrated periodical *A Ilustração*).

The former convent in Sintra acquired by Fernando II was a complex of buildings set atop one of the wild peaks of the Serra. It enjoyed a privileged location, shrouded in the Romantic mysticism of Sintra, which was famous for its shadowy forests and steep crags, filled with ancient ruins and abandoned castles, and with the infinite sea at its feet. These phenomena were seen and described by Byron, and it is almost certain that Fernando II would have read his poem before arriving in Portugal.

After some works had been undertaken for the repair, restoration, and remodeling of the former convent, designed to transform it into a place that would be suitable for the royal family to enjoy short stays in Sintra, Fernando II realized that the ancient structure did not offer the appropriate conditions of habitability, comfort, and dignity required by a royal residence. Consequently, in 1841, an ambitious program for the enlargement of the building was decided upon, involving the addition of newly built structures to the former convent. Once it was finished, the new royal residential complex of Pena displayed a series of features that led to its being classified as a “castellated palace”: the existence of a barbican with a fortified gate and drawbridge; the proliferation of battlements across almost the whole of the built complex; the round and polygonal buttresses, reminiscent of medieval bastions; the numerous bartizans around the palatial building; and the various towers, with the enormous cylindrical tower being the most prominent, together with the clock tower, evocative of the medieval keeps that are to be found in almost all Portuguese castles. Furthermore, the residential space itself resembled the palatial manor houses that had previously existed inside

many medieval castles. Finally, this royal complex had a similar location to most Portuguese medieval castles, being situated in a high and easily defensible position.

However, the nineteenth-century castle of Pena did not perform any military function. Almost all of the architectural elements displaying military characteristics were mere decorative ornaments. The palatial complex of Pena was created within the context of the Romantic movement that was flourishing in Europe at that time. This movement had a huge impact on the (north and central) Germanic areas of the continent and in the United Kingdom. Romantics were greatly attracted to the medieval period, admiring the ideals of chivalry, the devotional sense of the Christian faith, and the corporatism of the arts and crafts. Architecture sought to reflect those ideals, searching for references in medieval styles and reinterpreting and adapting them to contemporary needs. For instance, revivalist architecture⁷ was expressed in the building of new churches, which began to adopt medieval aesthetic elements, inspired by the great cathedrals and monastic structures from the “time of the crusades and pilgrimages.”

While, for religious buildings there was a linear correlation with medieval temples, in the case of aristocratic residences, the sources of inspiration were usually medieval castles and castellated palaces, precisely because of the Romantic chivalrous ideals associated with legendary kings and knights, and their heroic deeds.⁸ Imbued with the Romantic ideals that he had acquired during his education, Fernando II opted to use an aesthetic solution for his new castle that was inspired by medieval military architecture, especially because Sintra, where his new royal residence would be located, was associated with Romantic mysticism.

The neo-Gothic revival provided visual associations with Gothic ornaments, while also displaying planimetric and volumetric asymmetries and creating the illusion that the buildings had been constructed over a long period of time, thereby eliciting the sensation of time passing through them. The rejection of the strict rules of Classicism, in favor of a dynamic system that could be adapted to different circumstances, allowed for greater flexibility in the use of architectural languages, forms, materials, and solutions. The Romantics' fondness for medieval castles was not surprising: besides their political and social symbolism, the evolution and the changing uses that were made of castles (for example, the switch from military to residential functions) allowed them to incorporate one of the most

⁷ On architectural revivalism, see, for example, Aldrich 2005; Bergdoll 2000; Brooks 1999; Patetta 1995; MacCarthy 1987; and Clark 1928.

⁸ Luciano Patetta mentioned that in the nineteenth century, classicism was generally considered to be a style that was perfectly adaptable to major public buildings, while medieval styles were more suitable for religious architecture or (a more restrained form of) domestic architecture (Patetta 1995: 145).

favorite Romantic themes—the passage of time. Medieval castles enabled Romantics to observe their beginning, their evolution, and, ultimately, the end of their life cycle.

Between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, this same Romantic fascination was visible in Britain, where there were clear signs of an intense construction of aristocratic and upper middle-class residences, generally in the countryside. Numerous interventions were made on castellated palaces in order to enlarge them and endow them with better living conditions. The largest interventions included the demolition and subsequent reconstruction of medieval buildings, as well as the reformulation of pre-existing buildings and the incorporation of extensive enlargements. In both cases, the medieval appearance of these buildings was usually modified in some way. However, it should be noted that, even after this, in Britain, interventions continued to be performed on medieval structures in order to modernize them aesthetically and functionally and to adapt them to new needs. Generally speaking, the changes made before the Romantic period had usually been based on contemporary architectural aesthetics.

However, from the eighteenth century onwards, medieval architectural aesthetics began to be used in new interventions, particularly in the case of neo-medieval decorative elements. These new expressions assumed a symbolic dimension, adding new aesthetic values to buildings. Castellated residences were associated with a certain political and social prestige, which was further amplified by the influence of the Romantic movement, due to its attraction for the Middle Ages and the fascination that it had with mythical characters and medieval heroes. While some medieval aristocratic houses maintained their military appearance (although most of them were either partly or totally rebuilt), in other cases these buildings transformed their image and started to resemble palatial residences, despite maintaining some decorative elements that were simply a reference to medieval defensive architecture, such as battlements. Together with the renovation of those pre-existing aristocratic buildings, there was also an increase in the construction of new castellated mansions.

But the castellated Palace of Pena was certainly influenced, in the first place, by what was happening in Germanic areas—a nationalist reaction against the French invasions and the creation of new states and borders established by the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). Fernando II was the nephew of Duke Ernest I (1784-1844) of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and, in his childhood, he had stayed with his uncle in Thuringia on various occasions. Fernando II was familiar with the ducal palaces in Thuringia, which had been substantially remodeled at his uncle's orders (Teixeira 1986: 17). The remodeling of the palaces of Rosenau (Oeslau), Ehrenburg (Coburg), Callenberg (Beiersdorf), Reinhardsbrunn (Friedrichroda), and Veste

Coburg (Coburg) gave them a Gothic or a castellated appearance. The first two buildings were designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), and the last two by Karl Alexander von Heideloff (1789-1865), while the architect of the remodel at Callenberg is unknown.

The Napoleonic Wars had an enormous impact in the Germanic area. The Rhine region fell temporarily under French rule and suffered severe destruction. In this way, the Napoleonic army aroused a strong nationalist resistance to the French presence. After its liberation from the French, this region began to be considered a kind of national sanctuary and a symbol of the pan-Germanic unity against foreign invaders. Ruined medieval fortifications began to be rebuilt and restored gradually, due to their symbolic links with the defense of the Germanic motherland and, at the same time, their medieval roots in the origin of the German nation. Naturally, numerous castellated palaces were either built or rebuilt with a medieval inspiration, displaying both symbolic and political motivations, including the Germanic territorial claims, and the proclamation of the hegemony of Germanic dynasties.

For instance, in the Rhine valley, the Prussian King Frederic William IV (1795-1861) promoted the reconstruction of the castellated palaces of Stolzenfels (Coblenz) and Sooneck (Niederheimbach), while his cousin, Prince Frederick of Prussia (1794-1863), did the same with the castellated palace of Rheinstein (Trechtingshausen). Much later, the castles of Hohkönigsburg (Orschwiller) and Ordensburg Marienburg (Malbork) were reconstructed, respectively in the western and eastern extremes of the Germanic territory, in an attempting to assert the Germanic territorial dominance there.⁹ The Prussian dynasty promoted the construction of Babelsberg Palace (Potsdam) and the rebuilding of the castellated palace of Hohenzollern (Hechingen), the Bavarian King Maximilian II (1811-1864) ordered the building of the castellated palace of Hohenschwangau, and the mythical Wartburg Castle (Eisenach) was also rebuilt in Thuringia.

Germanic Romanticism also conveyed the ideals of the crusades against the infidels. This can easily be seen by looking at the support that the Germanic monarchs gave to those countries that had recently been liberated from Ottoman (Muslim) rule.¹⁰ Moreover, there was also a highly evident admiration for the Teutonic knights, as well as for the mythical stories related with the medieval era.

⁹ On this theme, see Liessem 2007: 7-14; Zeune 2007: 15-20; Taylor 1998; and Rathke 1979.

¹⁰ The Bavarian Prince Otto von Wittelsbach (1815-1867) became the first king of Greece, ruling as Otto I of Greece; the Rhenish Prince Alexander of Battenberg (1857-1893) became the first tsar of Bulgaria, being succeeded by another Germanic prince, Ferdinand Maximilian of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1861-1948)—the nephew of Fernando II of Portugal—who became Ferdinand II of Bulgaria; and the Swabian Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1839-1914) became the first king of Romania, ruling as Carol I of Romania.

Returning to the case of Portugal, the castellated Palace of Pena and its architectural features curiously bore a close resemblance to those of the castellated palace of Reinhardsbrunn, remodeled by Duke Ernest I. Just like the Portuguese palace, this Germanic palatial complex had its origin in a medieval monastic building—in this case, a Benedictine abbey. The ruined abbey had been bought by the ducal family, who converted it into a castellated palace to be used as a holiday residence, creating a luxuriant green park around the various buildings. As for the composite model of the castellated Palace of Pena, with its irregular planimetry, volumetry, and spatial organization, some affinities can be found with the Veste Coburg Castle (as well as other Germanic castellated palaces, such as the mythical Wartburg Castle in Eisenach). All of these had a series of both curved and straight blocks, linking together various volumes that had been adapted to the topography and characteristics of the landscape.

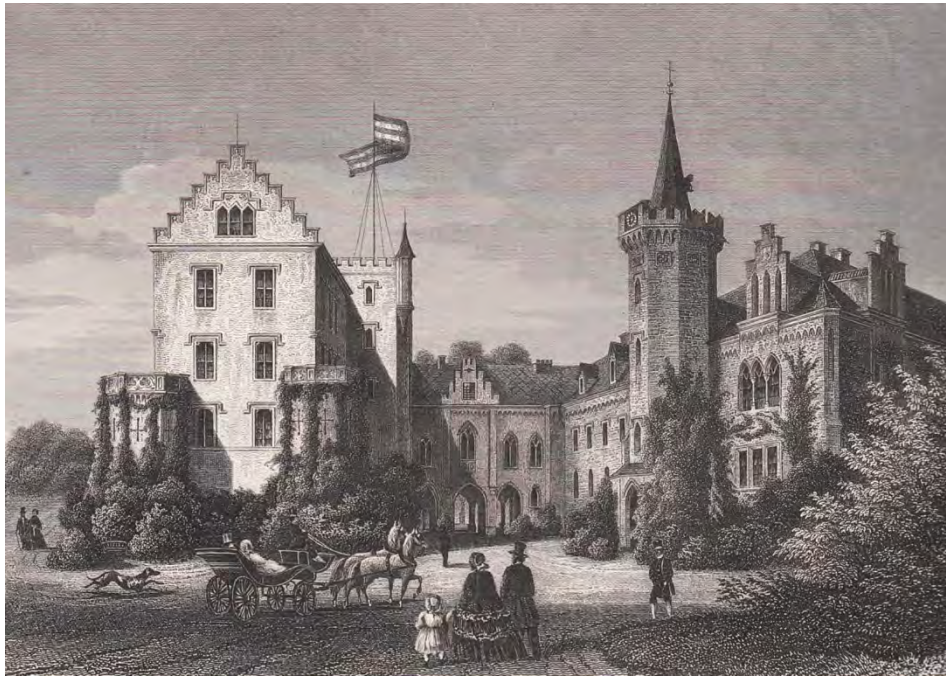


Fig. 4: F. Schack/Joseph Maximilian Kolb, *Schloß Reinhardsbrunn*, c. 1870 (steel engraving published by the Bibliographisches Institut Hildburghausen).

The volumetric plasticity of the castellated Palace of Pena did not result from the fact that the buildings had all been erected at the same time. On the contrary, it was the sum of the various volumes that had been added to an already pre-existing building. The irregular topography of the land on which the castellated palace of Sintra was built imposed certain restrictions on the new constructions, consequently calling for an organic interconnection of its different parts (Anacleto 1994: 211). It is significant that when the Prussian envoy to Portugal, Prince Felix Andreas Lichnowsky (1814-1848), was invited by Fernando II to visit

the castellated Palace of Pena, he immediately drew comparisons with the castellated buildings of the Rhine Valley and Bavaria:

There are castles of kings and princes to be found in the Rhine Valley and the Bavarian Alps, all of which were erected in areas that allowed for their greater extension, achieving the honor of being frequently celebrated in prose or verse; and yet their ornamentation would look poor and imperfect if compared with the delicate knotwork and fantastic arabesques above the arcades of the Pena Palace. (Lichnowsky 1845: 126-127)

The resemblances between the Portuguese construction and some Germanic castellated palaces were clearly visible, for example, in their similar composite architectural models, their idealized Romantic revivalism, and the settings chosen for the location of the palatial complexes, atop the picturesque wild peaks of hills surrounded by thick, luxuriant vegetation.¹¹

Besides Fernando II's Romantic ideals, there were other motivations behind the sovereign's intentions. The Portuguese king-consort was a foreigner, and therefore he was regarded with suspicion by a part of Portuguese society. Furthermore, Fernando II had arrived in Portugal immediately after the civil war, at a time of great political commotion and social discontent. The prestige of the Portuguese monarchy had been weakened by what was generally considered to be its cowardly escape to Brazil during the Napoleonic invasion, so that it needed to reaffirm itself not only as a stable and neutral institution in Portugal, but also as a generator of consensus between political and social sectors. Moreover, the supporters of Miguel I—the uncle of Queen Maria II—were still claiming his legitimate right to the Portuguese throne.¹² As a consequence, the Portuguese royal family felt the need to symbolically assert its regal power, which could be partly achieved by building a new royal castle—or, in this case, a royal castellated palace.

Royal palaces had existed in Portugal since the Middle Ages, most of them being located inside defensive complexes.¹³ Furthermore, the building of a royal residence with a fortified structure was not merely a protective option; it was also a way of illustrating the

¹¹ On the imagery relating to the castellated palace of Pena in Sintra, see Schedel 2019; Schedel and Pereira 2016: 42-49; Schedel 2011; Carneiro 2009; Hanschake 2009: 91-102; and Sonius 2007: 169-185.

¹² Miguel I was proclaimed king of Portugal, but he lost his title after being defeated by his brother Pedro IV (the father of Maria II) in the Portuguese civil war. Pedro IV renounced the Brazilian throne in order to become the Portuguese king.

¹³ For instance, there were royal palaces inside the castles of Coimbra, Leiria, Lisbon, Estremoz, and Óbidos.

owner's prestige. The importance of military symbolism as a statement of power is also to be noted in the terms of the nuptial agreement: despite the controversy that this provoked in Portugal, the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha uncompromisingly demanded that Fernando II be granted the rank of Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army (Teixeira 1986: 37). The symbolism that is linked to certain military architectural aesthetics, as displayed in both medieval and modern buildings, can be observed in the *ius crenelandi*, the application of which was entirely dependent on the monarch. In Portugal, almost all fortifications formed part of the royal property, so that castellated palaces were unusual—they were granted by the king exclusively to a few aristocrats.¹⁴

During the nineteenth century, Portugal was no different from other European countries regarding the need to assert the sovereign's authority. One of the ways of doing this was precisely to build or rebuild medievalized castellated palaces, just as many other kings had done in the past. Queen Victoria I of the United Kingdom (1819-1901), whose ancestry was almost entirely Germanic, was the niece of Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1819-1861), the duke's son. Fernando II of Portugal was therefore a direct cousin of the British royal couple. As was the case with the Portuguese royal house, the British sovereigns somehow felt the need to legitimize their royal authority; besides this, as foreign king-consorts, both cousins (Fernando and Albert) wished to obtain their subjects' approval by showing that they embraced the values of their new countries.

Some years after their marriage, in 1852, Victoria and Albert bought the ancient castellated complex of Balmoral, in Scotland, which had been remodeled between 1834 and 1838, when it was afforded a Tudor appearance. The British monarchs ordered a partial demolition of the ancient building, subsequently promoting the construction of a castellated palace on top of the pre-existing one, making it their summer residence. Besides some Germanic influences, the castellated palace of Balmoral, rebuilt between 1853 and 1857 in accordance with a design produced by Albert with the aid of the architect William Smith (1817-1891), also displayed regional influences related with the baronial architectural language of the Scottish Highlands.

¹⁴ The institution of the juridical principle of *ius crenelandi* (the right to “crenelate,” i.e., to place battlements on buildings) and the royal monopoly over the construction of fortifications in Portugal lasted until the reign of King Duarte I (1391-1438). The *ius crenelandi* was also reflected in the tight control exercised over the construction of castellated residences without royal authorization. In only a few special cases was the construction of a *domus fortis* allowed, based on security needs. In fact, while in several European countries the aristocracy were allowed to have their own castles, in Portugal, castles were strictly owned as royal dominions (Barroca 1998b: 804-807). See also Barroca 1998a: 39-103; Gomes 1995; and Barroca 1990: 88-136.

Eclecticism and the Debate on National Architectural Styles

Besides Fernando II's origins and his consequent cultural influences, Portugal's affinities with the Germanic world were further extended through the construction of the castellated Palace of Pena. Wilhelm Ludwig (1777-1855), Baron of Eschwege and a man of Germanic origin, was appointed by the Portuguese monarch to plan his new castellated palace in Sintra. Eschwege was a military engineer from the Rhenish region of Hesse-Kassel, near Thuringia, who arrived in Portugal in 1807. His educational background was strictly scientific in nature, although he had had some practice in the planning of architecture, which enabled him to propose a design based on academic models and in keeping with the predominant architectural tastes. As was the case with other Germanic architectural planners, Eschwege would have drawn his inspiration from publications reproducing pictures of British revivalist cottages and castellated palaces.¹⁵ Eschwege had also been influenced in architectural terms by Heinrich Cristoph Jussow (1754-1825), the architect who had designed the castellated palace of Löwenburg (Kassel), located close to Eschwege's hometown. This palace, a false ruin of a medieval castle, was built between 1793 and 1800, and Eschwege probably adopted some influences from this building in the planning of his Sintra design (Hanschake 2009: 98). Furthermore, Eschwege lived in Prussia between 1829 and 1835, a time when Rhenish aristocratic homes were the subject of an enormous building campaign, and some of their designs were certainly influenced by British publications (Teixeira 1986: 307).

Eschwege's initial designs for the new royal palace in Sintra displayed close similarities with some British and Germanic castellated palaces. The work for the construction of the Babelsberg Palace—the new holiday residence of the Prussian royal family, built between 1835 and 1849 in keeping with the designs by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), Johann Heinrich Strack (1805-1880), and Friedrich Ludwig Persius (1803-1845)—began during Eschwege's stay in Prussia (Teixeira 1986: 308). Analyzing Eschwege's design for the castellated Palace of Pena, it is easy to find affinities with the Germanic palace: a sober neo-Gothic language, with pointed motifs and allusions to medieval defensive architecture (tower and battlements); the planimetric asymmetry of the two buildings and

¹⁵ Several publications that enjoyed a wide circulation contained engravings depicting British revivalist castles, such as *Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas* published in 1807 by William Fuller Pocock (1779-1849), *The Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa Architecture* published in 1834 by John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), or *Plans and Elevations of Cottage Villas and Country Residences* published in 1852 by William Patisson (1805-1878).

perhaps the most clearly visible feature; and the longitudinal volume that, beginning with the complex of differently-sized volumes, ended at the other extreme in a large cylindrical tower with an even higher cylindrical turret. Both the tower and the turret were crowned with battlements and friezes of arches.

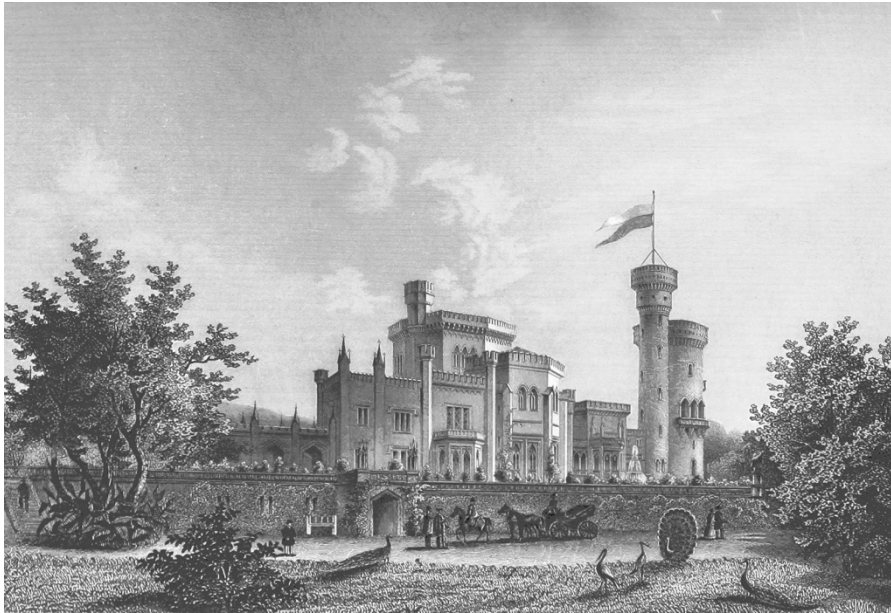


Fig. 5: F. A. Borchel / G. Hels, *Schloss Babelsberg bei Potsdam*, 1852
(steel engraving from the book by Johann Gabriel Friedrich Poppel, *Das Königreich Preussen in malerischen Original-Ansichten seiner interessantesten Gegenden...*).

On the other hand, despite the planimetric differences, the Babelsberg Palace had certain affinities with some British buildings; for example, Belvoir Castle (Redmile), designed by James Wyatt (1736-1813) and rebuilt between 1801 and 1832. These similarities could be seen in the castle's neo-Gothic sobriety, the use of buttresses and, above all, the cylindrical tower. Although it was not an end element, as in the Prussian palace, the volume and shape of the cylindrical tower in the British building are similar in both palaces, involving such features as the joining together of the cylindrical tower and the higher turret, the crown of battlements on both buildings, and the friezes of arches.¹⁶ As far as the castellated Palace of Pena is concerned, besides the similarities that it displays with the British castle and the Prussian palace in terms of the cylindrical tower and turret, the pointed arches, the

¹⁶ The similarities between Babelsberg Palace and some British buildings can be explained by the choices of the Prussian king's wife, Augusta of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1811-1890). The Prussian queen had received a partly British education, and, perhaps because of this, she chose a Gothic revivalist style for her summer residence, inspired by British books that displayed models of holiday cottages (Neto 2007: 389).

battlements, and the friezes of arches, another coincidence can be observed between the Portuguese building and Belvoir Castle: two turrets signaling the main entrance.¹⁷

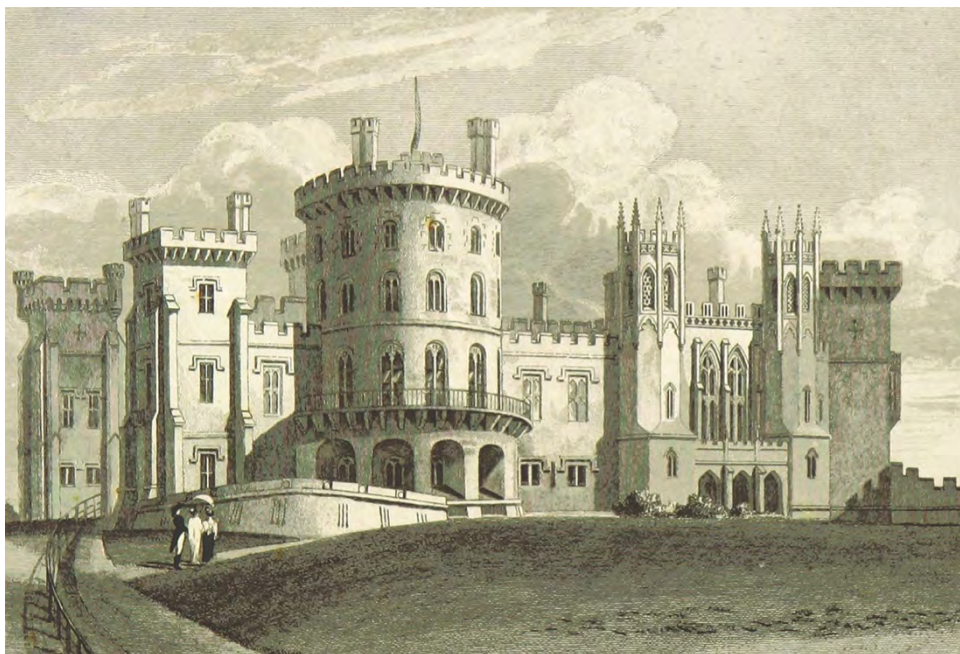


Fig. 6: John Preston Neale / William John Cooke, *Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire*, 1818 (steel engraving from the book by John Preston Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*).

Fernando II did not agree with Eschwege's aesthetics in the first design for the castellated Palace of Pena, for which the neo-Gothic style was proposed. The Portuguese king was obliged by the purchase agreement to conserve the pre-existing convent, so he requested the use of an architectural language that was more in keeping with the sixteenth-century Convent of Our Lady of Pena (Teixeira 1996: 308). Besides the fact that he was building a monument, Fernando II would also have considered that the ancient convent, which was the origin of the new palatial complex, should be respected. He thus gave greater emphasis to the sixteenth-century Portuguese architectural influences coming from the convent than to the Germanic and British neo-Gothic influences proposed by Eschwege. In this way, Fernando II recognized the existence of specific features in Portuguese architecture, identifying a sort of national architectural language that was different from the ones existing in other countries.

¹⁷ In fact, this kind of ostentatious entrance is similar to the one built in the Tudor style and completed by Henry VIII of England (1491-1547) at Hampton Court Palace (Schedel 2011: 102). It is also curious to observe that James Wyatt used the book *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Views of the Church of Batalha*, published by James Cavanaugh Murphy (1760-1814) in 1795, to plan some of the features to be found at the castellated palace of Belvoir. As a matter of fact, even Ehrenburg Palace, owned by Ernest I (Fernando II's uncle), was influenced by Murphy's book, for example in its neo-Gothic parapets (Neto 2008: 40-48).

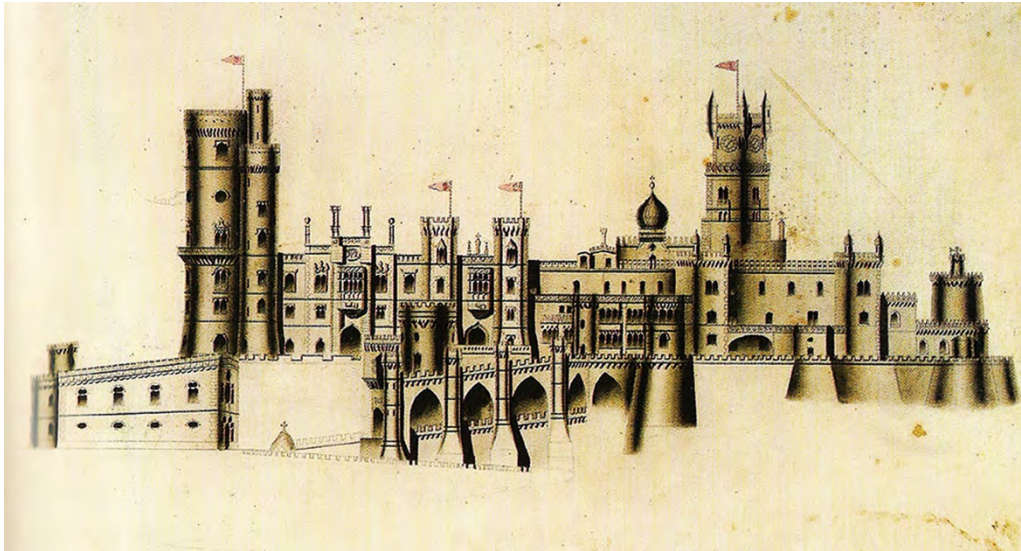


Fig. 7: Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege (attrib.), [*Plan for the Castellated Palace of Pena in Sintra*], c.1838-42 (image provided by Parques de Sintra—Monte da Lua).

The debate on national styles was indeed of major interest to the European cultural elites of the nineteenth century. The “rise of nations” in nineteenth-century Europe inspired the search for a national architectural style, supposedly rooted in the past. After a nation’s language, its architecture was the most visible and tangible source for identifying a culture that was distinct from others, thus enabling the transmission of national historical roots. From the architectural point of view, the end of the Baroque era, culminating in the splendor of Rococo, resulted in a subsequently ambiguous period, due to the difficulty in creating a new architectural style to succeed the previous ones. Architecture has always been a reflection of the society that creates and maintains it, but it is also a representative symbol of the forces that lie behind its formation (political, religious, social, economic, etc.). At a time when History was a factor that characterized the beginning of the Contemporary Age (searching for the patriotic roots of nations and creating their identities), Architecture itself was hugely influenced by historicism. Therefore, the historicist spirit was incorporated into architecture, reinventing itself according to ancestral values—architecture could be a repository for memories or past experiences that one wished to be recorded or relived, or it could simply be a receiver of revivalist architectural elements and aesthetic ornaments.

While the quest for classicism in architecture was not an innovative attitude, the stylistic regression to the Middle Ages nonetheless sparked an intense and constructive debate on the paths of architecture at that time. For instance, Thomas Hope (1769-1831), Heinrich Hübsch (1795-1863), Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), César Denis Daly (1811-1894), Camillo Boito (1836-1914), Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850-1923), Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) and John Ruskin (1819-1900), or, in Portugal, Joaquim Possidónio da

Silva (1806-1896), all questioned which architectural styles should be used to build a contemporary architecture that embraced evolution but, at the same time, respected national traditions. The result was the predominance of an architectural eclecticism for a long period of time, from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Eclectic architectural styles were characterized by the use of a diverse repertoire directly inspired by architectural languages from the past (neo-Romanesque, neo-Gothic, neo-Classical, neo-Moorish, neo-Manueline, neo-Byzantine, and neo-Baroque, as well as influences from Persian, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and even African and Native American architecture). In this way, there was a free recreation of built structures, symbols, or a simple aesthetic sense, randomly incorporating various eclectic ornaments into architecture for picturesque and aesthetic purposes.

At that specific time in the nineteenth century, the debate on the Portuguese national architectural style was just beginning; nevertheless, there was already a strong nostalgic appeal of the architecture from the “golden era of the Portuguese Discoveries,” and, in particular, from the time of King Manuel I of Portugal. This appeal became even more visible at the beginning of the Romantic movement in Portugal, with the publication of the poem *Camões* in 1825 by João de Almeida Garrett (1799-1854). This poem was closely associated not only with the Portuguese poet Luís Vaz de Camões (c.1524-1580)—who wrote the epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, glorifying Portugal and the Portuguese overseas expansion—but also with the Portuguese Discoveries themselves as the symbol of the mythical “glorious Portuguese period.” This period was personified by Manuel I and by the monuments that were built in his time, namely the Hieronymite Monastery of Saint Mary of Belém (better known as the Jerónimos Monastery) and the fortified tower of Saint Vincent in Belém (or the Belém Tower), both in Lisbon; in fact, Garrett’s poem was also a kind of eulogy of the Portuguese virtues of that time (Maia 2007: 121).

Fernando II was aware of the legendary presence of Manuel I at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena. As a matter of fact, there was a myth that was frequently recounted, describing how Manuel I watched, from this convent, as the vessels of Vasco da Gama’s fleet returned triumphantly after discovering the maritime route to India. Fernando II surely intended to elevate the memory of Manuel I by assuming the legacy of the great Portuguese royal tradition. By doing so, he was establishing a continuity—he was taking on the role of the heir to the Portuguese dynasty, and, in this case, symbolically restoring the aura of the most glorious Portuguese king, who ruled over a vast empire that spread all around the world. In fact, there is a stained-glass window inside the chapel of the castellated Palace of Pena

exhibiting Fernando II and the Convent of Our Lady of Pena on the left, and Manuel I and the Belém Tower on the right.



Fig. 8: View of the stained-glass window inside the chapel of the castellated Palace of Pena, Sintra (photograph provided by the author).

Fernando II nurtured a genuine admiration for Manuel I, with both of them being cultured people, lovers of history, and protectors of the national heritage, contributing to the stimulation of the arts while also being skillful politicians. Just as Manuel I had done about three centuries earlier, Fernando II sought to use architecture as an instrument of propaganda, power, and memory in order to strengthen the image of the Portuguese royal house as an effective ruler of Portugal and its overseas territories. So, the use of architectural references from the time of Manuel I was not only a cultural option, but also a political one, adopted by a king who wished to achieve the royal recognition of his people. He hoped that his castellated palace could be presented as a symbol of the union between the Royal House of Portugal and his own Germanic aristocracy.

Therefore, the architectural style considered by Fernando II to be the most representative of Portugal was precisely the one that came from the time of Manuel I, alluding directly to the nation's glorious past and the heroic feats achieved in the golden era of the Portuguese Discoveries. This architectural style came to be known as *Manueline* (*Manuelino*), and its significance was widely discussed during the construction of the castellated Palace of Pena.

The Recognition of Manueline as the Portuguese National Style

The Manueline style¹⁸ began to be noted in the eighteenth century, mainly by foreign travelers who saw different characteristics in Portuguese late-medieval architecture when compared to that of contemporary buildings in non-Iberian countries. However, the aesthetic concepts and analytical instruments of architectural historiography were not sufficiently well developed or disseminated at that time, and therefore an erroneous perception of the Portuguese architecture from the time of Manuel I began to be repeated from at least the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.

In 1760, while searching for the Moorish roots of Gothic architecture, Thomas Pitt (1737-1793) visited the Jerónimos Monastery, already gaining a glimpse of Manueline architecture—even though he was still far from perceiving it as an autonomous Portuguese style. Pitt referred to the monastery, built at the orders of Manuel I, as having a different Gothic style from the English one—a peculiar style with an “air of the antique grotesque” and “resembling the Grecian” (quoted by Neto 2006: 109), perhaps intending to suggest a kind of Byzantine influence. Some years later, in 1777, William Dalrymple (1723-1814) described the existence of some works displaying a “Moorish taste” (Dalrymple 1777: 133) in the Unfinished Chapels of the Monastery of Saint Mary of the Victory (*Mosteiro da Santa Maria da Vitória*) in Batalha (better known as Batalha Monastery), leading him to attribute a Muslim origin to the Belém Tower (Dalrymple 1777: 142). In 1789, James Murphy (1760-1814) described the Unfinished Chapels, mentioning that “in some parts [it] is Arabian, in others absolute Gothic” (Murphy 1795: 42). As for the Jerónimos Monastery, Murphy referred to an architecture “compounded of the Norman-Gothic, and Arabian styles” with a cloister exhibiting “specimens of Arabesque ornaments” (Murphy 1795: 176).

Adam Neale (c. 1778-1832) repeated Murphy’s words in 1809 when referring to the “Arabesque Gothic” of the Unfinished Chapels (Neale 1809: 103) and the “singular Arabesque carvings” of the church of the Jerónimos Monastery (Neale 1809: 106-108). In 1820, William Graham referred to the “Moorish convent at Belem” as “one of the most beautiful Moresque, or Gothic pieces of architecture” (Graham 1820: 11), just as William Morgan Kinsey (1788-1851) did in 1829, in relation to the monasteries of Batalha and

¹⁸ The Manueline was a Portuguese architectural style from the transition of the Middle Ages to the Modern Era, in which late-Gothic architectural elements coexisted with proto-Renaissance elements and some other innovations, such as the occasional Moorish (*mourisco*) influence, during a period roughly between the reigns of João II (1455-1495) and João III (1502-1557), and with a particular emphasis on the reign of King Manuel I. On the Manueline style, see Pereira 1995: 53-60; Pereira 1992: 63-76; Pereira 1990; and Dias 1988.

Jerónimos, also adding information about the Palace of Sintra, which “bears the character of Moorish architecture” in several parts (Kinsey 1829: 129). In 1835, James Edward Alexander (1803-1885) referred to the “mixture of Moorish and Gothic architecture” of the Jerónimos Monastery (Alexander 1835: 79) and the “pointed Moorish windows” of the Palace of Sintra (Alexander 1835: 233).

William Beckford (1760-1844) also considered the architecture from the time of Manuel I as having a strong Moorish influence: the “delicately-carved arabesque ornament” of the cloister of the Jerónimos Monastery (Beckford 1834: 56); the “Saxon crinklins and cranklings,” with “long and lanky marrow-spoon-shaped arches of the early Norman” and “Moorish horse-shoe-like deviations from beautiful curves” of the Unfinished Chapels of the Batalha Monastery (Beckford 1835: 136-137); and the Palace of Sintra was compared to the Alhambra and other Moorish buildings of Granada and Seville in a “fantastic oriental style” (Beckford 1834: 111-113). However, Beckford introduced a new influence coming from the East, when stating that the chapel of the Palace of Sintra had works that were similar to those of Eastern artists:

The low flat cupola, as well as the intersections of the arches, are a must in the style of a mosque, but the barbaric profusion of gold, and still more barbaric paintings [. . .] might almost be similar to the work of Singhalese or Hindustani artists, and reminded me of those subterraneous pagodas where his Satanic Majesty receives homage under the form of Gumpudy or of Buddha. (Beckford 1834: 114)

All these travelers described these Manuline monuments as having a kind of Romanesque-Gothic style mixed with Moorish architecture, and their exoticism derived from the ancestral Muslim presence in Portugal. Pitt referred to a possible Byzantine similarity, and Beckford also added the Eastern influence, certainly because of the lengthy Portuguese presence in Asia. Foreign visitors were indeed able to distinguish a specific character of the Portuguese architecture from the time of Manuel I, which was different from that of other European countries, but the lack of conceptual instruments prevented them from recognizing it as an architectural style with its own intrinsic characteristics. The same can be said of the contemporaneous Portuguese writers, although they already mentioned some features which were characteristic of the Manuline style; for instance, António Castro e Sousa (1804-1876) described the Jerónimos Monastery as being of “Moorish or Arabian

architecture” and having carved elements that decorated the building such as knots, crosses of the Order of Christ,¹⁹ armillary spheres, and the royal coat of arms, as well as some medallions with busts (Sousa 1837: 16, 27, 32).²⁰

However, the debate about the existence of a Portuguese national style and the consequent recognition of the Manueline only began to take place more consistently at the beginning of the 1840s, being closely connected to a series of aspects associated with Portuguese Romanticism. It is well known that the idea of Portugal was a subject of major concern for Portuguese Romantics, which included its history, traditions, culture, art, and heritage. From the turn of the 1830s to the 1840s, all of these features were discussed more frequently among the most progressive Portuguese cultural elites, and Fernando II was at the very heart of the debate, sponsoring artists, protecting the Portuguese heritage, and interacting directly with the elites.

The restoration work undertaken by Fernando II, from 1839 onwards, at the small Convent of Our Lady of Pena was designed to respect the building’s architectural characteristics, establishing a kind of starting point for the debate about the existence of a Portuguese architectural style. Moreover, it also marked a subsequent association with the architecture from the time of Manuel I. This debate increased with the restoration work carried out at the Batalha Monastery, between 1840 and 1843, by Luís Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1792-1846), the Inspector General of the Public Construction Service, and at the Belém Tower in 1843-46 under the direction of the engineer Colonel António de Azevedo e Cunha (1810-1883), commissioned by António de Menezes Severim de Noronha (1792-1860), the Duke of Terceira. The repair work undertaken at the church of the Jerónimos Monastery and the Convent of Christ in Tomar during the 1840s can also be included in this debate. Fernando II was involved in all of these interventions—at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, by restoring it, as well as at the Batalha Monastery, Belém Tower, Jerónimos Monastery, and Convent of Christ, by sponsoring the restoration and repair works (França 1990: 296).

In these particular cases, the restoration work was designed to achieve a conceptual, stylistic and constructive unity in the monuments, respecting the creations of their original

¹⁹ The cross of the Order of Christ was the symbol of the Portuguese Order of the Knights of Our Lord Jesus Christ, commonly known as the Order of Christ. Besides being the symbol of this religious order, this cross was later adopted by the Portuguese kings and incorporated into their coats of arms. Being a national symbol, the cross of the Order of Christ became one of the major symbols of the Portuguese Discoveries, due to the fundamental role played by the Order of Christ at the beginning of the Portuguese overseas expansion.

²⁰ In 1827, Francisco de São Luís Saraiva had already associated the cross of the Order of Christ and the armillary sphere with the architecture from the time of Manuel I, when describing the Unfinished Chapels of the Batalha Monastery (Saraiva 1827: 190).

authors. A stylistic reintegration in keeping with a predetermined image would recover the pristine style of these monuments and reestablish their initial splendor. Structures considered to be dissonant were removed as spurious elements, and damaged or missing structures were recovered, based on their analogies with similar elements that still existed there in good condition. However, restoration work was sometimes considered to offer a good opportunity for improving, enriching, and completing monuments, even if the new structures that were added to those monuments had never existed before.

The main questions raised by the technicians and those responsible for supervising the restoration of these monuments would have been as follows: if restoration work was supposed to respect the original style of monuments, what then would the original style have been in the case of the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, the Belém Tower, and the other monuments? What were the intrinsic characteristics of the architecture existing at the time of Manuel I that had to be respected? And which style(s) is/are represented by these monuments? As previously mentioned, certain particular features of the architecture at the time of Manuel I had already been detected by both foreign travelers and Portuguese authors, but the existence of a distinct architectural style only began to be recognized during the restoration work mentioned above, which involved the cultural elite and, of course, Fernando II.

The recognition of the Manueline style has been attributed to Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen (1816-1878), who was born in Brazil to a German father and a Portuguese mother. An article from 1840 shows that Varnhagen had already identified the specificity of the architecture from the time of Manuel I. He stated that the Belém Tower and the Jerónimos Monastery both exhibited the same architectural approach (Varnhagen 1840: 73-74). Just two years later, Varnhagen characterized the architecture of the Jerónimos Monastery in various articles published in the illustrated periodical *O Panorama* in 1842, later collecting his articles together in a single text. The “particular and *sui generis* style”—as Varnhagen described the Manueline style (Varnhagen 1842: 9)—was again identified by him, a year later, in another article about the Igreja de São Julião in Setúbal (Varnhagen 1843: 44).

Almeida Garrett sought to claim paternity of the recognition of the Manueline style. In the third edition of his poem *Camões* (1844), Garrett referred to the Jerónimos Monastery as a unique style, which “should perhaps be given the name of Manueline” (Garrett 1844: 220-221). However, this comment, inserted in an endnote (*Nota L do Canto I*), did not exist in the first edition (1825); it was, in fact, inserted in an endnote in the second edition of the

poem (1839), but in a shorter version, and without the term Manueline.²¹ Nevertheless, Garrett was already aware of the specificity of the Manueline style when he referred to the Jerónimos Monastery as a “precious example of flowery Gothic” (Garrett 1839: 227). Later, Garrett referred to the Jerónimos Monastery as a building with “links to every kind of architecture, mixing Gothic traditions and Classical remnants, Romanesque simplicity and Moorish luxury,” but also as a place where a “specific national thought, an idea of greatness, elevation and enthusiasm” was represented (Garrett 1846a: 87-88). Moreover, in 1846, Garrett proposed the name Mozarab (*Moçárabe*) to classify the “special kind of national architecture” in which “the severe Christian thoughts of medieval architecture are made more relaxing” due to their contact with the “luxurious elegance of sensuous Moorish habits” (Garrett 1846b: 169).²²

Mouzinho de Albuquerque published a report about the restoration of the Batalha Monastery carried out under his direction between 1840 and 1843, in which he stated that the Unfinished Chapels were not part of the same construction system or the same artistic way of thinking as the rest of the monastery. In fact, Albuquerque considered the Unfinished Chapels to belong to a transitional form of architecture, which later produced the Jerónimos Monastery. Albuquerque referred to this architecture as Emanueline (*Emanuelina*), having “isolated columns with low vaults, recalling the eastern palm trees almost parallel to the horizon”, in contrast to the Gothic style with its “bundles of columns supporting high vaults with pointed structures, recalling the multitude of fir and pine tree trunks from the northern regions” (Albuquerque 1854: 15-16). However, this report was only published in 1854.

Even the Polish diplomat Atanazy Raczyński (1788-1874) referred to the “architecture of King Emanuel” as being a specific Portuguese style with Gothic and Renaissance characteristics, complemented by Moorish reminiscences (Raczyński 1846: 408); Raczyński also cited Alexandre Herculano when stating that this architecture represented the “resistance of the Gothic style to the [Renaissance] style of François I [of France]” (Raczyński 1846: 331). The fact nonetheless remains that Varnhagen’s recognition of the Manueline style was credited to him by his fellow members, as can be seen in an article written by António da Silva Túlío (1818-1884) and published in 1842 (Túlío 1842: 541).

²¹ Clara Moura Soares and Maria João Neto have analyzed Almeida Garrett’s claims to be the one who first recognized the Manueline style (Soares and Neto 2015: 38-42).

²² The Portuguese *Mourisco* and the Spanish *Mozarabe*, both characterized by a Moorish influence on Late Gothic (and even Early Renaissance) architecture, were architectural languages shared by Spain and Portugal. However, when Garrett referred to the specificity of the “national architecture” that he was proposing to name (without any connections to Spain), we can infer that he was intending to name the architecture from the time of Manuel I.

Acknowledging the person who first recognized (or, better, who first published details about) the Manueline style might not be the key point in this debate. In fact, several Portuguese intellectuals—such as Almeida Garrett, Adolfo Varnhagen, Alexandre Herculano, and Mouzinho de Albuquerque—were all writing at the same time about the architecture of the time of Manuel I as a national style, and it is very likely that they were engaged in an actual dialogue with one another. Fernando II also participated in this debate, not only due to his connections with this cultural elite, but also because of his involvement in the restoration and repair work undertaken at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, the Belém Tower, the Batalha Monastery, the Jerónimos Monastery, and the Convent of Christ.

Garrett, Varnhagen, Herculano, and Albuquerque—and even the architect Possidónio da Silva, who was in charge of the initial repair work at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, together with the Baron of Eschwege (Martins 2003: 62-63)—were part of the Lisbon cultural elite, and all of them lived abroad for either political or educational reasons, especially in France. The exile of these liberal Romantic intellectuals brought them into close contact with the leading liberal societies of that time, enabling them to absorb progressive thoughts that could then be transferred to the Portuguese reality—including their concerns about the country's heritage. Their vision of the Portuguese heritage was thus broadened, due to their contacts with the heritage of other countries, enabling them to glimpse some of the specificities that existed in the national heritage, and therefore to debate the question of Manueline architecture as a national style. Ideas were certainly exchanged on this subject at some *tertúlias* (social gatherings with cultural overtones), which brought together these and other intellectuals and, most certainly, benefited from the participation of Fernando II.

The repair work undertaken at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, the Jerónimos Monastery, and the Convent of Christ, and especially the restoration work at the Belém Tower and the Batalha Monastery, would also have been discussed at some *tertúlias*. Topics such as the establishment of the specific characteristics of architectural styles, and the best and most respectful approach to the repair and restoration of monuments, were certainly discussed by these intellectuals on several occasions during the first years of the 1840s.

The work undertaken at the Convent of Our Lady of Pena from 1839 onwards was initially quite modest, seeking to repair the humble monument while simultaneously showing respect for its stylistic characteristics. However, the intervention undertaken at the Batalha Monastery from 1840 onwards also called for a theoretical approach, not only because of its importance within the panorama of the Portuguese heritage and the sheer magnitude of the works that were carried out, but also because this monument was composed of parts from

different periods and with different artistic languages. Thus, a knowledge of the main characteristics of each architectural language was essential in order to accomplish a successful restoration of the monument. The work undertaken by Mouzinho de Albuquerque was designed to restore the pristine appearance of the monument, harmoniously reproducing those parts of the building that had either vanished or been distorted, based on the study of the comparable elements that still remained in place, while also using similar materials and construction technologies. In this way, the authenticity of the monument would therefore be guaranteed. Nevertheless, the work undertaken at the Batalha Monastery was entirely focused on the Gothic structures.

Only the restoration work undertaken at the Belém Tower from 1843 onwards allowed for Albuquerque's thoughts about restoration to be applied to a Manueline monument. As this was a major national monument, filled with symbolism and located at the main entrance to Lisbon from the ocean, this restoration work was designed to enhance the unitary image that was believed to have existed during the emblematic period of Manuel I's reign and the Portuguese Discoveries. Once again, the debate about the Manueline style would have been fundamental for arriving at an idea of the pristine image of the Belém Tower, and the restoration work also became a kind of improvement work, searching for an idealized Manueline image. Structures from subsequent periods, or with little artistic value, were considered spurious and were demolished, clearing the monument of non-Manueline elements, while also inserting new ornamental elements with Manueline features, and thus increasing the monument's characteristic Manueline appearance.

Choice of the Manueline Style for the Royal Castellated Palace of Pena

In view of all the above, it was logical that Fernando II should choose the Manueline style for the new castellated palace, which he wished to be seen as a Portuguese castle. Not only would the *tertúlias* and restoration work have contributed to Fernando II's rejection of Eschwege's neo-Gothic design, but his nationalist and historicist motivations caused him to prefer the Manueline architectural language. This option did, however, raise an important question relating to the debate about Manueline as the expression of a national architecture: how could Fernando II build a castellated palace in such a style?

The reign of Manuel I was an experimental period in terms of defensive fortifications, with the change from neuroballistics to pyroballistics. Consequently, the forms and structures used in the construction of fortifications varied, depending on the technical development of

poliorcetics. As, at that time, Portugal had a fully consolidated network of fortifications from the medieval period, Manuel I only ordered their modernization or complementation, adding some new fortified structures or reformulating the existing ones. In fact, the new Manueline fortifications were almost all scattered around the overseas territories of the Portuguese Empire. However, despite the fact that only a few Manueline fortifications had been built on Portuguese continental territory, there were some important examples to be found here — one of these fortifications served as the decisive inspiration for the conception of the castellated Palace of Pena. Fernando II certainly considered that the Belém Tower represented an excellent prototype for a Manueline castle.



Fig. 9, left: Belém Tower, Lisbon, viewed from the northwest.
Fig. 10, right: View of the Clock Tower of the Castellated Palace of Pena, Sintra.
 (Both photographs provided by the author.)

Fernando II would have been well aware of the debate that preceded the restoration of the Belém Tower and may therefore have allowed it to influence the construction of this monument. There are, in fact, clear signs of such an influence at the castellated Palace of Pena, especially in the clock tower with its bartizans²³ and balconies, and the convex battlements adorned with crosses of the Order of Christ. The main gate of the castellated palace also had bartizans crowned by domes with buds, like the ones that can be seen on the Belém Tower. The attempt to conceive a neo-Manueline castle was also visible in the

²³ The shape of the tower with its turrets is also similar to that of the main tower of the castellated palace of Balmoral, as well as several defensive towers in the Germanic area.

incorporation of architectural elements whose inspiration came from several Manueline monuments in the Portuguese Estremadura province, such as the Jerónimos Monastery, the *Casa dos Bicos* (the House of Facets), and the *Palácio do Cunhal das Bolas*—all of which are in Lisbon—as well as the Convent of Christ in Tomar and the Palace of Sintra (Branco 1986: 38-46). The compilation of Manueline elements was mixed with neo-Moorish, neo-Mudéjar, and Oriental (Indian and Chinese) elements during the construction of the castellated Palace of Pena, especially in its new wing.

The enormous cylindrical tower may also have been influenced by some Manueline buildings. In Eschwege's initial design, this tower had been given a higher and more gracious outline with plenty of windows, some of which were balcony windows. However, the tower that was actually built is shorter and more robust, with fewer windows and with several floors clearly marked on its outside — possibly inspired by the castellated palace of Évoramonte, a building from the Manueline period. Even the twin turrets marking the Triton Arch²⁴ may have been partly inspired by the buttresses of several Manueline buildings, such as, for instance the Manueline main façade of Guarda Cathedral. The influence of the Palace of Sintra on the new castellated Palace of Pena was also visible in the complex volumetry of the several structures built at different times, as well as in the use of tiles—namely the ones with armillary spheres (França 1990: 300)—and other ornamental stonework features, such as window frames and parapets.

The replica of the chapter house window of the Convent of Christ in Tomar²⁵ is considered to be a major example of the bringing together of Manueline elements at the castellated Palace of Pena, in its attempt to acquire a Portuguese image. But Fernando II was passionate about the Middle Ages and its heroic knights,²⁶ especially the Templar Knights—

²⁴ Paulo Pereira referred to the Triton Arch as part of the allegorical gateway symbolizing the “Creation of the World”; at the same time, Pereira also mentioned a possible influence from the Convent of Christ, where a bearded man can be seen sculpted in the window of the chapter house (Pereira 1995b: 359-360). Due to Fernando II's passion for the Portuguese Discoveries, we may also wonder about the possibility that such a terrifying creature sculpted over the gate may similarly evoke memories of the terrible Adamastor, the mythological character created by Camões in his poem *Os Lusíadas*, personifying the Cape of Storms and the dangers that faced the Portuguese during the Age of Discovery. After the Portuguese navigators had successfully rounded the cape, its name was changed to the Cape of Good Hope. In the castellated Palace of Pena, the Triton/Adamastor figure also marks the passage through a gate beneath him.

²⁵ After visiting the Convent of Christ in 1843, Fernando II instructed Nicolau Pires to study the window of the chapter house in order to seek inspiration for an adapted reproduction of it to be incorporated into the castellated Palace of Pena (Teixeira 1986: 299). Nicolau Pires also surveyed the Convent of Our Lady of Pena, in 1839—immediately before beginning the repair work.

²⁶ As an art lover, Fernando II certainly knew the romance *Parzival*, from the Germanic poet Wolfram von Eschenbach (c. 1170-c. 1220). This can be verified through a castellated duck house situated in the Pena Park named “Monsalvat.” Monsalvat was precisely the castle where the Holy Grail was supposed to be kept. It is interesting to observe the probable influence of the medieval poem *Parzival* on Fernando II's castellated Palace

he was even photographed dressed as a Templar Knight. This may reinforce the explanation about the reproduction of the famous window of the Convent of Christ. The convent was the former headquarters of the Templars in Portugal (the Knights Templar were later replaced by the Order of Christ), so its symbolism was integrated into the new castellated Palace of Pena through the reproduction of this window.



Fig. 11: Chapter House Window at the Convent of Christ, Tomar; a modified replica of the window at the Castellated Palace of Pena, Sintra (photographs provided by the author).

As far as the former Manueline convent is concerned, most of its ground floor areas were conserved (chapter house, refectory, chapel), although some spaces between the dormitory cells on the first floor were eliminated and enlarged to form new rooms with new ribbed vaults (Schedel 2011: 77). The convent's ancient clock tower was rebuilt in a different fashion, as mentioned before, and, on the opposite side of the convent, a two-story balcony was built, giving the impression of a Venetian Gothic *loggia*. The Venetian Gothic style was often considered by Northern Europeans to be somewhat exotic, possibly because of its supposed Byzantine influences.

Between the former convent and the new service building (kitchen, stables, and storage areas) was the New Palace (*Palácio Novo*), a rectangular edifice with neo-Manueline, neo-Mudéjar, neo-Mughal, and neo-Moorish features, which had a monumental cylindrical tower at its far end, opposite the convent. The service building displayed an Eastern revivalist

of Pena almost 30 years before the construction of the castellated Palace of Neuschwanstein (Hohenschwangau) by Ludwig II of Bavaria, who was also influenced by that poem.

influence of Moorish origin, and the Courtyard of Arches (*Pátio dos Arcos*) had a neo-Moorish arcade.²⁷ Such a combination led to questions about the reasons for mixing Portuguese architectural elements with other features from foreign origins.

Fernando II and Eschwege were both foreigners in Portugal, and therefore their views about the Manueline style would inevitably be imbued with Germanic cultural references (or, rather, with the Germanic vision of the Manueline style and of Portuguese culture in general). For instance, in nineteenth-century travel literature, Portugal was considered by Northern European travelers to be an extremely conservative and religious country, still underdeveloped and heavily devoted to its ancestral traditions, as well as being marked by the earlier Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula and by contacts with Eastern and African cultures (because of its overseas empire), thus affording an aura of exoticism to the small country.²⁸ The descriptions that travelers made of people, habits, traditions, lands, actions, arts, and other subjects expressed their point of view regarding their own cultures, which, in turn, decisively shaped the descriptions that they made of their experiences in the countries that they visited (Martins 1987: 17-20). Despite the fact that Portugal was the westernmost country in continental Europe, Northern Europeans were sometimes able to recognize oriental traces there, which were certainly influenced by the Orientalist fashions in vogue at that time.

²⁷ The neo-Mudéjar and neo-Moorish influences at the castellated Palace of Pena were also the result of a visit that Fernando II had made in 1856 to Andalusia (southern Spain) and Morocco, where he admired the intricately decorated Mudéjar and Moorish architectures in Seville, Granada, Córdoba (Spain), Ceuta, Tangier, and Tétouan (Morocco). For more information about this trip, see Albéndiz 2007 and Colaço 1882.

²⁸ For instance, the well-known sentence “Africa begins at the Pyrenees” is usually attributed to the French writer Alexandre Dumas (1802-1870).



Fig. 12: George Vivian / Louis Haghe, *The Penha Convent, Sintra*, 1839 (watercolor lithograph from the book by George Vivian, *Scenery of Portugal & Spain*).



Fig. 13: Castellated Palace of Pena, Sintra, Courtyard of Arches (photograph provided by the author).

It can therefore be inferred that, as foreigners, Fernando II and Eschwege would naturally develop their own particular vision of the Portuguese Manueline style,²⁹ just as other Northern Europeans did at that time. For Fernando II and Eschwege, the Manueline style was seen as extremely ostentatious and exotic, artistically exuberant and richly ornamented, imbued with elements alluding to the sea and the Portuguese Discoveries, but also denoting strong Moorish influences, due to the ancestral Muslim presence in Portuguese territory before the Christian Reconquest, and because of the Portuguese conquests in Morocco.³⁰ In this way, for them, the Oriental—and other—influences that were supposedly present in the Manueline style would not be just simply picturesque details, but also the result of contacts established with Asian, African, and even South American cultures, originating from the Portuguese overseas empire.

As a matter of fact, Paulo Varela Gomes mentioned that the Orientalism which Northern Europeans perceived in Iberian cultures was not misunderstood. In fact, they did not regard the East as a precise place, but rather as an idea of exotic delocalization outside Europe, be it in Asia, Africa, or even Oceania. In this way, it was naturally easy to blend architectural elements of cultures from North Africa, the Near East, the Far East, and other regions; some of those exotic influences were frequently attributed to the cultures of the Iberian Peninsula. The Orientalist influences attributed to Manueline architecture were not a Portuguese idealization, rather an idea derived from the eighteenth-century Orientalism that came from other European countries.³¹

Despite the developments in Portuguese intellectuals' knowledge of the Manueline style, there still remained a misguided view of it in the minds of many European travelers

²⁹ One may wonder if Fernando II's and Eschwege's particular foreign vision of the Manueline architectural style might have been one of the reasons why Possidónio da Silva was kept away from the works at the castellated Palace of Pena. Possidónio da Silva was a Portuguese architect, and he would certainly have had a similar vision of the Manueline style to those of Varnhagen, Garrett, or Albuquerque. Thus, the inventive proposals of Fernando II and Eschwege certainly clashed with his more conservative ideas.

³⁰ José Alvarez Junco mentioned that the neo-Moorish style seems to have been culturally incorporated and accepted by the nineteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese elites, due to the influence of misguided historical and artistic presumptions about the Iberian Peninsula's cultural identity, as seen by Northern European countries (Junco 2001: 187-195).

³¹ Paulo Varela Gomes also mentioned that in the catalogue of an exhibition of Portuguese art held at the South Kensington Museum in London in 1881, Indo-Portuguese art was mixed together with Manueline art from the beginning of the sixteenth century, with both styles being attributed to Indian influences (Gomes 2007: 300-304). In fact, the German architect and historian Albrecht Haupt (1852-1932) was one of the main defenders of the Orientalist influence on the Portuguese Manueline style: "it was evident that the ecstatic splendor of Indian constructions generated a deep impression of true fascination in the minds of Portuguese settlers (...), and it was natural that they would commit to imitating, in later Portuguese constructions, the splendid aspect of those buildings from the East" (Haupt 1985: 16).

who had visited Portugal. For instance, in 1846, the French historian Edgar Quinet (1803-1875) wrote about the Jerónimos Monastery:

It is still the house of God from the Middle Ages, but it is fitted out as if it were a ship prepared to sail. If one entered the cloister, the fruits and plants of several continents were innovatively revealed: coconuts, pineapples and peaches have been collected and added to the low-reliefs. [. . .] Here, Gothic mermaids swim in a sea of alabaster; there, climbing monkeys from the Ganges swing on the cables of the nave of Saint Peter's church. Ostriches from Brazil flap their wings around the Golgotha cross. (Quinet 1846: 360-361)

As Paulo Pereira has already pointed out there are no coconuts, pineapples, peaches, monkeys, or even ostriches to be found in the monastery (nor are there any ostriches in Brazil). The main point of Quinet's text is that the Portuguese Manueline architecture was perceived by Northern Europeans as being as exotic as the architecture of other eastern countries, such as India, Persia, or the Maghreb (Pereira 1995a: 53-60).

And the same thing happened with the words published in 1842 by the Polish Prince Felix Lichnowsky. As happened with other travelers, Lichnowsky referred to the Belém Tower and the Sintra Palace as having Moorish architecture (Lichnowsky 1845: 102, 127-130);³² but, in the case of the Jerónimos Monastery, besides being built in a "confused mixture of styles that were half Moorish-Byzantine and half Romanesque-Gothic," its church had pillars with a "Moorish style, covered with the most extravagant low reliefs, reminiscent of the fantastic dreams of Pantagruel or the visions of Hoffmann. Naked children can be seen here riding dragons and violently opening the dragon's mouths with their hands; beneath those animals are pairs of frogs hanging down, gripped by their tails" (Lichnowsky 1845: 98-100).

As can be easily seen, none of these features are to be found in the church of the Jerónimos Monastery. This description is simply part of the imagination of Lichnowsky, who saw the Manueline style as exotic and fantastic.

Returning to Fernando II, his appreciation of the Orientalist influences might also have been increased by the fact that he considered himself to have some traces of Asian

³² Jean-Ferdinand Denis (1798-1890) also considered the Palace of Sintra to have a "pure Arabian flavor," resembling the Alhambra (Denis 1847: 104-105).

blood, coming from his mother's Magyar family (Schedel and Pereira 2016: 49).³³ In a letter to his brother, Fernando II wrote that “in our case, we also have Hungarian, that is to say Asian, blood flowing in our veins” (Lopes 2013: 195). Therefore, most of the oriental influences found in the castellated Palace of Pena can be explained by all of these facts mentioned earlier.

Conclusion

In 1843, Fernando II wrote to his uncle Ernest I of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, saying that “once completed, the Castle of Pena will be the safest place in Portugal” (Ehrhardt 1998: 13). The Portuguese king was deeply imbued with Romantic influences, having a great fondness for the past, especially medieval times. Therefore, when he decided to build his new summer residence, he chose the form of a medieval castle for the new palace, just as his uncle Ernest I and many other Germanic aristocrats had done. The castellated Palace of Pena displays many different influences from Central Europe (and the United Kingdom).



Fig. 14: Casimir Leberthais, [*D. Fernando II, Rei de Portugal*], 1848 (lithograph from the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

On the other hand, with his foreign origins, Fernando II also felt the need to assert the power of the Portuguese royal family, which had been badly affected by previous historic events. This was another of his main motivations for building the castellated palace in Sintra:

³³ With the study of the roots of nations in the nineteenth century, the Magyar people were seen as coming from the western Ural Mountains, the boundary between Europe and Asia, while the European part of the Ottoman Empire (the Balkan Peninsula, with the Great Hungarian Plain as its border) was commonly referred to as the Near East.

to symbolically state the monarchy's authority in Portugal by constructing a royal castellated palace, since medieval castles had been closely linked to royal power. Moreover, in order to assert the Portugueseness of the royal family, the new castle would need to display an image that was itself based on Portuguese architectural characteristics. The language of Manueline architecture was therefore chosen as the preferred style, being reinvented at the castellated Palace of Pena in accordance with Fernando II and Eschwege's own cultural visions. Consequently, the castellated Palace of Pena, together with the Belém Tower, the Batalha Convent, the Jerónimos Monastery, and the Convent of Christ, were all at the very heart of the debate that sought to define Manueline as the Portuguese national style.

The construction of the castellated Palace of Pena—the “Holy Grail castle, at the very top of the hill, overlooking the true Klingsor garden” (França 1990: 300), as mentioned by Richard Georg Strauss (1864-1949)—was nearly complete by 1865. The final result revealed a series of influences, pastiches, and reinterpretations of numerous architectural elements, as well as a hybrid architectural language that, far from being a disconnected and meaningless amalgam, resulted in a coherent building when viewed as a whole. The eclecticism of the castellated Palace of Pena assumed a paradigmatic role, serving as a catalyst of the neo-Manueline revival in Portugal, an architectural language inspired by the Manueline style. However, this neo-Manueline style turned out to be quite extravagant, with a profuse ornamentation of maritime, phytomorphic, oriental, and other elements considered to be associated with the time of Manuel I. The neo-Manueline style spread rapidly to various other architectural structures, from new residential buildings to churches, including town halls, pantheons, service buildings, memorials, exhibition pavilions, etc.³⁴

In fact, during the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the free and fantastical recreation of architectural shapes and forms from the past, applied without the rigid principles, technologies, or aesthetics that normally underlie each architectural style, offered the possibility of new and ingenious interpretations, emphasizing the aesthetic nature of certain visual effects and giving rise to an architecture that was frequently described as eclectic. The freedom that was afforded by such eclecticism often resulted in the production of hybrid buildings.³⁵ As far as civil architecture was concerned,

³⁴ The commitment to the Manueline stylistic language, existing only in Portugal and in its overseas territories, assumed such proportions that it began to be applied in many aspects of Portuguese architecture until the first decades of the twentieth century, eventually spreading beyond the national borders to Brazil, where there was an important Portuguese diaspora (Anacleto 1997: 86).

³⁵ Lúcia Rosas says that revivalist architecture was historicist in nature, being based on memories of the past applied to the present, without actually promoting any reflections upon historical matters (unlike the restoration of heritage). In fact, revivalism deployed historical architectural elements in a free way, making choices

in their efforts to assert their social status, the upper classes continued, in many cases, to adopt architectural forms based on medieval defensive structures, which they applied to their urban homes or summer residences. In some cases, it was possible to identify the persistence of a tradition linked to Portuguese rural manor houses (*solares*), where the existence of towers or battlements crowning such buildings was regarded as a symbol of social status.

It is interesting to note that, at the very same time as the castellated palace of Sintra was being built, another castellated palace was also being constructed close to Viana do Castelo. Portuzelo Castle was begun in 1853, later becoming the residence of the poet António Pereira da Cunha (1819-1890), who knew Almeida Garrett (Castilho 1893: 417) and was certainly aware of the debate that had been taking place about the Manueline style. Cunha's new castellated house was full of neo-Gothic and neo-Manueline influences, and the Belém Tower was fully referenced in the tower of this house. The Barros Palace, in São João do Estoril, was built from 1896 onwards, in keeping with the design of the Italian architect Cesare Ianz (d. 1901); this castellated palace also displayed neo-Manueline influences that were closely linked to the Belém Tower, together with several other revivalist styles.



Fig. 15: [unknown author], *Portugal – Bussaco - Palace Hotel (Estylo Manuelino)*, end of the nineteenth century (picture postcard).

according to circumstances when recreating historicist architectural languages. Architectural and decorative elements from the past were observed individually and applied in accordance with new precepts, most of which were decontextualized from their original intention. This means that these revivalist elements were applied to modern architecture that was destined for modern functions, without any concern for their ancestral characteristics (constructive, symbolic, or otherwise) (Rosas 1995: 297).

But the most obvious case of the influence exerted by the castellated Palace of Pena on the expansion of neo-Manueline architecture was the construction of the Palace Hotel in the Serra do Buçaco (Mealhada), often referred to as the “Sintra of the North.” It had been intended that a royal palace should be built in Buçaco at the end of the nineteenth century, once again adapting a pre-existing and almost abandoned convent.³⁶ However, the initial intentions were changed and, in 1888, the Italian architect, painter and set designer Luigi Manini (1848-1936) designed a project for the enlargement and remodeling of the ancient convent in order to serve as a hotel.

Manini was also inspired by several emblematic Manueline buildings, displaying influences from the castellated Palace of Pena and from the recognition of the Manueline style. The artist had indeed opted to associate several neo-Manueline elements with the building, despite the fact that the former convent did not have a Manueline origin. Once again, the Belém Tower in Lisbon was extensively cited, as can be seen in the shape of the hotel’s tower and its bartizans, battlements, and ornamental language. However, the final outcome, resulting from the contributions of Nicola Bigaglia (1841-1908) and Manuel Norte Júnior (1878-1962), deviated from Manini’s initial design—even if some visible resemblances had been maintained—giving rise to a building complex with an eclectic architectural language.

The castellated Palace of Pena served as the inspiration for a large number of revivalist castellated palaces in Portugal built by the aristocracy in the following decades in order to mark their social status, but also by the rich bourgeoisie eager to ascend to a higher social status.³⁷ But the architectural style used in Fernando II’s castellated palace—the neo-Manueline aesthetics—not only became a source of inspiration for new buildings,³⁸ but also had a major impact on the restoration of many monuments³⁹ until the beginning of the twentieth century.

³⁶ The pre-existing convent was the former seventeenth-century *Convento de Santa Cruz do Buçaco*, belonging to the Order of Discalced Carmelites.

³⁷ On the revivalist castellated palaces in Portugal, see Santos 2020.

³⁸ For instance, the Palace of Regaleira in Sintra, the Rossio Train Station in Lisbon, Sintra Town Hall, the Palace of the Counts of Castro Guimarães in Cascais, and Soure Town Hall.

³⁹ The most important examples were the restoration work at the Jerónimos Monastery and at the Convento de Madre Deus in Lisbon.

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The Forgotten Library of the Botanist Friedrich Welwitsch (1806-1872)

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Abstract

The National Museum of Natural History and Science (MUHNAC/Museums of the University of Lisbon, Portugal) houses a forgotten treasure: part of the scientific and working library of the Austrian botanist Friedrich Martin Joseph Welwitsch (1806-1872), known worldwide for his work on Angolan flora. The museum's collections began to be reorganized in 2012, enabling the library to be re-assembled, and 198 volumes were found. Although a great deal has already been written on the Austrian botanist, this paper seeks to explore the international scientific network to which he belonged, based on an analysis of his private library, correspondence, and working notes.

Keywords

Friedrich Welwitsch, Library, Scientific instruments, Scientific network, Angola

Resumo

O Museu Nacional de História Natural e da Ciência (MUHNAC/Museus da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal) guarda um tesouro, até hoje silencioso: parte da biblioteca científica e de trabalho do botânico austríaco Friedrich Martin Joseph Welwitsch (1806-1872), conhecido mundialmente por seu trabalho sobre a flora de Angola. A reorganização das coleções do Museu, conduzida desde 2012, permitiu que a biblioteca fosse reagrupada e 198 volumes foram encontrados. Embora muito tenha sido escrito sobre o botânico austríaco, este artigo tem como objetivo explorar a rede científica internacional da qual ele fazia parte, com base na análise de sua biblioteca pessoal, correspondência e notas de trabalho.

Palavras-chave

Friedrich Welwitsch, Biblioteca, Instrumentos científicos, Rede científica, Angola

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Introduction

The National Museum of Natural History and Science, Museums of the University of Lisbon (MUHNAC / Museu Nacional de História Natural e da Ciência, Museus da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal) houses a forgotten treasure: part of the scientific and working library of the Austrian physician and botanist Friedrich Martin Joseph Welwitsch (1806-1872). This library is a typical instance of those mentioned by Wells (1983: 17): “The libraries of a few famous and well-studied figures have been described: for example, Boyle and Ray. But many await their researchers, almost lost in card catalogues, in bibliographies and in neglected corners of library acquisition departments.”

Welwitsch’s links with Portugal started in 1839, when he should have been sent on an expedition to the Azores and other Atlantic islands through the Württemberg Botanical Travel Association, *Unio Itineraria*. However, the journey was repeatedly postponed due to adverse weather conditions, and, while waiting on the Portuguese mainland, Welwitsch undertook several botanical excursions around the outskirts of Lisbon. In 1853, he was sent by the Portuguese government on an expedition to the region known today as Angola. During this expedition, *Iter Angolense* (1853-1860), Welwitsch was the first European to describe the famous desert plant *Welwitschia mirabilis* (Dolezal 1974; Swinscow 1972; Edwards 1972). As a result of *Iter Angolense*, over 8,000 botanical collections were made, including around 5,000 species, of which about 1,000 were new to science (Dolezal 1974).

Welwitsch’s expedition to Angola coincided with a period of Portuguese history known as the *Regeneração* (Regeneration) (1851-1875), which affected the transition from an absolutist to a constitutional monarchy. In this process, Portuguese intellectuals increasingly promoted economic reforms aimed at stimulating social, economic, and technological development, and engaged in the economic, cultural, moral, and political renewal of Portuguese society (Catroga 1993; Machado 1998). The encouragement of scientific expeditions and travels, the creation of scientific academies and societies, and the profound reforms in education, particularly with regard to scientific and technological teaching, were measures taken to engage the country in the process of social and economic regeneration (Felismino, Tavares, and Carneiro 2016; Tavares 2017).

Welwitsch’s African collections became embroiled in a court case to determine which institution should receive the specimens (Stearn 1973). What triggered this action was Welwitsch’s will, signed on 17 October 1872, in which he expressed the wish that his collections should be deposited in the British Museum (hereafter referred to as BM) in

London and at other herbaria (Albuquerque, Brummitt, and Figueiredo 2009). The Portuguese government, which had actually financed his *Iter Angolense*, was displeased and therefore demanded the return of the collections on 31 October 1872 (Stearn 1973: 102). As a result, there was a “complex legal dispute, which put the Portuguese Government, [later] represented by Joseph D. Hooker (1817-1911), Director at Kew, in opposition to the custodians of the collections in London” (Albuquerque, Brummitt, and Figueiredo 2009: 642). An agreement between the parties was eventually reached on 17 November 1875. Following this deal, the main set (called the “study set”) was returned to Lisbon (today housed at the MUHNAC, LISU Herbarium), the second-best set remained in London at the BM (today housed at in the Natural History Museum, London), while the remaining sets were sent to other institutions (Stearn 1973: 102).

This paper seeks to contribute to Welwitsch’s biography, although it does not claim to provide an all-encompassing biographical account. Instead, the aim is to use the genre of scientific biography to explore the international scientific network to which he belonged, based on the analysis of his private library, correspondence, and working notes. Scientific study is a collaborative effort, requiring extensive networks of expert or amateur scholars, whether operating on an institutional or personal basis. Essential in the construction of this narrative are the material objects, namely collections, instruments, letters, and books, among other sources (Podgorny 2013). Hence, a personal library represents much more than a mere assembly of books. Instead, because books are mostly accumulated as working tools, a personal library reveals research itineraries, “invisible colleges,” social interactions, academic and private interests, and so forth, and connecting people to books, and vice versa (Feisenberger 1966; Wells 1983; Wilkinson 1963; Sangwine 1978; Connor 1989; Pearson 2007; Buescu 2016). Moreover, correspondence has created and sustained national and international communities of scientists who exchange ideas and material while also sustaining personal ties of affection between collaborators in the scientific enterprise (Ogilvie 2006, 2016; Cooper 2007; Csiszar 2010).

Welwitsch’s Will, Scientific Instruments, and Library

In his will, Welwitsch mentioned that “[a]ll books, scientific instruments, Bats, Hierax, and other zoological objects [should go] to the Zoological Museum at Lisbon [Lisbon

Polytechnic School, today MUHNAC]” (Gomes 1875: 15).⁴ Welwitsch’s books were considered “objects of scientific value.” His library was “perhaps [the] most complete collection of publications relating to tropical African botany in the possession of the testator [Welwitsch], and which [was] indispensable to the pursuit of his studies on the phytogeography of those regions” (Gomes 1875: 6).

The first batches of Welwitsch’s books, papers, and instruments reached Lisbon in 1876, and the last shipments arrived on 26 October 1879 (Tavares 1959: 341). It is not clear in which year the books arrived in Lisbon, although it is known that the library came accompanied by the botanical collections from *Iter Angolense* after the court case.⁵ The naturalist Bernardino António Gomes (1806-1877) and Francisco Manuel de Melo Breyner (1837-1903), the Count of Ficalho, drew up an inventory of the collections sent from London, registering natural history collections, papers, instruments, and books. Edmund Goeze (1838-1929), the head gardener at the Botanical Garden of the Lisbon Polytechnic School, who had earlier worked with Hooker at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Kew, later presented the final version of this document (Tavares 1959: 341).⁶

Very little is known about the scientific instruments. Their present whereabouts is still a mystery, but research continues. Some of them may never have been dispatched to Lisbon; for example, a microscope, later donated by the sister of the British mathematician and botanist William P. Hiern to the Linnean Society of London.⁷ According to Goeze’s list, at least two microscopes and one alcohol lamp were received by the Lisbon Polytechnic School, but there is no information about whether these are still to be found at MUHNAC. However, records show that Welwitsch acquired a significant number of instruments before going to Angola. A “List of Instruments,” probably drawn up when he went to London in 1851, included, among others, a sextant and an artificial horizon, a prismatic pocket compass, a pocket chronometer, a portable barometer, several kinds of thermometers, and a

⁴ According to the annotations of A. W. Exell and E. J. Mendes, instead of *Hierax*, the word should be written as *Hyrax*. This was a genus of mammals collected by Welwitsch while he was in Angola, later described by Gray as *Hyrax welwitschia* (Dolezal 1974: 95).

⁵ This library, as well as Welwitsch’s notes from the expedition, was a valuable asset for William Philip Hiern (1839-1925), who, on the recommendation of J. D. Hooker, was employed to divide up the botanical collections, and later published the *Catalogue of the African Plants* (Hiern 1896).

⁶ Goeze’s original list has not been traced; a possible copy was found in the Botany Library (LISU Herbarium, MUHNAC).

⁷ Thanks to Gina Douglas from the Archives of the Linnean Society, London, it was possible to have access to this scientific instrument at the institution. Hiern was in charge of the catalogue of Welwitsch’s African plants (Hiern 1896).

hygrometer.⁸ This list appears to be a “shopping list” and mentions the shops, addresses, and contacts that supplied these particular devices next to their names. Moreover, the portable barometer was mentioned in a letter from William Pamplin (1806-1899), a bookseller and a publisher of botanical works who acted as Welwitsch’s solicitor in London.⁹ The pocket glass magnifier, given to Welwitsch by Robert Brown (1773-1858) as a token of their friendship, and which he would proudly show to his visitors and colleagues, has also been lost (Dolezal 1974: 46).

Concerning Welwitsch’s library, according to Goeze’s inventory, 245 books and pamphlets were sent to Lisbon, of which, in 1944, 220 were recorded as still extant (Tavares 1959: 342; Dolezal 1974: 212).¹⁰ Most of these had been bought years before in London, prior to the *Iter Angolense*, via William Pamplin, who was also an agent for *Unio Itineraria* in London and responsible for handling the collections of subscriptions and the distribution of specimens (Swinscow 1972: 271).¹¹ Only 198 could be found, while another forty-seven still remain to be found, according to the numbers in Goeze’s list. Most of these 198 books and scientific papers are preserved in the Botany Library of MUHNAC (LISU Herbarium).¹²

The history of the MUHNAC libraries is full of twists and turns, but it may shed some light on several of the missing books. When it was created in 1837, the Lisbon Polytechnic School was organized into four main areas: a zoological and anthropological Museum, a mineralogical museum, a chemistry laboratory, and physics laboratories for the teaching of experimental subjects (Herculano 1841). Each section of the school had its own specialized library open to both students and teachers. In addition to making regular purchases of books and scientific periodicals, each library benefited from substantial donations on many occasions. Soon after its creation in 1837, the school received about 800 scientific books from Portuguese convents and religious orders (which were suppressed in

⁸ NHM Archives, London (hereafter referred to as NHM), Welwitsch MSS, Miscellaneous, 9, “List of Instruments.”

⁹ William Pamplin to F. Welwitsch, London, 16 September 1851. NHM, MSS WEL, Welwitsch Correspondence [Box 3], Pamplin.

¹⁰ However, according to the notes by Carlos das Neves Tavares (1914-1972), who was in charge of the Museum Laboratory and Botanical Garden (today part of MUHNAC), Welwitsch’s personal library comprised a total of 295 books and publications, recorded in one single list produced by Goeze. According to Tavares’ notes (which may date back to the 1960s/1970s), around twenty-five books were already missing by that time (Archives at MUHNAC (LISU Herbarium), Pastas C. N. Tavares sobre Welwitsch, “Espólio bibliográfico do Dr. F. Welwitsch, Livros de Botânica que pertenceram a Welwitsch”).

¹¹ The archives at the NHM (Welwitsch Correspondence, MSS WEL) have a list dated 13 September 1851, which contains the books described as being “purchased by William Pamplin.” Most of the botanical books mentioned in that list have been found at MUHNAC.

¹² The other three are the Science, Zoology, and Mineralogy Libraries.

Portugal in 1834).¹³ In 1858, it obtained the library (almost 300 volumes) of the former Royal Natural History Museum, created in 1765 in Ajuda, on the outskirts of Lisbon. In 1862, soon after the death of Pedro V (1837-1861), the king's scientific library of nearly 400 volumes was transferred to the school from the Royal Natural History Museum of Necessidades (Felismino 2015; Felismino and Pereira 2017). On many occasions, former students, professors, and benefactors donated their libraries, either in their wills or during their lifetime. The procedure was always the same: books, magazines, and leaflets were sorted according to their scientific subjects.

When Welwitsch's books arrived in Lisbon, the Botany Library was still a very recent creation. It had been established in 1875, shortly after the formation of a botanical garden at the Polytechnic School in 1873 (Tavares 1959). Welwitsch's library went through the usual sorting procedure: books on botany and travel were sent to the Botany Library, while those from other fields were transferred to their respective libraries (Tavares 1959: 341-342). For this reason, Welwitsch's books are now to be found in different libraries, such as the Zoology and Geology Libraries at MUHNAC. This was the inevitable fate befalling a polymath's library in the modern times of specialization: it would be divided up and sent to different places, in accordance with more recent and stricter classifications of knowledge.

A terrible fire in March 1978 destroyed most of MUHNAC's collections, but the Botany Library, which was located outside the main building, was not affected. Some of Welwitsch's zoology and mineralogy books probably disappeared during this episode. Furthermore, taking into consideration the fact that MUHNAC is part of the University of Lisbon, it is very likely that some of his books are now to be found scattered among the different faculties of that institution (Felismino 2015).

Welwitsch's Library

Most of Welwitsch's 198 books contain personal annotations, references to his readings and exchanges, and, in some cases, the autographs of the authors, giving many clues and insights about his scientific network and thought. Some books were gifts from authors who were publishing about Welwitsch's collections from Portugal (Berkeley 1853) and Angola (Reichenbach 1865; Reichenbach 1867; Hooker 1863). Another source that has proved to be a powerful instrument for understanding his scientific work as well as for

¹³ *Mapa dos objectos que saíram deste Depósito Geral das Livrarias, Quadros dos extintos Conventos e que foram entregue em virtude da directa Ordem de SM.* (1839), Portuguese National Library [BNP], BN/AC/INC/DLEC/28/Cx06-06.

searching for volumes, because it can provide clues, such as titles and authors, that may eventually lead to his still-missing books, is the *Bibliotheca africana ad Historiam naturalem et Itinera spectans*, a small “book wish list” or a notebook in which Welwitsch listed the references that belonged to his library (Fig. 1). This notebook also reveals Welwitsch’s scientific practices, showing how he organized himself in order to locate and consult a specific reference (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: “*Bibliotheca africana ad Historiam naturalem et Itinera spectans*.”
(Source: Z MSS WEL, Library and Archives, NHM London)

Welwitsch’s library of 198 volumes contains nineteen books consisting of travel reports, most of which relate to traveling in Africa and other similar biogeographical regions. It also has eight books on botanical gardens, three biographies—namely Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859), Heinrich Wilhelm Schott (1794-1865), and Theophrastus (372 BC-287 BC)—besides eleven publications of his own. However, unsurprisingly, most of the volumes deal with botanical knowledge (Table 1).

These 112 works were an essential part of his working tools, and we can find *Florae*, manuals, and catalogs ranging from general to specific topics. In this research, a total of 116 different authors are considered (including four institutions and six co-authors), and among these we find most of the renowned botanists and naturalists of his time (Table 2). Like many naturalists from that period, Welwitsch exchanged information in a variety of different ways: correspondence, specimens, publications, books, and objects (instruments and natural

objects, for instance). Most of the books contain many of Welwitsch's handwritten notes, which also provide relevant information relating to his scientific work and networks.¹⁴

Subject	Number of Titles	Number of Volumes
Travel reports and geographical descriptions	19	19
Biographies	3	3
Botany	112	151
Dictionaries	2	2
Biological Evolution	1	1
Geosciences	3	3
Natural History	4	4
Pharmacopeia	1	1
Presidential addresses of learned societies	3	3
Works authored by Welwitsch	11	11
TOTAL	158	198

Table 1: Distribution of books according to their main subject.

Welwitsch's books, especially those concerning flora, show several records as well as codes, in which the botanist adds more information relating to the location and habitat of the species, in addition to other useful information. An example worth mentioning is the *Lichenografia Europaea Reformata* (Fries 1831), a publication that formed the basis for Welwitsch's study on lichens (Tavares 1959: 337).

¹⁴ An obvious example is a volume of the *Flora Lusitanica* (1804) by Felix de Avelar Brotero (1744-1828), which belonged to Welwitsch. This book served to guide him in the study of Portuguese flora, and the pages of his personal copy are full of valuable notes that he made, reflecting his contribution to the study of this area. The two volumes of *Flora Lusitanica* were delivered to A.R. Pinto da Silva (1912-1992) after the death of R.T. Palhinha (1871-1957) (Tavares 1959: 342). Today, this particular *Flora Lusitanica* can be found at the ISA Library in Lisbon (BISA)—Instituto Superior de Agronomia/ Higher Institute of Agronomy.

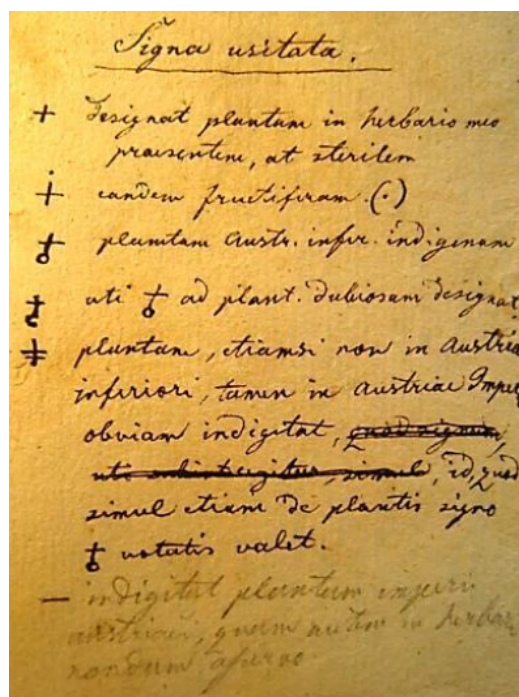


Fig. 2. Codes found in some of the books that belonged to Friedrich Welwitsch. The page shown is extracted from *Lichenografia Europaea Reformata* (Fries 1831).¹⁵

In other situations, the codes seem to be revision codes, such as the notes that can be found in *Plantae Tinneanae* (Kotschy 1865). Theodor Kotschy (1813-1866) exchanged correspondence with Welwitsch, and, in one of the letters dated December 22, 1865, they examined the work *Plantae Tinneanae* (Edwards 1972: 297).¹⁶ This luxurious publication was also the subject of discussion between Welwitsch and Edward Fenzl (1808-1879), when Welwitsch sounded slightly ironic by mentioning that Kotschy's work was too ostentatious and expensive (Dolezal 1974: 85; Willink 2011).

As far as Welwitsch's own personal interests are concerned, his collection of books indicates a very complete and up-to-date bibliography of that period. As was to be expected, according to Goeze's list, Welwitsch's library included *Über die Entstehung der Arten* [On the Origin of Species] (Darwin 1859), which has unfortunately disappeared without a trace. However, other references to Darwin's work can be found, such as *Darwin'sche Theorie und das Migrationsgesetz der Organismen* (Wagner 1868). Considering that Welwitsch was preparing the expedition *Iter Angolense* before 1853, it is no surprise to find *Instruction pour les voyageurs et pour les employés dans les colonies, sur la manière de recueillir, de conserver et d'envoyer les objets d'histoire naturelle* ([Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris] 1845), a work containing instructions for travelers,

¹⁵ Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of Natural History and Science (MUHNAC), University of Lisbon.

¹⁶ Theodor Kotschy to F. Welwitsch, Vienna, December 22, 1865. NHM, MSS WEL, Welwitsch Correspondence, [Box 2], Kotschy.

with detailed suggestions for the observations and collections that they were expected to pursue.

For instance, it is worth mentioning *Travels in Western Africa in 1845 & 1846* (Duncan 1847), *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Speke 1863), *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- Und Central-Africa* (Barth 1857), *Missionary Travels* (Livingstone 1857), *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi* (Livingstone 1865), and *Catalogus Muscorum* (Spruce 1867), among others. Therefore, Welwitsch's library is not only valuable for its antiquity—most of the books are first editions, already constituting a precious treasure in itself—but also for Welwitsch's many handwritten notes found in the books, which provide important information relating to his scientific work and network.¹⁷

Moreover, his library reveals his vast knowledge of European and African flora, as well as from other parts of the globe, such as the flora of India (Roxburgh 1832; Wight 1834; Draakenstein 1839). Also related to the flora of India, we can find references in Welwitsch's library to *Hortus Malabaricus*, a “standard reference work for the flora of southwestern India” (Draakenstein 1839; Raj 2016: 65).

In his notes, Welwitsch lists the Asian plants he had observed in the territories of Angola and Benguela (“Phytogeographia Angola, Plantae Asiaticae in territorio Angolae et Benguellae a me observatae”), such as *Ficus religiosa* L. and *Tamarindus indica* L., both of which were native to India and later introduced into Africa.¹⁸ In his study of the local vegetation, his knowledge also embraced the global. As already pointed out in a previous article (Albuquerque and Figueirôa 2018), Welwitsch shared a “Humboldtian scientific style,” in which the recognition of the interconnectedness of the flora and its particular environment was one of its new and important aspects.

Welwitsch's Scientific Network through his Library

By cross-referencing the names of the authors found in Welwitsch's library with those of his correspondence, it can be seen that thirty-four of the 112 authors (authors and co-authors) exchanged correspondence with the Austrian botanist (Table 2). This fact reveals the existence of an active network through which Welwitsch did his best to keep up to date in the scientific field. By keeping this network active and busy, he remained alert to the most

¹⁷ Some books that belonged to Welwitsch were subsequently rebound. Unfortunately, in that process, many of the notes written in the margins were cut off. As a result, it is only possible to see part of the notes.

¹⁸ NHM, MSS WEL, Welwitsch Legal; URL (accessed 31 May 2017): <http://powo.science.kew.org/> (Plants of the World Online, Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew).

recent ideas and discoveries. Usually, the exchange of letters also resulted in the offer and exchange of books, as exemplified by the copies that were autographed by the authors and sent as gifts to Welwitsch. This was the case, for example, with Gray (1864), Salisbury (1866), de Candolle (1866), *Missionary Travels* by Livingstone (1857), and *On Welwitschia* by Hooker (1863), among others. It is worth noting that the authors with most publications in Welwitsch's library are Edward Fenzl and William Jackson Hooker (1785-1865), with whom Welwitsch also actively exchanged correspondence. However, Fenzl is a particular case, for he was the only colleague from Welwitsch's youth with whom he would later come to exchange mail (Dolezal 1974: 31). Taking into consideration that Fenzl was his most consistent correspondent and that they exchanged letters over a more extensive period, it is understandable why Welwitsch's collection has more of Fenzl's publications than all the other references in the library. The two Austrian botanists shared a great passion for their chosen subject of study. Nonetheless, their professional relationship never turned into a close friendship over the years, apparently because of Welwitsch's difficult temperament (Dolezal 1974: 36). It seems that Welwitsch continued to exchange correspondence with Fenzl, not only because they shared intellectual interests, but mainly because his colleague represented the only way in which he could maintain his connection with Austria.

A good example of books considered as gifts is the first edition of *Missionary Travels* (Livingstone 1857), in which not only does Welwitsch's signature appear, but also a note written by him in Latin—"Donum Auctoris, Loandae, 1858, Caris Gabrieli" (Fig. 4). This note reveals that the book was indeed a gift from the author, David Livingstone (1813-1873). However, Edmund Gabriel (1821-1862) was probably the person who delivered the book to Welwitsch in Luanda in 1858. Edmund Gabriel was a British administrator responsible for the suppression of the slave trade in Luanda (Bonner 1961: 38).¹⁹ Livingstone referred to Gabriel as "my much-esteemed friend Mr. Gabriel" and, in addition to his publications, he frequently mentioned his "friend Gabriel" in several contexts (Livingstone 1963: 162). On the other hand, Gabriel also belonged to Welwitsch's network, as indicated not only by their correspondence (Edwards 1972: 296), but also by the botanist's draft concerning the

¹⁹ Letters (21) from David Livingstone to Edmund Gabriel, British Arbitrator at St. Paul de Loanda, written during Livingstone's return journey from Loanda to the Zambesi with much information on the country and its products; 1 October 1854 to 12 August 1855. Holograph. Paper; 108 ff., British Library, London, Western Manuscripts, Ref.: Add MS 37410.

cultivation of cotton in Angola. This draft was delivered to the British administrator on 15 March 1858, before it was even published (Welwitsch 1859; Welwitsch 1875).²⁰

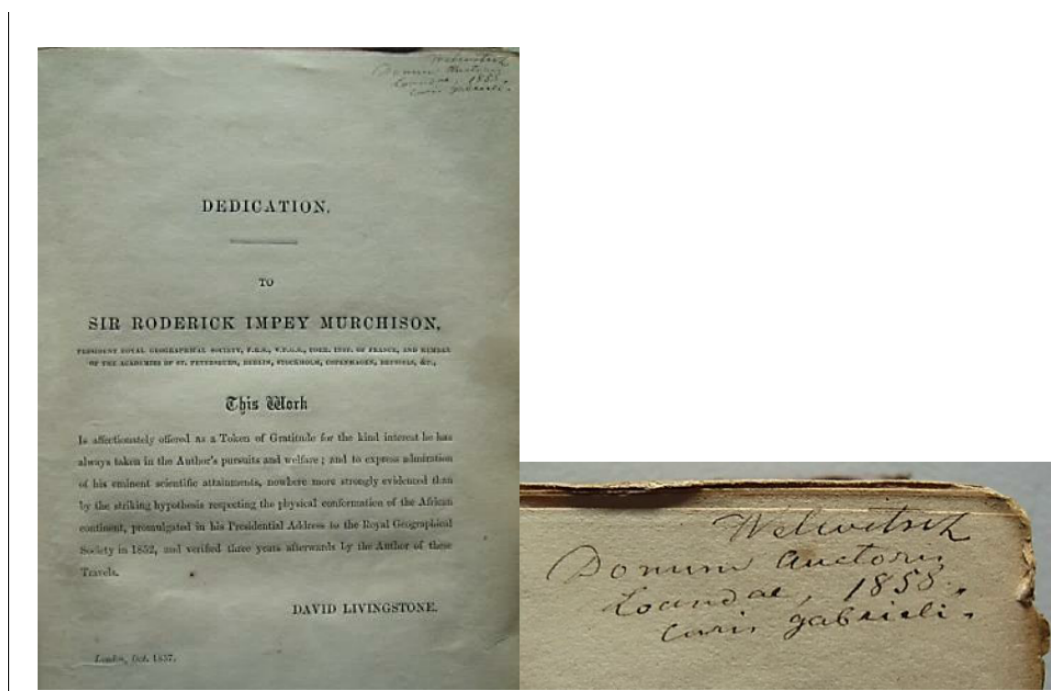


Fig. 3: From left to right: Livingstone's *Missionary Travels* (1857) with a handwritten note by Friedrich Welwitsch (Luanda, 1858) at MUHNAC (LISU Herbarium)²¹

Authors	Date of Birth/Death	Co-Authors	Date of Birth/Death	Number of publications in the Welwitsch Library
Agardh, Jacobo Georgio	(1813-1901)			2
Anzi, Martino*	(1812-1883)			1
Barth, Heinrich	(1821-1865)			5
Bastian, Adolph*	(1826-1905)			1
Beatson, Alexander	(1758-1830)			1
Bentham, George*	(1800-1884)	Hooker, Joseph Dalton	(1817-1911)	3
Berkeley, Miles Joseph*	(1803-1889)			1
Boissier, Pierre Edmond	(1810-1885)	Reuter, George François	(1805-1872)	1
Braun, Alexander Carl Heinrich*	(1805-1877)			1
Brown, Robert*	(1773-1858)			4
Burchell, William John	(1781-1863)			2

²⁰ Manuscripts of Frederico Welwitsch, “Frederico Artur Welwitsch, Observações bre a cultura do algodão em Angola,” “Publicado no Boletim off. De Loanda (Angola) nos. 694 e 695 Jan. 1859,” Academia de Ciências de Lisboa/Lisbon Academy of Sciences, Série Azul, Cota 906.

²¹ Reproduced by kind permission of the Museum of Natural History and Science (MUHNAC), University of Lisbon.

Carruthers, William*	(1830-1922)			1
Caruel, Théodore	(1830-1898)			1
Castagne, Jean Louis Martin	(1785-1858)			1
Colmeiro, Miguel	(1816-1901)			1
De Candolle, Anne Casimir Pyrame*	(1836-1918)			2
De Candolle, Augustin Pyrame	(1778-1841)	Lamarck, Jean-Baptiste de	(1744-1829)	6
De Candolle, Alphonse Louis Pierre Pyrame*	(1806-1893)			2
Decken, Carl Claus von der	(1833-1865)			3
Demanet, Abbé	(?-1778)			1
Draakenstein, Henry van Rheede van	(1636-1691)			1
Drège, Johann Franz	(1794-1881)			1
Drouet, Henri	(1829-1900)			1
Du Chaillu, Paul Belloni	(1831-1903)			1
Duby, Jean Étienne*	(1798-1885)			3
Duncan, John	(1794-1881)			2
Ecklon, Christian Friedrich	(1795-1868)	Zeyher, K.	(1804-1849)	1
Endlicher, Stephan Ladislaus	(1804-1849)			4
		Fenzl, Eduard	(1808-1879)	1
		Unger, Franz Joseph Andreas Nicolaus	(1800-1870)	1
Fenzl, Eduard*	(1808-1879)			7
Figueiredo, Bernardo Sá Nogueira*	(1795-1876)			1
Franco, Francisco Soares	(1771-1844)			1
Fries, Elias Magnus	(1794-1878)			1
Godman, Frederick du Cane	(1834-1919)			1
Göppert, Heinrich Robert	(1800-1884)			2
Gray, John Edward*	(1800-1875)			1
Grisebach, August Heinrich Rudolf	(1814-1879)			2
Harvey, William Henry*	(1811-1866)			4
Heer, Oswald	(1809-1883)			1
Hegelmaier, Friedrich*	(1833-1906)			2
Heuglin, Martin Theodor von	(1824-1876)			1
Hildebrand, Friedrich Hermann Gustav	(1835-1915)			1
Hoffmann, Friedrich	(1797-1836)			1
Hooker, Joseph Dalton*	(1817-1911)			2
Hooker, William Jackson*	(1785-1865)			8
Karsten, Gustav Karl Wilhelm Hermann	(1817-1908)			1

Kickx, Jean-Jacques	(1803-1864)			2
Klotzsch, Johann Friedrich	(1805-1860)			1
Koch, Wilhelm Daniel Joseph	(1771-1849)			1
Kotschy, Karl Georg Theodor*	(1813-1866)			1
Kuhn, Maximilian	(1842-1894)			2
Kützing, Friedrich Traugott	(1807-1893)			2
Laing, Alexander Gordon	(1794-1826)			1
Leszczyc-Suminski, Michael Hieronim	(1820-1898)			1
Livingstone, David	(1813-1873)			2
Lorentz, Paul (Pablo) Günther	(1835-1881)			1
Lowe, Richard Thomas	(1802-1874)			1
Lyon, George Francis	(1795-1832)			1
Meyer, Ernst Heinrich Friedrich*	(1791-1858)			1
Miers, John*	(1789-1879)			4
Milde, Carl August Julius*	(1824-1871)			1
Montagne, Jean François Camille*	(1784-1866)			1
Müller, Karl	(1818-1899)			2
Müller, Johann	(1828-1896)			3
Nylander, William*	(1822-1899)			1
Nyman, Carl Fredrik	(1820-1893)			1
Oliver, Daniel*	(1830-1916)			1
Osten-Sacken, Friedrich (Baron Von Der)	(1832-1916)	Ruprecht, Franz Josef Ivanovich *	(1814-1870)	1
Parlatore, Filippo*	(1816-1877)			4
Payer, Jean-Baptiste	(1818-1860)			1
Prešl, Karl Borsiwoj	(1794-1852)			1
Pritzel, Georg August	(1815-1874)			1
Reichenbach, Heinrich Gustav*	(1823-1889)			3
Reuss, Georg Christian	(?-?)			1
Richard, Achille	(1794-1852)			2
Roxburgh, William	(1751-1815)			3
Salisbury, Richard Anthony	(1761-1829)			1
Schimper, Wilhelm-Philippe*	(1808-1880)			1
Schumacher, Heinrich Christian Friedrich	(1757-1830)			1
Schweinfurth, Georg August*	(1836-1925)			2
		Kotschy, Karl Georg Theodor	(1813-1866)	1

Solms-Laubach, Hermann*	(1842-1915)			2
Speke, John Hanning	(1827-1864)			1
Sperk, Gustav	(1846-1870)			1
Sprengel, Kurt Joachim	(1766-1833)			2
Spruce, Richard*	(1817-1893)			2
Steudel, Ernst Gottlieb	(1783-1856)			1
Tams, George	(?-?)			1
Tenore, Michaele	(1780-1861)			1
Thieme, Friedrich Wilhelm	(1762-1832)			1
Tuckey, James Hingston	(1776-1816)			1
von Cotta, Bernard	(1808-1879)			1
von Martius, Karl Friedrich Philipp*	(1794-1868)			2
von Wurmb, Friedrich	(1742-1781)			1
Wagner, Moritz	(1813-1887)			1
Walpers, Guilielmo Gerardo	(1816-1853)			6
Webb, Phillip Barker*	(1793-1854)			1
Welwitsch, Friedrich	(1806-1872)			10
		Currey, Frederick*	(1819-1881)	1
Werne, Ferdinand	(1800-1874)			1
Wight, Robert	(1796-1872)			1
Willkomm, Heinrich Moritz	(1821-1895)			2
		Lange, Johan Martin Christian	(1818-1898)	1
Wimmer, Christian Friedrich Heinrich	(1803-1868)			1
Wittmack, Ludwig	(1839-1929)			1
106		9 *		
Institutions				
[Linnean Society]				3
[Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris]				1
[Naturwissenschaftlichen Vereins der Rheinpfalz]				3
Kaiserlich-Königliche Gartenbau-Gesellschaft in Wien				1
110				198

Table 2: List of authors to be found in the Welwitsch Library

*Welwitsch's correspondents, based on Edwards' paper (1972) and Welwitsch's address book at the LISU Herbarium (MUHNAC)

♦there is a total of six co-authors whose names do not appear as authors; the other three names are repeated because they published their works in partnership).

Conclusion

In this article, we undertook a contextualized examination of a library in order to consider its books as testimonies of a scientific career, a life that, with its ups and downs, evolved within a concrete, material reality, involving different people in the process.

By realizing which works belonged to Welwitsch's personal library, we can form an impression of Welwitsch's universe, his network, his interlocutors, the references that he found relevant, and the science that he valued. We agree with Pearson (2007: 4) when he states, "The history of libraries and book ownership, and the formation of collections, is an important part of this, as it provides a window into earlier tastes and fashions, and allows us to see not just what was printed, but what people bought and put on their shelves. Both individually and collectively, books offer a wealth of historical evidence to help us to understand their impact and influence."

Welwitsch's library therefore indicates that he was a well-connected botanist, and, although he was not in touch with all of his fellow contemporaries, he was nonetheless aware of their work, and vice versa. Being an influential scientist was a powerful tool for knowing what had been done, developed, and discovered by others: "one crucial strategy was simply to ask the advice of those most likely to be familiar with the field in question" (Csiszar 2010: 408). Because of his attitudes in the past, it was possible for us in the present to form a clear notion of the science of that period and understand its context. The practices of naturalists in the past involved a set of attitudes and strategies that, although they may still remain largely unexplored, constitute an important field of study for historians of modern science, as Csiszar reminds us (2010: 399):

The methods used by Darwin and his contemporaries for locating relevant print sources were—as they would continue to be—varied, complex, and often serendipitous; they might sometimes involve consulting indexes and catalogs, but they also included trawling the contents of serials and titles of monographs on the shelves of personal and institutional libraries, following the trail of footnotes and lists of references, and (perhaps most importantly) corresponding with colleagues, booksellers, and friends for guidance, new leads, and off-the-cuff reviews.

In Welwitsch's case, the notebook entitled "Bibliotheca africana ad Historiam naturalem et Itinera spectans," filled with loose notes and

newspaper clippings, seems to reveal the method used by the botanist to locate his library references. Welwitsch's library was closely linked to his work, revealing itself primarily as the working library of someone whose interests were not restricted to botany, but who was instead an all-encompassing naturalist. Although his own specific field is indisputably dominant, Welwitsch brought together knowledge from other scientific areas, according to his nineteenth-century Humboldtian profile. At the same time, the comprehensive nature of Welwitsch's interests also highlights the botanist's intention to produce a vast and impactful work about an important region of the globe at the center of a colonial dispute in his time.

Welwitsch's library allows us to see beyond his network of correspondents. It also enables us to fill in the blank spaces. Through Welwitsch's library, it is possible to build up the various layers of his contacts, adding even more connections to his well-established network. One remarkable example is Charles Darwin. Although they did not correspond directly, the correspondence between Darwin and J. D. Hooker made references to Welwitsch's work, such as the discovery of *Welwitschia*: "I have looked in Lindley about Gnetum; what a curious form your new one must be,—what a fine living fossil, preserved from past times."²²

Welwitsch's library reveals itself to be a most valuable asset for the study of science, botany, and heritage. Welwitsch's handwritten notes in each book—*marginalia*—should be analyzed in detail, although this is a task that lies beyond the scope of the present article.

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²² URL (accessed 20 December 2017): <http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/DCP-LETT-3296> (Darwin Correspondence Project, "Letter no. 3296").

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Annex: Welwitsch's library

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Luís Adão da Fonseca, Editor-in-Chief of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*

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Abstract

The *e-JPH* editors trace the important role played by Luís Adão da Fonseca in the conception of this journal at the beginning of the millennium. They also highlight the merits of his leadership over eighteen years, namely in obtaining financing and institutional partnerships, and also in the internationalization of collaborations and members of the advisory board.

Keywords

Historiography, Luís Adão da Fonseca, *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, Portuguese history

Resumo

Os editores do *e-JPH* descrevem o importante papel de Luís Adão da Fonseca na criação dessa revista nos inícios deste milénio. Destacam ainda os méritos da sua liderança ao longo de dezoito anos, nomeadamente na obtenção de financiamentos e parcerias institucionais e, também, na internacionalização das colaborações e membros do comité de aconselhamento.

Palavras-chave

Historiografia, Luís Adão da Fonseca, *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, História de Portugal

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Attempting to talk here about the role played by Luís Adão da Fonseca in the creation and growth of the *e-JPH* is a thankless task. Because we know that Luís himself would love to refute or disagree with some of the things that are said here, while, at the same time, underlining and applauding others. This is a testimony written by people who accompanied Luís very closely in this exciting adventure, which he always lived with such great enthusiasm.

The present moment is a particularly hard and painful one, as we know that his lucid thinking can no longer be revealed to us with the lightness of the spoken and written word that was his great hallmark and that is now shrouded in a fog of emotions that restrict our gestures. It is truly distressing to experience the gradual erosion of a conviviality that we sense we will never again be able to enjoy in the way that we previously did.

However, this is not meant to be a sentimental chronicle. Therefore, let us move on to the story of what proved to be such a striking moment in the professional and academic career of Luís Adão da Fonseca.

Everything began with some casual conversations on a trip to Brazil in late September 2000, involving a significant number of renowned Portuguese historians. This is an almost impossible mission that only Luís would be capable of planning and executing with his outstanding organizational skills and his undeniable ability to raise funds. He planned to bring Portuguese and Brazilian historians together in São Paulo to discuss the past, present, and future directions of the historiography being written in the Portuguese language on both sides of the Atlantic. The meeting was given the ambitious subtitle of “Agenda for the Millennium,” and its outcomes are all perfectly visible and duly published so that nobody will ever forget or ignore what happened. On the Portuguese side, there were twenty-three papers presented at this conference, which certainly helped to improve people’s knowledge of the dynamics of the research taking place in the most varied historiographical fields (Arruda and Fonseca 2001).

Because the time available was elastic, the conversations continued into the night, allowing for the slow germination of the idea of creating a journal with a different format to the one that was customarily used at that time. This was undoubtedly an invisible part of the millennium agenda. In Luís’s mind, the seed of the idea had already been planted and it began to find a suitable echo in the minds of his closest collaborators. Mafalda Soares da Cunha and José Luís Cardoso, were the first to fertilize the ground, which they then continued to plough slowly throughout 2001, after which António Costa Pinto immediately joined them. A little later, in mid-2002, with the journal already in a stable phase of programming, Onésimo T. Almeida joined the project. This last move proved to be decisive, for it was to

give rise to a solid partnership between the University of Porto and Brown University. From then on then able to count on the professional and dedicated support of successive collaborators from Brown's Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies.⁶ When the journal was already sailing at cruising speed, our editorial team of the *e-JPH* was further strengthened with the entry of Iris Kantor in 2013, adding a significant representation from the Brazilian historiographical community. In 2006, the role of editorial assistant had been taken over by Cristina Pimenta, who has done much more for the journal than our readers can ever imagine.⁷ More recently, in 2019, our editorial team began to enjoy the collaboration of Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, an addition envisioning the handing over of the baton to the next stage in the life of the *e-JPH*.

The journal began with a foundational semester (from June 2002 to January 2003), during which it benefited from a subsidy attributed by the FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology) through the Scientific Community Support Fund, destined to cover the costs of the journal's preparation and launch. The report presented to the FCT on the conclusion of the project's initial stages described the preparatory tasks, which included: the definition of the journal's editorial policy and the contents of its various sections; the choice of who would be invited to serve on the Editorial and Advisory Boards; the establishment of the rules for publication and the required format for the submission of articles; and the conception and design of the journal's covers and the online platform that would accommodate it. These foundational details were discussed at various meetings of the editorial team, always chaired by Luís with his indomitable and conciliatory spirit, which served to consolidate the levels of trust at both the personal and academic levels, that were essential for ensuring the journal's successful launch.⁸

In the arguments presented to the FCT to obtain a regular subsidy for the journal's operations, a proposal was made that initially involved creating a platform of digital tools to be placed at the disposal of researchers in the field of history. One of main goals of our electronic journal was to centralize the information that was already available on multiple websites about history teaching, scientific production, research centers in various

⁶ Namely, Stefan Halikowsky-Smith, Rex Nielsen, Robert Newcomb, Kate Beall, Jennifer Currier and Anna-Lisa Halling, who were successively responsible for the copy-editing of the manuscripts approved for publication and all the tasks associated with making the journal available online. In preparing the manuscripts written by authors who are not native English speakers, John Elliott's work as a translator and proofreader has been invaluable.

⁷ Before Cristina Pimenta, the tasks of editorial assistance had been performed by Maria Cecília Cameira.

⁸ We are particularly pleased to recall the first meeting of the editorial team after the Editorial Board had been expanded to include guest members. The meeting was held at the Quinta das Lágrimas in Coimbra, under the symbolic and historical protection of Pedro and Inês.

historiographical subfields, contests, and listings of projects in progress, academic associations and societies, guides to libraries and archives, digital databases, and repositories of master's degrees and PhD theses. All of this resulted from the carefully planned strategic vision that Luís tirelessly insisted on justifying and exemplifying, the fruit of his experience and systematic accompaniment of similar initiatives in other countries, particularly his work with the European Science Foundation.

The project for creating a digital platform for disseminating contents in the area of history was supplanted by the pragmatic realization of the more immediately achievable idea of creating an international open-access electronic journal. However, the aim of complementing the journal with a dynamic and informative website, nurtured above all by Luís Adão da Fonseca, ended up leading to the creation of sections in the journal itself dedicated to “Surveys and Debates” and “Institutions and Research.” This is one of the hallmarks of the *e-JPH* that owes its existence to Luís's plan of providing a public service, something that was made clearly evident by the information collected in the first years of the journal about master's degrees and Ph.D. theses, institutions and research projects in history, as well as about the activities of centers of Portuguese studies in American universities.⁹

The editorial team members that launched the *e-JPH* in 2003 shared common points of view about the reasons justifying the creation of a journal that was different from those that already existed in the Portuguese editorial market, some of which had deep-rooted institutional traditions. The need to bring the research of Portuguese historians, for too long confined to the Portuguese-speaking world, to the international academic scene, was the primary motivation in the minds of the *e-JPH*'s founders. The editors believed that the poor knowledge of Portuguese history often exhibited by foreign historians when dealing with Portugal in their comparative studies was partly due to the Portuguese historians' reluctance to engage in dialogue through a language that would attract a wider international audience.

The introduction of the requirements mandated by international scientific standards (conveyed through journals indexed by the bibliometric measurement systems) as a criterion in evaluating academic careers was met with understandable resistance since senior historians privileged old-style monographs written in their mother tongue. Nevertheless, it was a path that, at the beginning of this new millennium, the agencies and institutions responsible for defining and monitoring innovative scientific policies sought to follow, offering clear incentives for increased international visibility of the added value produced by Portuguese

⁹ With the same aim, the information about PhD theses completed at Portuguese institutions between 2010 and 2018 was recently updated (*e-JPH* vol. 17, no. 2, December 2019).

researchers in all academic areas, naturally including history. Thus, today's presence of our *e-JPH* in the most important international bibliometric citation indexes (Scielo-Web of Science, Scopus-Elsevier, Qualis-CAPES, ERIH-ESF) is a result of the internationalization strategy, made possible in significant part by Luís Adão da Fonseca. His persistence and vision were vital to this accomplishment.

Furthermore, the founding editors of the *e-JPH* were equally concerned with helping to change the bad working habits of most of the history journals published by Portuguese institutions, which were almost exclusively dedicated to disseminating the research results of authors who are themselves linked to these same institutions. In order to counter that endogamous climate, it was made clear that the journal's editorial and advisory boards would be composed of historians belonging to a wide range of Portuguese and foreign universities and that they would be guided by the rules of a rigorous peer review system. This option would mean the compulsory filtering of all articles—both those that were freely submitted by their authors and those that were commissioned by the editors when seeking to publish special thematic issues—through the reading and advice of two anonymous referees.

Twenty years ago, what today is considered to be a generally accepted and established procedure represented a factor of confrontation (almost always silent, and only rarely causing much disquiet) between different forms of academic culture. Although educated in traditional institutional environments not sensitive to the demands of modern scientific standards, Luís Adão da Fonseca was firm in choices and goals. Thus, his vision allowed our *e-JPH* to gain the trust and confidence of authors interested in making their scholarship available to an international audience. Therefore, it was not by accident that the first issues of our journal carried out a debate on the internationalization of Portuguese historiography. Luís Adão da Fonseca marked the beginning of this debate with a presentation of his own, in which he outlined the main objectives of the *e-JPH*. The theme would once again be implicit in the special issue (*e-JPH*, vol. 8, no. 2, Winter 2010) about the recent Portuguese historiography, with special emphasis given to a critical approach to the great works dedicated to the history of Portugal and the collection of biographies of the Portuguese monarchs. Although they have Portuguese readers as their target public, the discussion of their national scope in the pages of the *e-JPH* was designed to extend the knowledge of the most important contributions to appear in the Portuguese publishing market to a broader and more international audience.

The conference held at Brown University in September 2012, in order to mark the tenth anniversary of the publication of the *e-JPH*, was enthusiastically programmed by Luís

Adão da Fonseca (with the indispensable local support of Onésimo T. Almeida) and proved to be a milestone in this effort to situate Portuguese historiography in a global context.¹⁰

The commitment to internationalization presupposed a different attitude towards the procedures used to assess people and institutions, and naturally for the evaluation of the quality of the academic journals themselves. This was the subject of a workshop promoted by the *e-JPH*, which took place at the University of Évora in November 2007, whose detailed programming was also the work of Luís Adão da Fonseca (in this case with the local support of Mafalda Soares da Cunha). The participation of representatives from the European Science Foundation and of the leaders of the FCT allowed for a fruitful discussion about the importance of establishing strict criteria for assessing the merit and quality of the instruments and agents of scientific production in the area of history (people, institutions, and journals).

Over the course of eighteen years, before being suddenly interrupted by the brutality of his illness, Luís Adão da Fonseca gave excellent proof of the qualities that one expects of an editor-in-chief. He was tireless in his effort to attract authors willing to submit papers; rigorous in his scrutiny of the articles received and the opinions requested; attentive to the meeting of deadlines in all the procedures of scientific revision and editorial production; meticulous in his preparation of the agenda for editorial meetings; persistent in his contacts with institutions that were willing to support the costs of organizing the journal (especially the translations, linguistic revisions, and formatting of the articles for their publication on the *e-JPH* platform); and endowed with an enormous patience in the treatment of the impenetrable minutiae of the everyday bureaucratic and administrative management (whether with the Rectorate of the University of Porto, the Luso-American Development Foundation [FLAD], Scielo, or the Regulatory Authority for the Media).

We grew used to regarding Luís as an example of leadership and to receiving the clear testimonies of his friendship. We will never forget the dinners that would invariably mark the end of our editorial meetings in Lisbon, or occasionally in Porto. Without this entertaining and relaxed atmosphere, we would have found the professional collaboration that we maintained for twenty years far less captivating, twenty years in which the seed of the *e-JPH*, first planted by Luís, sprouted and grew into a ripe fruit. We are certain that the new team that is set to take over the editorial reins of the *e-JPH* will prove itself worthy of

¹⁰ The papers presented at this conference were published in the section of “Surveys and Debates” in various issues of the *e-JPH*, between 2013 and 2016.

the legacy that Luís Adão da Fonseca helped so greatly to construct.¹¹ Thank you so much, Luís, for your dedication to this project.¹²

¹¹ Besides the partnership between the Faculty of Arts and the Rectorate of the University of Porto and the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies of Brown University (through the collaborators mentioned in footnote 2), with this latter body being responsible for the online edition of the journal, the *e-JPH* has benefited from the institutional support of the Center for History, Culture and Societies (CIDEHUS) of the University of Évora, the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS) of the University of Lisbon, the Research Center for the Study of Population, Economy and Society (CEPESE), and the Jaime Cortesão Chair of the University of São Paulo. Since its launch in 2002, the journal has benefited from the financial support provided by the Foundation for Science and Technology, the Luso-American Development Foundation, the BCP Millennium Foundation, and the Camões Institute, I.P.

¹² This piece is contributed by the editors of the *e-JPH*.

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Luís Adão da Fonseca and Iberian Political History

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Abstract

This article offers a brief overview of a part of Prof. Luis Adão da Fonseca's life trajectory: his stay in Spanish universities and archives, and his intense participation in the scientific activity of Spanish institutions, especially the Congresos de Historia de la Corona de Aragón and the Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales. The result of his Iberian vocation has great visibility in the publication of relevant research works, in the organization of congresses, and in other scientific meetings. Moreover, new understandings of Iberian Medieval History could benefit from one of its most important lines of research, precisely the one we want to emphasize in this paper.

Keywords

Portuguese medievalists, Medieval Iberian relations, Congresos de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Universidade do Porto

Resumo

Este artigo oferece um breve panorama de uma parte da trajetória de vida do Prof. Luis Adão da Fonseca: sua passagem por universidades e arquivos espanhóis, e sua intensa participação na atividade científica de instituições espanholas, especialmente os Congresos de Historia de la Corona de Aragón e a Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales. O resultado da sua vocação ibérica tem grande visibilidade na publicação de trabalhos de investigação relevantes, na organização de congressos e outros encontros científicos. Para além disso, novos entendimentos no quadro da História Ibérica Medieval beneficiaram de uma das suas linhas de investigação mais importantes, precisamente aquela que queremos destacar neste artigo.

Palavras-chave

Medievalistas portugueses, Relações Luso-Espanholas, Congressos de História da Coroa de Aragão, Universidade do Porto

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Professor Luís Adão da Fonseca studied history at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto between 1962 and 1967. One year later, in November, his bachelor's degree thesis, which was also his first academic work (Fonseca 1968), initiated what was to become one of his most important research themes: the political history of the Iberian kingdoms.

Professor Fonseca's research into the Constable Dom Pedro and his personal and political career in Portugal, Castile, and the Crown of Aragon led him to turn to the Portuguese and Spanish archives where the documentation on that Portuguese prince was kept. These experiences greatly increased the already burgeoning personal, Iberian, and universalist vocation demonstrated in the young graduate's research.

Awarded a scholarship by the Instituto de Alta Cultura, he carried out his research in Madrid and Barcelona at the institutions that would later become the focal points of his investigations throughout his academic career: in Madrid, the National Library, the National Historical Archive, and the Library of the Royal Academy of History; in Barcelona, the Central Library (now the Library of Catalonia), the Barcelona Municipal Archive, and, above all, the Archives of the Crown of Aragon. The immediate result was his PhD dissertation, presented in July 1979 (Fonseca 1982) and other subsequent works on the Constable Dom Pedro (e.g., Fonseca 1970, 1972, and 1974).

At the same time, he began his teaching career at the same faculty in Porto where he had studied as an undergraduate. He taught there as an assistant professor of history from 1969 to 1975, and, in that last year, moved to the University of Navarre, where he worked firstly as a visiting professor, then as an assistant professor during the academic years 1976-1980, and finally as an associate professor in the academic year 1980-1981.

In the first year of his time abroad, he completed his PhD thesis, on which he had been working since completing his first degree,² published a synthesis of his teaching activity (Fonseca 1984),³ and, above all, intensified his contacts with the Spanish academic environment. In particular, his election as the representative for Portugal to the Committee of the *Congress of the History of the Crown of Aragon*, an event that took place during the meeting held in Zaragoza in 1976, was an important addition to the exchange of knowledge. He brought to this Committee his organizational skills and his scholarly output, resulting, above

² Recognized in Portugal by the University of Porto in July 1979.

³ One of the 14 volumes of *Historia Universal*, of which he was one of the coordinators.

all, in his overview of important historical themes, clearly revealed at subsequent editions of the congress.⁴

At the beginning of the next decade (1980), he returned to the University of Porto. Some Portuguese professors drove to Pamplona to persuade him to do so. Already in Porto, and in order to obtain the qualification necessary to be appointed a full professor of medieval history (1981), he presented a public lecture which still remains today as a magnificent testimony to one of his most important research themes: the political history of the Peninsular kingdoms, focusing above all on the relations between Portugal and Castile.

At that time, Luís Adão da Fonseca was an associate professor⁵ (by invitation), and, in 1984, he was appointed a full professor⁶ until his retirement in 2006. Between 1996 and 2003, he also served as a full professor at the Lusíada University in Lisbon. Later, he was appointed vice-rector of that same University in Porto (January 2004 to August 2011). During these years, he developed an important series of international collaborative initiatives in Spain, France, Brazil, and the United States.⁷

After his return to Portugal, and especially at the Institute of Historical Documentation of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, he was determined to increase the number of academic collaborations with Spanish universities. As a result, he established numerous personal contacts, helping to make him a profound connoisseur of Spanish medievalism in its entirety. His participation in the general assemblies of the Spanish Society of Medieval Studies was to have particular outcomes.⁸ He greatly encouraged the presence of Portuguese medievalists at all these meetings, and his attempts to inspire collaborative studies and the exchange of research experiences were among the predominant concerns of his role as a professor. The main outcome of his involvement in this area was the conception and creation of the Portuguese Society of Medieval Studies.

The organization of the second Portuguese-Spanish Conference on Medieval History, fully dedicated to the subject of Iberia (Porto, November 1985), is a good example

⁴ During his time on the committee, congresses were organized in Palermo (1982), Montpellier (1985), Palma de Mallorca (1987), Sassari-Alguero (1990), Jaca (1993), Naples (1997), Barcelona-Lérida (2000), Valencia (2004), and Zaragoza-Caspe-Alcañiz (2012). These were occasions that enabled Professor Fonseca to intensify his links to the study of Italian medievalism, another area of research in which he also demonstrated his universalist vocation.

⁵ *Diário da República*, 2^a série, n° 259, 10 November 1981.

⁶ *Diário da República*, 2^a Série, n° 195, 14 August 1984.

⁷ Namely, the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (1991), the University of São Paulo (1997), and Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland (1998).

⁸ Covadonga (1983), Jarandilla (1984), Sitges (1985), Pamplona (1986), El Escorial (1989), and Santiago de Compostela (2007).

of Adão da Fonseca's encouragement of the transversal study of historiographical themes. When presenting the proceedings of that meeting (a three-volume edition published in 1990), he explained his historiographical views by manifesting his firm conviction that the study of historical phenomena could not be limited by necessarily more restrictive political borders. And he wrote:

based on the belief that there was a close relationship between the various problems that affected the Iberian kingdoms until the 16th century, this congress sought to create the opportunity for such an awareness to be developed as part of a new methodological approach towards historiographical practice. It is obvious that our aim is not to underestimate the individuality of each of the spaces that have evolved as autonomous monarchies [. . .] The aim is to foster historical research in which problems (in the multifaceted range of their various components—social, economic, political, cultural, and religious) can be studied from a Peninsular perspective, which will ultimately enrich their understanding.

With the support of the aforementioned Institute of Historical Documentation, he similarly took responsibility for the organization of the fourth Portuguese-Spanish Conference on Medieval History, dedicated to the study of *As Relações de Fronteira no Século de Alcañices* (Border Relations in the Century of the Treaty of Alcañices), which was again held in Porto, in November 1997, on the occasion of the seventh centenary of the signing of the Alcañices Treaty. The extraordinarily large participation of Portuguese and Spanish researchers, whose contributions resulted in two sizeable volumes of proceedings edited under his supervision, is a good example of the popularity that his projects achieved.⁹

In his own words: “An academic conference . . . is valuable above all for the intellectual contribution of the researchers who participate in it In this case, the number of papers presented and the geographical range of the institutions to which their authors belonged (covering the entire Iberian Peninsula) testify to the value of the material gathered together in this publication. The importance of the meeting within the panorama of medieval

⁹ *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras, Série II, vol. 15, n^{os} 1 and 2, 1998. Available at <https://ler.letras.up.pt/site/default.aspx?qry=id04id18&sum=sim>.

Peninsular historiography is itself clearly evident, while also underlining the continuity of a scientific collaboration that started almost thirty years ago.”¹⁰

This belief was materialized in the form of a personal and scientific relationship between the Department of Medieval History at the Universidad Autónoma (Madrid) and the Faculty of Letters (Porto), with the mutual exchange of teachers to deliver lectures and organize monographic courses. Among its most important results, we may point to the realization of the *Hispano-Portuguese Culture Meetings* promoted by the Camões Institute (of which Adão da Fonseca was director between 1992 and 1995), the Vice-Rectorate of Culture of the Universidad Autónoma (Madrid), and the Institute of Historical Documentation of the University of Porto, together with the support of several public and private bodies.

Once more, the titles of these meetings show a historiographical line of thought that goes far beyond the political landmarks of medieval monarchies and calls for a study of the events taking place across the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, which were closely related to each other—a truly historiographical unity. The first conference was held in Madrid, in December 1994, under the title *Una Península compartida: perspectivas sobre un mismo territorio*; the second, also held in Madrid, in January 1996, focused on the themes of art and archeology; and the third, under the title *Interrelación cultural en la formación de una mentalidad. Siglos XII al XVI*, took place in Madrid and Porto in November 1997. The contributions of the participants in these sessions were collected together and published in one volume.¹¹

Those years of scientific collaboration favored an even closer relationship between the University of Porto and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. In January 1999, their respective governing boards approved an agreement under which chairs were created at both institutions: the *Cátedra Alexandre Herculano* of Portuguese Studies in Madrid, and the *Cátedra Claudio Sánchez Albornoz* of Spanish Studies in Porto, this latter one being occupied by Adão da Fonseca. The work that was carried out meant an increase in the exchange of scientific knowledge between both institutions, and the holding of a Spanish-Portuguese colloquium on medieval history, in Porto in November 2001, and a second one, in Madrid in November 2002.

¹⁰ Adão da Fonseca was recalling both the Portuguese-Spanish Conference on Medieval History (Porto, 1968), in which he had participated as a young scholar, and another meeting that had taken place in the following year at the Archivo General de Simancas, with the purpose of founding the two Societies of Medieval Studies (Spanish and Portuguese) in order to intensify the cooperation between medievalists from both countries. Attending the meeting on the Portuguese side were Professors Artur Moreira de Sá and Domingos de Pinho Brandão; while, on the Spanish side, the group was formed by Eloy Benito Ruano, Emilio Sáez, Amando Represa, and Luis María Larrieta. The meeting was organized by Luis Suárez Fernández.

¹¹ *Jornadas de Cultura Hispano-Portuguesa*. Madrid, 1999.

Later, due to the strict demands of the Portuguese cultural policy, history centers were required to house research groups, and it was then that Luís Adão da Fonseca joined CEPESE, the Research Center for the Study of Population, Economy, and Society (*Centro de Estudos de População, Economia e Sociedade*) at the University of Porto. As expected, this institution supported the promotion of internationalization, which offered him an excellent opportunity for expanding his international contacts and research collaborations. As president of the Scientific Council of CEPESE, he enjoyed the cooperation of a *Scientific Advisory Commission*, which brought together researchers from various countries—France, Italy, and Spain—and whose mission was to prepare reports on the different fields of CEPESE’s scientific activity. Its annual meetings were an occasion for the exchange of scientific proposals and initiatives. Professor Fonseca’s concern with achieving an international status for the center was always in his mind, as can be seen from his participation in different European networks and consortia, some of which were directly related to Spain.¹²

His academic career in the study of political history reveals a clearly defined historiographical approach: the use of an extensive group of sources, both chronistic and documentary, with an intensive study of the archives; a detailed exposition of the facts, always followed by the analysis of their causes and by the exposition of the different aspects of their consequences—political, certainly, but also economic and, above all, cultural—while disregarding interpretations that were not supported by the sources, of which he had a profound knowledge.

And all this can be seen in his early research, in his undergraduate these and PhD dissertation, and in the works that he produced at the peak of his research maturity. This was the case, for example, with his book on Dom João II: a biography in the strict sense of the term, as required for editorial reasons, since the work was part of a collection of monographs on all the kings of Portugal (Fonseca 2005). In the introduction to this work, the author sets out these limits, but explains the need to go further in his analysis of the details relating to the biographical subject “when these affected his consciousness, as decisive circumstances of his life experiences.”

While this is, in essence, a biography—an analysis of the person and his family environment—the author shows a full understanding of the whole epoch, both in Portugal and the Iberian Peninsula, and masterfully interprets its influence on the monarch’s

¹² Member of the *Consejo Científico del Instituto de Historia de Europa Mediterránea*, of the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*, Cagliari; member of the *Standing Committee for the Humanities* (2003-2006) and Portuguese delegate to the *European Reference Index for the Humanities*, among many other bodies.

decisions. His analysis of domestic and foreign policy, and, in particular, of overseas policy between the Treaty of Alcáçovas and the Treaty of Tordesillas, subjects on which he is an acclaimed specialist, show the depth of his historiographical thought, in line with other great medievalists whom he has always admired.

This same clarity and precision were also very noticeable in his lectures and presentations of academic papers: a conceptual depth and brilliant oratory were always present. His teaching ability, from which so many students have benefited, just as some others have profited from his scholarly studies, is clearly evident in volume five of the already-mentioned *Historia Medieval*, which its author entitled *La Cristiandad Medieval*: indeed, it is an excellent aid for students of those central centuries of the Middle Ages and an indispensable tool for so many teachers of our discipline.

This is yet another example of his historiographical conception, always attentive to the accurate exposition of events, without abandoning their most complete interpretation. In his prologue to *La Cristiandad Medieval*, written with that enormous capacity for synthesis that he has always shown, after stating that “the history of Europe between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries is likely to constitute an excellent quarry for the formulation of a historical model of growth,” and that “it offers a possibility to reflect on the ultimate, and often unconscious, motivations of modern and contemporary man,” he concludes that “an understanding that aims to be as broad as possible must consider political history in three dimensions: firstly, its material, social and intellectual conditioning factors; secondly, the possible options open to the protagonists at any given moment; and, finally, the decisions actually taken by them In this sense, political history cannot refuse the help of the imagination. In the historian’s mind, this will be the most appropriate way to respect the freedom of the people under study” (Fonseca 1989: 5). This is the outline that structures this work, written by the author in 1982, and which, in my opinion, sums up his conception of history.

This is a brief compilation of Professor Fonseca’s work in what is only one of his lines of research. His work includes at least two others that have been the subject of other academic studies, but other colleagues will also have the chance to write about them: the military orders and the discoveries and Portuguese expansion, to which he has made contributions of an even greater scope. Permit me merely to recall his coordination of the collection *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, essential for the study of the Military Orders in Portugal in the Middle Ages.

His work, his ability to organize research groups and networks, his hard-working capacity and his way of understanding history have given a huge boost to medievalism in Portugal, stimulating interest in the study of the Middle Ages both in Portugal and in Spain and paving the way for many joint study initiatives, some of which are mentioned above. His coordination of the book *Entre Portugal e a Galiza (Sécs. XI a XVII). Um Olhar Peninsular sobre uma Região Histórica*,¹³ one of the results of an international ESF project, also perhaps confirms his commitment to providing an even greater understanding of Iberian themes, an aim he never abandoned throughout his career.

Professor Fonseca's scholarly output includes the authorship of eighteen books, the editing of a dozen publications of collective books and conference proceedings, and 120 articles published in history journals in different countries. Always tireless in his organization of working groups and the means of disseminating historical research, in 2002, he promoted the creation of this *e-Journal of Portuguese History*, the result of a collaboration between the University of Porto and Brown University, which is now in its eighteenth issue with two volumes published each year.

¹³ Porto: CEPESE/Fronteira do Caos, 2014.

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Luís Adão da Fonseca: From a Pioneering to a Mature Approach in the Research on Military Orders in Portugal

Paula Pinto Costa¹

Abstract

In the course of his extensive research work, Luís Adão da Fonseca adopted a pioneering and innovative approach to the study of the military orders in Portugal, making a decisive contribution to the evolution of this thematic field in recent years. Over almost four decades, he opened up a series of promising questions and perspectives, becoming the mentor of a particular school and a major reference in this scientific area.

Keywords

Luís Adão da Fonseca, Medieval history, Military orders, Historiography

Resumo

Entre a sua vasta obra, Luís Adão da Fonseca dedicou-se ao estudo das ordens militares presente em Portugal de forma pioneira e inovadora. O impacto do seu trabalho de investigação constituiu o passo decisivo para a renovação deste campo temático no seu quadro evolutivo das últimas décadas. Quase ao longo de quatro décadas, abriu questões e perspetivas de abordagem promissoras, tornando-se o mentor de uma escola e uma referência nesta área científica.

Palavras-chave

Luís Adão da Fonseca, História medieval, Ordens militares, Historiografia

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Luís Adão da Fonseca became interested in the subject of military orders at the very beginning of his academic career. In preparing the dissertation for his bachelor's degree at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, entitled *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal. Subsídios para o estudo da sua mentalidade* (1968), he readily understood that many of the details of the life of this *infante* were to be explained by his membership in the Order of Avis. This realization aroused his curiosity and strengthened his resolve to pursue a new research theme and to contribute to its development. From then on, he became increasingly aware of the important role that the Order of Avis played in the political context of the fifteenth century, which included the period when the Constable Dom Pedro was its Grand Master. The relationship between military orders and the monarchy, and the political and social repercussions of that same relationship, became the core perspective of Luís Adão da Fonseca's analytical and interpretive research work over the following decades.

Early on in his academic career, he was a lecturer in history at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto (1969) and a scholarship holder at the Instituto de Alta Cultura in Madrid and Barcelona (1971 and 1973-1975). This latter opportunity, in particular, enabled him to make important progress in his research in the field of Medieval History at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de Historia, Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central de Catalunya and, above all, the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. This first experience of internationalization was crucial both for the development of his vision of university life and the organization of his research studies. During this period, he obtained a PhD in Medieval History (1978) with a thesis entitled *O Condestável D. Pedro de Portugal, a Ordem Militar de Avis e a Península Ibérica do seu tempo (1429-1466)*, published by the Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica in 1982 and now regarded as a major work of reference in this area.

From then on, he devoted himself to the study of military orders on a constant basis. He espoused an innovative approach within the context of Portuguese historiography: military orders were now regarded as an autonomous subject of research and became the central topic of a number of studies of that historical period. In this sense, he was a pioneer and provided a decisive stimulus for the evolution of these studies in recent decades. The output of his research activities was quite remarkable. The first step in this process was the publication of the book corresponding to his aforementioned doctoral thesis (1982), which was followed by his first oral presentation on the theme in 1983. At the same time, he was one of the people responsible for creating the first master's degree course in medieval history at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, in which he taught a seminar precisely

on the subject of these religious institutions. At that time, a special group of students—the most enthusiastic ones—conducted their studies in a room that was informally christened with the name of *Ariz*, and it was in this environment, in 1989, that the first master's degree theses produced under his supervision were discussed and approved. In the same year, he established a fruitful relationship with the municipality of Palmela, because it was there that the most important architectural complex of the Order of Santiago in Portugal was located, namely the convent and castle of Palmela, which hosted the first academic conference on the military orders in Portugal. The following year, in 1990, he published his first writings on the theme, as part of a collective work again promoted by the municipality of Palmela.

To sum up, Luís Adão da Fonseca's work on the military orders consists of the authorship and/or coordination of seven books, the publication of almost thirty articles and book chapters, and the presentation of thirty-seven papers and lectures at academic conferences and meetings, as well as the supervision of fifteen PhD dissertations and master's degree theses, the creation and editorship of a collection specifically devoted to the subject—the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*—whose first volume was published in 1997, and the scientific coordination of a project sponsored by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) in 2008. These key indicators underline the increasing consolidation of the different outcomes that he was achieving. However, his involvement in other positions of public responsibility outside the academic world of the university meant that he was obliged to divide his attentions to some extent, making it difficult for him to continue his intensive work on the military orders.² The ending of the mandates of these public offices naturally led to an increased academic production on the military orders, precisely from the second half of the 1990s onwards.

At the same time, it is important to note that, especially since the 1980s, Portuguese historiography has been marked by a substantial increase in the editing and publication of documentary sources, benefiting from the modernization and reorganization of archives and their related research tools. This new environment significantly improved the identification of, and access to, the respective documentation and opened up a dialogue with the international community, providing a decisive impetus for future studies (Homem, 2001; Costa, 2004). In line with this evolution, Spanish historiography also established its own areas of interest in relation to the military orders. Attention is drawn, in particular, to the work that was carried out at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid with the contributions of Vicente

² He was a member and then president of the scientific council of the National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries (1989-1996) and president of the Instituto Camões (1992-1995).

Álvarez Palenzuela and Carlos de Ayala Martínez, to whom one should further add the name of the medievalist Luis García-Guijarro Ramos. The same happened in the English-language academic world, with Jonathan Riley-Smith, from Cambridge University, who became the main interlocutor on the subject and involved many other colleagues in this international network of researchers. In turn, these developments had a great impact on the research into military orders that was being carried out at the University of Porto. The situation was, in all respects, very favorable.

Identifying the perspectives that Luís Adão da Fonseca gave to his own works and to those that were developed under his academic supervision helps us to better understand his interests and the thematic lines that he was researching. There were fifteen theses and dissertations written under his supervision, which can be divided into two groups. The first consists of eight master's degree theses and the second comprises seven PhD dissertations. Almost all of these students were enrolled at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto; except for two PhD dissertations, which were registered at the Lusíada University of Lisbon, where he was both Professor (1996-2003) and also Vice-Rector (2004-2011). These master's degree theses were completed and approved between 1989 and 1993. They all reveal coherent trends in their contents: on the one hand, the study of the historical evolution of these religious institutions from their origins to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, focusing on their internal organization, their property and estates, and the individuals responsible for their management, as well as their relations with outside entities, especially the papacy, the monarchy, and the local power; and, on the other hand, the examination of some normative manuscripts that proved decisive for the characterization of these institutions.

In particular, the first master thesis focused on the Order of Avis, which was precisely the order that had aroused his curiosity at the beginning of his academic career. One of them examined the order within a broader context and from a diachronic perspective until the third decade of the fourteenth century—*A Ordem Militar de Avis (das origens a 1329)* (Cunha 1989)—and another one—*A Ordem Militar de Avis (durante o mestrado de D. Fernão Rodrigues Sequeira)* (Pimenta 1989, published in 1997)—explored a shorter chronological period, roughly coinciding with the reign of King John I, adopting a perspective that was based more on questions relating to political and social history. A very similar focus was also adopted by *A Ordem de Cristo sob o Mestrado de D. Lopo Dias de Sousa* (Silva 1989, published in 1997). A different viewpoint was, however, to be found in the research study of *A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal na Baixa Idade Média*, which has the unique feature of focusing on the normative aspects of the order in question, making use of some edited documentary sources on this

subject (Barbosa 1989, published in 1998). Another particularity of the Order of Santiago—*A Comunidade Feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a Comenda de Santos na Idade Média* (Mata 1991, published in 2016)—was explored in this early phase, while, in another master's degree thesis, a general approach was made to the order, highlighting its role in the conquest, settlement, and organization of the southern territories of Portugal—*A Ordem Militar de Santiago (das origens a 1327)* (Cunha 1992). To complete the range of orders under investigation at that time, there was also a study of *A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal (séculos XII-XIV)* (Costa 1993). Finally, the interest in the normative dimension was further reinforced by *A Ordem Militar de Cristo na Baixa Idade Média. Espiritualidade, normativa e prática* (Vasconcelos 1996, published in 1998). This master's degree thesis, focused, just like the previous one, on the Order of Santiago, again made use of edited documentary sources, emphasizing the order's religious and community life to the detriment of its manorial and political dynamics.

In the case of the PhD dissertations, there was a shift towards later chronologies, in keeping with the previously presented research plans, with dissertations being defended and approved on the following subjects: *A Ordem de Cristo (1417-1521)* (Silva 1998, published in 2002); *A Ordem Militar do Hospital em Portugal: dos finais da Idade Média à Modernidade* (Costa 1999, published in 2000)³; *A Comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a Comenda de Santos em finais do século XV e no início do século XVI. Estudo religioso, económico e social* (Mata 1999, published in 2007); and *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média: o governo de D. Jorge* (Pimenta 1999, published in 2001). A previous topic relating to the regulations of the military orders was further expanded on in a dissertation entitled *A normativa das Ordens Militares portuguesas (séculos XII-XVI). Poderes, sociedade, espiritualidade* (Ferreira 2005). Running counter to this dominant trend, however, were two dissertations based on regional and heritage aspects: *A Ordem de Avis revisitada (1515-1538). Um albeado entardecer* (Mendonça 2008) and *A comarca da Aldeia Galega do Ribatejo (séculos XV e XVI)* (Seabra 2010). Two other PhD projects, developed by António Vasconcelos and Cristina Fernandes, were supervised by Luís Adão da Fonseca at the level of their initial work plan, although, due to legal requirements resulting from his retirement process, these two PhDs were completed in 2009 under the guidance of another professor. The same can be said regarding his influence on the choice of theme for the PhD thesis written by Joana Lencart, which centered on the sixteenth-century figure of Pedro Álvares Seco, whom we can describe as the memory maker of the Order of Christ and whose

³ Although the theme of this dissertation resulted from a suggestion made by Luís Adão da Fonseca, the professional commitments that he had taken on outside the university in the meantime meant that the formal responsibility for its supervision was transferred to José Marques.

work inspired the edition of *O Livro da Regra e Definições da Ordem de Cristo por Frei Pedro Álvares Seco* by the same researcher (2018).

While supervising this set of academic works, Luís Adão da Fonseca continued to give lectures at conferences, as well as publishing papers and book chapters that reveal the wealth of knowledge that he had accumulated, his broad research experience, and the wide recognition that he enjoyed among his peers. As already mentioned, in the 1980s, under the scope of the Conference on Medieval Portugal organized by the municipality of Leiria, he gave his first talk on the Order of Avis, entitled *Algumas considerações a propósito da documentação existente em Barcelona respeitante à Ordem de Avis: sua contribuição para um melhor conhecimento dos grupos de pressão em Portugal em meados do século XV* (Fonseca 1983 published in 1984), taking advantage of the research that he had undertaken during his previous visit to Spain and inspired by the predominant tendencies of French historiography at that time. As a side note, I recall that, among others, he enjoyed personal contact with Fernand Braudel (1976), Jacques Heers (1990), and Jacques Le Goff (1993), all of whom he frequently referred to in his informal talks. Shortly afterwards, at the conference entitled *Jornadas sobre o Município na Península Ibérica: Séculos XII-XIX*, he discussed his reflections on the *Relações entre a Ordem de Avis e os municípios medievais portugueses* (Santo Tirso, 1985). It was, however, at the second edition of the *Jornadas de Historia de Andaluzia e del Algarbe* that he addressed a subject—*A Ordem de Avis e a memória da fronteira nos finais da Idade Média: o caso de Noudar* (La Rabida, 1986)—which would later be divided into two fundamental aspects in the structure of his research: memory and frontier. This latter topic was addressed mainly through the example of Noudar, a commandery of the Order of Avis located in the Alentejo (south of Portugal), in the border area between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile, and which has been so important in the problematization of the political relationship between the two peninsular kingdoms. For this reason, Noudar was constantly reinterpreted and revisited in his work (Fonseca 2000; 2009; 2012; 2013; and 2016).

At the first conference on the military orders—*I Encontro sobre Ordens Militares*—he underlined his interest in understanding the complex process of producing the historical memory of the orders, giving a talk on *A Memória das Ordens Militares: o Livro dos Copos da Ordem de Santiago* (Palmela, 1989, published in 1991). Soon after this, he returned to the subject at the *Congresso Internacional dos Caminhos Portugueses a Santiago de Compostela*, where he gave a lecture entitled *A recordação de Santiago na Ordem de Santiago: o Livro dos Copos* (Porto, 1989), the famous Portuguese Saint James cartulary, which began in the fifteenth century. At the *II Congresso Histórico de Guimarães*, he gave a lecture on *D. Afonso Henriques e as Ordens*

Militares na memória da historiografia moderna (Guimarães, 1996), but the way in which he approached the subject was closely linked to another field of interest that was to become such a distinctive feature of his curriculum and his intellectual development: the epistemological issues underlying historiography. After this, he spent many years researching into the notions of memory and the political frontier. Indeed, the first publication mentioned in his curriculum, and which dealt expressly with the military orders, consisted of his collaboration in the exhibition catalog *O Castelo e a Ordem de Santiago na História de Palmela* (Palmela, 1990), together with some comments on the *Livro dos Copos* and the normative texts relating to this organization.

In the 1990s, there was a fundamental shift in his curriculum. He was now mostly concerned with the commemorations of the Portuguese overseas expansion, due to his appointment to a leading position on the National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese Discoveries. He would, however, sometimes combine this subject with that of the military orders. I highlight here his first two contributions in this area: a talk on *O Algarve, os Descobrimentos e a Ordem de Santiago*, as part of the seminar “O Algarve e os Descobrimentos” (Lagos, 1990) and an initial paper dedicated to *Vasco da Gama e a Ordem de Santiago* (Palmela, 1998, published in 1999), about whom he would also write a biography (1997). It is also important to mention that he wrote a biography of King John II (2005), who was the Grand Master of both the Order of Avis and the Order of Santiago, as well as a shorter text on the links between Christopher Columbus and the Order of Santiago (2006), after having accumulated some knowledge of this historical personality in the course of his research.

His study of cross-border subjects caused him to associate another perspective with the study of the military orders: the Crusades. This was the case with the reflections that he prepared in co-authorship for *The Order of Christ and the Idea of the Crusade (14th-16th Centuries)*, presented at the international conference on *The Military Orders: Welfare and Warfare*, organized by The London Centre for the Study of The Crusades (London, 1996, with Pimenta & Silva). In terms of publications, the first text which engaged with the Crusades based on the intercession of religious and political authorities, was *The Papacy and the Crusade in 15th-Century Portugal* (Avignon, 2008, published in 2011, with Pimenta & Costa). The idea of the Crusades would be maintained as a research theme and served as the support for two new papers: “The Idea of the Crusade in Medieval Portugal. Political Aims and Ideological Framing” (Fonseca 2016a) and “La Orden de Cristo entre la cruzada y la monarquía: un marco ideológico con finalidad política” (Fonseca 2016b). The relationship between the orders,

the papacy, and the monarchy and its repercussions for the reinterpretation of the idea of the Crusades and the support given to the Portuguese expansion were the issues most frequently explored in more recent works. This was the case with “The Portuguese Military Orders and the Oceanic Navigations: From Piracy to Empire (Fifteenth to early Sixteenth Centuries)” (Fonseca 2008), “A Ordem de Cristo, o Papado e a Expansão Marítima Portuguesa no século XV” (Fonseca 2012b), “The Portuguese Military Orders, the Royal Power and the Maritime Expansion (Fifteenth Century)” (Fonseca 2012c), and “A Ordem de Santiago e a Expansão” (Fonseca 2015).

In the early years of the twenty-first century, Luís Adão da Fonseca delved deeper into the thematic lines that I have highlighted in this synthesis. One of the most promising and motivating subjects that he examined was the case of the chronicler Frei Jerónimo Román, as we can see in the work *Frei Jerónimo Román, Cronista das Ordens Militares* (Palmela, 2002, with Pimenta, published in 2005 and reprinted with some changes in 2008). In this same context, he provided the highly valuable coordination of the collective work (published in 2008) on the *Chronicle of the Orders of Christ, Avis and Santiago*, written by this same chronicler in the sixteenth century. At the same time, there were many questions raised by the study of the sociability that was developed among the military orders. This is a very complex subject and needs further support from other social studies on the medieval period. Luís Adão da Fonseca also put forward a pertinent hypothesis concerning their definition as an elite—*As Ordens Militares: uma elite medieval?*—at the colloquium on *Elites e Redes Clientelares: Problemas e Perspetivas*, promoted by the University of Évora (Lisbon, 2002). Moreover, in the previous year, he talked about *As Ordens Militares e a Expansão* at the colloquium on *A Alta Nobreza e a Fundação do Estado da Índia*, organized by the Centre for Overseas History of the NOVA University of Lisbon (Lisbon, 2001), exploring very pertinent aspects that opened up a series of new questions for future approaches. The main goal was to identify social networks, viewed from the perspective of the ever-present aspiration to try to understand military orders in their relationship with the monarchy.

It is also worth mentioning his involvement, at an advanced stage in his academic career, in some collective works, both through his coordination of research teams and through his contributions to several works of synthesis. In the latter case, he collaborated in the production of the *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal* (2001), the dictionary *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire Critique des Ordres Militaires Européens au Moyen Âge* (2009), and the book *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (c. 1950-2010)* (Fonseca et al. 2011).

The recognition that can be inferred from these collaborations reveals his prestige and standing among the community of Portuguese and foreign historians. The countries where he established contacts for the development of activities in this area of study were Spain (Navarra, Madrid, Ciudad Real, Santiago de Compostela, and Puerto de Santa María), Italy (Rome, Genoa, Florence, and Cagliari), United Kingdom (London and Cardiff), Denmark (Aalborg), France (Avignon), Sweden (Stockholm), Netherlands (Groningen), and Brazil (São Paulo). In fact, he enriched his curriculum with the growing internationalization that led him to expand his horizons and move closer to the study of comparative history. Particularly significant at this level were his membership in the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (2008) and his joining the Rede Luso-Brasileira de Estudos Medievais, created by the Laboratório de Estudos Medievais (LEME) of the University of São Paulo and the Jaime Cortesão Chair (2012), as well as his collaborative research for the paper entitled “Military Orders between Territorialization and Periphery from the 12th to the 16th Century. A Comparative Perspective on Portugal and Denmark” (Fonseca et al. 2016).

The consolidation of his research into military orders and the maturity of his intellectual and academic career reached far beyond the publications of which he was the author. There are other important manifestations of his contribution to the writing of the history of military orders. At the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, he founded and organized a network for the study of these institutions, creating the International Seminar on the Military Orders (SIOM) in 1989. From then on, the famous *Meetings on Military Orders* were promoted by the municipality of Palmela⁴ under his scientific supervision, becoming one of the leading international events on this subject. These meetings were complemented by the Courses on Military Orders, initiated in 1997, and the launch of the Office for Studies on the Order of Santiago (GEsOS, 1997), which itself became the promoter of all these initiatives and was highly indebted to the great commitment of Isabel Cristina Fernandes. The municipality of Palmela symbolically paid tribute to this work through the award of the Municipal Medal of Merit (Gold Standard) in the area of Historiographic Research on Cultural Heritage in 2015.

The year 1997 was marked by another decisive achievement in this field. At the initiative of Luís Adão da Fonseca, and under his direction, the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*

⁴ First Meeting, 1989, with proceedings published in 1991; second Meeting, 1992, with proceedings in 1997; third Meeting, 1998, with proceedings in 1999; fourth Meeting, 2002, with proceedings in 2005; fifth Meeting, 2006, with proceedings in 2009; sixth Meeting, 2010, with proceedings in 2012; seventh Meeting, 2015, which was the basis for a book published in 2018; and eighth meeting, 2019.

was created—a specialized collection on the subject, which already has eighteen volumes and is designed to publish working materials, manuscripts, and historiographic outputs on the military orders. It is linked to a team that has been dedicated to this theme for many years (Costa 2008). Since the publication of volume 12 (2012), the collection has been made available in digital form on the CEPESE website, where there is a repository containing all of the previous volumes, thus ensuring their wide dissemination among the international research community, which is one of the most crucial conditions for promoting research and renewing historiographic approaches in this area. This collection publishes works by individual authors, but above all, it is also a platform for the dissemination of collective team efforts. 2008 was another key year, marked by the organization of the *Seminário sobre Comendas das Ordens Militares na Idade Média*, involving a fruitful collaboration between Portugal and Italy, under the scope of the bilateral program supported by the Consiglio Nazionale de Ricerche and the Gabinete de Relações Internacionais da Ciência e do Ensino Superior of the FCT (CNR-GRICES, 2007-2008), and also benefiting from Spanish collaboration. The results are compiled in *Militarium Ordinum Analecta*, volume 11 (2009).

That same year, a research project was started under his coordination; it was approved by FCT and is identified as *Comendas das Ordens Militares: perfil nacional e inserção internacional* (PTDC/HIS-HIS/102956/2008). This project was the corollary of research already supervised by Luís Adão da Fonseca. It focused on the paradigmatic cases of the commanderies of Noudar of the Order of Avis and Vera Cruz de Marmelar of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. After defining the territories of these two commanderies, the project also set out to characterize the social and power networks generated around them and discuss the international dynamics of their surrounding context. These goals called for a reconstitution of the documentary collections relating to both orders along an extensive timeline, and their paleographic transcriptions were made available online in volumes 14, 15, and 16 of the *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* (2013). In turn, the reflective and interpretive texts produced in the context of the project can be found in volume 17 (2013).

In addition to his skills in organizing scientific events and publications, and supporting the work of research teams, Luís Adão da Fonseca also devoted his energies to training and preparing young researchers. In fact, the enthusiasm he exuded in his classes has been recognized by many of his students. From a contractual point of view, he taught at the University of Porto, Lusíada University, and Johns Hopkins University. However, his involvement in the training of young people went far beyond that. For example, he was responsible for the organization of several courses: *As Ordens Militares Castelhanas e Leonesas*

na *Idade Média*, taught by Carlos de Ayala Martínez (Porto, 1996); a specific seminar given by Cristina Pimenta under the scope of the postgraduate course in Medieval and Renaissance History of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto (Palmela, 2001-2002); and the seminar taught by Jonathan Riley-Smith, under the scope of the Institute of Historical Research, on two topics—*Historiografia sobre Ordens Militares: a produção anglo-saxónica* and *Cruzada e Ordens Militares* (Porto, 2005).

The assessment of all this activity undertaken by Luís Adão da Fonseca on the subject of military orders has necessarily had to be condensed into just a few brief words. We can say that he gradually discovered his own preferences: in sequential order, his greatest attention was devoted to the orders of Avis, Santiago and Christ, while the orders of the Temple and the Hospital, both originating in Jerusalem, were clearly the ones that received the least attention. As far as these latter two are concerned, the Order of the Temple was practically absent from his research efforts and was only considered as part of the historical process that led to the creation of the Order of Christ in the fourteenth century. The Order of Christ was itself occasionally analyzed from an Iberian perspective, with Luís Adão da Fonseca highlighting its contribution to the history of mediterranean Europe (2007) and its place within the context of other similar institutions, at the opening conference of the *III Seminario Internacional La Orden de Malta, su realidad histórica y su proyección social. Los hospitalarios de San Juan en los reinos de Portugal y Galicia. Balance y perspectivas historiográficas*, promoted by the Instituto de Estudios Gallegos Padre Sarmiento (2010). Nonetheless, he always insisted that it was essential to study all of these orders, taken as a whole, in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the evolution of the history of Portugal in particular and of the history of Europe in general. This perspective was reinforced by the links he established between the military orders and the other major themes that were of interest to him, such as the political relations in the peninsular sphere and the history of the Portuguese overseas expansion.

From all that has been said, it can be safely concluded that he was the scholar who gave the decisive impetus to the study of the military orders in Portugal, making it an integral part of the work that was being produced at other European academies. He launched a school that bore the hallmark of his enthusiasm as a teacher, benefiting from his long hours of study, his recurrent visits to libraries in Portugal and abroad, and his endless purchase of books, which he would then lend to those who needed them. A serious teacher, but nonetheless an easy person to talk to, Luís Adão da Fonseca was endowed with a high intellect and distinguished himself through the challenging nature of the questions that he would constantly raise.

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Fifteenth Century, the Age of Discoveries, by Luís Adão da Fonseca

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Abstract

This article analyzes Luís Adão da Fonseca's contribution to the study of the Portuguese overseas expansion. Most of his work deals with a narrow chronology of roughly one century—the fifteenth century—and through his texts we obtain a broader and more detailed picture of this period as a time of intense and diverse changes, which started in Europe but, for the first time, were to have a dramatic impact all over the world. I attempt to show that he was a pioneer in inserting the dynamics of Portugal's development within a European and Mediterranean context and combining this with its overseas activities to arrive at a single (and complex) historical process.

Keywords

Renaissance, Discoveries, Globalization, Military orders, Atlantic, Mediterranean

Resumo

Este artigo analisa o contributo de Luís Adão da Fonseca para o estudo da História da Expansão Portuguesa. A maior parte da sua obra aborda uma cronologia limitada a cerca de um século—o século XV—e através dos seus textos obtemos uma visão global desse período, como um tempo de mudanças intensas e diversificadas, que começaram na Europa, mas, pela primeira vez, tiveram repercussões relevantes por todo o mundo. Realço, por isso, que foi um pioneiro na integração das dinâmicas de Portugal com a Europa e o Mediterrâneo com as actividades ultramarinas num único (e complexo) processo histórico.

Palavras-chave

Renascimento, Descobrimentos, Globalização, Ordens militares, Atlântico, Mediterrâneo

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I first met Luís Adão da Fonseca (LAF) in 1988 during a conference in Lisbon about Portuguese navigations in the fifteenth century. He already had his chair at the University of Porto, while my colleagues and I were preparing our master's degree theses. This first contact introduced me to a brilliant scholar and excellent teacher, always ready to listen and to encourage young people and to provide them with opportunities for their development. I often had the chance to hear his comments about my own work (he never missed any of my lectures in Porto), and I also listened to his lectures on many occasions. I was always able to gain something new from those sessions. I should like to stress, for example, how he rediscovered a concept that had originally been developed by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. It is one that I myself have frequently employed, after having first heard it used by LAF. It involves considering the English Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar as the strategic medieval borders of Portugal (Fonseca 2015: 17-29),² which was a key concept for my analysis of the Ceuta affair (1415-1443) (Costa, Rodrigues, and Oliveira 2014: 32-45).

When I met him, he had already been a specialist on the fifteenth century for two decades, and his focus was shifting at that time from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. The dissertation that had formed part of his bachelor's degree had been written on the subject of Dom Pedro (1429-1466) (Fonseca 1968)—the son of the Duke of Coimbra and the grandson of King João I, who was the Master of the Order of Avis, the Portuguese *Condestável*, and finally the King of Catalonia (1464-1466)—and it was this that had first introduced him to the broader perspective of Iberian and Western Mediterranean history. The fifteenth century was a time of intense change in Europe and a period that had a strong impact all over the world. The Renaissance was characterized by a new way of making war, based on the development of firearms, and by a new way of disseminating knowledge and ideas, through the printing press. At the same time, Europeans were developing a new way of thinking and representing reality, through Humanism and the arts, and a new way of conceiving the world itself, resulting from the overseas expansion of the Portuguese and later the Castilians. The discoveries forged a new geography, while new businesses were developed, firstly between Europeans and Africans and then later on a global scale. From their very beginning, the Portuguese navigations were clearly a global phenomenon, whose main events took place far away from Europe but nonetheless had profound consequences for Europeans.

² This article was presented at a conference in 2011, which I attended and where I heard him talking about this topic, although he had already written about it earlier (Fonseca 2006: 41-60).

Over a period of fifty years, LAF retained his focus on the fifteenth century but this seemingly narrow chronology covered a variety of themes and a worldwide geography. Therefore, we may say that he understood the *Quattrocento* in its full complexity and that is why we find dozens of titles relating to the Portuguese discoveries and overseas expansion among his publications. He was one of the first Portuguese historians to realize that, in order to be able to write early modern history, it is impossible to separate European history from overseas history, especially when the geographical area is Portugal, the Iberian Peninsula, and even the Western Mediterranean.

LAF's first studies in maritime history dealt with the Portuguese corsairs in the Mediterranean (Fonseca 1978), after which he enlarged his field of vision and analyzed the interaction of Portugal's old Mediterranean links with the new Atlantic routes in a paper that he presented in Paris in 1987 (Fonseca 1989: 147-162).³ At that time, I was preparing my master's degree thesis with Luís Filipe Thomaz, who also participated in that conference, and, on his return, referred to LAF's paper as the most challenging he had ever heard. Looking beyond the overseas chronicles and documents, it was possible to gain a broader picture of the discoveries. Most scholars who studied the discoveries focused their attention on the Atlantic, but only a few, like LAF, always bore in mind that the oceanic strategies of João II and Manuel I were still ultimately focused on Mediterranean goals. This was the case, for example, with Jorge Borges de Macedo (1989: 387-403) and Thomaz (1990). We may say that, at that time, LAF was developing a parallel analysis of the main aspects of the fifteenth-century Portuguese expansion, together with Luís Filipe Thomaz, from whom I learned the same topics that LAF explained and explored in several of his works.

One of the topics that they both analyzed was the role of Europe in the Portuguese overseas expansion. There is a deep-rooted and traditional belief among scholars (historians, philosophers, and others) that Portugal developed a culture that was focused on the sea and that it had its back turned towards Europe. "We are not in Europe," said Eduardo Lourenço, for example, in 2000 (Lourenço 2020: 15). Therefore, the Portuguese discoveries have been perceived by many authors as a great and obvious example of separation that makes Saramago's surrealist metaphor of the Iberian Peninsula as a stone raft (*A Jangada de Pedra*, 1986) seem almost real. At that time, the Portuguese academic world still considered that people who studied fifteenth-century Portugal and Europe had a different specialization from those who studied overseas history. By moving beyond this tradition, Thomaz and LAF

³ See also a later article, dated 1996: "Do Atlântico Medieval ao Atlântico Moderno: Os Descobrimentos e a Formação do Espaço Oceânico."

stressed the close interconnections between the two themes (Thomaz 1994: 1-41; Fonseca 1997: 133-147). Later, other authors confirmed this European basis of the discoveries, such as Jacques Paviot, who published Flemish documentation revealing that the prototype of the *caravela* was created by a team of Portuguese and Flemish officers in Antwerp (Paviot 1995), and I myself, who stressed the European self-conception of Henry the Navigator as well as all the international efforts and contributions to the success of the discoveries (Costa 2009). LAF kept this topic in mind and revisited it in 2016 (Fonseca 2016: 547-555).

After his graduation, LAF dedicated much of his attention to military orders, as is explained in Paula Pinto da Costa's article. As the order's knights were noblemen, they were involved in military actions in Morocco and were members of the crews that sailed beyond Cape Bojador in the first overseas ventures. Since the mid-twentieth century, Marxist historiography has portrayed the Portuguese overseas expansion as an example of the class struggle, suggesting that the Moroccan option was sustained by the nobility in opposition to the bourgeoisie, who supported the discoveries and overseas trade. However, documentation has shown that, during the fifteenth century, the overseas expansion was led by noblemen in all of its different scenarios. The seminal essay outlining this new perspective was published by Luís Filipe Thomaz in 1989, first in France and later in Portugal (Thomaz 1994: 43-148). Many of Thomaz's students, myself included, adopted this interpretation as a new line of research and developed it, in particular, for the *Estado da Índia*, based on systematic genealogical and political studies.

In the 1990s, LAF added another dimension to this analysis, emphasizing the role played by the military orders in the rivalries between lineages, as well as in the crown's political decision-making, and especially in the fight that ensued to be appointed to the Cape Route captaincies. The preparation of his biography on Vasco da Gama (Fonseca 1997b)—a major figure who was the first knight of the Order of Santiago, but later switched to the Order of Christ—and the supervision of PhD dissertations (Pimenta 2002; Silva 2002) were certainly an inspiration for his new approach. I listened to him lecture on this topic, for the first time, in Paris in 1998, during a major conference organized by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in celebration of the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gama's voyage. There, he presented a paper about the political significance of Gama's expeditions of 1497-99 and 1502-03 (Fonseca 1999: 69-100), and in the same year, he published an article in which he focused his attention on the captaincies of the 1502 expedition, viewed from the perspective of the rivalry between the Order of Santiago, headed by Dom Jorge, the Duke of Coimbra, and the Order of Christ, headed by King Manuel I (Fonseca 1998: 11-32). I adopted this

same perspective a few years later when I wrote the biography of Manuel I, because it was crucial for understanding the first period of the king's governance (Costa 2005). Around this time, I began the coordination of a research project with Vitor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues on the role of the nobility in the foundation of the *Estado da Índia*, and together we organized a conference in 2001 at which we analyzed the connections of each titled house with the Indian Ocean campaigns during Manuel I's rule, and LAF joined us with a synthesis of his previous works about the Military Orders (Fonseca 2004a: 322-348). The role of the military orders in the nominations for the Cape Route captaincies and their involvement in the politics of the *Estado da Índia* were themes that were later developed by other scholars, such as Teresa Lacerda in her dissertation *Os Capitães das Armadas da Índia no reinado de D. Manuel I—uma análise social* (2006).

Meanwhile, during the fifth centenary of Pedro Álvares Cabral's arrival in Brazil, LAF published a new book, again with some innovative topics, such as highlighting the impression that in his letter, Pero Vaz de Caminha expressed an awareness of being in a different world where his social codes were useless or at least inappropriate, which was a challenge for the traditional and timeless ideas of a single and universal truth (Fonseca 1999). LAF therefore emphasized the humanistic mentality of the discoverers, bringing us back to the European background of the Portuguese overseas expansion. In 2000, he returned to this specific issue in an article published in São Paulo, with a special focus on the "novelty" of Caminha's letter (Fonseca 2000: 38-47).

By the end of the twentieth century, a new debate had been initiated among scholars of the early modern era, centered on the concept of globalization. There is no consensus either about just one single meaning for the concept or about the moment when it first began. Following the studies of authors such as Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918-2011), and Pierre Léon (1926-2013), it became clear that the fifteenth-century discoveries, started by the Portuguese, had initiated a "decompartmentation," according to Léon, or an "unlocking" of the world, to use Braudel's words. One of the earliest contributions to the discussion, which stresses the worldwide structural changes provoked by the Portuguese navigations, was an article by LAF, published in 2004 with a provocative question in its title: "Globalization before globalization?" (Fonseca 2004b: 643-684). I obviously share LAF's views on this subject and I further added the notion of a Geographical Revolution to point out the dramatic and worldwide changes that began in the fifteenth century.

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The list of LAF's publications is a long one, and their contribution to the history of the overseas expansion is enormous. I have emphasized what I consider to be the main lines of his thought and the most important contributions that he has made to the advancement of the historiography on this subject. However, mention should also be made of a few more studies and themes that he developed, and which were valuable contributions to a deeper knowledge of more classical topics.

Portugal's relations with Italy constituted one of the topics to which he frequently returned to. In 1989 and 1990, he wrote about the Portuguese-Genoese connections (Fonseca 1989: 635-644) and about the itinerary of Antoniotto Usodimare (Fonseca 1990: 963-971), and later about the links between Pope Alexander VI and the discoveries (Fonseca 2001: 227-247). Unfortunately, LAF did not greatly develop this specific topic of the papacy and the discoveries, and I do not know any other scholars who have written about any other papal policy or ideas in relation to the Portuguese overseas expansion. Consequently, the topic is still awaiting further studies long after the publication of this seminal (but largely forgotten) article.

Another topic on which he published regularly was the Portuguese diplomacy towards the Iberian kingdoms, with special attention being given to the Treaty of Tordesillas as well as the Atlantic countries; in fact, one of his earliest books is about the Treaty of Windsor (Fonseca 1986).

LAF developed a lasting collaboration with Artur Teodoro de Matos through the NOVA University as well as through the Catholic University. In 2001, he was the co-author of the book *O Milénio Português* in which he wrote a chapter on the fifteenth century, which he entitled "The First Expansion," once again emphasizing the specificity of the Portuguese *Quattrocento* (Fonseca 2001: 215-265). In 2005, he wrote João II's biography for inclusion in the collection of biographies about the Portuguese monarchs (Fonseca 2005). I think it is fair to say that he was exactly the right scholar to write about such a king, and his book is yet one more example of his writings about the Portuguese fifteenth century which make it clear that internal and European affairs must always be related to the country's overseas achievements as a single episode whenever we refer to fifteenth-century Portugal.

LAF discussed all these topics in his publications and lectures, while also being the curator of a number of exhibitions. One of his most recent contributions was to the *Dicionário da Expansão Portuguesa (1415-1600)*, coordinated by Francisco Contente Domingues (2016).

Due to the variety of articles that he wrote, we can almost regard his contribution to this dictionary as a synthesis of his whole career in relation to the study of the Portuguese overseas expansion: main issues—"Castela e Aragão," "Mediterrâneo," and "Ordens Militares"; politicians involved in Atlantic enterprises—"Infante D. Fernando" and "Infante D. Pedro"; navigators—"Vasco da Gama" and "Pedro Álvares Cabral"; and authors—"Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha" and "Zurara."

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As a final comment, I should just like to say that Luís Adão da Fonseca's most valuable and fruitful contributions have provided us all with a clear perspective of the fifteenth century as a time of amazing change—visible not only in the singularity of individuals, but also in entire countries and civilizations.

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Luís Adão da Fonseca: An Academic Master

José Augusto de Sottomayor-Pizarro¹

Abstract

As an homage and as a memory exercise, the author seeks to trace the academic path of Luís Adão da Fonseca since he returned to Portugal in 1981, after a prolonged stay in Spain since 1973. As his close collaborator, both as an assistant and also associated with various projects that he carried out, especially around the alignment between Portuguese and Spanish medievalists (who for decades almost always ignored each other), it is worth mentioning the process of creating of the Portuguese Society of Medieval Studies, of which the author was a close witness. In this same sense, it is important to mention the impulse given to the organization of the Luso-Spanish Journeys of Medieval History or to the creation of Chairs on Medieval History of Portugal and Spain in several universities in both countries. Luís Adão da Fonseca supported my contact with Spanish universities and historiography, to which I remain very close, while at the same time encouraged the beginning of career as a professor and offered me the example of an ethical posture as a teacher and as a researcher. He was essential in my formation as an academic in its various aspects, reasons that make him, along with José Mattoso, one of my Mentors.

Keywords

Academic career, Luso-Spanish historiography, Mentor-disciple

Resumo

Num misto de homenagem e de exercício de memória, o Autor procura traçar o percurso académico de Luís Adão da Fonseca desde que regressou a Portugal, em 1981, depois de uma prolongada estadia em Espanha, desde 1973. Seu colaborador próximo, quer como seu Assistente mas também associado a vários projectos que levou a cabo, sobretudo em torno da aproximação entre os medievalistas portugueses e espanhóis, que durante décadas se tinham quase sempre ignorado, fui testemunha privilegiada no processo de criação da Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievais, no impulso dado à realização das Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval ou na criação de Cátedras sobre História Medieval de Portugal e de Espanha em várias universidades dos dois países. Ao abrir-me a porta das universidades e da historiografia espanholas, das quais sou muito próximo, por outro lado, o pelo seu apoio permanente no início da minha carreira como professor, e a sua postura ética como docente e como investigador, Luís Fonseca foi essencial na minha formação como académico nas suas diversas vertentes, razões que fazem dele, junto com José Mattoso, um dos meus Mestres.

Palavras-chave

Carreira académica, Historiografia luso-espanhola, Mestre-discípulo

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At the time of the homage paid to Professor Luís Adão da Fonseca, celebrating two decades since he became a full professor, a set of texts was published by several colleagues and friends, both national and foreign, reflecting Fonseca's tastes as a researcher and historian of the Portuguese Middle Ages. To mark the occasion, the organizers of the homage, myself included, wrote texts entitled "Dados Biográficos" and "Percurso Intelectual/Luís Adão da Fonseca—Trabalhos Publicados (1968-2008)," in which we synthesized most of the available data about his academic career, as well as his written production, focusing on both the historiographical and the cultural dimensions of his work (Homem, Sottomayor-Pizarro, and Costa, 2009).

Having been invited by the editors of *e-JPH* to participate in this latest tribute to Luís Adão da Fonseca (with one of his most important achievements undoubtedly being the promotion of this journal), I did not wish to simply repeat what was said in those 2009 texts. Consequently, I thought it might be interesting to give my own personal testimony about some of the initiatives that he promoted, and which are themselves part of a series of memories that I have accumulated ever since I became one of his close collaborators, from the mid-1980s onwards.

I was not his student while an undergraduate (1978-1982), as my degree course coincided with his stay at the University of Pamplona, where he taught from 1975 to 1981, returning in the latter year to teach at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto.

But I remember very clearly attending his public examination for the award of the title of Associate Professor, which took place in March 1980. As I was still in the second year of my undergraduate studies—all dedicated to the Middle Ages, which, by then, had already become my favorite historical period—it was with great curiosity that I, like many other students, attended these two days of exams, made even more attractive at that time by the fact that there was not yet a great tradition in celebrating these events. The fact that the candidate had himself been a student of the first history course (after the faculty reopened), and that he had taught in Spain for some years, made it even more interesting.

I must confess that, even then, I was already impressed by his profound and scholarly knowledge of the most up-to-date bibliography and the confident attitude that he exuded throughout the two days of exams, brilliantly defending both his curriculum vitae, and a program on *Economic and Social History (Third-Fourteenth Centuries)*, as well as giving a most suggestive lecture on *Luso-Castilian Relations in the Fifteenth Century*. As you can imagine, at that time, I was still far from imagining that our paths would cross a few years later.

For my own part, having completed my degree in June 1982, I was quite frustrated by the fact that the long-awaited master's degree course (set to open at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Nova University of Lisbon) would only start in the academic year 1983-1984, for unknown procedural and administrative reasons. Everything seemed to be quite discouraging in 1982, a year that ended on an even worse note for me with the death of my father. I confess that I even contemplated the possibility of following a career in an area other than teaching and/or research, but my mother's support and encouragement helped me to persevere with my original aim. No less important were my regular visits to the *Arquivo Distrital do Porto* to practice paleographical reading, always in the company of my friend and colleague Luís Miguel Duarte. We even transcribed the royal letters contained in the *Livros de Originaes do Cabido da Sé do Porto*, which have remained forgotten until the present day.

In any case, the truth is that when the exams were held to select the students for the master's degree in September 1983, I was well prepared, and I believe that my selection was a fair one. It was during the interview stage that I spoke with Luís Adão da Fonseca for the first time, although the paleographical reading exam was conducted by the late Professor José Marques, a master, colleague, and friend, whom I also remember here with great and sincere affection. The master's degree program in medieval history started the following month, with ten students and three professors: the aforementioned Luís Adão da Fonseca and José Marques, as well as Humberto Baquero Moreno. All the other teachers of medieval history—Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem, Armindo de Sousa, Henrique David, Fernanda Santos, and Luís Miguel Duarte—were still assistant lecturers.

Today, almost forty years later, when I look back over those times, I am filled with a deep sense of nostalgia and with genuine astonishment at the sheer amount of study that awaited the whole group of students. Back then, we could hardly have suspected so much hard work! The MA involved two years of academic study, followed by an equivalent period spent writing and presenting the final dissertation. In other words, practically the same time as it took to complete a degree course. In addition to the seminars, we had classes, some of which were held in parallel with our colleagues from the MA program in modern and contemporary history, which was also inaugurated at the same time. I remember, with inevitable nostalgia, the lively sessions of Paleographical Training, with José Marques, and Textual Criticism, with Jorge Osório. As expected, the seminars reflected the research interests of their directors, so it is not surprising that Baquero Moreno was responsible for the subject of Medieval Councils, José Marques for Ecclesiastical Institutions, and, finally,

Luís Adão da Fonseca, with a third theme on Medieval Commerce. There was also another class, exclusively for medieval students, on Historical Cartography, which was also taught by the latter.

I believe that, during those two academic years, I worked just as hard as I did during the most demanding moments of my PhD—and the one “to blame” was Luís Adão da Fonseca. With his rather different working habits, acquired during his time in Spain, at the end of each class he would hand out a different book to each of the students, accompanied by his usual line: “For the next session, bring me a report of your reading of this book, with a minimum of three pages.”

For the seminar, I remember that it was my job to write a study card on the “*Cartas de Quitação do Rei D. Manuel*,” by Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, published in several volumes of the *Arquivo Historico Portuguez*. Without any exaggeration, I must say that I wrote thousands of such cards throughout the year, which enabled me to become acquainted with subjects that I was unfamiliar with, especially because I admit that I had little enthusiasm for economic history, despite my fondness for political and social history.

However, in performing these tasks, I revealed certain qualities of methodical work and organization that earned me the approval of Professor Fonseca. Furthermore, and I cannot emphasize this enough, the excellent preparation given to me by the teachers of the history group of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, and my general knowledge of both Portuguese and Spanish history from a very early age (thanks to my father’s influence), meant that I was a compulsive reader of books in these two areas.

I only point out these details because they were fundamental for my future relationship with my academic mentor, as well as for my career. In fact, I often wondered what possibilities might have materialized if, instead of giving a seminar titled *Medieval Commerce*, a subject that did not have any great interest for me—although I acknowledge that I learned a lot in those sessions, which were very useful for my subsequent teaching of *Economic and Social History (Third-Fourteenth Centuries)*—he had, instead, chosen to teach a seminar on military orders, as he did, in fact, do the following year. It is very likely that, under the scope of that general theme, I would have developed my research on the Portuguese medieval nobility within those institutions, as Luís Filipe Oliveira and António Pestana de Vasconcelos did several years later.

However, fate ended up opening other doors for me, since I decided to choose the seminar on ecclesiastical institutions, in which I developed a study on the patron saints of the Monastery of Grijó. And it was Luís Adão da Fonseca, with the immediate approval of

José Marques—the teacher responsible for that seminar—who put me into contact with Professor José Mattoso, so that he could become the supervisor of my master's thesis. Since then, and so far, I have had two great mentors in the true sense of the term: José Mattoso, who always gave me such valuable scientific guidance; and Luís Adão da Fonseca, who shaped me, in the best sense of the word, as an academic scholar and a university lecturer.

From the beginning of my MA in October 1983, there was a mutual empathy and a great understanding between us, largely because we shared several ideas and ways of thinking in common. Perhaps because of this, and because he had no assistant, when my good friend and colleague Amélia de Aguiar Andrade left for the Nova University of Lisbon, Luís Adão da Fonseca encouraged me to apply for that position, which I did, beginning to work with him in April 1984. Without my ever having taught a class, I reaped the benefits of his great scientific and pedagogical accuracy, which was always accompanied by an enormous generosity. He lent me books and worksheets, and shared his erudite views on general and Portuguese history; he was unsurpassable in the support that he gave me.

Our shared fondness for Spanish history, especially the medieval period, was another important bond between us, and certainly lay at the root of two of the projects that he developed, involving me in both of them: the creation of an association that would bring together Portuguese medievalists, and a bilateral agreement that would enhance inter-university relations between Portuguese and Spanish academic institutions.

Benefiting from his multiple professional and personal relationships and inspired by the model of the *Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* (SEEM), whose support he enjoyed from the beginning (and I particularly recall the names of Professors Emilio Sáez, Eloy Benito Ruano, Manuel González Jiménez, and Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada), Luís Adão da Fonseca initiated the first contacts for the creation of the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Medievales* (SPEM). This idea was very well received by the most senior and prestigious historians of the different universities, such as José Mattoso, A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Eduardo Borges Nunes, Artur Nobre de Gusmão, Torquato de Souza-Soares, Salvador Dias Arnaut, and Avelino de Jesus da Costa, as well as by other medievalists, such as Lindley Cintra, Gama Caeiro, Geraldine Freire, and Aires do Nascimento, in addition to his colleagues from Porto.

The bureaucratic process, the contact with, and the bringing on board of other medievalist colleagues, as well as the organization of the whole structure—which took place throughout 1984 and 1985, and to which both of us dedicated much of our time—materialized in a first general assembly, held in a hotel in Curia in November 1985. I will

always remember the success of that first meeting, which brought together for the first time many Portuguese medievalists in the broadest sense of the term—historians, philologists, philosophers, archaeologists, and historians of art and literature—and united several generations and colleagues who, until then, had had only very remote contact with one another, or no relationship at all, and who then met with great enthusiasm!

For several years afterwards, I had the pleasure of representing SPEM at the annual meetings of SEEM, which brought me into contact with dozens of colleagues from the many universities in the neighboring country, establishing professional and friendly ties that I still consider to be one of my most precious assets. As for the impact of the creation of SPEM, it is enough to recall the organization of several Portuguese-Spanish Conferences on Medieval History, the first of which took place in Porto in 1987, and which still make it possible for medievalists from both countries to meet with some regularity.

Accumulating various areas of responsibility and obtaining support from the Instituto Cervantes and the National Commission for the Commemorations of the Portuguese *Discoveries*, Luís Fonseca was also the tireless promoter of various agreements on inter-university relations—as was the case with the University of Seville in 2001—and the driving force behind the creation of university chairs in medieval history. I also had the opportunity to closely accompany this process, from early 1998 onwards, partly because I had gained my PhD in May of that year. After the signing of the respective protocols in 2001, the “Alexandre Herculano” Chair of Portuguese Medieval History came into operation, based at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid under the guidance and supervision of Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, while the “Claudio Sánchez Albornoz” Chair of Spanish Medieval History, for which I was responsible, was created at the University of Porto. I believe that it was a very successful initiative, which promoted the circulation of Portuguese and Spanish professors from different schools between the two universities and the enrichment of the bibliographical collections of both institutions.

Finally, as I now recall Fonseca’s performance in the Portuguese academic environment, I would like to underline the extraordinary support that he gave to many generations of young researchers who passed through the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto, enabling them to develop their research. In the same vein, it is important to highlight the creation of the Institute of Medieval Historical Documentation, based at the same faculty. With limited funds but benefiting from the goodwill of the directors of the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Luís Adão da Fonseca was able to obtain microfilm reproductions of all the medieval Chancery Books, from King Afonso III to King Manuel I,

the thirteenth and fourteenth-century *Inquirições*, and the books of the *Leitura Nova*, as well as several documents on the military orders, among others.

For my own part, I now conclude this journey with fond memories of my academic and personal life. I can never show enough gratitude for the many things that I owe to my two mentors and for the many things that I have learned from both of them. While I had the privilege of exploring paths that he revealed to me about the Portuguese medieval nobility with José Mattoso, with Luís Adão da Fonseca—in many ways due to the daily contact that we had and our sharing of the same office, firstly as his assistant and then as a colleague—I learned the most important values of an academic career, which I have tried to follow until now, when I am already close to its end. The way he opened the doors of the Spanish academic world to me through my inclusion in several of his scientific initiatives, the responsibility he always gave me, based on his absolute trust, and his uncompromising respect for scientific and pedagogical ethics made me grow and mature, not only as an academic, but also as a man.

Thank you, Professor!

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Luís Adão da Fonseca: From the CNCDP to the IC, an Awareness of Himself

Maria Cristina Pimenta¹

Abstract

Luís Adão da Fonseca held two positions of the utmost interest for his career. With different profiles, but still with various affinities, both roles allowed him to experience new skills, and to carry out—especially at CNCDP—some initiatives that he had been desiring to accomplish for a long time. This is a personal testimony about those years that truly offered him several challenges, which to a certain extent shaped his way of being, proving to be priceless experiences for his later career.

Keywords

CNCDP, Instituto Camões, Projects, Research, Culture

Resumo

Luís Adão da Fonseca ocupou dois cargos com imenso interesse para a sua carreira. Com perfil diferente, mas, ainda assim, com muitas afinidades, ambos os cargos lhe permitiram experimentar novos desafios e realizar, sobretudo na CNCDP, algumas iniciativas que desejava colocar em prática há muito tempo. Este é um testemunho pessoal sobre esses anos que, em boa verdade, lhe ofereceram diversos reptos que, em certa medida, moldaram a sua maneira de ser, revelando-se inestimáveis para o seu percurso posterior.

Palavras-chave

CNCDP, Instituto Camões, Projectos, Investigação, Cultura

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“We will grieve not, rather find
Strength in what remains behind.”

William Wordsworth

In the mid-1980s, Luís Adão da Fonseca, professor at the University of Porto, usually arrived at his office at 9:30 in the morning and returned home at 8:00 in the evening. His daily routine was spent teaching undergraduate and master’s degree students, attending meetings of the scientific board, and dealing with all kinds of administrative commitments, in many ways a very similar list of tasks to those of other teachers at the faculty. After he had completed these obligations, but still in his office, a new phase of his day would begin. It was time to think—standing by his office window, his hands behind his back, looking at the garden around the Burmester mansion, he would stay in that position for a long time. Most of the time, he would return to his chair, knowing that I was still there and begin to tell me about some of the ideas he wished to develop in the future.

As he wrote later about his experience at the University of Navarra, “there I learned that the university only flourishes in a climate of dialogue and intellectual humility; I learned that it is important to leave the comfort of the city we live in; I learned that we don’t know everything, that we have to listen to the opinion of the others (also the youngest), that science always results from a work program. In fact, science is an essential dimension of the university.”²

He expected that he would still have enough time to develop some of the ideas he very much wanted to put in place, primarily relating to the further projection and promotion of his department, with the dissemination and publication of its ongoing research being considered a major priority. On a more collaborative level, he had plans for a summer university (for which the statutes had already been drawn up) as well as a very thorough scheme for cooperation with other institutions, namely Spanish and Italian universities, which would involve joint research projects and the exchange of teachers.

The expected outcome of such an appealing set of objectives was indeed quite ambitious, or, at least, so it seemed to a young student, such as I was then. Whenever he shared these ideas with me, he could not possibly have failed to notice how amazed I was to hear his views on what he considered a suitable performance for universities and for academic policies in general. He did not need any comments from me (nor did he get any, at

² Unpublished speech. Porto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 6 January 2010.

least at that time), but he needed someone he could trust. Day after day, he understood that he could do so, just as he still can, more than thirty years later.

As was to be expected, on several occasions when he shared his ideas with other members of his department, he came up against a number of obstacles. Nevertheless, his persistence and determination led him to never abandon his convictions, and the strong reputation that the group of medievalists at the faculty achieved during those years (a status that would continue for many years) is undeniable proof of their expressive adherence to at least some of his plans.

However, perhaps the most challenging of his ideas were, at that time, still being reflected upon during those late afternoons, from where, even today, I find it difficult to get out.



Fig. 1: CNCDP logo.³

Towards the end of 1986,⁴ the Portuguese government decided to establish the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses (CNCDP—National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries). The framework for its organization was to be defined shortly afterwards and, in the spring of 1988, “Vasco Graça Moura was then appointed Commissioner-General . . . and in April of the following year, he was also appointed coordinator of the Executive Committee, remaining in both positions until the end of 1995” (Oliveira 2003: 1).

Adão da Fonseca knew Graça Moura. In the world of culture, to which they both belonged, it was expected that this would happen. But there was a specific episode that favored this proximity between them and that gave rise to their prolonged and fruitful relationship. Before his appointment as the head of the CNCDP, Vasco Graça Moura had been the director of Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda throughout the 1980s (Queiroz 2020: 11), and, at that time, he had invited Luís Adão da Fonseca to write a book about the medieval Treaty of Windsor (Fonseca 1986). He desperately needed a name that would guarantee him scientific rigor and, furthermore, someone who would agree to write such a

³ <https://seeklogo.com/vector-logo/32661/cncdp>.

⁴ Decree-Law No. 391, of 22 November 1986.

book in a very short time. Luís Adão da Fonseca accepted and, during the brief period in which the book was being prepared, they had time to initiate a friendship that was based on great personal and intellectual respect.

In March 1989,⁵ Graça Moura suggested that Luís Adão da Fonseca should be appointed as a member of the Scientific Council and then as his “Assistant Coordinator” until 1992, when he succeeded Professor Luís de Albuquerque as President of the Scientific Council of that same institution.⁶ Until his resignation, at his own request, in January 1996, Luís Adão da Fonseca found himself working in an entirely new universe, where he would be able to put into practice some of his most cherished projects. Besides his lengthy stays in Lisbon, the CNCDP also had an office in Porto (Fundação Eng. António de Almeida), where Luís Adão da Fonseca worked, with the collaboration of Maria da Conceição Osório and me.

Some years later, referring to that period, he wrote: “Vasco Graça Moura . . . is, for me, the face of one of the most important phases of my life, between 1989 and 1996 . . . Until then I had experienced the university and history from the inside, but now I was given the opportunity to view them from an outside perspective.” Shortly afterwards, in the same text, he went on to say: “I realized that when great projects are well thought out and well structured, they almost always turn out well, provided that we put in the necessary time and effort. I should like to highlight two of them: the setting up of a summer university (Estudos Gerais da Arrábida) and the organization of the commemorations of the birth of Prince Henry the Navigator, held in 1994 in Porto.”⁷

It is easy to understand his reasons for choosing to highlight the two programs that he mentioned on this occasion. As they were each so different in their design and conception, they truly illustrate some of the ideas that he idealized for the CNCDP’s commemorative program.

The first program had already been on his mind ever since he returned from Pamplona to Porto, as stated earlier. An agreement between the CNCDP and the Fundação Oriente made it possible to hold the summer university in the fabulous premises of the Convento da Arrábida. The aim was to organize seminars dedicated to themes related to both the Portuguese expansion and its presence in the world. Its structure consisted of six seminars (Pedro Nunes, Damião de Góis, João de Barros, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Francisco

⁵ Order from the Prime Minister's Office Nr. 2/89. Published in *Diário da República*, 2ª série, nº 63, 1989.03.16.

⁶ Order from the Minister for the Presidency and National Defense, 1992.07.20. Published in *Diário da República*, 2ª série, nº 17, 1992.08.20. For Luís Adão da Fonseca, this commitment also meant his becoming the editor of the journal *Mare Liberum*, which, from the fourth issue onwards, became a biannual publication.

⁷ Speech. Porto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 6 January 2010.

Sanches, and Duarte de Solis). Each seminar would have both an opening and a closing lecture for which some prominent figure would be invited, as was the case, for example, with Ernest Gellner, one of the most important intellectuals of the last century (Jerónimo 2020).

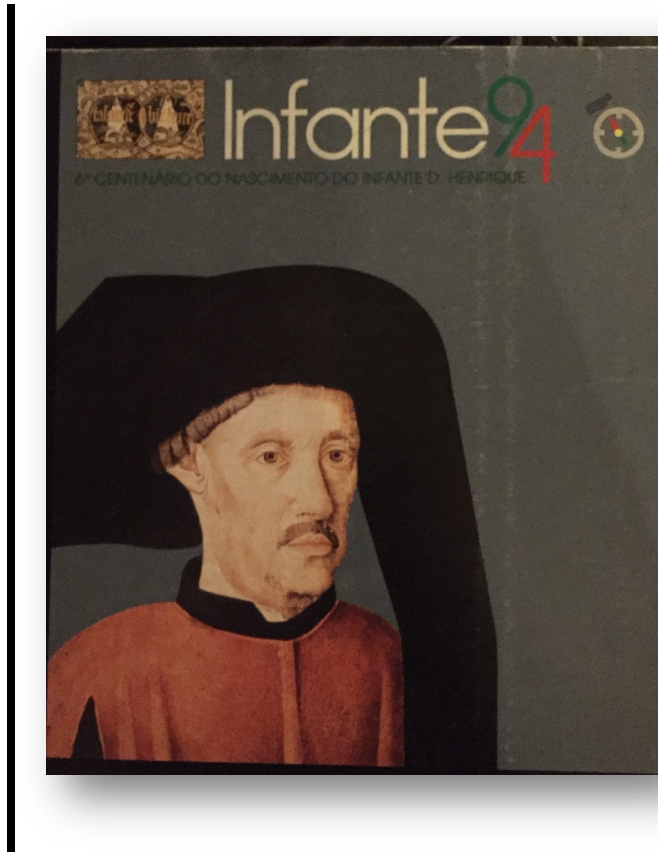


Fig. 2: Program of events for *Infante 94*. CNCDP, 1994.

The second program—"Prince Henry the Navigator 1994"—was designed to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the birth of this *infante*. It was planned that it would receive support from a broad spectrum of different bodies, ranging from town halls to the Portuguese Armed Forces, and from universities to publishers, among many others. A series of events were organized under the scope of this program, including exhibitions, concerts, theatre, cinema, sports, seminars, interventions in the national heritage, and publications. Luís Adão da Fonseca's involvement with the organization of all these events was not always the same (naturally, the seminars and publications occupied his time more directly [AAVV 1994: 190]), but even so, he played a truly decisive role in the planning of this comprehensive set of activities. And it is easy to understand why. On 4 March 1992,⁸ two years prior to the commencement of the commemorations, the Porto Town Hall hosted a reception to present the idea for the program to more than seventy representatives of institutions that were

⁸ <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/conteudos/60-centenario-do-nascimento-do-infante-dom-henrique/>.

committed to collaborating in the celebrations planned for 1994. All the meetings and contacts held in preparation for this session were his responsibility, in close collaboration with the Commissioner-General and Eng. Paulo Vallada, the head of the *Confraria das Almas de Corpo Santo de Massarelos* (founded precisely in 1394), whose guidance and involvement in the organization of the event had been hugely important from the very first moment of its conception.

In short, both “Arrábida” and “Infante 94” were to prove highly significant events, not only because they led to the involvement in the commemorations of various sectors of society, but also because they promoted a great enhancement of knowledge in their related areas through the production of publications, which were successfully organized in both cases.⁹

It is, however, very clear that his work extended much further than these two examples may suggest, and, even considering the close proximity that I enjoyed to this whole process, it is still rather difficult to explain the exact nature of his commitment to his work. He displayed an immense necessity to always do more but also a sense of despair when confronted with the relative inflexibility shown by many academic institutions of the time. As a member of the “scientific council,” the “assistant coordinator” to the commissioner or president of the scientific council of the CNCDP, he always tried to respond to every challenge placed before him. As an academic with a university career, he knew only too well the need for a well-structured program to support research, namely through the “training of new researchers in the areas of the Portuguese Discoveries, research into unpublished sources, and publication, as well as the organization of specialized courses” (Fonseca 1991:4).¹⁰ In this way, he was able to pursue the challenges outlined in the “Plano de Acções a Médio Prazo (1990-1995)” issued by the CNCDP.¹¹

⁹ In 1995, Maria Alzira Seixo coordinated one of the courses at the Convento da Arrábida, dedicated to the theme “A Viagem na Literatura” (“The Voyage in Literature”). The ongoing investment in the theme under the scope of both the international seminar “Studies on Travel Literature,” created in 1994 by the International Association for Comparative Literature, and the seminar “The Voyage in Literature,” supported by the CNCDP in 1990, was certainly a major factor behind the publication of the book *A História Trágico-Marítima (Análises e Perspectivas)*, Maria Alzira Seixo and Alberto Carvalho (eds.), Lisbon: Cosmos, 1996. This investment later had a visible continuity: see *A Viagem na Literatura*, Maria Alzira Seixo (ed.), Lisbon: Publicações Europa-América, 1997. In the case of the “Infante 94” program, see, among many others: *Mare Liberum. Revista de História dos Mares*, vol. 7, 1994, where a significant number of studies dedicated to Prince Henry and his time were published, and the proceedings of the seminar “Historiografia da Dinastia de Avis,” published in *Revista de Ciências Históricas*. Porto: Universidade Portucalense, 1994. Also worthy of mention are the various exhibition catalogues that were produced, such as *O Rosto do Infante* (1994), Francisco Faria Paulino (ed.). Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.

¹⁰ *Projectos de Investigação. Acções na Área Universitária*. Lisbon: CNCDP, p. 5.

¹¹ *Plano de acções a médio prazo (1990-1995)*. Lisbon: CNCDP, undated.

The overall aims of this scientific policy were to strengthen the research structures at both Portuguese and foreign universities, as well as to guarantee the systematic granting of scholarships, also in collaboration with other institutions, and the publication of studies related to the “Discoveries and the Portuguese Cultural Presence in the World,” as he also wrote (Fonseca 1991: 4). The results are well known but, as I shared the responsibility for the management of some of these activities, I dare to mention that in the summer of 1991, there were more than seventy ongoing projects involving more than 200 researchers. Although the area of this subsidized research was clearly obvious (the Portuguese discoveries), there was an attempt to arrive at a range of themes that, when taken together, would allow for a more comprehensive knowledge of the discoveries: the publication of sources, history, legal history, history of philosophy, literature and linguistics, architecture and art, science, etc. After the death of Luís de Albuquerque, he took over responsibility for the publication of the magazine *Mare Liberum. Revista de História dos Mares* (volumes 4-10), in which, once again, historians were given space to present articles previously approved by members of the scientific council. In fact, this was already a kind of peer-review system.

It is clear that Luís Adão da Fonseca had a vision of what he considered to be fundamental if the CNCDP was to leave behind a visible and lasting legacy. The establishment of the Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis at the Portuguese National Archive (Torre do Tombo) is another good example of his vision, since the idea was to gather together the results of three research projects on the chancelleries of the kings Afonso V, João II, and Manuel I, which would then be made available to the public through a database search. Other initiatives worth mentioning are the Jaime Cortesão Chair (São Paulo, Brazil), the Vasco da Gama Chair (European University Institute, Florence, Italy) and some research centers that were also created abroad (e.g., the Center for the Study of the Portuguese Discoveries at Oxford; the Camões Center in New York). Even though their aims and lifespans were different, some of these still exist while others came to an end, but, even so, the truth remains that a worldwide project was indeed created. Obviously, all of these initiatives generated the promotion of an image of Portugal, either in the form of events specifically aimed at an academic universe or in the form of knowledge disseminated to a wider audience.

There was a very rewarding initiative developed outside Portugal that helped to promote the importance of the Portuguese discoveries at both levels: a request endorsed by the Commissioner of the Scientific Council of the CNCDP, asking for support to be given to Merle Severy, a senior editor of *National Geographic*, to enable him to write a special issue

on Portugal and the discoveries. Luís Adão da Fonseca gathered together a group of people capable of responding to all his requests and, in the end, *Portugal's Sea Road to The East* (vol. 182, 5, 1992) was published. This dossier was very important for its worldwide dissemination of the work that was done.

This above example was chosen at random. Several others could also be mentioned, but I believe there is no need to do so.

At the root of all this was the clear conviction of what commemorations represented, at the time, for Luís Adão da Fonseca. He defined two fundamental pillars in order to explain his views:

[R]esearch, as a guarantee that the effort of representation is not the result of a mere projection of partial anxieties and desires, and the mediating vocation, that is, knowing how to act in the midst of differentiation, proposing, in this case, a commemorative program that addresses the differences. Hence, the belief in a commemoration that is differential. Recalling the words of a great English historian (Peter Laslett), one could say that a memory and a commemoration committed to knowing and showing itself by contrast was called for; it will be a memory and a commemoration based on an inventory of differences. . .

At this time . . . of rapid and profound mutations in which we have to perform a work that contemplates the simultaneity of the heritages within which the Portuguese cultural space has developed, the exciting challenge of making our present meet the history of which we are heirs opens up to us. This can only be done through the differentiation already mentioned, because only the effort to assess the memory of the differences ends up highlighting the reality of what is common.¹²

Two years later, at the time of the publication of his book on the Treaty of Tordesilhas, he drew our attention to the fact that “commemorating is not a mere playful exercise of mnemonic representation of something that has already happened, commemorating is always a collective effort to integrate—both personally and civically—the heritage of the past into the experience of a generation” (Fonseca 1994: 10).

¹² Unpublished speech. Porto, 8 June 1992.

None of the criticisms that the CNCDP's performance triggered after 1996¹³ related to the scientific options, nor could they. Luís Adão da Fonseca, who was responsible for these functions, sought, above all, to preserve what he understood by the term “commemoration” inviolate and, consequently, to remain faithful to a scientific development program that, when faced with any critical remark, would necessarily remain unchanged. Not because he would shy away from criticism, but because he truly believed that the scientific basis would always stand as the greatest value of the investment.



Fig. 3: Logo of the Instituto Camões (IC).¹⁴

Luís Adão da Fonseca was invited to serve as president of the Camões Institute¹⁵ at the height of the CNCDP's work, taking up his duties on 30 July 1992, at a ceremony held at the Torre de Belém. We may say that the grandeur of his mission was perfectly framed by the monument that welcomed his inaugural speech.

That very day, in his own words, he specified that “as stated in its founding decree, the IC is motivated and mobilized by the desire to promote and defend the Portuguese language and to promote its teaching, all of which is inspired by the need to enhance the Portuguese presence in the world.”¹⁶

¹³ See Hespanha (2019). “A comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, ciclo 1997-2000.” In *Práticas da História, Journal on Theory, Historiography and Uses of the Past*, 8: 210, in which the historian compared Vasco Graça Moura's conceptual orientations to the previous commemorations in the 1960s: “the historical balance was suggested by expressions with positive meanings such as a ‘dialogue of cultures’ and the ‘opening of the world.’ By what it suggests, but above all by what it tries to hide, this new formulation of the word ‘encounter’ is a rhetorical expedient, which is rather more demagogic than the previous one.”

¹⁴ <https://worldvectorlogo.com/logo/instituto-camoes>.

¹⁵ The Instituto Camões was created in 1992 by Decree-Law Nr. 135/92, of 15 July, succeeding the Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa (ICALP), which was disbanded on the same date. It was initially dependent on the Ministry of Education and, in 1994, was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Decree-Law Nr. 48/94 of February 24. Luís Adão da Fonseca served as president until 7 September 1995, when he resigned the office (Order of 1995.07.31, published in the *Diário da República*, 2nd series, n.º. 207, 1995.09.07).

¹⁶ Fonseca (1992). *Inaugural Speech*, July 30, 1992: 6. I used my own copy of the text that was read on the occasion.

The aims were noble and full of potential. They seemed feasible, and certainly very attractive, as they involved an area that required a massive implementation of new activities. Before the ceremony, as he was dictating this speech and I was writing it, I could sense his enormous satisfaction and a visible impatience to begin his work. It is true that a new world was opening before his eyes, one that was certainly not as predictable as his experience at CNCDP. He would face new and very demanding challenges. But there is no doubt that he accepted them without hesitation, fully convinced that, by being true to himself and to the sense of justice that had always guided him through his life, he would leave a legacy of which he could be proud.

Between 1992 and 1995, the multiple tasks and duties inherent in running the IC made it entirely predictable that he would dedicate himself intensely to this new position. And so he did. However, as his work at the CNCDP was consultative in nature, he was permitted to continue in that role, allowing for a continuity that was fundamental for the already ongoing events and scientific activities.

As mentioned earlier, it was right from the very beginning (i.e., his inaugural speech) that he underlined the importance of Portuguese as a language in itself and stressed its enormous potential for generating a most expressive ensemble of heritage, stating that its protection and enhancement would be the main thrust of his presidency. With this in mind, he began to announce some of his priority fields of intervention: “actions necessary for the implantation of a network of institutes and centers abroad; the promotion and support of primary and secondary education abroad; the dissemination and learning of the Portuguese language; the promotion, in collaboration with official and/or private entities, of cultural initiatives within the Portuguese communities, the elaboration or dissemination of texts illustrating Portuguese culture, the spread of library centers, [and] the circulation of teachers and cultural exhibitions,” among other goals.¹⁷

Many of these objectives were immediately implemented, while others would be pursued more gradually. For instance, works by Portuguese authors were translated into other languages, and academic studies focusing on Portuguese culture were prepared and edited.¹⁸ He also promoted the creation of cultural centers (between 1992 and 1995, nine of the twenty cultural centers that exist today were created) with the purpose of “giving greater strength to the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture abroad, with a

¹⁷ *Inaugural speech*. 30 July 1992: 6-7.

¹⁸ *Catálogo de todas as Edições do ex-Instituto Camões*.
https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/images/stories/edicao/edestrangeiro_jan13.pdf.

reinforcement of the cultural component” (Baptista 2007). His statement continued: “I think that, for myself too, it was very stimulating to establish the bases for the first cultural institutes abroad. One of the most interesting cases was not far from here, in Vigo. . . The foundations were laid for a center in Barcelona . . . [I]n Rome, things did not go ahead as I had thought, for reasons beyond the control of the IC, in Madrid everything was left ready and prepared . . . [I]n Paris, the building was chosen, and, in Bordeaux, the building was chosen, too. My concern was with finding very dignified solutions; I always sought to reconcile the opposite, resulting in very dignified solutions that were also cheap” (Baptista 2007).

The dissemination of the Portuguese language and culture could also be exemplified through the prestigious work performed by the academic chairs. Moreover, these activities reproduced a model that had already been tested by the CNCDP, as had been the case, from 1992 onwards, with the Jaime Cortesão Chair at the University of São Paulo. This academic chair began its activities under the supervision of the historian Vera Ferlini and represented an enormous asset for the development of research in Brazil. It was also a clear expression of one of the stated aims of the CNCDP. Following this trend, on 7 October 1994, the Padre Antônio Vieira Chair of Portuguese Studies was created by the Camões Institute, through an agreement signed with PUC-Rio, to provide an interdisciplinary space for studies, research, and the production of knowledge in the field of Portuguese literature. On both occasions, Luís Adão da Fonseca’s role in the creation of these chairs was undeniable.¹⁹



Fig. 4: Creation of the Padre Antônio Vieira Chair in the auditorium of the RDC, PUC-Rio. 1994. Photographer unknown. Collection of the Coordenação Central de Cooperação Internacional.

¹⁹ *Camões*. Supplement nº 180 of the edition of the *Jornal de Letras* (22 August 2012 -4 September 2012).

Adão da Fonseca believed that “giving prestige to Portuguese culture meant that we had to create chairs of Portuguese culture at universities, wherever possible. Universities of great prestige were to be chosen and they had to be the best endowed professorships that existed at that university, in order to create a benchmark . . . And then my idea . . . was that Camões would not only create professorships, but that it would also be the heir to the professorships of the CNCDP when this commission came to an end” (Baptista 2007: 50).

On another level, the need to define a statute for the teachers who would come to occupy the lectureships established under the tutelage of the IC ended up being one of his admittedly lost battles,²⁰ but he explained this very clearly when he stated: “I defended from the beginning that there should be a statute . . . for the teachers of Portuguese culture and language abroad.” A paragraph was to be introduced into the law that contemplated the position of *leitor* with the corresponding explanation of the principles that “regulated all of the *leitor*’s activity . . . as a cultural agent of the Portuguese state.” (Baptista 2007: 118).²¹

There is no disputing that his term of office as the first president of the Camões Institute laid important foundations that are still in place today.

It is more than fair to admit that, from the outset, the government’s objectives for the performance of the IC, although adapted to the specific conjuncture of that time, were very demanding in terms of their execution. But the truth is that this reality ended up being attractive to the president of the IC, who did not refrain from announcing an ambitious program of action. In these circumstances, it was natural to expect that he would encounter a series of obstacles to the progress of the aims that he proposed,²² especially the change in the ministry that was responsible for overseeing the institute. As already said, from 1992 to 1995, the IC was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, leading to constant restrictions in terms of budgetary constraints. There is always a discrepancy between what you want to do and what you can do, especially when it comes to positions of this nature. The experts knew this and mentioned all of this in their written report, published some years before, in 1988.²³

²⁰ It is enlightening to read the words of Jorge Couto, the President of the IC in subsequent years: “this was a battle that was never possible to conclude. This is because there was the idea of defining a specific statute for lecturers, but the legal systems in force at foreign universities were so divergent that they made it unfeasible to create a common model” (Baptista 2007: 119).

²¹ Some interesting comparative tables on the development of the policy for lectureships can be found in Silva, 2005: 214 ff.

²² And naturally, it was also expected that some comments would be made. See Silva, Mário Filipe (2005). *Promoção da língua portuguesa no mundo: hipótese de modelo estratégico*. Lisbon. <https://repositorioaberto.uab.pt/handle/10400.2/777>.

²³ I am referring to the report compiled by the “Grupo de Trabalho da Comissão de Reforma do Sistema Educativo,” composed of a well-known group of scholars and experts: Helena Mira Mateus, Fernando Alves

In short, from my own personal point of view, it is clear that his work at both institutions deserves nothing but praise and approval. And I say this because my collaboration at one of the institutions—the CNCDP (for a brief period, this also coincided with his presidency of the IC)—enabled me to be fully acquainted with his daily life. In Lisbon, we would almost always take stock of events at the end of the day. It was easy to see that, despite the obstacles that life always brings, his enthusiasm never waned, and he always retained full confidence that he would be able to overcome any setbacks.

For my part, writing this personal testimony, in which I have shared some aspects of Luís Adão da Fonseca's individual views, has truly helped me to go back in time and rejoice with the good memories.

On March 24, 1994, in an interview with the newspaper *Jornal de Notícias*, Luís Adão da Fonseca expressed some of his ideas regarding the importance of the Portuguese language as “a horizon of culture, a vehicle of ideas, affections and memories, the heritage of all those who see, think and feel under the umbrella of the same language. In a way, language is . . . a fatherland. It is a repository of inheritances.” It was not by chance that he used as the title for this interview a quote from Virgílio Ferreira: “Da minha língua vê-se o Mar.” Many other authors have used it, and all of them have chosen it to illustrate a special feeling. In this particular case, a whole life is interwoven into it; a life that revolved around history, memory, cultural heritage, and a faraway horizon that brought the sea to him, which he then embraced like *a splendor in the grass*.

Cristóvão, João Malaca Casteleiro, Aníbal Pinto de Castro, Jorge Morais Barbosa, Maria Helena Valente Rosa, Mário Quintela Vilela, and Vasco Graça Moura. It was coordinated by Vítor Manuel de Aguiar e Silva.

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**Delaforce, Angela. *The Lost Library of the King of Portugal*.
London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2019, 330 pp.
ISBN 9781912168156.**

Ana Cristina Araújo¹

This book is an erudite and well-documented study, which systematically displays the author's extensive research into the Library of King Dom João V (1689-1750). In it, Angela Delaforce, a historian of the Portuguese Baroque, demonstrates her vast knowledge of the artistic patronage and culture of eighteenth-century Portugal.

The book deals with the bibliographic collections of the Royal Library and describes the spaces in which those collections were carefully displayed and arranged. As Delaforce explains, "the word library means both a collection of books and the architectural space in which they are housed" (65). João V's "library-museum" contained manuscripts, rare editions, maps, a cabinet of prints and drawings, complemented by a cabinet of natural history, and a collection of scientific instruments, medals, and clocks. The history of the "library-museum" is filled with details of its different acquisition programs as well as descriptions of its various collections, its aesthetic inspiration, the symbolic roles of the books that it contained, and the cultural achievements of their readers.

The reconstruction of the "Lost Library of the King of Portugal" begins with a description of its formal features: bindings, illustrations, books and manuscripts, and the sumptuous decoration and furniture of the Torreão do Paço, built by Filipe II of Spain (I of Portugal), where the royal collection was stored.

The court library at the Paço da Ribeira, inherited by Dom João V, was installed on the third floor of the Torreão, located on the banks of the River Tagus. Its windows looked out over the estuary, offering views of the fleets setting sail and arriving from Brazil and India. Housed in this magical place, the Royal Library attracted the intellectual curiosity of both national and foreign authors and readers alike. The king began by expanding his collection of rare books and precious manuscripts in the early years of his reign and, until its end, he dedicated himself to the enrichment of his monumental *Regis Bibliotheca*.

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Built to withstand the ravages of time and eternalize knowledge, this magnificent library disappeared on All Saints Day, 1 November 1755. A devastating earthquake followed by a tsunami razed João V's palace to the ground, reducing it to a pile of rubble. The library suffered catastrophic damage. According to a contemporaneous account, its ceilings collapsed, and its interior was engulfed by water and flames which destroyed many of the thousands of books and manuscripts stored there, a unique collection that formed one of the largest libraries in Europe in the early eighteenth century.

No general catalog of the library has survived, therefore successfully reconstructing a detailed knowledge of the bibliographic content housed in the Royal Palace is little more than a pipedream. But, by studying the procedures that were followed in the ordering of books, the catalogs used in the acquisition of collections, the correspondence with national and foreign agents living in various European cities, and the direct or indirect references made to the king's library, Delaforce has managed to produce a careful and extensive reconstruction of some of the most important collections of the king's library. She explains in detail the complex and surprising network of contacts that lay behind the magnificent Royal Library collection. Her systematic study confirms and expands on previous surveys conducted by other historians.

The spirit of the collection can be glimpsed behind the political and intellectual concerns that shaped the concept of the book and the underlying vision of culture at that time. The creation of the library reflects João V's profound interest in Portugal's historical past, developed under the auspices of the Royal Academy of History, which was founded in 1720, and the library it is also the result of the cosmopolitan dimension of culture and the arts in the eighteenth century.

The focus on tradition obliged the author to explain how the earlier libraries had been formed at the Portuguese court, during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. She documents the cultural interests of the monarchs of the second Avis dynasty, especially those that were displayed at Manuel I's court (1495-1521). The art of illumination, a combination of images and handwriting, was encouraged and sponsored by Manuel I, whose reign, celebrated as a glorious era of conquest and commercial expansion, coincided with the introduction of printing into Portugal. Manuel I's library reflected the influence of Italian humanists, the interest in books about spirituality, and the delight that was taken in the binding and ornamentation of both printed works and manuscripts. The legacy of the Spanish Habsburg monarchs in Portugal brings to mind the library at the Royal Palace and some of its most striking acquisitions. The *Index dos Manuscritos do Rey de Portugal*, preserved

at the University Library in Coimbra and published as an appendix to this book, is an example of some of the important manuscripts that were linked to the period of 1580-1640, during the rule of the dual Iberian monarchy.

The royal collections of books and manuscripts continued to grow, as did the libraries of Portuguese noble families. The *ethos* of the nobility and the court culture helped to nurture this love of fine arts and letters, and libraries soon became a status symbol for many aristocratic houses. As Ana Isabel Buescu recently showed, the collection of the fifth Duke of Bragança, Theodósio I (1510-1563), one of the largest in Europe at that time, became one of the most famous features of the House of Bragança (*A livraria renascentista de D. Teodósio de Bragança*, 2016). After the independence of 1640, João IV (1604-1656) inaugurated the dynasty of Bragança and, since he himself was a lover of music and reading, transferred most of the library from the Ducal Palace at Vila Viçosa in the Alentejo to the Paço da Ribeira in Lisbon, continuing to acquire books through agents in Northern Europe. Some treasures also arrived at the Royal Library from Italy through the contacts maintained there by various agents and, above all, by the scholar and bibliophile Vicente Nogueira, who worked with the cardinals Francesco Barberini and Giulio Sacchetti. Until 1707, the year of João V's accession to the throne, the separately catalogued libraries of the previous Bragança monarchs, namely João IV and Pedro II (1648-1706), were incorporated into João V's magnificent library.

João V's ambitious pursuit of universal knowledge was a clear expression of the power of the king and the wealth of the Portuguese overseas empire. Over four decades, the opulence of the Portuguese monarchy corresponded to the golden age of Brazil, whose wealth began to flow into the kingdom at the end of the seventeenth century and fed Portugal's commercial networks and treasure, further enhancing the royal grandeur.

In enriching the bookcases of his library, the king took great pleasure in the beauty of ancient and modern books and was highly appreciative of the art of printing and binding. As Delaforce states, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the art of book illustration in Portugal "was gradually transformed by the artistic and technical skills of the Dutch and French engravers" (111). Pierre Massar Rochefort, François Laurent Debré, and Jean de Villeneuve all collaborated on the most significant publications of the Royal Academy of History. Some manuscripts and rarities from the Royal Library were also consulted by members of the academy. The academic Martinho de Mendonça de Pina e Proença was even commissioned by the king to prepare the library catalog. The academy, in turn, was made responsible for the supervision of precious collections, including those of ancient coins and

medals, and for the conservation of ancient sites and artifacts. As far as the conservation of archaeological and documentary sources was concerned, some scholars and counselors relied on the expertise of the Italian Francesco Bianchini, appointed by Pope Clement XI as the superintendent of antiques. New elements have since been uncovered regarding this close collaboration. Delaforce dedicates an entire chapter to Francesco Bianchini and his relationship with the king of Portugal. She explains the influence of the intellectual circles surrounding the papal court and the development of the arts and sciences in the Joanine period. Bianchini, who was a mathematician, historian, antiquarian, astronomer, and man of letters, enjoyed a close relationship with the Jesuit astronomers Battista Carbonne and Domenico Cassini, who were responsible for the major boost given to astronomy in Portugal. The king's dedicated interest in the "science of the sky" was inseparable from his love of scientific instruments, luxury objects, and books.

Diplomatic correspondence from that time reveals that royal requests were very demanding when it came to purchasing original works and prints. Selected lists and catalogs were used to order rare printed works and manuscripts, purchase entire libraries, and acquire important bibliographic sets. These missions were fulfilled by powerful agents and diplomatic envoys. In particular, by Dom Luís da Cunha (Paris, The Hague, Brussels), João Gomes da Silva, Count of Tarouca (The Hague, Vienna) Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho and Francisco Mendes Góis (Paris), António Galvão de Castelo Branco and António de Campos (London), and Manuel Pereira de Sampaio (Rome). Dom Luís da Cunha intermediated the purchase of the masterful Mariette collection. Among the many other important duties that he performed, he sent to the court of Lisbon a list of original documents transcribed from the library of Germain Louis de Chauvelin (1685-1762), president of the Paris Parliament. He also supervised the purchases made from the library of the statesman Cardinal Guillaume Dubois (1656-1723), the Archbishop of Cambrai. Another exemplary case reports the disputed purchase of the *Atlas Boendermaker* by Tarouca, in which the bibliophile Charles Spencer, the third Earl of Sunderland, was also interested. Delaforce devotes an entire chapter to the Bibliotheca Sunderlandiana, a collection of 20,000 printed books and manuscripts, including incunabula, Greek and Roman authors in *editio princeps*, and early printed Bibles in many languages. Great care was taken with the negotiations for the acquisition of the manuscripts of this valuable and fine collection.

The king was also determined to amass an exceptional collection of prints and engravings. In 1725, he requested every print made in Italy since the origins of printmaking. Among other valuable pieces, the royal print collection included prints of Rubens's engraved

works, 150 volumes of French engravings organized by Mariette (father and son), 42 albums containing English prints with plates drawn and engraved by Dirk Stoop, 59 Federico Barocci prints, and other rare items. Delaforce admits that “the Cabinet of Prints and Drawings in the Royal Library constituted a remarkable comprehensive archive of the Italian and French decorative arts of the first half of the eighteenth century” (199).

In the collection of engravings assembled by Pierre-Jean Mariette for João V, between 1724 and 1728, there was a set dedicated to natural history. Botanical knowledge was an important support for the activity of the Cabinet of Natural History, founded at the Royal Palace in the early 1720s. The new cabinet, also sponsored by the king, seems to have been inspired by the Royal Garden of Medicinal Plants in Paris. “The new scientific spirit was introduced to Portugal through the French and other foreign scientists and naturalists who visited the Iberian Peninsula during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in order to study its natural resources, in particular botany and mineralogy,” states Delaforce (129). The king and some nobles, who became known for their Cabinets of Natural History, were probably influenced by Charles-Frédéric Merveilleux, a Swiss naturalist, who had visited Portugal in 1723-1724 and 1726. The attraction for the “*Raridades da Natureza*,” the title of the book produced by Aucourt e Padilha (1759), also included mythical animals, monsters, fossils, and all kinds of shells. All these specimens were represented in the Royal Cabinet of Natural History and Curiosities. As mentioned, the emblematic “King of Portugal’s shell,” which the collector Albert Serba claims to have held in his hands, was described by other authors, and especially by Dézallier d’Argenville, in *La Conchynologie* (1780).

Although the library of the Royal Palace had a space devoted to rarities and mathematical instruments, its bibliographic collection shared common features with other sumptuous and rich libraries created under royal patronage, such as the library of the University of Coimbra, the library of the Palace Convent of Mafra, and the library of the Convento das Necessidades of the Oratorians. They all reflected the importance of the great cultural achievements resulting from the Crown’s policy for the enhancement of its prestige and its engagement with the cosmopolitanism of the Republic of Letters in the eighteenth century. The king’s attention was focused on building a monument to universal knowledge, and he and his agents enjoyed close contact with great collectors and men of letters in the eighteenth century. However, the alliance of the baroque spirit with the emerging culture of the enlightenment is not the central focus of Delaforce’s investigation. Some recent studies point in this direction and it would have been appropriate to confirm their findings in a work dedicated to books and reading. The evidence gathered together by the author also suggests

the need for a specific study of the Portuguese relationship with some of Europe's most reputable academies, such as the Royal Society of London, the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris, and the Academy of St Petersburg. Astronomy and cartography were some of the areas most notably covered by this scientific collaboration. In 1721, through the Académie Royale des Sciences, De L'Isle presented João V with the *Recueil Complet des Cartes Geographiques*. In order to protect Portuguese interests after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the ambassador da Cunha gathered more maps together and sent them to the Lisbon court, giving the Portuguese a great advantage in the negotiations with the Spanish over the South American borders. This topic was recently addressed most masterfully by Júnia Furtado in *Oráculos da Geografia Iluminista. Dom Luís da Cunha e Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon D'Anville na construção da cartografia do Brasil*, published in 2012. Although this remarkable study was not used to enrich Delaforce's book, there is no doubt about the importance of the French royal cartographer and his *Carte de l'Amérique méridionale*, which was completed in manuscript form in 1742 and published in 1748. Finally, it is also worth mentioning the painstaking research undertaken into the illustration by Bernard Picart and the writing by Dom Luís da Cunha of the *Memórias da Paz de Utrecht*. Regarding the fate of the volumes of this master work on history and diplomacy, which survived the great Lisbon earthquake, Delaforce describes the path followed by some of the books and manuscripts that may have belonged to the Royal Library. Some of them travelled across the South Atlantic—from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro and back again—with the court of Dom João VI.

The lost library left a long and lasting history behind. The visual display of Delaforce's exquisite book is also quite remarkable, and it would be even more accessible to any reader were it to contain a final index of illustrations. Delaforce's research, resources, and insightful narrative provide us with new and decisive elements for the study of the history of the Court and culture in Portugal in the first half of the eighteenth century.

**Manuel, Paul (Ed.). *Voices of the Revolution: Revisiting the Portuguese Revolution of 25 April 1974—Interviews and Insights*.
Peterborough: Baywolf Press, 2019, 381 pp.
ISBN: 978-0921437604**

Ana Monica Fonseca¹

Paul Manuel's most recent edited volume brings back to us the voices of some of the most important and active members of the Portuguese armed forces that participated in the revolutionary period of the country's democratic transition. The book's purpose is not necessarily to provide any new evidence on the Portuguese democratic transition, but instead to bring together in one single volume both the memories of the actors and the reflections of some of the historians who have worked most extensively on this topic.

In fact, *Voices of the Revolution: Revisiting the Portuguese Revolution of 25 April 1974—Interviews and Insights* contains fourteen interviews, published in the original Portuguese, side by side with their English translation, and a set of essays which build the framework for a better understanding of these personalities and the events that they discuss in their interviews.

This volume begins with an introductory essay by Maria Inácia Rezola, one of the historians who has worked most extensively on the MFA—*Movimento das Forças Armadas* (Armed Forces Movement), the group of middle-ranking officers who planned and carried out the coup of April 25, 1974, and who later became some of the main actors in the political process. Rezola's introduction clearly defines the main aim of this volume: to highlight the importance of the so-called "Carnation Revolution" that overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* in the spring of 1974, and to underline why we should continue to study and learn from it.

The first essay is by Douglas Wheeler, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, and a well-known specialist on twentieth-century Portuguese political history. Wheeler's essay focuses on the last years of the dictatorship (from 1961 onwards), concentrating mostly on the period of Marcelo Caetano's premiership. Wheeler's argument revolves around the idea that Portugal was already facing a period of

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profound social and cultural change, which helps to explain the success of the military coup of 1974, and the support that it received from the Portuguese people.

Indeed, Douglas Wheeler identifies a series of “accelerating changes” that were already being felt in Portuguese society from 1968 onwards. First and foremost, the feeling of hope generated by Caetano’s initial measures on becoming prime minister (the so-called *Primavera Marcelista* or Marcelist Spring), such as, for example, the changes that were introduced with regard to the censorship of media and books, and the easing of political constraints—which allowed for the return of Mário Soares and the Bishop of Porto, António Ferreira Gomes—among other initiatives. According to Wheeler, this situation meant that by April 1974, there had already been six years of “preparation” for change in Portuguese—and particularly Lisbon—society. Following Douglas Wheeler’s argument, this “quiet intellectual revolution among the ruled elites and about-to-rule elites” was the reason for the “sympathetic cover” that the military received when they overturned the *Estado Novo*. In fact, the most recent historiography on this subject has developed along similar lines. The Marcelo Caetano period has gradually come to be associated with a period of profound transformation in Portuguese society, even though this transformation was not directly reflected in the governing regime itself. But the way in which Wheeler presents and develops his argument makes it particularly interesting for the book’s readers. In fact, it will certainly encourage further research about the final years of the *Estado Novo*, something which is always to be welcomed.

The third essay, by Luís Nuno Rodrigues and David Ferreira, an associate professor and a PhD Student at ISCTE-IUL, respectively, presents a review of the literature linked to studies on the Portuguese democratic transition. In order to somewhat limit the extent of their sample, the authors chose to focus on works that were published between 2000 and 2017 and indexed on the Scopus database. In order to restrict their sample even further, they focused on works dealing with the coup of 25 April 1974, and the revolutionary months following this, up until the establishment of the main institutions of the new parliamentary democracy, after the approval of the Constitution in April 1976.

The limitations of these criteria are directly addressed by Rodrigues and Ferreira, but this literature review nonetheless presents some very interesting conclusions. The first of these is that the works on the Portuguese revolutionary period of the mid-1970s have largely been published in journals dealing directly either with Portugal or Southern Europe, or with topics relating to the study of democratization processes. This raises the question of whether a greater effort should be made to include studies of the Portuguese case alongside texts

dealing with other issues, focusing not so much on narrating its specificities, but on increasingly comparing it to or encompassing it within different perspectives, and not necessarily ones with a regional input. A second conclusion from Rodrigues and Ferreira's essay relates to the greater internationalization of the research being undertaken into the subject of Portugal during that period. We can observe a diversification in terms of the nationality of the authors of these studies, although Portuguese researchers still continue to be in the majority. Finally, a third conclusion can be drawn from this essay: there is still a "predominance of a so-called Eurocentric narrative" regarding the end of the Portuguese empire and the decolonization process, which took place at the same time as the democratic transition in Portugal. As the authors clearly state, there is a gap in the literature in terms of Asian and African perspectives about this period (at least as far as the publication of such studies in Scopus-indexed journals is concerned). Again, this is another topic requiring further research that is highlighted by this book and which may lead to further investigations.

Paul Manuel's essay constitutes the main framework for understanding the interviews. In this chapter, Manuel contextualizes not only the period under analysis, but, more importantly, the interviewees and how they positioned themselves in the Portuguese political scenario at that time. In order to do this, Paul Manuel structures his essay around three sets of tensions ("push and pull") that illustrate the ideological tendencies which frame the fourteen interviewees. The first is the tension between "reform vs. revolution." Here, Manuel focuses strictly on the main actors' position regarding the colonial issue and whether they proposed a solution based on the reform of the colonial system (as did Spínola and his supporters, for example) or a profound revolution, which would lead to the whole decolonization process. This divide would end up being settled after the events of 11 March 1975, when Spínola left Portugal and the negotiations with the nationalist movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau were concluded. Then, a second tension emerged, centered around the dichotomy between "East vs. West," or "communist Eastern Europe vs social-democratic Western Europe." This divide would reflect the main concern of the Portuguese political forces and had as its leading figures Álvaro Cunhal, from the Communist Party, and Mário Soares, from the Socialist Party. However, as Manuel himself stresses, other Portuguese politicians played decisive roles at this particular point, namely the leader of the Popular Democratic Party, Francisco Sá Carneiro, and the leader of the Social-Democratic Center, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, both of whom were clearly pro-Western Europe. The elections for the Constituent Assembly in April 1975, were "the first chance of the Portuguese society to have a say" on this issue and its results were clear: a strong majority of

the Portuguese preferred to follow a Western European-style democratic regime. The tension between the electoral legitimacy of the moderate political parties (which were later joined by the moderates of the MFA) and the revolutionary legitimacy of the more radical elements of both the political scenario and the Armed Forces Movement led to the increased fervor of the revolutionary process throughout the summer/autumn of 1975.

Paul Manuel also identifies a third divide: on the one hand, in order to explain the positions of two of the interviewees, Mário Tomé and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and, on the other hand, in order to stress the “moderate” position of some of the other interviewees, such as Vitor Alves, Vasco Lourenço, or Garcia dos Santos, who were signatories to the *Document of the Nine*, the materialization of the moderate tendency in the MFA. This third divide encompasses “radical change vs. moderation” and recalls Saraiva and Tomé’s ambition to establish some sort of “revolutionary, socialist regime in Portugal, like Cuba,” which had the support of some populist tendencies within the MFA.

This was the framework that Paul Manuel used to present the men whom he interviewed in the winter of 1990 and spring of 1991, and whose interviews are now translated and published in this volume. The most interesting aspect of Manuel’s introductory presentation of these characters is the personal dimension that he offers to the reader. We understand the reverence and formality of his meeting with Spínola, in contrast to his encounter with the “compelling personality” of Costa Gomes, whose groceries Manuel helped him to carry. We are similarly presented with the intellectuality of Vítor Alves, the charismatic personality of Otelo and the justificatory attitude of Vasco Gonçalves.

The reader is now better prepared for delving into the interviews and understanding not only the context in which these men performed their functions, but also for identifying certain traits of their personality that sometimes help to explain many of their decisions. The fourteen interviews are published here in Portuguese and in English, side by side. There are two Presidents (António de Spínola and Francisco Costa Gomes), a Prime Minister (Vasco Gonçalves) and eleven other leading figures in the military (Manuel Monge, Casanova Ferreira, Jaime Neves, Vítor Alves, Fisher Lopes Pires, Vasco Lourenço, Costa Neves, Garcia dos Santos, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, Mário Tomé, and Carlos Fabião). Among these men, there are ministers and members of the Council of the Revolution. Some of them continued their political activities (such as Mario Tomé, who was a member of parliament for the *União Democrática Popular* and later became a member of the *Bloco de Esquerda*), while others still remain today as the guardians of the memory of the revolution of April 25, 1974, such as Vasco Lourenço, President of the *Associação 25 de Abril*.

The book ends with a provocative but straightforward essay by Stewart Lloyd-Jones. Notwithstanding what was written in the previous pages, Lloyd-Jones provides a thought-provoking reflection on the real impact of the events of 25 April 1974. The main argument of his essay is summed up in its last sentence: “The Carnation Revolution of 1974-1976 was significant, not because it *brought* democracy to Portugal, but because the revolutionary turmoil created a diversion that enabled democracy to *be brought* to Portugal.”

Indeed, although the book focuses on explaining the roles and positions of the members of the military interviewed by Paul Manuel, one cannot help but wonder about the other actors. On 25 April 1974, the military and the MFA gave the political forces space to establish a democracy in Portugal. Although these forces had only recently been created (with the exception of the Communists and the Socialists, all the other political parties were created after April 1974), they corresponded to existing tendencies in the Portuguese society. But the mere fact that there were political forces that could seize this opportunity and lead the process of transition is significant. Lloyd-Jones builds on the argument presented in Wheeler’s essay, but instead he identifies the presidential elections of 1958 (Humberto Delgado’s campaign) and the failed coup of 1961 (led by defense minister Botelho Moniz) as the beginning of a slow but profound change in Portuguese society. This change was then reinforced by the deeper social and economic transformation of the 1960s and early 1970s.

There are, therefore, many reasons for conducting further research into the events of 25 April 1974 and their consequences—as well as their antecedents. This book edited by Paul Manuel certainly highlights many of the still unanswered questions. However, to conclude this review with the ideas presented in the foreword by Nancy Bermeo, the publication of this book is also timely for what it specifically reminds us of in relation to recent Portuguese political history. Namely, that democracy is something which takes time and energy to establish and maintain, and that Portugal was one of the first cases to demonstrate the importance of commitment, or to be more precise, the strategies adopted by several actors (both domestic and international) in engaging in something that we now call the promotion of democracy. Despite all the tensions, hardships, and challenges, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a democratic regime after forty-eight years of dictatorship. And Paul Manuel’s volume represents an important contribution towards our gaining a deeper knowledge about these events.

**Martins, Fernando. *Pedro Theotónio Pereira, o Outro Delfim de Salazar*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote, 2020, 1197 pp.
ISBN 978-972-20-7029-4**

Tom Gallagher¹

Pedro Theotónio Pereira never had any doubts about placing his abundant energy and political skills at the service of the *Estado Novo* for a great part of its existence. He was always skeptical about the effectiveness of multi-party politics and was usually as unapologetic as Salazar was about maintaining its authoritarian features. Ironically it was in the Anglo-American world that he spent long periods as a state official. Beforehand, in Spain he would work tirelessly to ensure that the Franco regime ended up closer to the Allied powers than to the Axis ones. His years in foreign service at challenging times in international affairs provide a store of experiences that make his biography an absorbing one. And in Fernando Martins this significant Portuguese figure from the last century has found a biographer who rises to the occasion in illuminating his story. The professor of history at the University of Évora brings to the task qualities that will likely ensure his book possesses enduring interest and avoids being a book on the Estado Novo and its main figures that takes refuge in clichés and generalities.

Sensational or superficial this book most certainly isn't. It is detached and balanced. It soon becomes clear that the author's aim is to provide a composite profile of this noteworthy figure from all the materials available. The book has 1197 pages, nearly three hundred of which are notes (often containing fascinating information). A high level of accuracy seems to have been aimed for. There is an attempt to look at controversial elements in Pereira's career from different perspectives and not rush to easy judgments. The author stays in the background but his clearly democratic orientation does not result in a peevish approach to his subject. He seeks to understand the Pereira who was ready to censor plays and novels as a young Catholic conservative in the Lisbon of the early 1920s and be ruthless in challenging rebellious challenges to both Iberian nationalist regimes. His balance seems to have convinced surviving family members to share memories and private documents about their illustrious relative. The scale of the work involved has also resulted in years of research in Portugal, Spain, Britain, and the USA.

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Some readers may be daunted by the length and by the care taken with filling in the historical context for each of the stages where the author's subject performed his role as a troubleshooter for, or advocate of, the Estado Novo. But the book manages to be a fascinating voyage through the intellectual, emotional, recreational professional, and political aspects of a life that was lived to the full until a debilitating illness cut short Pereira's career in 1963.

He was a young right-wing militant who helped run a major family business and be the architect of the regime's showpiece political project, the corporative state, while still in his thirties, a key actor in the Spanish drama of 1936-45, an active spectator in the early stages of the Cold War, a tireless exponent of Portuguese state interests in his foreign roles, and a defender of Portugal's colonial presence in Africa. Above all, he was an occasionally critical but ultimately highly loyal adjutant to António de Oliveira Salazar, the enigmatic and tenacious figure who became indistinguishable from the political order that he had constructed in the 1930s. Professor Martins examines these dimensions of his subject's life with balance and precision. He has been well-served by his publisher Dom Quixote which has turned this bulky volume into a stylish and robust biography with numerous illustrations.

This book is a much-needed boost for the profession of history at a time when influential cultural voices are arguing that knowledge of the past can and must be discarded unless it aids a radical present full of experiment and clamor.

Theotónio Pereira's prominence coincided with an usual period in history when Portugal strove with some success to be an independent actor on the world stage. The means was a defiant and often-skillfully deployed nationalism. This weapon was wielded with dexterity by Pereira in a dangerous epoch when numerous small countries, seemingly stronger and more secure than Portugal, were consumed by war. As a well-qualified technocrat with expertise in life and accident insurance he was enlisted by Salazar to erect the foundations of a corporative order which in theory was supposed to be guided by principles of social justice. His two years as sub-secretary of corporations in 1934-36 were frustrating ones. He soon realized that his chief wished to proceed rather more slowly in constructing this "third way" than he did. It seemed to be very much a political project designed to consolidate the regime. There was no hesitation for Salazar to say a clear "no" to ideas presented by Pereira several times in 1935, at the end of which he presented his request to quit. There would have been a clear cost for the regime if someone who was rated by many of its supporters was allowed to walk out. Instead, Salazar offered him a full place in the government as minister of industry and commerce, a position that he held for two

years. His main role was to set up a national oil industry. He also used this power-base to advance the corporative project. But he came around to Salazar's view that that in a world of ideological confrontation and territorial conflict, ensuring the survival of the Estado Novo must increasingly be the priority.

Towards that end, at the start of 1938, he accepted an assignment that would determine what was to be his role in public life for the next two decades. He was sent to Spain to be unofficial representative with Franco's forces, and soon to be ambassador as the Nationalists headed for victory in the civil war. Avoiding the triumph of the left had been seen as imperative if the Estado Novo was to survive. Keeping the peninsula at peace by persuading the Spanish caudillo not to align with the fascist powers soon became an even more pressing objective. Pereira was diligent and resourceful in carrying out this mission. He proved to be a loyal and hard-working aide to whom Salazar granted considerable freedom of action in such perilous times. He trusted in the leader's "star" as he wrote to Marcello Caetano. Let God continue to help and protect Salazar because he will be "our certain salvation," he stated in May 1940.

The painstaking investigations that Martins has carried out into ambassador Pereira's mission in Spain greatly adds to knowledge of Portugal's role in World War II. As his time in Madrid was ending, Britain's Lisbon embassy saw him as the most influential of Salazar's counselors and the figure who had the greatest chance of succeeding him. He was still only 44 when he returned to Portugal. His background and career were far more varied than those of the provincial lawyers, Coimbra academics, and military officers who normally helped Salazar rule.

He sprang from a family which had cultivated prudence and a long-term outlook during a time of turbulence and uncertainty in Portugal. An insurance firm had been painstakingly constructed and Pedro's technical education (including periods in Switzerland) was meant to guarantee its future. He married into the Palhas, a wealthy Ribatejan family strongly connected with bull-fighting, horse breeding, and fado. He was a lifelong Catholic who sought to uphold a society that respected the moral principles of his faith. He enjoyed many of the pleasures of life and was by no means an ascetic. But he was disciplined in his behavior despite mixing in the high society of several countries where brief romantic liaisons were not frowned upon. No breath of scandal emerges in this volume, and he seems to have been devoted to his wife whose health became precarious while still young.

He was a monarchist who believed that it was more important to save the country from liberalism, democracy, and anti-clericalism through a program of nationalism than to

restore the monarchy. He worked for a restoration of the monarchy in Spain but not in Portugal. Years in Spain made him ready for a closer approximation with the rest of the Western world. Up until 1942 when the outcome of the world conflict was uncertain, it made sense to actively cultivate Spain. But from then on, Pereira felt Salazar ought to have distanced himself from Franco and quietly buried the Iberian Bloc which then shaped foreign policy.

By doing so, Portugal could have strengthened its position in the eyes of the Western Allies. It would probably have meant the nature of the regime undergoing some (perhaps considerable) modification. Exercising diplomacy in high-pressure conditions and striking up enduring ties with senior Anglo-American diplomats might have enabled him to carry out the necessary political adaptation in post-war Portugal. But Salazar had no intention of going down this road. He had not sought to turn Portugal into a small-scale version of the fascist powers. Nor was he willing to turn it into a pluralist democracy with Iberian plumage.

Pereira was at home in Madrid society and visited the country periodically through his life. But close proximity to Spanish officialdom had generated neither affection nor trust. He feared that the Estado Novo would be contaminated by the widespread dislike for Francoism in the rest of post-war Western Europe. Such an outlook may be the main reason why he did not become foreign minister in 1944, the point when his influence within the regime was probably at its zenith.

What divergences there were with Salazar over tactical matters were overlain by common ground between the two on the fragility of the West arising from the resilience of the doctrines emanating from the French Revolution which they both despised and feared.

When his calls for a closer approximation with the Western victors of the war fell on deaf ears, he took up a different diplomatic assignment as ambassador to Brazil. Portugal's interests there had been clearly neglected and he complained of the inefficiency of António Ferro's propaganda bureau which led to Portugal and its regime acquiring a very poor image. He also had disdain for the slow-moving foreign ministry. He complained to Salazar about its unresponsiveness to requests for back-up and for being openly obstructive towards his mission at times. He nevertheless flew into action, forging ties with immigrant communities, creating an information bureau, and designing and furnishing a proper embassy building. But he was disillusioned by Brazil. In a letter to Marcello Caetano he wrote:

Aqui não há nunca questão de princípios, nem de ideologias puras. Tudo é pequenismo e rasteiro. Personalismo e interesses, nada mais. Sobretudo

personalismos. A própria maçonaria só vive destes compadrios. É realmente curioso ver este espetáculo.

He complained of “the pandemonium of democracy,” perhaps seeing in post-authoritarian Brazil the fate of Portugal if the tenure of the Estado Novo was cut short, and the old politicians were allowed to return. He was relieved to leave after two years. But there were no openings for him at home. There were signs that a newly-assertive military was ready to block his chances of becoming Salazar’s designated successor.

Pereira took being passed over for major state positions in Lisbon more calmly than his friend Caetano had done. He had far wider interests. He was less bound up with political affairs. He seems also to have been a more stoical individual. If the chance had come to be a national ruler, what this biography reveals about Pereira suggests that he would have made a more determined effort to institutionalize the regime and enable it to adapt to fresh challenges.

His thirty months as ambassador to the United States in the late 1940s was another opportunity for him to widen his horizons. He was strongly media-focused envoy. He was keen to switch the emphasis from the image of dictatorial Portugal and assert that historically the government had been combating the communist threat in its political, social and civilizational guises for a long time.

But he fumed at amateurism in Lisbon which prevented Portugal benefiting materially from post-war realignment. Salazar’s initial rejection of Marshall Aid and belated acceptance when little concrete help was available disheartened Pereira. His biographer views it as one of his chief’s biggest errors. He quotes letters from Pereira in which he vigorously argued for the need to embrace the Atlantic Pact which gave rise to NATO in 1949 instead of waiting until the last minute in order not to alienate Franco (still a pariah for most NATO members). He almost came to blows with António Leite de Faria of the foreign ministry for usurping him in his own embassy. Several months elapsed before regular contacts with Salazar resumed again. After his predecessor had dwelled in a hotel for fourteen years, Pereira flung his energies into creating a showcase embassy. But although impressed by the USA he did not modify any of his core principles as a result of being exposed to its culture.

For three years at the start of the 1950s, Pereira largely stayed out of public affairs. He tended to his family’s business affairs and paid an extended visit to Angola, his first to any of the Portuguese colonies. The author speculates that he was not interested in

ministerial posts which would only depreciate his political capital and diminish any chance of being able to emerge as a successor.

Eventually in 1953 he agreed to serve as ambassador to Britain. Interestingly, he was not Salazar's first choice, and an ambassadorial position was less important than previously. Nevertheless, in an unusual gesture Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden was on hand when he presented his credentials to the Queen. Pereira was impressed by the young monarch Elizabeth II, and she by him. In a lighter moment, Martins mentions that Pereira's sister-in-law, with whom the Queen Mother chatted at the Embassy in London, left with the opinion that the widow of King George VI was charmed by, and had a weakness for, the ambassador.

In 1958, when the regime was assailed at home by the Delgado challenge, he was twice a private guest of the Queen and the closest members of the royal family. In a letter to Salazar, he described how on one of his days at their Highland castle, Balmoral, a picnic took place at which the Queen and her children (accompanied by her mother and sister) happily barbecued pork chops. He went on:

Eu sei bem como é raro que isto a aconteça a embaixadores estrangeiros nos tempos que vão correndo. Fiquei profundamente agradecido e graças a essa generosidade real não saio de cá diminuído. E [a] imprensa - tenho respondido com um encolher de ombros bem-humorado.

The year before he had worked behind-the-scene arranging what had proved to be a highly successful state visit to Portugal by the British monarch. But he was alarmed by the fact that some family members of President Craveiro Lopes (and later Foreign ministry staff) were lobbying for British decorations. He believed this egregious behavior highlighted the contrast between a republic lacking decorum and a monarchy where protocol underlay restraint and good manners.

He departed from London in August 1958 well-integrated into the upper reaches of English society and one of the most popular members of the diplomatic corps. He had acceded to Salazar's request to rejoin the government, as Minister to the Presidency. His return to frontline politics coincided with a serious breach with sections of the military and the Catholic Church. Pereira was also well aware that offspring of the regime were distancing themselves from it. His only son Pedro van Zeller Palha Pereira was not one of them (unlike his nephew the architect Nuno Theotónio Pereira), but he never settled to any firm occupation.

His three years working closely with Salazar were perhaps the most feverish period of conspiracy in the life of the regime. There is no evidence that he was involved. He opted for neutrality, much of his time being spent tackling crises on the international stage. In January 1960 he paid an official visit to Goa (threatened, and eventually seized, by India). He also had a very effective role in ending the hijacking of the *Santa Maria* cruise ship and limiting the damage caused to the regime's prestige.

The foreign ministry position fell vacant in the spring of 1961. But instead of coordinating resistance to Portugal's mounting anti-colonial foes from Lisbon, he accepted the challenge of returning to Washington as President John F. Kennedy was pressing Portugal to rapidly quit Africa. He was instrumental in gradually repairing ties with the USA while Franco Nogueira strongly resisted the Kennedy administration's decolonization stance. He was the last ambassador to see Kennedy before his assassination. They talked of their mutual passion for yachting and the role of Spain in World War II in an interview which extended beyond the normal length. By now Pereira's physical powers were fading and he had to suspend his public duties. It took some further time before doctors diagnosed that he was suffering from Parkinson's disease.

He tried to remain active behind-the-scenes and published two volumes of memoirs which were reticent about many things. It is perhaps only with the appearance of Professor Fernando Martins's monumental and careful assessment of his life that Pedro Theotónio Pereira's true importance emerges. He played vital roles, over an extended period, in consolidating an autocratic state that was more efficient and purposeful than previous monarchical and republican regimes and enabled Portugal to enjoy an unusual degree of autonomy in world affairs. It is hard to see in the Portugal of today, one imbued with his gifts, playing an equivalent role except as a technician in a new corporate world order.

A balanced personality enabled him to maintain lasting respect for Salazar even when their stances on certain major issues diverged. Similarly, he maintained intact his personal relations with Caetano, right up until his death from a heart attack in November 1972.

President Américo Thomaz has stated that but for his illness, he would have been his first choice to become President of the Council when the vacancy arose in 1968. He would have combined a strong nationalist outlook with a deep understanding of some of the main forces shaping the world and would (in my view) have sought to strongly resist those forces seeking to deprive Portugal of much of its individuality as well as the overseas territories which he believed were an integral part of the homeland. His ties with the armed forces had been poor for many years and he might not have been able to avoid the

destruction of the regime at their hands. But it is quite possible that a late spurt of political creativity might have resulted if he had been in a fit state to succeed Salazar.

It is of course impossible to judge if Portugal could have emulated in major respects the political journey undertaken by Spain after Franco's death. But one thing is clear after putting down this impressive work of mammoth length: for much of his life, Pereira was far more than "O Outro Delfim de Salazar."