

# PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

---

Volume 24 • Number 1  
Summer 2016

---

ISSN 1057-1515

*Interdisciplinary*

PRS

VOLUME 24 • NUMBER 1

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

SUMMER 2016



VOLUME 24 • NUMBER 1 • 2016 (REL. 2017)

# PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

*Chief Editor:* IVANA ELBL

*Associate Editors:* TIMOTHY COATES  
ANTÓNIO COSTA PINTO  
JOSÉ C. CURTO  
MARIA JOÃO DODMAN  
MARTIN M. ELBL

*EDITOR EMERITUS:* DOUGLAS L. WHEELER

## International Editorial Board

JULIET ANTUNES SABLOSKY  
Georgetown University

FRANCIS DUTRA  
UCAL, Santa Barbara

WILSON ALVES DE PAIVA  
Pontifícia Universidade  
Católica de Goiás

CARLOS BALSAS  
Arizona State University

SUSANNAH HUMBLE FERREIRA  
University of Guelph

RENÉ PÉLISSIER  
Orgeval, France

MARCELO BORGES  
Dickinson College

HAROLD JOHNSON  
University of Virginia

MARIA FERNANDA ROLLO  
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

CAROLINE BRETTELL  
SMU, Dallas (TX)

ROBERT A. KENNEDY  
York University (Toronto)

STANLEY PAYNE  
U. of Wisconsin, Madison

MICHEL CAHEN  
CNRS / Sciences Po,  
Bordeaux

STEWART LLOYD-JONES  
ISCTE, Lisbon

FERNANDO NUNES  
Mount St. Vincent University

AN IMPRINT OF BAYWOLF PRESS ✨ ÉDITIONS BAYWOLF (2012 – )  
Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6  
<http://www.trentu.ca/psr> (mirror); <http://www.maproom44.com/psr>

FORMERLY PUBLISHED BY THE PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (2002-2011)

Printed and bound in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada.  
Design, digital setting, general production: Baywolf Press ✨ Éditions Baywolf

*Pro Forma* Academic Institutional Host, 2002-2017: Lady Eaton College (Trent University)



© 2016-2017 *Baywolf Press ✨ Éditions Baywolf and Portuguese Studies Review. All rights reserved.*

This publication is protected by copyright. Subject to statutory exceptions and to the provisions governing relevant collective licensing agreements or open access distribution nodes in which the publisher participates, no commercial reproduction or transmission of any part, by any means, digital or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or inclusion in data storage and retrieval systems, may take place without the prior written consent of *Baywolf Press ✨ Éditions Baywolf*.

*National Library of Canada Cataloguing Data*

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal—Civilization—Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking—Civilization—Periodicals. 3. Brazil—Civilization—Periodicals. 4. Portugal—Civilisation—Périodiques. 5. Afrique lusophone—Civilisation—Périodiques. 6. Brésil—Civilisation—Périodiques.

DP532 909/.0917/5691005 21

*Library of Congress Cataloguing Data*

Portuguese Studies Review

ISSN 1057-1515

Semiannual

v. : ill. : 23 cm

1. Portugal—Civilization—Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking—Civilization—Periodicals. 3. Brazil—Civilization—Periodicals.

DP532 .P67 909/.091/5691 20 92-659516

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW  
VOLUME 24, No. 1 2016

CONTENTS

*Portugal and Its Elsewheres: Multipolarity, Space, Time, and Ideology*

Solidaridad y endogamia de los portugueses en Canarias durante el siglo XVI Ana Viña Brito 3

The Jewish Factor in Angolan History David Birmingham 31

Between Mission and Conquest: A Review of Francisco Barreto's Expedition to Mutapa (1569-1573) Nuno Luís de Vila-Santa 51  
Braga Campos

Gessner's Pastoral Dramas: New Choices for the Eighteenth-Century Portuguese *Cognoscenti* Isabel Pinto 91

*Searching for Identities: Meta-Tonal Explorations of Becoming*

From the Corners of Exile: Images of the Brazilian city in the Works of Ferreira de Castro Dora Nunes Gago 123

António Sérgio and Joel Serrão, two Readers of Antero Francisco Carlos 139  
Palomanes Martinho

Impressões sobre os trajes dos cativos no Brasil dos séculos XVIII e XIX: entre trapos e rendas Ana Carolina de 149  
Carvalho Viotti

Em busca do Gênio Nacional: a representação do literato no Brasil pós Independência Débora E. Andrade 165

Brother Mug, the Activist Carmelite Plínio Tadeu de Góes Jr. 203

Authoritarianism and Corporatism: Brazil under Getúlio Vargas' *Estado Novo* (New State) Luciano Aronne de 221  
Abreu

The Contributions of Gilberto Freyre to Acculturation Research Joaquim Filipe Peres de 247  
Castro

Brazilian Narratives of Migration: A Multisited Journey Beatriz Padilla 259

Entre-Fronteiras: Epistemologias para o futuro da educação por meio da diversidade – *Pedagogia da Fronteira e Estética da Ginga* Denise Marcos 283  
Bussoletti and Vagner de Souza Vargas



## CONTRIBUTORS

LUCIANO ARONNE DE ABREU is a PhD in Estudos Históricos Latino Americanos from the Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos (2005). He is currently *professor adjunto* at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul. His area of expertise is history, with a focus on the Republic of Brazil, and with further specialization in the following areas: the Vargas era, authoritarianism and corporatism.

DÉBORA EL-JAICK ANDRADE é Doutora em História pela Universidade Federal Fluminense. Professora Adjunta da área de Teoria e Metodologia da História na Universidade Federal Fluminense –RJ (UFF), colaboradora do Programa de Pós Graduação em História Comparada da UFRJ. Pesquisa os temas intelectuais, história cultural, história social das ideias e ideologias, imprensa, história da leitura, literatura e história, cinema, teatro e expressões artísticas.

DAVID BIRMINGHAM, who wrote a *Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge University Press, third edition, 2018) and a *Short History of Modern Angola* (Hurst and Oxford University Press, 2016), was a teacher of African History at the London School of Oriental and African Studies and later held the chair of modern history in the University of Kent at Canterbury.

ANA VIÑA BRITO es Profesora Titular de Historia Medieval de la Universidad de La Laguna (Canarias) y Acreditada a Cátedra. Líneas de investigación: Andalucía en la Baja Edad Media; Archivos y Documentación; Historia de Canarias: repartimiento; el azúcar: técnicas, capitales, organización social de los ingenios; Portugueses y Flamencos en el primer siglo de colonización.

DENISE MARCOS BUSSOLETTI é Doutora em Psicologia, Professora do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação (PPGE), Faculdade de Educação (FAE). Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL), Coordenadora do Grupo Interdisciplinar de Pesquisa em Narrativas, Artes, Linguagens e Subjetividades (GIPNALS).

JOAQUIM FILIPE PERES CASTRO DIAS received a licentiate degree in Social and Work Psychology. He completed a Masters in Psychotherapy and in Community Health Psychology. He completed doctoral studies under the supervision of Floyd Rudmin and Milton Madeira. Currently, he participates in projects at the Universidade Fernando Pessoa, and he is living in Metz.

PLÍNIO DE GÓES JR., PhD, is an attorney in private practice in Massachusetts. He received his PhD from Harvard University in Romance Languages & Literatures in 2015, specializing in Portuguese, and he taught Portuguese at Harvard and the University of Massachusetts-Lowell. At UMass-Lowell, Dr. de Góes worked as an adjunct professor at the Saab-Pedroso Center for Portuguese Studies. Dr. de Góes received his BA in Political Science from the University of Michigan and his Juris Doctorate from Emory University School of Law in Atlanta, Georgia.

DORA NUNES GAGO is Assistant Professor of Literature at the University of Macau (China). She holds a PhD in Comparative Literature from Universidade Nova (Lisbon). She taught at the University of Republica (Uruguay), she was a Post-Doctoral researcher at the University of Aveiro (Portugal) and a short-term visiting scholar at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (USA). She has published a considerable number of articles in academic journals, book chapters, books and also short stories and poetry.

FRANCISCO MARTINHO was born in Rio de Janeiro. He is a professor in the History Department at São Paulo University. A specialist in Portuguese Political History, he recently published *Marcello Caetano: uma biografia (1906-1980)* (Lisboa: Objectiva, 2016).

BEATRIZ PADILLA is a Senior Research Fellow at the Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, ISCTE-IUL. She was an Associate Professor of Sociology at University of Minho from 2013-2015. She holds a PhD and Master from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, an MPA from the University of Texas at Austin, and a BA from the National University of Cuyo, Argentina. Her main research interests centre on gender and migration, public policy, and Latin America.

ISABEL PINTO (Research Centre for Communication and Culture, Catholic University of Portugal) is a postdoctoral research fellow, with a PhD in Theatre Studies from the University of Lisbon. Over the last decade she has been a research team member in several projects related to the History of Portuguese Theatre, at the Centre for Theatre Studies. At the present date, one of her main topics of research is how the performing arts endorse or reject certain social and educational constructs, envisioning paths for new intercultural categories and practices.

VAGNER DE SOUZA VARGAS é doutorando em Educação, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL), Bolsista CAPES/DS e Bolsa CAPES Doutorado Sanduíche (PDSE) na Universidade de Lisboa/Portugal, processo número: 88881.135984/2016-01. Ator, Licenciado em Teatro.

NUNO VILA-SANTA is an integrated researcher at CHAM (Centre of Humanities – FCSH-UNL/Uaç) where he completed his MA and PhD. He is concurrently a post-doctoral fellow at CHAM. His major works concern the political and military history of the “Estado da Índia” in the second half of the sixteenth century.

ANA CAROLINA DE CARVALHO VIOTTI (Centro de Documentação e Apoio à Pesquisa Histórica (CEDAPH) – Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP)), é Doutora em História pela Universidade Estadual Paulista. Autora de *As práticas e os saberes médicos no Brasil colonial (1677-1808)* (Alameda, 2017). Pesquisadora do grupo “Escritos sobre os Novos Mundos” (FAPESP 13/14786-6) e investigadora correspondente do Centro de Humanidades (CHAM) e do Centro de História (Univ. de Lisboa).



## ABSTRACTS

Solidaridad y endogamia de los portugueses en Canarias durante el siglo XVI (*Ana Viña Brito*)

Portuguese presence in the Canaries during the early phases of colonization is a well attested fact. The social analysis presented in this study is based on notarial protocols, data on the distribution of land, and other primary records. The core conclusion is that the Portuguese who settled in the islands formed a heterogeneous group, but possessed a specific collective identity. This identity served, among other, as a mechanism for integrating into the new society. The in-breeding and the solidarity that we analyze, particularly in the context of the Yanes and Évora families, constitute the defining features of the first Portuguese communities that settled in the archipelago.

The Jewish Factor in Angolan History (*David Birmingham*)

The world diaspora of Jews played a major role in the Portuguese colonial empire, and senior rabbis stood as important figures in fifteenth-century court circles. Under Spanish influence Jews moved from the public domain into the commercial world and became dominant figures in African international relations. Antagonism to Jews turned to persecution in the seventeenth century and Angola's leading scholar, Antonio de Cadornega, feared ever returning home when his mother was condemned to be burnt at the stake for heresy. Not until the Lisbon revolution of 1910 did Jews lift their heads above the parapet, but a colonization scheme for Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe failed to materialize. Under the regime of Salazar, however, clandestine Jews in Luanda traded with Jewish diamond merchants in Johannesburg.

Between Mission and Conquest: A Review of Francisco Barreto's Expedition to Mutapa (1569-1573) (*Nuno Luís de Vila-Santa Braga Campos*)

The first large expedition dispatched by the Portuguese Crown to what today is Mozambique, an expedition of key importance for the later development of Portuguese presence in the area, Francisco Barreto's expedition to Mutapa in 1569-1573 has been noted by various historians, yet little is known regarding Barreto's appointment in 1569. Why did King Sebastian select this influential nobleman? Why did Barreto resist the royal nomination in 1569? How can one explain the huge investment the Crown made in Mutapa? Are the primary reasons to be sought in the previous martyrdom of the Jesuit father D. Gonçalo da Silveira at the Mutapian Court, in a search for mines, or in Counter-Reformation policies? Was this fundamentally a missionary expedition, a conquest/territorial expedition, or both? Even though the expedition is generally portrayed as a failure, ending with most of the men dead as well as Barreto himself, it is necessary to discern the underlying dynamics and attempt to explain the apparent failure. The expedition must likewise be compared with that of Paulo Dias de Novais to Angola in 1576-1589, and apprehended in the context of Crown policies adopted in the *Estado da Índia* and in Southern Africa. It is likewise relevant to analyze the relative significance of this expedition for King Sebastian's reign, especially considering the most recent studies on the impact of Counter-Reformation policies. Key answers to many of the questions may lie in the duality of the venture as both mission and conquest.

Gessner's Pastoral Dramas: New Choices for the Eighteenth-Century Portuguese *Cognoscenti* (Isabel Pinto)

Reviewing eighteenth-century cultural production and the moral and spiritual changes that came along with it, Hernâni Cidade (1929) called our attention to the novelty of Gessner's *Pastorals*, which introduced public characters that were no longer dominated by the hardships of love but entered other domains of spiritual life. Subsequently, Lima (1946) offered an account of the Portuguese translations of Gessner's works, foregrounding their significant influence on Portuguese culture, an influence that extended into the late nineteenth century. Building on this foundation, the present essay establishes a chronology for the reception of Gessner's pastoral dramas in Portugal, above all in terms of how they fitted into the Portuguese cultural context of the second half of the eighteenth century. In this regard, close attention is paid to both the aesthetic and the social aspects that determined the major role *Erastus and Evander* and *Alcimna* played among Portuguese *cognoscenti*.

From the Corners of Exile: Images of the Brazilian City in the Works of Ferreira de Castro (Dora Nunes Gago)

The study looks at representations of the city as a space of "exile" (internal and external) in two novels by the Portuguese writer Ferreira de Castro, *Emigrantes* and *A Selva*, both inspired by the author's own experience as an emigrant in Brazil between 1911 and 1919. Taking into account the theoretical presuppositions of imagology, the study analyzes the images of Brazilian cities filtered through the eyes of the protagonists/emigrants on their multiple journeys. It seeks to understand in what way the cities in question—Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Manaus and Belém do Pará—correspond to a single or diverse poetic space that is stereotyped or rooted in the writer's own personal mythology. The study also considers the ways in which alterity is introduced into the discourse through a relationship with the "Other," in confrontation with the "Self" and the space of origin. The analysis highlights various "readings" of the city as a space of exile, as well as the importance of the city as a setting for history, alterity and initiation into a "new world" and a setting for injustice and corruption.

António Sérgio and Joel Serrão, two Readers of Antero (Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho)

The article analyzes the similarities and differences between all of António Sérgio and Joel Serrão's interpretations of Antero de Quental's intellectual output, with particular focus on Antero's Socialist Project and on his analysis of Portuguese decadence in the nineteenth century.

Impressões sobre os trajes dos cativos no Brasil dos séculos XVIII e XIX: entre trapos e rendas (Ana Carolina de Carvalho Viotti)

The paper presents and discusses two of the most widely witnessed and described aspects of male and female costume worn by enslaved individuals in Brazil in the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries: on the one hand, poverty or lack of clothing; on the other hand, a profusion of documented jewellery and fabrics. The study analyzes the impressions and comments recorded by contemporaries, including moralizing observations that associated textile display with sin and the salvation of souls.

Em busca do Gênio Nacional: a representação do literato no Brasil pós Independência  
(*Débora E. Andrade*)

The first generation of Brazilian writers in the first decades following independence faced a twin task: on one hand to highlight the autonomy and singularity of Brazilian literature and on the other hand to document literary monuments attesting to that autonomy. Among these authors there stand out, in particular, Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães and Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre. At the same time as they endeavoured to establish a repertoire of books underpinning a national literature, they also addressed the “myth of Camões” and the issue of genius—a recurring topic in the Romantic theory of aesthetics—in discourse, poetry and drama. This endeavour served a special function, that of anchoring the self-image of men of letters, those who distinguished themselves in society by being gifted as well as by being misunderstood. This image, and the writer’s mission, became associated with values such as sacrifice, heroism and sacredness, and facilitated a gradual acceptance of the role of a man of letters in a hierarchical and patriarchal society.

Brother Mug, the Activist Carmelite (*Plínio Tadeu de Góes*)

Embedded in Latin American Catholic political thought we find colonial Spanish and Portuguese ideologies pre-dating Independence, which survived into the post-Independence era, authoritarian ideologies supportive of military governments in the twentieth century, and progressive liberation theologies. In this article, a distinctive tradition is explored: a Catholic version of classical liberal thought skeptical of big government, opposed to caste systems, supportive of extreme federalism, uneasy with militarism, and supportive of democratic institutions while affirming Catholic social norms. This ideology was promoted in northeastern Brazil in the early nineteenth century by a Carmelite activist, Frei Caneca (Brother Mug), publisher of a newspaper titled the *Typhis Pernambucano* (“Tiphys of the State of Pernambuco”).

Authoritarianism and Corporatism: Brazil under Getúlio Vargas’ *Estado Novo* (New State) (*Luciano Aponne de Abreu*)

Prevalent in Brazilian historiography is the interpretation that during the Vargas Era (1930-45) Brazil passed through an important transitional period characterized by the shift from an agroexports base to an urban-industrial-based society, under an authoritarian political system inspired by the principles of state corporatism. The present study’s objective is to analyze these authoritarian political/conceptual and corporate principles, based on the thought of Oliveira Viana, an important Brazilian intellectual, and to assess possible influences on Viana stemming from the works of the Romanian Mikhail Manoiesco. The conclusion is that the Vargas regime was not exactly a Corporatist State, neither as defined by Oliveira Viana nor as defined by Manoiesco.

The Contributions of Gilberto Freyre to the Acculturation Research (*Joaquim Filipe Peres de Castro*)

The paper aims to highlight the contribution that Gilberto Freyre’s theories have made to acculturation research. Gilberto Freyre provides an emic point of view, one that is rooted in Brazilian culture. Freyre’s description of Brazilian culture emphasized acculturation as both re-

ciprocal learning and a motivated phenomenon. Freyre also pinpointed a two-way flow of cultural influences and changes, in which a European majority is deemed to have learned with and alongside oppressed minorities. Historical backgrounds conditioned specific reactions to cultural change, as well as different approaches to the acculturation phenomenon. There are advantages to Gilberto Freyre theoretical rationalizations, yet they must also be considered from a critical point of view, given that they were embedded in a social dominance paradigm that goes back to the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta.

#### Brazilian Narratives of Migration: A Multisited Journey (*Beatriz Padilla*)

The presence of Brazilians in Portugal goes back to the colonial period, but labour migration is a relatively new phenomenon that gained visibility and prominence at the turn of the twenty-first century. Due to the unexpected economic and financial crisis in Europe and Portugal, the phenomenon has been fading since 2010. Even if immigrants' accounts of migration show overwhelming economic motivations, disentangling their narratives using multisited and ethnographic perspectives permits grasping a more complex and comprehensive picture of the trajectories, experiences and expectations, adding ingredients of differentiation and diversity to the usual black and white stories. Migration narratives, contextualized in multiples scenarios through ethnographic fieldwork (Brazil and Portugal) make it possible to identify interesting socio-economic and gender differences, usually unnoticed, which reveal diversified motivation, coping strategies and plans for the future.

#### Entre-Fronteiras: Epistemologias para o futuro da educação por meio da diversidade – *Pedagogia da Fronteira e Estética da Ginga* (*Denise Marcos Bussolleti and Vagner de Souza Vargas*)

Numerous and very diverse publications in the field of Brazilian education studies mediate reflections on approaches to education, on its current state, and on what to do about it all. Yet, when it comes to effective alternatives with respect to work in liminal areas (*entre-lugares*) or in contexts that can be conceived of as “frontiers,” one encounters a hegemonic process of silencing those voices that do not fit into an institutionalized academic normativity. The Núcleo de Artes, Linguagens e Subjetividades (NALS), at the Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL), in the south of Brazil, is engaged in actively searching for new epistemologies, through what is outlined here as ethico-aesthetic approaches to educational praxis through Frontier Pedagogy (*Pedagogia da Fronteira*) and Ginga Aesthetics (*Estética da Ginga*).

PORTUGAL AND ITS ELSEWHERE:  
MULTIPOLARITY, SPACE, TIME, AND  
IDEOLOGY





## Solidaridad y endogamia de los portugueses en Canarias durante el siglo XVI<sup>1</sup>

Ana Viña Brito  
*Universidad de La Laguna*

### 1. Introducción

Es por todos asumido que en la colonización de Canarias desempeñó un papel clave el aporte de población extranjera de diversas procedencias entre la que destacan genoveses, flamencos, portugueses, etc. Estos grupos iniciales se fueron asimilando con gran rapidez pero su participación en el devenir histórico de las islas es variado. Al iniciarse la conquista de las islas realengas, europeos de distinta condición y origen participaron como financieros o miembros de la hueste, asentándose gran parte de ellos en el archipiélago al haber sido beneficiarios del reparto de tierras y aguas en razón a su estatus de procedencia; sin embargo el número de conquistadores de origen lusitano es muy escaso pero no así el contingente de pobladores de esta procedencia que acude a Canarias, una vez incorporadas las islas a la corona castellana.

Hasta ahora la historiografía, y específicamente la canaria<sup>2</sup>, ha evidenciado la importancia de estos extranjeros a los que se fomenta su asentamiento en las islas y ha incidido sobre todo en cuestiones relacionadas con el comercio, tanto por la propia posición estratégica de las islas en relación con el mundo africano como en las rutas americanas, sin olvidar el activo comercio con la Península ibérica y las islas atlánticas, así como las actividades artesa-

---

<sup>1</sup>Este trabajo forma parte del Proyecto FFI 2013-43937-P del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.

<sup>2</sup>Por lo que respecta a la presencia portuguesa en Canarias contamos desde los clásicos trabajos de: Elías Serra Ràfols, *Los portugueses en Canarias*, Discurso inaugural del año académico 1941-42 (La Laguna: Imprenta y Librería Curbelo, 1941); José Pérez Vidal, *Los portugueses en Canarias* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 1991); hasta otros más recientes como los de Manuel Lobo Cabrera y Elisa Torres Santana, “Los extranjeros en Canarias durante el Antiguo Régimen”, en *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna*, eds. María Begoña Villar García y Pilar Pezzi Cristóbal (Málaga: Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación 2003), Tomo 2, 79-97; Alberto Vieira: “As ilhas atlânticas: para uma visao dinâmica de sua historia”, *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos (AEA)*, 50 (2004): 219-64, entre otros.



nales. También se ha abordado el análisis de los grupos de poder en los que intervienen tanto comerciantes como, sobre todo, grandes propietarios con participación directa, en muchos casos, en los órganos concejiles.

Sin embargo, no son tan abundantes los estudios sobre el grupo de población extranjera dedicada a labores agrícolas, excluyendo a los grandes propietarios, pues al igual que otros colectivos es el que menos rastro ha dejado en la documentación, probablemente porque entre el campesinado la costumbre imponía su ley, de tal forma que es factible que en muchos casos los interesados no se acercasen al escribano para registrar las transacciones, excepto en los contratos de compraventa de tierras que son los que teóricamente han dejado mayor constancia en la documentación, motivado por el interés del comprador por poseer protocolizada una escritura que diera fe de su nueva titularidad. Otra documentación como los testamentos, cartas de dote, etc., nos permiten acercarnos a la realidad social de este colectivo. Por contra, los contratos de medias y arrendamientos escapan, en mayor medida, a los registros de los escribanos<sup>3</sup>.

En este trabajo nos centraremos en el grupo portugués, tanto continental como de las islas, siendo mayoritario este último sobre todo el originario de Madeira por cercanía y población, así como por las intensas relaciones comerciales establecidas aunque también se detecta la presencia de azoreanos atraídos por las mismas condiciones y, evidentemente, los procedentes del Portugal continental cuya actividad prioritaria en Canarias fue la agricultura o las labores extractivas sin menospreciar la actividad comercial. Pero más que profundizar en su actividad económica, nos centraremos en el análisis social haciendo especial hincapié en si estos recién llegados conformaron un grupo cerrado, cómo se establecían las relaciones entre ellos en lo referente a los matrimonios, trabajos agrícolas, bienes patrimoniales o acceso a la propiedad. Ejemplificaremos nuestras pesquisas en los casos concretos de las familias Yanes y Évora.

La cronología que abordaremos se circunscribe al siglo XVI. No incidiremos en la conflictividad Castilla-Portugal en los inicios de la conquista, aun-

---

<sup>3</sup>Un ejemplo es el contrato a partido del portugués Juan Fernández, estante, que entra a soldada con Catalina González por un año para arar, sembrar, escardar, segar, trillar y aventar “hasta estar el pan cogido y limpio en la era” en unas tierras que esta poseía en Tacoronte y en el Peñol. Benedicta Rivero Suárez, *Protocolos de Juan Márquez (1521-1524)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1992): doc. n° 795, de 15 de septiembre de 1522.



que sí es necesario recordar que la presencia lusitana en las islas está confirmada aún antes de incorporarse definitivamente todo el archipiélago a la corona de Castilla, constituyendo un punto de inflexión el tratado de Alcaçovas-Toledo, aunque a la postre los portugueses fueron para la corona castellana unos pobladores deseados para poner en marcha la economía de las islas y las primeras plantaciones agroindustriales como la caña de azúcar<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. Presencia portuguesa en las Canarias del Seiscientos

Aunque es significativa la bibliografía existente para Lanzarote y Fuerteventura y sus relaciones con las islas atlánticas portuguesas centrada fundamentalmente en las relaciones comerciales<sup>5</sup>, la esclavitud o la actividad inquisitorial<sup>6</sup>, en lo que atañe a la documentación de Protocolos Notariales durante aquella centuria, apenas se conserva, mientras que para Tenerife, Gran Canaria y La Palma (islas de realengo) la abundante documentación notarial, los acuerdos de cabildo o las tazmías nos permitirán una aproximación a este colectivo. Así por ejemplo, en el recuento vecinal de La Laguna (Tenerife)<sup>7</sup>, sede del Concejo, en el año 1514 se da una cifra de 317 casas con una población de 854 habitantes, reconociéndose como extranjeros a 12 portugueses, si

---

<sup>4</sup>Santiago de Luxán Meléndez y Ana Viña Brito, coords., *La empresa azucarera en Canarias, siglos XV-XX* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Destilerías Arehucas-Ayto. de Los Llanos de Aridane, 2009); Ana Viña Brito, "La organización social en los ingenios azucareros canarios (siglos XV-XVI)", *En la España Medieval*, 29 (2006): 359-82. Sirva como ejemplo el concierto entre Juan del Poso y Juan Martín, portugueses y vecinos de Gran Canaria en la villa de Agüimes, por el que se obligan con Cristóbal Díaz de la Garza a hacerle 40 brazas de albarrada de pared seca en su ingenio (*Archivo Histórico Provincial de Las Palmas (AHPLP)* Protocolo Notarial 2485, fols. 73<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>v</sup>, de 25 de enero de 1571).

<sup>5</sup>Manuel Lobo Cabrera, "El comercio de cereales entre Tenerife y Portugal en el primer tercio del siglo XVI", *Arquipiélago-Historia*, 2ª serie, 1 (2) (Ponta Delgada, 1995): 65-83. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, "Gran Canaria y los contactos con las islas portuguesas atlánticas: Azores, Madeira, Cabo Verde y Santo Tomé", *V Coloquio de Historia Canario Americana (CHCA)* (1985), Tomo 4: 311-33. Manuel Lobo Cabrera, "La historia de las islas: Canarias y Madeira", *II Coloquio Internacional de Historia da Madeira* (1990): 531-546; Elisa Torres Santana, "Los azoreanos en las Canarias orientales", en *História das Ilhas Atlânticas, CEHA*, (1996): 287-301. Alberto Vieira, "O comercio de cereais das Canárias para a Madeira nos séculos XVI-XVII", *VI CHCA* (1988), Tomo 1: 325-51. Alberto Vieira, *Portugal y las islas del atlántico* (Madrid: Mapfre 1992).

<sup>6</sup>Francisco Fajardo Spínola, "Portugueses en Canarias en el siglo XVII. Una relación de 1626", *XV CHCA* (2004): 310-320.

<sup>7</sup>Francisca Moreno Fuentes, "Repartimientos de los vecinos de La Laguna en 1514", *AEA*, 24 (1978): 383-395.

bien su número tenía que ser muy superior a tenor de sus apellidos. La misma situación la encontramos en el análisis de los protocolos tinerfeños del escribano Hernán Guerra, correspondientes a los años 1508-1510, en que aparecen 68 portugueses con mención explícita de su nacionalidad en los más diversos oficios, especialmente en labores agrícolas, tal como figura en la otorgación de poderes, venta de tierras y solares o haciendo testamento<sup>8</sup>. Lo mismo sucede en otras escribanías, donde su presencia resulta igualmente muy significativa<sup>9</sup>.

Los portugueses en Canarias conformaron una de las comunidades extranjeras más numerosas participando, al igual que sus homólogas, en la agricultura generalmente como pequeños propietarios o labradores, en actividades artesanales en el marco urbano y rural<sup>10</sup>, en labores extractivas o de recolección como los dedicados a la orchilla, a la pez<sup>11</sup> o a la compraventa de esclavos, ya fuera procedentes de Portugal aunque su origen fuese africano<sup>12</sup>, que adquieren no solamente grandes propietarios sino otros más modestos<sup>13</sup>,

---

<sup>8</sup>Emma González Yanes y Manuela Marrero Rodríguez, *Protocolos del escribano Hernán Guerra (1508-1510)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1958). Sirva como ejemplo la venta de una fuente (doc. n.º 1014); la venta de una huerta para plantar melones (doc. n.º 1558), el testamento de Lorenzo Váez realizado el 15 de abril de 1509 (doc. n.º 1102).

<sup>9</sup>La presencia lusa es habitual en las escrituras de los primeros escribanos de Tenerife de los que se conserva documentación, como fueron Sebastián Páez o Antón de Vallejo.

<sup>10</sup>Véase como ejemplo el concierto entre Luis calderero, vecino de Madeira y estante en Gran Canaria, con los dueños del ingenio de Tenoya para servirle en su oficio en la zafra de 1591 (*AHPLR* Protocolo Notarial 929, fols. 169<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>r</sup>, de 28 de enero de 1591). En el ámbito urbano es importante el papel desempeñado, entre otros, por los zapateros, y así aparece recogido en los acuerdos del cabildo de Tenerife el 9 de enero de 1504, señalándose que la confección y reparación de calzado se hiciera igual que en la isla de La Madera “e que los enforros sean fechos como los haze Jorge Vaez enforrados, puertas e todo lo que se requiere como se fazen en la ysla de la Madera” (Elías Serra Ràfols, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Tenerife I (1497-1507)*, 2ª edic. (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 1996), 69).

<sup>11</sup>Ana Viña Brito, “La pez. Su contribución a la economía de Tenerife (Primera mitad del siglo XVI)”, *A&A*, 47 (2001): 313-38.

<sup>12</sup>Pedro Martínez Galindo, *Protocolos del escribano Rodrigo Fernández (1520-1526)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 1998): doc. 130 y 131. En 1520 el mercader portugués Fernán Rodríguez, vecino de Almada, se obliga a traer al puerto de Garachico a Juan Clavijo cuatro piezas de esclavos prietos, de edad de 20 hasta 25 años cada uno, tres machos y una hembra, a pagar en cebada a 10 mrs. menos por fanega del precio estipulado para la misma, con saca.

<sup>13</sup>Tenemos referencias de que accede a esta compra María Fernández “mujer de amores” que compró una esclava. Vid. Charles Verlinden, “Le rôle des Portugais dans l'économie ca-

pero también actúan como intermediarios como podemos ver en el caso de Diego Fernández que trajo esclavos de Cabo Verde para venderlos en La Gomera<sup>14</sup>.

En todo el colectivo de lusitanos es importante la masa de población flotante que hace sus negocios en las islas, algunos acuden como emigrantes temporales en época de recolección o se enrolan en los barcos como miembros de la tripulación al ser experimentados marineros, sin obviar el importante contingente dedicado a la actividad mercantil fundamentalmente de cereales y esclavos<sup>15</sup>, pero también de otros productos básicos para la puesta en marcha de la incipiente economía canaria que tenía como producto prioritario el azúcar. Tenemos referencias de la compra en Portugal para traer a Canarias formas de barro, sobre todo de Aveiro<sup>16</sup>, un yunque de hierro<sup>17</sup>, animales<sup>18</sup> o materiales de construcción como cal y tejas<sup>19</sup>, entre otros.

Aunque todos los autores están de acuerdo en que la huella portuguesa en Canarias es indiscutible, no podemos dar un cifra exacta de los asentados en las islas a lo largo del siglo XVI por las propias dificultades de tratar con

---

narienne au début du XVIe siècle”, en *Homenaje a Elías Serra Ràfols* (La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna 1976): 28.

<sup>14</sup>Elías Serra Ràfols y Leopoldo de la Rosa Olivera, *Reformación del repartimiento de Tenerife* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1953): 74 (“Diego Fernandes portugués, vino a La Gomera de Cabo Verde e trato esclavos e dinero obra de quatro mill ducados y le dieron por partido para que edificase Valle de Gran Rey, el qual edificio mucha parte del e vendido en la tierra fiados esclavos e otras mercaderías”).

<sup>15</sup>Manuel Lobo y Elisa Torres, *Los extranjeros en Canarias*, 81.

<sup>16</sup>Sirva como ejemplo el caso de Álvaro Rodrigues, vecino de Aveiro y estante en La Palma, que se compromete a traer 5000 formas y 300 sinos. Luis Agustín Hernández Martín, *Protocolos de Blas Ximón, escribano de la villa de San Andrés y sus términos (1546-1573)* (S/C de La Palma: Cartas Diferentes Ediciones 2014), 266-7, doc. n.º 499 de 23 de junio de 1558.

<sup>17</sup>1522, junio, 3. *AHPLB*, Protocolo Notarial 735, fols. 291r-v. Concierto entre Alonso Bello, mercader natural de Conde, estante en Gran Canaria, por el que se compromete a traer desde Portugal un yunque de hierro para que Francisco Ramírez pueda desempeñar su oficio de calderero.

<sup>18</sup>Pedro Martínez Galindo, *Protocolos de Rodrigo Fernández*, doc. n.º 411. En el año 1521 el vecino Antón Fernández, testigo presentado por Bartolomé de Fuentes, declara que sabe que Vicente González, vendía sus bestias porque le dijo que de Portugal traería otras más baratas.

<sup>19</sup>Pedro Martínez Galindo, *Protocolos de Rodrigo Fernández*, doc. n.º 876. En el año 1522 el alcalde de Garachico manda depositar 1000 tejas en poder de Hernán Báez procedentes de un navío que había venido de Lisboa. En 1524 (doc. n.º 1344) un maestro de navío vecino de Tavira, llamado Antonio Afonso, reconoce que trajo cal de Portugal.

una población que no ocupa los más altos escalones de la sociedad, apenas ostentaron puestos relevantes en la administración y en la organización política hasta bien avanzada la centuria, en todo caso solo algunos cargos menores<sup>20</sup>. La documentación disponible no nos permite conocer con nitidez su número, que se ve agravado por el problema de la homonimia que dificulta sobremanera este análisis<sup>21</sup>.

Para poder examinar esta movilidad poblacional que tiene lugar entre el territorio lusitano y Canarias, así como la realidad social inherente a la misma, debemos tomar como referencia el significado del Atlántico, en cuanto regulador de los espacios insulares, valorando la relevancia de estos espacios insulares en los intercambios ya sea de complementariedad y/o de relaciones socioculturales y familiares, aunque no cabe duda que las migraciones, muy estudiadas desde el ámbito de la demografía histórica, no lo han sido tanto desde el prisma de las relaciones sociales<sup>22</sup>.

¿Por qué acuden los portugueses a las islas? Las razones son múltiples y variadas. Se ha apuntado la necesidad de tierras atractivas y la oferta que las islas proporcionaban, suplir la falta de brazos castellanos, posibilidades comerciales, un régimen fiscal poco oneroso, menores exigencias en cuestiones de limpieza de sangre y religión, entre otras.

Algunos autores han señalado que Canarias, al ser una territorio de frontera, fue una tierra de encuentro y conflicto en la primera etapa y progresivamente se fue produciendo lo que se ha denominado biculturalidad o aculturación asimilativa<sup>23</sup>. Los portugueses que arribaron al archipiélago canario se adaptaron rápidamente a la nueva sociedad, aunque habría que pregun-

---

<sup>20</sup>Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, *La integración de las Islas Canarias en la corona de Castilla* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2ª edic.): 249. Ocuparon cargos menores, entre otros: Juan González guarda de campo en 1508; Fernando de Fraga, lector de gramática en 1518; o mas tempranamente, en 1502, uno de los delegados para revisar los gastos de la conducción de agua a La Orotava fue el portugués Juan Fernández.

<sup>21</sup>Es el caso, entre otros, del portugués Juan Fernández que perdió las tierras concedidas en el repartimiento de Tenerife por “no ir a buscar a su mujer” y en el año 1520 encontramos otro Juan Fernández que recibe tierras en Buenavista. Elías Serra Ràfols, *Las Datas de Tenerife* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 1978), data nº 1203, de 5 de junio de 1520.

<sup>22</sup>Francisco García González, “Campesinos en la ciudad. Algunas consideraciones desde la historia de la familia en la España Moderna”, en *Sociedade, Família e Poder na Península Ibérica. Elementos para una História Comparada/Sociedad, Familia y Poder en la Península Ibérica. Elementos para una História Comparada* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri/ CIDHEUS - Universidade de Évora/ Universidad de Murcia 2010): 269.

tarse si esta población tenía conciencia de estar en una tierra de frontera. Carecemos de referencias directas a través de la documentación, aunque podemos afirmar que así era percibido, al menos a partir de la 2ª mitad del XVI, por algunas instituciones como el tribunal inquisitorial que se consideraba el “vigilante en el Atlántico en su lucha contra los protestantes”<sup>24</sup>.

Otro aspecto que se debe destacar, al menos desde el punto de vista teórico, es la idea de una sociedad más igualitaria, más tolerante, con mayor movilidad y, por tanto, más dinámica. Aún aceptando alguno de estos presupuestos, hay que señalar que la nueva sociedad que se configura en las islas no era igualitaria, como puede advertirse desde el inicio del repartimiento de tierras y aguas, o también en la separación entre la oligarquía concejil y el resto de la sociedad. Por tanto, consideramos que para entender la sociedad canaria en el primer siglo de la colonización no es suficiente con analizar las aportaciones de los diferentes grupos sino, sobre todo, el marco en el que los integrantes se insertan, pues no se puede olvidar que Castilla impuso un modelo jurídico al que debían adaptarse los recién llegados. La integración fue un proceso relativamente fluido, pero eso no significa que los inmigrantes fuesen sujetos pasivos pues en modo alguno la integración trajo consigo el abandono de su identidad.

La presencia portuguesa en sectores como la agricultura o la ganadería es muy significativa desde épocas muy tempranas como podemos ver, por ejemplo, en el año 1506 cuando tiene lugar la reformación del repartimiento de Tenerife en que uno de los testigos, el regidor Fernando de Truxillo, afirma que “ay muchas tierras dadas a portugueses e que mas son de sequero que son buenos trabaxadores”<sup>25</sup>, y que en el caso de Tenerife abarca prácticamente toda la isla, siendo la denominada Isla Baja (al norte) uno de los principales núcleos de asentamiento, como manifestó Frutuoso a fines de la decimosexta centuria: “Icode des vinhos que tambien é vila de duzentos vizinhues quasi todos portugueses”<sup>26</sup>. Precisamente en esta área fueron bene-

---

<sup>23</sup>Sergio Baucells Mesa, *Aculturación y etnicidad. El proceso de aculturación entre guanches y europeos* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 2014).

<sup>24</sup>Francisco Fajardo Spínola, “Inquisición y sociedad en Canarias. Trayectoria y perfil del tribunal insular”, en *XVI CHCA* (2005): 2072-2087.

<sup>25</sup>Elías Serra y Leopoldo de la Rosa, *Reformación del repartimiento*, 38.

<sup>26</sup>Gaspar Frutuoso, *Las Islas Canarias (De “Saudades da Terra”)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios 1964): 26.

ficiarios de tierras un grupo importante de portugueses: Esteban Muñiz, Francisco Borges, Juan de Évora, Gonzalo Anes, Antón Martínez, Gonzalo Díaz, etc.

La actividad de los lusitanos se detecta en otros sectores de la sociedad como el eclesiástico, con asentamientos en Tenerife y también en La Palma, donde podemos encontrar algunos registros bautismales escritos en portugués, como los conservados en la parroquia de Nuestra Señora de La Luz de Garafía, firmados por el clérigo Manoel Marques<sup>27</sup>; en el norte de la isla de Tenerife tenemos referencias del cura portugués Antón Afonso que otorgó un poder notarial a su hermano en el año 1506 “para los reinos de Portugal y Castilla”<sup>28</sup>, o el caso de Ruy Blas que llegó a Tenerife en 1499 como párroco de Icod y fue beneficiario de varias datas<sup>29</sup> algunas de ellas, como señalaba el Adelantado de Canarias, porque llevaba 8 años en la isla en la parte de Dau-te “donde ha realizado servicios al señor”<sup>30</sup>. Este personaje solicitó al Adelantado repartimiento de tierras y aguas no solo para sí mismo sino para un sobrino suyo que se trasladó posteriormente a la isla. Situación similar fue la de Juan Yanes “el abad”, primer beneficiario de la iglesia de La Concepción.

### 3. *Endogamia y solidaridad*

Un hecho que llama la atención desde los primeros momentos son las relaciones de parentesco entre los recién llegados, lo que les permite mantener su identidad a pesar de los intentos de integración en la nueva sociedad. El “efecto llamada” se produce cuando una persona que viene a las Islas comienza a prosperar y al circular la información en la familia de origen, otros familiares se aventuran a trasladarse al archipiélago. Como ejemplo de esta situación destacamos el caso de Antonio Martins, originario de Madeira,

---

<sup>27</sup>“Em hoz dezanove dias do mesmo mes e era [vinte e seis dias do mes de novembre da era de mil e quinhientos e noventa e simquo (año 1553)] batizei a Ysabel fija de Luis Roiz e de sua molher Maria Miz fueram padrinhos (...)” (Archivo Parroquial de Nuestra Señora de La Luz, *Libro de Bautismos*, (Garafía-La Palma)).

<sup>28</sup>Felipe Fernández Armesto, *Las Islas Canarias después de la conquista* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 1997), 46.

<sup>29</sup>Elías Serra, *Las datas de Tenerife*, data nº 184: 2 fanegas de secano en Icod el 18 de marzo de 1505; 6 fanegas de regadío en el camino de Icod el 21 de agosto de 1500 (data nº 579); tierras en Taoro el 27 de agosto de 1500 (datas por Testimonio I, 16); 4 cahíces de regadío entre Icod y Garachico el 14 de septiembre de 1510 (data nº 923).

<sup>30</sup>Elías Serra, *Las datas de Tenerife*, data nº 938, de 14 de enero de 1507.

donde poseía bienes pero cuando su cuñado el carpintero Gonzalo Díaz se trasladó a Tenerife para trabajar en la construcción de ingenios azucareros, en la que eran especialistas los madeirenses, y en la canalización de las aguas, cambiaron sus perspectivas. Gonzalo Díaz había sido beneficiario de datas en el año 1499, pero dos años después cedió la mitad a Antonio Martins en pago a una deuda, lo que motivó que éste con su mujer e hijos, acompañado de un cuñado, Luis de Freitas, sus criados y esclavos se trasladase a Tenerife, siendo beneficiario de nuevas propiedades<sup>31</sup>. Poco tiempo después Gonzalo Díaz venderá la otra mitad de tierras y aguas a Cristóbal de Ponte y según señalan los testigos “e se fue a Portugal porque era portugués”<sup>32</sup>

En este caso y en otros muchos, la fortaleza de los sistemas de parentesco en los lugares de origen debió constituir uno de los argumentos de la colonización de estas nuevas tierras<sup>33</sup>.

#### 4. Estrategias de integración

Para comprender cómo se integran los inmigrantes lusitanos en la nueva sociedad canaria que se está conformando consideramos que hay que poner esta nueva situación en su contexto, donde la familia constituía la unidad básica de la vida social. La producción bibliográfica sobre la historia de la familia ha ido en aumento en las últimas décadas, aunque en lo que respecta a los núcleos rurales o los grupos campesinos el análisis ha sido menor, pues hasta ahora los estudios se han centrado fundamentalmente en el mundo urbano y en las elites, teniendo en cuenta que campesinado y ciudad generalmente han sido analizados como dos mundos opuestos.

En Canarias, al igual que en otras sociedades, la familia constituía la unidad básica de la vida social. Como resultaba imprescindible el asentamiento de nueva población de manera continua, la legislación reiteraba a los casados la obligatoriedad de traer a su familia a las nuevas tierras. Sin embargo, a través de los testamentos observamos que muchas veces el núcleo quedaba dividido entre Canarias y su lugar de origen, como fue entre otros el caso de

---

<sup>31</sup>Pedro Martínez Galindo, *La vid y el vino en Tenerife en la primera mitad del siglo XVI* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 1998), 557.

<sup>32</sup>Elías Serra y Leopoldo de la Rosa, *Reformación del repartimiento*, 48.

<sup>33</sup>Roberto J. González Zalacain, *Familia y sociedad en Tenerife a raíz de la conquista* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2005), 87.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



## The Jewish Factor in Angolan History

David Birmingham

*University of Kent*

In the late 1970s a distinguished Catholic member of the old colonial élite which had ruled Salazar's 'fascist' empire in Angola died in Lisbon. During his career he had traded in diamonds which he sold to a Jewish dealer from Johannesburg. When the man's last will and testament was opened it caused widespread consternation. In it he asked that his Jewish friend from South Africa be invited to read the 'Kaddish' prayer of Jewish mourning at his funeral. He was, he said, a Jew but he had never dared to admit this to anyone, least of all to his Roman Catholic wife and family. The only Jew to whom he could entrust the conduct of the appropriate ritual was his trading companion of Luanda days, a man whose entire family had been eliminated in the European death camps.

Rufina Bernardetti Silva Mausenbaum, 1997<sup>1</sup>

THE SILENT SURVIVAL of Jewish tradition in the Portuguese empire was never more graphically portrayed than in Ms Mausenbaum's twentieth-century story of a Luanda friendship. It is a tradition which harks back to the very origins of the Portuguese expansion overseas. One of the most famous works of art ever painted in Portugal is the six-panel altar piece of São Vicente. It was painted in 1445 by Nuno Gonçalves using planks of oak which had, according to the dendrochronology, been felled in the Baltic forests of northern Europe in the 1430s. The scene is a double portrait of a martyred prince, the Infante Dom Fernando, who had died in Moroccan captivity two years earlier. Each portrait of the beatified prince is surrounded by the most important members of Portugal's high society, Isabel Duch-

<sup>1</sup><http://web.archive.org/web/20010411062413/www.saudades.org/sollyangola.html>



ess of Burgundy, her brother Henry (later dubbed ‘the navigator’), Afonso V, the child-king on whose slipper the artist painted a tiny, stitched, autograph and date, and above all—for the purposes of this paper—the rabbi of Santarem.

Master Joseph, the rabbi of the portrait, had been an important member of the royal household of Dom Fernando and had played a significant role in negotiations which had tried to obtain the prince’s release from captivity—a release which was always blocked by the refusal of his brother Henry to surrender to the emperor of Morocco the fortress of Ceuta which provided Portugal with a toe-hold on the African mainland. Art historians were amazed in the past to see a rabbi feature so prominently in a portrait which is not only composed of royal personages but also appeared to be a representation of a Christian religious service and was apparently designed to stand on a church altar. The text of the Hebrew bible which Gonçalves painted in the rabbi’s hands cannot be deciphered but it is surely being read from right to left, from the last page to the first, in proper Semitic style. At the time anti-Jewish prejudices might have been current among ordinary Portuguese—though they were not as virulent as in Castile or Aragon—but in Portuguese court circles Jewish professionals were accorded rank. The Rabbi Joseph, son of Simeon, was apparently a qualified surgeon, a high-status craft like astrology or accountancy which gave Jews at court especial aristocratic protection. So special was this protection that in December 1441 the rabbi received confirmation of a royal exemption from the requirement that Jews wear a star of David and dwell in registered ghettos during the hours of darkness. This exemption was later forgotten as the status of Jews in Portugal declined under King John II, and more especially King Manuel I, and so a later artist—recognising a Jewish personage in the portrait—added a star of David to the rabbi’s cloak. In 1445, however, the presence of a distinguished rabbi at the royal ceremony of remembrance was no triumphant ritualisation of the superiority of the church over the synagogue but on the contrary a joint dedication conducted by the brotherhood of humanity.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Jewish culture in Portugal before persecution began to bite into society was demonstrated in 2007 in an exhibition of sacred art at the British Library in London. On display was a richly illustrated codex of

<sup>2</sup>Jorge Filipe de Almeida and Maria Manuela Barroso de Albuquerque, *Os Panéis de Nuno Gonçalves* (Lisbon: Verbo, 2003), 131-138.

texts produced by the Portuguese school of medieval Hebrew illumination in 1482.<sup>3</sup> The year was a significant one in the annals of imperial history as Portugal had by then reached half way down the west coast of Africa and built the great trading fortress of El Mina on the Gold Coast. Whether any Jews were among the officers initially appointed to manage the trade—one of whose number might (or might not) have been the expatriate mariner Christopher Columbus—is not yet known, but the next stage of expansion into the Atlantic certainly did use Jewish mercantile skills. The most profitable deals when buying West African gold were obtained by selling slaves on the Gold Coast to the Akan mine masters. These slaves came from an entrepôt on the off-shore island of São Tomé which was being colonised by settlers, planters and traders some of whom, at least, were Jewish. These merchants bought their slaves, which were in demand for export to Lisbon and Valencia as well as intended for agricultural and mining work within Africa itself, from Nigeria and Angola.<sup>4</sup> The trade brought colonial entrepreneurs south to the Congo estuary by 1482. Thereafter one can ask questions about the role of Jews in Angola during the five hundred years which preceded the funeral of a Luanda diamond dealer of deeply hidden Jewish descent.

The most famous Jewish trader to operate in early colonial Angola was Duarte Lopes. Lopes was born, probably in the 1550s, at Benavente, some twenty miles south of Lisbon, and was baptised in the Catholic church as a 'new Christian'. His father was a provincial pastry-cook but his uncle owned a merchant vessel, the *Santo António*, which traded out of Lisbon. In August 1578 Lopes arrived in Luanda bay (possibly for the second time) to manage his uncle's Angolan traffic. He set out with his caravan of trade goods for the city of San Salvador where the King of Kongo was the main wholesale merchant and dealer in slaves. Lopes settled in the royal capital for four years and was elevated to the noble rank of *fidalgo* in the king's privy council. He had the opportunity to interview the many traders who visited the royal markets and from them he built up a portrait of the Kongo kingdom and its neighbouring territories.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> British Library, *Sacred: The World's Greatest Collection of Jewish, Christian and Muslim Holy Books* (London: British Library, 2007).

<sup>4</sup>David Birmingham, *Portugal e África* (Lisbon: Vega, 2003), 52-60 ("O Regimento da Mina"). English language edition: Ohio University Press, 1999.

On 15 January 1583 Duarte Lopes, the Jewish 'new' Christian merchant, was issued with a royal order—which is still extant in the Vatican archives—to travel to Rome as the Kongo king's envoy to the court of the pope. He was to ask for the dispatch of monks and nuns for the churches of San Salvador and for permission to recruit and train clerics among the king's own African people. The king also wanted to obtain a good reproduction of a famous portrait of the Virgin Mary. What the document does not contain is the secret message from king to pope which, in all probability, requested that the kingdom of Kongo be removed from the suzerainty of the kingdom of Portugal (which had recently fallen under Spanish Hapsburg domination) and that it be placed under the direct suzerainty of the pope himself. To facilitate the negotiations the king awarded the pope a grant of ten square leagues of land in his kingdom—together with six square leagues for the personal enjoyment of his envoy to Rome, Duarte Lopes. By the time Lopes arrived in Rome in 1588 Alvaro I of Kongo had been dead for nearly a year. What is more Sixtus V was, like most popes of the time, deeply dependent on the Spanish Hapsburgs and their colonial wealth and in no way inclined to challenge their claim to suzerainty over the Portuguese territories (including the kingdom of Kongo) which lay in Angola. The mission seems to have failed in its objectives, but while in Rome Lopes was introduced to a 'humanist' scholar of the Renaissance, Filippo Pigafetta, and between them they wrote the most detailed account then available of the kingdom of Kongo. It was published in Italian, but the author of the 1597 German edition claimed that a first draft had been written in Portuguese.<sup>6</sup>

After writing his description of Kongo Lopes almost vanishes from the scene though a footnote can be found in the Spanish archive of the Indies, at Seville, where an account of the Angola slave trade appears to be of his authorship.<sup>7</sup> Lopes is described as wearing the habit of a pilgrim from Kongo. He reported that if enough ships were made available one thousand

---

<sup>5</sup>There is an extensive bibliography relating to the life and times of Duarte Lopes including an English translation of his report on Kongo with a preface by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton dated 1881. A facsimile of the Italian text of his account, written by Filippo Pigafetta in Rome in 1591, was published in Lisbon in 1949. The data used for this paper are taken from the preface of Willy Bal, *Description du Royaume de Congo et des Contrées Environnantes par Filippo Pigafetta & Duarte Lopes* (Louvain: Éditions E. Nauwelaerts, 1963). This is one of a dozen translations and editions.

<sup>6</sup>See introduction to Bal, *Description du Royaume de Congo*, xiii-xx.

slaves a year could be obtained from the Angola region and if a proportion of these were to be sold to the Spanish Indies they would bring the Spanish king a revenue of 70,000 ducats a year. Lopes reported lugubriously that half of all slaves shipped out of Angola died at sea before reaching the American colonies and he speculated that as many again may have died on the African mainland before being shipped. The trade was nevertheless economically beneficial to the colonial power because so many native American Indians were dying in the Spanish mines that soon the colonies would be utterly depopulated. He recommended that black slaves be used for mining and American natives be permitted to return to their traditional farming and to the selling of food crops to feed black immigrant miners. The trade of Cape Verde and of the Guinea rivers was managed directly from Seville, but Lopes recommended that the Angola trade should be contracted out to Lisbon merchants whose tax returns could be later transferred to Seville. The Lopes report lists eleven slave markets in the Spanish Indies, the largest being Lima, Quito and Caracas, and the smallest Havanna, Cartagena and Panama. As a final argument Lopes pointed out that expanding trade relations with Angola would be of great benefit to the spreading of Christianity in Africa.

Lopes was not the first, nor indeed the most important, of the Jewish converts to engage in the African trade. One hundred years earlier, long before racist restrictions were placed upon them, Portuguese Jews played a major role in opening up the tropical enterprises. The commercial expansion of Portugal, which began with the Lisbon bread riots of 1414, spread from the wheat gardens of Madeira to the vineyards of the Canaries (later transferred to Spain) and then on to the cotton fields of the Cape Verdes before reaching São Tomé. It was on this lush island that a sugar plantation industry was pioneered which mimicked the one on the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean and was later adopted in Brazil and the Caribbean.<sup>8</sup> By the 1470s Jewish entrepreneurs appear to have been active in fostering plantation work on São Tomé but in the 1490s this colonisation took a darker turn. João II welcomed professional Jewish men and women who were fleeing to

---

<sup>7</sup>António Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 1<sup>st</sup> series (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954) 4: 514-518.

<sup>8</sup>David Birmingham, *Trade and Empire in the Atlantic 1400-1600* (London: Routledge, 2000).

Portugal to escape the pogroms in Castile, but he was not enthusiastic about incorporating their children into Portuguese society and so diluting the purity of Portuguese blood. He allegedly banished some of these unwanted children to a remote exile in the tropics where they became estate workers in the sugar fields. It has been suggested that despite horrendous mortality no less than 600 Jewish deported children survived on the island at the end of the fifteenth century. They were apparently given slave marriage partners who initiated the first creole community on the African equator.<sup>9</sup> For a hundred years, from the 1470s to the 1570s, the Angola trade was dominated by the creole and expatriate merchants of São Tomé and the Angola church was under the authority of the bishop of São Tomé. The century was one of pragmatic but deteriorating relations between the Portuguese state, the Portuguese church, and the Portuguese community of Jews.

The transition from integration to segregation was a slow one as far as the Jewish community of Portugal was concerned. A Spanish royal marriage brought the first steps towards official, as opposed to popular, antagonism but Manuel I nevertheless encouraged the conversion rather than the expulsion of Jews and allowed a twenty year period of toleration during which Jewish forms of worship might discreetly survive, a dispensation that was subsequently extended to 1534. The class of 'New Christians' which the king created allowed Jews to enter the ranks of the nobility, the religious military orders, municipal government, the clergy and especially the universities. Popular antagonism to Portuguese Jews, two or three thousand of whom were very wealthy, led to occasional riots culminating in a 'pogrom' in 1506. To control the situation Manuel I asked the pope in 1515 for permission to set up a 'court of inquisition' on the Castilian model. His aim was to stem any further influx of migrant Castilian Jews who, although nominal Christians, felt it safer to live in Portugal than in Spain. Thereafter aristocratic antagonism to Jews grew in strength. João III aspired to keep Jews in a sort of anxious subservience, and to milk them for their wealth, but did not wish to eliminate them from society altogether. By the 1530s the exodus of Jews to Morocco and to the Netherlands was recognised as being economically damaging to the Portuguese kingdom. The king therefore sought to establish that his court of inquisition would be firmly under flexible royal control and

---

<sup>9</sup>José Mattoso, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1993), I: 76. Tony Hodges and Malyn Newitt, *São Tomé and Príncipe* (Boulder: Westview, 1988), 18.

sensitive to the nations economic needs and would not be under the rigid ideological control of the papacy. The Portuguese argument was finally won in a *regimento* of 1547 and the king's brother Henry was confirmed as the Chief Inquisitor. Thereafter the tightening of controls progressed but still only slowly and New Christians continued to be eligible for elevation to the noble Order of Christ or to the Order of Avis. Throughout the period Jews continued to finance the imperial ambitions of kings. King Sebastian granted Jews new privileges in exchange for a 240,000 *cruzado* contribution to his ill-fated Moroccan campaign of 1578.<sup>10</sup> Only in 1619 did a new harshness begin to operate and purity of blood, rather than rigour of religious practice, became a criterion demanded for entry into the noble orders. In spheres other than high politics persecution became more widespread when 'New Christians' were expelled from the *misericórdia* brotherhoods, when marriage to Jewish women—even wealthy ones—was forbidden, and when Jews were driven out of Coimbra university leaving many landlords out of pocket. Over time the inquisition escaped from the supervision of its royal founders to set its own repressive agenda.<sup>11</sup> In São Tomé the survival of Jewish religious practices among creoles was so threatening to European-born settlers that when conflict broke out in 1621 the island's bishop found it prudent to flee into exile. He alleged that he had seen a midnight procession carrying a golden calf. Similar tensions survived for the next three hundred years and in 1985 Malyn Newitt heard that the expatriate clergy were disturbed that São Tomé birthing rituals still exhibited Jewish traditions.<sup>12</sup>

Clues about the survival of Jewish families are sometimes to be found in names. The royal family in the Earldom of Nsoyo, in the north-western

---

<sup>10</sup>When the king was lost in battle at Alcacer Quibir it was his uncle, the chief inquisitor Henry, who temporarily took over the throne before Philip II of Spain became king of Portugal in 1580. 'I inherited it, I bought it, and I conquered it' reportedly said Philip, the one-time king-consort of Mary I of England.

<sup>11</sup>Mattoso, *História de Portugal*, III: 475-80. For a more detailed account of the way in which Manuel I and his Spanish queen struggled to manage the immigration and emigration of Jews see Joaquim Chorão Lavago, 'A expulsão dos judeus portugueses: erro ou equívoco?' in Carmen Ballesteros and Mery Ruah, eds. *Os Judeus Sefarditas entre Portugal, Espanha e Marrocos* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2004). The author spells out the horror when Jewish children were seized and given to Álvaro de Caminha, the *donatário* of São Tomé, who put them to work on his sugar plantations but watched many of them die of hunger and disease.

<sup>12</sup>Hodges and Newitt, *São Tomé and Príncipe*, 68 and 70.

corner of Angola, bore the name Silva. It is likely that this name, relating to trees and forests, was a Jewish one. It has been suggested that when becoming 'new' Christians many Jewish families adopted the names of trees, Oliveira, Carvalho, Pereira, to disguise their old Hebraic identities.<sup>13</sup> The history of the Silva family in Nsoyo has yet to be written, as has that of many of the families of the black élite of Angola who adopted Portuguese names from the fifteenth century until the present day.<sup>14</sup> The name Pereira, pear tree, was that of the *conquistador* who was twice governor of Luanda and in 1615 founded a second settler colony at the Bay of Cows in the south of Angola. This colony took the name Benguela and became the focus of an important and still flourishing creole community.<sup>15</sup>

Mixed marriages between 'old' Christians and 'new' Christians may have been frowned upon by the city ordinances of Oporto but they nevertheless remained an important feature of Portuguese society. No less than two of the great figures in Angolan colonial history, Paulo Dias de Novais in the sixteenth century, and António de Oliveira de Cadornega whose seventeenth-century family is discussed below, had a Jewish mothers. Grandfather Bartholomew Dias had sailed down the Angolan coast to the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 and thereby given his son, António Dias de Novais, the right to claim a stake in the first scramble for Africa. António married into a Jewish family and his son Paulo subsequently obtained from the crown a licence as the lord proprietor, *donatário*, of Luanda and its Angolan hinterland. In

---

<sup>13</sup>In the heyday of the *soi-disant* Fascist period of Portuguese politics the present author emerged one evening from the Colonial Archive in Lisbon to be accosted by a pompous young Salazarist. Did you say that your name was David? Does that mean you are Jewish? The conversation was overheard and interrupted by one of Portugal's most distinguished historians, Father António da Silva Rego. He drew himself up to his full five feet in height and said: 'If anyone here is Jewish it is I; the name Silva is known to be one frequently adopted by Jews who sought to acquire a Christian identity'. The benign Catholic scholar went on to help the young English student in many other discreet ways as he struggled to understand the sixteenth-century history of empire in Angola.

<sup>14</sup>Martins dos Santos, *Primeiras Letras em Angola* (Luanda: Câmara Municipal. 1973) has an interesting catalogue of Angolan family names.

<sup>15</sup>The history of Benguela was written up in both academic and fictional form by Angola's premier historian, Ralph Delgado. For the fiction see *O Amor a 12 Graus de Latitude Sul* and for the academic see *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela*, and also the two-volume *Ao Sul do Cuanza*, and *O Reino de Benguela*, none of them currently available to this author. A later work on the modern history of Benguela is the prize-winning novel by Pepetela, *Yâka*, published in English by Heineman in 1996.



order to set up a vibrant economy Paulo Dias negotiated a special dispensation to take with him six Jewish artisans, entrepreneurs and craftsmen who would establish corn mills or salt mines or iron forges for the new settlers. The settlers themselves, all one hundred of them, were required by the terms of the charter of 1571 to be 'old' Christians rather than the children of Jews like Paulo Dias himself.<sup>16</sup>

Sensitivity over Jewish influence remained a factor in Angola into the next century but the great 'Brazilian' wave of *conquistadores* of the Hapsburg years was led by merchant adventurers such as Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos (the New Christian governor of Angola from 1617 to 1621) who were intimately associated with Jewish finance, Jewish families, and Jewish settlers. The governor's son, João, who served his father as a military captain and led the Portuguese into battle in the most ferocious wars ever fought in Angola, was described as 'meio cristão-novo' or half Jewish.<sup>17</sup> One of the Jewish settlers, Francisco Rodrigues de Azevedo, was appointed to be chief magistrate of Luanda by Governor Vasconcelos despite the poor opinion of him held by the bishop of Kongo and Angola who described Azevedo as an 'idiot'. This Jewish settler subsequently became captain of the white infantry and commander of the fortress of São Fernando. His son, presumably a *mestiço* creole, was later granted settler rights over 1500 fathoms of land on the Kwanza River.<sup>18</sup> Other Jewish settlers were given grants of land on the fertile banks of the rivers north of Luanda and in 1641, when the Dutch chased the Portuguese governor out of Luanda, he took refuge in the complex of Icolo farm buildings ruled over by Francisco Mendes de Carvalho, a New Christian with an extensive entourage of African dependants and children.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup>The literature on the founding of Luanda in 1574 is very extensive. See David Birmingham, *Alianças e Conflitos: os primórdios da ocupação estrangeira em Angola 1483-1790* (Luanda: Arquivo Histórico de Angola, 2004) originally published by Oxford University Press in 1966 under the title *Trade and Conflict in Angola*. Chapter V also describes the great wars of 1617 to 1621.

<sup>17</sup>Arlindo Barbeitos, in his thesis "Portugal e Angola," says that Governor Vasconcelos was Jewish and that this was a common occurrence on the seventeenth-century Angola coast (Arlindo Barbeitos, "Portugal e Angola: representações de si e de outrem ou o jogo equívoco das identidades," Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade da Beira Interior, 2006, 30).

<sup>18</sup>Beatrix Heintze, *Fontes para a história de Angola do século XVII* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985), 74-5, 108, III.

<sup>19</sup>Barbeitos, "Portugal e Angola," 43. Note the name Carvalho meaning oak tree. Barbeitos also engages in a debate with Luís Felipe de Alencastro, *O Irato dos Videntes: Form-*

By the beginning of the seventeenth century a second deep strand of Angolan colonial history had begun to emerge in parallel with the military conquests based on Luanda and Benguela. This second strand was led by Portuguese Jews who had moved their wealth from the Iberian trading ports to the North Sea trading ports, notably to Hamburg and Amsterdam. The new traders were particularly welcomed by the Silva family who controlled Mpinda harbour at the mouth of the Congo River and who sported the title Dukes of Nsoyo and denied the kings of Kongo easy access to the sea. They also traded regularly, but in the eyes of the Lisbon law courts illegally, with Portuguese settlers along the whole of Angola's coast. Several royal officials were arrested on charges of illicit trading and sent back to Europe for trial. One of them was Governor Vasconcelos himself.

It has traditionally been assumed by historians that the Dutch eruption into the Atlantic did great harm to the colonial careers of both Spain and Portugal but Peter Emmer, the leading Dutch historian of empire, now argues that the impact was minimal and even the long-term effect was not great. Much as the crown regretted any loss of tax revenue, colonial trade in Angola benefited from the plentiful supply of Dutch shipping as the two systems deriving from the North Sea and from the Iberian peninsula coexisted through to 1800.<sup>20</sup> Many 'Dutch' traders, Catholic and Calvinist as well as Jewish, became participants in the trade of the Portuguese empire, especially after the rebellion of 1640 which expelled the Spanish Hapsburgs from the south Atlantic and eight years later installed the new Braganza dynasty at Luanda.

The most famous of all the political dynasties which grew out of the seventeenth-century Angolan trade was the congerie of families which go under the Dutch name of Van Dunem. João van Dunem was probably trading in the northern ports of Angola quite early in the seventeenth century and by the 1630s his nephew Balthasar van Dunem arrived in Luanda city to gain access to the first rung of a ladder that would bring him to the heights of the colony's financial management. During the 1640s, when the Dutch

---

*ação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul nos séculos xvi e xvii* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000). Regarding the readiness of settlers in Angola, including Jewish and New Christian settlers, to give status to their various sexual partners see Barbeitos, "Portugal e Angola," 67-68).

<sup>20</sup>Peter C. Emmer, "The First Global War: the Dutch versus Iberia in Asia, Africa and the New World, 1590-1609," *e-JPHI* 1 (1) (Summer 2003).

and the Portuguese were temporarily at war in the south Atlantic, Balthasar van Dunem persuaded the Portuguese that he was no Dutchman but that he came from the Hanseatic ports of north Germany. In Hamburg at the time the ostracisation of native German Jews was quite severe but Portuguese Jews were so prized for their professional and commercial skills that they were granted unexpected privileges. One eminent Portuguese Jew in the city even created a minor scandal by having uniformed Christian footmen attend his coach.<sup>21</sup> When the representatives of the Hamburg traders arrived in Angola they adopted the practice of marrying local wives, as the early settlers in São Tomé had done, and the second generation of Van Dunems were *mestiços* who gradually blended in to a creole society of ever darkening hue. A quotation, later cited by Angola's most famous historian Cadornega, claimed that in Luanda sons were dusky, grandsons almost black and great-grandsons completely black.<sup>22</sup> By 1658 Gonçalo van Dunem was deemed to be a 'negro' and although he was properly baptised as a Christian he was debarred from using the whites-only funeral hearse of the Luanda *misericórdia* charitable brotherhood. He and eleven colleagues applied to the Vatican for permission to set up their own *misericórdia* under the patronage of the Italian Capuchins who had recently arrived in Angola.<sup>23</sup>

The descendants of the Hanseatic merchant João van Dunem (including one late-twentieth-century prime minister of the independent republic of Angola) may represent the most lasting legacy of Jewish enterprise in Angola. The most famous—and most scholarly—of all the Jewish commanders to serve in Angola was, however, António de Oliveira de Cadornega.<sup>24</sup> Cadornega was baptised on 2 March 1624 in the Alentejo city of Vila Viçosa

<sup>21</sup>Michaël Studemund-Halévy and Jorum Poettering, "Étrangers universels: les réseaux séfarades à Hamburg," in Francisco Bethencourt, ed., *La Diaspora des "Nouveaux-Chrétiens"* (Paris: Gulbenkian, 2004).

<sup>22</sup>Barbeitos, "Portugal e Angola," Chapter 2: 69.

<sup>23</sup>David Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 68-71 ("Angola and the Church").

<sup>24</sup>The following account is taken from Beatrix Heintze, "António de Oliveira de Cadornega e a sua "Historia Geral das Guerras Angolanas," *Callipole 3-4* (1995-6). See also Barbeitos, "Portugal e Angola," 12-88. Cadornega's own scholarly work, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* was edited by José Matias Delgado and Manuel Alves da Cunha and published in Lisbon in 1940-42 in three volumes. A French translation by Pierre Le Boul was completed in Lubumbashi, Congo, in 1975 but only appears to have ever been published in a mimeographed edition.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## Between Mission and Conquest: A Review of Francisco Barreto's Expedition to Mutapa (1569-1573)

Nuno Luís de Vila-Santa Braga Campos  
*Universidade Nova de Lisboa*

“[Francisco Barreto] was the most liberal nobleman of his time”<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

In another work<sup>2</sup> where we debated Francisco Barreto's government of India (1555-1558) in the wider context of the enforcement process of Counter-Reform policies in Portuguese Asia, we left out an important question to be answered. Barreto had opposed a full implementation of those policies, as evidenced by his support for the Hindu community of Goa and his resistance to the persecutions and, prior to the arrival of the Inquisition to Goa, the measures against the New-Christians and Jewish communities of both Cochin and Goa. It is of fundamental importance to determine how the Crown perceived and interpreted Barreto's political attitudes and actions, and what the impact was of such considerations on Barreto's later court career and his appointment in 1569 as commander of the Mutapan expedition.

In fact, very little is known about this phase of Barreto's career, although his expedition to Mutapa, in modern Mozambique, has been mentioned in a number of studies, especially by historians of the history of Mozambique.

---

<sup>1</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia* (Lisbon: Livraria San Carlos, 1974), Década VI, livro viii, cap 12: 277. I thank Professors Ana Paula Avelar and Eugénia Rodrigues for several suggestions for this article.

<sup>2</sup>This article, entitled “Counter-Reform Policies versus Geostrategic Policies in the ‘Estado da Índia’: The Case of Governor Francisco Barreto (1555-1558),” will be published in the *Journal of Asian History*. Both articles were written within the scope of a post-doctoral fellowship at CHAM for the research group *Renaissance Europe: the “Old” and the “New” Worlds*. In this article we use the term “Estado da Índia” to referring to the Portuguese ports network in Asia and as another Asian power, as defined by Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994), 207-208.



Most consider the expedition a failure, with only one exception.<sup>3</sup> Many authors differ on the extent of Barreto's responsibility for the final episode of his government of East Africa, between 1569 and 1573. While some blamed Barreto's decisions for its failure and portrayed the expedition as a redundant disaster,<sup>4</sup> others stressed that in the end the only true victor was the Mutapian Emperor, who succeeded in holding off the arrival of the Portuguese to his domains.<sup>5</sup> Other historians have emphasized that despite its eventual failure the expedition had serious consequences for the future of the Portuguese presence in the Zambezi valley,<sup>6</sup> as well as a significant impact on the strengthening of their commercial position.<sup>7</sup> Another current of opinion,<sup>8</sup> while not denying Barreto's failure, tried to compare his venture with the Spanish conquest expeditions against American empires in the first half of the sixteenth century. An Angolan historian pointed out the need to compare Barreto's journey to that of his contemporary, Paulo Dias de Novais, to Angola in 1574-1588.<sup>9</sup>

Eugénia Rodrigues raised the important point that the Mutapian expedition was the *Estado da Índia's* most relevant territorializing attempt in the Indian Ocean during King Sebastian's rule.<sup>10</sup> Since Mozambique was an important component of the *Estado da Índia* it is useful to examine the background of the Mutapian expedition in the context of King Sebastian's well-known reform policies dealing with the Portuguese Empire,<sup>11</sup> both in

---

<sup>3</sup>José Justino Botelho Teixeira, *História política e militar dos Portugueses em Moçambique. Da descoberta a 1833* (Lisbon: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1934), I: 204.

<sup>4</sup>Eric Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa 1488-1600* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1973), 163; David Beach, *The Shona and their Neighbours* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 109.

<sup>5</sup>S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa c. 1400-1902* (Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1988), 97.

<sup>6</sup>Eugénia Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos nos Rios de Sena. Os Prazos da Coroa em Moçambique nos Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 2013), 21.

<sup>7</sup>Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa*, 222.

<sup>8</sup>Malyn Newitt, *História de Moçambique* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 2012), 64.

<sup>9</sup>Íldio do Amaral, *O Consulado de Paulo Dias de Novais. Angola no último quartel do século XVI e primeiro do século XVII* (Lisbon: Ministério da Ciência e da Tecnologia/Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 2000), 45-47.

<sup>10</sup>Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos*, 89.

the Indian<sup>12</sup> and Atlantic Oceans. This approach may lead to a revised interpretation of the Mutapian journey. Was it such a gigantic failure as so many historians have stated? If yes, what were the major reasons that explain it? Was it mainly Barreto's responsibility or were there other factors that explain it? There is need to study this expedition in a comparative perspective, in the context of other events taking place both in the Indian and Atlantic Ocean, and to consider the Crown's main motivations in supporting it. For these reasons the analysis must be extended up to 1576, the end of the government of Vasco Fernandes Homem, Barreto's successor in command of the expedition.

Following this methodology, we review the expedition starting first with the analysis of Francisco Barreto's court career following his return from his government of India and search in his career pattern for the origins of the Mutapian journey and his nomination in 1569. We will then revisit the main events of the expedition during Barreto and Homem's commands and conclude with an analysis of the Mutapian Emperor Negomo's policy and his reaction towards the Portuguese presence in general and the Barreto-Homem expedition in particular. At that point, and following a careful assessment of the divergent sources and the main interpretations of the journey, we will be able to address the question of its failure, the reasons behind it, and its consequences in East Africa and for the subsequent Crown policies bearing on the end of the sixteenth century.

### 1. *A glimpse of Francisco Barreto's career at the time of Counter-Reformation*

Barreto returned to Portugal at a time when King Sebastian's personal reign was about to begin and the regents, Catherine of Austria (1557-1562) and Cardinal Henry (1562-1568), were deepening the application of the Counter-Reformation policies in the Empire. It is important to understand the evolution of Barreto's career in those years from this perspective, especially the

---

<sup>11</sup>João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "D. Sebastião, o homem para lá do mito" in *A Monarquia Portuguesa. Reis e Rainhas na História de um Povo*, direction of João Aguiar e Bento de Moraes Sarmento (Lisbon: Selecções do Reader's Digest, 1999), 306-319; João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, José Damião Rodrigues and Pedro Aires de Oliveira, *História da Expansão e do Império Português* (Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, 2014), 160-163.

<sup>12</sup>Nuno Vila-Santa, "A Coroa e o Estado da Índia nos reinados de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique: Política ou Políticas," *Lusitania Sacra* 29 (January-July 2014): 41-68.

role of the Counter-Reformist measures in the developments that led to his receiving command in 1569.

*The return from India and the East African cause: Francisco Barreto's court career (1558-1568)*. On 28 January 1559, after handing over the government of India to viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança (1558-1561), Francisco Barreto departed from Cochin, intending to reach Portugal in the same year.<sup>13</sup> However, several problems caused unforeseen delays. In April 1559 he was forced ashore in Mozambique to repair his ship.<sup>14</sup> Once he had paid all the repair costs and the expenses of the noblemen who accompanied him, Barreto departed in November 1559. In December 1559 a second shipwreck happened, forcing him to turn back to Mozambique.<sup>15</sup> This time, Barreto bought a new ship and went to Goa. He had a reputation for extravagance, both in terms of his expenses and special projects, such as searching along the Swahili coast for a beast to offer to King Sebastian. When he finally reached Goa in May 1560, Barreto was received enthusiastically by the noblemen who left viceroy Bragança to receive him.<sup>16</sup> He was also accorded the honour of becoming the Christian godfather of two well-known Hindu physicians.<sup>17</sup> Taking into account the misfortunes that had plagued this voyages, the viceroy granted him 4,000 *pardaus* and ordered a new ship for him. On 20 December 1560, Barreto finally departed Goa and arrived in Lisbon on 13 June 1561.

When he reached Lisbon he met with an enthusiastic reception because there were not any news from him since 1558 and he was thought dead. Both for this reason and because of his overall reputation, the regent during the minority of King Sebastian, Queen Catherine of Austria, received him “with many honours, not only because of his qualities and value of his person, but also due to the many services he rendered to the Kings of

---

<sup>13</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro vi, 3. We follow Couto's account on Barreto's shipwrecks since his narrative matches many other sources.

<sup>14</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro viii, 1.

<sup>15</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro 12.

<sup>16</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro 13.

<sup>17</sup>Barreto was also entrusted to bring Jesuit letters to Portugal. Letter from father Luís de Fróis to his brothers of Lisbon, Goa, 1.XII.1560 (Publ. in António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação para a História dos Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central (DPMAC)* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar/National Archives of Rhodesia, 1975), doc. 44).



Portugal.”<sup>18</sup> On that occasion, Barreto offered the Queen a jewel from Ceylon, reputed to perform several miracles, which she appreciated so much as to add it to her outfit.<sup>19</sup>

However, Barreto’s position at the royal court was not as good as it appeared. He had to justify the controversial measures taken in India in support of the Hindus, New-Christians, and Jews; and to deal with the hostility of the Jesuits who had written to Cardinal Henry expressing their disapproval. Barreto also brought with him several other unfriendly letters from India, including one *auto* contesting his government.<sup>20</sup> Barreto most likely anticipated such criticisms and developed a strategy to ensure his reward from the Crown. In 1560, following his third departure for Portugal, Barreto stopped again in Mozambique. Aware that father D. Gonçalo da Silveira was in the region, sent there by viceroy Bragança to baptize a local ruler, King Gamba, Barreto forced a meeting with him, despite their past disagreements during his time as governor.<sup>21</sup> At this meeting, he supported Silveira’s baptism of King Gamba and most probably was critical of the decision to abandon that King in order to reach the Mutapian court and baptize the Emperor himself.<sup>22</sup> Later, aware that father Silveira had been murdered in Mutapa, after having baptized the Emperor, his mother and several courtiers, Barreto organized in Lisbon a ceremony to honour Silveira, who also had been his confessor.<sup>23</sup>

In this instance, he was not only demonstrating his piety and adherence to Counter-Reformist policies, he was also thinking about his own courtier

---

<sup>18</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro, 13, 283.

<sup>19</sup>D. Manoel Menezes, *Chronica do muito alto, e muito esclarecido príncipe D. Sebastião decimosexto rey de Portugal* (Lisboa Occidental: Na Officina Ferreyriana, 1730), chap.. XXIII.

<sup>20</sup>Pedro Pinto, “Um olhar sobre a decoração e o efémero no Oriente: a relação dos bens embarcados em Goa em 1559 para o Reino, o inventário dos bens do Vice-rei D. Martim Afonso de Castro, falecido em Malaca, em 1607, e a relação da entrada do Vice-rei D. Jerónimo de Azevedo em Goa, em 1612,” *Revista de Artes Decorativas* 2 (2008), 243.

<sup>21</sup>Bernardo Cienfuegos, *Vida del bienaventurado Padre Gonzalo de Sylueira, sacerdote de la Compañia de Jesus, martirizado en Monomotapa, ciudad de la Cafraria* (Madrid: por Luís Sanchez, 1614), livro II, chap. II.

<sup>22</sup>He did so without authorization from his companion, father André Fernandes, and from Goa or Lisbon because he probably had arranged it with viceroy Bragança (Paul Schebesta, *Portugal: a missão de conquista no Sudeste de África* (Lisbon: Missionários do Verbo Divino, 2011), 90-93).

<sup>23</sup>Schebesta, *Portugal*, 82-83.

strategy and future endeavours. Following his first shipwreck, while facing hostility and attacks from the accompanying noblemen, he promised his men that they would return to Mozambique to conquer a “new India”.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, Barreto’s intention to propose to the King an expedition to East Africa was already known locally. Viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho, 3rd count of Redondo (1561-1564), anchored in Mozambique in 1561 during his trip to Goa and received several Muslims. They apologized for the murder of father Silveira and asked if it was true that Francisco Barreto, aware of Silveira’s murder, had promised that he would return with an army to conquer the land. Viceroy Coutinho replied it was not true.<sup>25</sup> Despite Coutinho’s answer, it is highly probable that Barreto, while still in India in 1560, shared with viceroy Bragança the intent to send Jesuits to the Mutapian court and to explore the area in search for the famous gold mines.

Paul Schebesta suggests that by supporting father Silveira’s mission, viceroy Bragança intended to start a process that would lead to a full expedition.<sup>26</sup> However, such a plan would still need authorization from Lisbon and that was not issued during his government. When Goa learned of Silveira’s murder, no more priests were authorized to depart. It is quite plausible that, aware of these facts, Francisco Barreto tried first to convince regent Queen Catherine and then regent Cardinal Henry to send an expedition to East Africa.<sup>27</sup> As we have stated, this was a way for Barreto to ensure the continuity of his services to the Crown since he would most likely suggest his own name for the command position.

Although this expedition would only take place after King Sebastian assumed personal rule, we believe that Barreto had already proposed it to both regents.<sup>28</sup> But because of the limitation of their power and of other Empire priorities, both regents postponed the decision until King Sebastian

---

<sup>24</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década VII, livro viii, 1.

<sup>25</sup>Letter from D. Francisco Coutinho to King Sebastian, Goa, 20.XII.1561 (Publ. in Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História*, III: doc. 60.

<sup>26</sup>Schebesta, *Portugal*, 90-93.

<sup>27</sup>Schebesta, *Portugal*, 109-110. He also states that Barreto became the public defender of viceroy Bragança’s project.

<sup>28</sup>Father Monclaros in his account of the Mutapian journey defended the idea that an expedition had already been considered by King John III and Queen Catherine. Account of father Francisco de Monclaros, in João C. Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista do senhorio do Monomotapa* (Lisbon: Heuris, 1984), 57.

assumed personal government, as they did in several other important matters.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, Barreto's career evolved. At the Courts of 1562, which approved the handover of power from Queen Catherine to Cardinal Henry, Barreto was present at the ceremony in which Cardinal Henry initiated his regency and also served as an elected member of the twenty-four noble representatives to the Courts.<sup>30</sup>

In 1564, when Regent Cardinal Henry received a request from Philip II of Spain for military aid in order to recover a North African fortress, Pinhão de Velez, Francisco Barreto was appointed general of the Portuguese fleet.<sup>31</sup> Barreto's name had already been mentioned to King Philip II the previous year by his ambassador in Portugal. The latter described Barreto as a key nobleman and previous governor of India, and included the suggestion that he could be named for this expedition.<sup>32</sup> It was then agreed by Cardinal Henry and King Philip II that Barreto would assist D. Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Catalonia, in this journey and that he would have the privilege to determine military strategy as his equal,<sup>33</sup> and would be assisted by his nephew, Rui Barreto.<sup>34</sup> Cardinal Henry justified Francisco Barreto's appointment by his military experience.<sup>35</sup> Before meeting with D. Garcia de Toledo at Malaga, Francisco Barreto wrote several letters about the arrangements he had made, the problems he had faced in Faro and Tavira, and his attempts to catch Muslim corsairs in Algarve.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>Maria do Rosário de Sampaio Themudo Barata Azevedo Cruz, *As regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião. Elementos para uma história estrutural* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1992), I: 201.

<sup>30</sup>Cruz, *As regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, I: 309 and 325.

<sup>31</sup>Padre José Pereira Bayão, *Portugal cuidadoso e lastimado com a vida, e perda do senhor rey D. Sebastião* (Lisbon: Na oficina de Antonio de Sousa da Sylva, 1737), livro I, chap. XI.

<sup>32</sup>Letter from D. Alonso de Tovar to King Philip II, Lisbon, 4.VI.1563 – Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Legajo 381, doc. 104.

<sup>33</sup>Letter of appointment of King Sebastian to Francisco Barreto, 1564 – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Colecção de São Vicente*, book 3, fls. 457-457v.

<sup>34</sup>Letter of appointment of King Sebastian to Rui Barreto, 1564 – ANTT, *Colecção de São Vicente*, book 3, fl. 458.

<sup>35</sup>Letter of appointment of King Sebastian to Francisco Barreto, 1564 – Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Colecção de São Vicente*, book 3, fls. 457-457v.

<sup>36</sup>Letter from Francisco Barreto to Queen Catherine, Faro, 3.VII.1564 – ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico (CC)* I-106-143; Letter from Francisco to Queen Catherine, Cape of Santa Maria,

When Barreto finally met D. Garcia, he found out that the latter would not respect the terms of his nomination. D. Garcia chose to disembark without Barreto's presence, which led to the latter's protest.<sup>37</sup> The expedition succeeded in conquering the disputed fortress but Philip II, who intended to continue intervening in Portuguese matters, decided to send to Francisco Barreto a medallion with his image and a personal letter thanking him for his services, and promising to favour him in the future.<sup>38</sup> The delivery of the medallion was handled by his ambassador to Portugal and took place after Barreto's return from the expedition, when Cardinal Henry named him a member of his advisory council.<sup>39</sup> Philip II also showed support for Barreto in the following year when, aware that his position at court was slipping, he wrote to his ambassador, to Queen Catherine and to Cardinal Henry asking that Francisco Barreto be favoured "not only because he deserves it, but also because of the obligation I have with the particular services he rendered me."<sup>40</sup>

These facts demonstrate that Barreto was successful in avoiding potential problems in his court career, despite the controversial decisions taken while governing India. Although future developments would prove that his past actions had not been forgotten, he was able to overcome the initial resistance and conclude a very advantageous marriage alliance. Through his second matrimony, with D. Brites de Ataíde, sister of D. Luís de Ataíde,<sup>41</sup> who would be appointed viceroy of India by King Sebastian in 1568, Barreto ensured his continued preferment. Actually, when King Sebastian assumed personal governance in January 1568, Barreto was nominated as captain of

---

6.VII.1564 – ANTT, CC I-106-146; Letter from Francisco to Queen Catherine, Tavira, 17.VII.1564 – ANTT, CC I-106-149; Letter from Francisco Barreto to Queen Catherine, Tavira, 20.VII.1564 – ANTT, CC I-106-150.

<sup>37</sup>Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Memorias para a historia del rey D. Sebastião* (Lisboa Ocidental: Na oficina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1737), tomo II, livro II, cap I.

<sup>38</sup>For the transcription of the letter see Machado, *Memorias*, cap. II.

<sup>39</sup>Letter from D. Alonso de Tovar to King Philip II, Lisbon, 20.XI.1564 – AGS, Legajo 381, doc. 29.

<sup>40</sup>Instruction of King Philip II to D. Alonso de Tovar and letters to Queen Catherine and Cardinal Henry, Madrid, 14.XI.1565 – AGS, Legajo 385, doc. I.

<sup>41</sup>Nuno Vila-Santa, *Entre o Reino e o Império: A carreira político-militar de D. Luís de Ataíde 1516-1581* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais/Câmara Municipal de Peniche, 2015), 122-123.

the galleys of Portugal.<sup>42</sup> This was an important office and the nomination acknowledged Barreto's naval experience at a time when ensuring the safety of Portugal's maritime borders faced new challenges in the wider context of pirate and corsair attacks. But, once again, unexpected events intervened to change Barreto's career.

*Between Mission and Conquest: The Controversial Appointment for the Mutapian Journey (1569).* When King Sebastian assumed personal government, one of his first decisions was the appointment of D. Luís de Ataíde, Francisco Barreto's brother-in-law, as viceroy of India. The nomination was intended to answer several threats that the *Estado da Índia* faced at that time.<sup>43</sup> The context of the appointment also confirmed the growing linkage between missions and conquests.<sup>44</sup> Although 1569 is the accepted date of Barreto's nomination to command the Mutapian expedition, it is plausible that a source stating that the political decision was made already in 1568,<sup>45</sup> given the existing kinship between Ataíde and Barreto and especially the fact that the first decisions of King Sebastian were taken in a reformist context, to address a number of standing challenges faced by the empire.

The synergy between mission and conquest was crucial. The King expected to achieve the renewal of the imperial conquest while patronizing the spread of Christianity. This applied in the case of the Mutapa, in what happened with Ataíde, and what would happen, in 1571, with Paulo Dias de Novais and Angola. But these steps could not be undertaken without a number of debates at King Sebastian's court on the priorities for the Empire. After the huge investment in the *Estado da Índia* some courtiers and even Queen Catherine opposed the King's intention to send an expedition to East Africa.<sup>46</sup> This explains why Barreto's appointment was so controversial. Almost at the same time, Novais, supported by the Jesuits, was trying to con-

---

<sup>42</sup>Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década IX, liv. 20.

<sup>43</sup>Vila-Santa, *Entre o Reino e o Império*, 130-131.

<sup>44</sup>Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião* (Mem Martins, Círculo de Leitores, 2006), 151-152.

<sup>45</sup>Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), cod. 308, fl. 28v.

<sup>46</sup>Account of father Francisco de Monclaros (publ. in Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 9, 14 and 57-59).

vince the King to send an expedition to Angola.<sup>47</sup> What was at stake was the investment in an “African policy” that might become independent from the Indian and Atlantic Oceans policies.

Contemporary sources disagree on the circumstances of Barreto’s appointment. Some indicate that it was Barreto who proposed himself to the King for the Mutapian journey,<sup>48</sup> others see it as the King’s initiative that Barreto resisted.<sup>49</sup> This is a crucial point for understanding what would later happen in Mozambique. In our opinion, Barreto had lost interest in East Africa because he had recently been nominated captain of the galleys of Portugal, having thus secured an important career-making metropolitan office. Accepting the East Africa mission meant he would have to leave Portugal and resign himself to governing only a small part of the *Estado* when his ambitions might have fueled his hopes to be eventually appointed viceroy of India. Aware of such reluctance and playing on Barreto’s “poverty”, caused by several major debts he had piled up, King Sebastian argued that he was the right person for the office and promised him full Crown support including 500 soldiers and 100,000 *cruzados* to be sent to him annually, as well as an equal standing with a viceroy of India.<sup>50</sup> The King also granted Barreto a rich *commenda* annuity of 400,000 *reais* in the Order of Christ, justified by a legacy from his grandfather, which could be inherited by his son.<sup>51</sup> The King also stipulated conditions for paying all of Barreto’s debts.<sup>52</sup> Only at that point did Barreto accept his appointment.

All sources agree that he departed Portugal with three ships, 1,000 men from among the best the realm could provide, and in the company of Vasco Fernandes Homem, previous governor of the Order of Santiago.<sup>53</sup> On 18 March 1569, Barreto was formally named as “captain of the journey of con-

---

<sup>47</sup>Amaral, *O Consulado*, 40-41.

<sup>48</sup>Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *Diogo do Couto e a década 8ª da Ásia* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda/Comissão Nacional Comemorações Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1993), vol. I, book V, chap. V.

<sup>49</sup>Bayão, *Portugal cuidadoso*, livro II, chap. XII.

<sup>50</sup>Bayão, *Portugal cuidadoso*, livro II, chap. XII.

<sup>51</sup>BNP, cod. 411, fl. 40v.; ANTT, *Chancelaria da Ordem de Cristo*, book 3, fl. 34v.

<sup>52</sup>ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, book 27, fl. 198v., Lisbon, 26.XI.1570.

<sup>53</sup>Account of father Francisco de Monclaros (publ. in Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 9 and 57-59; Diogo do Couto, *Ásia*, Década IX, liv. 20.

quest of Mutapa<sup>54</sup> with jurisdiction from the Swahili coast to Sofala up to Mutapa itself. Other important measures were taken on 18 and 19 March 1569. They included the order for Barreto to issue a new *regimento* for Mozambique; the order to establish a ledger for registering all the gold that could be found and the rules for its division; the order establishing Barreto's salary and the miners' wages; and the formal appointment for commanding the conquest of Mutapa. Later, in 1570, King Sebastian authorized Barreto to help India in case of siege and, if needed, temporarily to abandon the Mutapian expedition. In 1571, when the King divided the *Estado da Índia*, he formally granted Barreto the title of governor of Sofala, Mozambique and Mutapa and reinforced his powers, although with the provision that if he encountered the viceroy of India he would have to obey him.<sup>55</sup>

Once appointed, Barreto could not leave instantly. Some opponents of the expedition invoked the Protestant naval treat to convince the King to send Barreto to counter it, but their argument was rejected.<sup>56</sup> In this context, the possibility of Barreto assisting Ethiopia was debated as well.<sup>57</sup> Barreto also insisted that he would not leave without Jesuit priests,<sup>58</sup> taking into account the celebrated advice from the *Mesa de Consciência e Ordens*. The King requested this advice, as he did also in the case of D. Luís de Ataíde in 1568,<sup>59</sup> because he wanted to be sure that, in the aftermath of the murder of father D. Gonçalo da Silveira in the Mutapian court in 1561, he was in legitimate position to declare war to Mutapa.

The deputies of the *Mesa* were themselves influential Jesuits close to King Sebastian and Cardinal Henry, especially the president Martim Gonçalves da Câmara. They responded positively to the King's request and authorized the mission, stressing the fact that Silveira had been murdered while serving as a

---

<sup>54</sup>Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 41.

<sup>55</sup>Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 42-54.

<sup>56</sup>Account of father Francisco de Monclaros of Mutapa (publ. in Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 57-58).

<sup>57</sup>That would not happen. Letter from father Maurício Serpe to father Francisco de Borja, Évora, 21.I.1569 (publ. in Joseph Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica (DI)* (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societa Iesus, 1962), VII: doc. 136.

<sup>58</sup>Letter from father Leão Henriques to father Francisco de Borja, Lisboa, 21.I.1569 (Wicki, ed., *Documenta Indica*, VII: doc. 134A.

<sup>59</sup>Vila-Santa, *Entre o Reino e o Império*, 131-132.

Portuguese ambassador dispatched by the viceroy of India. The advice also mentioned the imprisonment of other ambassadors sent by the Sofala captains to the Mutapian Emperor following Silveira's death and concluded that these were acts of war and that King Sebastian would be in a legitimate position to declare war to Mutapa if the latter did not agree to accept a set of specific conditions. These included expulsion of the Muslims from his court since they were considered responsible for Silveira's murder; delivery of Silveira's murderers to the Portuguese; re-adoption of the Christian faith the Emperor had adjured; donation of lands, tributes and gold to the Portuguese as a way of paying the costs of the expedition. The advice also stated that the main goal was not to wage war if unnecessary and that objective of the mission should not be to profit the Portuguese King but to Christianize Mutapa.<sup>60</sup>

This advice, now embedded in the royal order, was passed on to Barreto, together with a more detailed order (*regimento*) that has not survived and the content of which is not known. Four Jesuits were named to accompany Barreto. Father Francisco de Monclaros, a famous Jesuit theologian, was entrusted with finding the body of father D. Gonçalo da Silveira and of guiding Barreto during the expedition in matters of religion. Barreto was not supposed to disagree with him. Monclaros would eventually become the *de facto* second commander of the journey.<sup>61</sup> The powers assigned to Monclaros were probably not only a reflection of the Jesuits' interest in the journey but also a way for them and Cardinal Henry to ensure that Barreto would not resort in Mutapa to the controversial measures he had taken in India.

The expedition had another important reason: the search for gold mines and the hope that such a discovery could solve the financial difficulties of the Crown.<sup>62</sup> Some authors consider the search for an East African Eldorado the main factor behind the King's interest,<sup>63</sup> but it would be a mistake not to acknowledge the importance of avenging the murder of father Silveira, who had been Jesuit provincial of India and was genuinely believed a martyr

---

<sup>60</sup>Advice of the "Mesa de Consciência e Ordens", 23.I.1569 (Publ. in Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 37-40).

<sup>61</sup>Schebesta, *Portugal*, 112-113.

<sup>62</sup>Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 9; Amaral, *O Consulado*, 39.

<sup>63</sup>Reis, ed. *A empresa da conquista*, 9.



to Christianity in the Mutapian mission. In a certain way, father Silveira became more influential after his death, which served to legitimize Barreto's appointment in 1569 and confirmed that his 1561 mission to Mutapa was more political than religious.<sup>64</sup> In any case, it should be kept in mind that Barreto's nomination bore a strong imprint of the legacy of the regency of Cardinal Henry, during which politics and religion had been interlaced to an unprecedented level. This was reflected in King Sebastian's 1569 orders regarding the Mutapian appointment and in his 1571 nomination of Paulo Dias de Novais for Angola.<sup>65</sup>

Despite the huge difference between a governor and a donatary captain, a comparison of the context of Barreto's and Novais' appointment reveals the same themes, differentiated only by differing intensities of importance. Novais had been sent by Queen Catherine as ambassador to the King of Angola in 1559, following this King's request for baptism.<sup>66</sup> After their arrival, Novais and the Jesuit fathers were imprisoned for several years. Novais was eventually released and sent as ambassador of the Angolan king to Lisbon in 1567. He tried to convince King Sebastian to secure the release of the captive Jesuits,<sup>67</sup> even raising the prospect of gold and silver mines to be found.<sup>68</sup> Despite these arguments, King Sebastian delayed Novais' appointment to 1571, clearly favouring the Mutapian enterprise. The King may have thought that investing in Angola would mean an official end to supporting the Congo Christianity missionary project,<sup>69</sup> and also believed that he was better informed on the Mozambican reality. It is also possible that King Sebastian choose the Mutapian enterprise because it was Barreto who would lead it. Barreto had a stronger personal position and profile than Novais, as evidenced by the powers King Sebastian was prepared to grant him.<sup>70</sup> Above all,

<sup>64</sup>Schebesta, *Portugal*, 459.

<sup>65</sup>Giuseppe Marcocci, *A consciência de um império. Portugal e o seu mundo (Séculos XV-XVII)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2012), 328-333.

<sup>66</sup>Amaral, *O Consulado*, 154-155, 16 and 173.

<sup>67</sup>Amaral, *O Consulado*, 40-41 and 195-201.

<sup>68</sup>Carlos Alberto Garcia, *Paulo Dias de Novais e a sua época* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1964), 171.

<sup>69</sup>Ilídio do Amaral, *O Reino do Congo, os Mbundu (Ou Ambundos), o Reino dos "Ngola" (Ou de Angola) e a presença portuguesa, de finais do século XV a meados do século XVI* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical/Ministério da Ciências e Tecnologia, 1996), 147.

<sup>70</sup>Amaral, *O Consulado*, 45-46.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## Gessner's Pastoral Dramas: New Choices for the Eighteenth-Century Portuguese *Cognoscenti*

Isabel Pinto

Catholic University of Portugal

### Introduction

The pastoral genre ranges from ancient Greek Theocritus to nature poems by contemporary experimental poets.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, it has been defined, and, to a certain extent doomed, under the verdict of a profoundly artificial and conventional mode,<sup>3</sup> although recently rediscovered as “poems humbled by nature.”<sup>4</sup>

Reviewing the Portuguese cultural production of the eighteenth century, and the moral and spiritual changes that came along with it, Hernâni Cidade (1929)<sup>5</sup> calls our attention to the novelty of Gessner's *Pastorais* [*Pastorals*] (1778)<sup>6</sup> based on characters that were no longer dominated by the hardships of love, thus entering other domains of spiritual life. Lima (1946)<sup>7</sup> adds to it an account of the Portuguese translations of Gessner's works, showing that the influence of this author in the Portuguese culture was quite significant and lasted until 1886.

---

<sup>1</sup>Acknowledgement: This work was supported by the Foundation for Science and Technology under Grant SFRH / BPD / 65068 / 2009.

<sup>2</sup>Joshua Corey and G. C. Waldrep, *The Arcadia Project: North American Postmodern Pastoral* (Boise: Ahsahta Press, 2012).

<sup>3</sup>Mia Gerhardt, *La Pastorale—Essai d'analyse littéraire* (Assen: Van Gorcum et Cie, 1950).

<sup>4</sup>*Publishers Weekly*, review on 01/21/2013: <http://www.publishersweekly.com/978-1-934103-29-6>.

<sup>5</sup>Hernâni Cidade, *Ensaio sobre a Crise Mental do Século XVII* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929).

<sup>6</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Pastorais de M.<sup>r</sup> Gessner* (Porto: Na oficina que foi de António Álvares Ribeiro, 1778).

<sup>7</sup>Henrique Ferreira Limas Ferreira, “O Poeta Suíço Salomon Gessner em Portugal (Notas Bibliográficas),” *Biblos* 21 (1946): 1-10.



Following these studies, and trying to find some parallel with Baldensperger (1903), *Gessner en France*;<sup>8</sup> Reed (1905), *The Influence of Solomon Gessner upon English Literature*,<sup>9</sup> and Knowlton (1917), *Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century*,<sup>10</sup> I shall be establishing a chronology for the reception of Gessner's *Pastorals* in Portugal, *Erasto* [Erastus] and *Evandro e Alcina* [Evander and Alcimna], in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In order to account for his unique artistic influence in Portugal, I will mainly consider original works, French and Portuguese translations, theoretical texts produced within the Lusitanian Arcadia (1756-1774), the most influential eighteenth-century Portuguese literary academy, and also legal documentation from the Censorship Court.

It must be said that Salomon Gessner was the only German language author to have his dramas translated into Portuguese during the eighteenth century. In the realm of eighteenth-century Portuguese drama, he really stands alone as no other German language author enjoyed the same privilege. Thus, this article aims to acknowledge and establish the role of Salomon Gessner in defining a pastoral bias for Portuguese eighteenth-century drama, within a social and cultural context supervised by the Censorship Court, and stirred by the renovation purposes of the Lusitanian Arcadia, mainly with respect to literature and theatre.

The article focuses on two neglected works by Gessner, since the plays studied here have not yet deserved scholarly attention on their own, maybe because of Gorton's statement that "he attempted, but with no extraordinary success, the pastoral drama" in *A General Biographical Dictionary* (1833)<sup>11</sup> has become commonplace too early. The reason for choosing these plays for analysis lies in the importance and consistency of the pastoral within Portuguese theatre throughout the eighteenth century. So, even though

---

<sup>8</sup>Fernand Baldensperger, "Gessner en France," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 10 (1903): 437-456.

<sup>9</sup>Bertha Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner upon English Literature* (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1905).

<sup>10</sup>E. C. Knowlton, "Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century," *Modern Language Notes* 32 (8) (1917): 471-474.

<sup>11</sup>John Gorton, *A General Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. 2 (London: Whittaker and Co., 1833).

European pastoral drama has been extensively analyzed elsewhere,<sup>12</sup> Portuguese pastoral drama was never reviewed. Nevertheless, dramas such as *Licore* (1766),<sup>13</sup> by Domingos dos Reis Quita, Gessner's *Pastorals* (1778),<sup>14</sup> and *Il Pastor Fido*, by Giovanni Battista Guarini, translated into Portuguese by Tomé Joaquim Gonzaga Neves and published in 1789,<sup>15</sup> were landmarks with regard to how the pastoral made its way into drama, contributing to the renewal of both the Portuguese drama and stage. In fact, pastoral drama was underpinned by the increasing closeness between painting and theatre, argued extensively by Diderot, and took part in the widespread sentimentality of the time, through vivid depictions of a natural blessed world.

#### *Gessner's influence in Europe*

Salomon Gessner, sometimes called The German Theocritus, was born in Zurich in 1730 and died in 1788 in this same town. He was a painter, a poet and a printer. He wrote *Die Nacht* (1753),<sup>16</sup> *Daphnis* (1754),<sup>17</sup> *Idyllen* (1756),<sup>18</sup> *Der Tod Abels* (1758)<sup>19</sup> and his pastoral dramas were first published in 1762,<sup>20</sup> in a collection of his works. In 1802,<sup>21</sup> his complete works were published in English. In particular, his *Idyllen* were translated throughout Europe (Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, England, Sweden, *etc.*), and remain popular to the present, with, for instance, new recent editions in German.<sup>22</sup> In fact, as early as 1789, the year following his death, Aurelio de' Giorgi Bertola, an

---

<sup>12</sup>Walter W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama: A Literary Inquiry, with Special Reference to the Pre-Restoration Stage in England* (Oxford: Horace Hart, Printer to the University, 1906).

<sup>13</sup>Domingos dos Reis Quita, "Licore," in Borel e Rolland, eds., *Obras Poéticas de Domingos dos Reis Quita*, Vol. I (Lisbon: Na oficina de Miguel Manescal da Costa, 1766), 127-184.

<sup>14</sup>Gessner, *Pastorais*.

<sup>15</sup>Giovanni Battista Guarini, *O Pastor Fiel* (Lisbon: Na Régia Oficina Tipográfica, 1789).

<sup>16</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Die Nacht* (Zürich: Hecht-Verlag, 1753).

<sup>17</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Daphnis* (Zürich: Gessner, 1754).

<sup>18</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Idyllen* (Zürich: Gessner, 1756).

<sup>19</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Der Tod Abels* (Zürich: Gessner, 1758).

<sup>20</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Schriften* (Zürich: Orell, Gessner, 1762).

<sup>21</sup>Salomon Gessner, *The Works of Solomon Gessner*, Vol. I (London: T. Cadell junr. and W. Davies, 1802).

<sup>22</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Idyllen* (Hamburg: Nabu Press, 2012).

Italian poet, published an *Elogio di Gessner*,<sup>23</sup> in his own words a tribute to a great writer and man, which presents itself as a bio-bibliographical survey.

Baldensperger (1903)<sup>24</sup> looks for the reasons of Gessner's success in France, and although he considers that, on the one hand, Gessner's works satisfy "l'éternel 'goût bourgeois'";<sup>25</sup> on the other hand he considers that they reflect the importance of the pastoral in modern Europe. He further notes that Gessner's style brought something new to the pastoral, to the extent that the characters enacted topics other than love and showed a great tendency to virtue and unmistakable sensitivity. So, Gessner in France became a matter of moral engagement through the renewal of pastoral. In offering a detailed account of the reception of Gessner in France, the author acknowledges the central role of Mr. Huber in the dissemination of Gessner's writings, as he was his main French translator. Notably, Huber published in 1759 the *Mort d'Abel*, the first French translation of Gessner's works. In relation to the pastoral dramas, it is only noted that they were first published in French in 1766.

Reed (1905)<sup>26</sup> also accounts for Gessner's popularity in England, at a time when, as she remarks, German literature was not very much appreciated. Similarly, she also attributes to Gessner pastoral innovations that relied on the alliance between painting and poetry: "Through the combined arts of painting and poetry Gessner pictures a simple natural life, the passion of love in pure and simple hearts, warm with a love for nature in all its forms."<sup>27</sup> Reed draws together Thomson and Gessner by enhancing a unique sensitivity for revealing rural life and feeling. Additionally, she also relates Gessner to William Cowper, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth and Lord Byron, based on a shared "passionate love for Nature, animal-life, and man."<sup>28</sup> The most popular of Gessner's works in England was the *Death of Abel*, which appeared in English the year after its German debut. According to Reed its popularity was due to the novelty of remorse as a poetic ele-

---

<sup>23</sup>Aurelio de' Giorgi Bertola, *Elogio di Gessner* (Pavia: Giuseppe Bolzani, 1789).

<sup>24</sup>Baldensperger, "Gessner en France."

<sup>25</sup>Baldensperger, "Gessner en France," 437.

<sup>26</sup>Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner*.

<sup>27</sup>Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner*, 8.

<sup>28</sup>Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner*, 51.

ment. The study add few concrete observations concerning Gessner's two plays, for the author adopts a general point of view, seeing them as part of a whole that teaches that "contact with nature tends to develop in man all the inherent good that he possesses."<sup>29</sup>

Knowlton (1917)<sup>30</sup> re-evaluates the pastoral as a vigorous eighteenth-century undertaking, and starts by recalling Gessner's influence on the definition of the genre. For that he resorts to Reed (1905), similarly ascribing Gessner's success and importance to "a certain humanitarian attitude toward animals and children."<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the author does not focus exclusively on Gessner, as he presents an overview of the evolution of the pastoral throughout the eighteenth century, starting with Gessner's idealistic idylls and ending with the realistic poetry of Wordsworth.

All these works echoing the success of Gessner in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries assert that

Gessner's great success was not due solely to his literary and poetic achievements, but to the fact that his subjects were of a character which appealed to a sort of middle class religious feeling and to the fact that their treatment coincided with the sentimentalism of the period.<sup>32</sup>

More recent studies have reassessed Gessner's influence on European literature, offering new insights into the singularity of his work. Hibberd (1976/2011),<sup>33</sup> a landmark of twentieth-century criticism on Gessner, highlights his importance for our understanding of the historical period. The author deems that Gessner's works reflect all the main features of the eighteenth century, as "Rational optimism, Pre-Romantic sensibility, Rococo playfulness, and the beginnings of Neo-Classicism are each reflected in his writings."<sup>34</sup> At the same time, as the author foregrounds the historical relevance of Gessner, he also asserts his European dimension, arguing that he gave an artistic form to Western sensibility. This broader perspective regard-

<sup>29</sup>Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner*, 59-60.

<sup>30</sup>Knowlton, "Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century."

<sup>31</sup>Knowlton, "Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century," 471.

<sup>32</sup>Thomas Baker, "Solomon Gessner and English Literature," *Modern Language Notes* 23 (2) (1908): 55.

<sup>33</sup>John Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner: His Creative Achievement and Influence* (Cambridge, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976 / 2011).

<sup>34</sup>Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner: His Creative Achievement and Influence*, 3.

ing Gessner rescues his works from mere literary appreciation, entangled in questions of taste and merit, and settles for an alternative cultural approach, much more productive in terms of readership. Following this pathway, Pirro (2012)<sup>35</sup> presents a collection of essays that contextualize different aspects of Gessner's writings. Thus an interdisciplinary trend is adopted, addressing Gessner's aesthetics in literature and painting, his connections to other intellectuals and artists of the time, such as Diderot, Johann Georg Sulzer and Kant, and his legacy for the following century. Similarly to Hibberd (1976/2011),<sup>36</sup> this anthology highlights the complex interplay between Gessner's works and the endeavours of an age that started addressing art through a merchandising perspective, entangled within the clarity of mind, *i.e.* reason and its limits.

Specifically, with regard to Gessner's reception in Portugal, Lima (1946)<sup>37</sup> presented an overview that adds to bibliographical notes by Cidade (1929)<sup>38</sup> and refers to all the published translations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The chronology starts in 1778 with the first Portuguese translation of Gessner's *Pastorals*, *Erastus* and *Evander and Alcimna*, which he assumes is owed to Ricardo Raimundo Nogueira, although the translation does not show the name of the translator. Second comes the translation of Gessner's *Idylls*, *Idílios e Poesias Pastoris de Salomão Gessner*, and the *Death of Abel* [*A Morte de Abel*], both dating to 1784. In fact, the *Pastorals*, *Idylls* and the *Death of Abel* were Gessner's most frequently translated works in Portugal. The end of the line comes with the year of 1868, when selected idylls by Gessner get a new translation. Lima's closing note argues that a new Portuguese translation of the *Death of Abel* was made in 1886, but the fact is that it was published in Bombay. Although Lima presents much valuable information, he does not consider manuscript sources and his approach is strictly bibliographical. For instance, he lists the translations without comparing them, and this implies that in some cases he is referring to a single translation published more than once, without being aware of it. Just like Lima

---

<sup>35</sup>Maurizio Pirro, *Salomon Gessner als europäisches Phänomen: Spielarten des Idyllischen* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2012).

<sup>36</sup>Hibberd, *Salomon Gessner: His Creative Achievement and Influence*.

<sup>37</sup>Lima, "O Poeta Suíço Salomon Gessner em Portugal."

<sup>38</sup>Cidade, *Ensaio sobre a Crise Mental do Século XVIII*.



(1946) expanded the information available in *Cidade* (1929), my purpose here is to add some new information to Lima. I intend to accomplish this by considering new manuscript sources and, additionally, by handling the translations from a literary point of view, noting the extent to which differ from or resemble each other. As noted earlier, my focus will be on Gessner's *Pastorals*, mainly because of its landmark condition as the first translation of Gessner in Portugal and, at the same time, due to the importance of the pastoral bias on the Portuguese stage throughout the eighteenth century, and its complex interplay with censorship. Additionally, we should also note that the *Pastorals* have been largely overlooked even in studies totally devoted to Gessner. I would thus like this article to be also understood as a contribution to the scholarly rehabilitation of Gessner's plays.

### *Gessner in Portugal*

In Portugal, Gessner is first mentioned in the *Gazeta Literária, ou notícia exacta dos principais escritos, que modernamente se vão publicando na Europa* [*Literary journal or, accurate news of the main writings being published in Europe*] (1761).<sup>39</sup> Francisco Bernardo de Lima, the editor of the journal, gives an enthusiastic account of the 1758 edition of the *Death of Abel*, and of the *Idylls*. He writes of Gessner's writings with admiration, engaging in a survey of the author's life, work and style:

Antes de Gessner publicar *A morte de Abel*, e não tendo ainda vinte anos de idade, já se tinha feito ilustre e famoso por uma novela pastoril intitulada *Dafne*, da qual apareceu em Rostock uma tradução francesa em 1756, e também por idylls compostos por um gosto e estilo novo, ainda que naturalíssimo, onde nos oferece à vista a pintura mais deliciosa da vida campestre. Não se tinham pintado até aqui senão pastores ou amáveis pela sua simplicidade ou agradáveis pelo seu engenho. Quis Gessner fazer os seus dignos de respeito por virtudes generosas, que contudo não fossem acima da esfera de pastores, sem lhe alcançar a este respeito as mesmas censuras, que se têm feito a respeito do engenho com que brilham os pastores de Mr. de Fontenelle.

[Before Gessner had published the *Death of Abel*, having not reached the age of twenty, he was already notorious and famous for a pastoral novel, *Daphnis*, pub-

---

<sup>39</sup>Francisco Bernardo de Lima, ed., *Gazeta Literária, ou notícia exacta dos principais escritos, que modernamente se vão publicando na Europa* I (1761): 188-189. All translations are mine, except where indicated otherwise.

lished in Rostock in a French translation in 1756, and also for his idylls written in a new and yet natural taste and style, offering to the sight the most delightful portrait of the countryside life. Until then, all the depicted shepherds were nothing but nice for their simplicity or pleasant for their spirit. Gessner wanted to create shepherds worth of respect for their moral virtues, which would not in any way surpass their own condition, exempting them from the criticism made to Mr. Fontenelle's shepherds for revealing far too higher spirits.]

Francisco Bernardo de Lima concludes with one more praising statement:

Bem se vê que nos idílios de Gessner não é só a imaginação que se excita por pinturas verdadeiras, nem só o engenho que se recreia por sentimentos delicados, é também o coração nobremente enternecido por acções virtuosas feitas sem fausto e apresentadas com todo o interesse da naturalidade.<sup>40</sup>

[One can easily see that in Gessner's idylls not only is the imagination stimulated by truthful pictures, and the spirit recreated by gentle feelings, but it is also the heart that is highly moved by virtuous actions that lack ostentation and are presented with interesting naturality.]

The second reference to Gessner's life and works that I know of is dated twenty-eight years later and appeared in the *Jornal Enciclopédico, dedicado à Rainha Nossa Senhora e destinado para instrução geral com a notícia dos novos descobrimentos em todas as ciências e artes* [*Encyclopedic Journal, dedicated to our Queen and meant for general instruction, containing news from all sciences and arts*] (1789).<sup>41</sup> The article, "Notícia da Vida de Gessnero, e das suas Obras [News about Gessner's life and works]" opens with a remark on the unexpected as much as unfair silence regarding the author and his works in Portugal. In fact, many years had gone by since the last overview of his life and writings and, furthermore, the author had recently passed away (March of 1788):

Permiti, senhores, que vos envie essa notícia do grande Gessnero, a qual, de balde, a tenho há muito esperado de algum dos nossos Poetas, por me parecer que a eles mais do que a mim competia uma obra deste toque. Quero ser eu, pois, o que rompa o silêncio, e isto com muito gosto, por estar certo, que falando de

---

<sup>40</sup>Bernardo de Lima, ed., *Gazeta Literária*, 189.

<sup>41</sup>Félix António Castrioto, "Notícia da Vida de Gessnero, e das suas Obras," *Jornal Enciclopédico, dedicado à Rainha Nossa Senhora e destinado para instrução geral com a notícia dos novos descobrimentos em todas as ciências e artes* I (Novembro de 1789): 68-91.

Gessnero, lerão os vossos leitores algumas páginas interessantes e igualmente agradáveis.<sup>42</sup>

[Allow me, gentlemen, to send you that piece of news about the Great Gessner, one which in vain I have long been expecting from one of our poets, because I thought this kind of work would befit them better than me. Nevertheless, I shall be the one who gladly breaks the silence, as I am convinced that in speaking of Gessner your readers will have some interesting and pleasant pages to read.]

Specifically, concerning the dramas the author of the article argues:

Se analisarmos os seus poemas dramáticos, descobriremos ficções interessantes, caracteres sabiamente desenhados e novas situações. A sua linguagem é a das Graças, nem tem pensamentos sobejos nem ideias diminutas. Assemelha-se a sua musa à Virgem de que fala Horácio, pois que qualquer vestal poderá ouvir sem pejo os amores que Gessnero descrevia: seus Faunos nem enjoam, nem atemorizam as formosas e castas donzelas; se tem algumas vezes o humor de Sterne e de La Fontaine, não toma, contudo, as suas liberdades. O mais severo e delicado gosto nada tem que acrescentar, nem quanto aos conceitos nem quanto à engenhosa escolha das suas expressões. [...] *Erasto*, *Evandro* são poemas instrutivos e ornados da mais terna sensibilidade pelo contraste entre o mundo e a natureza.<sup>43</sup>

[Analyzing his dramatic poems, we will find interesting fictions, characters wisely portrayed and new situations. His language is that of The Graces, neither weighed down with excessive thoughts or mediocre ideas. His muse is identical to the Virgin Horace speaks of, since chaste young women may listen, without reservation, to the love affairs Gessner describes: His Fauns are not ghastly nor do they scare the beautiful and virginal young ladies. If they sometimes have the humour of Sterne and La Fontaine, they do not seek the same liberties. The most severe and delicate taste finds nothing to remark when it comes to the concepts presented and the talented choice of expressions. [...] *Erastus* and *Evander*

---

<sup>42</sup>Castrioto, “Notícia da Vida de Gessnero, e das suas Obras,” 68.

<sup>43</sup>Castrioto, “Notícia da Vida de Gessnero, e das suas Obras,” 72-73. At least this excerpt is a mere translation of a passage of an article published in *The Literary Magazine and British Review* 2 (January 1789): 241, see Reed, *The Influence of Solomon Gessner*, 1905, 31 (“If we analyze his dramatic poems, we shall find in them interesting fictions, characters well delineated, and situations replete with novelty. His language is that of the Graces, and the chastest ears might listen to the love which he has created. If he has sometimes the humor of Sterne and Fontaine it is without their licentiousness. The severest taste can find in his writings no lacuna to supply, no phrase deserving reprehension, nor could a more ingenious choice of expressions be substituted in the room of those which he has adopted”).

are instructive poems, filled with the most delicate sensibility towards the contrast between world and nature.]

According to the article's author Gessner's pastoral dramas are well constructed, as they present "interesting fictions" and "characters wisely portrayed." Furthermore, they are novel to the extent that they bring new types of situations to the pastoral realm. All this contributes to the instructive nature of the dramas, which also relies on a delicate depiction of the contrast between world and nature. This appreciation subsumes the role of Gessner's pastoral dramas in the Portuguese theatre. They were received as plays simultaneously promoting moral instruction and innovating dramatic production. In fact, by 1779, Arthur William Costigan in *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal*,<sup>44</sup> gives an account of a Portuguese private show that ended with an "entremez":

This turn of wit raised great applause in the House, after which the Cobbler, the two Friars, the Maxo and Maria, being, it seems, each provided with a leather strap or thong, began beating each other about the stage, to the entertainment of the company, and which is the manner in general in which the Spanish after-pieces end.

Gessner's pastoral imaginary opposed this crude entertainment, which was built upon "representations calculated to amuse the vulgar,"<sup>45</sup> here explicitly connected with a Spanish theatrical mode. On the contrary, Gessner aimed to reach the *cognoscenti* and work "for posterity":

If the artist does not glow with the warmest passion for his art; if the hours which he devotes to it are not the happiest of his life; if he does not seek with the most decided preference, the society of *cognoscenti* and artists; if he does not in the night, dream of it, and in the morning awake with new enthusiasm to pursue it – if he does not paint for true fame, for the applause of real judges, and for posterity, his works will be forgotten with the trifles they have imitated, and will go out of fashion with the rest of the furniture which adorns the modish apartments in which they may be for the present hung.<sup>46</sup>

I would like to underscore the term *cognoscenti*, which I have used in the title of the present article. The society of this era had its group of educated

---

<sup>44</sup>Arthur William Costigan, *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal*, Vol. 2 (London: T. Vernor, 1788), 356.

<sup>45</sup>Costigan, *Sketches of Society and Manners in Portugal*, 356-357.

<sup>46</sup>Gessner, *The Works of Solomon Gessner*, 194-195.

men and women who rejoiced in the beauty of art. However, the majority of the people were unaware of aesthetic concerns, and it was well established that they could not understand them. The best they could expect was to receive some education, naturally provided by the *cognoscenti*, i.e., painters, writers, and so on. Gessner was a member of that intellectual milieu, and his art was to be understood as a contribution to posterity rather than mere entertainment. Thus, in a theatrical mainstream dominated by Spanish low comedy and “entremez,” Gessner’s dramas projected a new vision of the eighteenth-century world.

In fact, the first translations of Gessner into Portuguese were his two pastoral dramas, *Erasto* and *Evandro and Alcina*, in 1778,<sup>47</sup> with the necessary licence from the Censorship Court. Apart from the dramatic works, other titles by Gessner were likewise submitted to the Censorship Court: *Idílios* [*Idylls*] (1784),<sup>48</sup> *A Morte de Abel* [*Death of Abel*] (1785),<sup>49</sup> *O Primeiro Navegante* [*First Navigator*] (1791),<sup>50</sup> and they all obtained the necessary license to be printed.

Until the first half of the nineteenth century, there were two Portuguese editions of Gessner’s dramas to be considered: the 1778 edition, already noted, and the 1817 edition.<sup>51</sup> The first edition came from Mr. Huber’s translation,<sup>52</sup> and so did the second one, which, in fact, is a reprinting of the first. Therefore none of these editions reflects the original German source text,<sup>53</sup> electing instead a French translation. Furthermore, by comparing the translations I came to the conclusion that the Portuguese translation handles Mr. Huber’s version as if it were the German source text, maintaining lexical choices and phrasing. The 1817 edition intriguingly enough states in the

---

<sup>47</sup>Gessner, *Pastorais*.

<sup>48</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Idílios e Poesias Pastorais* (Lisbon: Oficina de Simão Tadeu Ferreira, 1784).

<sup>49</sup>Salomon Gessner, *A Morte de Abel* (Porto: Na oficina que foi de António A. Ribeiro Guimarães, 1785).

<sup>50</sup>Salomon Gessner, *O Primeiro Navegante* (Lisbon, 1791), see Lima, “O Poeta Suíço Salomon Gessner em Portugal,” 4.

<sup>51</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Erasto, Pastoral* (Lisbon: Na Tipografia Rolandiana, 1817); Salomon Gessner, *Evandro e Alcina, Pastoral* (Lisbon: Na Tipografia Rolandiana, 1817).

<sup>52</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Oeuvres de Mr. S. Gessner*, trad. de l’allemand par M. Huber (Zürich: Orell, Gessner, 1768).

<sup>53</sup> Gessner, *Schriften*.

frontispiece that it comes from the German, “Traduzida do Alemão” [Translated from the German]. However, after comparing the Portuguese source texts of *Evander and Alcimna* and *Erastus* that include two manuscripts dating to 1783<sup>54</sup> and containing a set of rare and minor variants (e.g., presence versus absence of an adverbial element; different forms of the same verb, etc.) when compared with the printed sources, I came to the conclusion that the 1817 edition as well as the manuscripts reproduce the first translation of 1778.

Indeed, the manuscripts do not present significant variants in relation to the 1778 edition either. Still, the existence of these manuscripts is until now the strongest evidence suggesting that the dramas may have been staged in Portugal. In fact, the translator of the English edition of 1802 pointed out that *Erastus* “was represented with some applause in several societies, both at Leipsick and Vienna.”<sup>55</sup> These Portuguese manuscripts belong to a broader collection of eighteenth-century plays, copied by a professional scribe. And so far, the study of this collection has led me to believe that António José de Oliveira, the scribe, worked close to theatre companies, for he mainly copies versions that do not match printed ones and that additionally are prone to present more stage directions.

With the 1778 and 1817 editions of Gessner’s dramas, the Portuguese reader had access to a close and careful translation of Mr. Huber’s version of the two plays.<sup>56</sup> For instance, I would like to point out that the end of the Portuguese translation of *Evander and Alcimna* comes directly from Mr. Huber’s imaginary and not from Gessner’s.

[...]

*Pyrrhus*: Eure Liebe, ihr Kinder! sey von den Gøettern gesegnet! Sie haben euch fyr einander bestimmt. Du bist es zufrieden, mein Freund?

*Arates*: Ich muss mich von meinem Erstaunen erholen, um meine Freude

<sup>54</sup>Salomon Gessner, *Drama Pastoral de Erasto*, 1783, National Library of Portugal: F. R. 801; Salomon Gessner, *Drama Pastoral de Evandro e Alcina*, 1783, National Library of Portugal: F. R. 805.

<sup>55</sup> Gessner, *The Works of Solomon Gessner*; vi.

<sup>56</sup> Gessner, *Oeuvres de Mr. S. Gessner*; trad. de l’allemand par M. Huber.

<p>und meinen Dank dir zu sagen.</p> <p><i>Pyrrhus:</i> Lasst uns gehen, Kinder! Die Hirten der Gegend möegen euer Freuden-Fest feyern.</p>	
<p>[...]</p> <p><i>Pyrrhus:</i> Mes enfans, que les dieux bénissent votre amour! Ils vous ont formés l'un pour l'autre. (A Arates.) Estu content, mon ami?</p> <p><i>Arates:</i> Je suis transporté au point que je ne puis vous exprimer ma reconnoissance.</p> <p><i>Pyrrhus:</i> Allons, mes enfans, suivez-moi. Il faut faire part de notre joie à toute la contrée, et qu'elle célèbre avec nous ce jour de fête.</p> <p><i>Evandre:</i> Mais, mon père, que deviendra Lamon?</p> <p><i>Pyrrhus:</i> Il m'a dit que ce ne seroit pas sans peine qu'il me suivroit à la ville. Je ne l'y emmenerai point, mais je le rendrai les plus riche et le plus heureux des bergers.</p>	<p>[...]</p> <p><i>Pirro:</i> Os deuses abençoem o vosso amor, meus queridos filhos. Eles vos criaram um para o outro. Estás contente, meu amigo? (Para Arates.)</p> <p><i>Arates:</i> Estou tão transportado de alegria que não tenho palavras com que vos explique o meu agradecimento.</p> <p><i>Pirro:</i> Vinde comigo, amados filhos; é necessário dar parte do nosso contentamento aos moradores deste país, para que todos festejem este dia, que para nós tem sido de tanta felicidade.</p> <p><i>Evandro:</i> Mas, meu pai, que será de Albano?</p> <p><i>Pirro:</i> Ele me disse que lhe faria incómodo o vir connosco para a cidade. Não o obrigarei, pois, a que nos acompanhe, mas fica por minha conta fazê-lo o mais rico e o mais venturoso de todos os pastores.</p>

All told, Mr. Huber added two more speeches to Gessner's play, in order to achieve a *grand finale* effect, a kind of "all is well that ends well." As Evander is being separated from his adoptive father, Pyrrhus assures him that Lamon will be alright, as he himself will provide for his wealth and well-being. Everyone thus gets what they want, and everything turns out the way it should, with the noble taking their proper place at court and the shepherds remaining in the countryside, amidst nature's simplicity and beauty.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



SEARCHING FOR IDENTITIES: META-TONAL  
EXPLORATIONS OF BECOMING





## From the Corners of Exile: Images of the Brazilian city in the Works of Ferreira de Castro<sup>1</sup>

Dora Nunes Gago  
*University of Macau*

THE WORK OF THE PORTUGUESE writer Ferreira de Castro contains important urban images imbued with a specific function at the core of the different narratives. It is these representations of the city as a space of exile and an encounter with foreign reality that we shall analyse in the works *Emigrantes* [Emigrants] and *A Selva* [The Jungle],<sup>2</sup> the roots of whose genesis lie in the author's own experience as an emigrant in Brazil—an experience that began in 1911 and lasted until 1919. During this period, he himself experienced the inhuman conditions suffered by emigrants and the hardships of exile, especially during his time working as a rubber tapper in the Amazon jungle, a back-breaking job.

In this study, we shall consider the general concept of exile that is associated with the idea of geographical and spiritual dislocation, as advocated by Paul Tabori, according to which an exile is someone who has been forced to leave his native land for political, economic or purely psychological reasons. Again according to Tabori, whether the impulse to go into exile occurs voluntarily or is driven by external conditions is not relevant.<sup>3</sup> Susan Suleiman, in her turn, links exile to the notion of estrangement: “exile in its broad sense designates every kind of estrangement or displacement, from the physical and geographical to the spiritual.”<sup>4</sup> Further to this, Agnieszka Gutty highlights the fact that exile may be reflect a purely mental state, a feeling of

---

<sup>1</sup>This article was written as part of the project MYRG2014-00006-FAH, entitled “Representations of Brazil at the works of Vitorino Nemésio, Jorge de Sena, Ferreira de Castro and Miguel Torga,” granted by the University of Macau (China).

<sup>2</sup>The English translation of the extracts quoted in this paper are from J. M. Ferreira de Castro, *Emigrants* (A Novel), trans. by Dorothy Ball (New York: Macmillan, 1962); and J. M. Ferreira de Castro, *The Jungle: The Tale of the Amazon Rubber-tappers*, trans. by Charles Duff (New York: the Viking Press, 1935).

<sup>3</sup>Paul Tabori, *Anatomy of Exile* (London: Harrarp, 1972), 37.



separation, loss or loneliness, brought about by political, social or personal circumstances.<sup>5</sup> It is these three dimensions of exile based on the ideas of dislocation, estrangement, and loss and loneliness that we shall analyse through the journeys of the characters in *Emigrantes* and *A Selva*. Considering the theoretical presuppositions of imagology, we shall analyse the images of Brazilian cities filtered through the eyes of the protagonists, Manuel da Bouça and Alberto, both exiled albeit for different reasons. Since we will be analysing images of foreign cities, it is important to consider, in accordance with Leerssen, the distinction between auto-images and hetero-images (“the referring to a characterological reputation current within and shared by a group”).<sup>6</sup> Thus, the auto-image, referring to the “self”, will be the image projected, for example, by an author with regard to his own culture, whilst the hetero-image, related to the “other” as the prefix indicates, refers to an image of the “outside”; in other words, it refers to the culture of another country. Ferreira de Castro’s work presents us with hetero-images of Brazilian reality, constructed by Portuguese characters.

*The journeys of the protagonists: estrangement, exile and encounter with the Other*

The “odyssey” of Manuel da Bouça, a forty-one-year-old illiterate peasant who emigrates to Brazil to escape poverty and also to find the money for his daughter’s dowry, is at the heart of the novel *Emigrantes*. Images of two Brazilian cities appear here: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Rio de Janeiro, the federal capital of Brazil from 1763 to 1960, inhabited by almost a million people at the beginning of the twentieth century and considered to be the dynamic and all-important centre of the country, is evoked first. The cityscape follows a description of the long trans-Atlantic boat journey, which Manuel da Bouça and many other “third class” emigrants undertake in very precarious conditions—metaphorised through the expression *rebanho* [herd]. We are led to feel the travellers’ fascination with Pão de Açúcar [Sugar Loaf

---

<sup>4</sup>Susan R. Suleiman, ed. and introd., *Exile and Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 2.

<sup>5</sup>Agnieska Gutty, *Exile and the Narrative/Poetic Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 1.

<sup>6</sup>Joep Leerssen, “Image,” in Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, eds., *Imagology, the Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 342-344.

Mountain] and the Baía de Guanabara [Guanabara Bay] and the power these hold for them. The emotional and repeated allusion to Pão de Açúcar through the characters' voices allows, according to Emery,<sup>7</sup> reminiscences of the old voyages of the Age of the Discoveries to filter through, becoming at the same time metonymic and sentimental in that this symbolises hope for a glorious new beginning. In fact, this first sight of the foreign space, of the "promised land", appears as the materialisation of the Eldorado dreamed of by all the third class emigrants travelling on the *Darro* with the novel's protagonist. It is in this new space that the characters' dreams may become real, and thus the space becomes the mirage of a magic land, an exotic paradise, finally encountered after an appalling voyage in sub-human conditions:

Guanabara came into sight, a jewel hidden in a multi-colored casket. After feasting on the amazing scene as a whole, the eyes were next enchanted by its many different facets. Light, color, and line took the fascinated spectator by surprise and evoked the inevitable *Ah!*

Urca followed the Sugar Loaf,[...] a clean graceful curve and dotted with houses and trees, the most beautiful bay in the world.<sup>8</sup>

The "jewel" metaphor deployed to characterise Guanabara Bay reveals all the emotion and hope Manuel de Bouça feels towards the host country that is slowly beginning to appear before his eyes, simultaneously synthesizing sensory appeal and spiritual aspirations. The foreign reality is also hyperbolised through the use of the superlative: "the most beautiful". What is more, there is a kind of magical and harmonious fusion between such stunning nature and the works that have been built by Man, the fruit of his labour and his culture since the city has been born out of a collective effort seen as a challenge to Nature:

The wide avenues of Botafogo, with automobiles rolling along as in a vast park, serving as a setting for the magnificent lake, were lined with monumental edifices, some only glimpsed by a corner, others on the Avenida Rio Branco guessed at from the cupolas and towers rising above the buildings on the shore. Both city and bay lay glittering under the splendor of the sun, a sun pulsing in apotheosis and scattering rich gold dust everywhere.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Bernard Èmery, *L'humanisme luso-tropical selon José Maria Ferreira de Castro* (Grenoble: Ellug, 1992), 138.

<sup>8</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 93.

<sup>9</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 94.

The description of the landscape moves from the general to the particular as if the omniscient narrator were following the eyes of the protagonist. Starting from an overall view, the construction of the image evolves to more important particularities by focusing on specific details such as the name of the avenue. This contributes to a “mimetic” representation of the perceived reality, which produces—following Barthes’ line of thought—the “effect of the real”<sup>10</sup> through narrative unities (location and spatial characterisation) that establish verisimilitude and anchor the fiction in the real, thus evoking the empirical “world” that has been experienced. Here, the contrast between the opulence of the grand buildings and the houses on the shore unveils the stereotyped dichotomies that characterise the city: poverty contrasted with wealth. Nevertheless, it is the “gold dust” that dominates the description of the urban space, endowing it with the concrete dimension of the dream—the long sought-after Eldorado and the wealth for which the characters so yearn.

Rio de Janeiro becomes the space for Manuel da Bouça’s brief initiation into this new world in a foreign land. He disembarks with his companion, Janardo, to visit the city. At first he is afraid, he fears he will get lost, he shows he is intimidated by the enormity of that space. However, Janardo assumes the role of guide in this first discovery and calms him down by saying: “All towns are alike. In Oporto I used to move round just like walking about in my own house.”<sup>11</sup> Janardo’s statement projects an approximation between the foreign space and the space of origin in that Rio ends up being considered similar to Oporto. In other words, the foreign city mirrors the features of a place of origin but transposed through the eyes of the character. In this case, we note that, as Pageaux<sup>12</sup> theorises, the image constructed about the Other also carries an auto-image, a complement to or negation of one’s own body or space. In other words, it is the familiar reality of the country of origin that emerges as the configuring axis of observation of that different “other” reality.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>Roland Barthes, “L’effet de réel,” in *Littérature et Réalité* (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1982), 89.

<sup>11</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 98.

<sup>12</sup>D. H. Pageaux, “La recherche sur l’imagologie: de l’Histoire culturelle à la poétique,” *Revista de Filología Francesa* (Madrid) 8 (1995): 135-159, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/THEL/article/viewFile/THEL9595330135A/34104>;

It is during their walk around the city that the characters begin to discover and get a feel for the city. The walk triggers a process of alterity that shows the extent to which they are out of sync with all the hustle and bustle and the turmoil of sensations, noises and people that occupy that space: “They crossed Mauá Square, and then their attention was caught and held by the pulsing, dynamic, multiform life of the Avenida Central.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, Manuel and Janardo find themselves immediately drawn into the grandeur, vitality and animation of Rio de Janeiro, symbolically presented as a gigantic metropolis of the future:

Lofty buildings of different styles with a display of commercial signboards on every story gave the great artery a pronounced air of wealth and magnificence. Everywhere [...] was a profusion of company names and publicity, trademarks and trade names and articles on view. Here a splash of green; farther on the gilt of a facade, and then splashes of all kinds of colors mingling with the glitter of glass, showing up the curves and angles of the buildings, towers, domes, and fluttering flags, to the point of hallucination [dazzling his peasant's eyes].<sup>15</sup>

Here the fascination the metropolis holds for Manuel da Bouça is evident. He contemplates with “a peasant's eyes” this new reality, so different to what he had experienced back home in his own country. The urban space seems to completely dominate the character who observes it, reminding us of Simmel's words on the effect and the power exercised by the metropolis on the human being: “The metropolis exacts from man as a discriminating creature a different amount of consciousness than does rural life.”<sup>16</sup> Urban reality thereby contrasts with rural reality, a reality that was familiar to the protagonist, causing both wonder and estrangement when he is confronted with the pullulating life, the whirling turmoil of the “restless, eager crowd of people [...] moving this way and that way, which showed the rhythm of group life issuing from all the crevices of the city, orchestrated into a tone poem of strength and achievement.”<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Dora Nunes Gago, “Escre(vi)ver a diáspora: retratos da emigração em Ferreira de Castro e José Rodrigues Miguéis,” *Interdisciplinary Journal of Portuguese Diaspora Studies* 1 (2012), 110.

<sup>14</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 98.

<sup>15</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 98.

<sup>16</sup>Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life,” in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trad.. Kurt Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), 409.

<sup>17</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 98-99.

However, Castro resorts to the metaphor of “river bed”, which draws the urban environment closer to Nature in order to characterise it more expressively. He makes the street seem like a river, establishing a relationship of proximity with the rural experience of the characters. The city that is described becomes concrete, “palpable”, with the characters’ journey becoming a “figura importante da sua construção narrativa”<sup>18</sup> [an important element in the narrative construction]. What is more, all the vitality that is described confers a utopian dimension on the city. As a result, focused on through a synchronic perspective and seen from “inside”, this foreign city becomes seductive and mysterious. Manuel da Bouça is awestruck yet at the same time feels excluded, exiled both internally and externally, in a space of emigration where Eldorado becomes something material and where beauty, progress, wealth and the promise of the future all reign.

Two axes—verticality and horizontality—configure the regard of the characters in their attempt to understand the city. In other words, the eye travels up to the sky to which the skyscrapers point and then back down again to the street. This perspective fits within a premise referred to by Barthes: “A vertical symbolic code which changes as the eye moves from the base (the street) to the summit (the sky).”<sup>19</sup> In this case it is the horizontality, the life that takes place in the street, that is favoured and is, according to Barthes, connoted with the axis of history: “History, in this view, belongs to the street.”<sup>20</sup> The value of the historical aspect of the city is enhanced, since the importance of the human dimension imposes itself on the enormity of the buildings to the extent that the movement of the people overshadows the magnificence of the buildings: “the rhythm of group life issuing from all the crevices of the city.”<sup>21</sup>

Thus, Manuel da Bouça shows his admiration, exclaiming “This, this is something like a country!”—a comment tied into the rural reality of his home village. Janardo also takes refuge in the reality of his home country: “Oh, this doesn’t impress me. I’m used to cities. Do you know Oporto?”<sup>22</sup> By

<sup>18</sup>Maria Alzira Seixo, “A poética da cidade na composição do romance,” in *O Imaginário da Cidade* (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, ACARTE, 1989), 274.

<sup>19</sup>Roland Barthes, *Selected Writings* (Oxford: Fontana Press, 1983), 158.

<sup>20</sup>Barthes, *Selected Writings*, 160.

<sup>21</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 99.

<sup>22</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 99.



evoking Oporto once more as a term of comparison, he again reveals a provincial attitude that renders all cities uniform, presenting them as stereotyped entities as if all of them followed the same archetype and were devoid of individuality. Consequently, the image produced from contemplation of the Other appears as a metaphorical transposition of the realities of the home country. Moreover, Janardo's comment becomes a way of camouflaging the wonder and fascination that he nonetheless feels for this urban space.

Another aspect that fascinates the characters on this journey is the female element, which the visitors are not indifferent to: "Attractive women passed by, dainty as little statues, dressed in clinging suggestive silks that revealed rather than covered; and there was a provocative look about their red mouths and sensuous eyes."<sup>23</sup> This opulence reminds Manuel of his wife and daughter, accentuating the contrast between their poverty and modesty and the richness of these foreign women. The affective evocation leads him to another reference, his home village, taken as a configuring axis of the foreign reality he perceives and transported to that strange and foreign setting since "against the panorama of the magnificent avenue, he caught a motion-picture flash of his own village. Where could it be? [...] On what side would he have to stretch his arm if he wanted to show Janardo which way it was?"<sup>24</sup>

We feel Manuel's exile, the estrangement that emerges when he tries to overcome it through fusing his home reality with the foreign one. As a result, he tries to understand and "read" the city through his previous experiences, his value system, his cultural imaginary, all of which have been shaped, as we have already seen, by a rural environment. It is these values then that will furnish him with the coordinates needed to understand the system of signification that is the city, as suggested by William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock.<sup>25</sup> As a result, Rio is converted into a space of exile marked by Manuel's inability to integrate and by the contrast between the country of emigration, a land full of promises, and the remembered poverty of the home country.

<sup>23</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 99.

<sup>24</sup>Castro, *Emigrants*, 99-100.

<sup>25</sup>William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock, eds., *Visions of the Modern City. Essays in History, Art and Literature* (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 15.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## António Sérgio and Joel Serrão, two Readers of Antero

Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho  
*University of São Paulo*

ANTERO TARQUÍNIO DE QUENTAL was born in Ponta Delgada, archipelago of Azores, in 1842. It was also in Azores that he committed suicide in 1891. A poet, a writer and a prominent figure of the “Generation of 1870” next to personalities such as Eça de Queirós and Ramalho Ortigão, among others. Antero de Quental represented with Teófilo Braga a wing of the Generation that was most formally concerned with political intervention, along with aesthetics. However, while Braga stood for the republicanism that emerged victorious from the 1910 Revolution, coming to preside the Republic’s Provisional Government, Antero watched his project of a federalist and cooperative Iberia fade away.

A founding member of the First International (International Workingmen’s Association) in Portugal,<sup>1</sup> Antero was doubly defeated: within the socialist movement, and in the scope of the Iberian potential, in face of a rapidly modernizing Europe. According to Rubem Barboza Filho, Antero solved his problem of maladjustment to a small, decadent and oppressive country through death.<sup>2</sup> It is noteworthy that his suicide coincided with the increasing Portuguese awareness of national crisis and decay, right after the British Ultimatum having limited the territorial expansion and subsequent unification of the colonies of Mozambique and Angola, known as the “pink map”;<sup>3</sup> Antero’s work, and probably his tragic death, made him an icon of both the denunciation of Portuguese decay and the alternative project for Portuguese society. According to one of his critics, further ahead discussed,

---

<sup>1</sup>Maria Filomena Mónica, *O movimento socialista em Portugal (1875-1934)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1984), 57.

<sup>2</sup>Rubem Barboza Filho, *Tradição e artifício: iberismo e barroco na formação americana* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG; Rio de Janeiro: IUPERJ, 2000), 51.

<sup>3</sup>António Costa Pinto and Nuno Monteiro, “A identidade nacional portuguesa,” in António Costa Pinto, ed., *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2005), 51-65.



Antero was a “symbol and paradigm of a chief moment in the Portuguese intelligentsia’s science and consciousness which were treading the paths of justice.”<sup>4</sup> I would nevertheless venture to say that Antero longed for a project beyond Portugal. Also targeting Spain in his concerns, he saw a federated Iberia as the path and the model for Portugal’s dialogue with Europe.<sup>5</sup>

From poetry to politics, including the essays, there are manifold possible readings of this intellectual. This paper, with no conclusive assumptions, points out the main issues highlighted by Antero’s most notable critics regarding his political thought—António Sérgio and Joel Serrão. Born over three decades apart, Sérgio (1883-1969) came from the former Portuguese colony of Daman (India), and Serrão (1919-2008) was born in Madeira. They shared nevertheless a republican identity and their opposition to Salazar’s regime. Persecuted by the *Estado Novo*’s [New State] political police, Sérgio and Serrão turned their writings into a form of militancy through which they aimed an understanding of Portugal and its possibilities, and its dissemination among broader sectors of the Portuguese civil society.

The republican literary gatherings in which Sérgio was one of the most prominent figures are well known. During several of them, Sérgio presented first-hand the papers that would later be published as his “essays.” Serrão, on the other hand, was an essayist close to the Portuguese neo-realist movement, a high school teacher (1948-1972) and a college professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, later known as a pioneer in the revision of the historiography of Contemporary Portugal. Their written works analyzed in this paper are also separated by a notable span of time. António Sérgio’s essays date from the 1950s, when Salazar’s regime showed some signs of stability, after the uncertain post-war times. The regime would last, notwithstanding the growing anti-colonial positioning of a predominantly democratic Europe.<sup>6</sup> Joel Serrão’s text was written in 1980, when Portugal was on the edge of concluding its process of transition to democracy. Also unlike Sérgio’s text, Serrão’s work was published in an academic journal—*Análise So-*

---

<sup>4</sup>Joel Serrão, “Do pensamento político-social de Antero de Quental (1868-1873),” *Análise Social* 16 (61-62) (1-2) (1980): 343.

<sup>5</sup>Antero de Quental, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos três últimos séculos*. Discurso pronunciado na noite de 27 de maio no Casino Lisbonense (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2003).

<sup>6</sup>Fernando Rosas, *Salazar e o poder. A arte de saber durar* (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2009).

*cial*—and lacks the politically interventionist tone that permeates Sérgio's essay. The main argument of this paper is that, despite such differences, Sérgio and Serrão's readings of Antero are both part of the republican and liberal memory which simultaneously opposed Salazar's regime and the *Estado Novo*, and yet also contested Communism and Marxism as a doctrine.

Joel Serrão highlights the path of an intellectual who, originally influenced by Alexandre Herculano, comes to terms with Proudhon by the time of his adhesion to the IWA. A notable son of the "Generation of 1870", Antero therefore drank from the 1850's cultural milieu, namely subscribing the Herculano's cutting critique of Portugal's centralizing tradition. Thus if the Herculanian liberalism points toward decentralization, Antero's socialism treads a similar path with more radical overtones. His rejection of centralism upholds a federalism that is not exclusively Portuguese. Antero professes a singular Iberianism that conjoins the nations of Spain and Portugal in the formation of a federal republican organization. Still according to Serrão: "And it is this Iberian immolation, now voluntarily internationalized, that brings together the pages of *O Que É a Internacional* (1871) [What is the International] that moreover intends to be pedagogic."<sup>7</sup> Theoretically, this Iberian internationalization would be the hallmark of a Proudhonian influence. Interestingly, Serrão does not question the regionalist perspective comprised by Antero's internationalism. He took it for granted. The integration in a program that extrapolates Portugal's boundaries is solved by a geographic space that does not go beyond the Pyrenees. Antero himself announces this possibility in his best known paper, *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares nos três últimos séculos* [Causes of the Peninsular people's decay in the last three decades], presented at a conference in the Casino Lisbonense in 1871. In his reference to the Iberian Middle-Age, free of the Inquisition and of the Tridentine Church yoke, Antero stated:

In the Middle Ages, the Peninsula, free of alien influences, shines in the fullness of its genius, its natural qualities. The political instinct of decentralization and federalism is noticeable in the multiplicity of kingdoms and sovereign counties that divide the Peninsula as a protest and the victory of local interests and energies against the unifying unity, overwhelming and contrived.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>Serrão, "Do pensamento," 346.

<sup>8</sup>Quental, *Causas da decadência*, 38-39 (translated by the author).

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## Impressões sobre os trajes dos cativos no Brasil dos séculos XVIII e XIX: entre trapos e rendas

Ana Carolina de Carvalho Viotti  
CEDAPH – UNESP

DOM JOÃO V, EM 24 DE MAIO DE 1749, deu a público uma lei que proibia diversos luxos, como nos móveis, carruagens, ornamentação das casas e a importação de artigos estrangeiros. Salta aos olhos, nesse regulamento, sua especial menção à contenção das ostentações no “modo de vestir dos criados e escravos,”<sup>1</sup> com o fim de restringir, também, os então considerados excessos no vestir dos cativos. Ao que tudo indica, essa nova legislação atendia aos pedidos dos camarários da Bahia que, desde 1708, clamavam que se instituísse uma lei proibindo negros cativos e forros, além dos mulatos, de se enfeitarem de modo fausto, com adereços e joias de ouro, ou usarem sedas e tecidos mais finos, segundo eles, “pelo bem público, reconhecendo quanto a este prejudica o excesso e luxo com que os negros e mulatos se vestem nesta terra, pois deles nascem os roubos e insultos [...]”<sup>2</sup>

É curioso notar, todavia, que muitos foram a público para tratar do oposto, qual seja, a recorrência da nudez e falta de panos a cobrir os corpos escravizados. Nas Cartas do Senado da Bahia (1699-1710), entre vários assuntos, destaca-se a preocupação dos vereadores em fiscalizar “os maus costumes de trajes desonestos e danças lascivas.” Quase um século depois, os famosos viajantes Von Spix e Von Martius (1818) ainda observaram a exposição dos corpos negros que “trabalhavam nus ou apenas com um pano em volta do corpo [...] metidos na água até o joelho,”<sup>3</sup> na região das Minas. Como veremos, não foram os únicos.

---

<sup>1</sup>*Lei e Pragmática (impressa) de d. João V, rei de Portugal – Proibindo o luxo no trajar, nos móveis, nas carruagens [...] proibindo o uso de armas às pessoas de baixa condição e o luto pelos falecidos, de vinte e cinco de maio de 1749.* Museu Imperial, I-POB-24.05.1749-JV.P.d1-2.

<sup>2</sup>*Cartas do Senado a Sua Magestade 1699-1710.* Série Documentos Históricos do Arquivo Municipal (Salvador, FGM), 5: 91.

<sup>3</sup>J. P. Von Spix and C. F. P. Von Martius, *Viagem pelo Brasil* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1981), 114.



Nesse breve artigo, a partir das diversas notas sobre o trajar dos escravos presentes na legislação, em escritos religiosos e em relatos de viagem, objetivo apresentar os juízos feitos sobre as formas de vestir-se (ou de ser vestido) do negro cativo, fossem elas essenciais para “cobrir” os escravos, fosse, na outra via, para julgar e restringir os adornos e panos neles postos. Considerando que a responsabilidade sobre esconder as vergonhas dos escravos era imposta maiormente aos proprietários dos cativos—como se vê, por exemplo, nos escritos dos padres André João Antonil (1650-1716) e Jorge Benci (1650-1708)—, refletirei sobre o duplo caráter prescritivo dessas recomendações: para o escravo e o senhor.

### *Pecar pelas roupas*

As condições de vida dos escravos podem ser definidas com muitos adjetivos, mas não como “homogêneas,” o que impede generalizações como dizer que todos eles andavam nus ou que todos eram adornados com ouros. Das possíveis diferenciações, pode-se elencar pelo menos duas: as qualidades do meio —a cidade e o campo—, e de afazeres—das roças, das minas, das casas e das ruas.

Ao que tudo indica, os cativos domésticos, especialmente os que serviam famílias ricas das cidades, gozavam de uma situação melhor que outros: Jean Baptiste-Debret, já no Dezenove, julgava que ninguém era mais feliz que um escravo de casa endinheirada e um observador identificado apenas como “A.P.D.G.” revela que os negros urbanos tinham “um quinhão mais afortunado.” Johann Moritz Rugendas, viajante e pintor alemão contemporâneo de Debret fala que, na principal urbe fluminense, a posse de servos “é um artigo de luxo, inerente antes à vaidade do senhor do que às necessidades da casa.”<sup>4</sup>

A opulência no vestir de muitos escravos era tamanha que Burlamarqui, um natural da terra, afirma que os “senhores abastados gastavam frequentemente mais em roupas para seus escravos do que estes poderiam obter como proventos,”<sup>5</sup> ou, ainda, como contam crônicas coevas, que seria possível comprar outras duas ou três outras escravas<sup>6</sup> com os trajes e adornos por eles carregados. Especialmente nas igrejas, as negras sobressaíam com suas vestes

<sup>4</sup>J. M. Rugendas, *Viagem pitoresca através do Brasil*, tradução de Sérgio Milliet (São Paulo: Edusp, 1972), 147.

<sup>5</sup>*Apud* M. C. Karasch, *A vida dos escravos no Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 288.



e penduricalhos diferenciados. O francês Louis François de Tollenare explica que lá, fosse nas portas ou em seu interior,

as negras mais bonitas, ricamente vestidas sem abandono do tipo dos seus trajes habituais, cobertas de correntões, brincos e braceletes de ouro maciço, os dedos cheios de anéis, vendem por conta dos senhores, que as apartamentam assim, fitas chamadas medidas, bentas ou santificadas pelo contato da imagem milagrosa que se encontra em cada templo, e todo o mundo as traz ao seio ou à botoeira.<sup>7</sup>

Isso porque uma das formas de o proprietário de escravos enfatizar e publicizar sua prosperidade rezava em fazer-se acompanhar por mucamas e librés adornados em trajes de cetim, joias e outras teteias. Se no ambiente privado pouco ou nada se via de sinhás e mucamas adornadas,<sup>8</sup> as ruas e templos caracterizavam-se como locais privilegiados para a exposição desses tão valiosos bens.

Toda essa ostentação gravada nos corpos negros foi notada e anotada nas impressões legadas por viajantes que por aqui brevemente passaram ou que resolveram se estabelecer no Brasil. Há, pois, um sem número de descrições onde essas personagens recebem destaque. “Em certa ocasião,” fala Thomas Lindley, entre 1802 e 1803, “observei no Rio de Janeiro cadeirinha (...) transportada por dois pretos vigorosos, que vestiam jaqueta de seda azul-claro, calções curtos e um saiote por cima (semelhante ao dos aguadeiros), o conjunto fortemente colorido de rosa avermelhado.” Julgou o viajante que aquelas “vestes flamejantes constituíam um contraste tão estranho com suas ‘delicadas’ epidermes, pois estavam sem meias nem sapatos, que aquilo parecia, em conjunto, o mais completo cômico em marcha, que se pudesse imaginar.”<sup>9</sup> Aquele mesmo Rugendas completa sua descrição atestando que “escravos usam librés fora de moda, que, acrescidas de turbantes e penteados esdrúxulos, fazem deles verdadeiras caricaturas.”<sup>10</sup> Quase meio século depois,

---

<sup>6</sup>S. P. Barros, “A condição social e a indumentária feminina no Brasil colonial,” *Anais do Museu Histórico Nacional* VIII (1947), 124.

<sup>7</sup>L. F. de Tollenare, *Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma viagem em Portugal e no Brasil em 1816, 1817 e 1818* (Salvador: Livraria Progresso, 1956), 134.

<sup>8</sup>L. M. Algranti, “Famílias e vida doméstica,” *História da vida privada: cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997).

<sup>9</sup>T. Lindley, *Narrativa de uma viagem ao Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1969), 178.

<sup>10</sup>Rugendas, *Viagem pitoresca*, 147.

Carl von Koseritz reitera o estranhamento na ornamentação dos cativos. Na Porto Alegre de 1885, incomodava-lhe um desfile onde observava tristemente “(...) as velhas librés que vestem os cocheiros na sua maioria negros, e que parecem, assim, macacos num circo de cavalinhos.” Ele as descreve: “librés verde-escuras ou pretas, com galões brancos, chapéus de três bicos, como usam entre nós, os cocheiros de carro de defunto, e espada—faziam deles as mais cômicas figuras do mundo.”<sup>11</sup> Luxo e bom gosto, na visão desses europeus, não pareciam andar necessariamente de mãos dadas quando se tratava de vestir os servos.

Ao gosto europeu ou não, abundavam avisos sobre a predileção dos escravos por matérias de elevado valor. Não era recomendado, porquanto, tentar tapear-lhes com falsos produtos. Um comerciante inglês, ao remeter-se a seus superiores já em 1812, relata que “os negros domésticos do Brasil só usam joias de ouro puro, consistindo de colares, braceletes e correntes; e placas para a testa, peito e ombros, e crucifixos e imagens fundidas para pendurar nesses variados artigos. E os negros do campo e comerciantes usam somente joias de materiais puros.”<sup>12</sup>

A extravagância no vestir entre os escravos era tamanha que o referendado Tollenare, em algum período entre 1816 e 1818, chegou a confundir mulheres abastadas com as cativas no Recife. Ele conta o seguinte: “(...) supus fossem senhoras da cidade que tivessem vindo se recrear sob estas habitações temporárias, as mulheres vestidas de finas musselinas bordadas que encontrei deitadas sobre esteiras à porta das cabanas (...) Não passavam de gente miserável de que a elegante camisa de musselina forma todo o enxoval.”<sup>13</sup>

Essa constância no cuidado com as roupas dos negros é indicada, também, na literatura da época. Em *O mulato*, Aluísio de Azevedo narra que “as pretas minas, cativas, ou forras,” desfilavam pelas ruas “com os seus ouros, as suas ricas telhas de tartaruga, as suas ricas toalhas de rendas, suas belas saias de veludo, suas chinelas de polimento (...)”<sup>14</sup> Numa sociedade repleta de iletrados, fazer-se notar pelas posses, ou melhor, ter suas qualidades vista a to-

---

<sup>11</sup>C. Von Koseritz, *Imagens do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: USP, 1980), 32.

<sup>12</sup>T. Ashe, *A Comercial View, and a Geographical Sketch, of the Brasils(...)*. (London: Allen and Co., 1812).

<sup>13</sup>Tollenare, *Notas dominicais*, 40.

<sup>14</sup>A. Azevedo, *O mulato* (Maranhão: Typ. de Paiz, 1881), 96. Disponível em: [http://objdigital.bn.br/Acervo\\_Digital/livros\\_eletronicos/o\\_mulato.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/Acervo_Digital/livros_eletronicos/o_mulato.pdf), acessado em 20/02/2016.

dos os olhos, era a maneira mais eficiente de que o poder e o prestígio fossem efetivamente lidos ou compreendidos.<sup>15</sup> Isso valia tanto para o escravo que acompanhava seu senhor como, por certo, para os ditos nobres, os libertos e também para outros grupos, a exemplo dos judeus portugueses que portavam um chapéu amarelo e os mouros, que trajavam uma lua em tecido vermelho no ombro direito<sup>16</sup> como sinal compartilhado.

Tal prática não era, contudo, novidade ou exclusividade do Oitocentos. Basta lembrar que em 1724 a Coroa emitiu uma resolução regulatória desses luxos—a citada Pragmática—que, como se pôde verificar, não surtiu os efeitos desejados. Retomá-la-emos logo adiante; voltemo-nos, antes, aos possíveis impulsionadores de sua promulgação.

O Conselho Ultramarino fora consultado por diversas vezes para tratar da questão nos séculos anteriores ao desembarque da família real e os desdobramentos no cotidiano e costumes brasilienses que decorreriam da transladação da Corte. Prova disto é o amontoado de cartas e comunicações entre as câmaras e o citado Conselho, onde a “superfluidade da elegância usada nas roupas das escravas do Brasil”<sup>17</sup> é tópica frequente. Para além do já citado requerimento da Câmara da Bahia no primeiro decênio do Dezoito, por exemplo, saltam aos olhos algumas cartas régias remetidas ao governador-geral do Brasil, no limiar do século XVII, onde “a demasia do luxo, de que usam no vestir as escravas desse Estado” eram assunto. Asseverava El-Rei que era necessário “evitar-se este excesso,” devido, especialmente, ao “ruim exemplo que deles pode seguir, à modéstia e compostura dos senhores das mesmas escravas e suas famílias e outros prejuízos igualmente graves.”<sup>18</sup> É notória, ainda, a resposta a uma denúncia do bispo e então governador interino do Rio de Janeiro sobre a persistência desse hábito opulento, poucos anos depois, pelos membros do órgão metropolitano: recomendaram medidas repreensivas contra as escravas e as proibiram de usar seda e ouros.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Especialmente N. Elias, *O processo civilizador*. Vol. I: *Uma história dos costumes* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1985).

<sup>16</sup>S. H. Lara, “The Signs of Color: Women’s Dress and Racial Relations in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro, ca 1750-1815,” *Colonial Latin American Review* 6 (2) (1997), 206.

<sup>17</sup>*Carta ao governador-geral e capitão do Estado do Brasil*. 20 de fevereiro de 1696. Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro: Mss. II-33, 23, 15 n. 4.

<sup>18</sup>S. H. Lara, *Fragmentos setecentistas. Escravidão, cultura e poder na América Portuguesa*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), 96.

<sup>19</sup>S. H. Lara, “The Signs of Color,” 207.

Além do bispo, outros religiosos também empunharam suas penas para tratar dos ditos luxos nas roupas dos cativos. Jorge Benci, em obra de 1700, dirige-se aos senhores de escravos, indagando-os sobre a necessidade de encherem os cativos de “holandas, telas e primaveras, rendagem e ouro,” em sua leitura, apenas um disfarce para a vaidade e o pecado. Recomenda o padre, de forma incisiva, a emenda de tal situação: “tirai-lhes logo todos esses trajos e dai-lhes o vestido que lhe deveis.”<sup>20</sup>

É plausível supor, a partir dos juízos explicitados por esses homens de leis e de religião, que as missivas remetidas acerca desse verdadeiro desfile de joias e luxos por escravos iam além de um mero incômodo. Ao contrário de muitos dos viajantes, cujos relatos parecem mais informativos/ descritivos que objetivamente moralizantes, as diversas críticas ao porte de finos panos ou prendas pelos escravos nos manuais religiosos ou nas cartas à Lisboa apresentam-se com a clara vontade de julgar tal vestuário, em primeiro lugar, como pecaminoso, e, em segundo, como impróprio àqueles condicionados à escravidão.

A ostentação dos bens vinculava o senhor aos pecados da soberba e da avareza, estimulando-o a prezar mais pela riqueza e a exposição que de seu convívio com Deus. Além disso, trajar o escravo—notadamente a escrava—com sedas e brilhos corroborava na transmutação de luxo em luxúria: as bem apessoadas negras chamavam ainda mais a atenção de moços e senhores que buscavam concubinas. Se é verdade que o “corpo do escravo, ou doméstico, é como parte do corpo do senhor,”<sup>21</sup> como sublinha o padre Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, as ações pecaminosas que desabrochavam em um bem seu, sob seu consentimento, seriam, ao fim e ao cabo, partilhadas.

O trânsito livre de negros adornados pelas ruas, em festas,<sup>22</sup> mercados ou igrejas, era motivo de enfado numa sociedade que valorizava a distinção hierárquica, classificando e desclassificando indivíduos diante daqueles que

---

<sup>20</sup>J. Benci, *Economia cristã dos senhores no governo dos escravos* (São Paulo: Editorial Grijalbo, 1977), 71.

<sup>21</sup>M. R. Rocha, *Ethiophe resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruído, e llibertado. Discurso theologico-jurídico em que se propõem o mode de comerciar, haver, e possuir validamente (...)* (Lisboa: Na Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1758), 151.

<sup>22</sup>M. del Priore, *Festas e utopias no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 2000); J. R. Tí-nhorão, *As festas no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2000).



# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## Em busca do Gênio Nacional: a representação do literato no Brasil pós Independência

Débora E. Andrade  
*Universidade Federal Fluminense*

A DÉCADA DE 1820 MARCOU OS destinos políticos de brasileiros e portugueses, em meio a revoluções, emancipação política, lutas entre facções e guerra civil. Enquanto o movimento revolucionário do Porto garantia a Portugal uma constituição e coroava o liberalismo, do outro lado do Atlântico, os brasileiros reagiam contra o retorno do exclusivismo nas relações comerciais com a colônia, voltando-se para o projeto de emancipação política com a continuidade da monarquia bragantina e da escravidão.

A independência foi conquistada em 1822, após lutas contra tropas fiéis às Cortes na região norte, que engendraram movimentos mais radicais ou mesmo republicanos. No entanto, o panorama continuou convulsionado nas décadas seguintes e mesmo o reconhecimento da autonomia política por outros países e a ampliação do aparato estatal jurídico e administrativo, não garantiu a adesão dos segmentos proprietários provinciais, permanecendo o risco de dispersão. Como observou Lúcia B. Neves, a emancipação constituiu tão somente um ponto de partida para a construção moderna de nação: “Logo, a partir do final de 1822, a palavra nação começava a despertar sentimento de separação, de distinção de um povo em relação ao outro, despondo a ideia de nacional, como oposto de estrangeiro”.<sup>1</sup> O conceito de nação adquiria um significado cultural, enquanto uma “comunidade dotada de identidades singulares”<sup>2</sup>, que precisava ser inculcado e divulgado de modo a fazer frente à frágil unidade territorial. Em tempo, os projetos republicanos e separatistas que se manifestavam nas revoltas e revoluções, antes mesmo da independência, tornariam a medir forças com o projeto centralizador dos

---

<sup>1</sup>Lúcia Bastos Neves, “Estado e política na independência”, em Keila Grimberg e Ricardo Salles eds, *O Brasil Imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011), 1: 97.

<sup>2</sup>Neves, “Estado e política na independência”, 97.



proprietários do centro sul, em particular durante o período regencial (1831-1840) até a primeira década do Segundo Reinado.

A consolidação do extenso Império brasileiro dependia tanto do apaziguamento das lutas, conflitos e motins nas províncias (no Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Pará, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais) quanto da construção ideológica de uma “nova base para o edifício social [que] se achará no fortalecimento da idéia de nação, entendida como a comunidade dos homens que compartilham a mesma história e cultura”.<sup>3</sup> Sendo assim, os contemporâneos acreditavam que a ruptura política precisaria ser completada espiritual e culturalmente através de um programa empreendido pela intelectualidade, que prescreveria a fundação de uma literatura capaz de interpretar as sociedades, de historicizar as tradições, de modo que o passado pudesse justificar e dar sentido ao presente.<sup>4</sup> Ao lado disto, o ideário filosófico alemão, cujas raízes remontam a Johann Gottfried von Herder, prescrevia que a literatura, ao lado da língua, dos mitos e dos costumes populares se conectariam e constituiriam parte de uma unidade que é singular e mutável historicamente. Estes preceitos do historicismo, mesclados ao quadro geral da época das Luzes e do apogeu do liberalismo, indicavam que as realizações literárias atestariam o grau de desenvolvimento e o estágio de civilização em que cada povo se encontraria.

No século XIX, o letramento adquiriu maior prestígio social do que no período precedente, inclusive para a mobilização partidária e para o forjar das identidades políticas através da imprensa e dos impressos. Segundo o crítico literário uruguaio Angel Rama, em sua obra clássica *A cidade das Letras*, a escritura foi importante para produzir a representação simbólica, para impor uma ordem e recompor as hierarquias típicas do Antigo Regime nas cidades latino americanas.<sup>5</sup> Não obstante, o letramento avançava a passos lentos até o século XIX; no Brasil este índice alcançava aproximadamente 16% da população, segundo o censo de 1872. A baixa instrução da população, especialmente escrava e forra, a limitada rede de ensino primário, a ausência

---

<sup>3</sup>Josep Fontana, *História: análise do passado e projeto social* (Bauru/São Paulo: Edusc, 1998), 117.

<sup>4</sup>Jorge Myers, “Literatura romântica e projeto social”, em Ana Pizarro, ed., *América Latina, Palavra, literatura, cultura. Emancipação do Discurso* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1994), 2: 224-225.

<sup>5</sup>Angel Rama, *A cidade das Letras* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985).



de universidades, constituíam obstáculos a esta expansão. Assim, a cultura escrita, em oposição à oralidade, esta última associada à maioria dos indivíduos livres pobres, libertos, cativos ou indígenas, tornou-se signo de distinção, devido ao carácter exclusivista desta atividade, destinada às classes proprietárias.

Emergindo das lutas emancipatórias nas Américas, os letrados se tornaram escritores públicos patriotas e passaram a atuar com certa autonomia, convertendo-se em artífices de novas identidades nacionais.<sup>6</sup> É neste contexto que seu desempenho adquire especial relevância dentro do campo de poder enquanto produtores de bens culturais e simbólicos, dedicando-se a variados e abrangentes assuntos, desde direito e economia política à medicina, engenharia, geografia e história, enveredando também por assuntos literários. O carácter singular e estratégico da atuação dos intelectuais, que produziram imagens e narrativas de fundação que alimentaram o ideário nacional e liberal no século XIX, não garantiu que, de pronto, desfrutassem de reconhecimento social e proteção do Estado, em sociedades profundamente hierarquizadas. Na ausência de fortuna e propriedade, os escritores que adquiriam popularidade devido ao talento literário, não conseguiam sobreviver apenas da pena. Iniciavam no jornalismo, buscavam algum patrono para grangear um cargo no governo, principalmente nas instituições educacionais e na diplomacia. Em alguns casos, os intelectuais se lançaram à política, exercendo cargos em ministérios, parlamentos ou ocupando a presidência de alguns países. Porém, se em algumas circunstâncias os vemos atuantes na vida pública, por outro lado, a atuação na política não era para a maioria. Era mais comum, ao menos no Brasil oitocentista, que eles se acercassem das esferas de poder, sem exercê-lo diretamente.

A intelectualidade leiga que havia substituído o clero letrado do período colonial possuía, entretanto, a consciência de exercer um alto ministério, espécie de “sacerdócio” secular.<sup>7</sup> Esta convicção dos letrados foi reforçada pelas ideias estéticas em torno dos talentos especiais de escritores e artistas, originadas a partir da Alemanha e divulgadas na França, local para onde se destinava boa parte da geração de jovens latino americanos. Baseavam-se no pen-

---

<sup>6</sup>Jorge Myers. “El letrado patriota: los hombres de letras hispanoamericanos en la encrucijada del colapso del imperio español em America”, em Carlos Altamirano, ed., *Historia de los intelectuales en America Latina* (Buenos Aires/Madrid: Katz Editores, 2008), 121-144.

<sup>7</sup>Rama, *A cidade das Letras*, 41.

samento dos autores alemães J. G. von Herder, August W. e Karl W. Friedrich von Schlegel, difundido em decorrência do esforço de vulgarização realizado por Madame de Staël (1766-1817) e pelo filósofo Victor Cousin (1792-1867), que apontavam para a necessidade de se produzir uma literatura própria e particular, afirmar uma tradição intelectual e inventariar obras representativas da genialidade autóctone. Especialmente a França atraía os jovens poetas americanos: Vicente Pérez Rosales (1807-1886) no Chile, Julio Arboleada (1817-1862) na Colômbia, Esteban Echeverría (1805-1851) na Argentina e Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882) e Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-1879) no Brasil em inícios dos anos 1830.

A França era o destino dos viajantes que, julgando-se representantes de uma coletividade, imbuídos de espírito público, buscavam se instruir. Consistia em “uma espécie de “metrópole cultural” para estes mesmos grupos letrados que constituíam, também, os quadros dirigentes nacionais de cada país”.<sup>8</sup> Os intelectuais agiam como se fossem adidos culturais que não apenas importavam modelos, mas adaptavam as concepções filosóficas, políticas e científicas às condições naturais e sociais do outro lado do Atlântico. A alta cultura francesa irradiava idéias libertárias e valores civilizatórios que seduziam os jovens letrados americanos, sobretudo porque as nações industrializadas da Europa, França e Inglaterra representavam o futuro, aquilo que se acreditava que a América ansiava em se tornar, enquanto Espanha e Portugal, metrópoles coloniais, representariam um passado de opressão e atraso que desejavam superar.

Nos anos de 1830, ainda era imperativo se desvincular culturalmente da antiga metrópole, tanto em termos políticos, quanto culturais. A independência do Brasil foi reconhecida pelo Tratado de Paz e Amizade de 25 de agosto de 1825, através de acordos diplomáticos entre Inglaterra, Portugal e Brasil. Entretanto, por longos anos, a percepção dos nascidos no país era de que os portugueses naturalizados, contra quem haviam combatido em algumas partes do território, gozavam de privilégios e proteção e que estavam dispostos a apoiar o pleito absolutista de D. Pedro I e seu regresso, após a abdicação.

Ao lado disto, as rivalidades entre brasileiros e portugueses, assim como a lusofobia radicada entre a população, situavam-se em um momento de defi-

---

<sup>8</sup>Marco Morel, *As transformações dos espaços públicos. Imprensa, atores políticos e sociabilidades na Cidade Imperial (1820-1840)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2005), 37.

nição de identidades nacionais. Nos episódios de luta campal misturavam-se ressentimentos e revanchismo contra a inferioridade atribuída aos brasileiros. Eram explicadas, não apenas pela relação de dominação que perdurou por séculos e afrontava a honra dos nativos, referidos pejorativamente por termos como “macacos” ou “cabras”; mas pela concorrência no mercado de trabalho, no qual os “galegos” ou “pés de chumbo” tinham preferência. Manifestavam-se nas lutas pela independência no Norte, nos conflitos que resultaram no 7 de abril que marcou a abdicação de D. Pedro I em 1831, até a Revolução Praieira em Pernambuco em 1848.

Em decorrência da lusofobia, o próprio imperador era cobrado por seus conselheiros que demonstrasse ser brasileiro e se definisse pela causa da independência.<sup>9</sup> O “ser brasileiro” dizia respeito também a aspectos culturais, à linguagem, além da política. A língua era elemento de identificação, tanto quanto a literatura seria afirmada em sua originalidade e particularidade, sobretudo através de debates polêmicos na imprensa. Assim, as rivalidades das ruas transbordavam para os discursos e debates políticos, tanto quanto para a literatura e as artes. Muitos literatos expressavam através dos jornais a disposição de defender seu país e promover o patriotismo e a recusa da herança metropolitana, afirmando que a mesma língua produziu literaturas diferentes. A herança cultural portuguesa representava ainda um fardo muito pesado que tinha implicações políticas imediatas; alguns críticos atribuíam ao país recém fundado o estigma de não possuir nem língua, nem literatura próprias, o que inviabilizaria sua existência nacional.<sup>10</sup>

A afirmação da autonomia e da vitalidade desta literatura envolveu grandes nomes do cenário literário do oitocentos, como Gonçalves de Magalhães, Alexandre Herculano (1810-1877), Gonçalves Dias (1823- 1864), José de Alencar (1829-1877), Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908), entre outros. Formar tal identidade significava “regenerar” a pátria e livrá-la das “chagas”

---

<sup>9</sup>Gladys S. Ribeiro, *A liberdade em construção: identidade nacional e conflitos antilusitanos no 1º Reinado* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 2002).

<sup>10</sup>O chileno Santiago Nunes Ribeiro (?- 1847) travou um debate com o general José Inácio de Abreu de Lima, autor de um compêndio de história do Brasil e com o médico português miguelista Dr. Gama e Castro, radicado no Brasil, através do artigo “Da nacionalidade da literatura brasileira” publicado no primeiro tomo de 1843 da revista *Minerva Brasiliense*, da qual era redator, contra o argumento de que, se as línguas nacionais dariam nome às literaturas, Brasil e Portugal teriam a mesma literatura.

do passado colonial. Não obstante, na invenção de uma tradição poética e literária nacional – o que compreendia produzir monumentos pátrios – empregou-se a imagem do celebrado escritor português Luís de Camões (1524-1580), autor de *Os Lusíadas*.

*Juventude literária e a produção de monumentos nacionais*

Estudando na capital do mundo considerado “civilizado”, alguns jovens estudantes brasileiros entre os anos 1830 e início do anos de 1840, diagnosticaram que a nação que acabara de se tornar independente possuía uma cultura própria e florescente, atestada pela presença das artes, música, arquitetura, teatro e literatura. Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882), Manuel de Araújo Porto-Alegre (1806-1879) e João Manuel Pereira da Silva (1817-1898), escreveram e publicaram em dois números a revista *Niterói* em Paris, em 1836, oferecida a seus pares do Instituto Histórico de Paris. Primeira revista literária do Romantismo, ela trazia vários ensaios que demonstravam a preocupação em traçar os esboços da história das artes e literatura no país desde o período colonial.<sup>11</sup>

No ensaio de Gonçalves de Magalhães sobre a história da literatura, queixava-se que após “longo e enfadonho estudo” fracassou em esclarecer as datas de nascimento dos “nossos primeiros poetas”, “que tanto apreço damos nós aos grandes homens, que nos honram, desses homens cuja herança é hoje nossa única glória”.<sup>12</sup> Reside neste trabalho de fixação de representantes das letras nascidos ou residentes no país e suas datas de nascimento, a importância de “melhor conservar os monumentos dessa glória para as raças futuras a fim de que não nos exprobem nosso desmazelo, e de bárbaros não nos acusem”.<sup>13</sup> Por “monumentos dessa glória”, Magalhães se referia, como era corrente ainda no século XIX, a obras e textos fundadores, vestígios e testemunhos de uma sociedade e de sua superioridade literária e artística. Recordamos aqui que a noção de “monumento”, como é utilizada durante quase

---

<sup>11</sup>Outras obras consideradas fundadoras da história da literatura são as de Ferdinand Denis, *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal et du Brésil* (1826), de Januário da Cunha Barbosa, *Parnaso Brasileiro* (1829-31) e de João de Almeida Garrett, *Bosquejo da história da poesia e língua portuguesa* (1826).

<sup>12</sup>Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, “Ensaio sobre a História da literatura do Brasil”, *Niterói* (Paris: Librairie Dauvin et Fontaine) I (1836): 137.

<sup>13</sup>Magalhães, “Ensaio sobre a História da literatura do Brasil”, 137.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



## Brother Mug, the Activist Carmelite

Plínio Tadeu de Góes Jr., Esq.

*Attorney in Private Practice*

AFTER DECLARING THEIR independence from European powers, American states struggled to find a suitable form of national organization. Groups supporting a confederation structure with a virtually powerless central authority clashed with movements calling for a stronger central authority in nations such as the United States, Gran Colombia, Argentina, and Brazil. In the U.S., the anti-federalists opposed a strong central authority and the federalists supported a stronger federal government. In Latin America, the *federalistas* or *federales* (federalists) struggled for greater regional autonomy while the *unitarios* (unitarians) believed in a strong central authority.

Brazil, however, faced a unique situation. In 1822, the Portuguese prince-regent Dom Pedro of the House of Braganza declared Brazil an independent kingdom from Portugal and he and then his son ruled as Emperors in Rio de Janeiro, creating a South American monarchy lasting until the declaration of a republic in 1891. Throughout the nineteenth century, *federalista* movements in Brazil waged wars against the Rio monarchy for more regional autonomy, demanding the right to elect state governors in a country where governors were appointed by the government in Rio. The *Cabanos* revolt occurred in the northeastern state of Pará from 1835 to 1840. The *Sabinada* revolt lasted from 1837 to 1838 and occurred in the northeastern state of Bahia. The *Farrroupilha* revolt took place in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul from 1835 to 1845. Finally, the *Praieira* revolt took place in Pernambuco and lasted from 1848 to 1850. Participants in each of these revolts published short, ideological newspapers arguing for a structure with more regional autonomy and a smaller government in Rio.

In these rebel newspapers, anti-centralist journalists frequently mentioned another revolt as an inspiration—the 1824 *Confederação do Equador* (Confederation of the Equator) movement. The Confederation of the Equat-



or movement was led by *federalista* journalists, including a Carmelite friar named *Frei Caneca* (Brother Mug) who elaborated a political philosophy these journalists termed the *fé da liberdade* (liberty faith).

Herein, my objective is to introduce the reader to Brother Mug's philosophy. As discussed below, scholars in Brazil have labelled Brother Mug's philosophy a classical liberal ideology but have failed to present the specific beliefs held by Brother Mug. Latin American Catholic political thought is not limited to colonial era treatises, support for authoritarian regimes, or liberation theology. Understanding Brother Mug's liberty faith helps us grasp the diversity found in Catholic political philosophy in South America.

In terms of organization, I begin with a short summary of the history of the Confederation of the Equator movement and Brother Mug's involvement in this movement as well as scholarship about Brother Mug. Then, I proceed to present a systematic outline of Brother Mug's political thought. I conclude that Brother Mug merged the concerns found in the writings of anti-centralists like the North American anti-federalists and the Latin American *federalistas* with a sense of a spiritual, Catholic mission.

### *The Confederation of the Equator and Brother Mug*

After the Lisbon-born regent prince of Brazil, Dom Pedro I, decided in 1822 to create a separate branch of the Braganzas, independent from the European monarchy, he agreed to call for a constitutional convention but this Constitutional Assembly in Rio was immediately affected by censorship and arrests that kept some representatives from being seated, and the monarch soon manifested his belief in his right to appoint the heads of each province.<sup>1</sup> A junta comprised of powerful *unitario* landlords led by the wealthy Francisco Paes Barreto in the Northeastern state of Pernambuco attempted to maintain a faction calling for state autonomy under control but news reached the state in December of 1823 that the monarch had tempestuously dismissed the Constitutional Assembly in November of 1823 after discovering that limits would be placed on his authority and outrage in Pernambuco led to revolt and the installation of Manoel de Carvalho Paes de

---

<sup>1</sup>Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A outra independência: o federalismo pernambucano de 1817 e 1824* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2004), 147, 151.



Andrade, leader of the *federalistas*, as governor.<sup>2</sup> *Frei Caneca*, or Brother Mug, was a Carmelite friar associated with the *federalistas*.

Brother Mug was of humble origins, his father Domingos da Silva Rebelo a cooper, hence the name *Caneca* or Mug as a tribute. He grew up in the Fora de Portas neighbourhood in the city of Recife in the state of Pernambuco where he was originally known as Joaquim do Amor Divino Rabelo, his family with some roots in the city of Elvas, in the Alentejo region of Portugal, and the city of Porto in Northern Portugal but also, as he admits himself, some unknown heritages, possibly indigenous or African, and he became a Carmelite on 8 October 1796.<sup>3</sup> In December of 1823, after the dismissal of the Constitutional Assembly by Dom Pedro, Frei Caneca began publishing a newspaper titled *Týphis Pernambucano* (Tiphys of Pernambuco), named after the helmsman of Jason's ship, the Argos which carried the Argonauts. As far as the readership of these papers, historical studies do not indicate the composition of subscribers but educated small holders with slaves in their homes, connected to poor tailors and labourers, may have read the *Týphis* to others, while wealthier landholders of unremarkable lineage who felt snubbed by more powerful types may also have made a point of obtaining issues of the publication.

Caneca, a graduate of the Seminary of Olinda, was recognized by his religious order as capable of teaching rhetoric and geometry in 1803 and eventually began preaching sermons. Aside from his political writings in the *Týphis Pernambucano*, he wrote works intended for writing instructors and students. He authored a grammar focusing on etymology, orthography, prosody and syntax, as well as a guide to writing with eloquence, as well as a rhetorical guide focusing on style.<sup>4</sup> When ships led by British mercenary John Taylor came to Recife in March 1824 to forcibly install Paes Barreto as President of the province, the state council of Pernambuco met with Father Venâncio Henrique de Rezende presiding alongside Brother Mug, leading to the decision to uphold the state's right to appoint Paes de Andrade, forcing

---

<sup>2</sup>Mello, *A outra independência*, 157-159, 161.

<sup>3</sup>Jão Alfredo de Sousa Montenegro, *O liberalismo radical de Frei Caneca* (Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1978), 25-27; Marco Morel, *Frei Caneca: entre Marília e a pátria* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2000), 20, 22-23, 30.

<sup>4</sup>Lemos Brito, *A gloriosa sotaina do Primeiro Império (Frei Caneca)* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937), 30, 46-47, 49-51, 52, 68-69.

Taylor to impose a blockade, the tension so palpable that even a decision by the Emperor to substitute Paes Barreto with the bureaucrat José Carlos Mayrink da Silva Ferrão was rejected.<sup>5</sup> Frei Caneca refused to consider an alternative constitutional project proposed by the Emperor, persuading others of the need to do the same, and the *federalistas* issued a call to arms for the whole northeastern region on the 2nd of July, 1824.<sup>6</sup> Paes de Andrade's call to arms announced the formation of a *Confederação do Equador* which would be comprised of northeastern states but the rebel government only lasted until the 17th of September and no such confederation government was ever formed.

The *confederados* (confederates) banned the importation of slaves into Pernambuco and repeatedly called for the northern provinces to form a confederation.<sup>7</sup> Issues of Frei Caneca's *Typhis Pernambucano* were sent to other provinces by the rebel government of Pernambuco and, in the state of Ceará, the president nominated by the Emperor was replaced by Tristão Gonçalves de Alencar Araripe, who adhered to the Confederation.<sup>8</sup> Although a confederation of the region today forming the states of Piauí, Ceará, Alagoas, Sergipe, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Pernambuco did not end up forming as planned by the rebels, as the rebellion was mostly focused on Pernambuco, Paraíba and Ceará, a war did ensue wherein local artisans in these states were mobilized to help build defences, active recruitment including the pardoning of deserters was instituted, and a makeshift navy was formed from the commercial ships that could be obtained, the rebels prepared to go to war over the dissolution of the constitutional assembly and their less centralized model of nationhood which they hoped would ignite revolts elsewhere, including the southern states.<sup>9</sup> The revolt did not spread to states outside the northeast, however.

British mercenary Lord Cochrane was then sent to embargo Pernambuco, bringing troops for a ground invasion which was ultimately realized,

---

<sup>5</sup>Glacyra Lazzari Leite, *Pernambuco 1824: A Confederação do Equador* (Recife: Massangana, 1989), 99-100.

<sup>6</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 101, 108-109.

<sup>7</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 109-110.

<sup>8</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 112, 114.

<sup>9</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 115-118.

but the rebels would not give up easily and, even when decisively beaten, marched to Ceará to regroup, only surrendering on the 29th of November of 1824 after it was clear they could not muster a large enough effort to re-take Pernambuco.<sup>10</sup> Caneca was executed on 13 January 1825, being found guilty of the crime of disseminating revolutionary newspaper articles on 23 December 1824, Caneca attempting to defend himself by apologizing for some of his more indecent comments, his use of insults in his writings.<sup>11</sup> The revolt had been suppressed after just a few months.

The majority of studies about Brother Mug and the Confederation of the Equator focus on the event itself and most do not pay much attention to the ideas behind the revolt. Eurico Jorge Campelo Cabral's 2008 "O liberalismo em Pernambuco: as metamorfoses políticas de uma época (1800-1825)" (Liberalism in Pernambuco: political metamorphoses of an era 1800-1824) argues that classical liberal ideas were originally defended by rural elites prior to independence from Portugal but became the ideology of the middle classes after independence. Campelo Cabral sees the ideology of the Confederation as a populist form of classical liberalism opposed to two ideologies favoured by the wealthy: a moderate liberalism and conservatism. Campelo Cabral does not go into the structure of these ideologies in depth but he ties classical liberalism to local autonomy, meaning that the radical classical liberals were the most anti-centralist, while moderate liberals were less anti-centralist and conservatives supported a philosophy of centralism in Brazil. Implicit in Campelo Cabral's work is the notion that each of these ideologies were tied to a particular class. Radical classical liberals represented the middle class and the poor who were opposed to high taxes imposed by the court in Rio and political appointments for governor and other offices by Rio meant to favor their wealthiest supporters in Pernambuco. Moderate liberals organized around the *Partido Liberal* (Liberal Party) tended to be from wealthy families but they were poorer and from less illustrious families than the richest elements in the province. The wealthiest residents supported the centralist *Partido Conservador* (Conservative Party) which supported the monarchy, political appointment of governors and other local officials, and high taxes favouring estates capable of absorbing the additional costs.

---

<sup>10</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 122, 125-127.

<sup>11</sup>Leite, *Pernambuco 1824*, 129, 131, 134.

Janine Pereira de Sousa Alarcão in her 2006 “O saber e o fazer: república, federalismo, e separatismo na Confederação do Equador” (the know-how and the do-it-yourself: republic, federalism and separatism in the Confederation of the Equator) sees the declaration of the Confederation of the Equator on the 2nd of July of 1824 as being caused by a desire for autonomy arising from an escalation of local conflicts between leaders allied to or opposing particular state governors. The rebels had refused to allow a governor appointed by Rio to take office, preferring a governor they had elected. Loyalty to a particular official, therefore, created opposing factions. She also identifies excessive taxation and economic dissatisfaction caused by competition in sugar and coffee production from other nations as economic causes. Aside from economic and factional causes, she identifies a budding Brazilian nationalism standing in opposition to Portuguese Institutions as contributing to the 1824 revolt. The rebels believed that separation from Portugal could not be realized until the Portuguese-born regent prince Dom Pedro ruling as monarch of his own branch of the Portuguese Braganza dynasty from his seat in Rio was weakened. Independence from Rio was, to Alarcão, a continuation of the struggle for independence from Portugal.

Alarcão sees signs that Frei Caneca was a believer in republicanism from the very beginnings of his writings.<sup>12</sup> Liliane Gonçalves de Souza Carrijo doesn't seem quite so certain in her 2013 “Frei Caneca, um republicano?” (Frei Caneca, a republican?). Carrijo focuses on the ideology behind the Confederation of the Equator more explicitly and ties it to the circumstances of the northeast. She does not explain what republicanism means. As with most authors writing about the Confederation, she utilizes terms capable of multiple meanings such as republicanism and classical liberalism. When independence came, via the prince-regent's decision to create his own independent monarchy based out of Rio in 1822, there was hope that Dom Pedro would allow for the creation of a constitutional monarchy protecting regional autonomy, a possibility defended by Caneca initially.<sup>13</sup> Then, Dom Pedro dismissed the Constitutional Assembly. Carrijo sees a change in Caneca's positions as she indicates that, until the assembly of elected repres-

---

<sup>12</sup>Janine Pereira de Sousa Alarcão, “O saber e o fazer: república, federalismo, e separatismo na Confederação do Equador,” Dissertation (Universidade de Brasília, 2006), 44.

<sup>13</sup> Liliane Gonçalves de Souza Carrijo, “Frei Caneca, um republicano?” Dissertation (Universidade de Brasília, 2013), 27-28, 30-31.

entatives was dismissed by Dom Pedro on the 12th of November of 1823, Caneca had been content with the notion of a constitutional monarchy but after that date, as Dom Pedro authored a constitution with his ministers and commanded the states swear to it, Caneca morphed and opposed adopting this 1824 constitution, resisting its centralist and aristocratic tendencies, and supported the declaration of the Confederation of the Equator, becoming a republican.<sup>14</sup>

Carrijo states that Caneca supported a fairly extreme form of decentralization. Each state would have its own army and navy, be subject to a system of requisitions as opposed to direct taxation of citizens, be able to elect its governors, maintain the vast majority of its tax receipts, and legislate on most subjects. Carrijo identifies the desire for regional autonomy as one of the major tenets of the ideology of the Confederation of the Equator and then goes on to argue that there was a shift in their beliefs away from co-existing with monarchism, but she does not indicate whether or not this shift reflected a realization that autonomy would not be possible without dismantling the monarchy.

Some scholars have focused on the sources of the ideology of the 1824 movement. Professor Kelly Cristina Azevedo de Lima has argued that there was, in Pernambuco, a conservative, Portuguese-influenced monarchical strain of *Pombalismo*, inspired by the Portuguese minister Marquis of Pombal who had instituted liberalizing reforms in Portugal within the context of preserving the Lisbon-based monarchy, and a radical anti-monarchical liberalism inspired by France and North America, a strain to which she claims Caneca belonged<sup>15</sup>. Azevedo de Lima notes that Caneca believed that God did not grant sovereignty to kings but only to the people, in whom sover-

---

<sup>14</sup>Carrijo, "Frei Caneca," 32-33, 36, 38, 104. Carrijo writes: "Em suma, até a outorga da constituição, em 1824, o projeto político do Carmelita centrou-se em dois eixos: a monarquia constitucional representativa e a descentralização política, aspectos que foram enfaticamente defendidos pelo frei. Todavia, a partir desta data, Caneca passou a defender o regime republicano confederado" ("In summary, until the bestowal of the constitution in 1824, the Carmelite's political project focused on two points: a representative constitutional monarchy and political decentralization, emphatically defended by the clergyman. Nevertheless, after this period, Caneca began to defend a republican confederation regime").

<sup>15</sup>Kelly Cristina Azevedo de Lima, "Frei Caneca: entre a liberdade dos antigos e a igualdade dos modernos," *Revista Eletrônica de Ciências Sociais* 12 (2008): 146-147 ([www.cchla.ufpb.br/caos/numero12/REVISTA\\_12\\_2007\\_Kelly%20Cristina%20Azevedo.pdf](http://www.cchla.ufpb.br/caos/numero12/REVISTA_12_2007_Kelly%20Cristina%20Azevedo.pdf) (last accessed 9 March 2015)).

eignty is deposited via natural law, tying Caneca's beliefs to St. Thomas Aquinas, Spanish theologian Francisco Suarez, Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and the German legal scholar Samuel von Pufendorf.<sup>16</sup>

Although scholars writing about the Confederation have identified bits and pieces of the ideology Brother Mug advocated, they have failed to present a comprehensive summary of the world view embodied by the *Typbis Pernambucano*. I reviewed all of the issues of the publication. Herein, I present a summary of Brother Mug's ideas, a form of anti-authoritarian Catholic classical liberalism encompassing elements of political philosophies we might term progressive, libertarian, paleo-conservative, or a number of other labels in today's parlance.

### *The Ideology of Brother Mug*

Caneca affirmed the importance of ideology in his writings.<sup>17</sup> He claimed he was writing his articles to indoctrinate common people who could not read or write, not the wealthy, indicating he expected his papers to be read aloud.<sup>18</sup> An analysis of the *Typbis Pernambucano* reveals several recurring themes.

*A Constitution Restraining the Size and Scope of the Monarchy in Rio*. The journalists of the Confederation of the Equator supported free speech, freedom of worship, opposition to caste systems and the gradual abolition of slavery. They criticized arbitrariness using the terms *governo arbitrário* (arbitrary government) and *arbitrariedade* (arbitrariness) frequently, stating that legal proceedings follow different rules depending on which group is affected. They thus seek objective legal procedures that cannot be manipulated as easily.

---

<sup>16</sup>Lima, "Frei Caneca," 153-154, 156-158, 158-161, 161-164, 164-166, 166-168, 168-171. In these pages, Lima provides a summary of Caneca's philosophical influences as she believes them to be. The authors she names are primarily European classical liberal philosophers.

<sup>17</sup>Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca, *Frei Joaquim do Amor Divino Caneca* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001), 55. Caneca writes that "as idéias falsas e inexatas, que fizermos das coisas, produzirão infalivelmente juízos falsos, incoerências; crimes, atentados, perturbações da sociedade e a sua ruína afinal" ("false and inexact ideas, which we make of things, will infallibly produce false judgments, incoherencies; crimes, attempts, disturbances of society and its final ruin") so that we can see that getting the right ideology in mind was important to him.

<sup>18</sup>Caneca, *Frei Joaquim*, 57. Caneca tells us: "eu não escrevo para os homens letrados; sim para o povo rude, e que não tem aplicação às letras" ("I do not write for lettered men; yes for the rude people and who do not have application for the letters").

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved





## Authoritarianism and Corporatism: Brazil under Getúlio Vargas' *Estado Novo* (New State)<sup>1</sup>

Luciano Aronne de Abreu

*Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS)*

IT IS A CURRENTLY HELD INTERPRETATION in our historiography that during the so called Vargas Era (1930-45) Brazil was marked by the beginning of an important transition period, characterized by the change from a system based on agroexport to an urban and industrial-based society, under an authoritarian political system inspired by the principles of state corporatism. In this sense, our objective here is not to analyze the actions of modernization or the political practices of Vargas regime, but, more precisely, to its authoritarian political-conceptual and corporate principles. Before that, however, some brief contextual and historiographical references are required in order better to situate the object of the proposed analysis.

The modernizing face of the first Vargas government would show more clearly in the institutional level, not only in the state structure, but also in its relations with the society. According to Eli Diniz (1999), it built a new political-institutional framework that permitted “to increase the intervention power of the State and to expand the incorporation capability of the political system, giving room to representation of the interests of new players linked to the emerging industrial order and breaking the rigidity of the preexisting power structure.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, in institutional terms, this new state would be marked by an increasing process of rationalization of public administration, according to the principles of universalism of procedures and

---

<sup>1</sup>The Portuguese version of this text was presented in the seminar “Autoritarismo e Cultura Política,” which took place at the Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul from 11 to 14 June 2012. Note that in the present English version the author translated all of the citations originally in Portuguese into English but the book titles were kept in the original language.

<sup>2</sup>Eli Diniz, “Engenharia Institucional e Políticas Públicas: dos Conselhos Técnicos às Câmaras Setoriais,” in Dulce Pandolfi, ed., *Repensando o Estado Novo* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 1999), 25.



bureaucratic insulation,<sup>3</sup> while its relations with society would be governed by the logic of state corporatism.

At the political level, other interpretations define the same period from the perspective of the Marxist concept of “autonomy of the State from Politics,” that is, a state

free of political injunctions and put in a situation of arbitration in relation to dominant fractions, that amends, corrects, and coercively promotes new institutional arrangements, and also finds new ground for the economy, and socially dominant classes.<sup>4</sup>

From this perspective, marked perhaps by the widening the degree of the autonomy from politics, some historians define the Vargas Era using the concept of “State of Commitment,”<sup>5</sup> where positions of power would be redistributed among the old and the new groups incorporated into all levels of state power.

These interpretations are not mutually exclusive—they rather should be seen as complementary. Thus, whether in economic, institutional or political terms, the modernizing character of the Vargas Era was directly based on the authoritarian principles of a state corporatism, which would correspond to an “exasperation of its political autonomy” and would constitute a “bourgeois instrument for the achievement of industrialism from the compulsion of the State.”<sup>6</sup> We therefore must identify, though very briefly, the main institutional characteristics and the conditions for full realization of state corporatism deployed in Brazil during Vargas, especially after 1937.

In terms of its institutional structure, and within the process of rationalization of public administration, the most important piece of the corporate gear was the creation of Technical Councils. The most notable examples are the National Coffee Council (1931), later replaced by the National Coffee

---

<sup>3</sup>See Edson Nunes, *A gramática política do Brasil: clientelismo, corporativismo e insulamento burocrático* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2007).

<sup>4</sup>Luiz Werneck Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978), 119.

<sup>5</sup>According to Boris Fausto, after the victorious Revolution of the 1930s, a vacuum of power opened with the political collapse of the coffee bourgeoisie and with the inability of other fractions of the bourgeoisie to take power exclusively. The State of Commitment, he says, was the answer to this situation (Boris Fausto, *A Revolução de 30: historiografia e história*, 13th ed. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994).

<sup>6</sup>Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 119.

Department; the Federal Board of Foreign Trade (1934); the Technical Council of Economics and Finance (1934); the Federal Board of Public Service (1936), later replaced by the Administrative Department of Public Service; the National Council of Water and Electric Power (1939); the National Council of Industrial Policy and Trade (1943); and the Economic Planning Commission (1944). The additional components were the syndicates, which in this case were delegated organs of the government; and the labour Justice, with a normative character and comprising representatives of discrete social classes.

Our historiography also commonly holds that the Brazilian State corporatism was never fully perfected, despite its complex institutional structure. During this period, as Luiz Werneck Viana (1978) summarized it, “the corporate language was reduced to statements of political leaders of the State, and even that for a brief period of time. The corporate offices, against the apparent intention of the legislator, were emptied of their ‘collaborationist’ philosophy, turning into instruments of class domination.”<sup>7</sup> Adalberto Cardoso (2007) says that in the 1930s the State became the place for the formulation of standards and rules for the use of labour (labour laws) and the norms and rules for the distribution of the labour yields (social legislation), in return for undertaking the repression of the trade union movement. In Cardoso’s words, this was a “*corporativismo maneta* (one-handed corporatism, a kind of a deficient corporatism system) because it removed the voice of workers in decision-making mechanisms of the state apparatus.”<sup>8</sup>

This study does not intend to analyze, critique or even list the vast historiography pertaining to corporatism in Brazil. Without denying that the Brazilian state corporatism constituted an instrument of domination and not of class collaboration, we intend to analyze it here not from its practices, as if it were emptied of its “collaborationist” philosophy or as if it were a *corporativismo maneta*, but rather from its conceptual and political principles, as defined by Oliveira Viana in his intellectual and juristic works.

#### *ManoileSCO and Oliveira Viana: Short Approach*

The Brazilian state corporatism, according to Luiz Werneck Viana (1978), was not a product of an “*ad hoc* construction, designed to meet the pressures

<sup>7</sup>Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 225.

<sup>8</sup>Adalberto Cardoso, “Estado Novo e Corporativismo,” *Locus: Revista de História* (Juiz de Fora) 13 (2) (2007), 113.

of the moment,” but rather from the implementation of a previously elaborated project, “the objectives of which were the modernization of the State and society without displacing the old elites, the diversification and growth of the economy, and a new way of submitting the subaltern classes to the block of the ruling classes.”<sup>9</sup> Werneck Viana (1978) pointed that the basic principles of this national project were linked to the thought of Oliveira Viana and his “sociological empiricism.”<sup>10</sup> Oliveira Viana defined in 1922 its fundamental propositions, which included the depoliticizing of trade unions and economic control of the working class.<sup>11</sup> In another part of his study, referring to relations between the industrial bourgeoisie and the State, Werneck Viana points out that the State, looking for consensual solutions, would bring every new proposed social legislation to the (entrepreneurial) class entities. In exchange, these entities would put aside their old liberal demands for a free market system and rely on the State to control the subaltern classes. Commenting on a report submitted to the government by FIESP, Werneck Viana (1978) says that “instead of Ford, now Manóiesco is cited, brought into play regardless of being out of context and without apparent usefulness to the unfolding of the argument. It honors, therefore, somewhat covertly the followers of the corporatist writer (...).”<sup>12</sup>

Now, assuming that the concept of state corporatism is appropriate to define the Brazilian State during Vargas, that its principles are linked to the thought of Oliveira Viana and, more generally, to that of Mikhail Manoile-

---

<sup>9</sup>Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 182.

<sup>10</sup>According to Luiz Werneck Viana the authoritarian character of Oliveira Viana’s thought was the result of his “sociological empiricism”, inherited from Alberto Torres. In this regard, the author says: “It is not liberalism as such that he attacks, but its application to Brazil, which would produce a distancing between the legal country and the real one – the country of clans, patriarchal and organically invertebrate. The Anglo-Saxon liberal democracies would be established from the organization of different social groups, identified by a complex system of loyalties to the nation state. In political terms, full citizenship could only correspond to a situation of social peace, as in those countries where the individual interest was already disciplined and guided by political parties and labour unions.” Later Werneck Viana says that Oliveira Viana combines modern capitalism with corporatism, with reference to the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. He states: “In its transitional form, authoritarianism, under corporate regime, is founding a new and superior kind of democratic coexistence, with the elimination of universal suffrage and its replacement by the union of productive classes” (Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 185).

<sup>11</sup>Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 186.

<sup>12</sup>Viana, *Liberalismo e Sindicato no Brasil*, 173.

sco, and that such a political model had as a goal the modernization of the State and society without displacing the old elites, but subjugating the lower classes, how would it be possible also to claim that this regime would adopt as one of its principles interclass cooperation and solidarity? In fact, would corporate offices of the New State have been emptied of their “collaborationist” philosophy, as Luiz Werneck Viana tells us, or would these institutions have constituted a “*corporativismo maneta*” in the words of Adalberto Cardoso, for not giving voice to workers in decision-making processes of the State? Or, to the contrary, could it be said that its authoritarian character and the modernization and class domination objective of the Brazilian state corporatism did not constitute a misuse of Manóiesco’s philosophy nor quite denied his general principles of the corporatism but that these were in line above all with the principles of organic idealism of Oliveira Viana?

Both Manóiesco and Oliveira Viana highlighted the need to adapt their ideas to different national realities, yet they shared the critique of liberalism and the defense of an authoritarian political regime of corporative type. Manóiesco, trying to separate fascism and corporatism, says it would be necessary to go through “an adaptation process and, more importantly, a fostering, in order to apply the theory to the national realities.” To Manóiesco (1938) corporatism therefore excludes “the idea of slavish copying and requires in each case subtlety and skill, as well as constructive imagination.”<sup>13</sup> In order to defend the project of creating a corporate Labour Justice in Brazil, Oliveira Viana said that this would be based on a new conception of law, law of sociological character and adapted to the dynamics of social realities, born “from a growing socialization of legal life, the centre of which is successively shifting from the individual to the group and from the group to the nation,” as opposed to what Viana (1938) called the “old individualistic conception” of law.<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, without denying his possible affinity with Manóiesco, the corporate model proposed by Oliveira Viana (1938) not only does not match exactly the types defined by the Romanian author, but also his theoretical and conceptual underpinnings would often refer to the so-called sociological

---

<sup>13</sup>Mikhail Manóiesco, *O Século do Corporativismo*, trans. by Azevedo Amaral (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1938), XV.

<sup>14</sup>Oliveira Viana, *Problemas de Direito Corporativo* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1938), 7.

school of interpretation, the “new school of sociological jurisprudence”<sup>15</sup> that is usually little mentioned or even not referred to at all by the historiography concerning the matter.

In order to understand the conceptual and political principles of the Brazilian state corporatism as defined by Oliveira Viana, one must start by identifying their possible intersections with the thought of Manoilescu and then this Brazilian author’s deployment of the ideas of the North American “sociological jurisprudence” in order to justify the corporate model he proposed for Brazil.

To Manoilescu (1938), the corporatist idea did not constitute the expression of a mere intellectual whim, but rather a formula of national salvation, in response to a logical need derived from conditions peculiar to the twentieth century. In his words, metaphorically referring to the sense of historical development, the author says that “in the sea, a swimmer can move in any direction. But the one who follows the direction of the flow does the greatest feats.”<sup>16</sup> The twentieth century, as indicated by the title of his book, therefore would be *O Século do Corporativismo*. The century would be marked by a major transformation of the world economy, especially the industrial decentralization, characterized by the formation of local authorities that would set the main trend of this new stage of international economic development. Agricultural countries would seek to industrialize and the industrialized ones to develop agriculture. As a result, says Manoilescu, each country would have to undergo a reorganization “aimed at affirming their unitary organization in the international economy”, adopting as a guiding principle “the rule to concede nothing to another without receiving corresponding favor in return.” To achieve this, he says, every nation should remain a distinct national unity but maintain a previously non-existent internal cohesion: “the unitary and supportive character of each country will be imposed by the need arising from the difficulties of the time.”<sup>17</sup>

In the face of these changes, Manoilescu (1938) identifies what he called the “imperatives of the twentieth century.” They included national solidarity (national-idealist), organization, peace, international collaboration, and

---

<sup>15</sup>Viana, *Problemas de Direito Corporativo*, 14.

<sup>16</sup> Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 5.

<sup>17</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 8-9.

decapitalization, with corporatism being the doctrine the state needed to respond more appropriately to the demands of the times.

The imperative of national solidarity would give rise to new conditions in the world economy, resulting in the disruption of the ties that bound individuals from different countries and causing their growing submission to the influence of the State, which would “set the direction and the discharging of each bilateral trade directed abroad,” Any individual action should fit the plans of the State and be exercised through the organs of the State (1938).<sup>18</sup> The national interests would prevail absolutely over the individual, and the organization of the state would be characterized by unity and unprecedented solidarity. In Manoilescu (1938) view, national solidarity would be based on the intimate coordination of the interests of individuals and groups: “As in any other period in history, the nation has now become a collectivity cemented by the spirit of solidarity. The state is the supreme expression of this solidarity.”<sup>19</sup> The prototype of this new State, according Manoilescu (1938), would be the fascist State, as opposed to the “discontinuous, disarticulated and amorphous” kind of State of the nineteenth century, which kept people in a “sad and mediocre” condition.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to the imperative of the organization, Manoilescu (1938) looks at the evolution of nature, from the most simple to the most complex forms for lessons to discern the direction of social development. Just as nature always develops organisms that are more complex and more organized, Manoilescu claims that “superiority and organization are synonymous in the scale of evolution of life,” and that the development of societies “follows the same line and is characterized by the same increasing complexity of the organization.”<sup>21</sup> The peculiarity of social evolution, however, is that in all periods of historical development “the last factor introduced in the game of social forces preponderates over the others as the dominant element in the stage of evolution initiated by the appearance of this new element.”<sup>22</sup> Manoilescu (1938) divides the human evolution into four different phases:

---

<sup>18</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 12.

<sup>19</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 13.

<sup>20</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 17.

<sup>21</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 20.

<sup>22</sup>Manoilescu, *O Século do Corporativismo*, 21.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



## The Contributions of Gilberto Freyre to Acculturation Research

Joaquim Filipe Peres de Castro  
*Universidade Fernando Pessoa*

### 1. *The definition of the acculturation construct*

The acculturation phenomenon is defined by its main dimensions: intercultural contact, mutual interactions among different cultures,<sup>1</sup> learning a second culture,<sup>2</sup> and cultural changes at the individual<sup>3</sup> and the collective levels.<sup>4</sup> In defining the acculturation construct it is important to take into account that cultural changes can elicit reinterpretation of one's own cultural legacy,<sup>5</sup> because acculturation is a dynamic process of cultural creation.<sup>6</sup> It is also important to take into account that the acculturation process is regulated by motivations, and it is often antagonistic and asymmetric.

### 2. *The main models to approach the acculturation phenomenon*

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver<sup>7</sup> stated that the acculturation topic involves three models: assimilation, multicultural, and fusion. Castro added the in-

---

<sup>1</sup>R. Y. Bourhis, C. L. Moise, S. Perreault, and S. Senécal, "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach," *International Journal of Psychology* 32 (1997): 369-386; R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M. T. Herskovits, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist* 38 (1936): 149-152.

<sup>2</sup>J. W. Powell, *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages: With Words Phrases and Sentences to be Collected* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880); F. W. Rudmin, "Constructs, Measurements and Models of Acculturation and Acculturative Stress," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33 (2009): 106-123.

<sup>3</sup>T. D. Graves, "Psychological Acculturation in a Tri-ethnic Community," *South-Western Journal of Anthropology* 23 (1967): 337-350.

<sup>4</sup>B. Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Cultural Change: An Inquiry into Race Relations in Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958; originally published in 1945).

<sup>5</sup>F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969).

<sup>6</sup>F. Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982; originally published in 1940); Malinowski, *The Dynamics of Cultural Change*.



tercultural model, which is supposed to be related to Francophone cultural legacy.<sup>8</sup>

The main features of the acculturation models are briefly described here. However, it is also necessary to cast light on a theoretical detail. The terms “majority” and “minority” are used in the current paper simply because they are employed in the Anglo-Saxon literature. At the international level, it is necessary to standardize the concepts, regardless of the fact that they can be targets of critical arguments. The more accurate terms would be “dominant” and “dominated” cultural groups, when the research focuses on or is concerned with asymmetric power relationships.

According to Castro,<sup>9</sup> in the assimilation model the minority culture is expected to disappear, after becoming completely adapted within the majority culture. Mutual learning will not be reported in the expected outcome, because the minority will be completely assimilated within the majority culture. European assimilation policies, during the nineteenth century, as well as the Chicago School conceptualization<sup>10</sup> constitute examples of the assimilation model.

In the multicultural model the minority culture is expected to achieve cultural adaptation, maintaining, however, at the same time, its own culture.<sup>11</sup> In the multicultural model just the minority is learning, and both

<sup>7</sup>J. V. Arends-Tóth and F. J. R. Van de Vijver, “Issues in Conceptualization and Assessment of Acculturation,” in M. H. Bornstein and L. R. Cote, eds., *Acculturation and Parent-child Relationships: Measurement and Development* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2006), 33-62.

<sup>8</sup>J. F. P. Castro, “The Portuguese Tile in the Rudmin Acculturation Learning Model: A Fusion Case,” in L. Gaiser and D. Čurčić, eds., *EMUNI, Bridging Gaps in the Mediterranean Research Space. Conference Proceedings of the 4th EMUNI Research Souk, 17-18 April* (El Knjiga / Portorož: EMUNI University, 2012), 618-625; J. F. P. Castro, “O contexto da aculturação português através do modelo de Rudmin: do encontro intercultural com o Japão até ao Luso-Tropicalismo,” dissertação de doutoramento não publicada (Universidade Fernando Pessoa, Porto, Portugal, 2014); J. F. P. Castro, *Towards a Psychology of Fusion in the Acculturation Phenomenon. Actas dos Dias da Investigação na Universidade Fernando Pessoa* (Porto: GADI, 2015),

<sup>9</sup>Castro, “O contexto da aculturação”; J. F. P. Castro, *O contexto da aculturação português através do modelo de Rudmin: do encontro intercultural com o Japão até ao Luso-Tropicalismo*, Actas dos Dias da da Investigação na Universidade Fernando Pessoa. Porto: GADI, 2014).

<sup>10</sup>M. M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); R. E. Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 33 (1928): 881-893.

<sup>11</sup>J. W. Berry, “A Psychology of Immigration,” *Journal of Social Issues* 57 (2001): 615-631.

cultures only interact in the broader society. It is important to notice that the broader society cannot imply a segregation of the minority group, but rather a minimal intercultural interaction, which is backed by the majority culture. The WASP culture (White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant), and the Berry Model (2001)<sup>12</sup> constitute examples of this multicultural approach.

In the fusion model there is interaction and mutual learning among the different cultures, while cultural mixing persists.<sup>13</sup> This will produce a new culture<sup>14</sup> endowed with internal diversity,<sup>15</sup> because the different cultures are adding new cultural features to each other. Brazilian culture, the Freyre<sup>16</sup> and the Ortiz<sup>17</sup> theories, or the policies of Alexander the Great<sup>18</sup> offer examples of the fusion model.

In the intercultural model at the private and at the individual levels the minority can change or can maintain its own cultural legacy, if a laissez-faire viewpoint is applied in those domains. The minority, at the public level, is expected to achieve cultural adaptation vis-à-vis the majority culture, for instance in the labour and in the educational domains. However, at the institutional level the interaction among different cultures is reduced. The universalistic values of the French Republic can be invoked as an example of this model, because those institutional values are not expected to change due to minority agency.

---

<sup>12</sup>Berry, "A Psychology of Immigration,"

<sup>13</sup>M. J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1938); S. E. Simons, "Social Assimilation. I," *American Journal of Sociology* 6 (1901): 790-822; S. E. Simons, "Social Assimilation. II," *American Journal of Sociology* 7 (1901): 53-79.

<sup>14</sup>T. LaFromboise, H. L. K. Coleman, and J. Gerton, "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory," in P. B. Organista, K. M. Chun and G. Marín eds., *Readings in Ethnic Psychology* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 117-155.

<sup>15</sup>R. Bastide, *As religiões africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo: Pioneira, 1971); Castro, "The Portuguese Tile;" Castro, "O contexto da aculturação;" Castro, *O contexto da aculturação portugueses*.

<sup>16</sup>G. Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986; originally published in 1933); F. W. Rudmin, B. Wang, and J. F. P. Castro, "Acculturation Research Critiques and Alternative Research Designs," in S. J. Schwartz and J. B. Unger, eds., *Handbook of Acculturation and Health* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 in press).

<sup>17</sup>F. Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995. Originally published in 1940).

<sup>18</sup>Simons, "Social Assimilation" I and II.

### 3. Gilberto Freyre

Gilberto Freyre (Recife, 1900-1987) was a Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist. He was educated in Brazil and in the United States of America at Baylor University and then at Columbia University under Franz Boas. In 1933, Freyre wrote *The Masters and the Slaves*,<sup>19</sup> stressing a comparison between the Portuguese colonization in Brazil and other Europeans settlements, mainly the Anglo-Saxon. Anglo-Saxon culture, in Freyre's words, was practising substitution, but it was not accommodating cultural adaptation with regard to oppressed cultures: "social engineering completed by the art of merely political transaction—in which the English have revealed themselves masters—but not of cultural transaction."<sup>20</sup> Therefore, according to Freyre, instead of promoting the adaptation of other cultures, the Anglo-Saxons were just assimilating them: "from a sociological point of view ... the selection should be only in one direction."<sup>21</sup> Yet, according to Freyre, in Brazil the Portuguese adaptation resulted in a culture of fusion. Hence, Brazilian culture arose from a two-way cultural influencing, and the Portuguese ruling culture was deemed to learn together with the oppressed cultures. Moreover, Freyre assumed that no culture is superior to another, stressing another feature of the fusion model.<sup>22</sup>

*3.1 The Freyre legacy.* Freyre thought that the Portuguese were more tolerant, and more able to achieve cultural adaptation on three levels: cultural, ecological, and biological. According to Freyre, Portuguese culture trended toward social harmony under the Portuguese paternalist and agrarian presence in the North of Brazil: "through intimate living together with the native people."<sup>23</sup> Biological adaptation occurred through "intermarriage" between the ruling European males and the oppressed females—the indigenous and African. Hence, the Brazilian culture of fusion developed under an antagonistic and asymmetric relationship among cultures and genders.

*3.2 Freyre as a consensual ideologue.* In the 1950s Freyre travelled through the Portuguese colonies, expanding his theory to encompass the broader Por-

<sup>19</sup>Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*.

<sup>20</sup>G. Freyre, *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics* (Lisbon: Tipografia. Silvas. 1961), 57.

<sup>21</sup>Freyre, *Portuguese Integration*, 58.

<sup>22</sup>LaFromboise, *et al.*, "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism."

<sup>23</sup>Freyre, *Portuguese Integration*, 39.

tuguese Empire. The result of this generalizing expansion underpins the concept of “Lusotropicalism”: “Diverse expressions of a single symbiotic culture that can be called Lusotropical culture.”<sup>24</sup> After the 1950s, Freyre’s thought was fostered by the Portuguese dictatorship. The Portuguese ruling group started to look at the African colonies and at Goa (India) through the lens of the Brazilian case, invoked as a “successful” example. To this day the stereotype of this Portuguese plasticity prevails, even under a democratic political system:

All of those elements are to be found in the representations of Portuguese identity before and after Freyre. One can find them in Portuguese social sciences and literature, in official discourses, and in commonsense identity self-representations with amazing resilience and capacity to adapt to different political situations.<sup>25</sup>

According to Araújo and Maeso,<sup>26</sup> the consensus ideology of Lusotropical culture is still embedded in current schoolbooks. Lusotropical theory was thus transmitted to future generations, as Cabecinhas (2010),<sup>27</sup> and Cabecinhas and Feijó (2010),<sup>28</sup> and also Vala, Lopes and Lima (2008),<sup>29</sup> have pointed out.

#### 4. *The Freyre legacy for the acculturation approach*

According to Castro (2014),<sup>30</sup> Freyre’s work<sup>31</sup> is grounded in three main features. The first feature is the presumed Portuguese plasticity that enhances a learning of second cultures. The Portuguese people are presumed to be more

<sup>24</sup>Freyre, *Portuguese Integration*, 57.

<sup>25</sup>M. V. Almeida, *An Earth-colored Sea: “Race,” Culture, and the Politics of Identity in the Postcolonial Portuguese-colored Sea* (Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, 2004), 48.

<sup>26</sup>M. Araújo and S. R. Maeso, “Explorando o eurocentrismo nos manuais portugueses de história,” *Estudos de Sociologia* 15 (2010): 239-270.

<sup>27</sup>R. Cabecinhas, “Expressões de racismo: mudanças e continuidades,” in A. C. S. Mandarino and E. Gomberg, eds., *Racismos: Olhares plurais* (Salvador: Editora da Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2010), 11-43.

<sup>28</sup>R. Cabecinhas and J. Feijó, “Collective Memories of Portuguese Colonial Action in Africa: Representations of the Colonial Past among Mozambicans and Portuguese Youths,” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 4 (2010): 28-44.

<sup>29</sup>J. Vala, D. Lopes and M. Lima, “Black Immigrants in Portugal: Luso-Tropicalism and Prejudice,” *Journal of Social Issues* 64 (2008): 287-302.

<sup>30</sup>Castro, “O contexto da aculturação.”

<sup>31</sup>Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved

## Brazilian Narratives of Migration: A Multisited Journey

Beatriz Padilla

*Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL)*

*Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia (CIES-IUL)*

### *Introduction*

Encountering Brazilians in Portugal is a common happening, either as residents, tourists or students. Even if Brazilians can be found almost everywhere, many preferred Portugal due to many reasons: historical and colonial links, Portuguese return migration and their descendants, cultural and linguistic proximity, among others.<sup>1</sup> In the twenty-first century, Brazilians have become the larger immigrant community, representing about 25% of all foreigners, thus is pertinent find out more about this phenomenon and reflect upon its implications: reasons, perceptions, gender aspects, coping strategies, among others.

Multisited qualitative research<sup>2</sup> has rendered useful to uncover taken-for-granted facts and assumptions about migration, thus here, we draw on data gathered through this methodology to share details and diversities found in the migration narratives found among Brazilian migrants. Hence, this work is based on long-term on-going research about Brazilians in Portugal. Most ethnographic data comes from forty in-depth interviews with immigrants (23 males and 17 females when newcomers), and a multisite ethnography carried out in a popular neighbourhood in Lisbon and in the city of Dourados, in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul (Brazil), which involved at least eight migrant families residing in Lisbon and their extended families and relatives living in Brazil. Most interviews and ethnographic work were carried out between 2003 and 2007. The narratives presented here highlight aspects

---

<sup>1</sup>J. Peixoto, *A Mobilidade Internacional dos Quadros-Migrações Internacional, Quadros e Empresas Transnacionais em Portugal* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 1999); B. Padilla, "As migrações latino-americanas para Europa; uma análise retrospectiva para entender a mobilidade actual," *Migrações* 5 (2009): 19-35.

<sup>2</sup>G. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multisited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95-117.



that are not mainstream, because ethnographic methodology offers the possibility of digging deeper into their migration quest and discourses, considering different sides of the story, at destination and home.

### *Perceiving Brazilians*

Brazilians have lived in Portugal since colonial times, however the meanings attached to Brazilians and Brazilianess has changed throughout history. At present, Brazilian (*brasileiro*) means original or born in Brazil, yet along the XIX and early XX centuries, Brazilian meant something different: someone, usually born in Portugal who had a successful migration trajectory in Brazil and returned to Portugal to enjoy high standards of living,<sup>3</sup> something similar to the meaning of “indianos” among Spaniards (colloquial denomination for Spanish emigrants who had departure to destinations in the Americas to become rich; India was the denomination given to America during the Discovery and later on). Both expressions, in Portuguese (*fazer a América*) or in Spanish (*hacer la América*) illustrate the sentiment. In the Portuguese case, throughout the twentieth century this view suffered substantive changes, accompanying the evolution of Brazilian migratory waves.

The first change was that Brazilian would mean simply born in Brazil. The second was the association of Brazilians to social statuses defined in terms of belonging to specific social classes and occupations. While in the 1980s Brazilians were perceived as upper and middle class residents, linked to qualified migration and specific professions (dentists, soft/hardware specialists, publicists, *etc.*) and were treated as Europeans, this view changed drastically with the intensification of migrations. In the late 1990s and 2000s, Brazilian migration experienced a process of proletarianisation, suffering from stigmatization.<sup>4</sup> More recently, with Brazil becoming one of the emerging powers, the so-called BRIC or BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), and a simultaneous shift in the direction of the migration flows, this perception is starting to change again, as many Brazilians are re-

<sup>3</sup>M. B. Rocha-Trindade, *Sociologia das Migrações* (Lisboa: Univerdade Aberta, 1995).

<sup>4</sup>B. Padilla, “Integração dos ‘imigrantes brasileiros recém-chegados’ na sociedade portuguesa: problemas e possibilidades,” in Igor Machado, ed., *Um mar de identidades – a imigração brasileira em Portugal* (São Carlos: EdUFSCar., 2006); B. Padilla, “Redes sociales de los brasileiros recién llegados a Portugal: ¿solidaridad étnica o empatía étnica? *Revista Alternativas. Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* 14 (2006): 49-61; B. Padilla, “Brazilian Migration to Portugal: Social Networks and Ethnic Solidarity,” CIES-ISCTE Working Paper N° 12 (2006) (<http://cies.iscte.pt/documents/CIES-WP12.pdf>).



turning home at the same time that Portuguese emigration to Brazil is gaining strength again, as in the old times. Nonetheless, the paradox is that coloniality and colonial imaginary have tinted bilateral relations throughout time, yet many Brazilians prefer to stay in Portugal. This contradiction rests on the way Brazilian immigrants assess their overall migration experience in Portugal, which can be unveiled by disentangling their narratives.

*Increasing mobility: Brazilians in Portugal*

In 1986, Portugal joined the European Community, today the EU, which implied initially prosperity, economic growth and development. The process of European integration had direct and significant changes in mobility, making the country attractive for immigrants, thus Portugal experienced modernization through Europeanisation. Since then, Portuguese immigration policies gained strengths, oscillating between adopting the European restrictive policy frameworks and making exceptions to ease postcolonial relations with Brazil and the African former colonies, granting several legalization processes.<sup>5</sup> In this sense, Peixoto,<sup>6</sup> Baganha,<sup>7</sup> and Gois and Marques<sup>8</sup> believe that there exists a Lusophone migration system involving the former Portuguese empire that has characterised migration trends and regime, directly or indirectly favouring the settlement of Lusophone peoples.

This shift in Portugal coincided with an inflection point in Brazil, where emigration became for the first time a reality. Povia Neto stated “Brazilian

---

<sup>5</sup>B. Padilla, “Acordos Bilaterais e Legalização: o impacte na integração dos brasileiros em Portugal”, in Jorge Malheiros, ed., *A Imigração Brasileira em Portugal* (ACIME: Lisbon, 2007), 217-223.

<sup>6</sup>J. Peixoto, “Dinâmicas e regimes migratórios: o caso das migrações internacionais em Portugal,” *Análise Social* 42 (183) (2007): 445-469; J. Peixoto, “New Migrations in Portugal: Labour Markets, Smuggling and Gender Segmentation,” *International Migration* 47 (2009): 185-210 (doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00528.x); J. Peixoto, “Back to the South: Social and Political Aspects of Latin American Migration to Southern Europe,” *International Migration* 50 (2012): 58-82 (doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00537.x).

<sup>7</sup>M. I. Baganha, “The Lusophone Migratory System: Patterns and Trends,” *International Migration* 47 (2009): 5-20 (doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00522.x).

<sup>8</sup>P. Góis and J. C. Marques, “Portugal as a Semi-peripheral Country in the Global Migration System,” *International Migration* 47 (2009): 21-50 (doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2009.00523.x).

emigration represented a historical discontinuity”<sup>9</sup> because since the beginning, Brazil has been known as a country of immigration.<sup>10</sup>

This migration turning point coincided, in opposite directions, for Brazil and Portugal. If interpreted from the perspective of Portugal, it inaugurated a new era of Brazilian migration, which has been divided by scholars into two waves. The first wave, late 1980s to mid/late 1990s, meant the arrival of skilled Brazilians (dentists, specialists in marketing, advertising, computer sciences, etc.) who were recruited or had come spontaneously responding to the modernisation and economic expansion requisites of the labour markets driven by Europeanisation.<sup>11</sup> Yet this growth implied a confrontation with Portuguese corporative and professional bodies that resisted competition from Brazilian fellows. In the end, the unrest was finally settled, mainly for dentists.<sup>12</sup>

In the second wave, from the turn of the new century until the present, Portugal experienced a significant increase of Brazilian arrivals,<sup>13</sup> driven by the expanding demand of low skilled human resources in labour markets, led by public works, construction and tourism, as well as by the self-feeding effect of Brazilian social networks.<sup>14</sup> This impetus only declined in 2010,

<sup>9</sup>H. Póvoa Neto, “A imagem da imprensa sobre a emigração brasileira,” *Estudos Avançados* 20 (57) (2006), 25 (<https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40142006000200003>).

<sup>10</sup>Teresa Sales, *Brasileiros longe de casa* (São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 1999); C. Braga Martes and S. Fleischer, eds., *Fronteiras cruzadas. etnicidade, género e redes sociais* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003); Maxime Margolis, “Na virada do milénio: A emigração brasileira para os Estados Unidos,” in Cristina Braga Martes and Soraya Fleischer, eds., *Fronteiras cruzadas. etnicidade, género e redes sociais* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003), 51-72.

<sup>11</sup>M. Baganha and P. Góis, “Migrações Internacionais de e para Portugal: o que sabemos e para onde vamos?” *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais* 52/52 (1999): 229, 280; A. Torresan, “Strange Bedfellows: Brazilian Immigrants Negotiating Friendship in Lisbon,” *Ethnos* 76 (2) (2011): 233-253 (doi: 10.1080/00141844.2010.544854).

<sup>12</sup>Igor José de Renó Machado, *Cárcere público: processos de exotização entre brasileiros no Porto* (Lisboa: ICS, 2009).

<sup>13</sup>Baganha and Góis, “Migrações Internacionais de e para Portugal;” J. Peixoto, “Strong Market and Weak State: The Case of Recent Foreign Immigration in Portugal,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28 (3) (2002): 483-497; Padilla, “Integração dos ‘imigrantes brasileiros recém-chegados;” Machado, *Cárcere público*.

<sup>14</sup>B. Padilla, “Brasileras en Portugal: de la transformación de las diversas identidades a la exotización,” *Amérique Latine Histoire et Mémoire. Les Cahiers ALHIM* 14 (2007) (<http://alhim.revues.org/index2022.html>); P. Góis, J. C. Marques, B. Padilla, and J. Peixoto, “Segunda ou terceira vaga? As características da imigração brasileira recente em Portugal,” in Beatriz Padilla and Maria Xavier, eds., *Migrações—Migrações entre Portugal e América Latina*,

with the advent of the economic crisis, when return to the country of origin became a new common trend in Portugal (and Southern Europe) as a response to increasing unemployment, economic stagnation and cuts in social benefits driven by austerity. Thus, we are witnessing a new turning point that involves the return of Brazilians, and the outflow Portuguese citizens.<sup>15</sup> Recently, Portuguese emigration has gained vitality reaching the high level of the 1960s, while Brazil has become an important destination of skilled and entrepreneurial migration as well as an attraction for the return of mixed couples (Brazilians married to Portuguese), according to the media and information provided by the Portuguese Emigration Observatory<sup>16</sup>.

During the so-called second wave, Brazilians began to be identified with labour migration, poverty and under-development, and since then, this view has been the dominant about Brazilians in Portugal. Somewhere else I have called this process “proletarianisation”, that is, Brazilians are viewed as poor, belonging to the lower socio-economic status regardless of their actual profession and qualifications, because overall they are associated with the low-end jobs they occupy in the Portuguese labour market. Because of the proletarianisation process, their higher educational attainment if compare with average that of Portuguese citizens is not recognized nor appreciated.<sup>17</sup> Demographic and statistical trends illustrate that Brazilians represent a normality and continuity in Portugal, yet the magnitude of their presence has changed over time, as Census data indicate (Table 1).

*Table 1. Brazilians in Portugal according to census data, 1960-2001*

	1960	1981	1991	2001	2011
<i>Nº of Brazilians</i>	6,357	9,962	13,499	31,869	109,787
<i>% over total foreigners</i>	21.6	9.2	12.7	14.1	27.8

Source: INE

---

Nº 5 (Lisboa: ACIDI, 2009), III-133; M. Meteeren and S. Pereira, “The Differential Role of Social Networks. Strategies and Routes in Brazilian Migration to Portugal and the Netherlands”, Working Paper 66 (2013) IMI – University of Oxford.

<sup>15</sup>B. Padilla and A. Ortiz, “Fluxos migratórios em Portugal: do boom migratório à desaceleração no contexto de crise. Balanço e desafios,” *Revista REMHÚ* 20 (39) (Jul-Dec 2012): 159-184.

<sup>16</sup><http://www.observatorioemigracao.secomunidades.pt/np4/home.html>.

<sup>17</sup>Padilla, “Integração dos ‘imigrantes brasileiros recém-chegados,’” Góis, Marques, Padilla, and Peixoto, “Segunda ou terceira vaga?”

Figure 1 illustrates the significant increase of Brazilian immigration since 1980, accounting also for the feminisation trend noted since 2003, and the quantitative jumps suffered in 2005 and 2008. The first jump in 2005 and 2006 reflects the conversion of precarious residency titles into permanent ones. The second jump in 2008 is the consequence of changes in immigration policies that opened an opportunity for on-going legalization through labour contracts, establishing differences with previous systems of exceptional regularizations or normalization processes (1992, 1996, 2001, 2003, 2005). Overall, statistics show a positive slope.

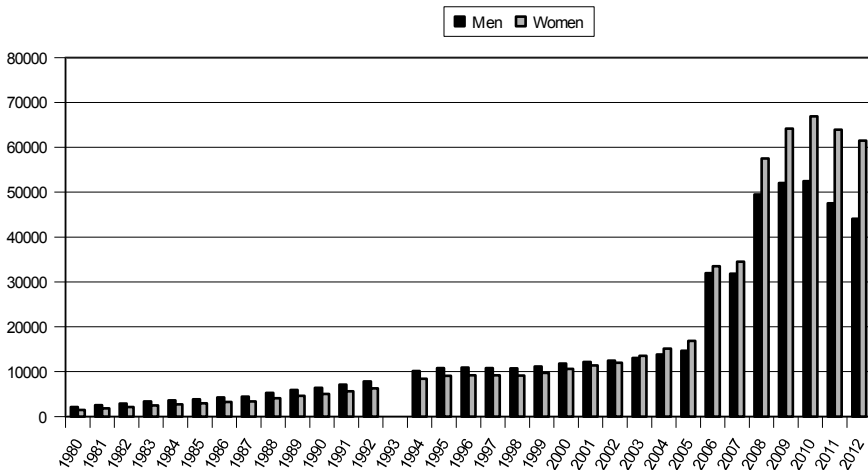


Fig. 1. Brazilian legal residents by sex, 1980-2012

Source: SEF, data processing: B. Padilla..

#### *Disentangling motivations for mobility and settlement*

Much has been said about motivations for migration; however economic reasons have gained centrality among scholars. In spite of that, migration triggers are more complex than economic interests, involving less subtle aspects that often go unnoticed. Based on the ethnographic data, I propose the following classification to account for the motivations of migration: *economic; family related; emotional; adventure/curiosity and professional*. Nonetheless in most cases more than one reason intertwines with another and specific contextual factors all together influence mobility decision.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved



## Entre-Fronteiras: Epistemologias para o futuro da educação por meio da diversidade – *Pedagogia da Fronteira e Estética da Ginga*

Denise Marcos Bussoletti<sup>1</sup>  
*Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL)*

Vagner de Souza Vargas<sup>2</sup>  
*Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL)*

Yo no sé de dónde soy, mi casa está en la frontera...  
*Jorge Drexler, "Frontera" (Virgin Records, 1999)*

### *Considerações iniciais*

O conceito de fronteira, tratado em suas mais diferentes possibilidades de apreensão, é um elemento fundamental para pensarmos em propostas pedagógicas que abarquem as diferenças como um foco de aprofundamento favorável ao enriquecimento da produção do conhecimento em sua ampla complexidade<sup>3</sup>. Atualmente, algumas propostas educativas estão refletindo sobre conceitos que deveriam oferecer novos caminhos à formação acadêmica, assim como às práticas educativas na sociedade como um todo<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Doutora em Psicologia (Doctoral Degree in Psychology), Pró-Reitora de Extensão e Cultura (Pro-Dean of Extension and Culture), Professora do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação (Professor in the Post-Graduation Program in Education): Faculdade de Educação (Faculty of Education), Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL).

<sup>2</sup>Doutorando em Educação (PhD Student), Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL), Bolsista CAPES (Scholarship by CAPES), Ator, Licenciado em Teatro (Actor, Graduated in Theatre).

<sup>3</sup>Denise Marcos Bussoletti & Vagner de Souza Vargas, "Art and Aesthetics of Ginga: Boundary for the Future in the in-Between Places of Diversity", *Global Journal of Human Social Science* 13(4) (2013): 1-10; Denise Marcos Bussoletti e Vagner de Souza Vargas, "Por entre fronteiras de uma pedagogia que pauta a educação pelas artes gingando saberes e práticas populares", *Revista Extraprensa* 1 (14) (2014): 41-48.

<sup>4</sup>Bussoletti & Vargas, "Art and Aesthetics of Ginga"; Bussoletti & Vargas, "Por entre fronteiras"; Eloiza da S. G. Oliveira e Marly de A. Costa, "A formação de professoras para a educação especial: multiculturalismo crítico e teoria das representações sociais", *Educação*



Em consonância com esses aspectos, acreditamos que a possibilidade necessária de mudança de paradigmas, na direção de propostas educativas inovadoras, passa pela recuperação da dimensão ética do fazer educativo aliado a uma outra estética da existência humana como princípios. Tal direção questiona e confronta assim as relações sócio-políticas e econômicas de silenciamento e se rebela contra os aviltamentos resultantes dessas relações que conduzem aquilo que Santos (2001)<sup>5</sup> nomina como sendo “epistemicídio”.

Para além do sofrimento e da devastação indizíveis que produziu nos povos, nos grupos e nas práticas sociais que fora por ele (*epistemicídio*) alvejado, significou um empobrecimento irreversível do horizonte e das possibilidades de conhecimento. Se hoje se instala um sentimento de bloqueamento pela ausência de alternativas globais ao modo como a sociedade está organizada, é porque durante séculos, sobretudo depois que a modernidade se reduziu à modernidade capitalista, se procedeu a liquidação sistemática das alternativas, quando elas, tanto no plano epistemológico, quanto no plano prático, não se compatibilizaram com as práticas hegemônicas<sup>6</sup>.

Nesse sentido, vindo ao encontro do que encaminhará as acepções que tomamos para fomentar as reflexões expostas neste texto, sentimos a necessidade de conceber os contextos que perpassam os campos educativos partindo desde uma perspectiva multicultural, na direção daquilo que defendemos como sendo uma outra perspectiva, aqui defendida como entre-cultural. Por multicultural resgatamos o que Hall (2006)<sup>7</sup> define como:

Multicultural é um termo qualitativo. Descreve as características sociais e os problemas de governabilidade apresentados por qualquer sociedade nas quais diferentes comunidades culturais convivem e tentam construir uma vida em comum, ao mesmo tempo em que retêm algo de sua identidade original. Em contrapartida, o termo “multiculturalismo” é substantivo. Refere-se às estratégi-

---

32 (1) (2007): 143-164; Flavia Pansini e Miguel Nenevé, “Educação multicultural e formação docente”, *Currículo Sem Fronteiras* 8 (1) (2008): 31-48; Denise Marcos Bussoletti, Vagner de Souza Vargas e Luana de Carvalho Krüger, “The Daily Masks and Socially Sensitive Identity: An Ethical and Aesthetical Proposal for Education in Brazil”, *Journal of Art for Life* 6 (1) (2014): 1-8; Miguel G. Arroyo, *Outros Sujeitos, Outras Pedagogias* (Petrópolis/RJ: Vozes, 2014).

<sup>5</sup>Boaventura de Sousa dos Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice – o social e o político na pós-modernidade*, 8ª ed. (São Paulo: Cortez, 2001).

<sup>6</sup>Sousa dos Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice*, 329.

<sup>7</sup>Stuart Hall, *Da diáspora: identidades e mediações culturais* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2006).



as e políticas adotadas para governar ou administrar problemas de diversidade e multiplicidade gerados pelas sociedades multiculturais. É usualmente utilizado no singular, significando a filosofia específica ou a doutrina que sustenta as estratégias multiculturais<sup>8</sup>.

Propomos, assim, uma ampliação crítica à perspectiva da multiculturalidade, uma dialogicidade entre multicultural e multiculturalismo, particularmente, quando aplicada ao campo da educação. Quando falamos em entrecultural, defendemos um espaço onde exista uma hibridização das diversas características, conceitos, culturas, onde já não seja possível mais considerá-las apartadas umas das outras e, sendo justamente este o nosso local de ensino, desejo e defesa para este trabalho. Referimos isso, pois em nossa realidade brasileira, tratar da discussão aqui proposta pensando apenas no multicultural ou no multiculturalismo nos pareceria que estaríamos assumindo a convivência das diversas culturas em um mesmo espaço geográfico, mas sem um intercâmbio, uma hibridização possível entre elas, criando novas culturas. Em nossos trabalhos, buscamos aquilo que não se aparta, aquilo que não se isola na identificação/definição do que os diferencia dos demais circundantes. Nos interessamos pelos aspectos que são borrados, hibridizados que se dispõem à abertura de diálogo e intercâmbio com elementos distintos de si. Nessa perspectiva, cabe também citar o que Pansini & Nenevé (2008)<sup>6</sup> compreendem na relação do contexto educacional à multiculturalidade historicamente formada:

[...] a educação multicultural propõe uma ruptura aos modelos pré-estabelecidos e práticas ocultas que no interior do currículo escolar produzem um efeito de colonização em que os estudantes de diversas culturas, classes sociais e matizes étnicas ocupam o lugar de colonizados e marginalizados por um processo de silenciamento de sua condição<sup>9</sup>.

Não desejamos criar aqui um tipo de proposta educativa que determine como devam ser as práticas e ações pedagógicas, pois essa seria a visão normatizadora tradicional evidenciada no campo da educação brasileira desde o século XX. Também não iremos descrever as características que diferenciam estes ou aqueles grupos, determinando as maneiras como seus conhecimentos se operam por determinado mecanismo, pois isso seria uma visão silenci-

---

<sup>8</sup>Hall, *Da diáspora*, 50.

<sup>9</sup>Flavia Pansini e Miguel Nenevé, “Educação multicultural e formação docente,” *Currículo Sem Fronteiras* 8 (1) (2008): 32.

adora de outras possibilidades e determinista, advinda de um tipo de prática hegemônica. Para chegarmos ao que estamos propondo com este texto, nos utilizaremos das reflexões realizadas através das atividades que desenvolvemos na cidade de Pelotas, no estado do Rio Grande do Sul (RS), ao sul do Brasil, nos últimos anos, através do Núcleo de Artes, Linguagens e Subjetividades (NALS), situado na Faculdade de Educação, da Universidade Federal de Pelotas (UFPEL). Compreendemos que, para que aconteça uma ruptura com os modelos de produção dos silenciamentos impostos, é necessário focar a procura das vozes e conceitos silenciados, mergulhando na identificação de suas diferenças e nas problemáticas de suas adversidades, com o intuito de que as possíveis distâncias não afastem ainda mais as alteridades. Assim, nós estaríamos minimizando as dificuldades em estabelecer propostas pedagógicas eficientes, capazes de gerar identificação e significação nos mais diferentes grupos sociais de nosso país<sup>10</sup>.

Acreditamos que, seguindo essa perspectiva, estaremos sendo fieis ao princípio do dialogismo bakhtiniano, contribuindo para a constituição de um espaço e um tempo onde todas as vozes interessam. Todas as vozes podem e devem ser ouvidas e que dialogar não significa substituir ou justapor locutores, mas interagir sem a imposição dogmática de uma única voz, nem o relativismo de uma coexistência acrítica de todas as vozes, mas sim pela síntese dialética das vozes contrárias.

De acordo com os desafios e limites que assumimos no NALS, o texto a seguir trará algumas considerações éticas, estéticas e epistemológicas sobre os trabalhos que temos desenvolvido ao sul do Brasil e sobre o que defendemos como propostas ético-estéticas no campo da educação que venham a propor olhares outros sobre essa área em nosso país. Nossas propostas e atividades partem das particularidades de uma região ao sul do Brasil, mas não encerraremos neste texto as possibilidades de que nossas ações sejam multiplicadas, extrapoladas e levadas a outras localidades. Além disso, também apresentaremos a proposta da *Estética da Ginga* como uma aliada fundamental que nos levou a considerar as artes como elemento central e catalisador do desenvolvimento de processos significativos em direção a uma sociedade onde o respeito pela diferença e pela diversidade se constitua como pilares essenciais de nossas relações.

---

<sup>10</sup>Bussoletti & Vargas, “Art and Aesthetics of Ginga”; Bussoletti & Vargas, “Por entre fronteiras”; Bussoletti, Vargas & Carvalho Krüger, “The Daily Masks”; Miguel G. Arroyo, *Outros Sujeitos, Outras Pedagogias* (Petrópolis/RJ: Vozes, 2014).

*Epistemologias, diversidades, pedagogias e diferenças: reflexões necessárias*

Partimos do pressuposto de que somente os princípios pedagógicos de uma educação voltada à diversidade pela diferença possam oferecer condições de implementação de práticas emancipatórias efetivas no cenário social e educativo brasileiro. Mas de qual conceito de diversidade estamos falando?

Para abarcar o âmago desta questão é de fundamental importância afirmar, de acordo com Bhabha<sup>11</sup>, a distinção proposta entre os conceitos de diferença e de diversidade. Para este autor, a diversidade cultural é um objeto epistemológico, onde a cultura é apreendida como um objeto do conhecimento empírico, já a diferença é um processo de enunciação da cultura “como ‘conhecível’, legítimo, adequado à construção de sistemas de identificação cultural”, é um processo de significação. Neste processo de significação, a cultura se afirma como um campo de forças onde os diferentes grupos afirmam e reconhecem sua própria identidade, nunca homogênea, nem muito menos como representações de separação de culturas totalizadas ou “protegidas na utopia de uma memória mítica de uma identidade coletiva única”.

Os aspectos que caracterizam as diferenças dentro de uma diversidade cultural necessitam ser valorizados como potencializadores de novos aprendizados e novas práticas nas mais distintas sociedades, mesmo que para isso seja necessário assumir e reconhecer novas pedagogias que abarquem todos os elementos de distintas singularidades e origens. Santos & Meneses (2010)<sup>12</sup> ressaltam a necessidade de contextualização, referindo que:

No seu sentido mais amplo, as relações sociais são sempre culturais (intra-culturais ou interculturais e políticas). Assim sendo, qualquer conhecimento válido é sempre contextual, tanto em termos de diferença cultural, como em termos de diferença política. Para além de certos patamares de diferença cultural e política, as experiências sociais são constituídas por vários conhecimentos, cada um com os seus critérios de validade, ou seja, são constituídas por conhecimentos rivais<sup>13</sup>.

Em nossos trabalhos ao sul do Brasil, buscamos ações, diálogos e reflexões diretas com agentes que nem sempre são considerados pelas perspectivas hegemônicas do conhecimento acadêmico brasileiro como detentores de espaços, conhecimentos, ações e práticas que os legitimem para tanto, sem a

<sup>11</sup>Homi Bhabha, *O Local da Cultura* (Belo Horizonte: Ed. UFMG, 1998), 63.

<sup>12</sup>Boaventura de Souza Santos & Maria Paula Meneses, orgs., *Epistemologias do Sul* (São Paulo/SP: Cortez, 2010).

<sup>13</sup>Souza Santos e Meneses, *Epistemologias do Sul*, 16.

necessidade de estabelecimento de critérios pautados por uma ciência elitizada<sup>14</sup>. Não consideramos as identidades e pedagogias desses sujeitos como objetos que possam ser tipificados e/ou incluídos em uma determinação de características, possibilidades e perspectivas futuras, como algumas teorias costumam desenvolver dentro dos âmbitos acadêmicos em nosso país, pois este fato seria uma incongruência com a realidade multicultural contemporânea. Nesse sentido, Santos (1999)<sup>15</sup> ao explicar sobre identidades, pondera que:

As identidades culturais não são rígidas, nem muito menos, imutáveis. São resultados sempre transitórios e fugazes de processos de identificação. Mesmo as identidades aparentemente mais sólidas [...] escondem negociações de sentido, jogos de polissemia, choques de temporalidades em constante processo de transformação [...] Identidades são, pois, identificações em curso<sup>16</sup>.

Em face da realidade em um mundo globalizado, cosmopolita, em constantes processos de imigração e emigração, independentemente dos motivos que levam esses sujeitos a se transferirem para outra região geográfico-cultural ou de se re-descobrirem dentro do mesmo espaço, o pleno respeito às diversidades de identidades e alteridades se proclama como necessário. Mas, para, além disso, também se incluem aí características relacionadas às identidades de gêneros, sexos, corpos, características linguísticas, crenças religiosas ou não crenças, sexualidades, filosofias de vida, imagens corporais e não apenas aspectos geográfico-étnico-culturais. Reconhecer e compreender a legitimação desses grupos e de todas as inter-poli-hibridizações possíveis entre eles

---

<sup>14</sup>Bussoletti & Vargas, “Art and Aesthetics of Ginga”; Bussoletti & Vargas, “Por entre fronteiras”; Bussoletti, Vargas & Carvalho Krüger, “The Daily Masks”; Denise Marcos Bussoletti, Vagner de Souza Vargas & Cristiano Guedes Pinheiro, “Narrativas populares: O griô e a arte de contar histórias”, *Cadernos de Pesquisa* 21 (1) (2014): 1-14; Vagner de Souza Vargas & Denise Marcos Bussoletti, “Teatro Sem Fronteiras”, *Expressa Extensão*, edição especial, dezembro de 2012 (Pelotas: Editora e Gráfica Universitária UFPEL), 43-57; Vagner de Souza Vargas & Denise Marcos Bussoletti, “Texto e contexto: Dramaturgia teatral, educação e diversidade”, *Revista Querubim* 2 (22) (2014): 115-121; Joice do Prado Alves, Lawrence Estivalet de Mello & Denise Marcos Bussoletti, “Diversidade sexual: Diálogos e práticas na universidade”, *Expressa Extensão*, edição especial, dezembro de 2012 (Pelotas: Editora e Gráfica Universitária UFPEL), 25-42; Denise Marcos Bussoletti & Vagner de Souza Vargas, orgs., *Leituras em dramaturgia teatral para a Diversidade* (Pelotas: Universitária UFPEL, 2012); Denise Marcos Bussoletti, Vagner de Souza Vargas & Mariângela Bairros, orgs., *Leituras em dramaturgia teatral para a Diversidade, Volume II* (Pelotas: Universitária UFPEL, 2013).

<sup>15</sup>Sousa dos Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice*.

<sup>16</sup>Sousa dos Santos, *Pela Mão de Alice*, 119.

é uma necessidade do mundo atual. Porém, será que as práticas governamentais, pedagógicas, políticas, econômicas e culturais brasileiras estão realizando isso para além de belos textos de inscrições Legais ou de publicações acadêmicas? Será que as novas aberturas de conhecimentos estão sendo aceitas pelos diferentes acadêmicos, povos, Estados e pedagogias? Santos & Meneses (2010)<sup>17</sup> nos auxiliam a levantar outra reflexão sob esse aspecto ao referirem que:

Toda experiência social produz e reproduz conhecimento e, ao fazê-lo, pressupõe uma ou várias epistemologias. Epistemologia é toda a noção ou ideia, refletida ou não, sobre as condições do que conta como conhecimento válido. É por via do conhecimento válido que uma dada experiência social se torna intencional e inteligível. Não há, pois, conhecimento sem práticas e atores sociais. E como uma e outra não existem senão no interior de relações sociais, diferentes tipos de relações sociais podem dar origem a diferentes epistemologias<sup>18</sup>.

Com essa reflexão, não podemos cair na armadilha de defender, conforme a tradição pedagógica academicamente institucionalizada de nosso país tem feito, que os conhecimentos não classificados pela noção científica necessitam de uma validação dentro desses parâmetros para que sejam legitimados. Não defendemos isso. O que expomos se refere a uma constante luta por defesa dos elementos de diversidade em sua própria maneira de identificação e práticas, legítimos em si, desvinculados de uma “validação” sedimentada nos princípios e ideais hegemônicos. Por estes motivos, também estamos em busca de outras epistemologias com o intuito de propor outras abordagens de trabalho em nossa região e que, possivelmente, possam ser expandidas para diferentes espaços. Contra esse conceito normatizador e unificador epistemológico do conhecimento, Santos & Meneses (2010) referem que:

O mundo é epistemologicamente diverso e essa diversidade, longe de ser algo negativo, representa um enorme enriquecimento das capacidades humanas para conferir inteligibilidade e intencionalidade às experiências sociais. A pluralidade epistemológica do mundo [...] obriga a análises e avaliações mais complexas dos diferentes tipos de interpretação e de intervenção no mundo, produzidos pelos diferentes tipos de conhecimento<sup>19</sup>.

---

<sup>17</sup>Souza Santos & Meneses, *Epistemologias do Sul*.

<sup>18</sup>Souza Santos & Meneses, *Epistemologias do Sul*, 15.

<sup>19</sup>Souza Santos & Meneses, *Epistemologias do Sul*, 18.

No contexto brasileiro como um todo, derivantes sociais dessas desigualdades se evidenciam. Uma delas é o preconceito socialmente instituído (em todas as suas nuances). No contexto da proposição de políticas afirmativas e de inclusão social, as políticas públicas brasileiras vêm pautando também o discurso da diversidade através dos eixos da organização social e de políticas necessárias a sua viabilização, chegando a afirmar através de documentos oficiais que:

Os importantes avanços produzidos pela democratização da sociedade, em muito alavancada pelos movimentos de direitos humanos, apontam a emergência da construção de espaços sociais menos excludentes e de alternativas para o convívio na diversidade. A capacidade que uma cultura tem de lidar com as heterogeneidades que a compõe tornou-se uma espécie de critério de avaliação de seu estágio evolutivo, especialmente em tempos de fundamentalismos e intolerâncias de todas as ordens como este em que vivemos<sup>20</sup>.

Apesar dos discursos governamentais estarem bem descritos na Legislação Brasileira, a realidade das práticas diárias está bem distante do que ali é ilustrado. Pensar fronteiras no âmbito da cultura remete também a pontuá-las, não só nas presenças como também nas ausências reprimidas e ativamente construídas enquanto tal. Para nós, em se tratando de América Latina, isso ainda é particularmente fundamental e necessário de ser compreendido. Nossas fronteiras são marcadas por ausências e silenciamentos incontestáveis. Significantes poderosos como a fome, a miséria, a violência e a opressão, perpetuam formas de organização e de sustentação de subjetividades cativas de uma ordem produtora e reprodutora de ausências que desde suas origens até seus desdobramentos não pode deixar de ser radicalmente contestada. Os efeitos catastróficos, objetivos e simbólicos, que tais ausências repercutem na vida de milhares de pessoas nos fazem perguntar: é possível conceber uma subjetividade latino-americana que resista nesta condição espaço-temporal de fronteira?

Historicamente, a constituição social do Brasil se deu de maneira cosmopolita, com a vinda de povos de diversos países dos cinco continentes para co-habitar estas terras juntamente com os povos originários que aqui já viviam anteriormente. Mesmo que citemos esse fato de maneira superficial, sem mencionar os procedimentos pelos quais se deu esse processo de conquista,

---

<sup>20</sup>Brasil, Ministério da Educação, *Documento subsidiário à política de inclusão* (Brasília: Ministério da Educação, Secretaria de Educação Especial, 2005), 7.

# Portuguese Studies Review

## PSR

PSR Previews : End of this article's preview



PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR)

BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print

ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage

JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> (URL permanently valid)

and <http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr> (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

© 2014-2019 Portuguese Studies Review and Baywolf Press | All rights reserved





**Subscription Information:** The *Portuguese Studies Review* (an imprint of Baywolf Press ✻ Éditions Baywolf) appears in two issues a year, in (1) August-September and (2) January. The PSR Editorial Office is presently located at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, K9L 0G2, Canada. The *Portuguese Studies Review*'s e-mail address is psr@trentu.ca. To contact Baywolf Press, direct inquiries also to psr@trentu.ca. All e-mail relating to the PSR is copied to the Baywolf Press office. Please visit our website at <http://www.trentu.ca/psr> or <http://www.maproom44.com/psr> for more information on subscriptions. Special rates are featured on our website, as is information for subscription agencies and resellers.

**Manuscript Submissions:** The PSR is a peer-reviewed journal (double-blind review process) devoted to promoting interdisciplinary scholarly study of the countries, regions, and communities that share, build on, or are transforming a Portuguese or Brazilian legacy. The PSR promotes a critical understanding of the historical and current evolution of political, economic, social and cultural networks incorporating Portugal, Brazil, and the various global or regional actors affected by Luso-Brazilian exploration, colonization, emigration, policy trends, trade agreements, and other linkages. The scope extends to all relevant parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Contributions are invited from all disciplines. The PSR accepts papers combining pure and applied research. All articles are expected to be accessible to readers from diverse backgrounds.

Proposals and digital manuscripts should be sent to Prof. Ivana Elbl, Chief Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, K9L 0G2, Canada. Articles not exceeding 8,000 words are preferred (8,000 words exclusive of notes, tables, and graphics). Longer manuscripts will be considered, at the discretion of the Editors. Note format should follow the PSR house style (check our website). All manuscripts must include a 150-word abstract (articles in Portuguese, French, and Spanish should include an abstract both in the language of the paper and in English).

Submissions are to be made by e-mail, in a digital file. Reflecting open (recoverable/non-proprietary) format approaches, *OpenOffice* is the journal's preferred standard for submissions (i.e. .odt data file format, native or saved as .odt from other software), followed by MS-Word (.doc, .docx), or (only in emergency) as an RTF file. PDF (encoded) submissions are not accepted. The files *must* be IBM-compatible (Macintosh file formats will not be accepted). The PSR will not consider manuscripts currently submitted to another journal or press, or published or forthcoming elsewhere. If accepted, articles that do not follow the PSR's style (capitalization, note format, etc.) will be required to conform prior to publication. Unsolicited book reviews will be accepted only at the discretion of the Editors.

The *Portuguese Studies Review* declines all responsibility, direct, imputed, derivative, or otherwise legally construed, for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors to the PSR.

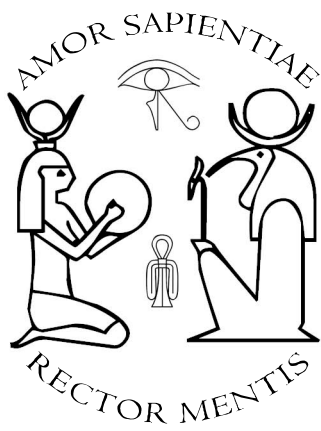
© Baywolf Press ✻ Éditions Baywolf and *Portuguese Studies Review*, 2016-2017. All rights reserved.

**Claims for issues not received** must be sent to the Editorial Office within three months of the date of publication of the issue. Changes of address should be reported promptly. The *Portuguese Studies Review* will not be responsible for copies lost owing to a failure to report a change of address. The *Review* cannot mail subscription copies to temporary summer or field research addresses.

**Correspondence** regarding editorial matters, contributions, and books for review should be sent to Prof. Ivana Elbl, Chief Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, K9J 7B8, Canada. **Permissions to Reprint:** Contact Martin Malcolm Elbl, Managing Editor, *Portuguese Studies Review*, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario, K9L 0G2. **Advertising:** The PSR has ceased to accept advertising for the foreseeable future..

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in the *Historical Abstracts*, *America: History and Life*, *Sociological Abstracts*, and *Worldwide Political Science Abstracts*. The *Portuguese Studies Review* is networked through EBSCO, Gale/Cengage, and has reached an agreement with ProQuest.

Previews of this journal are available on Google Books (up to spring 2016) and on our own site ([trentu.ca/psr](http://trentu.ca/psr) or [maproom44.com/psr](http://maproom44.com/psr)).



Baywolf Press



VOLUME 24 • NUMBER 1

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

SUMMER 2016



9 771057 151007

ISSN 1057-1515