

Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura

CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA

DA SOCIEDADE E DA CULTURA

IMPRENSA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA



FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia UIDB/00311/2020



Estatuto editorial / Editorial guidelines

A Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, fundada em 2001, tem periodicidade semestral (a partir de 2022) e publica artigos de investigação na área da História, sujeitos a avaliação prévia por especialistas externos. Inclui uma secção de artigos originais e outra de recensões críticas de livros. Aceita artigos submetidos por qualquer investigadora/or e propostas de cadernos temáticos, as quais serão sempre apreciadas pelo Conselho Editorial.

A Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura visa estimular o diálogo científico entre a comunidade historiográfica internacional. A Revista está referenciada e indexada nos seguintes catálogos internacionais: Web of Science, Scopus, Dialnet, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), ERIHPlus (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences) e Latindex (México).

The Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, founded in 2001, publishes two issues per year since 2022, including research articles in the area of History, subject to prior evaluation by external experts. It also has a section for book reviews. It accepts articles submitted by any researcher and proposals for thematic issues, wich will always be assessed by the Editorial Board.

The Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura aims to stimulate the scientific debate among the international historiographic community.

The Journal is indexed in the following international catalogues: Web of Science, Scopus, Dialnet, DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals), ERIHPlus (European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences) and Latindex (Mexico).

Director / Director

José Pedro Paiva / Universidade de Coimbra - CHSC / coordchsc@fl.uc.pt

Editor / Editor Chief

Jaime Ricardo Gouveia / Universidade de Coimbra - CHSC / jaime.gouveia@uc.pt

Assistente Editorial / Editor Assistant

Carla Rosa / gapci@fl.uc.pt

Conselho Editorial / Editorial Board

Antoine Destemberg, Université D' Artois, Arras, França; Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Instituto de Estudos Medievais - Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal; Eric Morier-Genoud, Universidade de Belfast, Irlanda; Gabriel Rocha, Brown University, Providence, EUA; Giulia Albanese, Universidade de Padova, Itália; Inês Amorim, Universidade do Porto, Portugal; John-Paul Ghobrial, Oxford University, Inglaterra; José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, Universidade Rei Juan Carlos, Madrid, Espanha; José Luís Cardoso, Instituto de Ciências Sociais (ICS), Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal; Luís Nuno Rodrigues, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia (CIES-Iscte), Portugal; Maria Filomena Coelho, Universidade de Brasília, Brasíl; Maria João Vaz, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia (CIES-Iscte), Portugal; Martial Staub, University of Sheffield, Inglaterra; Miki Sugiura, Hosei University, Tokyo, Japão; Serena Ferente, Universidade de Amsterdão; Silvia Liebel, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brasíl; Vincenzo Lavenia, Universidade de Bolonha, Itália; Violet Soen, Universidade de Lovaina, Bélgica.

Propriedade / Ownership

Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura / https://chsc.uc.pt/

Endereços / Address

Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, Rua São Pedro, nº 2, 3000-370 Coimbra, Portugal

Normas para a submissão de artigos: https://impactum-journals.uc.pt/rhsc/about/submissions • Telefone/Phone: (351) 239859900

Edição: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra - IUC

Design e paginação: Fig - Indústrias Gráficas, S.A. **Depósito legal:** 168142/01 • ISSN 1645-2259

Direitos de autor / Copyright ©

Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura da Universidade de Coimbra

Reservados todos os direitos de acordo com a legislação em vigor.

https://doi.org/10.14195/1645-2259 24-2



Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura

CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA
DA SOCIEDADE E DA CULTURA
IMPRENSA DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA

Índice

Caderno Temático / Special Issue

Introduction Religion and Empire. Rethinking Religious Dynamics in Colonial and Post- colonial Histories11
Hugo Dores and Marina Xiaojing Wang
"A Vast and Beautiful Country": Ideas of Exile, Racial Hierarchies, and Industrial Education in the Formation of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the Congo Free State (CFS), 1832-189019 REUBEN A. LOFFMAN
Fear and Loathing on the Margins of Empire: Socio-religious perspectives connecting the Netherlands and South Africa before and into the South African War41 Retief Müller
British Empire, Chinese Nationalism, and Protestant Mission Schools: Navigating Loyalties in the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College (1925-1930)
The World Council of Churches Assembly in New Delhi 1961 and the German Democratic Republic: Navigations in a Complex Network of Loyalties
Between Idealism and Pragmatism: The Christian Churches' humanitarian aid to Biafra in and from colonial São Tomé (1967-1970)109 Ana Guardião
Conceptualisations of Citizenship among Educational Stakeholders in Newly Independent Madagascar133 ELLEN VEA ROSNES AND HELIHANTA RAJAONARISON

Artigos

O Pacto entre a rainha D. Urraca e sua irmã D. Teresa. I. O documento e a história da sua datação159 António Resende de Oliveira
De scriptoria medievalia. La producción escrita del obispo Mauricio y la consolidación de la sede castellana (1213-1238)
Two Marias: Illegitimacy and Agency on the fringes of the Restoration Court
O imigrante português na Primeira República carioca: o antilusitanismo no mundo do trabalho241 Carolina Moraes Souza
Entrevista
Towards a Global and Long-Term Historical Sociology of Empire. An Interview with Peter Fibiger Bang267 Edgar Pereira
Recensões Críticas
TITTERTON, James (2022). Deception in Medieval Warfare: Trickery and Cunning in the Central Middle Ages. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 292 pp293
LEHNER, Ulrich L (2022). The Inner Life of Catholic Reform. From the Counci of Trent to the Enlightenment. New York: Oxford University Press, 312 pp299

UCERLER, M. Antoni J. (2022). <i>The Samurai and the Cross: The Jesuit Enterprise in Early Modern Japan</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 445 pp. 307 Guilherme Miguel Mendes de Sousa
POSKETT, James (2022). Horizontes, uma história global da ciência (trad. Elsa Vieira). Lisboa: Bertrand, 503 pp311 PEDRO TEIXEIRA
BIRLOUEZ, Éric (2022). Histoire de l'Alimentation des Français. Editions Ouest-France, 283 pp
JUNIOR, Carlos Lima; SCHWARCZ, Lilia; e STUMPF, Lúcia (2022). <i>O sequestro da Independência: Uma história da construção do mito do sete de setembro.</i> São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 378 pp321 JULIA RESENDE DE PAOLI
NADIR, MOHAMMED (2023). As Relações Luso-Marroquinas no século XVI. Presença Portuguesa em Agadir e Região de Sus (1505-1541). Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 406 pp325
MÜLLER, Axel (2024). Gunpowder Technology in the Fifteenth Century: A Study, Edition and Translation of the Firework Book. Woodbridge: Royal Armouries Research Series, Boydell & Brewer, 378pp329 PEDRO FILIPE FERNANDES SEBASTIÃO
CALDEIRA, Alfredo e ESTEVES, João (coord.) (2024). <i>Tarrafal. Presos Políticos e Sociais</i> (1936-54 e 1961-74). Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 444 pp333 SÉRGIO NETO

CADERNO TEMÁTICO

Introduction

Religion and Empire. Rethinking Religious Dynamics in Colonial and Postcolonial Histories

Often entrenched in studies of missions and the evangelising role of their agents, the history of religion – not only as an expression of a theological phenomenon of belief and faith - in the spaces colonised by European powers has sought to highlight its multifaceted role in building modern societies, at home and in the colonies. Approaches based on broader historiographical dynamics – such as the perception of the transnationality of the Christian religious phenomenon (and beyond) – have opened up new fields of analysis for studying the interaction between religion and empire. The debates surrounding the role of missionaries beyond their evangelising function – which implies a reappraisal of the concept of evangelisation as a process of transmitting cultural values and practices and not just beliefs and procedures of faith have contributed to discussing the emergence, development and criticism of the so-called "civilising mission" or the impact of religious agents on the complex education policies outlined by colonial states and their reverberations in the post-colonial moment. Furthermore, questioning the evangelising action of missionaries outside the traditional limits of evangelisation in strictu sensu has also contributed to debating the acculturation and cultural adaptation processes within colonised societies.

The agency of religious workers and converts has multiplied. From civilising agents, educators and critics of colonial and post-colonial political systems to participants in humanitarian crises and migratory processes, missionaries are presented in multiple layers, which shows a more diverse picture of their historical action. On the other hand, the converted populations, central agents in the processes of evangelisation, who were often marginalised and seen as passive elements/receptacles of moral values and socio-cultural behaviour over which they did not intervene, are given a new voice.

The historiography of missions and religious phenomena in colonial and post-colonial contexts has also benefited from including new historiographical trends and dynamics. At the same time, their study has contributed to problematising other dimensions of coeval historical processes, such as the expansion of educational and development policies (LANKINA and GETACHEW 2012; SCHEER et al. 2018; MASANGO 2019; MEIER ZU SELHAUSEN 2019), the emergence of local nationalisms (with the active participation of missionaries and converts), the role of religious entities in humanitarian crises and other global processes of flows of ideas (HAS-TINGS 2003). On the other hand, these studies reveal the importance and diversity of archival sources (including oral accounts, photographs, and other expressions of material culture) for historical analysis, multiplying agents and voices, complicating genealogies and historical processes, sometimes stuck in teleological and simplistic views of the relationship between human communities and the religious factor and the way religion is expressed in societies. The articles in this volume present a wide variety of archives, ranging from state archives to those of religious organisations (London Missionary Society, Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes der EKD, DRC Archive) and international organisations such as the WCC and UNESCO.

The relationship between "Religion" and "Empire" has been a subject of much debate and analysis1. The simplistic and overly reductive assertion that Christian missionaries were mere agents of the empire significantly diminished their agency, and this has been questioned by different historians (PORTER 2004; PRUDHOMME 2004; ETHERINGTON 2005). Like many other imperial actors, missionaries viewed the empire and colonialism through their own agendas and intentions. Across various places and periods, they were consistent collaborators with imperial and colonial authorities often wielding their own sources of authority and power. On the other hand, missionaries also occasionally acted as critical voices against colonial practices - not necessarily anti-colonial, but questioning the methods used by political and administrative authorities in managing colonial affairs and dealing with indigenous populations.

Moving beyond the often narrow historiographical perspectives on the interaction between politics and religion in colonial contexts, as well as the role of missions, several studies have emphasised the complex and often controversial nature of these dynamics, particularly in the trajectories of decolonization (STANLEY 2003; STUART 2011; FONTAINE 2016; FOSTER

¹ The historiography of missions and religion in 19th- and 20th-century colonial contexts is vast. Since the late 1980s, there has been a renewal and the development of new approaches to understanding the agency of missions and the communities they converted to Christianity, in a clear attempt to move beyond the traditional historiography produced within religious environments, often by former missionaries themselves.

2019; AMBANI 2021). Works highlighting religious organisations' transnational networks and global reach also provide innovative insights into these processes (MARSHALL 2013). The modalities of religious internationalism have become central to understanding both colonial and postcolonial dynamics and legacies (CAREY 2008; GREEN and VIAENE 2012; MILFORD 2022). The relationship between missionaries and colonial administrators was complex and multilayered, ranging from cooperation to questioning and, at times, to more or less open opposition to unconditional support. This dynamic was not uniform across different locations or throughout the colonial period. Not all missionaries supported the early efforts of European colonial expansion – especially during the 19th century – nor did all of them question the system during its decline in the 1950s.

This special issue results from a collaborative network set between the Center for the History of Society and Culture (University of Coimbra, Portugal) and the VID Specialized University (Stavanger, Norway) focused on studying the entanglements between Religion and Empire across different chronologies and geographies. This network comprises scholars who have been working on religious phenomena in imperial contexts and highlighted the role of religion and religious players in reassessing a multilayered understanding of historical processes linked to colonialism and the complex and controversial relations between colonisers and colonised peoples in colonial and postcolonial times. With a trans-chronological and trans-geographical approach, this special issue offers a diverse and multi-layered understanding of the complex connections between religion and empire. It shows how diverse this field is and should be.

Reuben Loffman's article explores the close relationship between the Belgian colonial administration in Congo and the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM), through the late 19th century, despite the increasing accusations against Leopold II's regime in central Africa. While other Protestant missionaries criticized and eventually condemned Belgian's colonial brutality, Loffman highlights the confluence of interests between the two.

Retief Müller explores the thought of Abraham Kuyper, a Dutch theologian and Prime Minister of the Netherlands at the beginning of the 20th century, who developed the idea of 'sphere sovereignty' – a concept that would later influence the theology of apartheid and the term 'zwart Gevaar' (black danger). This concept would ultimately shape the Afrikaner mindset towards the black population in South Africa. Müller discusses the Dutch support and sympathy for the Boers, which fostered a kind of 'tribal' affiliation that evolved from earlier ideas about the stages of civilization. He highlights the role

played by key Dutch figures, first by the theologian and politician Abraham Kuyper, and later by Dutch Calvinist pastors working among the Boers in South Africa at the turn of the 19th century. These figures were often seen as missionaries serving Dutch emigrant colonists, deeply involved in the contentious interactions between British expansionism in South Africa and the Boer states' resistance to British imperial control.

Frieder Ludwig highlights the efforts of 'de-Westernization' made during the 1961 Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in New Delhi, aiming to show the complex web of loyalties and "transloyalties" involved in the negotiation process during the event. Part of a larger research project addressing tensions between different loyalties - referred to as "transloyalties" (LUDWIG et al., forthcoming a and forthcoming b) – among various key actors, Ludwig's article focuses on a particular moment in the history of the WCC, situated within the Cold War and the decolonization process. Criticism of colonialism and the call for Western churches to move away from their colonial past and paternalistic attitudes were central concerns for many participants in the Assembly and WCC members. The idea of "transloyalty" explored by Ludwig illustrates the importance of viewing religious actors as composite figures representing multiple agendas and goals. On the other hand, through Ludwig's analysis, one can emphasise the significance of international arenas like the WCC as crucial spaces for debate where conflicting views on religion and colonialism intersect.

The importance of international religious arenas like the WCC lies in their ability to analyze the diversity of debates and participants within religious spaces and their impact on a broader understanding of the social transformations occurring in the Global South and North. This raises questions about existing historical narratives and their implications in the present.

Ana Guardião, also addressing the role of the WCC, explores the relationship between Portuguese colonial authorities and faith-based voluntary organizations during the Biafra Crisis in the late 1960s, to show how these relationships helped shape international debates on humanitarian aid. In a period of increasing international criticism of the Portuguese colonial system and amidst a colonial war producing its own humanitarian crises, the Portuguese state established sometimes conflicting forms of cooperation with organizations such as Caritas Internationalis, Das Diakonisches Werk, and Nordchurchaid, which were concerned with rebuilding their relationships with newly independent African countries, often suspicious of the colonial past of European religious organizations. Guardião argues that the idealism of Christian missionary organizations (mostly Protestant), which inherited a

long tradition of Protestant criticism of European colonialism dating back to the mid-19th century, clashed with pragmatic decisions aimed at advancing their humanitarian efforts and preserving their activities in post-colonial spa-

For Christian religious organizations, the need to remain in a decolonized world was a central concern after World War II. To remain in their mission territories after the formal end of colonial empires, they sought to adapt through processes of indigenization (critical in Roman Catholicism) and de--Westernization of their practices, striving for a more global image of their denominations. The replacement of Western (European and North American) leadership in religious institutions with "appropriate" members from among the local evangelized populations was carefully managed by Westtern-based religious institutions, creating complex networks of contact between missionaries and converts. This process, while partly based on a genuine sense of inclusion and the expansion of the Christian community, also served as a strategy to maintain the influence and respectability of Western religious actors, sometimes leading to controversies and divisions within religious organizations both at home and in mission lands.

Asia was one of the first regions where these issues emerged, even before the post-World War II wave of independence movements, particularly in China. The traditionally tense relationship between foreign missionaries and Chinese converts, on the one hand, and Chinese imperial (and later republican) authorities and nationalist groups, on the other, became more complicated in the early 20th century, first with the Boxer Rebellion and later with the fall of the monarchy in 1912. However, this apparent separation does not reflect the diversity of positions within Chinese Christian communities. Marina Wang's text shows how the selection of a Chinese principal for the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College in the 1920s illustrates the intricate relationship between Christian missions, the Chinese government, and the local community during a time of emerging nationalism in China and other regions. Drawing on the concept of "transloyalty" explored by Frieder Ludwig, Wang's case study of Tientsin highlights how the relationships between these various actors "were inextricably intertwined", and how individual positions and affiliations could not be easily reduced to previously defined or later-perceived loyalties or identities.

One of the key areas of focus for Christian churches, both before and after independence movements, was education, which colonial administrations had often delegated – sometimes almost entirely – to Christian missionary organisations, particularly in educating indigenous populations in the colonies. Education was central to missionary work, and evangelization often took place within the school environment. It was through schools that imperial imaginaries and narratives justifying the "civilizing mission" of the empires were widely disseminated in colonized spaces. Deeply connected to the work of missionaries and colonial and nationalist perspectives, education contributed to fostering the idea of cooperation between missions and empire. On the other hand, the school was also a privileged space for developing anti-colonial criticism and, eventually, resistance to colonialism.

In the post-colonial period, the fundamental foundations and goals of education became a space for debate about the future of young nations. Ellen Vea Rosnes addresses debates about the type of citizenship to be promoted to the Malagasy population immediately following Madagascar's independence in 1960. The discussions surrounding the educational system for the Malagasy population reflected the differing interests and expectations of various actors, including the new state, Protestant organizations (which hoped for changes in an education system previously dominated by the Catholic Church during the colonial period), and international organizations such as UNESCO.

This collection of texts addresses some of these issues based on scientific analyses using various written and other sources to demonstrate a complex and multilayered process. Its first aim is to illustrate the diversity of approaches that the relationship between "Religion" and "Empire" can bring to other debates and coeval historical processes and to understand the present day of the various societies considered. Covering different historical moments and geographies (from America to Asia to Africa), the articles presented sought to investigate various representations of the colonial world from religious agents and dynamics, including Catholics and Protestants, and showed the importance of integrating various scales of analysis to understand the interactions between colonizers and colonized and other agents who participated in this historical process but who are not included in these terminologies. By promoting a diversified dialogue, the volume makes it possible to establish lines of comparison between different periods and territories and to explore various forms of expression and representation of the colonial world, interweaving political, educational, cultural, economic and social processes. This issue presents a range of possibilities. Far from exhausting or being representative of the dimensions of the connections between religion and empire, this set of articles shows us the diversity of hypotheses, actors and dynamics for understanding various social and political transformations reverberating in today's world.

Bibliography

- AMBANI, John Osogo (2021). *Africa and the Decolonisation of State-Religion* policies. Leiden: Brill.
- CAREY, Hilary M. (2008). Empires of religion. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ETHERINGTON, Norman (ed.) (2005). Missions and Empire. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- FONTAINE, Darcie (2016). Decolonizing Christianity: Religion and the end of *Empire in France.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FOSTER, Elizabeth A. (2019). African Catholic. Decolonization and the transformation of the church. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- GREEN, Abigail and VIAENE, Vincent (2012). Religious internationals in the modern world. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HASTINGS, Adrian (2003). "The clash of Nationalism and Universalism within Twentieth-century Missionary Christianity", in Missions, Nationalism and the End of Empire, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans), 15-33.
- LANKINA, T., and GETACHEW, L. (2012). "Mission or Empire, Word or Sword? The Human Capital Legacy in Postcolonial Democratic Development". American Journal of Political Science, 56, 465-483.
- LUDWIG, Frieder; ROSNES, Ellen Vea; HAGA, Joar; WANG, Marina Xiaojing & PEREIRA, Jairzinho Lopes (forthcoming a). Transloyalties, Connected Histories and World Christianity during the Interwar Period: 1919-1939. London: Routledge.
- LUDWIG, Frieder; ROSNES, Ellen Vea; HAGA, Joar; WANG, Marina Xiaojing & PEREIRA, Jairzinho Lopes (forthcoming b). Transloyalties, Connected Histories and World Christianity during the Period of Decolonisation and the Cold War: 1945-1970. London: Routledge.
- MARSHALL, Katherine (2013). *Global institutions of religion: ancient movers,* modern shakers. London: Routledge.
- MASANGO, N. Amanze Maake (2019). Religion and Development in Southern and Central Africa, 2 vols. Luwinga: Mzuzu Press.
- MEIER ZU SELHAUSEN, Felix (2019). "Missions, Education and Conversion in Colonial Africa". African Economic History Working Paper Series, 48, African Economic History Network (AEHN), s.l.
- MILFORD, Ismay (2022). "A New World in the Swiss Alps: Moral Re-Armament, Religious Internationalism and African Decolonisation". Cultural and Social History, 19, 5, 587-603.

- PORTER, Andrew (2004). Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- PRUDHOMME, Claude (2004). Missions Chrétiennes et colonisation. XVIe -XXe siècle. Paris: Cerf.
- SCHEER, Catherine; FOUNTAIN, Philip and FEENER, R. Michael (eds.) (2018). The Mission of Development. Religion and Techno-Politics in Asia. Boston: Brill.
- STUART, John (2011). British missionaries and the end of empire: East, Central, and Southern Africa, 1939-1964. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

"A Vast and Beautiful Country": Ideas of Exile, Racial Hierarchies, and Industrial Education in the Formation of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the Congo Free State (CFS), 1832-1890¹

REUBEN A. LOFFMAN

Queen Mary University of London, School of History r.loffman@qmul.ac.uk https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7060-5852

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 29/12/2023 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 01/10/2024



Abstract. Recent literature has highlighted the close relationship between the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the government of the Belgian Congo. Despite a libel trial in 1909, which saw the APCM face a key Belgian ally in court, historians, such as Ira Dworkin and Simon Mbau, have emphasised their co-operation following the dispute. This article adds to literature on the APCM and Belgian imperialism by exploring the beliefs they shared during their formative years and so well before the trial. While there were differences in their approaches to African societies, both saw what they considered "civilization" emanating from a core of white, male elites. Léopold II and the APCM's allies also wanted to exile those who challenged their privileges at home to the Congo. Finally, the APCM became well placed to facilitate the Belgian regime's later appetite for industrial education as it was important in many of its missionaries early schooling.

Keywords. Congo Free State (CFS), American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM), Belgian Colonialism, Africa.

Introduction

This article compares the early history of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) with that of the Congo Free State (CFS). While scholars have examined the formation of the CFS at length (DUJARDIN and ROSOUX 2009; MESQUITA 2007), the creation of the APCM has not been examined in as much detail and neither has it been set alongside Belgian imperial thought during the late nineteenth century. Yet exploring the ways in which the rhetoric, racial thinking, and educational philosophies of these

¹ I would like to thank the Presbyterian Historical Society (PHS) for awarding me with a Fellowship, which greatly helped me in the writing and researching of this article. I would also like to thank the School of History, Queen Mary University of London, for funding visits to the PHS archives as well. Thanks, also, to the Religion and Empire group for inviting me to submit this article. All errors, however, are mine alone.

institutions coincided helps explain why they collaborated with each other before and after a libel trial that saw the APCM and a key CFS ally oppose each other in court in 1909 (BENEDETTO 1996: 16).

Both the APCM and Léopold II, the Belgian monarch (r.1865-1909), saw what they considered to be "civilization" as something that radiated from a core of white men with those they identified as black or African serving in auxiliary roles (SAMARIN 2019: 41-60). The racial hierarchies that structured the APCM can be explained in a large part by referring to its origins. The APCM was part of the Presbyterian Church in the United States' (PCUS') mission network. The PCUS was founded in the New South following the Civil War (DWORKIN 2013: 203). Although it had African American members, they enjoyed scant representation in the Church's governing hierarchy (SWANN and REESE 2007: 50-51). And so, as important as William Henry Sheppard (1865-1927) was to the APCM, American Presbyterian work in the Congo would not have begun were it not for Samuel Norwell Lapsley's (1866-1892) involvement given the racialised mission hierarchies characteristic of PCUS outreach in Africa during the early nineteenth century. Sheppard had repeatedly petitioned the PCUS to establish a Congolese mission, for example, but to no avail prior to Lapsley's arrival. When Lapsley died, and an African American headed the APCM, the PCUS sent William McCutchen Morrison (1867-1918), a white man, to lead the APCM in 1896, as soon as it could (MORRISON 2021: 13). The frequency of missionary deaths was such that such upending of racial hierarchies did occasionally happen in central African missions, especially between the 1860s and early 1890s². But, by 1914, the earlier willingness of white-dominated mission boards to send African American missionaries had declined and so the AP-CM's experience in the 1890s would not be repeated until much later on³.

Like the APCM, Léopold II also believed in white, androcentric hierarchies even if he did have African American acquaintances for a time, notably in the form of George Washington Williams (1849-1891), a soldier, minister, and politician (ELNAIEM 2021). Williams initially supported the king's imperial project yet he turned against it soon after he visited the CFS in 1890, which meant that the Belgian monarch ended up with few if any African American allies by 1891, when the APCM arrived in the Congo (FRANK-LIN 1998: 189, 210). Léopold II relied heavily on white men to lead his state. As such, his CFS quickly came to exemplify the white, male governed hierarchy that was so prevalent among colonial regimes in Africa at the time, in

² I am very grateful to one of my referees for this point.

³ I am very grateful to one of my referees for this point.

which Africans were not promoted to metropolitan executive roles despite playing a vital role in the state's realization⁴. Unsurprisingly, the king had a strong preference for Belgian administrators and so nationality also played an important role in determining who he promoted to executive positions. And it goes almost without repeating that there were no black Belgians represented in the upper echelons of the CFS' government⁵. Very few colonial schools or mission boards helped Africans to pursue metropolitan leadership positions within imperial governments. The Baptist Mission Society (BMS) was relatively exceptional in training Africans for leadership within its own ranks during the period in question (BURROUGHS 2022)⁶. Even then, though, such training rarely if ever led them to securing jobs in the British colonial government.

Belgian imperialists relied on missionaries to educate a low-paid and/ or unpaid labour force to further their exploitation of Congolese resources. During its foundation phase in the nineteenth century, the APCM set itself up for a much closer collaboration with Belgian colonialists after the CFS ended in 1908 given that its missionaries were already familiar with industrial education by that time (MARKOWITZ 1973: 53). Industrial education, in Angela Zimmerman's words, "did not mean vocational schooling but rather imparting an aptitude and enthusiasm for physical labor" that dovetailed neatly with colonial exploitation (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 22). In this regard, the collaboration between Léopold II and the APCM mirrored the situation that Zimmerman found in Togoland under German rule in which missionaries embraced industrial education even if they did not do so as wholeheartedly as the APCM did in the Congo (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 1). The APCM had been heavily influenced by the industrial education curriculums that were taught in the US by Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) after Sheppard, who had attended such institutions, co-founded the Mission in 1891 (DWORKIN 2017: 34). Sheppard continued to recruit African Americans from HBCUs, such as Alonzo (1879-1954) and Althea Brown Edmiston (1874-1937), into the APCM (HILL 2020: 18). Consequently, the collaboration between the CFS and the APCM accelerated as the twentieth century progressed and especially with regard to industrial education.

⁴ For more on African agency during Léopold's conquest of the Congo, see: GORDON 2017: 133-168.

⁵ Neither the CFS nor its successor, the Belgian Congo, had a figure such as Félix Éboué (1884-1944), e.g., a black person who rose through the ranks to become governor of an entire colony, as there was in French Africa: see: WEINSTEIN 1972. The Presbyterians also had nationality in mind when espousing "civilization", as they believed in "righteous American Protestant civilization", see: COLEMAN 1980: 43.

⁶ I would like to thank one of my anonymous referees for this insight. Examples of Congolese people who were sent back to leadership positions can be found in BURROUGHS 2022.

Ideas of exile also played an important if more ambiguous role in the founding of both the APCM and the CFS. Léopold II, ever keen to conflate his personal interests with those of the Belgian state, believed that the idea of a territory that could be used as an outlet for those whose ambitions were frustrated in the metropole had rhetorical appeal. For example, one of his closest allies, Henry Wellington Wack, reported that he had "found a colony for the surplus population of the small state of which he is King" (WACK 1905: 3). To be sure, the King's own utterances pertaining to colonization as a means of decreasing social pressures amid a rapidly industrialising economy was not the most common way in which he publicly justified his imperial project. The rhetoric of "civilization" was often front and centre of his justifications for plundering Central Africa. As Wack noted at the 1876 Conference, for example, Léopold opined that he wished to "open to civilization the only part of the globe to which it not yet penetrated" (WACK 1905: 9). The idea of exile was arguably more important to some of the APCM's allies, though.

Rather than an outlet for frustrated ambition, the APCM's contacts in the US political realm, especially John Tyler Morgan (1824-1927), wanted to use the Congo as a place to which African Americans could be exiled (FRY 1985: 329-346). Morgan believed that the colonization of the Congo was a means of dealing with the problematic race relations that had resulted from the US' failed reconstruction era. This is not to argue that Lapsley and Sheppard were colonists, rather that the APCM's progress was speeded by allies who were. The Congo appears to be rather exceptional with regard to American Presbyterian mission work during this time since its northern equivalent, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA), and its missions in Cameroon and Gabon, never collaborated with those who brought up the dream of reviving "colonization".

None of the arguments presented in this article are meant to deny the very real differences between the APCM's formation and that of the CFS. For instance, Léopold II embarked on his conquest of the Congo in a large part in search of wealth. Guy Vanthemsche (2012: 17) described the acquisition of a sustainable source of independent revenue as the king's "basic motive" - even if other factors played into what Vincent Viaene (2008: 750, 752) termed his colonial "doctrine." Just as he imagined that extracting resources from a Central African Java would act as a new budget the growing Belgian bourgeoisie could "devour", he was also acutely aware of what he himself could exploit (VIAENE 2008: 750). Conversely, Protestant evangelism, or,

⁷ I am grateful to one of my anonymous referees for this insight.

in a leading APCM member's own words, the bearing of "the Gospel of the grace of God", stood at the core of the APCM's mission in Africa (BEDING-ER 1920: 17). And, while the APCM enjoyed consequential connections to prominent statesmen, it was facilitated by them and not driven by them. As in Zimmerman's (2010: 163) Togo case, missionaries occasionally took umbrage against the colonial state. The North German Mission in particular "rejected the idea that they should help impart labor discipline, as the state demanded", just as the APCM eventually campaigned against CFS atrocities (ZIMMERMAN 2010: 163).

Their differences notwithstanding, this article explores the similarities between the APCM's origins and those of Léopoldian imperialism by examining as wider variety of sources as is possible. Given Léopold II's sparse "imperial preaching", the material for this article is limited as far as the king's own utterances are concerned (VIAENE 2008: 742). Yet he nonetheless made a range of revealing statements concerning his CFS project that help us to reconstruct his thinking on the matter. Some of these utterances were recorded by his allies, who published them in English and French publications. One of the foremost examples of these was Wack's (1905) book entitled The Story of the Congo. Similarly, Presbyterian motives for undertaking a mission specifically to the Congo are sparsely adumbrated in the relevant archives. Instead, missionaries involved in the APCM tend to take idea of a Presbyterian mission to Central Africa for granted (SCHALOFF 1970). At the same time, there is not nearly as much material pertaining to the early lives of some of the key Presbyterian missionaries, such as Sheppard, as there is about their later mission careers. Yet, much as with Léopold II, elements of early APCM missiological thought can be adduced in part from published works, not least autobiographies, by senior church members notably Sheppard and John Leighton Wilson (1809-1885). Minutes of key committee meetings are also employed to help reconstruct American Presbyterian thinking about the emergence of their Congo mission⁸.

1. "Restoring the Condition of the Working Classes": Léopold II's "Colonial Doctrine", White Politicians in the New South, and Ideas of Exile

At first glance, the arrival of the APCM in the CFS in 1891 represented the meeting of two distinctly unrelated projects (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Rather

⁸ Minutes can overlook areas of disagreement as those who record meetings seek to avoid any ambiguities but can nonetheless provide important resources for reconstructing the past, see: GIBSON 2022: 643-669.

than being motivated by evangelization, as the APCM was, Léopold II and his CFS project were ostensibly animated by a very different set of concerns. In part, the Belgian monarch had statecraft in mind when conceiving of his "colonial doctrine" (VIAENE 2008: 751). The amputation of Limberg and Luxembourg from Belgium in 1839 in particular had meant that he believed that his nascent state had been rendered incomplete (VIAENE 2008: 753). Initially, therefore, he wanted to "complete" Belgium in Europe by invading several majority-Catholic provinces of the Netherlands in 1854 (VIAENE 2008: 753). Yet, this proved unworkable after Napoleon III (r.1852-1870) failed to reassure him that he would not face a French military challenge to his plans (HOCHSCHILD 2019: 23). As European "compensation" for "lost" Belgian lands proved impossible, Léopold II came to believe that Belgium would have to be "completed" overseas (VIAENE 2008: 754). Consequently, he planned on leasing the Philippines from Spain, but this also proved unworkable (GREINDI 1962). It was only later, after having read about Henry Morton Stanley's (1841-1904) and Verney Lovett Cameron's (1844-1894) journeys there, that Léopold II settled on central Africa as a site for what became the CFS (EMERSON 1979: 74).

Yet, alongside his desire for territorial "compensation", Léopold II's colonial "doctrine" also emerged from what he argued a colony could do to forestall a socialist revolution in Belgium. After a relatively popular workers' revolt in 1886, which shocked many Belgian elites, the king wrote that "economic and colonial expansion . . . would improve the condition of [Belgian] working classes [and] restore peace" (VIAENE 2008: 751). According to this line of argument, the king's rationale was that new Congolese markets, and the budgets with which to engage them, could be "devoured" by those Belgians who were struggling to satisfy their ambitions at home - even if those markets ultimately ended up being marginal to the Belgian political economy during that time (VANTHEMSCHE 2012: 152). Viaene (2008: 751) therefore argues that "imperial policy and social policy were interdependent in Léopold's view."

The idea of using a colony as an outlet for those people who metropolitan elites believed might revolt "at home" was echoed in part during the formation of the APCM. Lapsley, and his family's connections, especially to reactionary southern American politicians such as Morgan, were crucial to the APCM's creation given these contacts helped the missionaries to gain an audience with Léopold II in the first place (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Morgan was one of the most important APCM contacts during its formative phase. He had quickly become disenchanted with the politics of the New South. He

believed that African Americans were frequently using the ballot box to punish white southerners and depreciate white peoples' socio-economic status there (FRY 1985: 339). As such, he thought that US colonization was a viable means of facilitating the exile of African Americans and in so doing resolve what he saw as competition from them for white property and social standing in the New South (FRY 1985: 339). To further this policy, he joined the American Colonization Society (ACS), which had played a pivotal role in the US colonization of Liberia earlier in the nineteenth century⁹. The minutes of the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the ACS, for example, show that Morgan was well aware of the Liberia case and so he likely had this very much in mind when approached by the Lapsley family with regard to the Congo.

Morgan had given speeches and published papers in which he extemporised at length about the opportunities that he believed the CFS afforded - the Congo being a place he understood to have been "a vast an beautiful country abounding in natural resources" (MORGAN 1890: 385-398). In 1890, for instance, Morgan (1890: 385-398) wrote that: "The organization of the Congo Free State has secured to the negro race the free and unobstructed opportunity ... to prove, if they can do so, that they are capable of breaking the chains of slavery riveted on their limbs, by their own kindred, under a slave code ordained by their own free will." He saw in the APCM an opportunity to advance his own interest in US colonization of the Congo and by extension the resolution of his understanding of a race-relations problem in the New South.

Morgan was joined in his belief in the virtues of American colonization by Henry Shelton Sanford (1823-1891), who had been the US Minister to Belgium under President Abraham Lincoln's administration in 1860 (MEY-ER 1971: 21). Like Morgan, Sanford believed that a Congolese colony could act as an outlet "for the enterprise and ambition of our coloured people in more congenial fields than politics" (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). As Adam Hochschild (1998: 44) has observed, Sanford and Morgan worked seamlessly together to ensure that Léopold II's claims to the Congo River Basin were recognised by the US. This cooperation was most clearly evinced by Sanford's drafting of a resolution Morgan eventually submitted to the senate in support of Léopold II's Congo claims in 1884 (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). Given that many senators did not want to associate themselves with colonialism, Morgan and Sanford sought to euphemise the Léopold II's project by using the idea of the king organizing Belgian "protection" over sovereign African

⁹ AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY 1885: 15.

kingdoms (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44). They even tried to equate Léopold II's proposed CFS with states' rights under the US system of government, with individual African kingdoms envisioned enjoying similar levels of sovereignty to American states (HOCHSCHILD 1998: 44).

Morgan introduced Lapsley to Stanford who in turn had invited Lapsley to Brussels to meet, among others, the Belgian king (PHIPPS 2002: 17). Yet, Stanford and Morgan's idea of using the CFS as a US settler colony in the Liberian mould would never come to fruition. Lapsley's death meant that any hope on Morgan and Sanford's part that African Americans would be exiled to the Congo would be impossible to organise given their reluctance to work with an African American, namely Sheppard. The 'red rubber' atrocities (c.1895-1913) proved to be the final nail in the coffin of a second Liberia in central Africa (HILL 2020: 18). But the fact that no African American colony in central Africa emerged does not undermine the important role the idea of exile played in the APCM's formation. While it played a smaller part in the formation of the CFS, the idea of exiling frustrated Belgians to the Congo or at least giving them new colonial budgets to "devour" materialised. Even if Belgian agricultural settlers in the Congo, as one example of settler group in the colony, never competed effectively with big business or African labour ideas of exile and re-settlement were nonetheless important organizing concepts for the Belgian monarch (JEWSIEWICKI 1979: 559-171).

2. "Here I am, Send Me": Racial Hierarchies, African Auxiliaries, and the Formation of the Free State and the APCM

While the idea of exile arguably played an ambiguous role in the CFS' formation, racial hierarchies were absolutely central to its eventual manifestation. When the Belgian king and those who advocated for the annexation of the Congo with him, known colloquially as the congolâtres, evoked the idea of "enlightening others", they had the idea of "the natural superiority of the white race" very much in mind (VIAENE 2008: 756-757). However many Congolese were recruited in the CFS' army, the Force Publique, for example, there were no African people at the helm of the Léopoldean project; at least not in the metropole (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 66; REYBROUCK 2014: 76). For instance, by the turn of the century, there were four Belgian secrétaires généraux (general secretaries) who "headed the administrative establishment" of the CFS and none of them had African heritage (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 88). To evince this point, the abovementioned gen-

eral secretaries included: Colonel Maximilien-Charles Strauch (1829-1911), who maintained an "international questions" brief, Edmond van Eetvelde (1852-1925), who dealt with foreign affairs, and Hubert-Jean van Neuss (1839-1904), the CFS's financial director (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 86-87). While not one of the four best known CFS secretaries, Colonel Charles Liebrechts (1858-1938) was another important administrator given his role in dealing with internal Congolese matters, such as public works and agriculture (GANN and DUIGNAN 1979: 87).

Although the CFS administration changed over time, it never employed black people in executive, metropolitan positions. Arguably the most senior African the CFS employed was Hamed bin Mohammed al-Murjabi, better known as Tippu Tip (1837-1905) (ROES 2010: 655). Tippu Tip was made governor of a province called "Stanley Falls", which was situated in eastern Congo, in 1887 (LAING 2017: 231-232). His tenure as governor was cut short, though, by allegations that he was involved Edmund Barttelot's (1859-1888) death as he had failed to deliver the requisite number of porters to the Brevet Major on his way to "relieve" Emin Pasha (1840-1892) during the infamous Relief Expedition from 1886 to 1890 (LAING 2017: 242). Tippu Tip ended up leaving Stanley Falls "definitively between March and May" 1890 (LAING 2017: 242). As for the Force Publique, it was typically directed by white commanders such as Francis Dhanis (1861-1909), with Africans, such as Ngongo Lutete (1863-1893), playing fundamental but subordinate roles (MOHUN 2023: 69; GORDON 2014: 5-33). While white officers learned much from their African counterparts, such as the erection of stockades to protect their forces, they never promoted them to positions in the upper echelons of the army - even during the late colonial period (GANN) and DUIGNAN 1979: 74; GORDON 2017: 153).

At first, Sheppard's presence marks the APCM out as quite distinct from the CFS' emphasis on white, male "enlightenment" given that his co-founding of the Mission meant that the Presbyterians did not have a completely white executive hierarchy. But, much as Ira Dworkin has observed, the church had repeatedly refused Sheppard's application to work in the CFS until Lapsley had volunteered (DWORKIN 2013: 183). As a consequence, the black leadership of the APCM was an historical accident caused by Lapsley's untimely death in 1892 (DWORKIN 2017: 49). While Léopold II and the APCM might have had slightly different ideas about what "civilization" was, they both envisaged it radiating from a white, governing elite. Africans, such as Tippu Tip, and African Americans, such as Sheppard, were vital parts of both the CFS and the APCM organisations respectively, yet their decision-making powers were either resented, undermined, or even straightforwardly challenged by their respective white-dominated hierarchies (DWORKIN 2017: 53).

While the hierarchies the constituted the CFS were in many respects a product of the hardening of race-relations in Europe in the late in the nineteenth century (PAVLAKIS 2016: 13), those involved in American Presbyterian mission work had a longer history. Although the PCUS later discouraged the recruitment of African Americans from 1910 to 1958, the idea of a white governing elite incorporating African American missionaries in subservient roles featured strongly in Presbyterian mission work when it began in the nineteenth century (HILL 2020: x). The most crucial early influence on the ways in which the Presbyterians organized their work abroad was the Liberian mission, also known as the "West Africa Mission." This Mission was pioneered by Reverends John B. Pinney (1833-1878), Oren K. Canfield (d.1842), and Jonathan P. Alward (d.1841) (BFM 1840: 10). However, Wilson, from a Scots-Irish and Welsh colony of Presbyterians in South Carolina, went to Liberia shortly after the abovementioned pioneers did (BUCHER 1976: 293). The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had hired Wilson in part because they believed that his southern upbringing had inured him against what they understood as the "African" climate (BUCHER 1976: 294).

By 1838, Wilson believed that the evils of the American colonization project in Liberia outweighed any of its benefits but he never regretted the Liberia mission that he understood to be quite separate from the ACS' work (BUCHER 1976: 295). Moreover, the "West Africa Mission" had convinced Wilson that African missions were best organized in racial hierarchies with white people directing African Americans in the field. Once it had been formed in 1837, the Board of Foreign Missions (BFM), which by that time had replaced the old ABCFM, stated that it believed that it was dangerous to have too many stations for those it racialised as white on the West African coast (BFM 1842: 11; SHENK 2004: 1). Instead, white accommodation was sought on higher lands (BFM 1842: 11). Such living arrangements were established in response to the staggeringly high attrition rates during the Liberia mission, which saw three of the first five Presbyterian missionaries die on it after less than five months (McARVER 1997: 139). At the same time, the task of establishing contact with inland peoples, such as the Grand Sesters, was given to "coloured men" (BFM 1842: 11). The BFM believed that: "The constitution of coloured men of the Southern States has nothing to apprehend from the climate of Africa" (BFM, cited in: McARVER 1997: 139).

This division of labour and accommodation between those the church hierarchy racialised as white and it categorized as "coloured" remained important after the founding of the Liberia mission. In his autobiography, for example, Sheppard (1917: 18) remembered that he was asked throughout his training if he wanted to be a missionary in Africa. The fact that an African American was asked repeatedly if they wanted to serve in Africa, despite Sheppard's own acknowledgement that he had only a "vague" knowledge of the continent, illustrated this increasingly racialised Presbyterian iteration of missiological thought in the nineteenth century - albeit that it combined with Sheppard's own "regnant desire to go to Africa" (SHEPPARD 1917: 19; DWORKIN 2013: 184). The involvement of African Americans in the Congo and Liberia projects was accelerated by the reluctance on the part of white church members to answer the church's repeated calls to mission (DWORKIN 2013: 185).

What marks out many of the concluding remarks of the BFM's early Annual Reports is the Board's repeated scolding of members for not volunteering in enough numbers to sustain its cause. The reasons for this reluctance to take part in missionary activities were likely numerous. American synods wanted to expand their own congregations and must have felt that they had little surplus labour to spare in foreign mission fields. Likewise, the idea of missionary work was unwelcome in the eyes of many Presbyterians during the mid-nineteenth century. Many church members led comfortable lives in the US, for example, and were also aware of the rates of missionary mortality in Africa, which may not have endeared them to mission work in the continent. The relatively low recruitment of missionaries meant that the BFM continually had to ask for donations and staff (BFM 1841: 22). A similar challenge presented itself to Presbyterian missionaries in Gabon around the same time in that Corisco Island, where they based themselves, "proved no more healthy than the mainland" (CAMPBELL 1978: 121).

What PCUS racial thinking in the late nineteenth century meant was that, while Sheppard's application for mission was welcomed, an African American leading a mission on their own was anathemas to it. Rather than the availability of new funds, it was the emergence of Lapsley, a white man interested in central African mission work, which proved decisive in breaking the deadlock in establishing a PCUS mission to the Congo. Lapsley was fortuitous because that year, 1889, the General Assembly wanted to invest in causes it believed to have been important and missions were an integral part of that investment (BFM 1841: 13). As such, the General Assembly minutes also spoke of a "white licentiate" who was "willing to enter upon this [mis-

sionary] work" (PHS 1889: 611). The language of the General Assembly in this matter supports Stanley Shaloff's (1970: 17) argument that "the project would remain stillborn until a qualified white volunteer agreed to accompany him as supervisor of the mission [my emphasis]."

Once Lapsley came forward, saying: "Here I am, send me", the APCM was speedily organised (PHS 1889: 611). Like Sheppard, Lapsley had also been a licentiate of the Tuscaloosa Presbytery (MBAU 2020: 31). And this explains the fact that the minutes of the General Assembly in 1889 cited "the overture from professors of our Tuscaloosa Institute, asking [for] the early establishment of a mission to the Congo Free State of Africa" as important in the APCM's formation (PHS 1889: 611). Unlike Sheppard, Lapsley was the son of former slaveholders in Anniston, Alabama (MBAU 2020: 33). His father was a judge and so highly respected within the church at the time that he became the first Presbyterian layman to be elected as a moderator of the General Assembly, the most senior position available in the church hierarchy (PHIPPS 2002: 12).

Lapsley Sr. was a repentant slaveholder and constantly urged his fellow PCUS members to show more understanding and empathy with their co-religionists in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCU-SA) on this issue (PHIPPS 2002: 12). It was for this reason that his son, 'Sam' Lapsley, taught African Americans near Selma from the age of twelve (PHI-PPS 2002: 12). Lapsley was reputedly a brilliant student. He was considered by the President of the University of Alabama, Burwell B. Lewis, to be "the most outstanding of any student since the Civil War" (PHIPPS 2002: 11-12). Phipps (2002: 13) suggested that Lapsley and Sheppard were equals in terms of the governance of the APCM. They would both get a salary of \$500, which was admittedly remarkable given the fact that the Civil War was hardly a distant memory at that time (PHIPPS 2002: 13). This was indeed a step forward for the PCUS. Yet, it is worth repeating that without Lapsley's involvement, the APCM would never have been formed.

Seeing the APCM as promoting a largely white hierarchy revises an older historiography that emphasised the PCUS' commitment to a more reformed, egalitarian set of racial attitudes after the Civil War (SHALOFF 1970: 13). According to Phipps (2002: 11), Sheppard's main obstacle in establishing a Congo mission was not racial prejudice but funding, much as it was for Presbyterian missions in Cameroon and Gabon¹⁰. The Presbyterians, so Phipps' (2002: 11) argument goes, had tried to get money by establishing a joint

¹⁰ I am grateful to one of my anonymous referees for the information about Cameroon and Gabon.

mission to Africa between the PCUS and the PCUSA but attempts to broker a deal repeatedly failed. Although there is some truth in this observation, this section has argued that Phipps' and Shaloff's views were more optimistic than the weight of evidence suggests. While there was some parity of power relations between African Americans and their white counterparts, white American Presbyterians, such Wilson, believed that they alone were best placed to *govern* missionary work in Africa with African Americans tasked with doing the day-to-day preaching.

3. White Paternalism, Industrial Education, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and Education in the Congo Under Léopoldian Rule

Given Wilson's qualified inclusion of an African American in his conception of mission work, black education became a significant part of Presbyterian overseas projects. Since the 1830s, HBCUs had dominated African American higher education (BETSEY 2017: 1). And one of the most important of these relative to the founding of the APCM was the Hampton Institute given it schooled Sheppard for a time (CLENDENEN, COLINS, and DUIGNAN 1966: 63). Like many HBCUs, Hampton was founded by retired Union General, Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-1893). It was founded in 1868. Armstrong was a child of missionaries who had worked in Hawaii and someone who Sheppard later described as being his "model of manhood" (ZAKI 2007: 1; SHEPPARD 1917: 17). While he was lionised by many Hampton alumni, Armstrong was very much "a man of his times who shared the perspective of his class and generation ... This was a class of men and women who believed in ... the superiority of their beliefs and practices" (ZAKI 2007: 1). Hoda Zaki (2007: 1) observed that the class from which Armstrong came "believed that a natural hierarchy existed in the social order, and that they as a class were fittest to lead." In short, in Benedict Carton's (2009: 61) words, Armstrong was an "exponent of white paternalism." Armstrong even went as far as debating the supposed merits of racial diffusion theory that "posited ... that only the West and its Christian soldiers ... could rescue the benighted savages" (CARTON 2009: 61-62).

As Armstrong fervently believed that industrial education would lift African Americans out of poverty, labour became the cornerstone of the Hampton model (ENGS 1999: 80). Although Armstrong's ideas about industrial education in the 1860s did not entirely correspond with Hampton's curricu-

lum at the *end* of the nineteenth century, there were many similarities (ENGS 1999: 80). While Armstrong had envisaged a considerable amount of classical education, which is largely to say the study of mathematics and Greek, alongside manual labour, it was the latter that came to predominate at Hampton (ENGS 1999: 80). The idea of an institution advocating a curriculum based largely on manual labour served as a model for black education in the US in part because it had its own press that promoted its achievements (WELCH 2018: 7). Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) took Armstrong's principle of promoting manual labour and established Tuskegee University in Alabama in 1881, with it thereafter becoming central to his thinking on black pedagogy (CHANDLER and POWELL 2018: 7).

Alongside Tuskegee and Hampton, the Tuskaloosa Institute, later Stillman College, was another very important HBCU relative to the founding of the APCM. The minutes of the General Assembly of 1889 show that the Executive Committee was approach by the Professors of our Tuskaloosa Institute and others "asking [for] the early establishment of a mission in the Congo Free State of Africa" (PHS 1889: 611). The "Tuskaloosa" (Tuscaloosa) Institute was established in 1889. It was founded largely by Rev. Dr. Charles Stillman (1810-1875), the clerk of the Tuscaloosa presbytery, who believed that, in spite of having supported the Confederacy, that the PCUS should teach the "unfettered Gospel to blacks" (ABERNETHY 2012: 72). Stillman had managed to make his vision of training black ministers a reality by 1876, when the Institute first opened (ABERNETHY 2012: 74). As Barrett Abernethy (2012: 79) suggested, the Institute got off to a rough start as there were initially only six students and it was terrifically under-resourced. Yet, this situation was resolved by the work of those who shared Stillman's vision, such Dr. B. T. Lacy. Lacy had travelled widely to raise funds for the Institute that would later bear the name of its founder; Stillman, once he died in 1895 (ABERNETHY 2012: 79; PHIPPS 2002: 9).

While not as initially important as Stillman, Fisk University was another Reconstruction-era HBCU that was relevant to the emergence of the APCM. Althea Brown Edmiston graduated from Fisk in 1901, for example, and went on to do wide-ranging and important service for the APCM (HILL 2020: ix). Fisk was founded in 1866 and until 1875 was housed in old Federal barracks (COHEN 2001: 9). It was named after General Clinton Fisk (1828-1890) of the Freedmen's Bureau who played a vital role in the acquiring of the barracks (COHEN 2001: 7-8). Although Fisk had been key in founding the eponymous institution, the American Missionary Association (AMA) was also important. AMA missionaries John Ogden (1824-1910), Erastus Milo Cravath

(1833-1900), and Edward Parmelee Smith (1827-1876) had wanted to build a place for "the education and training of young men and women irrespective of colour" (COHEN 2001: 7). Ogden became the first President of Fisk, overseeing its transition to university status in 1867 (COHEN 2001: 8).

By the time the APCM was formed in 1890, a number of HBCUs were established that either had trained or would end up training African Americans involved in the APCM. Hampton, Stillman, Tuskegee, and Fisk were some of many such institutions. The idea of manual labour was central to most of these establishments. Even if they had initially taught a range of other subjects, such as maths and English, the emphasis on manual labour, which steadily became synonymous with industrial education, grew rapidly by the end of the nineteenth century. For all its importance to the APCM's work later on, medicine would hardly feature in the HBCUs or at least few if any pioneering Presbyterians took such courses. The first two Presbyterian medical missionaries, DeWitt Clinton Synder (1859-1919) and Rev. Lucius A. DeYampert (1877-1952), were not trained doctors at all and it was only in 1906 that a trained practitioner was send to the Congo (BENEDETTO 1996: 38). Rather, it was industrial education, seen by many missionaries as a crucial means of social uplift, which would become so important in the network of mission stations the APCM constructed in the Congo (HILL 2020: 19).

Sheppard's own biography testifies to the centrality of the HBCUs in APCM pedagogy. The young Sheppard began his education in 1874 at Waynesboro's "public coloured school", which gave him a relatively rounded education and included subjects such as arithmetic, geography, and grammar (PHIPPS 2002: 4). After he left the Waynesboro school, he continued his education informally with Dr. S. H. Henkel, an officer in the First Presbyterian Church of Staunton and local dentist, in the county seat of Augusta (PHIPPS 2002: 4; CARTON 2009: 59). Following his time with the Dr. Henkel and his family, Sheppard worked as a waiter at Covington until, by 1880, when he was fifteen, he had saved up enough money to go to what was then the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute (CARTON 2009: 59; SHEPPARD 1917: 16).

While Sheppard is sometimes considered a Hampton alumnus, he completed his degree at the Tuscaloosa Institute (Stillman College) where he studied under Pastor McCutchen (CARTON 2009: 66). Sheppard wrote in his autobiography later on that McCutchen "was deeply interested in me" (SHEPPARD 1917: 17). The pastor had founded a seminary within Stillman in 1877 with the express intention of training African Americans to become missionaries in Africa (PHIPPS 2002: 9). The Tuscaloosa curriculum

was broader than the one at Hampton given its founding purpose of training each of its African American students to be a "thoroughly furnished scholar" (ABERNETHY 2012: 79). As such, while there, Sheppard studied theology, homiletics, moral philosophy, and the philosophy of the mind, as well as literature, physiology, and mathematics (PHIPPS 2002: 9). And he eventually became the first Tuscaloosa graduate to engage in overseas mission work (HILL 2002: 48). Yet Tuscaloosa was in many respects the exception that proved the rule that HBCUs were places that increasingly taught manual labour as the nineteenth century wore on.

The HBCUs' emphasis on industrial education matched the CFS's desire to train "French-speaking artisans" (YATES 1980: 35). Most CFS education was outsourced to missionaries with Catholics having a particularly important role given Léopold's general suspicion of Protestant evangelists¹¹. Marc Depaepe observed that: "The official school colony for boys in Boma was even part of the army ... The number of times pupils were whipped in punishment cannot be counted" (DEPAEPE 2017: 10). More than voraciously and cruelly punishing pupils, the CFS administration placed a particular emphasis "on manual labour in agriculture" (DEPAEPE 2017: 10). The abovementioned school in Boma, for example, was a vocational facility and one whose curriculum would have mirrored those taught in Hampton in many key respects, not least in its emphasis on manual labour (DEPAEPE 2017: 11).

Many missionaries working in the CFS did not want to teach industrial education-based curriculums as exemplified in the Boma school because they believed that it would lead to graduates finding jobs other than those of being catechists and evangelists (YATES 1980: 34). However, the APCM was different given the profound influence of HBCUs on Sheppard, their co-founder and de-facto leader after Lapsley's death in 1892 (HILL 2020: 17-46). Rather than ignore the 1890 and 1892 Education Acts, which placed a high degree of emphasis on agricultural and industrial training, the APCM actively embraced them (YATES 1980: 34). The evidence for the collaboration between the APCM and the Free State in industrial education comes not just in the form of Sheppard but his encouragement to his fellow missionaries to open an industrial school at the Presbyterian station of Ibanche in 1905 (HILL 2020: 21). The industrial school at Ibanche was not a CFS imposition on the APCM but rather a project that its leader, Alonzo Edmiston, a Stillman graduate, actively "treasured" and as a means to contribute to the State's development (HILL 2020: 22, 26).

¹¹ Protestant missionaries were sometimes viewed as a "5th column for British imperial interests", see: MAXWELL 2008: 332.

Conclusion

Industrial tutelage eventually became a very important part of pedagogy in the Congo, especially after the CFS had been transferred to the Belgian parliament in 1908. Victor Fernández Soriano has argued that Belgian officials justified forced labour by claiming it was educative in the period from 1933 to 1960 (SORIANO 2018: 292-314). The Belgian emphasis on African industrial education – and especially physical labor – continued to be mirrored in the APCM's curricula. The Hampton model remained influential on the APCM until the Great Depression and in some cases even beyond the global financial cataclysm. Sheppard had come to the Congo with the Hampton curricula very much in mind in the 1890s and recruited missionaries from HBCUs, such Alonzo Edmiston, who earnestly propounded it. The growing Hampton emphasis industrial education was made manifest in the CFS in the Ibanche station in particular when it was completed by 1898 and again once it was rebuilt in 1905 after being ransacked by the Kuba (HILL 2020: x).

Alongside the continued emphasis on industrial education, this article has also highlighted the importance of white, male hierarchies in the formation of both the CFS and the APCM. Each organisation would not have been able to function without African and/or African Americans yet both sets of hierarchies privileged white leadership. The sharing of ideas about race and racial hierarchies culminated when the APCM began to discourage the recruitment of African American missionaries in any position in 1910 to accommodate their Belgian overlords. Much like in the case of industrial education, white hierarchies remained in place in both the Belgian Congo and the APCM nearly until the very end of the colonial period. The local Presbyterian church in the Congo became independent of the APCM in 1970 and so eschewed a white hierarchy that had lasted doggedly throughout the colonial period (WILKERSON 2023). Likewise, the Belgian Congo may have allowed a cadre of Africans into higher bureaucratic positions by the late colonial period but, even then, none would undertake roles that would see them author policies that ever clashed with those of their colonial overlords. The issue of Africanization of Belgian hierarchies rose to national prominence during the mutiny of the Force Publique in July 1960, caused in a large part by the insistence of presiding officers that white leadership of the army would continue despite decolonization (YOUNG 1965: 260).

Unlike white, male hierarchies and industrial education, ideas of exile remained somewhat particular to the nineteenth century in Congolese terms. In a large part due to the 'red rubber' atrocities, any plans involving the CFS becoming an African American colony, or a repository of potentially revolu-

tionary Belgians, never materialised. This should not diminish the importance that the conception of a settler state in central Africa had in the minds of influential southern politicians such as Morgan or Stanford. The assistance they provided was vital in facilitating the APCM's residency in the CFS during its early days. Indeed, they would not have been able to legally go to the CFS without Sanford's introduction of Sheppard and Lapsley to Léopold II. Rather than ideas of exile, both the Belgian Congo and the APCM continued to collaborate in other areas and these would most obviously be manifested in the fields of education and medicine.

Sources and Bibliography **Manuscript Sources**

PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA (PHS) (1889), Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Printed Sources

- AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (ACS) (1885). Sixty Eighth Report of the American Colonization Society with Minutes of the Annual Meeting and of the Board of Directors, (18, 20, and 21 January 1885).
- BEDINGER, Robert Dabney (1920). Triumphs of the Gospel in the Belgian Congo. Richmond, Virginia: Presbyterian Committee of Publication.
- BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS (BFM) (1840). Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. New York.
- BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS (BFM) (1842). Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. New York.
- MORGAN, John T. (1890). "The Race Question in the United States". The Arena, 2, 10, 385-398.
- SHEPPARD, William Henry (1917). Presbyterian Pioneers in Congo. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication.
- WACK, Henry Wellington (1905). The Story of the Congo Free State: Social, Economic, and Political Aspects of the Belgian System of Government in Central Africa. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Bibliography

- ABERNETHY, Barrett (2012). "A New Vision: Charles Stillman's Motivations to Create the Tuscaloosa Institute for Coloured Ministers". Journal of Presbyterian History, 90, 2, 72-82.
- BENEDETTO, Robert (1996). Presbyterian Reformers in Central Africa: A Documentary Account of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission and the Human Rights Struggle in the Congo, 1890-1918. Leiden: Brill.
- BETSEY, Charles L. (2017). "Introduction", in Charles L. Betsey (ed.), Historically Black Colleges and Universities. London: Routledge, 1-3.
- BUCHER, Henry H. Jr. (1976). "John Leighton Wilson and the Mpongwe: The "Spirit of 1776" in Mid-Nineteenth Century Western Africa". Journal of Presbyterian History, 54, 3, 291-315.
- BURROUGHS, Robert (2022). Black Students in Imperial Britain: The African *Institute Colwyn Bay,* 1889-1911. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- CAMPBELL, Penelope (1978). "Presbyterian West African Missions: Women as Converts and Agents of Social Change". Journal of Presbyterian History, 56, 2, 121-132.
- CARTON, Benedict (2009). "From Hampton '[I]nto the Heart of Africa': How Faith in God and Folklore Turned Congo Missionary William Sheppard into a Pioneering Ethnologist". *History in Africa*, 36, 53-86.
- CHANDLER, Dana R. and POWELL, Edith (2018). To Raise Up the Man Furthest Down: Tuskegee University's Advancements in Human Health, 1881-1897. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- CLENDENEN, Clarence; COLLINS, Robert; and DUIGNAN, Peter (1966). Americans in Africa, 1865-1900. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
- COHEN, Rodney T. (2001). Fisk University. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing. COLEMAN, Michael C. (1980). "No Race but Grace: Presbyterian Missionaries and American Indians, 1837-1893". The Journal of American History, 67, 1, 41-60.
- DEPAEPE, Marc (2017). "Colonial Education in Congo A Question of "Uncritical" Pedagogy Until the Bitter End?". Encounters in Theory and *History of Education*, 18, 2-26.
- DUJARDIN, Vincent and ROSOUX, Valérie (eds.) (2009). Léopold II -Entre Génie et Gêne: Politique Étrangère et Colonisation. Paris: Racine.
- DWORKIN, Ira (2013). "On the Borders of Race, Mission, and State: African Americans and the American Presbyterian Congo Mission", in Steven Van Wolputte (ed.), *Borders and Frontiers in Africa*. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 183-212.

- DWORKIN, Ira (2017). Congo Love Song: African American Culture and the *Crisis of the Colonial State.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- ELNAIEM, Mohammed (2021). "George Washington Williams and the Origins of Anti-Imperialism", ISTOR Daily, available at: https://daily.jstor. org/george-washington-williams-and-the-origins-of-anti-imperialism/, consulted on 21 December 2023.
- EMERSON, Barbara (1979). Leopold II of the Belgians: King of Colonialism. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- ENGS, Robert Francis (1999). Educating the Disenfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and the Hampton Institute. Nashville: University of Tennessee Press.
- FRANKLIN, John Hope (1998). George Washington Williams: A Biography. Durham: Duke University Press.
- FRY, Joseph A. (1985). "John Tyler Morgan's Southern Expansionism". Diplomatic History, 9, 4, 329-346.
- GANN, Lewis H.; and DUIGNAN, Peter (1979). The Rulers of Belgian Africa, 1884-1914. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- GIBSON, David R. (2022). "Minutes of History: Talk and its Written Incarnations". Social Science History, 46, 3, 643-669.
- GORDON, David M. (2014). "Interpreting Documentary Sources on the Early History of the Congo Free State: The Case of Ngongo Lutete's Rise and Fall". *History in Africa*, 41, 5-33.
- GORDON, David M (2017). "Precursors to Red Rubber: Violence in the Congo Free State, 1885-1895". Past and Present, 236, 1, 133-168.
- GREINDI, Leopold (1962). A La Recherche d'un Etat Indépendant: Léopold II et les Philippines (1869-1875). Bruxelles: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer.
- HILL, Kimberly D. (2020). A Higher Mission: The Careers of Alonzo and Althea Brown Edmiston in Central Africa. Louisville: University Press of Kentucky.
- HOCHSCHILD, Adam (1998). "The King's Lobbyists". The American Scholar, 67, 3, 39-51.
- HOCHSCHILD, Adam (2019). King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa. London: Picador.
- JEWSIEWICKI, Bogumil (1979). "Le Colonat Agricole Européen au Congo-Belge, 1910-1960: Questions Politiques et Economiques". The Journal of *African History*, 20, 4, 559-571.
- LAING, Stuart (2017). Tippu Tip: Ivory, Slavery, and Discovery in the Scramble for Africa. Surbiton, Surrey: Medina Publishing Limited.

- MARKOWITZ, Marvin (1973). Cross and Sword: The Political Role of Christian Missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press.
- MAXWELL, David (2008). "The Soul of the Luba: W. F. P. Burton, Missionary Ethnography, and Belgian Colonial Science". *History and Anthropology*, 19, 4, 325-351.
- MBAU, Simon N'Kashama B. (2020). L'Eglise Presbytérienne au Congo face aux défis du Temps Présent. De La Mission á L'Eglise Locale. Paris: Racine.
- McARVER, Susan Wilds (1997). The Salvation of Souls and the Salvation of the Republic of Liberia: Denominational Conflict and Racial Diversity in Antebellum Presbyterian Foreign Missions. Philadelphia: North Atlantic Missiology Project.
- MESQUITA, Bruce Bueno de (2007). "Leopold II and the Selectorate: An Account in Contrast to a Racial Explanation". *Historical Social Research*, 32, 4, 203-221.
- MEYER, Lysle E. (1971). "Henry S. Sanford and the Congo: A Reassessment". African Historical Studies, 4, 1, 19-39.
- SAMARIN, William J. (2019). The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo and Ubangi Rivers, 1880-1900. London: Routledge.
- MOHUN, Arwen P. (2023). *American Imperialist: Cruelty and Consequence in the Scramble for Africa*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- MORRISON, John R. (2021). *Kuonyi Nxila: Biography of Dr. William Mc-Cutchen Morrison*. Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing Company.
- PAVLAKIS, Dean (2016). British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement, 1896-1913. London: Routledge.
- PHIPPS, William E. (2002). William Sheppard: Congo's African American Livingstone. Louisville, Kentucky: Geneva Press.
- REYBROUCK, David Van (2014). *Congo: The Epic History of a People (Translated from the Dutch by Sam Garett)*. London: Fourth Estate.
- ROES, Aldwin (2010). "Towards a History of Mass Violence in the Etat Indépendant du Congo, 1885-1908". South African Historical Journal, 62, 4, 634-670.
- SHALOFF, Stanley (1970). *Reform in Leopold's Congo*. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press.
- SHENK, Wilbert B. (2004). "Introduction", in Wilbert R. Shenk (ed.), *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*. Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1-8.
- SORIANO, Victor Fernández (2018). "Travail et Progrès': Obligatory 'Educational' Labour in the Belgian Congo, 1933-60". *Journal of Contemporary History*, 53, 2, 292-314.

- SWANN, Darius L. and REESE, James F. (2007). "Perspectives on the Development of the Black Presbyterian Church in the South". *The Journal of Presbyterian History*, 85, 1, 48-56.
- VANTHEMSCHE, Guy (2012). Belgium and the Congo, 1885-1980. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- VIAENE, Vincent (2008). "King Léopold's Imperialism and the Origins of the Belgian Colonial Party". *The Journal of Modern History*, 80, 4, 741-790.
- WEINSTEIN, Brian (1972). Éboué. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- WELCH, John S. (2018). "Reassessing the Vocational Origins of Hampton University and Celebrating a Singular History of Arts Engagement". The *Public Historian*, 40, 3, 107-141.
- WILKERSON, Elizabeth "Lilibet" Vass (2023). The "Vass" Continent of Africa: A Love Story: The Life and Times of Winefred K. Vass and Lachlan C. Vass III. Bloomington, Indiana: WestBow Press.
- YATES, Barbara A. (1980). "White Views of Black Minds: Schooling in King Leopold's Congo". *History of Education Quarterly*, 20, 1, 27-50.
- YOUNG, Crawford (1965). Politics in Congo: Decolonization and Independence. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ZAKI, Hoda M. (2007). Civil Rights and Politics at Hampton Institute: The Legacy of Alonzo G. Moron. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- ZIMMERMAN, Andrew (2010). Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fear and Loathing on the Margins of Empire: Socio--religious perspectives connecting the Netherlands and South Africa before and into the South African War

Retief Müller

VID Specialized University | Stellenbosch University retief.muller@vid.no https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9569-9368

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 17/02/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 29/10/2024



Abstract. Focusing especially on writings by the theologian Abraham Kuyper and the impact of two Dutch born clergymen with substantial careers in South Africa's Dutch Reformed Church in the late 19th century, this article develops a perspective on the intertwined relationship between groups and cultural factors involving the Netherlands and South Africa during this period. This intertwined relationship went far beyond Reformed theology, but the literature produced by Reformed theologians and pastors is one area or lens through which one might perceive this relationship quite clearly. The article's thesis is that both the Netherlands and parts of South Africa during much of the colonial period experienced themselves as on the margins of a British Empire perceived with varying degrees of apprehension and hostility and that both the first and the second Anglo Boer Wars of the late 19th and early 20th century catapulted such shared sentiments into overdrive. Yet Dutch sympathisers often had to counterbalance their identification of shared culture and religion that they had with the Boers with their more general, perhaps growing, sensibilities regarding racial equalization and democracy, which created tensions in this complex relationship, as this essay will show.

Keywords. Abraham Kuyper, British Empire, Dutch Reformed Church, Netherlands, South Africa.

Introduction

This article proceeds from the perspective of an intertwined relationship between groups and cultural factors involving the Netherlands and South Africa in the late 19th – early 20th centuries. This intertwined relationship went far beyond Reformed theology, but the literature produced by Reformed theologians and pastors, and as commented upon by their interpreters, is one area or lens through which one might perceive this relationship quite clearly. Perhaps the most important reason for this is simply that theologians, clergymen, and missionaries counted among the most prolific non-fiction authors regarding southern Africa during the period in question. Hence, the focus in this article is less about theology as a specialised enterprise and more about

the written products of theologians and pastors, and on relevant secondary literature discussing the original writings. Notably the writings in question were for the most part not of a theological nature, functioning instead at the level of social and cultural commentary. However, it might be said that the writings were theologically underpinned and imbued with cultural, religious, and historical value. This article presents the findings of a close reading of selected sources with a focus on views pertaining to the British Empire.

The thesis is that both the Netherlands and parts of what would in 1910 become the Union of South Africa during much of the colonial period experienced themselves as smaller regional entities on the margins, or at least in close vicinity, of a British Empire perceived with varying degrees of apprehension and hostility and that the late 19th and early 20th century South African War / Anglo Boer War catapulted such shared sentiments into overdrive. The southern African context that is mostly of interest in this article concerns the Transvaal as a Boer ruled counter-imperial formation. The Orange Free State could also be considered as on the margin of the British Empire, but the characters highlighted in this article directly concerned themselves with matters and individuals connected to the Transvaal.

It will also be shown that Dutch sympathisers with Boer anti-imperialism often had to counterbalance their identification of shared culture and religion which they had with the Boers with their more general, perhaps growing, sensibilities regarding racial equalization and democracy, which created tensions in this relationship.

The Dutch, their South African migrant colonists, and a leading Dutch Reformed voice at the turn of the century

The Boers and/or Afrikaners 1 of southern Africa had their primary identity rooted in the 17th century Dutch colonial project at the Cape of Good

¹ This group of partially Dutch descendent inhabitants in southern Africa have had various designations referring to specific segments of this population over time. In some cases, the designations overlap. Boers was one such designation. Literally meaning farmers this referred to rural oriented groupings, particularly those who participated and found their communal identity in the 1830s emigration from the Cape colony, locally known as the Great Trek. This identity formation which developed primary connections to Transvaal and Free State based Dutch speakers became particularly solidified in history when for example two wars against the British Empire were fought, sometimes known as the first (1880-1881) and second (1899-1902) Anglo-Boer Wars. Other designations for Dutch descendants particularly in the Cape colony were Cape Dutch or Afrikaner. Over time, particularly in the 20th century, Afrikaner became the catchall designation for the entire grouping of primarily Dutch descendant whites in South Africa who also identified themselves by their late 19th century codified Dutch based language, Afrikaans. See, e.g. DU TOIT 2003; GILIOMEE 2011.

Hope, although they had a more diverse ancestry spanning different parts of Europe, South-East Asia and southern Africa. This was the result of the wide reach of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) that controlled the Cape for a century and a half but also much of the Indian Ocean world (see, JACOBS 2020).

After the British takeover of the Cape colony in 1806 the subsequent history between the Netherlands and the descendants of the erstwhile DEIC colony in the south of Africa was not always characterized by unbridled mutual affection. Dutch church historian, Erica Meijers suggests for example that society in the Netherlands tended to look down on the Boers of South Africa as barely civilized and as a band of rather backward rustics. Writing in Dutch she summarises the general opinion which I will translate as follows: "Before the time of the Anglo-Boer War the Afrikaners were considered as stupid and backward farmers, who conducted themselves cruelly with regards to the black population" (MEIJERS 2008: 33).

In the same period there was a growing suspicion from the side of the Dutch Afrikaners2 in the Cape Colony against the Netherlands, at least in terms of theological matters. Within the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, the Netherlands came to be seen as thoroughly in thrall to liberalism. So wary were the local church of Dutch rationalism and its sway among theological faculties in the Netherlands that linguistically and culturally further removed Scots presbyterian pastors were increasingly intrusted to occupy vacant parishes and leadership positions in local church and seminary over against otherwise more obvious Dutch candidates. Liberalism associated with Dutch pastors, or local ones who were trained in the Netherlands, eventually became thoroughly purged from the mainstream Cape centred Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk – usually translated into English as Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) – (DREYER 1898: 48), although liberalism continued with a bit of a lifeline in the smaller Transvaal state sanctioned Hervormde Kerk3 which positioned itself against the Cape Church with its anti-liberal evangelicalism and increasingly British imperial leanings. All of this is to say that feelings towards the Netherlands from the side of the South African Dutch Reformed scene became increasingly complex, and at least within the dominant Cape based grouping, increasingly suspect as the 19th century dragged on.

² Since the 'Afrikaner' was an identity formation that developed over time, the term Dutch Afrikaner as used by Duff is perhaps more accurate for describing earlier parts of the history prior to the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism as a further distinguishing factor in the late 19th century. See DUFF 2018.

³ This at least would seem to be the case in the interpretation of a leading DRC figure in the Transvaal, F.L Cachet. See KRIEL 1956: 46, 50ff.

Two conflicts involving the Boers and the British Empire influenced Dutch attitudes towards the Boers drastically. These conflicts, eventually affecting the entirety of what was to become South Africa, mainly involved two Boer controlled territories to the north of the Cape Colony and to the west of the Colony of Natal. While the Cape and Natal were under British colonial administration for most of the 19th century, as was the Orange River Sovereignty from 1848 to 1854 until it became a Boer republic with the name Orange Free State from 1854-1902, the Transvaal was a Boer republic from 1852-1902. The first conflict of note was the First Anglo Boer War (1880-1881) in which the Transvaal republic emerged victorious and the second was the turn of the century Second Anglo Boer War/ South African War (1899-1902) in which two Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange State unsuccessfully attempted to maintain their independence from a renewed and much more determined military campaign waged by the British forces (see, DAVENPORT and SAUNDERS 2000).

In the Netherlands a much warmer sentiment and closer identification with the Boers on the basis of so-called 'stamverwantschap' (tribal affiliation) started to take root (see, MEIJERS 2008: 35). It is worthwhile directly translating a couple of sentences from Erica Meijers' work regarding Dutch sentiments as influenced by the abovementioned two wars:

> Regarding these wars, wherein the Afrikaners eventually lost out, several narratives soon started doing the rounds in the Netherlands, which particularly concerned the heroism of the small troop of Boers against the overwhelming English power. Thus, the charitable predisposition regarding the Afrikaners gained the upper hand and there developed among the broad layer of the population an outright veneration of the Boers' (MEI-JERS 2008: 34).

One place to locate the significance of this perspective is in reference to the most influential Dutch theologian in the reformed tradition of the period, Abraham Kuyper, who was also a high-profile public figure in the Netherlands. An anti-modernist and Calvinist thinker, who over the course of his lifetime had a career as journalist and newspaper editor, educationist and founder of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, and even prime minister of the Netherlands from 1901-1905, (SNEL 2020) Kuyper as theologian had been a particularly influential source within 20th century Afrikaans theological discourse. His 1900 publication, *De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika*, published in the middle of the Anglo Boer War with the clear intent of ramping up support for

the Boer cause, argued that twice during the 17th century the Netherlands sought to venture out in overseas colonisation, to America in 1628 and to the Cape in 1650. "Both colonies were fallen into English hands and both in unlawful ways" (KUYPER 1900: 2). Kuyper further explained that Holland had to relinquish both America in 1667 and the Cape Colony in 1814 because it was the weaker party in relation to England (KUYPER 1900: 2). However, Kuyper continued, in neither America nor South Africa did the English succeed in winning the affection of the Dutch descendants. "Every attempt at fusion between the two elements were repulsed by the tenacity of the Dutch race" (KUYPER 1900: 3). Kuyper further claimed that in his contemporary times, two centuries later, the American Dutch retained the same level of animosity against the English as before. Even if they did not know the Dutch language anymore, they continued to seek the connection through their 'Holland Societies'. "Their Dutch origin is as it were an aristocratic title of which they are proud" (KUYPER 1900: 4). Whether or not the American Dutch truly had these sorts of sentiments regarding the Netherlands is less important than the fact that Kuyper portrayed them in this light. As the main tenor of De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika makes clear, Kuyper had a nationalistic interest in illustrating the Netherlands and its diasporic societies in counterpoint to what he evidently saw as British imperial overreach.

The comments about America in Kuyper's text are only a prelude. The central theme in the pamphlet by this famous Dutch theologian concerned South Africa. Regarding the early British incursions in the hitherto Dutch controlled territory inland from the Cape of Good Hope, Kuyper refers to a Captain Percival who in 1803 testified that "the English will be amazed at the aversion and even the hatred that the Dutch seem to foster towards us" (KUYPER 1900: 4). Kuyper, then related a well-trodden narrative in Boer/ Afrikaner history of unjust suffering at the hands of the British empire. He gave the Boers a glowing testimony regarding their Calvinistic faith, their democratic social organization, and their morality (KUYPER 1900: 8-9). This perspective stands in marked contrast, in other words, to contemporary and slightly earlier British missionary portrayal of this very same group as slaveholders and oppressors of Africans, as seen for example in writings of David Livingstone (see SCHAPERA 1960) and James Stewart (1899).

Additionally, one may point out that Kuyper and his theology of sphere sovereignty have often been implicated, mainly by post-apartheid South African theologians, as an important source for the development of what came to be known as apartheid theology (see NAUDE 2005). However, the placement of Kuyper in such a compromised position has also met some resistance from neo-Calvinist Kuyperian scholars, especially within American Reformed circles where Kuyper is often regarded as a flawed hero of the faith rather than an outright villain4. Consequently, a more orthodox or at least less controversial position to take with respect to Kuyperian influence on South Africa and apartheid is that it was not Kuyper himself who is to blame for the development of apartheid theology. Instead, the blame should be laid at the feet of his Boer/Afrikaner proteges who misinterpreted his idea of sphere sovereignty to also include the notion of race within the overall scheme. Thus, racial apartheid could be justified theologically within a warped scheme of sphere sovereignty. Without getting into the intricacies of this argument and counter argument I could simply state that the counter-argument's point regarding a subsequent development of Kuyperian ideas within the South African context certainly did occur, and perhaps to an extent beyond what Kuyper himself might have been comfortable with (See BASKWELL 2006), but this is speculation to some extent. What is clear though from De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika, which is written in the genre of social commentary rather than theological discourse, is that Kuyper strongly championed the cause of the Boers during the South African War. And, as Erica Meijers points out, it is also in this document that Kuyper introduces a term that would become a mainstay in the subsequent Afrikaner ideology that would underpin apartheid. The term in question is Zwart Gevaar (black danger) (MEIJERS 2008: 44-45; KUYPER 1900: 19-20). Together with other dangers, such as Roomse Gevaar (Roman danger) (STRYDOM 1937) and Rooi Gevaar (red danger) (FOURIE 2024), Zwart Gevaar would throughout the 20th century function as bogeyman against which to guard and against which Afrikaner and more generally white isolationism would be bolstered through political, economic, and social machinations.

Nevertheless, perhaps it is only fair to consider Kuyper's role in this story in relation to his wider engagement with South Africa over time. The Dutch historian Gerrit Schutte is instructive in this regard (SCHUTTE 2010). For this one must turn the clock backwards a bit since Schutte relates a history of engagement between Kuyper and particularly S.J. du Toit, the most influential South African implementer of Kuyperian ideas in the late 19th century. The history that Schutte zooms in on concerns the period after the first British annexation of the northernmost Boer republic, the Transvaal, formally known as the South African Republic in 1877.

⁴ See, for example, the high profile Kuyper Conference and Prize associated with a couple of the premier Reformed and Presbyterian institutions in the USA: https://calvin.edu/centers-institutes/de-vries-institute/ kuyper-conference-prize/

Schutte describes du Toit as "a clergyman and author, founder of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (1875), editor in chief of Di Patriot (1876) and founder of the Afrikaner Bond (1879)". These institutions and publication were the driving forces in the construction of what came to be known as Afrikaans language and Afrikaner identity as distinct from their Dutch origin.

When Kuyper founded The Vrije Universiteit in 1880 and delivered a speech on the topic of "Souvereiniteit in eigen kring", du Toit immediately wrote to congratulate him for "placing this [Reformed] doctrine on the lamp stand through your work" (SCHUTTE 2010) Du Toit was an inveterate opponent of everything liberal and English, which for him were virtually two sides of the same coin. As founding editor of Die Afrikaanse Patriot he was at one point responsible for the placement of a quite slanderous couple of letters in 1893 under the pseudonym Streng Gereformeerde Patriot (9 February; 23 February), which attacked the well-known church and mission leader Andrew Murray Jr. for being a supposed enemy of both the Reformed doctrine and Afrikaner nationalism. The author was possibly none other than du Toit himself (see GILIOMEE 2011: 217-18) and based on these letters it would be difficult to tell if the author was more incensed by Murray's supposed anti-reformed views or his anti-nationalism. Schutte for his part argues that du Toit became steadily more nationalistic and that his own willingness to compromise on Reformed principles in favour of more nationalistic ones over time was what led to an eventual parting of ways between Kuyper and du Toit. This marked the end of a period of shared ideas and friendly partnership as expressed in correspondence between the two (SCHUTTE 2010). Schutte seems to interpret their eventual fissure as a consequence of the fact that Kuyper placed the Reformed view ahead of nationalism contrary to du Toit, but perhaps a less sympathetic reading of Kuyper might reveal that it was rather a case of du Toit increasingly prioritising the Afrikaans language as distinct and even in opposition to Dutch that was the sticking point. In my reading, Kuyper was just as anti-imperial as du Toit but for Kuyper the oppositional category to British imperialism should have been a shared Dutch Reformed religion and culture between the Boers of South Africa and the Netherland's Dutch rather than the independently driven Afrikaans language and nationalism that du Toit wanted to foster.

Du Toit himself, however, early on in the relationship clearly contributed to the rhetoric of shared rootedness between Holland and the 'Hollandsche Afrikaners' as he called the Boers in a letter dated 3 January, 1881. This was after the outbreak of what is sometimes called the first Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881), which resulted in a Boer victory. In the middle of this three-month

long conflict du Toit wrote to Kuyper from the British controlled Cape Colony:

> A war has now broken out in Transvaal, for which there is no end in sight. We (the Hollandsche Afrikaners) have from the very beginning prayed for help with our brothers from Transvaal, because they are being oppressed and are being done injustice. [...] Would you be so kind as to use your influence to stimulate the Brothers in Holland to hold a day of prayer for Transvaal? (SCHUTTE 2010).

Apart from du Toit's, as it turned out unwarranted, pessimism regarding the longevity of that particular conflict, the suggestion of Dutch Afrikaner brotherhood is noteworthy, and perhaps indeed prophetic as the subsequent history would unfold. Schutte notes that while Dutch outrage at the 1877 British annexation of the Transvaal was muted, that many in the Netherlands even viewed the development favourably due to abolitionist hopes that the lot of the black population would improve under British rulership, the scales of Dutch public opinion tipped strongly in favour of the Boers after they unexpectedly emerged victorious in the 1880-1881 war, against overwhelming numbers and odds. To quote Schutte: "Unanimously, the Dutch came out in support of that "little tribe, that the mighty Great Britain could purge out and chase away, but never overwhelm"" (SCHUTTE 2010).

And regarding the Netherlands' self-perception on the margins of Empire, Schutte writes illuminatingly and worth quoting at length:

> The little country of the Netherlands, surrounded by the great powers of France, England and Germany, all competing with one another, had long doubted its own future. The uprising of the Transvaalers and their fearless actions caused a wave of enthusiasm in the Netherlands for these descendants of the Sea Beggars ('Geuzen') of the 16th century. The victories of the Boers - descendents of Oud Nederland and therefore kin - gave the Dutch self-confidence: faith in themselves and in the future. A clear nationalistic feeling arose across the full spectrum of the population. Excited dock workers in Amsterdam even spoke of boycotting English goods (SCHUTTE 2010).

Schutte shows how Kuyper underwent similar changes in himself during the course of these events, from lukewarm enthusiasm and cautioning the Boers against revolt to wholehearted endorsement of their perspective includ-

ing their rationale for independent rulership in the Transvaal. "Kuyper thus placed himself firmly behind the Transvaalers, and quickly became one of the leaders of the pro-Boer movement in the Netherlands. He became cofounder and an influential committee member of the Nederlands Zuid-Afrikaanse Vereniging (NZAV, Dutch-South-African Society)" (SCHUTTE 2010) which was founded in 1881 and continued to exist until just a few years ago when it merged with some other Dutch related societies with links to South Africa.

This view comes especially clearly to the fore in Kuyper's later publication, De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika, published in 1900 which was in the middle of the second Anglo-Boer War/ South African War, where he among other things completely endorsed the Boer rejection of the British demand that the Transvaal should give voting rights to 'Uitlanders' (KUYPER 1900: 28-29). This demand and the Boer refusal was the major catalyst for the outbreak of

However, a striking aspect of *De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika* is Kuyper's critique of imperialism, which is what he also identified as the root cause of this conflict. According to his reasoning, the stated motivation for the British needing control of the Transvaal was simply an excuse for the real reason, which was the expansion of empire. Kuyper then proceeded to critique the imperial logic at some length (KUYPER 1900: 48ff). He stated that the English nation was in many ways unparalleled. "If I was no Dutchman, I would have wanted to be an Englishman", he claims (KUYPER 1900: 47). However, how could one explain that this great nation would attack and wage this brutal war against the much smaller Boer nation? The answer was imperialism, regarding which he had fascinating things to say, including its tendency to apply the concept of nationalism ecumenically, "and attempts accordingly to form the whole world to its own national type" (KUYPER 1900: 50).

Furthermore, Kuyper argued that British imperialism was influenced by Herbert Spencer's concept of social Darwinism whereby so-called weaker nations became destined to be supplanted by stronger ones. Kuyper mentioned an influential English clergyman who based a defense of British actions in the Transvaal on Spencer's ideas (KUYPER 1900: 54ff). Worst of all, however, as far as Kuyper was concerned was that this British imperialism found itself thoroughly sanctioned by British Christianity, which tended to insist that all Christianity should look like the British variant of it. Kuyper quoted from the Greater Christian Messenger to argue that in fact there occurred a total

> self-identification between the Kingdom of God and the British Empire.... "God created and greatly expanded the British Empire, and also

English Christianity. True imperialism sees in every gain of land an extension of the glorious task of proclaiming the gospel of the English Christ" (KUYPER 1900: 56).

Kuyper further blamed 'Methodism' for seeking to use the means of a violent war to bring civilization to the Boers of South Africa. The Boers were however inspired by 'Calvinism', and Kuyper claimed that even Winston Churchill who first became famous as an escaped prisoner during the South African War, had admitted that an 'invisible power' protected the Boer commandos (KUYPER 1900: 57).

This brief contrast established between Methodism and Calvinism is significant in as far as the former is alluded to as quintessentially English and the latter as characteristic of Dutch and Boers. Both the abovementioned S.J. du Toit and especially his son who was an influential 20th century literary figure and theologian, J.D. du Toit, would develop this theme very strongly in the shaping of Afrikaner Christian nationalism as a kind of nemesis and/or antidote to British Imperialism. Eventually this served as a quite effective strategy to neutralize and taint with suspicion their own ideological and theological opponents within Dutch Reformed Christianity in South Africa (MÜLLER 2022).

Finally, regarding Kuyper, and as a segue into the next session, it is important to note what he had learned from the Reverend Frans Lion Cachet. Schutte writes that regarding the perception of the Boers as victims of a British imperial theology of equality, "Kuyper proved to be unmistakably influenced by the argumentation of the Dutch pro-Boer authors P.J. Veth, R. Fruin and in particular Lion Cachet's Worstelstrijd der Transvalers (The Struggle of the Transvaalers)" (SCHUTTE 2010). Cachet will be considered here as one of two case studies of migrating Dutch missionary pastors who spent at least a decade and a half in South Africa before returning to the Netherlands, the other case being Dammes Pierre Marie Huet.

Dutch missionary pastors to the Boers of South Africa – F.L. Cachet and D.P.M Huet

In Kuyper, we have the thought of an academic theologian that had a great deal of influence in the international scene when the British empire was nearing its culmination, particularly in relation to South Africa. But when considering cross-regional influence, as I am doing here between the Neth-

erlands and South Africa, then a theologian's ideas can only get one so far and perhaps not really all the way through to the popular level. Kuyper, after all, commented on South Africa from a distance. It is therefore helpful that a different level of discourse is available in the writings of and about migrant or traveling preachers/ missionary type figures who moved between the two contexts and produced literature of interest. I would like to consider specifically two 19th century Dutchmen who served as Reformed pastors in both South Africa and the Netherlands over extended periods of time. Both were strongly missionary minded and although their ministries among the Boers were typically interpreted along the lines of Dutch pastors serving Dutch emigrant colonists, a case might be made that these careers could be described as atypical missionary roles. Huet and Cachet were also friends whose paths overlapped in many ways, but their influence stretched in widely different directions. D.P.M. Huet was both a clergyman and a poet. His poetry will not be mentioned here but rather his prosaic portrayals of the South African religious and social contexts which was clearly inspired by a sense of moral outrage against racial prejudice. His writing was often in advocacy of groups of people he assessed as being oppressed in different situations. Regarding the Boers among whom he pastored for much of his career as a Dutch Reformed minister in Natal his position was ambivalent, in some cases as a promoter of their cause and in other cases, more frequently, as their accuser. His colleague and friend, Frans Lion Cachet, tended to fall much more in line in the role as defender of the Boers and their rationale regarding self-determination and rulership with respect to other population groups in South Africa. Interestingly, Cachet was a converted Jew whose influence might have played something of a role regarding the later Afrikaner tendency to self-identify quite strongly with the biblical Israel in their own anti-imperial imaginings. He wrote a very influential book promoting what he considered the righteous cause of the Transvaal Boers (CACHET 1882). However, Cachet was often an unpopular and divisive figure among this very group which cause he championed, which means that his role was also an ambiguous one. Most telling in this regard are personal letters where on a couple of occasions he expressed support for the British annexation of the Boer republics.

The value of Cachet and Huet as case studies within this theme lie both in the documents they produced and in the sentiments they provoked as transregional, complex identities. It is not possible within the scope of a single article to give a thorough analysis of these individuals' writings. Here a basic introduction of these two pastors filtered through the lens of their positioning vis-à-vis the British Empire, on the one hand, and the Boers, on the other,

would have to suffice. This will be enough to show that Huet's and Cachet's loyalties were neither fixed nor undivided. The Boers whom they strongly concerned themselves with, either critically or sympathetically, occupied an interesting space with respect to Empire. Casual attitudes relating to informal slavery and general maltreatment of the indigenous population provided useful foil for Britain to claim a righteous extension of their empire as a protective measure whereby indigenous peoples would be saved from Boer tyranny. Cachet and Huet's combined actions during a brief period when they were pastoral colleagues in the Natal DRC initiated the commemoration of "Zondagslag van Bloedrivier" (HOUGH 1962: 102), which became variously known as Dingaansdag/ Geloftedag within Boer/ Afrikaner Christian context countrywide. This occurred on the occasion when Huet proposed and Cachet seconded a motion at the general church meeting of the Natal DRC on 20 October 1864 to the effect that the 16th of December should be commemorated as a day of thanksgiving in the Natal congregations of the DRC (BAILEY 2002: 33). This consequent sacralization of the 1838 Boer victory over the Zulu as a divine victory would in the subsequent century become central to the founding myth of what has been described as Afrikaner Civil Religion (MOODIE 1975).

The writings of and about Cachet and Huet can be shown as responding in varying and not always consistent ways to this context. Perhaps their responses may in part be read as reflective of a general anxiety inherent in living and operating on the margins of empire. Transvaal Boers, as portrayed in these writings, for their part seemed to approach both the Empire and the indigenous population with mixtures of fear and loathing. At the same time, these Boers were often also evaluated along lines that shifted from revulsion to sympathy and back again by the Netherlands Dutch as indicated above.

Huet

Huet's timeframe in South Africa begins slightly earlier and ends earlier than that of Cachet. This may be significant for explaining some of the difference between the two men which I shall return to in the conclusion. Huet arrived in South Africa in 1854 on the invitation of G.W.A. van der Lingen who was an influential DRC minister in the town of Paarl (HOUGH 1962: 12ff). Van Lingen was looking for an editor for a Christian magazine he wanted to launch, and Huet, who was a poet of note and who had also completed theological studies in the Netherlands got the job. In Paarl, Huet soon came under van der Lingen's spiritual influence, experienced a 'conversion' and decided to exchange his journalistic career for a missionary vocation. Van der Lingen advised him to pursue the route for licensing as minister in the DRC, and Huet then became an assistant pastor in the northern Cape town of Aliwal Noord (HOUGH 1962: 21). He availed himself for a call to Lydenburg in the Transvaal, which was something of a lone northern outpost for the Cape DRC at the time. Huet's ordination was conducted by the synod of 1857 without him having seen Lydenburg (HOUGH 1962: 60ff).

This synod happened to be a controversial one which gave permission to congregations to be segregated along racial lines. In this the church leadership gave in to the demand of popular sentiment among the white membership, while yet at the same time acknowledging that such a measure would be both unscriptural and wrong. Huet opposed the measure with his key arguments also subsequently elaborated and published in the important ecumenical and anti-racist text, Eén Kudde En Één Herder (1860), in which he gave an impassioned theological treatise on spiritual equality and the unity of the church.

Huet travelled to the Transvaal by sea from Cape Town to Durban and overland through Natal. He first spent a couple of months at Pietermaritzburg as substitute for the resident pastor who went on sick leave (HOUGH 1962: 63ff). In route to Lydenburg he received news that the Lydenburg Boers were not overly keen to have him as their pastor after all (HOUGH 1962: 71). This, apparently, after word regarding Huet's racial equalising sentiments had reached them. Huet nonetheless continued on his journey into the Transvaal where he eventually spent significant time not only in Lydenburg but moreover in Zoutpansberg (HOUGH 1962: 72ff). Zoutpansberg became the setting for Huet's other noteworthy book, Het Lot Der Zwarten in Transvaal (1869), in which he relayed his impressions regarding Boer maltreatment of the black population, including their participation in informal slavery and various other abuses. Although the book itself was published much later, in 1869, it is partly written as a travelogue and makes clear that Huet did not have a friction free relationship with the Zoutpansbergers. Nonetheless, this congregation wanted to call him as their minister at the end of his time with them, but this idea was blocked by the secular authority with the aid of the Transvaal state church's Rev. Dirk van der Hoff. Instead, a minister affiliated with the state sanctioned church, the Hervormde Kerk, was installed at Zoutpansberg (HUET 1869: 58). Huet returned to Natal where he had accepted a call to Ladysmith in 1858.

He subsequently moved to Pietermaritzburg in 1860 but not before he became involved in a theological dispute that raged within the Cape between the so-called orthodox majority and liberal minority. Huet wrote in defence of the orthodox position which countered liberal positions on scriptural interpretation and the place of the Reformed confessional documents in the church. During this time he also became active in recruiting orthodox ministers for the northern and eastern regions of the country. He lamented, for example in the Lot der Zwarten, that there were no homegrown preachers of the DRC who were willing to serve in these outlying regions. And so it is also noteworthy that for Natal he recruited another Hollander, Frans Lion Cachet (HOUGH 1962: 90-91). Cachet would become a controversial figure in his own right as the following section would indicate.

Huet returned to the Netherlands in 1867. Within the context of this article, it is noteworthy that Huet as a Dutch migrating pastor to South Africa did not apparently concern himself with opposition to the matter of Empire. His theological concerns all centred on issues of mission, spiritual equality between black and white, the union of the church, and particularly the unjust plight of the black inhabitants of the Transvaal under Boer rulership. Huet, one might assume would not have been against British annexation of that region for this very reason. In fact, this is confirmed by his own commentary in Het Lot der Zwarten in Transvaal. There Huet argued that in the light of the many writings and reports that has gone up in defence of the situation of the blacks in Transvaal and the fact that the English government had been fighting the slave trade on the African coasts, it would be a good deed if the English could take authority over the Boer Republics, although he stated that he thought there was only slim hope of this occurring in this publication dated, 1869 (HUET, 1869: 13).

Nevertheless, Huet took a philosophical stance regarding the present state of fear and loathing. He commented on the so-called 'treklust', which could loosely be translated as the desire for migration, among the Boers as a way of opening up the wilderness of southern Africa and, in his anticipated near future, central Africa for 'civilization'. However, this 'treklust' was neither exclusively not mainly driven by the need to get away from injustices at the hands of the English. No, as Huet related the self-acknowledged position of the Boers who participated in the migration, the main cause was equalisation between white and black in church and law. They could not tolerate that there were laws that protected their workers against repression and maltreatment. Huet set himself directly against sentiments that sought to counter equalisation. At the same time, he revealed his own pro-imperial bias at the time when he stated that rightfully or unrightfully, Africa was being opened, and civilisation, legal authority, and gospel proclamation would follow (HUET 1869: 35-36).

Whatever the case, he returned to the Netherlands before the encroachment of the British Empire into the Transvaal became a reality.

Cachet

Born in 1835 in Amsterdam, Cachet was part of a family of Jewish jewellers originally from Lyon, France, hence his second name. His entire family converted to Christianity and were baptised in Amsterdam in 1849. Cachet then studied at an Amsterdam based seminary of the Free Church of Scotland and having received his diploma, which prepared him for foreign service, Cachet set out for South Africa in 1858. Cachet apparently interpreted his qualification enabling him for work as missionary in 'foreign service' to imply that he would be ordainable as minister in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. However this request was declined upon his arrival at Cape Town. The DRC there apparently considered itself an extension of the Netherlands based body rather than a missionary institution. Cachet's diploma qualifying him for foreign service did not suffice.

Cachet did eventually become a fully ordained minister in the DRC in 1862 but this occurred in a roundabout way. After a period as missionary among Cape Town's Muslim community, Cachet came into contact with Tiyo Soga who is famous for among other things being the first black South African to be ordained as church minister. Soga, a Presbyterian, helped Cachet to be ordained in the Scottish church at Alice, located in what is currently the Eastern Cape. Cachet's opening into the DRC occurred when DPM Huet invited him to serve as interim minister in the Natal town of Ladysmith. Huet at that time led the Natal section of the DRC based in Pietermaritzburg. His licensing as minister in the DRC occurred during the synod of 1862 and afterwards, he was installed as fulltime pastor in Ladysmith and also with responsibilities to congregations finding themselves outside the borders of Natal but which for a time was also independent from Transvaal. This ambiguity allowed Cachet to establish congregations for the mainstream DRC in an area where it did not previously exist. The Transvaal based Hervormde *Kerk* was the operative religious body among the Boers at this time. It was state sanctioned and its ministers during the late 19th century were all Dutch and so-called liberal in the theological sense. This was in contradistinction to figures like Cachet, Huet, and the majority of leading figures in the Cape based DRC who understood themselves as orthodox (regzinnig). Another important distinction was that Cachet, Huet and others were all infused with missionary fervour whereas the *Hervormde Kerk* ministers were not, and even in some cases opposed to missionary work (HUET 1869: 58).

Cachet occupied an interesting space with respect to the Boers on the margins of Empire. As mentioned above he was responsible for a publication that provided much of the fuel for Dutch pro-Boer sympathy in the lead-up to the turn of the century war and thereafter (CACHET 1882). He became a much respected and even loved figure among one sector of the Boer population. He became a defender of Boer actions against the Basuto in the Orange Free State. This placed him in disagreement with the French missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission who were formerly friends of his. The French missionaries had a negative view of the Boers and agitated for British rule in the area. On the other hand, Cachet was a derided figure among the Boers. His Jewishness was apparently a major reason for this, as especially reported on by his friend, Huet:

> Despised for his Jewish origins, constantly reproached by the preachers of the Hervormde Kerk, hated by the Government that supports the Hervormde Kerk, scolded, threatened and fought against, especially with the easy and cowardly weapon of slander... [transl.] (HUET 1869: 101).

Yet, he was also accused of favouring equalisation between black and white (HUET 1869: 101), which was the near ultimate sin for much of the Boer population, particularly in the Transvaal. As noted in the quotation above, ministers of the Hervormde Kerk were allegedly to a large degree responsible for the negative sentiment of Boers towards Cachet.

Cachet also had his run-ins with the Transvaal government. President T.F. Burgers, who ruled in the Transvaal between 1872 until the British annexation in 1877, was one of a handful of so-called liberal ministers who became accused of heresy by the Cape DRC. Although eventually cleared and reinstated by a court, he left the church ministry to become president of Transvaal when he was elected to that role by a large majority. Cachet and Burgers became strong opponents as seen in letters written by both men attacking each other's character (KRIEL 1956: 114-115). Burgers accused Cachet of undermining his position among the populace by portraying him as a heretic standing in leadership of a free nation to their detriment. Cachet in his turn made no secret of his animosity towards Burgers who he saw not only as a heretic but a traitor who "sold out his fatherland" (de STANDAARD 1877) – an accusation which must have stung as Britain annexed the Transvaal while under the Burgers presidency.

Yet, a letter by Cachet to Theophilus Shepstone in 1877 relays a different side of Cachet. In this, Cachet writing from Villiersdorp in the Cape Colony where he was based during his second and final sojourn in South Africa, described first his disappointment that the annexation of Transvaal had occurred but he also suggested that as it had by then become a foregone conclusion, he

would support it strongly. He went further to draw attention to an apparently pseudonymous letter he had written earlier to a Natal newspaper in 1869 or 1870 in which he urged Britain to do precisely what it had now done, annex the Transvaal by royal proclamation. He even explained how this could be done in that earlier letter by fomenting the least resistance from the populace which would be to send people from the Cape to take charge of government rather than Brits from abroad. This conflicting messaging had apparently much to do with Cachet's serious disconnect with the leadership in the Transvaal in the preceding years. He acknowledged in the writing that as much as he hated to see the Boers lose their independence and the Republic cease to exist, he preferred the state of affairs to the Burgers presidency (KRIEL 1956: 113). And so, as he argued under changed circumstances and under the assurances he received that Shepstone's proclamation of annexation would not "make our people feel that they are a conquered race", Cachet wrote: "I would be the first to declare openly for the Queen's government. In fact I am doing so now. I am using my influence with the people to accept quietly the change of Government and not speak of leaving the country" (KRIEL 1956: 113).

Although his lasting impact in terms of the case of the Boers against the British Empire had been a major declaration in the interests of the Boers in his magisterial Worstelstrijd der Transvalers, which kept him busy right up to his death, it is noteworthy that in his final period in the Netherland he could not exactly shake free the suspicion that he was a British asset. A deputation under President Paul Kruger, the abovementioned Kuyper contact S.J. du Toit, and a couple others visited Holland after they had been to the London Convention (1884), which improved the terms of the Boer victory following the First Anglo Boer War. They were heroically welcomed in Holland and paraded around the streets of Rotterdam where Cachet was minister at the time. However, when Cachet attempted to attach himself to the victory parade this was refused, particularly because one of the leaders, Genl. Smit accused him of painting the Boers black in his writings, and that he encouraged them to come under British rule. Yet now he pretended to be a friend of the Republic (KRIEL 1956: 119-120).

Conclusion

The above will suffice to portray both Huet and especially Cachet as complex yet significant figures within the context of the Boers, the wider population of South Africa, and the British Empire. Although similar themes tended to keep the two men busy, their individual trajectories and social and theological emphases stretched into widely divergent directions. German Lutheran missionary to South Africa and anti-apartheid theologian, Wolfram Kistner, in a 1975 article on the history and influence of the annual 16th December commemoration of the Battle of Blood River zooms in on the roles played by both Huet and Cachet in the day's ideological foundations. He comes to the conclusion that while Cachet might he held responsible for instilling a kind of nationalistic self-identification with the biblical Israel among the Boers for the way in which he interpreted and preached about Blood River, the same could not be said about Huet, who is interpreted as wishing to keep the memory and tradition of divine salvation in the face of danger as experienced by the Boers at that earlier time alive (KISTNER 1975).

On the surface of things this judgement by Kistner appears to hold water, but a different way of looking at the two might be in connection with the divergences in the time periods that they spent in South Africa. Cachet had been there for two different periods, first from 1858-1873 and again 1876-1880. Huet on the other hand arrived in 1854 and returned to the Netherlands in 1867. This meant that Huet, who on different occasions expressed a desire for the British Empire to take over Boer controlled regions in order to improve the situation of the black population, nonetheless did not directly experience the lead up of the first Anglo-Boer War whilst in South Arica, as Cachet for example did. As a result, Huet might be seen as paradigmatic of what Erica Meijers, above, indicated regarding the sensibilities of the Dutch regarding the Boers as uncivilized oppressive ruffians in South Africa during much of the nineteenth century. Such a view corresponds somewhat to the position taken by Huet.

Perspectives changed with the 1877 annexation of the Transvaal, and the consequent victory against overwhelming odds of the Boers during the First Anglo Boer War. This is the point from where Cachet's apparently more sympathetic stance should be evaluated. Sure enough, there were personal factors such as his Jewishness and theological disagreements with the church and secular leadership in the Transvaal that all influenced his perspective. Remarkably, the shifting attitude of growing sympathy with the Boers from the side of the theologian Abraham Kuyper during this period and into the turn of the century second Anglo-Boer War was apparently to a degree influenced by Cachet's magnum opus De Worstelstrijd Der Transvalers, published in 1882, which was a passionate defence of the Transvaalers' struggle against the overwhelming might of the British Empire. Although this text is perhaps rather comparable to hagiography in its extolment of the Transvaal Boers' virtues, Kuitenbrouwer,

for example, writes that Kuyper "was one of the few to praise *De worstelstrijd* as an 'objective' account" (KUITENBROUWER 2021: 58).

At the risk of explaining moral positioning on the basis personal experience and the arbitrary nature of historical developments, the following may still be worthy of consideration in the final analysis. Could it be that the perspectives of people like Kuyper and Cachet were largely reactive against this looming horizon of Empire, which perhaps allowed both to deemphasize the matter of the Boers' even worse, yet smaller scale, atrocities against the black people in their immediate surroundings? Huet's apparently more morally exemplary critical stance regarding the Boers' racial discrimination, on the other hand, might perhaps in part be influenced by the fact that his judgements could be felled in the relative absence of British imperial aggression during the period in which he was active in the region in question.

Whatever the answer might be to such speculations, it might be fair to conclude that the characters mentioned here were subject in varying degrees to the shifting winds of fear, rage, and loathing on the margins of Empire in the late 19th century.

Bibliography

- BAILEY, Alana (2002). "Die Gelofte van 16 Desember 1838: Die Herdenking en Betekenis Daarvan, 1838-1910". Master thesis, University of Pretoria.
- BASKWELL, Patrick (2006). "Kuyper and Apartheid: A revisiting". HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies, 62, 4, 1269-1290.
- CACHET, F. Lion (1882). De Worstelstrijd Der Transvalers Aan Het Volk Van Nederland Verhaald Door F. Lion Cachet. Amsterdam: J.H. Kruyt.
- DAVENPORT, T.R.H.; SAUNDERS, C. (2000). "Empire and Republics: the Breaking of Boer Independence, 1850-1902", in South Africa: a Modern History. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi. org/10.1057/9780230287549 8
- *De Standaard* (1877) 21 Aug.
- DREYER, A. (1898). De Strijd onzer Vaderen tegen het Liberalisme. Kaapstad: Jacques Dusseau & Co.
- DUFF, S. E. (2018). "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Protestant Atlantic: Revivalism and Evangelicalism in the Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony". South African Historical Journal, 70, 2, 324–347. https://doi.org /10.1080/02582473.2018.1468810

- DU TOIT, B. M. (2003). "Boers, Afrikaners, and diasporas". Historia, 48, 1, 15-54.
- FOURIE, R. (2024). Christian Nationalism and Anticommunism in Twentieth-Century South Africa. Routledge & CRC Press.
- GILIOMEE. H. (2011). *The Afrikaners: biography of a people.* London: Hurst & Co.
- HOUGH, Jasper Anthonie (1962). "Ds. D.p.m. Huet: 'n Historiese Oorsig Van Sy Dienstyd in Suid-Afrika (1854-1867)". Unpublished dissertation, University of Pretoria.
- HUET, Dammes Pierre Marie and FAURE, P. E (1860). Eén Kudde En Één Herder: Verhandeling Over De Toebrenging Van Heidenen Tot De Christelijke Kerkgemeenschap. Kaapstad: N. H. Marais.
- HUET, Dammes Pierre Marie (1869). Het Lot Der Zwarten in Transvaal. Mededeelingen Omtrent De Slavernij En Wreedheden in De Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. Utrecht: J.H. Van Peursem.
- JACOBS, J. U. (2020). "The Dutch East India Company and its Outposts: Colonial Ecotones in Islands by Dan Sleigh", in M. Arnold, C. Duboin, & J. Misrahi-Barak (eds.), Borders and Ecotones in the Indian Ocean (1-). Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée. https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pulm.6857
- KISTNER, Wolfram (1975). "The 16th of December in South Africa by Wolfram Kistner", Ben Khumalo-Seegelken (ed), https://www.sahistory.org. za/archive/16th-december-south-africa-wolfram-kistner, accessed 21 May, 2023
- KRIEL, Frederick Hendrik Johannes. (1956). Die Lewe Van Frans Lion Cachet: Met Besondere Toespitsing Op Sy Betekenis Vir Die Sending. Pretoria: V & R Drukkery.
- KUITENBROUWER, J. J. V. (2010). A war of words: Dutch pro-Boer propaganda and the South African war (1899-1902). Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam. Eigen Beheer.
- KUYPER, A. (1900). De Crisis in Zuid-Afrika. Amsterdam: Höveker & Wormser.
- MEIJERS, Erica (2008). Blanke broeders zwarte vreemden: De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de apartheid in Zuid-Afrika 1948-1972. Hilversum: Verloren.
- MOODIE, T. Dunbar (1975). The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion. University of California Press.
- MÜLLER, Retief (2022). The Scots Afrikaners: Identity Politics and Intertwined Religious Cultures in Southern and Central Africa. Edinburgh University Press.

- NAUDE, Piet (2005). "From Pluralism to Ideology: The Roots of Apartheid Theology in Abraham Kuyper Gustav Warneck and Theological Pietism". Scriptura: International Journal of Bible Religion and Theology in Southern Africa, 88, 161-73.
- SCHAPERA, Isaac (1960). "Livingstone and the Boers". African Affairs, 49, 235, 144-156.
- SCHUTTE, Gerrit (2010). "Abraham Kuyper and his South African Brethren". Rozenberg Quarterly, https://rozenbergquarterly.com/abrahamkuyper-and-his-south-african-brethren/ (accessed 9 May 2023).
- SNEL, J. (2020). *De zeven levens van Abraham Kuyper*. Prometheus.
- STEWART, James (1899). Mission World. 1 November.
- STRENG GEREFORMEERDE PATRIOT (1893, 23 February). "Ds. A. Murray di grootste vyand van ons gereformeerde leer". Di Afrikaanse Patriot. Stellenbosch: DRC Archive.
- STRENG GEREFORMEERDE PATRIOT (1893, 9 February). "Ds. A. Murray di grootste vyand van ons nasionaliteit". Di Afrikaanse Patriot. Stellenbosch: DRC Archive.
- STRYDOM, J. G. (1937). Die Roomse Gevaar En Hoe Om Dit Te Bestry. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers

British Empire, Chinese Nationalism, and Protestant Mission Schools: Navigating Loyalties in the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College (1925-1930)

MARINA XIAOJING WANG

VID Specialized University, Centre of Mission and Global Studies | The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Divinity School of Chung Chi College marina.xj.wang@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8847-6553

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 19/06/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 15/10/2024



Abstract. Focusing on the dynamics of appointing a "suitable" Chinese principal, this article examines the multiple interests and loyalties that were implicated and manifested in a British mission school of prestige situated in the treaty port of Tianjin during a series of anti-imperialist and anti-Christian campaigns in the 1920s. The case study of the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College (TACC) illustrates the intricate and ambiguous nature of the interplay between the British settlers, Christian missions, the Chinese government, and the local community, set against the backdrop of heightened nationalism in Republican China. The article argues that the issue of loyalties in a mission school setting – as exemplified by the TACC - can be far more complex and should not be simplistically reduced to a binary opposition between loyalty to the British and loyalty to the Chinese, even at a time of intensifying Sino-British tensions. Local social networks and pragmatic interests in politics, religion, international relations, trade, and educational administration were inextricably intertwined, exerting a profound impact on the dynamics of Sino-British relations in Tianjin.

Keywords. Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College, Protestant mission schools, nationalism, loyalties, China.

Introduction

At last on Monday the 8th of June, we had to recognise that our time had come. The Students refused to attend classes, and sent in a Deputation that demanded from us a Statement on the lines of the Yenching Manifesto. It was impossible for us to agree to anything of the kind. ... It was not so much that there was difference of opinion between us and the students, but that suddenly they behaved as if we were their enemies,... They had counted on having the College as a base for their propaganda work during the Summer, and being prevented from doing so, they determined to ruin the T.A.C.C. False news was published, processions of our students went through the City shouting that they would never return to us, steps were taken to found a new opposition College, in Peking¹...

The month of May is an anxious one in educational circles for it contains several "Humiliation Days" when real or supposed wrongs, inflicted by foreign nations upon China, are to be remembered. On the first of these days a large number of "Anti-foreign" posters was placarded on the walls of the College, many of them from upper windows, and there was reluctance on the part of a number of students to attend the regular morning assembly. They yielded to persuasion however, Mr. Hwang was not present early that morning but came along at noon and called the students together in the Hall; by a very tactful presentation of the matter he encouraged well disposed students to take down the posters and many of them were removed during the midday interval. By Mr. Hwang's instruction the remainder were removed by the College servants during the afternoon session. In such matters Mr. Hwang's help has been invaluable, for they can lead to quite unpleasant situations if not wisely handled, and these are matters in which it is awkward for any "foreigner" to take part².

The above accounts of two British missionaries evince the challenging circumstances faced by a British college in 1920s China. In particular, they illustrate the tension between the college authorities and Chinese students, a tension shaped in part by heightened nationalism. In June 1925, following the May Thirtieth Incident³, students of the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College (TACC) initiated a series of strikes, appealing to the college authorities to issue a manifesto in support of the Chinese. Deeply influenced by the nationwide patriotic and anti-foreign, particularly anti-British, sentiments, they confronted the college authorities, primarily the principal, Samuel Lavington Hart, and missionary teachers, such as C.H.B. Longman. According to the students, Longman's attitude towards the incident did not meet their expectations. Nearly 300 students terminated their affiliation with the college and joined a newly established rival institution in Beijing. The event was widely reported in a number of local newspapers in Tianjin (CHEN 1925: 14, 15; MIN KUO JIH PAO 1925: 3-4). It resulted in a notable decline in the stu-

¹ School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, Special Collections, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, Report for the Year 1925, S. Lavington Hart, 1-3.

² SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930,

³ This refers to a confrontation between Chinese demonstrators and British police in Shanghai's international settlement on 30 May 1925. It resulted in the death of thirteen Chinese under fire from British policemen and accelerated the ongoing anti-Christian campaigns across China to its climax.

dent population at the TACC, marking "the most anxious of all the years" in the institution's history⁴.

Five years later, similar tension arose once again in May 1930, which had consistently been regarded as an "anxious" month within Chinese educational circles, particularly in relation to mission schools. This was attributed mainly to the "National Humiliation Day" on 9 May, which marked the Beiyang Government's acceptance of part of Japan's "Twenty-One Demands". Nevertheless, as the second quotation illustrates, the students' hostility was soon alleviated on the same day by Huang Rongliang (Y.L. Huang), the honorary principal and the first Chinese head of the college, following a meeting he convened with the student body.

While direct comparisons are not entirely valid without taking into account the specific socio-political contexts and the nature and extent of the two conflicts, it is nevertheless evident that Huang played a significant role in the second negotiation as a Chinese principal. As missionaries themselves noted, his contribution was "invaluable". Since 1925, the appointment of a Chinese leadership has been a prerequisite for the registration of all mission schools with the Ministry of Education in the Republic of China⁵. Revolving around the event of the appointment of a Chinese principal to a British mission school in a treaty port, Tianjin, during a series of anti-imperialist and anti-Christian campaigns in the 1920s, this article examines the multiple interests and loyalties involved and manifested in the selection process. The case of the TACC illustrates the complex and ambiguous interplay between the British settlers, Christian missions, the Chinese government, and the local community, set against the backdrop of heightened nationalism. Local social networks and pragmatic interests in politics, religion, international relations, trade, and educational administration were inextricably intertwined, exerting a profound impact on the dynamics of Sino-British relations in Tianjin.

1. Tianjin, treaty port, and the British "informal empire"

Tianjin is situated in northeast China, approximately 120 kilometres southeast of Beijing. Politically, during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), Tianjin was under the authority of the Viceroy of Zhili (Chihli province), a name which translates as "directly ruled" and denotes regions that were under the

⁴ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, Report for the Year 1925, S. Lavington Hart, 1-3; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, 1925, 3-4.

⁵ SOAS, CBMS 348, National Christian Council Annual Report 1925-26, 196-211.

direct control of the imperial court. Given its proximity to Beijing, Tianjin served as a vital gateway for international access to the political centre of China. Geographically, Tianjin's location at the confluence of the Haihe River and the Bohai Sea renders it a crucial port city. The Haihe River connects Tianjin to the Grand Canal, facilitating inland connectivity. Tianjin's advantageous geographical position and extensive waterways system have enhanced the city's role as a major transportation hub, enabling the mobility of people and the circulation of goods and information between China's coastline, its political centre, and the interior. All these factors prompted foreign powers to seek the opening of the port as a means of extending their trade interests in China and establishing direct diplomatic relations with Beijing.

Tianjin's status as a treaty port was established in accordance with the terms of the 1858 Treaty of Tientsin, which was signed between the Qing government and several Western powers, including Britain, France, Russia, and the United States, following the end of the first stage of the Second Opium War. One of the consequences of the opening of Tianjin was that foreign nationals were permitted to establish concessions in the city in accordance with the treaties. These were areas designated to foreign powers, who were granted extraterritorial rights, enabling them to operate under their own laws with their own administrations, police forces, and commercial enterprises (see BICKERS, JACKSON 2016).

The British concession in Tianjin developed steadily since 1860, with the aim of strengthening Britain's position in North China. In 1862, the British Municipal Council (BMC), which was modelled on the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), was established with the purpose of administering the concession. Nevertheless, scholars have pointed out that the BMC did not possess the same degree of autonomy from British diplomatic and consular oversight as the SMC. The British consul-general exerted greater control over the BMC in order to align the BMC's actions with the British government's foreign policy and to avoid tensions with the Chinese. This resulted in the British community in Tianjin behaving "more moderately towards the Chinese" (MANSOR 2009: 61-62; JONES 1940: 121). On the other hand, as in Shanghai, the foreign appearance of the concession gradually fostered an increasing degree of what has been termed the "diehard attitude" among the British community in Tianjin, defending British interests and privileges and being concerned with protecting the British image and imperial power in China (MANSOR 2009: 66-84). Notably, the British presence in China has been described by scholars of British imperial history as an "informal empire", based on the understanding that Britain had no territorial ambitions in China

and Chinese sovereignty "never came near to being extinguished" (FEUER-WERKER 1976: 1; CAIN, HOPKINS 1993: 380; OSTERHAMMEL 1999: 150-151; BICKERS 1999: 8; MANSOR 2009: 25-26). British concessions, including that in Tianjin, functioned as a site of interaction and negotiation between the British "informal empire" and Chinese society.

At the same time, the coexistence of multiple foreign concessions (British, French, American, Japanese, German, Russian, Italian, Belgian, and Austrian-Hungarian) rendered Tianjin a microcosm of the broader colonial competition in China. The jostling for influence by foreign powers served as a constant reminder to the Chinese of the forcible foreign presence in China. As early as the 1920s, the term "semi-colonial" had already appeared in literature to describe China's undermined sovereignty (LONG 1926: 1726). It became a significant source of anti-foreign sentiment throughout the country, particularly during the nationalist movements of the early twentieth century.

The treaties and Britain's gunboat policy had a significant impact on the Chinese perception of the British as an imperialist power. Following a review of the existing scholarship on Sino-British relations, Suffian Mansor comes to the conclusion that Sino-British relations prior to 1920 were "dominated by crises". This situation peaked in the 1920s. The May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, mentioned at the beginning of this article, sparked off a large-scale nationalist movement characterised by a pronounced anti-British sentiment. The unrest spread rapidly across China, resulting in the boycott of British goods in Hong Kong and demonstrations in Hankou (central China), Chongqing (western China), Beijing, and Tianjin (northern China). The British encountered significant challenges in maintaining their position in China, as unrest increasingly focused on British property and interests. The period under discussion was also marked by a shift in British diplomatic strategy, with the Foreign Office in London being compelled to adopt a more liberal policy⁶ towards the Chinese Nationalist Party in the context of these challenging circumstances (MANSOR 2009: 3-24).

As Mansor notes, there has been an absence of discussion on Tianjin within the existing literature on treaty ports and Sino-British relations, which is dominated by studies of the Shanghailanders (MANSOR 2009: 30-46). Despite its status as the second most important port city in terms of British trade, Tianjin was overshadowed by the British interests in Shanghai, Hankou and Guangzhou (Canton). In the meantime, the city had never been at the focal point of any of the anti-British campaigns of the early twentieth century.

⁶ This entailed the return of several British concessions to the Chinese government, including the one in Tianjin.

According to Rogaski, "Tianjin fostered no simple binary division between 'coloniser' and 'colonised', but instead gave rise to an unstable and contested hierarchy among many nations" (ROGASKI 2004: 194). This makes Tianjin an intriguing case study for advancing our understanding of the spatial variations of the British imperial influence in China's treaty ports. By focusing on Tianjin, a less extreme context in terms of Sino-British relations, we can gain insight into the complex entanglement and interplay between the British Empire, Christian missions, and Chinese society.

2. TACC, "the representative of British education in the North of China"

Originally established as a theological institute, the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College was founded in 1863 by the London Missionary Society (LMS) within the French concession of Tianjin, shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860). This period saw the advent of Christian missions in central and northern China, facilitated by the granting of treaty protection over missionaries' rights of residence and travel, land leasing, church-building, evangelism, as well as the personal safety of both missionaries and Chinese converts. Christian missions and churches, from the outset, became enmeshed with the colonial powers and treaties, at least in the minds of Chinese nationalists.

In the wake of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, an increasing number of college graduates and young professionals set forth on missionary journeys to China. They "contributed to a changing emphasis in mission theory and methods" (LUTZ 1971: 99). In the context of these developments, Christian education and mission schools in China underwent a transformation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the TACC (WANG 2017). By 1902, the former theological institute had developed into a modern college open to both Christians and non-Christians in China, under the leadership of Samuel Lavington Hart (1858-1951).

Prior to embarking for China in 1892 as an LMS missionary, Hart was a fellow and lecturer in physics at St John's College, University of Cambridge. As an advocate of disseminating "the highest ideals of Western Education" to the Chinese (ACDC), Hart envisioned a transformation of the theological institute into a college providing "liberal education, based on Christian principles" in order to "meet the desire for Western Learning" across China at the

turn of the twentieth century⁷. This was to be achieved by integrating a substantial number of Western scientific subjects into the curriculum and equipping the college with a variety of museum objects and scientific instruments (HART 1898: 212; TU 2002: 479-481). Furthermore, it was said that Hart expanded the college with the purpose of improving Sino-British relations in the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising of 1900-1901 (MANSOR 2009: 72).

By the early 1920s, the TACC had reached an enrolment of 555 students, ten times the number registered on the (re)opening day in 19028. This placed it as the second largest college in Tianjin, after Nankai University (which had 1,200 students of all grades), a private institution founded by Chinese educators. There were a number of other institutions in Tianjin offering similar levels of education at that time, including the Technological College (with 300 students), Peiyang University (with 150 students at college grade), the Law School (with 150 students) and the Naval Medical College (with 60 students)9.

As previously noted, Tianjin, consisting of nine foreign concessions, can be seen as a microcosm of colonial competition in China. This was also the case in terms of education. Hart reported the existence of several additional mission schools in the neighbourhood, including a high school operated by the American Episcopal Methodist Mission and a college established by the English Methodist Mission. Moreover, a number of Catholic schools and colleges were founded within the French concession, along with many other educational establishments across each concession, whether religious or secular. In order to enhance the college's competitiveness in attracting students, in addition to the aforementioned transformation of the college with advanced scientific subjects and equipment, Hart sought to emulate the features of his alma mater, St John's College, in designing the new college building. He wanted to create a prestigious front for the college facing one of Tianjin's busiest roads, thereby making the college visually outstanding in competition with other mission colleges and public schools:

> ... our hope being that not a few of the crowds of Chinese who pass along this Taku Road may in time be drawn into this Institute, which they cannot help noticing as they pass, and may learn to look upon it as a centre

SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 8, 1915-21, The Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College, 1902-1921.

⁸ The number of students enrolled during the theological institute period was even lower, with an average of four or five. See SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 1, 1866-86, No. 4161, Arrival No. 7217, Jonathan Lees, Tientsin, 16 February 1877.

⁹ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, Newsletter from Dr. & Mrs. E. J. Stuckey, Tientsin, 1923, 12.

of enlightenment, but, above all, as a real spiritual blessing. It is with this hope that the College has been built (HART 1898: 210).

Meanwhile, competing with other institutions gave symbolic importance to maintaining the college's identity: the TACC was singled out as "representative of British education"10.

It is important to note that the TACC was self-financed, although its operation was under the auspices of the LMS. Apart from the salaries of five missionary staff of the college, which were financed by the LMS, the remainder of the funds were sourced externally to the LMS mission board. This was largely due to the dispute between Hart and the LMS in 1902-1903 regarding the future of the college. Hart was opposed to the LMS's decision to merge the college into the planned Theological and Arts College in Beijing, which was to be conducted in conjunction with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission (North). He insisted on realising his vision of a "general college for higher education" "without appealing to the society for any financial help"11. This may also explain the college's close connection with the Chinese community in Tianjin. Besides foreign (especially British) diplomats, the British consul-general, merchants, bank managers, and other settlers, a good number of prominent Chinese politicians and businessmen served as the college's sponsors or members of its court of governors. Among them were Yuan Shikai, Viceroy of Zhili at that time and later President of the Republic of China (1912-1916); Yan Huiqing (W.W. Yen), Premier and Acting President of the Republic (1922-1926); Liang Ruhao (M.T. Liang), a prominent politician and diplomat who held the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1912; Zhou Xuexi, an influential financier and industrialist in North China, who served as Minister of Finance of the Republic (1912-1913); Bian Baimei, manager of the Tianjin branch of the Bank of China; and Liang Yanqing, comprador of Jardines Matheson Holdings Limited in Tianjin. Being acquainted with Hart, Yuan not only was one of the major sponsors of the TACC, donating 6,000 taels to the college's reconstruction work at the turn of the century, but also sent his sons (and later, his grandsons) to study in the college. As recounted by a number of TACC alumni, the college named its assembly hall "Gongbao tang" after Yuan in honour of his sponsorship, with his portrait hanging on the wall at the stage (TU 2002: 478-479; WENG 2002: 474-475).

¹⁰ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, S. Lavington Hart, Report for the Year 1922, 1-2.

¹¹ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Incoming Correspondence, Box 14, 1902, No. 1227, Arrival No. 1955, S. Lavington Hart, Tientsin, 24 January 1902; Report of the London Missionary Society, 1903, 100-101.

As previously mentioned, the college started to provide liberal education to both Christian and non-Christian students in 1902. In line with a growing societal desire for "Western Learning" and a significant practical demand for graduates in a range of sectors in Tianjin and its hinterland, the TACC attracted an increasing number of students from the more "wealthy and influential" classes of Chinese society¹². As a major treaty port in China, Tianjin became a crucial hub for international trade and commerce. As trade expanded, Tianjin also experienced significant industrial growth, with the establishment of factories, shipyards, and other commercial enterprises. The city's economic and strategic importance attracted significant investment, with the flourishing of both foreign and Chinese banks, making the city the financial centre of northern China (SHEEHAN 2000: 47-53; MANSOR 2009: 90-94). The students were drawn to the college's Western-style education, delivered in English, as well as its reputation for equipping students with the skills required for success in the job market. Positions newly created alongside the development of the treaty port included those with the British Municipal Council, commercial associations, banks, customs, postal service, railways, and the Anglo-Chinese Kailan Mining Administration (TU 2002: 482). As the college sought to distinguish itself from other foreign-background institutions by emphasising its British educational heritage, it gradually evolved into an elite institution and gained the attention of Chinese society, particularly the elites, such as Yan Fu, an influential military officer, translator, writer, and educator¹³. Moreover, as the college became self-supporting, its high tuition fees constituted a significant portion of its finances. Over time, the college's relationship with the upper class of the Chinese community in Tianjin was strengthened. It can be argued that the TACC serves as an exemplar of the entanglement between empire, religion, and local social networks through education, a key domain for cultivating loyalty and identity.

3. Chinese principal in British Christian education

Nationalism, education, and identity

Twentieth-century Chinese history has witnessed how Christianity has been portrayed as an alien entity and rejected in a nationalistic and anti-imperialist discourse. The Christian religion and education faced a dual challenge from an evolving Chinese state. On the one hand, the dominant state

¹² SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, A. P. Cullen, Report for 1927, 4.

¹³ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 4, 1898-1903, S. Lavington Hart, Tientsin, 1902.

nationalism of the elite regarded Christianity as one of the major obstacles to China's entry into a "world of sovereign nation-states". Christian education was denounced as an encroachment on "national sovereignty" (LUTZ 1971: 232-233). The interconnection between education and identity formation has been widely acknowledged by contemporary scholars (GROSVENOR 1999; WANG 2012). Even a century ago, there was a growing consensus among a significant proportion of Chinese intellectuals and elites that education constituted a vital element of national sovereignty. It was regarded as a crucial means of instilling a sense of national identity and ideals (WANG 2019: 591). For many Chinese nationalists, Christian education constituted a potential "threat" to the Chinese nation, leading to the loss of national consciousness and identity among students (CHEN 1924: 8-9). It was therefore deemed necessary to exercise control over this institution in order to ensure its alignment with the state's interests (LUTZ 1971: 232). The reclaiming of educational rights from foreign educational establishments thus became a prominent feature of nationalist campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s.

On the other hand, the "modernising nationalism" of the May Fourth era, deriving from a Western discourse of modernity, which identified a "crucial element" as "the opposition of the religious to the secular", accused Christianity of being backward (VAN DER VEER 1994: x). This was a dramatic shift in attitudes and perceptions of Christian education compared to those of the late nineteenth century when mission schools were perceived as emblematic of Western civilisation and were widely believed to have contributed to China's modernisation process through disseminating "Western Learning" and equipping the graduates with "modern" thoughts and knowledge. Opposition to Christian education in Chinese history can be understood in terms of a dual discourse of nationalism and modernisation.

Ability or loyalty? TACC "in need of a real Head"

In response to the nationwide campaign for the restoration of educational rights, the Beijing Board of Education issued the "Regulations Governing the Recognition of Educational Institutions Established by Funds Contributed from Foreigners" on 16 November 1925, mandating registration for all mission schools. To be eligible for registration, mission schools were required to meet several criteria, including 1) appointing a Chinese principal or vice-principal; 2) ensuring that the curriculum conformed to Ministry of Education standards; 3) guaranteeing that students were not compelled to attend religious ceremonies; and 4) excluding any course in religion from the

compulsory subjects¹⁴. The price of non-registration was high: the school faced the fate of closure.

In consequence, the TACC, along with all other mission schools, was compelled to take steps to prepare for registration (WANG 2019), amidst rumours and concerns of terrors and wars in Tianjin resulting from the Northern Expedition, a military campaign launched by the National Revolutionary Army (NRA) of the Guomindang (the Chinese Nationalist Party) in South China against the Beiyang government in the North and other regional warlords from 1926 to 1928. Meanwhile, the mandate to appoint a Chinese principal or vice-principal was in line with the prevailing appeal and trend of the church indigenisation movement in the early twentieth century. This entailed a transfer of administrative control from the missions to the Chinese churches, as well as the election of Chinese leaders in a range of Christian institutions. However, as was the case with many other mission-related establishments, the TACC authorities were not prepared to accept the Chinese leadership in its entirety. While certain responsibilities had been transferred to the Chinese staff, such as "the ordinary handling of the finances" and those related to registration¹⁵, it was not until 1929, when its principal Samuel Lavington Hart's retirement was approaching, that the selection of principalship was put on the agenda. Hart's retirement obliged the college to secure a qualified successor, a Chinese principal who could simultaneously fulfil the registration requirements:

> One thing is clear: there is to be no Foreign Principal to succeed me. We are all agreed about that. ...

> He ought to be British-trained, for an American-trained returned student would probably revolutionise so much that the work would become disorganised and the traditions of the Institution, such as they are, might soon be lost. ... there is no one of whom we know who could well be invited to take on this Principalship.

> Another side of this matter must not be lost sight of: if there were such a Principal to be found, his salary would have to be provided by the Society, and it is doubtful whether the salary which has been given to me would prove enough for a man of sufficient note to be chosen for this position. These well known men are looking for things on a distinctly higher scale than has been hitherto thought of 16.

¹⁴ National Christian Council Annual Report 1925-26, 196-211.

¹⁵ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 17-18.

¹⁶ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, S. Lavington Hart, Report for 1928, 4.

In the view of Hart and TACC missionaries, the ideal candidate would be someone who possessed and exhibited a certain degree of British identity. A "British-trained" Christian was preferable in order to ensure the continued preservation of the college's British traditions and spirit. Notwithstanding the ascendance of Chinese nationalism, TACC authorities maintained a solid commitment to the heritage of British education¹⁷. Moreover, there appear red to be a distinct sense of "loyalty" and appreciation for Hart's leadership among the TACC staff, particularly the missionaries:

> We are pledged to a Chinese Principal; but for various reasons it has hitherto proved impossible to find a suitable Chinese with the necessary qualifications who could take on the ordinary duties, scholastic and administrative, that the position of Principal entails. ... it does not need to be said that no one could replace Dr. Hart¹⁸.

The high esteem in which the college community held Hart made the anticipation of the new principal an even more demanding task and the selection process a more intricate undertaking. The appointment of a Chinese head of the college thus became a matter of some strategic importance, with the intention of satisfying the expectations of the Chinese in order to achieve registration:

> There is however another way of finding a solution to this pressing problem. To satisfy Chinese feelings we must have a Chinese at the head. He might be an Honorary Principal or President, whose duties in the College would be slight, but whose presence as the Head on public occasions and advice in the matters brought before him by the College Council might be of great advantage to the whole work. If a well known and highly respected man could be found, willing to accept the responsibilities of such an office, he might do a great deal to maintain the prestige of the Institution, and to steer the College through the difficult days that may be lying ahead. His knowledge of Chinese affairs, and the recognition which we hope would be granted to him by the Chinese Authorities, would be most valuable assets. The more we have been thinking about the future the more we feel that it must be along these lines that lies the best solution to our difficult problem¹⁹.

 $^{^{17}}$ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College, Dr. and Mrs. Lavington Hart's Farewell, September 1929.

¹⁸ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, Report of A. P. Cullen, Tientsin, N. China, 1928,

¹⁹ S. Lavington Hart, Report for 1928, 4-5.

They, therefore, opted for an alternative to appointing an eminent Chinese as honorary principal, who would be held in high esteem by the wider society and meanwhile "keep in close touch" with and represent the college publicly but "have no share in the ordinary internal work" of the college²⁰.

The appointment of Huang Rongliang as honorary principal in 1929, who is referenced at the beginning of the article, was regarded by missionaries as a success for a number of reasons. Firstly, Huang's scholarship, "distinguished career", and social status all well qualified him for this position. In addition to his higher education in China (Nanking) and the USA (Baker, Drew Theological Seminary, and Columbia), he had undertaken a series of "outstanding" diplomatic roles in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, and Austria since 1906. From 1920 to 1927, he served as Chinese Minister (equivalent to Ambassador) to Austria. Furthermore, from 1916 to 1920, Huang held the position of Special Commissioner for Foreign Affairs for the metropolitan province of Zhili, where he played a crucial role in negotiating the handover of several concessions in Tianjin back to the Chinese government²¹. This "magnificent record" was likely to have satisfied the criteria set by TACC missionaries, given that it was a college that involved complex parties, donors and interests. Secondly, and more practically, Huang's extensive social influence and prestige, his ability and instruction, as well as the fact that he himself was a Chinese national in a position of authority at the college, were demonstrated to be "undoubtedly of great value" in facilitating positive outcomes for the college in its negotiation with the Board of Education and eventually in securing registration in April 1930²². Thirdly, as evidenced at the outset of the article, his pivotal role in mediating between the college authorities and Chinese students proved irreplaceable when tensions arose.

Huang's appointment seemed to guarantee a satisfactory and promising future for the TACC. As was widely recorded and lauded in TACC missionaries' reports, Huang's "tactful presentation of the matter", "masterly handling of the students", and "invaluable" help were instrumental in calming any unease among the Chinese community. TACC authorities considered "most

²⁰ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, Report of A. P. Cullen, Tientsin, N. China, 1928, 5; Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 2.

²¹ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 2; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 1.

²² Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 2; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 1. In 1930, the TACC was registered as a middle school. Its collegiate department merged into the newly established Yenching University in Beijing in 1918 (TU 2002: 482). See also SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 11, 1932-36, Memorandum on the Work, Policy and Future of the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College, 1936, 4. According to Weng Zhixi, a TACC alumnus (1918) and staff member, the transfer was also due to a decrease in funds following WWI (WENG 2002: 472).

fortunate" in having Huang's service²³. However, in September 1930, five months after the college successfully registered with the Board of Education, Huang resigned. The precise rationale behind Huang's resignation remains uncertain, particularly in view of the absence of any direct account of this matter from Huang himself. Nevertheless, some potential causes can be discerned from the accounts of both missionaries and Chinese staff and alumni.

According to C. H. B. Longman, the college dean at that time, the position of honorary principal "demands more time and attention than Mr. Hwang (Huang) felt able to give, if he is to be well acquainted with the working of the College and have real authority"24. Meanwhile, A. P. Cullen's confidential report to the LMS on this matter in 1929 indicated that Huang was "not altogether satisfied" with the fact that he had limited authority over the majority of the college's ordinary routines but frequently found himself involved in complex matters beyond the scope of his position:

> There is reason to believe that he is not altogether satisfied with the arrangement. The fact that for the most part the ordinary routine of the College goes on almost independently of him, whilst it is the knotty points that are brought to him for adjustment, tends to involve him in responsibilities and even anxieties which he had not altogether anticipated. He feels that he is not sufficiently "Principal" to be in a position to cope with these things, and not sufficiently "Honorary" to be able to disregard them or delegate them to those more intimately acquainted with the ordinary methods of procedure. ... At present, it can not be denied that Mr. Hwang's lack of any recent educational experience, his somewhat imperious temperament, and the difficulty of getting au fait with the rather oligarchical & necessarily-economical running of a Mission College with no endowment & with inadequate accommodation & equipment, do not tend to make things easier for one who has attended Buckingham Palace levées & is accustomed to bureaucratic methods of procedure²⁵.

As previously indicated, this position was, to a large extent, created to address the registration matter and satisfy the Chinese. Furthermore, the position was established in a state of emergency, as the government had imposed a deadline for all schools to be registered by June 1932 and had stipulated

²³ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 2; A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 5-6; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 2.

²⁴ Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 2.

²⁵ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 5.

that only those schools registered could send their graduates to universities²⁶. Both missionaries and Huang regarded this honorary position to be "experimental" and "temporary", which resulted in its "anomalies" 27. Longman also disclosed that Huang had numerous proposals for the college's advancement. Yet most of these ideas could not be implemented due to the financial crisis in China. Moreover, the position had yet to be defined in a way that would enable Huang to "make his own peculiar contribution effective" 28. This may have been a significant source of Huang's discontent.

On the other hand, Tu Peiyuan, a former student and member of the faculty since the 1930s, describes Huang's resignation as a response to a dispute with Longman. According to Tu, Longman published the minutes of one of the college's board meetings in *The Times*, with Huang's address to the meeting removed. Huang subsequently engaged in a dispute with Longman after discovering the fact, and the two "fell out with each other" (TU 1997: 273; TU 2002: 484). It should be noted that Tu's narrative represents a single perspective on the matter. It was composed in December 1965, a period that coincided with the imminent advent of the Cultural Revolution and was consequently shaped by a pronounced ideological and anti-foreign/anti-imperialist stance. It is, therefore, subject to a certain degree of critical scrutiny. Nevertheless, the text does provide insight into the unstated message conveyed in Cullen's account of Huang's resignation, namely that "the anomalies of his position as Honorary Principal, combined with certain other factors, rendered the decision ultimately inevitable"29.

Huang was said to be sympathetic to the goals and values of the college and had rendered the TACC considerable assistance through his willingness to take up the position of honorary principal at this critical juncture³⁰. Meanwhile, he appeared to possess a strong personality (according to Cullen) and evidently held his own views on college administration and development, independent from those of missionaries, as Longman indicated. That is to say, Huang demanded the fullest extent of authority to fulfil his duties to the college. Given his esteemed position and distinguished career in international politics and diplomacy, the lack of sufficient power to effectively address college affairs and implement his ideas would undoubtedly be a source of

²⁶ S. Lavington Hart, Report for 1928, 1.

²⁷ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 5; A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 5; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, 1929, 3.

²⁸ Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, 1929, 3.

²⁹ A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 5 (my emphasis).

³⁰ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 5; A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 5.

frustration, despite the honorary basis for his appointment. Huang's resignation sheds light on the underlying issue that had been prevalent in various mission-related institutions, including the TACC. That is, whether the missions or missionaries were willing to relinquish their control to the Chinese.

Once again, the TACC was obliged to seek a new principal: an "experienced" man, an "active" and "earnest" Christian, and, needless to say, a Chinese³¹. In light of these criteria, and should the virtue of "loyalty" have been a factor in selecting a suitable new principal to work under the missionaries' hands, Ma Shanggong (S.K. Ma), who was then the vice-principal and in 1922 the acting principal during Hart's furlough – one of the "the earliest occasions in the North of a Chinese occupying a position of that responsibility"³² – would have been an ideal candidate for the position. Ma graduated from Tengchow College, a Christian college founded by the American Presbyterian Missions (North) in Shandong, North China, and was subsequently employed by the TACC in 1914. He had already held the position of vice-principal since the 1920s. His unwavering loyalty to the college was widely acknowledged by missionaries and noted by Chinese staff and alumni alike (TU 2002: 482-484)³³. While Ma had gained substantial respect from TACC missionaries, he was not taken into consideration as a qualified candidate for the position of principal:

> It is quite clear that, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, what we need, and must have in the College is a resident Principal with full powers and authority – one able to keep in close touch with the students and to have full control over the staff. ... the College is desperately in need of a real Head, ... Meanwhile we are carrying on with the Vice-Principal, Mr. Ma, who has been with us for 26 years, as acting-Principal. He is a man of sterling Christian character and a pillar of the Chinese Church; but he lacks those qualities of leadership and scholarship which are the sine qua non of a Principal.

> ... in any case he does not possess the qualities of initiative and decision that would make it possible for him (Ma) to exercise a controlling supervision. Whilst commanding a very great respect and affection from the "foreign" members of the Staff on account of his practical wisdom, his Christian character and his magnificent work for the Chinese Church, his

³¹ Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 2.

³² A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 18.

³³ Ibid., 6, 10; SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 10, 1928-31, Annual Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1933, 2.

lack of scholarship and his inability to keep effective discipline preclude him from winning the respect from the students which is of course essential to one in a Principal's position³⁴.

According to Cullen, the ideal Chinese principal was expected to demonstrate robust leadership – as a "real Head" with the qualities of initiative and decision-making. Such "a strong Chinese Principal" would, "by virtue of his authority", be able to exercise controlling supervision over students and staff³⁵. Nevertheless, possessing such "qualities of leadership" did not necessarily guarantee the principal's loyalty to the college and compliance with the demands of TACC missionaries. The college authorities were confronted with a challenging decision in selecting a new principal. On the one hand, the option was presented to them of appointing someone who would demonstrate unwavering loyalty and obedience to comply with missionary directives and college traditions. On the other hand, given the prevailing circumstances at the college, there was a pressing need to identify a capable leader who could effectively address the challenges facing the college. However, this also entailed the possibility of having to accept the potential consequences of a more assertive leadership style, which could ultimately result in greater control over the foreign staff of the college.

It is noteworthy that the college's urgent need for a robust principal was largely due to the students' and staff's allegiance to the leadership and authority of the former principal, S. L. Hart. Both Cullen and Longman reported "a spirit of laziness and lack of interest in their work, combined with a laxity of discipline" among the students. This "growing restlessness" had already manifested as a pervasive trend among students nationwide, driven by a series of nationalist and anti-foreign campaigns. Among the Chinese staff, there was in general "a distinct lack of any adequate sense of responsibility or conscience in their work". Cullen attributed these phenomena "without doubt due in the main to the absence of Dr. Hart"36. As a result, the TACC sought a Chinese principal who possessed a similar sense of control to that exercised by Hart in order to maintain effective discipline within the college. Cullen interpreted the aforementioned "internal difficulties" as the consequence of the dissolution of "the link of a common loyalty to Dr. Hart" following his retirement³⁷.

³⁴ A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 6, 10.

³⁶ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1929, 5; A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for

³⁷ A. P. Cullen, Annual Report 1930, 18.

In the context of the TACC, Hart was evidently instrumental in maintaining the cohesion of all parties involved. His assertive leadership, characterised by authority and personal charisma, proved an effective means of maintaining the allegiance of the majority of the Chinese staff members and students at the college amidst the prevailing socio-political unrest, despite the college's British identity. On the Chinese side, the distinction between loyalty to Hart and loyalty to the college may not have been as clear-cut as it could have been when Hart was still the head of the college. Hart acknowledged their "abiding" and "magnificent" loyalty and willingness to stand by the college and missionary staff during the nationalist movements of the 1920s, for instance, the clash between students and the college mentioned at the beginning of this article³⁸. Nevertheless, the college may have been left with a sense of void and uncertainty following Hart's retirement, particularly in light of the challenges it faced in the socio-political and financial domains. Many Chinese teachers were obliged to seek additional income sources outside of their academic duties to support their families³⁹. The absence of Hart's authority, which had previously served to balance different interests within the college, led to an increase in disagreements, disputes, "mutual jealousies and recriminations" among missionaries and Chinese staff, which had previously been kept in check by Hart's influence⁴⁰. With regard to the missionaries at TACC, as previously indicated, their loyalty to Hart had created certain obstacles to the appointment of the new principal. Moreover, this demonstrated a reluctance on the part of the college to relinquish its authority to the Chinese. As Cullen stated:

> The time, however, is yet far distant when complete responsibility can be handed over to the Chinese; our experience – a rather bitter one – in most things is that the foreigner must still continue to be the power behind the throne, or else things would not get done⁴¹.

Missionaries had not yet been ready to accept a real Chinese leadership.

The college failed to find a suitable candidate and thus appointed Ma as acting principal on an interim basis⁴². From 1932 to 1937, the TACC appoin-

³⁸ SOAS, CWM, LMS, North China, Reports, Box 9, 1922-27, Report for the Year 1925, S. Lavington Hart, 1; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, 1925, 5-6; Report for the Year 1927, S. Lavington Hart, 9.

³⁹ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1930, 11; Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 3-4.

⁴⁰ Report of A. P. Cullen for 1930, 18.

⁴² Report of C. H. B. Longman, Tientsin, for 1930, 2.

ted three honorary principals, most of whom only served for a short period of time⁴³. It was not until the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War that the Chinese principal was able to take full charge of college affairs (TU 2002: 486).

Conclusion

Situated in Tianjin, where the tension between British settlers and Chinese society was less acute, the case of the TACC illustrates the entanglement and interplay between the British Empire, Christian missions, and Chinese society through the medium of education, a field that was instrumental in shaping the formation of identities and loyalties. The TACC was established following the arrival of the LMS missionaries in North China with the opening of Tianjin as a treaty port. Alongside various other British entities, institutions and assets, the missions and the college constituted an important component of Britain's "informal empire". TACC missionaries continued to regard the college as a symbol of British education, even during the anti-foreign and anti-Christian heyday. The college's foreign (British) and religious nature made it, along with all the other mission schools in the country, a target for nationalists. It was thus compelled to navigate the nuances of its identity, negotiating its Britishness and survival with the Chinese government and society. This was exemplified by the appointment of a Chinese principal.

On the other hand, the Britishness of the college was an attraction for many, particularly upper-class students. The college's advanced educational programmes, conducted in English and reinforced by subjects in science and business, met the growing desire for "Western Learning" in Chinese society. In addition, many of the newly established industries in the city, particularly those with a British connection, were in great demand for graduates from the college. Throughout its development, the college relied heavily on its local social network, existing not only as a British institution but also as a recognised elite school for the Chinese community in Tianjin. The college's strong connection with prominent local figures, such as politicians, diplomats, bankers, and merchants, coupled with the tangible advantages it offered for graduates' future careers, had a profound impact on its fortunes. During the anti-foreign and anti-Christian movements of the 1920s and 1930s, the TACC not only survived the nationalist campaigns but also evaded the fate of many institutions with Christian backgrounds, even within the same city, as evi-

⁴³ They were Fu Shanglin (D.S.L. Fu), a British-trained sociologist, Ma Shanggong, and Huang Zuolin, a Britishtrained film and theatre director, TACC alumnus.

denced by the case of Nankai University (THE SHANGHAI TIMES 1925: 8; THE SIN WAN PAO 1927: 12). Interestingly, the British merchants in Tianjin also employed a pragmatic approach towards their Chinese business counterparts, developing a mutually beneficial cooperative relationship with the Chinese to advance British interests. The BMC in Tianjin, dominated by these merchants in the 1920s and 1930s, exhibited a more moderate attitude towards Chinese politics than did the Shanghailanders (MANSOR 2009: 39, 105). Pragmatic interests were not necessarily erased from the nationalist--dominated socio-political landscape. Instead, various loyalties and trans-loyalties emerged and evolved in this context, contesting and intertwining with each other.

By examining the selection process of a Chinese principal at the TACC, this article argues that the issue of loyalties in a mission school setting can be far more complex than a simplistic binary opposition between loyalty to the British and loyalty to the Chinese, even in the context of intensifying Sino--British tensions. The question of loyalty to the TACC, whether to its British or Christian identity, to the former principal, or to the college as an institution, was not necessarily straightforward when considered alongside loyalty to China as a nation, to Chinese identity, or to Chinese leadership within the college. The intermingling of disparate interests and loyalties gave rise to a predicament for the college. The shared loyalty of the British and Chinese staff to the former principal of the TACC created obstacles to the appointment of a new one. The position demanded a candidate capable of providing strong leadership to the entire college. Nevertheless, this much sought-after strong leadership did not appear to ensure loyalty to the college, the missionary society, and its Britishness. The dilemma faced by the TACC remained unresolved until the end of the Second World War in the late 1940s and, ultimately, the nationalisation of all mission schools in mainland China in the early 1950s, when missionaries were forced to leave. As a crucial domain in the fostering of identity and loyalty, education became an area of prominence that the Chinese government and British missionaries struggled to control. How Britain's "informal empire" operated on Chinese soil, interacting with Chinese society and negotiating with Chinese nationalism, is to some extent illustrated by the case of the TACC's appointment of a Chinese principal.

Bibliography

Archival Material & Other Primary Sources

- School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Library, Special Collections. (1925). "Nankai University Closed When Professors and Students Quarrel". The Shanghai Times, 8 January, 8.
- (1925). "Qingnian xiaoxi: Tianjin xinxue shuyuan quanti tuixue (News of the Youth: All Students Withdrew from the TACC)". Min Kuo Jih Pao (The Republican Daily News: Awakening Supplement), 7, no. 10, 3-4.
- (1927). "Tianjin Nankai zhongxue zhi fengchao (Student Strike at Nankai Middle School in Tianjin)". The Sin Wan Pao (The Newspaper), 26 November, 12.
- CHEN, Boji (1925). "Dui xinxue shuyuan tuixue zhi ganxiang (My View towards the Withdrawal from the TACC)". I Che Pao (Social Welfare), 7 August, 14; 8 August, 15.
- CHEN, Qitian (1924). "Xin guojia zhuyi yu Zhongguo qiantu (New Nationalism and China's Future)". Shaonian Zhongguo (Young China), 4, no. 9,
- HART, S. Lavington (1898). "The Walford Hart Memorial College". The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society, 209-213.
- LONG, Chi (1926). "Feiyue yundong yu jiuqi jinian (The Treaty Cancellation Movement and the National Humiliation Day)". Xiangdao (The Guide), no. 170, 1726-1727.

Secondary Literature

- BICKERS, Robert (1999). Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism 1900-1949. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- BICKERS, Robert; JACKSON, Isabella (2016). "Introduction. Law, Land and Power: Treaty Ports and Concessions in Modern China", in Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson (eds.), Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power. London: Routledge, 1-18.
- CAIN, P.J.; HOPKINS, A.G. (1993). British Imperialism, 1688-2000, second edition. Harlow: Pearson Educational Ltd.
- Cambridge University Library. A Cambridge Alumni Database (ACDC). https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=Hart&suro=w&fir=Samuel+&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50 (accessed 4 January 2024).

- FEUERWERKER, Albert (1976). "The Foreign Establishment in China in the Early Twentieth Century". Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, 29. Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Chinese Studies.
- GROSVENOR, Ian (1999). "'There's no Place like Home': Education and the Making of National Identity". *History of Education*, 28, 3, 235-250.
- JONES, F.C. (1940). Shanghai and Tiensin: with special reference to foreign interests. London: Oxford University Press.
- LUTZ, Jessie Gregory (1971). China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950. London: Cornell University.
- MANSOR, Suffian (2009). "Tientsin and its Hinterland in Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1925-1937". PhD Thesis, The University of Bristol.
- OSTERHAMMEL, Jürgen (1999). "Britain and China, 1842-1914", in Andrew Porter (ed.), The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. III: The *Nineteenth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 146-169.
- ROGASKI, Ruth (2004). Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China. Los Angeles: University of Hawai'i Press.
- SHEEHAN, Brett (2000). "Urban Identity and Urban Networks in Cosmopolitan Cities: Banks and Bankers in Tianjin, 1900-1937", in Joseph W. Esherick (ed.), Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 83-99.
- TU, Peiyuan (1997). "Wo suo zhidao de Tianjin xinxue shuyuan (The History of the TACC as I Recollected)". Tianjin wenshi ziliao xuanji (A Col*lection of the Tianjin Historical Sources*), 3, 266-275.
- TU, Peiyuan (2002). "Tianjin xinxue shuyuan de xingxingsese (A History of the TACC)", in Wenshi ziliao cungao xuanbian (A Collection of the Availab*le Historical Sources*). Beijing: China Culture and History Press, 477-488.
- VAN DER VEER, Peter (1994). Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in *India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- WANG, Marina Xiaojing (2017). "The Best Method of Selecting and Training Native Preachers: A Study on the Evolution of the Theological Institute in Tianjin (1863–1902)". Sino-Christian Studies: An International *Journal of Bible, Theology and Philosophy*, 23, 7-40.
- WANG, Marina Xiaojing (2019). "Western Establishment or Chinese Sovereignty? The Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College during the Restore Educational Rights Movement (1924-1927)". Studies in Church History, 55, 577-592.
- WANG, Zheng (2012). *Never Forget National Humiliation: Historical Memory* in Chinese Politics and Foreign Relations. New York: Columbia University Press.

WENG, Zhixi (2002). "Wo suo zhidao de Tianjin xinxue shuyuan (The History of the TACC as I Recollected)", in Wenshi ziliao cungao xuanbian (A Collection of the Available Historical Sources). Beijing: China Culture and History Press, 472-476.

The World Council of Churches Assembly in New Delhi 1961 and the German Democratic Republic: Navigations in a Complex Network of Loyalties

FRIEDER LUDWIG

VID Specialized University, Faculty of Theology & Social Sciences, Culture and Religion Frieder.Ludwig@vid.no https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3146-1793

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 27/05/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 25/09/2024



Abstract. The 1961 Assembly in New Delhi was significant in the process of "de-Westernisation" of the World Council of Churches (WCC). This article highlights first the endeavour of the secretariat for ecclesial affairs in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to emphasize the "joint struggle" of the "progressive forces" in the WCC. This perspective is also reflected in some of the more recent academic literature – albeit with a reversed assessment. However, the power shift away from "the West" was characterized by different trajectories. The article therefore argues, second, that the interests of the "progressive forces" were diverse and the alliances fragile. While African, Asian and Latin American representatives sometimes shared the suspicion and criticism of "the West" by Eastern representatives, they also acted independently and spoke for themselves. The processes of de-Westernisation of the WCC were embedded in a complex setting of loyalties, transloyalties and negotiation processes.

Key Words. De-Westernisation, German Democratic Republic, Transloyalties, World Council of Churches.

Introduction

This contribution is one of the results of the research project "Connected Histories – Contested Values: World Lutheranism and Decolonisation: Processes of Transloyalties, 1919-1970" (CHCV) conducted as one of the Excellence in Research projects at VID Specialized University. The aim of the project is to analyse negotiation processes between (mainly Protestant and especially Lutheran) churches and other stakeholders with a focus on values and loyalties from 1919 to 1970 (VID 2024). We are particularly interested in how cultural and religious identities were transformed by negotiation processes in the tension between different loyalties and describe these as "transloyalties": Key actors crossed boundaries and reinterpreted traditions, and thereby prompted dynamic exchange. During these interactions with

multiple partners (colonial governments, nationalist organisations, secular NGOs, health organisations, and educational institutions) new concepts emerged which required explaining to the traditional constituency (LUD-WIG el al. forthcoming a: Introduction).

The term loyalty became more explicitly used in the period of the Cold War with its strict demand on allegiances (LUDWIG et al. forthcoming b: Introduction). International organisations - such as the United Nations or, on the ecclesial side, the World Council of Churches - were torn between different political interests and suspected of being influenced by "the other side." Since the membership basis was widened to increasingly include Eastern and Southern countries or churches, this was connected to a process of "de-Westernization" in which the power balance was newly configurated.

This article provides a case study of the third WCC Assembly in New Delhi in 1961 which was significant in this process. It focuses especially on the approaches and activities of political authorities in the German Democratic Republic, particularly the secretary of state for ecclesial affairs, Hans Seigewasser, and his department. These politicians, as well as church leaders close to the system, had a strong interest to emphasize the "joint struggle" of the "progressive forces" in the Cold War and also in WCC politics.

The perspective of a close cooperation in a more or less one-dimensional process of "de-Westernisation" is also reflected in some of the more recent academic literature - albeit with a reversed assessment: After the end of the revolutions of 1989 and the collapse of most Marxist-Leninist governments, the re-orientation of the WCC in the 1960s could be seen very critically. However, the power shift away from "the West" was characterized by different dimensions and trajectories, and while African, Asian and Latin American representatives sometimes indeed shared the suspicion and criticism of "the West" by Eastern representatives, they also spoke with their own voices and acted independently. There were also differences in their perspectives. The article therefore argues that while there were strong endeavours by Eastern socialist states to influence ecumenical decisions, the interests of the "progressive forces" were diverse and the alliances fragile. The processes of de-Westernisation of the WCC were embedded in a complex setting of loyalties, transloyalties and negotiation processes.

In the following section, a background and a brief literature review will be provided. Then the article will focus on the selection and observation of delegates to the WCC Assembly in New Delhi by the GDR-authorities, before their assessment after the Assembly and further developments are discussed. The analysis is based on documents which today are hosted in the German

Federal Archives in Berlin. In its last sections, the article will try to assess the significance of these sources and put them into the context of the conference report. To check the claim of joint anti-imperialist interest by non-Western representatives, three "Third World" (a term used at the time) perspectives - Abuna Theophilos (Ethiopia), Francis Akanu Ibiam (Nigeria) and M.M. Thomas (India) – will be introduced.

1. Background and Brief Literature Review

For the World Council of Churches (WCC), an ecumenical umbrella body founded in Amsterdam in 1948 which today includes "most of the world's Orthodox churches, scores of Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist and Reformed churches, as well as many United and Independent churches" (WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 2024), the Third Assembly in New Delhi in November/December 1961 was an important event in the process of de-Westernisation. The acceptance of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as other Eastern Orthodox Churches, into membership, the integration of the International Missionary Council into the WCC and the stronger representation of African, Asian and Latin American Churches – symbolized by the fact that the WCC met for the first time outside "the West", in New Delhi in India (which had become independent in 1947) – made the Assembly a crucial event.

In historiographical perspectives, the ecumenical significance of "New Delhi" has been often highlighted. The movement towards stronger ecclesial cooperation and unity was seen as a sign of the times and found expression not only in the WCC Assembly, but also in the announcement of an ecumenical council for the Roman Catholic Church by Pope John XXIII in January 1959 (POPE JOHN XXIII 1959) which led to the Vatican II Council from 1962 – 1965. The spirit was captured in a cover story of the *Time Magazine* which optimistically declared that "the scattered forces of Christian faith are realigning and regrouping." (Quoted in KENNEDY 1962: 25; cf. GRAN-BERG-MICHAELSON 2013: 127). The Assembly in New Delhi also received scholarly attention because of the integration of the International Missionary Council into the World Council of Churches (WARREN 1979).

These documents do not seem to have been used before in research, and they add and supplement to Besier's work (BESIER 1993, 2017, cf. also BOYENS 1999) which is based on material in other archives, such as the Zentrales Parteiarchiv der SED (Central Party Archive of the Sozialistische Einheitspartei/Socialist Unity Party SED, governing party GDR), the Evangelische Zentralarchive in Berlin, the Bundesarchiv Potsdam and the Landeskirchenarchiv Hannover.

This fusion was not welcome by all: Some evangelicals felt that they had lost "their theological and organizational home" and in some later books the split between the WCC and the Lausanne Movement is traced back to this integration. (VAN GELDER & ZSCHEILE 2011: 32).

However, in the time of decolonization and church partnership, the step was consequent and necessary, since the churches of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania could no longer be represented through missionary structures or by missionary organizations. David Bosch summarized it well when he wrote: "The dichotomy -on the global structural level – between unity and mission was overcome ... (T)here can be no doubt that a crucial theological point was made: unity and mission belong together" (BOSCH 1991: 470). Since the venue as well as the growth of the WCC – out of the 23 new member churches admitted in New Delhi, eleven came from Africa, five from Asia and three from Latin America (KUNTER 2014: 32). - indicated a move away from the previous Western basis, New Delhi is regarded as a milestone in the formation of a true "World Council of Churches".

Analyses of the WCC in the "New Delhi" - and "post-New Delhi" period also differ in their views on the political and ecclesial-political course of the council. On the one side, there are publications which present the developments in the light of emancipation struggles or as an institutional history. An example is the work edited by Harold C. Fey, The Ecumenical Advance: A History of the Ecumenical Movement, first published in 1970 (FEY 1970). The merits and the limits of this approach have been succinctly described in a review by Thomas Sieger Derr in the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*:

> It is "official" history told by the participants. It is the WCC's own book, paid for ... by a subsidy to the Committee on Ecumenical History from the Disciples of Christ. The great majority of the contributors are current or former World Council staff members, and the rest are also veteran participants in the movement, by their life and work committed to the cause. Understandably there is no muckraking here, and no acid skepticism. The view is that of sympathetic insiders. They have the advantage of knowledgeability, but their account also suffers occasionally from the uniform tone of utter tactfulness common to those who are guarding an image from all unseemliness. Too many descriptions, having roused the reader's curiosity, stop short of utter frankness (DERR 1973: 635).

On the other side, there is a research tendency to critically reflect the political involvement of the WCC. Two dimensions have been highlighted: First,

after New Delhi, the Council became more outspoken on "Third World Poverty, economic debt, hunger and racism", and some analysts felt that it became characterized by a habit "to blame reflexively the West in general, and democratic capitalism in particular, for problems in the Third World" (VERMAAT 1989: 102). Second, the admission of the Russian Orthodox Church also raised concerns about political infiltration by the Soviet Union, and by other socialist states of the Warsaw Pact. After the end of the Soviet bloc in 1989/90, when new archival material became accessible, it became increasingly clear that the ecumenical efforts in the East had often closely monitored and influenced by the socialist states to prevent discussions of human rights violations within their sphere of influence (cf. for instance BOYENS 1999). An overview of the developments, with a particular focus on the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, has been given by Pavol Bargár in The Oxford Handbook of Mission Studies (BARGÁR) 2022: 365-382). Developments in the German Democratic Republic have been first tackled by Gerhard Besier whose study on the German Democratic Republic and the Church also includes material relating to the ecumenical movement and to the WCC Assembly in New Delhi (BESIER 1993: vol. 1, 434 ff.).

These two trajectories are sometimes seen as very closely interwoven, strengthening the same process of distancing the WCC from "the West". This view is expressed in Gerhard Besier's, Armin Boyens' and Gerhard Lindemann's Nationaler Protestantismus und Ökumenische Bewegung. Kirchliches Handeln im Kalten Krieg (1945-1990), Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1999, a book which is advertised (and summarized) as follows:

> While the USA was politically closer to the WCC in the 1950s due to its economic and ethical superiority (e.g. in the Korean War), the USSR was able to gradually turn the tide in its favour in the 1960s with the help of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Christian Peace Conference. The churches in the Third World, which saw Western supremacy as the imperialist system of oppression par excellence and, against the backdrop of hunger and racial and social discrimination, did not attach any greater importance to the Western values of a democratic society than the "real socialist" states of the Eastern Bloc, also made a significant contribution to this².

In this massive volume (1974 pages), Armin Boyens chapter focuses on the WCC between East and West; he builds on the earlier work of Besier.

https://www.duncker-humblot.de/buch/nationaler-protestantismus-und-oekumenische-bewegung-9783428100323/?page id=1; (Last accessed September 15th, 2024). Translated from German by the author (and deepl).

The merit of their contributions is that they include archival sources which document developments in the former GDR.

In the following, in a first step the perspectives of the GDR's political authorities on the WCC Assembly in New Delhi will be further explored, and the assessments of the State Secretariat for Church Affairs will be highlighted. In a second step, it will be argued that processes of de-Westernisation and politicization of the WCC were more pluriform and polycentric as portrayed in the summative statement quoted above.

2. Assembly Preparations in the GDR's State Secretariat for **Church Affairs**

In August 1961, the Department West Germany/Abroad in the State Secretariat for Church Affairs (Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland im Staatssekretariat für Kirchenfragen) in the GDR wrote an assessment of the previous preparation and the main problems of the World Council of Churches Assembly. The assessment pointed out that WCC was the largest non-Roman umbrella organization of Christian forces, currently including 172 members churches. Taking the preparations so far into account, it was assumed that the New Delhi Assembly will become the scene of hard disputes. There were, on the one hand, the forces which were described as "reactionary": They wanted to maintain the previous line of the World Council of Churches as "an instrument of imperialism" and tried – "under the guise of increased evangelistic activity" - to create a common basis of anti-communism. The planned integration of the International Missionary Council³, as well as the negotiations and the efforts to form an alliance with the Vatican, were interpreted along these lines⁴.

On the other hand, the GDR assessment noted positive developments and a growth of "the progressive forces within the World Council of Churches and its member churches". Three factors were particularly highlighted: 1. "The changed power balance in the world and in particular the collapse of the imperialist colonial systems. The development of the nation states and the formation of independent national churches (...) bring new anti-imperialist forces to the World Council of Churches". 2. The success of the 1st All-Christian Peace Conference

³ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland: Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/ Ausland, Berlin, den 1. August 1961: Einschätzung über die bisherige Vorbereitung und Hauptprobleme des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 8. November bis 6. Dez. 1961 in Neu-Delhi (Weltkirchenkonferenz), p. 10. All translations of German archival material are mine.

⁴ Ibid, 5.: "Dem Punkt 'Einheit' liegen z.B. bestimme Bestrebungen zu einem Bund mit dem Vatikan (auf der Basis des Anti-Kommunismus) zugrunde ... "

(held in Prague, June 13-18, 1961) which had become a powerful ecumenical force. The Czech theologian Josef Lukl Hromádka (1889-1969), a driving force behind the movement since 1961, had been elected President and his position in the WCC was strengthened – especially noteworthy for the GDR observers since "the reactionary forces in Evanston in 1954 tried to get him out"⁵. As a key advocate of a closer interaction between Christianity and communism which he considered "to be the most humane of all socio-political and economic orders" (BARGÁR 2022: 375; PISKULA 2010. For the involvement of the Russian Orthodox Church see STOECKL 2014: 21f.). Hromádka had become a symbolic figure – especially since he had clashed with the US-American representative John Foster Dulles at the first WCC Amsterdam in 1948 (cf. for instance BOCK 1991). 3. It was expected that the planned admission of the Russian Orthodox Church to the World Council of Churches, whose leading representatives were members of the governing bodies of the Christian peace movement ("Patriarch Alexy is a member of the Continuation Committee, Archbishop Nikodim is a member of the Working Committee") would also lead to the strengthening of the already existing progressive forces and widen their base⁶. "The ROC has consistently championed peacekeeping issues at all ecumenical gatherings in which it has participated". The admission of the ROC was also seen as a "counterweight to the existing efforts towards unity with the Vatican". It represented "a large number of believers, the citizens of the first peace state in the world, the leading state of the socialist world system and of the world peace movement".

The assessment continued that "in order to further strengthen the positions of the progressive forces, the appearance of the delegates from the socialist countries is of crucial importance". Compared with other socialist countries, the preparation of the delegates from the GDR was particularly difficult: Since at that time (und until 1969), the territorial Protestant churches (Landeskirchen) were still member churches of the all-German Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD), the Est German political authorities were interested to prevent a joint "all-German" representation of the GDR delegates with those from West Germany.8 Therefore, GDR representatives could not participate in a joint preparatory meeting in Arnoldshain in West Germany,

⁵ Ibid,10. All translations of quotes from German to English are mine.

⁶ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland: Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Berlin, den 1. August 1961: Einschätzung über die bisherige Vorbereitung und Hauptprobleme des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 8. November bis 6. Dez. 1961 in Neu-Delhi (Weltkirchenkonferenz), 10.

Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland: Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Berlin, den 1. August 1961: Einschätzung über die bisherige Vorbereitung und Hauptprobleme des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 8. November bis 6. Dez. 1961 in Neu-Delhi (Weltkirchenkonferenz), 11, 12.

and they had to travel via Prag to New Delhi (BESIER 1993: 436).

Another measure was to exercise influence at church events in preparation for New Delhi through the progressive forces – in particular through the Association of Pastors (Pfarrerbund). They should work

> in the direction that the main theme and the sub-points of New Delhi are presented positively, i.e. a) that the 'Light of Christ' can by no means be the 'Light' of incitement and anti-communism (...) b) that 'unity' should by no means be a covenant with anti-communism and the Vatican c) that 'ministry' cannot be separated from the most important issue facing humanity, peace and d) that under 'testimony' a position is taken against colonialism and neo-colonialism9.

Already in April, Gottfried Noth had submitted a list of 20 representatives from the churches in the GDR¹⁰. Each proposal was now closely scrutinized by the GDR authorities, and the magistrates and municipalities in which the suggested delegates lived were contacted. Just to give a few examples:

The Magistrate of Grossberlin (Greater Berlin) provided an assessment of parish vicar Ingeborg Becker (* 13.5. 1910), a member of the Berlin-Brandenburg church leadership and theological director of the Burckhardthaus. She was seen as having "a negative attitude towards our state order", because she had "smuggled students from the GDR to West Berlin via the Burckhardthaus for a short-term course". She did not vote in 1957 and 1958, and was seen as having influenced others not to vote in 1961. "So it turned out that she has an extremely negative influence on the people entrusted to her. We do not believe that Vicar Becker will appear abroad as a citizen of our state"11.

The Council of the District Halle gave its opinion on two men – youth pastor Steinacker and Oberkirchenrat Dr. Müller. Steinacker was seen as having had a very negative impact on the students of the Heim-Oberschule in Naumburg, regarding "our workers' and peasants' state". "He did not take part in any referendum or election. He openly espoused the line of Dibelius". Therefore he had been removed from Naumburg to Halle in 1959 where he continued to "consistently represents the reactionary line of bishops Dibelius,

⁹ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland: Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Berlin, den 1. August 1961: Einschätzung über die bisherige Vorbereitung und Hauptprobleme des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 8. November bis 6. Dez. 1961 in Neu-Delhi (Weltkirchenkonferenz), 11, 12.

¹⁰ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, 10, 1. Landesbischof D. Noth, Dresden an die Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin, den 13.4. 61.

¹¹ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803: Magistrat von Gross-Berlin, Beurteilung Pfarr-Vikarin Ingeborg Becker, Berlin, den 28.9. 1961 (Unterschrift nicht leserlich).

Lilje, etc". It was also noted that Pastor Steinacker's father was an old Nazi and Steinacker himself had been a leader of the Hitler Youth. The Council agreed with the two district councils it had consulted "not to give Pastor Steinacker any approval for leaving for New Delhi", since "this is a person who will in no way act as a representative of the German Democratic Republic abroad".

In contrast, Dr. Müller was regarded as a representative of the Protestant regional church (Ev. Landeskirche Anhalt) who was "trying to take a loyal position towards our workers' and farmers' state and to explain this publicly". "He strives to understand actions of our government and the problems of our time in general". However, in regard to the West Berlin Kirchentag (a church convention which was not welcomed by the GDR) he had taken an ambiguous position and, for a while, "the wrong attitude", but then respected the ban, did not go to the Kirchentag and gave back his sermon assignment. "In the interest of the acceptable relationship between our state and the Ev. Landeskirche Anhalt", it was agreed to give Dr. Müller permission to attend the World Council of Churches Conference¹².

In the end, eight delegates from the churches in the GDR participated in the New Delhi Assembly. The other suggestions were rejected "because, as a result of their previous behaviour, there was no guarantee that they would present themselves as citizens of the GDR". Before their departure, the eight remaining participants were invited to a fundamental conversation in which they were instructed about the importance of their behaviour as citizens of the first German peace state"¹³.

3. The evaluation of the Assembly by the GDR-authorities

Almost immediately after his return from New Delhi, on December 9 (the Assembly had ended on December 5th), Bishop Mitzenheim was invit-

¹² Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803: Rat des Bezirkes Halle Biertüpel – head of department an den Staatssekretär für Kirchenfragen, Halle, 31. August 1961

Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi, pp 7, 8: "Von 20 vorgesehenen Teilnehmern aus der DDR wurden 8 die Ausreisegenehmigung erteilt, und zwar: Landesbischof D. Mitzenheim (Gast) Eisenach, Landesbischof R. Beste, Schwerin, Landesbischof D. Noth, Dresden, Sup. Glembitza, Friedrichsroda, OKR Miller, Dessau, Missionsdirektor Brennecke, Berlin Diakonisse Becker, Dresden, Missionar Gutsch, Berlin (Jugend-Delegierter). Den übrigen Teilnehmern musste die Ausreise verweigert werden, da sie in Folge ihres bisherigen Verhaltens nicht die Gewähr boten, dass sie als Bürger der DDR auftreten. Bischof Krummacher verzichtete auf die Teilnahme mit dem Argument, dass ein verantwortlicher Bischof hierbleiben müsse. Mit den Delegierten der DDR wurde vor ihrer Abreise eine grundsätzliche Aussprache geführt, in der sie auf die Notwendigkeit ihres Verhaltens als Bürger des 1. deutschen Friedensstaates nachdrücklich hingewiesen wurden".

ed to visit the Department West Germany/Abroad in the State Secretariat for Church Affairs (Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland / Ausland im Staatssekretariat für Kirchenfragen). Mitzenheim had not been a delegate, but a guest and acted as an observer; the assessment of New Delhi Assembly of the department seems to have been based on his report¹⁴.

The Post-New Delhi Assessment regarded the outcome of the 1961 WCC Assembly as positive. It noted that the socialist states had not been openly attacked, and the delegates had restrained themselves on the German and West Berlin question. The representatives of the West German "military church" ("Militärkirche"), who had made every effort to use the conference for NATO policy, had been isolated and had found no basis for their attacks against East Germany. In contrast to the second assembly at Evanston in 1954, the Assembly in New Delhi had focused on the main political problems. It had become obvious, the report stated, that the change in the balance of power in the world in favour of socialism and peace also had an effect on this ecclesial organisation¹⁵.

In its conclusion, the evaluation report regarded the New Delhi Assembly as determined by the existing balance of power in the world. The decisive factors were the development in Africa and Asia, the existence and work of the Prague Peace Conference and the admission of the Russian Orthodox Church¹⁶.

The coming not only of the Russian Orthodox Church, but also of the Orthodox Churches of Bulgaria, Rumania and Poland into the membership of the World Council was also highlighted in the official New Delhi Report as affording "a lively hope that the Christian community can transcend the political and economic divisions of the world to a greater extent than most

¹⁴ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi. The report itself is undated, but the following document refers to it as follows: Stellvertreter – Berlin C 2, den 18. Dezember 1961, Poststr 30. Betrifft: Ergänzungen zum Bericht vom 11.12. 61 über den Besuch von Bischof Mitzenheim am 9.12. 61 - anhand der Notizen des Koll. Flint, Stellvertreter.

¹⁵ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-

¹⁶ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi, 5

people have believed possible" (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 54)¹⁷. At the third day of the Assembly, on November 21, Alexis, Patriarch of Moscow, expressed great satisfaction at seeing "the Russian Orthodox Church a member of the brotherhood of Christian churches and denominations that form the World Council of Churches". In his address, he also pointed out that the Russian Orthodox Church

> expects the World Council to display 'an ever-increasing purposefulness' in meeting the 'daily needs of human society' on the basis of the Gospels. In carrying out 'their duty of peace-making' in a 'world full of tension' all Christians must 'resolutely call upon the leaders of states to start negotiations with the aim of achieving the last agreement on universal and complete disarmament, with effective international control'(THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 14,15).

This leads to another dimension mentioned by in the GDR report: The Russian Orthodox Church had played a significant role behind the Christian Peace Conference. The Evaluation Report commented that the "positive forces in the World Council of Churches, such as Prof. Hromodka", had gained a basis particularly through the Prague conference and could act even more consistently. At the same time, the position of USA representatives and "other political-clerical forces (such as Dibelius)" – which had been still dominant in Evanston 1954 - had been weakened. The Evaluation Report was particularly pleased by the election of the church president D. Niemöller – "an opponent of fascism and nuclear armament in West Germany" and "a representative of the Prague Peace Conference" – to become one of the six presidents of the World Council of Churches. "In this election, the changed attitude of the World Council of Churches and the rejection of the Bonn Ultras becomes particularly clear. (...) The West German "atom bishops" ("Die westdeutschen Atombischöfe") tried with all their might to prevent the election of D. Niemöller and to have the NATO bishop Lilje elected instead. These attempts also failed miserably.

A policy statement on the world situation was seen as other "decisive blow for the military church". This statement identified Berlin as the most dangerous

¹⁷ THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 10, notes that a large majority had been in favour. The voting on the admission was carried on by written ballots, but opportunity for verbal statements was given. Two churches used this: "For the Russian Orthodox Church in North America, Archbishop John of San Fransisco stated that it had abstained from voting on the application of the Orthodox Church of Russia. (..) Bishop Zoltan Beky of the Hungarian Reformed Church in America explained that it had abstained from voting and hoped that the World Council would not be used as a platform for political purposes".

areas of concern and warned against carrying out further provocative actions - the report highlighted the "arming of the Bonn army with nuclear weapons". "This decision is a significant support for the progressive forces, especially for the brotherhoods (Bruderschaften) in West Germany (...)"18. A general statement of principles on limited and controlled armaments recommended as a means of detente was also welcomed. The report pointed out that reference was made to the Rapacki plan (a plan proposed by Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki to the United Nations General Assembly in October 1957) as a limited plan for nuclear disarmament and demilitarization in Central Europe by establishing a nuclear-free zone. "It is noteworthy that NATO Bishop Lilje and nuclear war theologian Prof. Vicedom opposed the declaration voted on the global political situation, while other Bonn representatives abstained"19.

The report also noted the "massive criticism by the delegates of the African and Asian churches of the previous imperialist oriented activities of the churches. It turned out that there are strong contrasts between these 'young' churches and the old 'mission churches'". The Indian M.M. Thomas was cited here as an example:

> The Church's identification with Western culture and power, on the one hand, and her pietism and fear of the action of organized groups aiming at changing the political and social structure on the other, have prevented her from free positive responsible relationship with the struggles of African and Asian people to gain a new life²⁰.

Thus, the post-New Delhi report described the attempts of the GDR and other socialist states to influence the 1961 Assembly and the subsequent developments in the WCC as positive. The report noted with satisfaction that an "all-German delegation" did not come about and that even the West German delegates had not been united. The assessment report concluded that New Delhi had been a fiasco for the representatives of the "West German military church"21.

¹⁸ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi. 5,6.

¹⁹ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi, 5,6. Der Appell des Weltkirchenrates an die Regierungen u. Voelker.

²⁰ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi, 2.

²¹ Bundesarchiv DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland, Einschätzung des Verlaufs und der Ergebnisse der 3. Vollversammlung des Ökumenischen Rates der Kirchen vom 18.11. -5.12.1961 in Neu-Delhi, 8, 9.

After the conclusion of the assessment, a brief summary of reports from other socialist countries was added (probably received afterwards), according to which the delegation from the GDR had been extremely restrained and the delegates from other socialist countries could not dare to raise GDR problems because they could not risk being stabbed in the back by representatives from the GDR. In his working group, Bishop Beste had taken a very negative and aggressive stance against the socialist restructuring of agriculture (forced collectivization)²².

Also added afterwards was a report of the deputy of the department, Flint, about the conversation with Mitzenheim, which by and large confirmed the statements of the assessment, but added some details. For instance, Mitzenheim had reported that he had had an opportunity to talk with Finnish and Swedish delegates and asked whether he could follow possible invitations of these churches. The Secretary of State replied that on the part of the state, there was of course also an interest "in expanding contacts with church authorities in Scandinavian countries. Of course, it must always be taken into account that those leaving the country always and everywhere behave truly as citizens of our GDR"²³.

4. Ecumenical Cooperation in the Aftermath of the Assembly

In the following years, efforts were made to strengthen the cooperation between the GDR and the Ecumenical Movement. Thus, in 1964, the Gerhard Brennecke wrote in his capacity as director of the Ecumenical-Missionary Office to the Secretary of State for church affairs, Hans Seigewasser²⁴, regarding participation of GDR citizens at study programs of the Ecumenical

²² Ibid., 9: Zusatz über die Delegation der DDR. Ergänzung: "Nach Mitteilung aus den sozialistischen Ländern ist die Delegation aus der DDR äußerst zurückhaltend in Erscheinung zu treten. (...) Die Delegierten aus den sozialistischen Ländern konnten es aufgrund des Verhaltens der DDR-Delegation nicht wagen, Probleme der DDR zur Sprache zu bringen, da sie nicht riskieren konnten, dass ihnen Vertreter aus der DDR in den Rücken fallen und dadurch auch noch den Vertretern der westdeutschen Militärkirche Möglichkeiten zu Provokationen zu geben. Landesbischof Beste ist in seiner Arbeitsgruppe sehr negativ und aggressiv gegen die sozialistische Umgestaltung der Landwirtschaft aufgetreten. (Zwangskollektivierung)".

²³ Stellvertreter – Berlin C 2, den 18. Dezember 1961, Poststr 30. Betrifft: Ergänzungen zum Bericht vom 11.12. 61 über den Besuch von Bischof Mitzenheim am 9.12. 61 – anhand der Notizen des Koll. Flint, Stellvertreter. ("Der Staatssekretär wies darauf hin, dass wir selbstverständlich auch staatlicherseits Interesse daran haben, wenn die Kontakte mit kirchlichen Stellen in skandinavischen Ländern ausgebaut werden, dabei müsse natürlich immer Berücksichtigung finden, dass der Ausreisende sich stets und überall wahrhaft als Bürger unserer DDR verhält.").

About Seigewasser cf. https://www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de/de/recherche/kataloge-datenbanken/biographische-datenbanken/hans-seigewasser (last accessed September 15th, 2024).

Institute Bossey. He summarized the developments and the aims of the centre²⁵. The GDR officials had, however, some information about Bossey before this application: In August 1961, Dr. Landmann, a member of the CDU parliamentary group in the People's Chamber (Volkskammer), had attended the lay course "Africa in the midst of our world" ("Afrika inmitten unserer Welt") and had sent a detailed report to the secretary of state. He had had many discussions with West Germans, but also with Swizz, English, Dutch, African and Swedish participants, especially about the GDR and they reserved one evening especially for this question in Gasthof Celigny. Here Landmann referred to the peace plans of the GDR and other proposals of the government. These had not been known to the other participants who had been misinformed, but Landmann could prove his points in black and white - he had brought copies of various documents. Overall, Landmann summarized, the course had brought good discussion results,

> which will certainly be disseminated by the participants in all the countries represented. The main results of the Africa themes were that Africa should remain neutral and that the western churches should renounce colonialism and paternalism more actively in order to achieve true brotherhood with Africa and its churches. The majority of course participants also realized that negotiations between the two German states about a peace treaty, reunification and the West Berlin question must and will take place.

In a concluding conversation with Landmann, Prof. Wolf, the director of the institute, welcomed the fact that competent representatives of the GDR were taking part in conferences in Bossey, since there was a great interest in clarifying discussions, particularly about Christian life in the socialist countries. "In addition, the positive opinions of official representatives of the GDR were more important than the negative interpretations already known from propaganda"26.

This was passing the ball perfectly to the Secretariat of Church Affairs. A memo noted:

²⁵ DO 4/2802 Ökumenisch-Missionarisches Amt (Beteiligte Kirchenleitungen, Evangelische Kirchenleitung zu Berlin, Evangelische Kirchenleitung zu Magdeburg, Evangelische Kirchenleitung zu Greifswald, Direktor: Gerhard Brennecke to Herrn Staatssekretaer Hans Seigewasser . Staatssekretaer fuer Kirchenfragen. 102 Berlin, Poststr. 30m Berlin, den 22. Dezember 1964: "Betr.: Teilnahme von DDR-Bürgern an den Kursen im Ökumenischen Institut Bossey".

²⁶ Bundesarchiv, DO4/2802. Staatssekretariat. Bericht von Dr. Landmann, Berlin, Über den Laienkursus "Afrika inmitten unserer Welt", im Ökumenischen Institut Bossey bei Celigny, Schweiz vom 16.8.-28.8 61.

The report of Dr. Landmann shows that it is right and important that representatives from the German Democratic Republic, who stand firmly on the ground of our workers' and farmers' state and act accordingly, are given the opportunity to take part in such events – but only really such representatives ... It would be worth considering whether we share the opinion of the director of the institute, Dr. Wolf, that positive opinions of official representatives from the GDR were more important than negative interpretations already known from propaganda, should not be used to allow positive forces to accept invitations to negative forces²⁷.

In 1965, the cooperation was further intensified. The administrator of the Bishop's Office of the Church of Berlin-Brandenburg, D. Jacob, requested the State Secretary for Church Affairs to hold a Working Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches on Faith and Order in Bad Saarow in July. The Secretariat granted the request and also decided to invite the international guests to a dinner (in conjunction with the Chairman of the Council of the Frankfurt/O District), in which personalities from social life in the GDR (National Council, Peace Council, CDU) also would participate. During the meeting, a debate as to be held to explain the policy based on peace and international understanding and the social and economic development of the German Democratic Republic. It was also pointed out that "well-known representatives from the socialist countries such as Archpriest Borovoy, USSR, and Dr. Smolik, CSSR, who also perform important functions within the framework of the Prague Christian Peace Conference" would participate. The implementation of the conference would also help to strengthen the position of D. Jacob, who "has repeatedly spoken out in support of our peace policy", but "has to contend with a great deal of resistance within his church leadership"28. The meeting was conducted as planned and the dinner was also used to record smalltalk information of influential Western guests such as Prof. Schlink (Heidelberg)²⁹.

²⁷ Bundesarchiv, DO4/2802 Aktennotiz fuer Kollegen Weise , Im Hause – Akz. 18-22-11 (unterzeichnet von Scheil). "Betr.: Bericht des Dr. Landmann MdV über seine Teilnahme an dem Laienkurs 'Afrika inmitten unserer Welt' im Ökumenischen Institut Bossey".

²⁸ Bundesarchiv Berlin DO 4/2800: Vorlage an das Sekretariat Berlin, den 24. Maerz 1965. - Betr.: Tagung des Ökumenischen Rates – Arbeitsausschuss für Glaube und Kirchenverfassung – in Bad Saarow in der Zeit vom 6. bis 12. Juli 1965 (unterzeichnet von Seigewasser, Staatssekretär).

²⁹ Bundesarchiv Berlin DO 4/2800:Aktenvermerk (12.7.65 Guenter Wirth): "Bei dem Empfang ökumenischer Gäste (Faith and Order) in Frankfurt/Oder am 9.7. 65 sass ich neben Prof. Huston, Evanston (USA) und Prof. Schlink (Heidelberg). ... Aus dem, was ich von ihm hörte, schien mir folgendes interessant zu sein: 1. Er ist der Meinung, dass die SPD einen leichten Stimmengewinn haben wird, ob sie siegt, das zu sagen, sei jetzt unmöglich, weil hierbei viele Faktoren zur Wahlzeit selbst eine Rolle spielten...".

5. GDR Political Perceptions of New Delhi 1961 and the Conference Report

New Delhi marked a turning point in the history of the World Council of Churches and initiated a process of de-Westernization. This process was, as we have seen, accompanied by hopes of the GDR regime to exercise more influence on the ecumenical movement, and the GDR Post-New Delhi Assessment Report regarded some developments at New Delhi as a "decisive blow for the (West German) military church".

However, this report was selective and represented some of the proceedings of the Assembly in a one-sided way.

Thus, for instance, the statement on the Berlin question had not only warned against the arming of the Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, but also against

> any further attempt to isolate West Berlin from the East or from the West (...) Christians must make it plain that, quite apart from the rights or wrongs of any particular case, political actions which split churches or families or divide Christian from Christian are matters they can under no circumstances condone (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 269).

This was not mentioned in the Report. In regard to the disarmament – question, the official Assembly Proceedings mentioned indeed the plan of the Polish foreign minister Rapacki – but alongside the plans of the British politicians Robert Anthony Eden and Hugh Gaitskell (IBID.) which were not mentioned in the GDR document.

There were also no references to other statements which implied a criticism of the GDR. At the first day, Bishop Gottfried Noth gave an interpretative address on the assembly theme "Jesus Christ, the Light of the World". In a moving conclusion, especially significant because of its relation to the difficult experience of the Church in East Germany, he said:

> (...) We Christians have not been promised that we shall be the cleverest politicians, scientists, technicians or economists We can rely only on one thing; when Christians face the distress of the world in the name of Christ and in his love, then he sends his light, and the spell of sin – which blinds both the wise and the foolish – is broken. How far the light will penetrate is in God's hands (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 8,9).

Bishop Dibelius, spoke about the continuing need for service to refugees, including refugees from East Germany, and on Monday, November 27, a sermon prepared by General Superintendent Dr. Günther Jacob of East Germany who had not received permission to leave his country was read by Praeses Dr. Scharf (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 25).

6. African and Asian Perspectives: Abuna Theophilos (Ethiopia), Francis Akanu Ibiam (Nigeria) and M.M. Thomas (India)

Moreover, the statement that there had been a "massive criticism by the delegates of the African and Asian churches of the previous imperialist-oriented activities of the churches" was summative and lumped a great variety of positions together which were complex and could not so easily be reconciled, let alone pushed in the political agenda of the GDR and other states of the Eastern bloc.

Thus, in a statement on behalf of the Ethiopian Church, Abuna Theophilos pleaded for a missionary revival in the Church and for a clear demonstration by all churches in Africa that Christianity is not just a "white man's religion" (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 15).

Probably one of the most influential African participants in New Delhi was Sir Francis Akanu Ibiam, Chairman, of the Council of the University College in Ibadan and the first Nigerian governor of the Eastern Region of Nigeria after independence in 1960. Since 1958, he had been one of the driving forces behind the All African Conference of Churches; at the 1961 Assembly he was elected on of the six presidents of the WCC³⁰. In his New Delhi speech, Ibiam paid tribute to the missionaries for what they had done for African peoples, and then spoke frankly about 'stumbling blocks' to the Christian movement in Africa occasioned by discriminatory racial practices. He also emphasized the urgent need for the unity of the Church in Africa and for theological education (THE NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 21). His outspokenness against racism had an impact on the WCC Assembly in New Delhi in 1961 which sharply criticised the oppressive Portuguese regime in Angola and also published a message to the Christians in South Africa which confirmed that no one who believes in Jesus Christ can be excluded from a church because of his "colour" and "race" (KUNTER 2014: 35). Based on his personal experiences, Ibiam had addressed the problem of racism for a long

³⁰ For brief biographical overviews see UKA, ODUYOYE 1995: 108-111. There are also longer biographies such as NWAFO 1988.

time³¹ and war recognised as a Pan.Africanist (GATHOGO 2015) and as a leading representative of African independence. Among many other awards, he was "decorated with a Golden Star Medal of the First Degree of the Order of the Russian Orthodox Church, after the Great Vladimir by the Patriarch of Masion and All Russia-Alexy" (UKA). Yet, as Raphael Chijoke Njoku has shown in a brilliant analysis, multiple tensions and complexities - and, one might add, loyalties - existed in Ibiam's personality; he was influenced by "negotiated and fluid ideals that transcended a narrow network or cultural identity." (NJOKU 2013: 97, 98). Among these influences were Western education and by an encounter with the moderate Ghanaian intellectual James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey. Before Nigeria's independence, he had advocated a mutual cooperation with the colonial authorities and a step-by-step constitutional progress to self-government; he was awarded the British title OBE (Order of the British Empire) in 1951 and "the Queen's Coronation medal" in 1953 (NJOKU 2013). Nigeria's (and also Ibiam's) relations with Britain remained close until the beginning of the Biafra war in 1966.

Indian positions also did not fit so easily into the East-West camps. In his greeting to the Assembly, the Indian prime minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru warned the WCC Assembly to regard international relations too much from a Cold War perspective. The statement of the Indian M.M. Thomas, Associate Director of the Institute for the Study of Religion and Society at Bangalore and an outstanding theologian who later (in 1968) became moderator of the World Council of Churches' Central Committee was also more double-edged and complex than portrayed in the GDR assessment. Thomas pointed out on the one hand that the Gospel is not to be identified with any one culture or political order and on the other hand that the redemption which Christ offers embraces within its scope "the world of science and technology, of politics, society and culture, of secular ideologies and religions". He accordingly stressed the role of Christians in the new nations as that of "partners in the common struggle for the secular conditions for true human living". He also indicated ways in which the Christians in these areas can bear their Christian witness and contribute to responsible nationhood instead of merely building "segregated communities." ³² (NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 27, 28). Thomas, who had been inclined towards Marxist ideology in his younger years but had become disillusioned with the developments of communism in both In-

³¹ For instance, when he had been denied service in a "For Whites Only" restaurant in Northern Rhodesia (today's Zambia) in September 1952, he described the white man as "self-confident, arrogant, and the monarch of all he surveys.". Cf. NJOKU 2013: 93.

³² NEW DELHI REPORT 1961: 27, 28.

dia and Eastern Europe since 1947, formulated a position which did not fit so easily into the Cold War camps as the GDR officials would have liked.

Conclusion

These are just a few examples to illustrate those processes of de-Westernisation of the WCC which started in New Delhi in 1961were not one-dimensional. They were embedded in a complex network of negotiations, and the leadership of the WCC navigated between different forces. Some steps were ambiguous: The admission of the ROC strengthened, on the one side, the possibilities of the Soviet Union to monitor and influence decision-making processes; on the other hand, it weakened the Prague Peace Conference as an ecumenical alternative. Bishop Ting, who represented the three self patriotic movement in China, had been very disappointed about the Russian Orthodox Church's decision to apply for membership in the WCC ³³; at the All Christian Peace Conference (ACPC) in Prague in summer 1961 he had stated "that the World Council was the enemy of China and the Chinese Churches"³⁴. The increasing participation of churches from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe strengthened the WCC's claim to be a Christian World Organisation instead of being a western based organisation. This led to new power balances in which the SU and the GDR, as we saw, indeed tried to exercise influence by controlling their own delegates and forging alliances with other non-Western forces. These alliances were sometimes successful, but often also fragile, and in order to understand the compromises made, one has to take the polycentric configuration in which the WCC had to manoeuvre into account.

Sources and Bibliography **Archival Sources**

Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives, Berlin), DO 4/2803 Arbeitsgebiet Westdeutschland/Ausland.

³³ Boyens 1999: 99 referring to AOR, Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee Bossey (19-23 June 1961, TOP 27 Prague Peace Conference.

³⁴ From Dr. Glen Garfield Williams – Geneva, 20th June 1961. Strictly Confidential. Memorandum. Subject: Interview with Bishop K.H. Ting of China in Prague.

Other Primary Sources

The New Delhi Report (1961). The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches. London: SCM.

Bibliography

- BARGÁR, Pavol (2022). "Christian Mission and Communism: A Protestant Perspective from Former Czechoslovakia", in Kirsteen Kim and Alison Fitchett-Climenhaga (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Mission Studies*, Oxford Handbooks (online edn, Oxford Academic, 19 Dec. 2022), 365-382, (https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198831723.013.22, accessed 20 Mar. 2024).
- BESIER, Gerhard (1993). Der SED Staat und die Kirche. München: Bertelsmann.
- BESIER, Gerhard (2017). "80 Years of the World Council of Churches: Theological, Political and Societal Ambiguities". *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 30, (No. 2, Ökumenische Zusammenarbeit und Weltpolitik / Ecumenical cooperation and world politics), 294-311.
- BOCK, Paul (1991). "The Dulles-Hromadka Encounter Revisited: Two Churchmen Anticipated some Current World Changes". *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, 11, 3, article 3.1991. Available at: https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree/vol11/iss3/3 (last accessed September 15th, 2024).
- BOSCH, David Jacobus (1991). *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (American Society of Missiology Series, no. 16). Maryknoll: Orbis Books.
- BOYENS, Armin (1999). "Ökumenischer Rat der Kirchen und Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland zwischen West und Ost", in Gerhard Besier, Armin Boyens, Gerhard Lindemann, Nationaler Protestantismus und Ökumenische Bewegung. Kirchliches Handeln im Kalten Krieg (1945-1990). Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 27-321.
- DERR, Thomas Sieger D. (1973). "Review: The Ecumenical Advance: A History of the Ecumenical Movement, Vol. 2, 1948-1968". *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 41, 4, 634-636.
- FEY, Harold C. (ed.) (1970, 1986, 2004). *The Ecumenical Advance: A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, vol. 2, 1948-1968. Philadelphia: Westminster Press; Geneva: WCC Publications.
- GATHOGO, Julius (2015). "Francis Akanu Ibiam (1906-1995): A leader

- who had a mission beyond ecclesia". Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 41,1. Pretoria, on-line version ISSN 2412-4265.
- GRANBERG-MICHAELSON, Wesley (2013). From Times Square to Timbuktu: The Post-Christian West Meets the Non-Western Church. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- KENNEDY, James W. (1962). Nor Darkness at ALL. An Account of the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches. St. Louis: Bethany.
- KUNTER, Katharina (2014). ""Der Christ fürchtet den Umbruch nicht". Der Ökumenische Rat der Kirchen im Spannungsfeld von Dekolonisierung, Entwestlichung und Politisierung", in K. Kunter & A. Schilling (eds.), Globalisierung der Kirchen, der Ökumenische Rat der Kirchen und die Entdeckung der "Dritten Welt". Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 19-74.
- KUNTER, Katharina (2019). "Is the East-West Political Bipolarity the Foundation of the Ecumenical Movement? The Cold War as a Meta-Narrative of the World Council of Churches", in George Fox University, Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe 39/4.
- LUDWIG, Frieder; ROSNES, Ellen Vea; HAGA, Joar; WANG, Marina Xiaojing & PEREIRA, Jairzinho Lopes (forthcoming a). Transloyalties, Connected Histories and World Christianity during the Interwar Period: 1919-1939. London: Routledge.
- LUDWIG, Frieder; ROSNES, Ellen Vea; HAGA, Joar; WANG, Marina Xiaojing & PEREIRA, Jairzinho Lopes (forthcoming b). Transloyalties, Connected Histories and World Christianity during the Period of Decolonisation and the Cold War: 1945-1970. London: Routledge.
- "New Delhi 1961 Integration of International Missionary Council and World Council of Churches" (2016). Ecumenical Missiology, 74-81.
- NJOKU, Raphael Chijoke (2013). African Cultural Values: Igbo Political Leadership in Colonial Nigeria, 1900-1966. New York & London: Routledge.
- NWAFO, David Chukwuagugua (1988). Born to serve: the biography of Dr. Akanu Ibiam. Publisher: Macmillan Nigeria, Ibadan.
- ODUYOYE, Modupe (1995). "Akanu Ibiam 1906", in Ion Bria, Dagmar Heller, Ecumenical Pilgrims. Profiles of Pioneers in Christian Reconciliation. Geneva: WCC Publications, 108-111.
- PISKULA, Jiri (2010). "The Conception of the Christian Peace Conference and the Totalitarian Regime in Czechoslovakia". Communio Viatorum, 52, 2.
- POPE JOHN XXIII (1959). "Announcement Of An Ecumenical Council". https://vatican2voice.org/91docs /announcement.htm (last accessed

- September 15th, 2024).
- STOECKL, Kristina (2014). The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights. Routledge.
- UKA, Emele Mba (1995). "Ibiam, Francis Akana 1906-1995. Presbyterian. Nigeria". Dictionary of African Christian Biography, https://dacb.org/stories/nigeria/ibiam-akanu/ (last accessed March 21st, 2024).
- VAN GELDER, Craig & ZSCHEILE, Dwight J. (2011). The Missional church in perspective: mapping trends and shaping the conversation. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic.
- VERMAAT, Emerson (1989). The World Council of Churches and Politics. New York: Freedom House, 102.
- VID SPECIALIZED UNIVERSITY. Connected Histories Contested Values World Lutheranism and Decolonisation: Processes of Transloyalties, 1919-1970 (CHCV). https://www.vid.no/forskning/vids-fremragende-forskningsmiljoer/connected-histories-contested-values/ (last accessed September 15, 2024).
- WARREN, Max (1979). "The Fusion of IMC and WCC at New Delhi: Retrospective Thoughts after a Decade and a Half". Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research, 3, 3, 104-108. https://doi.org/10.1177/239693937900300305. (last accessed September 15, 2024).
- WEST, Charles C. (1998). "Thomas, M(adathilparampil) M(ammen)", in Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), 666-7. https://www. bu.edu/missiology/missionary-biography/t-u-v/thomas-madathilparampil-mammen-1916-1996/ (last accessed September 15, 2024).
- WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (2024). "What is the World Council of Churches?" https://www.oikoumene.org/about-the-wcc (last accessed September 15, 2024).

Between Idealism and Pragmatism: The Christian Churches' humanitarian aid to Biafra in and from colonial São Tomé (1967-1970)*

Ana Guardião

University of Florence afsguardiao@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5989-7938

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 28/06/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 04/11/2024



Abstract. During the Nigerian Civil War (1967-70) an airlift and relief projects were negotiated to take place in São Tomé, a Portuguese colony. This article analyses the ways in which the relations between the Portuguese authorities and faith-based voluntary organizations during the Biafran crisis shaped debates about the practice of humanitarian aid. They show how humanitarian and human rights activism shaped the rationale of these organisations in the late 1960s. Moreover, the specificities of the crisis and of the humanitarian response led to reflections on the legitimacy of humanitarian interventions and about the profound intertwinements between the religious, humanitarian and colonial realms at a time when strategies to keep influence in a post-colonial Africa were being devised.

Key-words. Biafra crisis, humanitarianism, Portugal, religious organisations, colonialism.

Introduction

As a corollary of the violent secessionist attempt by the Eastern Province of Nigeria between May 1967 and January 1970, the Biafran crisis has been identified as a turning point in the history of humanitarianism (BARNETT 2011; PAULMANN 2013). It was the first live broadcasted humanitarian crisis, with technological advancements mastered to showcase the suffering of African children in severe health distress in order to engage western civil societies and governments in the saving of "distant others" in a post-colonial setting (HARTEEN 2017; MERZIGER 2019). It also boosted the affirmation of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) within the globalising humanitarian sector (KUHN 2016; BARNETT 2011). Nonetheless, the critical juncture approach has been challenged by scholars framing the Biafran crisis within the dynamics of change but also continuity that shaped the 1960s (see, for

^{*} The research for this article was part of the project 'HumanEuroMed–Humanitarianism and Mediterranean Europe. A Transnational and Comparative History (1945-1990)' funded by the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (GrantAgreement 101019166).

example O'SULLIVAN 2014; DESGRANDCHAMPS 2018a; SALVATICI 2019; HARTEEN 2021). These encompass the multifaceted processes of humanitarianism's institutionalisation, internationalisation, and secularisation (BARNETT 2011; BARNETT and STEIN 2012; SALVATICI 2019). They also entail the adaptation of humanitarian narratives and practices to concomitant colonial, decolonisation and post-colonial African contexts (GUARDIÃO 2023).

The article contributes to these debates by approaching the Biafran crisis through the (sometimes conflicting) cooperation between faith-based relief organisations (FBROs) and the Portuguese authorities, particularly in the colony of São Tomé. Despite regarded as a mere logistics base in most literature on the humanitarian crisis, São Tomé was in many instances the only platform shipping aid to Biafra since the blockade of the enclave in May 1968 and especially after the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) terminated its operation in mid 1969. Departing from the various projects developed in the Portuguese colony of São Tomé, namely the organisation of the air bridge to Biafra and the rescue and assistance to Biafran children, it analyses the perspectives that FBROs on the ground and the Portuguese authorities had about each other and the operation. It shows that despite having a certain degree of independence, the dissociation of their work with collaboration with a colonial power was unattainable at a time when colonial rule was contested and condemned in international and regional forums. This association was scrutinised at least in the Protestant realm¹, particularly in debates between the German Churches and the World Council of Churches (WCC) as well as within the latter. The emerging debates demonstrate how pragmatic decisions to respond to the Biafran humanitarian emergency conflicted with broader strategies regarding the reshaping of relations between religious and political actors in a post-colonial African context. They also suggest the existence of deep reflections regarding the (dis)association of religious bodies with repressive colonial dynamics that were still present in the late 1960s. Finally, they indicate that, despite collaboration between humanitarian actors and the Portuguese State, the former did not shy away from criticising the regime, particularly concerning its authoritarian and repressive nature.

Equating these questions, the article brings to the fore that the chronologies of decolonisation were diverse and that this diversification is relevant to the better understanding of how humanitarian and human rights activism intertwined in the late 1960s. If from commonly referred Western perspectives

As the archival records from Caritas Internationalis are still unavailable for the period studied, the article will focus mostly on the debates that emerged between the Protestant organisations.

postcoloniality allowed the legitimisation of new kinds of foreign intervention in African countries (HERTEEN 2017), humanitarian and human rights repertoires were also being employed and adapted by colonial states, namely Portugal (JERÓNIMO and MONTEIRO 2020; GUARDIÃO forthcoming). As this article shows, NGOs activism also entailed both humanitarian and human rights concerns. Debates within the WCC and with organisations on the ground and the strategies envisaged to ensure their relevance in Africa were linked with anti-colonial and racial discrimination criticism, the right to self-determination and the urgency to respond to emergency crises.

Research for this article is based on Portuguese archives – Arquivo Histórico Diplomático and Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino – and on the archives available from humanitarian organisations operating on São Tomé – Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes der EKD, and World Council of Churches Archives. Nevertheless, the documents available in these archives allow for an analysis that encompasses other FBROs on the ground such as Caritas Internationalis and Nordchurchaid. The article is divided into three sections: the first contextualises the conflict and Portuguese intervention with the long lasting association between colonialism, religion, and humanitarianism; the second focuses on humanitarian projects developed in São Tomé and the relations between the FBROs on the ground and colonial authorities; the third emphases the debates between FBROs about their action, collaboration with the Portuguese State and the shifts in relations between religious organisations and African peoples and States.

1. Humanitarianism and the colonial state: a background to the Portuguese intervention

The Portuguese involvement in the Nigeria-Biafra war and the humanitarian crisis it engendered is still ill-considered in historiography. Approaches privileging Western positions and interventions and departing either from Cold War or decolonisation dynamics tend to regard São Tomé merely as a logistics base (STREMLAU 1977; GOULD 2013; FIOLA and WZEKWEM 2016; OMAKA 2016; DESGRANDCHAMPS 2018b). A few authors have challenged these perspectives, putting Portugal and humanitarian efforts and projects on São Tomé at the centre of the analysis (SEIBERT 2018; OMAKA 2019; GUARDIÃO forthcoming). They show that the Portuguese government supported the Biafran cause despite advocating an official neutral stance, and that this support was part of Lisbon's strategy to keep the empire afloat. Portugal's multifaceted intervention was embedded in colonial interests, which entailed the adoption and adaptation of international instruments and repertoires of humanitarian governance. Furthermore, Portuguese relief efforts implied close cooperation with the Biafran elite as well as with FBROs and were framed in a discretion policy engineered to circumvent anti-colonial criticism (GUARDIÃO forthcoming), and thus go beyond linear motivations either colonial (OMAKA 2019) or benevolent (SEIBERT 2018).

In order to better comprehend the debates generated by the humanitarian operation on São Tomé, the arguments put forward, the context they emerged in, and the actors involved as well as the stands they advocated, one ought first to retrieve the lingering and intricate connections between the humanitarian and imperial realms. Albeit recent, the historiography of humanitarianism and its (conflicting) associations with imperial rule has convincingly argued for a chronology emanating from the emergence of the "new imperialism" during the 19th century (DOYLE 1986; PORTER 2016), related to Enlightenment ideals on the universality of humanity and the care for and solidarity with "distant others" (see, among others, BARNETT 2011; SKINNER and LESTER 2012; SALVATICI 2019). Another relevant contribution emerging from these connections was the demystification of narratives bestowing humanitarianism's non-political origins, commonly associated with the International Red Cross Movement, particularly with the ICRC. As the volume edited by Skinner and Lester shows, imperial and humanitarian history are "bound together in a series of mutually constituting histories, in which the ideas and practices associated with imperial politics and administration have both been shaped by and have in themselves informed developing notions of humanitarianism" (2012: 731).

These intertwinements are ultimately associated with two distinct but related phenomena. On the one hand, the concomitant nationalisation and internationalisation of "benevolent imperial rule" with the expansion of European empires, and the reinforcement of colonial settlement and welfare policies in order to better control local populations' resistance, often resorting to missionaries (metropolitan, foreign and, later on, local) and processes of evangelisation to promote the ethos of the then newly framed "civilising mission" (STANLEY 1990; PORTER 2004; LESTER 2005; PRUDHOMME 2005; JERÓNIMO and DORES 2017a). As imperial competition grew in the 19th century, concerted inter-imperial efforts to define, institutionalise and legitimise colonial rule covered, among other aspects, the establishment or reinforcement of administrative, military and religious apparatuses as well as the adoption of a "civilising" ethos embedded in morality and humanitarian narratives as well

as evolutionary (racialised) thought 2. Metropolitan societies' engagement in the imperial "civilising mission" was fostered. Humanitarianism played a significant role in this process by connecting metropolitan societies with "distant others", as "colonial relationships were the means by which the obligations of community could be selectively telescoped across space and transformed in the process". They also shaped modalities of distance and difference that "lay in the heart of [how Europeans came to perceive] humanitarianism" (SKINNER and LESTER 2012: 732, see also PRUDHOMME 2005; REID-HENRY 2014).

On the other hand, humanitarian concerns, at the time predominantly related to Christian morality, were central in pressures on and denunciations of abusive modalities of imperial power. They emerged associated with transnational campaigns for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery and were formalised in both the Berlin (1884-5) and Brussels (1889) Conferences, albeit their meagre practical results related with allegations about shortages of manpower in sub-Saharan geographies or the unwillingness of Africans to work (JERÓNIMO 2015). Colonial powers' appropriation and adaptation of humanitarian terminology in international and domestic normative discourses and instruments were also inconsistent with local authorities and white settlers' abusive and violent practices. If missionaries, Protestant and Catholic alike3, took part in colonial "civilisational" welfare and education policies, they were also fundamental in condemning officials and settlers' oppression, expropriation, and mistreatment of local populations through the founding of transnational communication networks "critical to the construction of the Christian humanitarian worldview" (LESTER 2005: 65).

The driving of a new imperial reformism based on the "benevolent role of the empire" considerably conditioned the modus operandi of Portuguese imperial rule. The internationalisation of African imperial affairs, marked by inter-imperial competition and cooperation, and the concerted transnational efforts to denounce colonial abuse, to which missionaries became fundamental, soon unveiled the persistence of Portuguese misconduct on the implementation of "native policies" in Africa (JERÓNIMO 2015). These processes were concomitant with increasing resort to scientific methods in ruling the colonies and legitimising colonial rule, leading to the centralisation of administrative rule through a combination of modernising ideals with "traditional custom"

For the Portuguese case within inter-imperial dynamics at the time, see JERÓNIMO (2015). On the "civilizing mission" as an ethos in other empires, see (CONKLIN 1999, HALL 2002, FISCHER-TINÉ and MANN 2004 and BARTH and OSTERHAMMEL 2005)

For Catholic missions and France see PRUDHOMME (2005), for Protestant missions and the United Kingdom see LESTER and DUSSART (2014), for Portugal see JERÓNIMO and DORES (2017a, 2017b).

and consequent disputes and substantial dismissal of missionary work, chiefly, but not restricted to, foreign Protestant missions (JERÓNIMO and DORES 2017a). That is not to say that missionaries were arrayed with new ideas and strategies to modernise African colonies. They continued to be fundamental "experts" in the Portuguese colonial administration's aim to transform Africans in homo economicus through evangelisation, education, welfare and development projects that sought, at the same time, to "domesticise", "civilise", and solve production and mobility "problems" in Portuguese colonies (JERÓNIMO and DORES 2017b). Metropolitan efforts to adopt and adapt to the new international humanitarian terminology were significant but relied mainly on reforming domestic legislation to conform with international instruments. Lisbon's "reformism" continued to be disputed on the ground, i.e. through ineffective implementation by the administration and contested by the population, and internationally repudiated up until decolonisation wars in Angola (1961-75), Guinea Bissau (1963-74) and Mozambique (1964-75) were already being waged (MONTEIRO 2022)4.

Of course, the modernisation of colonial rule was not exclusive to Portugal (COOPER 1998), nor the repressive developmentalist repertoires used (JERÓNIMO 2018). Despite Portuguese colonial administrative strategies differing from those employed by the British in a significant part of the empire, i.e. the system of indirect rule, they both entailed the disruption of (fluid) social fabrics through the hierarchisation of local populations' social strata, based on "civilising" and "developmental" repertoires, with considerable implications to the forging and consolidation of the post-colonial order. The Nigeria-Biafra war constitutes but one, yet particularly violent, example.

Among other factors, the conflict derived substantially from societal divisions that emanated from British indirect-rule governance strategies, which entailed greater social mobility among the Christianised Ibo, originally from the colony's Eastern Province. Post-colonial grievances between the Ibo and the Hausa regarding divisions of power, forms of governance and territorial administration evolved into demonstrations of violence and persecution, particularly since 1966. One year later, Lieutenant-General Odumengwu Ojukwu unilaterally declared the independence of the Eastern Province, then named Republic of Biafra. The secessionist attempt led to conflict and further repression of the Ibo and generated an unforeseen humanitarian emergency in a post-colonial African country⁵.

⁴ Several of the reforms ratified in the early 1960s sought to revoke the contested "contract system" and the Native Labour System.

⁵ On humanitarian responses on the ground see DESGRANDCHAMPS 2018b.

Portugal was one of the few states directly supporting Biafrans both in war and humanitarian efforts. As Guardião (forthcoming) demonstrates, it did so for two reasons. First, Portuguese assistance to Biafra entailed fostering its capacity to function as a state. It was also framed within Portugal's strategy to legitimise its much-contested imperial rule internationally, mainly through minor humanitarian engagements and cooperation with FBROs. For the Portuguese government, "symbolic humanitarianism" conveyed the portrayal of a benevolent government; one that could better attend to African populations' needs and render the regime more palatable in international spheres.

The next section explores the extent of cooperation between Portugal and the FBROs in Lisbon and on São Tomé, encompassing the latter's motivations for establishing their operations in a colonised territory, the strategies envisioned to respond to the crisis, and the relations established between relief workers and Portuguese authorities.

2. Operating in São Tomé: motivations, cooperation and dissidence

Arrangements by FBROs to provide relief via Lisbon and São Tomé began in early 1968, eight months after hostilities between the Nigerian Federal Government and the Biafran forces began. Since the previous autumn Federal Forces consistently reduced Biafran controlled areas. In the following May, a total blockade to the Eastern Province was achieved, aggravating the dire conditions of the civilian population. During the winter of 1967-8 international efforts to mediate the conflict and establish humanitarian corridors by the ICRC in cooperation with the WCC and the Vatican met negative responses from both belligerents. In the meantime, clandestine routes run by mercenaries for military equipment transportation to Biafra had been successfully negotiated with Portuguese authorities. Equipment dispatched to Lisbon followed through Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé to reach Biafra. With no sound perspective to reach starving Biafrans through negotiated routes⁶, both the Vatican and German Catholic and Protestant organisations dissociated themselves from the ICRC's modus operandi, i.e., maintaining strict neutrality to negotiate humanitarian arrangements and safeguard the (possible) abidance by International Humanitarian Law. The Vatican-sponsored Caritas Internationalis, the German

⁶ In May 1968, after the taking of Port Harcourt by Federal forces, it was estimated that 6000 individuals were dying of starvation daily in Biafra, most of them children.

⁷ At the time, Internaitonal Humanitarian Law did not apply to domestic conflicts.

Caritas and the Protestant umbrella organisation Das Diakonisches Werk successfully negotiated access to the clandestine routes with the Portuguese authorities (GUARDIÃO forthcoming). The WCC would follow suit, albeit trying to maintain cooperation with the ICRC under neutrality and impartiality principles.

This section explores the establishment of the São Tomé airlift and further cooperation between these organisations and Portuguese authorities in a Biafran children's rescue programme on the island. In doing so, it seeks to scrutinise humanitarians' motivations and strategies, as well as the relationships between FBROs and Portuguese authorities to better understand the myriad of dynamics the emergency imposed on the international response.

The impetus to resort to Lisbon and São Tomé emanated first from Catholic missionaries working in Nigeria and Caritas Internationalis' head of operations in Rome. The on-the-ground experience initiated during British colonial rule and consolidated in the immediate post-colonial period allowed missionaries (both Catholic and Protestant) not only to maintain their evangelisation and development projects in the country but also to witness first-hand the turmoil, violence and persecution ongoing since 1966, primarily against the Christianised Ibo by the predominantly Muslim Hausa (O'SULLIVAN 2014; BYRNE 1997)8. Reports on the forced displacement of Ibos to the Eastern Province reached the WCC, along with pleas for emergency and long-term aid by the Christian Council of Nigeria9. From November 1966, the WCC Division of Inter-Church Aid Refugee and World Service (DICARWS) was directly involved with aid provision – including the funding of emergency other resources employed in rural development projects – to the Eastern Province population. As the conflict escalated, the WCC tried to maintain relations with both parties. So did the Vatican. However, the severance of relations with the Nigerian Government after Pope VI's declarations mentioning "Biafra" by name led to a different course of action to reach the starving population. Hence, when in January 1968 Caritas Internationalis started to look for alternative options to reach Biafra, the WCC took a more prudent position, based on the principle of neutrality, to maintain negotiations with both parties and a foot in conflict mediation.

During the establishment of the airlift, FBROs managed to keep the op-

Religious affiliations were fluid across communities in Nigeria, nevertheless, most Ibos were by then following Christian-based faith, while most Hausa followed the Muslim faith. These distinctions were emphasised and articulated by political and religious actors during the war for political and humanitarian purposes.

⁹ World Council of Churches Archives [WCCA], Biafra 1966, WCC-DICARWS, Memorandum "Nigeria", November 9-11, 1966.

eration dissociated from Portuguese authorities. Portugal's role was mainly to provide authorisations for shipments and visas for relief workers and inspect resources in Lisbon. Charter flights were then arranged directly with mercenaries and the Biafran delegation, with headquarters in the city. Caritas Internationalis negotiations with Lisbon were headed by fathers Dermot Doran and Anthony Byrne (Holy Ghost Order); the latter being also responsible for raising international awareness for the Biafrans' plight and building a transnational aid network, as state actors refrained from getting directly involved with the humanitarian endeavour. Byrne multiplied efforts to expose the dire situation of Biafran children. Some of the strategies implemented included engaging in media campaigns through the publication of photographs in multiple Western media outlets and religious pamphlets or participating in TV broadcasts. Resources started flowing to Lisbon in February, and the first Caritas-led flight was secured the following month. Prospects of a successful airlift led German FBROs to join. Das Diakonisches Werk, in cooperation with Caritas Germany, settled similar agreements in April, and Bonn obtained Portuguese authorisation for ships to dock at São Tomé. Nordchurchaid, a third umbrella organisation joining Protestant congregations from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, joined the airlift the following summer. Besides increasing the relief reaching Biafra, the German churches and Nordchurchaid provided aircraft and, in the latter case, pilots to consolidate the humanitarian operation. This allowed for greater independence from the mercenaries' business.

The mounting interest from relief organisations in the success of the São Tomé airlift led to subsequent efforts to guarantee an organised increase in the resources reaching Biafra. The operation grew considerably with the formation of Joint Church Aid (JCA), an organisation assembling thirty-three NGOs (both secular and faith-based) and indirectly involving contributions from other institutions. Starting its operation in January 1969, JCA more than doubled the average monthly tonnage dispatched to Biafra compared to the former semester. 10 The urgency demanded by the emergency as well as support for the Biafran cause motivated many of these actors' pragmatic decision to operate from a Portuguese colony as it became increasingly manifest São Tomé had become the only "lifeline" to Biafra (GUARDIÃO forthcoming).

As to relations with the Portuguese authorities, all FBROs managed to maintain a certain autonomy. As mentioned, contacts with Lisbon fared mainly for visa and aircraft landing authorisation purposes. On São Tomé, the Churches

¹⁰ From September to December 1968, an average of 222 monthly flights arrived in Biafra from São Tomé, carrying an average of 1860 tons of resources. In the following year, JCA's operation flew on average 322 monthly flights, carrying on average 3822 tons in relief resources. On JCA's operation see OMAKA 2016.

representatives met weekly with the Governor, António da Silva Sebastião, to provide detailed information about and on the needs of the operation. The local Government was also in charge of resource inspection, allocated storage facilities, and mediated FBROs' requests and or demands to political entities, both Biafran and metropolitan. Silva Sebastião acted as liaison with the metropole with daily memorandums on the number of flights landing on and departing from the island, local contingencies, and insightful information on humanitarians' visions, motivations, and behaviour with the assistance of the local branch of the Portuguese Secret Police that followed all foreign personnel footsteps (GUARDIÃO forthcoming).

Whilst local and international political interests were fundamental for the Governor's action – for example, the need to keep the local population estranged from aid workers and the press for fear of interference with colonial dynamics or the recurrent suggestions that the humanitarian endeavour brought benefits for Portugal's image in the international arena –, he demonstrated concern about the Biafran population's plight. He was also enthusiastic about relief provisions related to the airlift and the children's rescue project developed on the island (SEIBERT 2018). The latter emanated from his initiative and, if small compared to others in Gabon and the Ivory Coast, had a high success rate. The programme's development and effectiveness also demanded closer cooperation between the Portuguese Government and the FBROs involved (Caritas Internationalis and Das Diakonisches Werk). Arrangements were made regarding the shared sponsoring of the 437 children rescued, the cadence of transportation, development of facilities (São Tomé's Central Hospital and the Santo António Estate, a former plantation transformed into a recovery centre, as well as other infrastructures on the island), recruitment of experts and the infants' treatment. 11 Contrary to the establishment of the airlift operation, a direct association with the last colonial power standing in Africa was unavoidable. Scrutinised in international instances (as explored in the third section) this association entailed effective and fruitful cooperation, but also mutual criticism.

Silva Sebastião's "humanitarian character" was praised in FBROs official documents and asserted in the regular meetings, and the conditions on São Tomé acknowledged by the WCC as being the best prepared¹², but relations on the ground proved more complex than what was publicly shown. On the

¹¹ On the programme, see SEIBERT 2018 and GUARDIÃO forthcoming.

WCCA, 425.4.57_1968, Helmut Reuschle to Mr. Carr, October 16, 1968; Arquivo Histórico Diplomático [AHD], 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/S033/UI013404, Diretor Nordchurchaid to Governor São Tomé, August 22, 1969.

one hand, the Governor showed his attentiveness to inter-organisational competition and how it hampered the operation. On several occasions, Caritas Internationalis representatives were depicted as trying to build mistrust about other relief organisations¹³. In November 1968, Silva Sebastião was concerned about acute disorder in the operation due to the severance of relations between relief organisations due to Father Byrne's will to "dominate all programmes". The chaos "is only mitigated with our discrete intervention which nonetheless does not seem to be much appreciated". The Governor also criticised their incapacity to fulfil commitments made to the children's rescue programme. Furthermore, by the end of 1969, recklessness regarding resource supervision was pointed out. 15 The Governor's assessments are consistent with O'Sullivan's suggestion of NGOs general unpreparedness and low professionalisation in the crisis that founded the "NGO moment" (2021).

Despite positive outcomes from the cooperation between the FBROs and the Portuguese Government in relief provision and humanitarian diplomacy (GUARDIÃO forthcoming), FBROs also had conflicting positions towards this association. Divergencies emerged concerning military equipment storage on and shipments from the island side by side with relief resources; an issue that questioned the purely humanitarian role of the organisations with increasing harshness and diminished the engagement of Western societies¹⁶. Protestant organisations were the most vociferous on the matter, which was aggravated by the fact that they were working on a colonised territory¹⁷. Father Byrne was more sensitive to the necessity of arms shipping. In a declaration to *The New York Times,* he stated: "The church cannot go further than it has gone (...). We can only help keep the Biafrans alive with our food, but there must be some people in the world with principles who can help them defend themselves. They can't defend themselves with beans"18. Nevertheless, the Caritas Internationalis representative showed his unconformity with the Portuguese control over the operation by trying to circumvent local law to obtain authorisation extensions

¹³ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/ S033/UI013404, Governor São Tomé to Overseas Minister, August 19, 1968; 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/S0272/UI04191, Political Affairs Director (Overseas Ministry) to Political Affairs Director (Foreign Affairs Ministry), March 19, 1969.

¹⁴ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/ S033/UI013404, Overseas Ministry, Info. 935, November 19, 1968.

¹⁵ ADW – 10059, Brigada de Fomento Agro-Pecuário de S. Tomé e Príncipe, Divisão Técnica e Veterinária – Acto de inspecção, November 17, 1969.

 $^{^{\}rm 16}$ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/ S033/UI013404, Overseas Ministry, Info. 935, November 19, 1968.

¹⁷ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/S0272/UI04196, Governor São Tomé to Overseas Minister, October 28, 1968.

¹⁸ WCCA, 425.4.57_1968, The New York Times, "Biafra Relief Operation Transforms Island of Sao Tome", September 25, 1968.

for resource landing and tariff exemption ¹⁹. By the end of 1969, Scandinavian and German FBROs further contestation was recorded. In a report to the Overseas Ministry, Silva Sebastião complained about the "swelling crude insinuations" representatives made among the local population against the "great deal we would be gaining from this operation, which would even be constituting the solution for the Province's [i.e. colony's] economy". They referred to the considerable infrastructural investments FBROs made as well as the benefits the São Tomé's economy (and therefore the colonial regime) obtained from the money spent by foreigners in the island directly or indirectly associated with the airlift. The Governor also mentioned the increase in unauthorised aircraft landings, resistance to deteriorated resource destruction, the publication of a "small, cyclostyled newspaper, in English without prior authorisation", and, especially, the "posting, in the organisations' offices", of a newspaper article titled "Portuguese Regime Abolished Powerful Secret Police Unit", with the comment "Good News!" ²⁰.

Hence, divergencies between Portuguese authorities and relief workers on São Tomé stemmed from various reasons. However, all reflected some opposition against the Portuguese authoritarian and colonial regime. Nonetheless, their moral imperative to act to save Biafran lives spoke louder than the abuse they were aware of or testified daily on São Tomé. Urgency mattered and enforced a hierarchisation of suffering. This paradox was discussed abundantly in international instances. The following section will detail these debates within the Protestant sphere.

3. Conflicting views on aid to Africa: the debates within the Protestant realm

Albeit its considerable success, the humanitarian operations on and from São Tomé to Biafra caused some friction among the FBROs. The specificities of the crisis and the response as well as the fact the latter demanded partnering with a colonial empire were scrutinised and integrated in broader debates intertwining human rights and humanitarian activism. Many in the religious realm followed and embraced the shifts propelled by decolonisation processes and the arguments and repertoires of human rights employed to justify them both in peaceful and violent transitions of power during the 1960s. Foreign

¹⁹ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/S033/UI013404, Overseas Ministry, Info. 935, November 19, 1968.

²⁰ AHD, 3/MU-GM/GNP01-RNP/S033/UI013404, Governor São Tomé to Overseas Minister, December 4, 1969.

intervention and the limits of International Humanitarian Law were debated along with the right to self-determination. Debates between actors within the religious realm about specific relief programmes as well as larger strategies for their action in African contexts entailed both political and non-political concerns. This section explores these debates within the WCC and with representatives of the German churches regarding policies on the conflict, and how they were articulated with those for the African region.

The WCC emerged in 1948 from a shared effort between different Protestant movements that navigated the wave of the post-World War II surge in international and transnational cooperation (WELCH IR. 2001: 867-8). It works on a confederal basis, where its constituent units have substantial autonomy. For example, decisions made by the Council's Central and Executive committees do not bind national or religious councils. Hence, when the WCC refrained from directly participating in (or at least publicly endorsing) the São Tomé operation, Das Diakonisches Werk and Nordchurchaid retained their full autonomy to do so independently.

The WCC's decision was embedded in a broader framework encompassing Christian beliefs and traditions of benevolence, humanitarian principles such as universal humanity, impartiality and neutrality (following the ICRC's policy), but also in the emerging human rights activism within the organisation (WELCH JR. 2001; BOUWMAN 2022). The combination of these approaches aimed at (re)shaping the relations between the organisation and African actors (political, religious, humanitarian) at a moment when the Africanisation of the WWC was underway, and the winds of change were blowing swiftly, but not without resistance, towards a post-colonial context.

In the case of the Nigeria-Biafra war, this combination reveals a web of conflicting stands that instigated debates between the WCC and FBROs associated with the São Tomé operation, namely Das Diakonisches Werk. It also led to scrutiny on the decision-making processes within the WCC which opposed abiding by impartiality and neutrality principles to the urgency to respond to Biafra's emergency.

WCC's dilemmas began in early 1968 when the organisation chose to cooperate with the ICRC in trying to establish humanitarian corridors that reached both sides of the conflict. The first problems rose after the WCC Executive issued a public statement criticising British and Soviet military support to the Federal Government and mentioning "Biafra". The wording had been drafted by the Commission of the Churches for International Affairs (CCIA)²¹.

²¹ The CCIA is counseling body which advises the WCC on international and domestic crises and policies and provides a discussion forum for the shaping of ecumenical responses.

In adopting this position, the organisation meddled with the political realm, as it was seen to be choosing one stand on the characteristics of the conflict. In a change of correspondence between Richard M. Fagley and Reverend Alan R. Booth, both from the CCIA, the first was clear: "Once you move into the political realm in a public statement, you are caught on the horns of a dilemma as bad as an Essex cow". Extending on the metaphor, he stated: "If you treat the conflict as a civil war, you speed the movement of Ibos towards Rome. If you opt for the other horn, that is an international conflict, even if you sidestep the question of self-determination, you burn the present bridges with Lagos."22. The WCC had opted for "the other horn". Two rationales, linked with the prospective of future influence in Africa, might explain the decision: first, the competition between Catholics and Protestants after the reforms introduced by the Second Vatican Council, namely the encyclical Populorum Progressio in March 1967, which transformed the meaning of international solidarity by linking it with global development; second, cooperation with the ICRC allowed for an impartial stand that could sustain the WCC's role in the region after the conflict. The WCC's official policy statement attests for the second argument²³, although impartiality was admitted being hard to attain given the belligerants' opposing stances.

Booth's response assessed it would be difficult to influence the government in Lagos since it was "the focus of a lot of power-play from different groups" and clarified CCIA's function was "to retain a kind of objectivity as far as possible rather than to seek a consensus". Otherwise it would become "little more than a holy echo of the UN" where Africans' "legitimate obsession" with the "threat of secession" hindered any response, political or humanitarian. Moreover, the position was in line with many African leaders who "condemned the further prosecution of the war" ²⁴. In approaching the conflict as an international matter, the WCC faced the double standard African leaders took on the right to self-determination, i.e., the support for its application in decolonisation contexts and opposition in post-colonial ones due to fear of ungovernable fragmentation (SIMPSON 2014). From then on, the organisation devised new strategies to promote closer ties with and maintain influence in post-colonial Africa.

Although meddling with politics might hinder WCC's short-term aims to secure humanitarian corridors, the anti-colonial position it undertook helped balance its relations with African leaders. In the following months, the WCC strengthened its relations with African states by adopting a robust anti-colonial

²² WCCA, 428.6.26 Correspondence March 1968, Richard M. Fagley to Rev. Alan R. Booth, March 5, 1968.

²³ WCCA, 42.3.008, f.3, DICARWS, Statement, August 23, 1968.

²⁴ WCCA, 428.6.26 Correspondence March 1968, Alan R. Booth to Dr. Fagley, March 8, 1968.

stance and policy based on the fight against racism. This policy was initiated at the WCC Assembly meeting at Uppsala in July 1968. The event and subsequent sessions dedicated to the matter marked WCC's active support for liberation movements, embedded in first, second and third-generation human rights repertoires (WELCH JR. 2001). Simultaneous to the anti-racism policy, the WCC approved a resolution pledging the end of hostilities and the resumption of negotiations as "key to many problems of relief and reassurance" 25. On relief, the Assembly had pledged the need to "make a new energetic attempt to establish a permanent and efficient airbridge" to allow transportation and distribution of aid "in regions where poverty is rife"26. Based on this position, the WCC reinforced its relations with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) through direct negotiations with representatives of the latter's Consultative Committee for Nigeria. These encounters reinforced the WCC's belief in the possibility of negotiating its relief programme through OAU channels. Nonetheless, WCC's public declarations, including the Uppsala resolution, were noticed to possibly hamper negotiations between the belligerents on establishing terrestrial, aerial, and maritime corridors²⁷. Humanitarian and political actors needed to act with prudence at a time when hope for a peaceful resolution to the conflict was reachable in negotiators' minds.

Hence, for the WCC, it was inopportune to be directly linked with the São Tomé relief operation. Regarding this matter, it faced another dilemma. On the one hand, the São Tomé airbridge was the only operation functioning almost uninterruptedly from the summer of 1968 onwards, and, therefore, the only sustained guarantee that relief reached Biafrans, which assured impartial humanitarian action. On the other, having its name associated with a colonial power under systematic criticism for abusive governance and waging three colonial wars, jeopardised WCC's strategy to strengthen ties with newly independent African states. To circumvent this problem, the WCC opted for sporadic engagements with the São Tomé airlift, particularly when the ICRCled operation in Fernando Pó was blocked. For example, it chartered several flights in Lisbon in early 1968 and channelled funds through Nordchurchaid later that year²⁸. By 1969, the organisation was also collaborating with JCA but

²⁵ WCCA, 425.4.57 Resolution on the Conflict between Nigeria and the Former Eastern Region as adopted by the Assembly, July 1968, Uppsala.

²⁶ WCCA, 45.4.57 DICARWS, Rapport de la délégation de la quatrième Assemblée du conseil oecuménique des Eglises auprès du Comité consultatif de l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine sur la guerre civile au Nigéria, July, 1968.

²⁸ WCCA, 428.6.26 WCC, "Wold Council of Churches gives more aid to Nigeria/Biafra", November 19, 1968.

always opposed associating the aid operation in and to Biafra with its name.²⁹

WCC's discrete association policy with the São Tomé airlift led to exciting debates between the ecumenical organisation and the German churches operating on the ground. These debates show, on the one hand, how WCC's anti-colonial stance conflicted with the sense of urgency to respond to the Biafran emergency. They also show that the Biafran crisis' specificities were integrated in wider debates and critical reflections about the long-lasting association between the religious and colonial realms and the interference of Western actors in African affairs in devising strategies for a post-colonial order.

WCC's official policy on the Nigerian-Biafran conflict was stated after Uppsala. It endorsed cooperation with the ICRC and dissociated the organisation from the São Tomé operation. The motivations for such an approach were explained in a circular of the DICARWS: "For most African countries[,] Portugal and its possessions are an expression of European colonialism and anybody associated with them shows a lack of feeling for the spirit of freedom and independence of the new African nations"; and despite not knowing the outcome of the war "we must recognise that we have also a large church constituency in [Nigeria] and it would be tragic if, at a time when hostilities have ceased, we would be unable to extend our aid for reconstruction and development of all communities affected by the war." Supporting the ICRC helped in "keeping the doors open" In assessing the situation, the WCC clearly looked at securing its future in Africa.

The clarifying statement emerged during increasing pressure from German Evangelical Churches (EKD) on the WCC as the blocking of relief to Biafra by Federal anti-aerial systems was concomitant with allegations of genocide. One such example emerged from Bishop Tenhumberg of Bonn, who called for international intervention on the grounds of

the principle of non-intervention [being] obsolete if the protection of fundamental human rights within a state is concerned [...] When a people or [...] a section of it is threatened by physical destruction through extermination and hunger[,] moral reasons require that the preservation of the unity of a state take second place.

In line with the Convention on the Prevention and Repression of Genocide, he continued, "[t]hose who support actively or passively from outside a government which causes genocide are themselves committing genocide."

²⁹ WCCA, 425.4.57 DICARWS Rapport du POSUA à la Division d'Entraide des Églises, December 1969.

³⁰ WCCA, 42.3.008, f.3, DICARWS, Statement, August 23, 1968.

His fourth point concerned aid from governments – which at the time could be directly related only to Germany and Portugal – "Humanitarian aid, even from the part of a government, may not be regarded as an instrument of foreign policy. International law and foreign policy have to be adjusted to the new situations and tasks."31. This last point conflicted directly with the position of some within the WCC, namely those closely associated with DICARWS and the response to the conflict. One of the leading opponents was Rev W. Hank Crane, the Secretary for Africa of the Division of World Mission and Evangelism with particular responsibilities for relations with DICARWS, who regarded the "pragmatic decision to use Sao Tomé as a base for relief" problematic for the "present political climate in Africa", as

> Africans see Portugal's support of Biafra as a highly cynical move to restore some of the political capital which Portugal lost through the public reaction to repressive policies in her African territories [...]. The atmosphere of suspicion which surrounds the decision to operate from Sao Tomé is only heightened by the recourse to mercenary pilots for getting relief goods to the areas of great suffering and need in the eastern region of Nigeria.

He compared the situation to that of the Katanga secessionist attempt, which he had personally testified and that Portugal had supported³².

Instead of clarifying, the DICARWS statement justification points only aggravated the tension between the WCC and the EKD. Adding to that, Cannon Burges Carr, a Liberian DICARWS Secretary working as a delegate on matters regarding the conflict, made a series of declarations which put the relations between the two organisations to the test. In a letter to the WCC's General-Secretary Eugene Carson Blake, Bishop Dietzfelbinger exposed the situation. According to the statement, it seemed that "the WCC is not guided by a direct sense of obligation to relieve distress, but that it takes political questions into consideration, and that it criticises others for not doing so." Consequent criticism of the EKD, namely by the Algerian head of State, "defamed our aid as imperialistic when addressing the All African Conference about the same theme". Cannon Carr had aggravated the situation the following September by stating that "[t]he suffering and distress in Nigeria-Biafra must not lead us to forget the misery in other parts of Africa." In comparison with other African emergencies (Sudan and Chad), the European sympathy for Biafra, where

³¹ WCCA, 42.3.008, f.3, Seven Theses by the Suffragan Bishop Tenhumberg, Bonn, s.d.

³² Descendent from American Presbyterian missionaries, Hank Crane was born in the former Belgian-Congo, where he worked between 1950 and 1961. He started to work at WCC in 1968.

there is even talk of genocide [seemed] that people in Europe were letting off steam about issues which ought to be settled in the country itself. Despite all their gratitude for the tremendous help, the Africans regarded it as equivocal. They could not believe that Portugal [...] was acting without ulterior motives related to its interests in the Black Continent.

African problems should be solved by Africans³³.

After assessing the matter and admitting there was much confusion regarding positions within the WCC, an answer reviewed multiple times was sent³⁴. In a diplomatic tone, it mentioned misunderstandings on the WCC's position, the impossibility of "completely avoid [ing]" accusations of "political intentions" among members of the WCC and that "some people impute to the World Council that its action is motivated by political considerations rather than by the demands of direct human need." In his view, these accusations were "as regrettable as those made against the relief-agencies which are carrying out the airlift from São Tomé to Biafra, namely that through their action they are making themselves guilty of unwarranted political partnership.". The WCC policy was clear: to provide relief to both sides of the conflict, which was possible "[t]hanks to the generous support of our Churches.". Blake, who himself was a fervent advocate of the anti-racism campaign (WELCH JR. 2001), made the German press service reporting on Carr's statement accountable for misleading public opinion on some of his remarks and argued, "All Africans resent it (and rightly) when decisions about Africans are taken by non-Africans". This was done by powers supporting the war "and also by us who are trying to help the war-victims".

This Western paternalistic element and the churches' involvement with colonial rule had also been raised by Crane: "Whatever our motives, and however innocent and pure we imagine them to be, we carry the burden of a history and of involvement in institutions of power, which renders ambiguous even our works of compassion and mercy." Nonetheless, the specificities of the Biafran crisis – the difficulty in reaching the territory through conventional, agreed means and the urgency to act – pushed for a consensus about the using of São Tomé. At the time of the debates, these actors were also discussing the establishment of the JCA, a large, concerted effort between FBROS and

³³ WCCA, 42.3.008, f3, D. Dietzfelbinger to the President of the Council, November 19, 1968.

³⁴ WCCA, 42.3.008, f3, Albert H. von den Heuvel to Dr. Blake, December 9, 1968. The various drafted versions are available in the same file.

³⁵ WCCA, 425.7.54, Comments of Mr. Hank Crane for the Post Uppsala meeting on the relief work in Nigeria/ Biafra – September 10th/11th – 1968.

secular humanitarian organisations committed with increasing the provision of emergency resources to the starving population. This rationale led Crane to endorse WCC's rapprochement with FBROs operating in São Tomé. 36 The issuing of a joint public statement in the following January was also agreed between the WCC and the EKD, reflecting their commitment to relief. At the beginning of 1969, cooperation between humanitarian actors seemed finally consolidated. The formation of JCA and its subsequent success, as well as public statements such as the one agreed upon between the WCC and EKD, attested to that. Nonetheless, the debates leading to that moment reveal profound and conflicting reflections on the role of religious actors regarding the African continent and peoples in a juxtaposed colonial/post-colonial momentum in their efforts to continue to influence – in cooperation with actors of African origin – humanitarian, religious and political governance.

Conclusion: Idealism and Pragmatism in shaping Humanitarianism in a (Post)Colonial Context

As demonstrated throughout this article, the associations between the humanitarian, religious and imperial realms have long chronologies shaped by cooperation and contestation. Religious actors with humanitarian concerns collaborated with imperial rule in many instances since the 19th century, assisting in the transformation and materialisation of imperial repertoires of governance such as "benevolent imperial rule". On the other hand, they also defied and denounced abusive colonial practices that went against Christian ideals of a shared humanity and human dignity. The undercurrents shaping humanitarian operations in response to the Biafran crisis benefit from approaches which encompass the continuing intricate relational dynamics between the religious and imperial realms, in which humanitarianism consistently conquered space. The emergence of the NGO moment (O'SULLIVAN 2021) is also better understood if embedded in this juxtaposition of colonial and post-colonial dynamics in which religion, humanitarianism, human rights and development became intertwined forces to reshape North-South relations.

During the Biafra crisis, this dichotomous relationship became evident in debates related with FBRO's controversial association with Portugal, the last colonial empire in Africa, as they tried to establish a viable aid line to respond to the humanitarian emergency. Ideals on a shared humanity but also pragmatic

³⁶ WCCA, 425.4.57, J. R. Butler to Hank Crane, November 12, 1968; Hank Crane to Browne-Meyers, November 15, 1968.

reasoning motivated the strategy to operate from the Portuguese colony. According to Guardião (forthcoming), the humanitarian endeavour and Lisbon's association with FBRO's benefitted Portugal's strategy of *symbolic humanitarianism* in the authorities' effort to make the colonial regime more palatable internationally. The success of the São Tomé airlift and the children's rescue programme was based in different degrees of cooperation between Portuguese authorities and the FBRO's on the ground, but the association between political and humanitarian actors was also permeated by critiques on both sides. FBROs protested against the colonial regime and the gains it was obtaining, as well as control over the relief operation. On the Portuguese end, inter-organisations competition was depicted as hampering the effectiveness of relief.

Competition between Catholics and Protestants for influence in a post-colonial Africa was also present in the WCC's rationale, as shown in the debates between CCIA officials. WCC's official policy stated at Uppsala, and cooperation with the ICRC foresaw the legitimation of the Council's impartiality at a time when profound shifts in its strategy towards Africa (and the Global South at large) were gaining momentum (WELCHJR. 2001; BOUWMAN 2022). This approach sustains the organisation's discrete association with the São Tomé airlift.

The controversial association with a colonial empire for humanitarian purposes was embedded in FBRO's (and later secular NGOs) imperative to act, to save the lives of starving Biafrans, to reach the unreachable. They nevertheless generated a series of debates between the organisations operating on the ground, namely Das Diakonisches Werk through the EKD in Germany, and WCC's officials who advocated a distancing from and active condemnation of abusive colonial rule. If the characteristics of the emergency propelled Das Diakonisches Werk, as well as other FBROs, to justify the means with the ends, including advocating for an international intervention and the reform of International Humanitarian Law, and contesting the principles of domestic sovereignty and self-determination established at the OAU, the WCC faced a dilemma as securing Biafrans' right to life conflicted with regional and international norms and concertation.

The affirmation of the WCC in a world blown by winds that tried to fight against and respond to the distress of the many up to this juncture deprived of human dignity led to debates that contested the hierarchisation of suffering. Moreover, the discussions about the partnering with Portugal showed the need to reform the paternalistic ideas and practices that had and still characterised the relationships between religious bodies and actors and African peoples at a time when the "colonial" and the "post-colonial" shaped existing dynamics and challenged future global relations.

References

- BARNETT, M. (2011). Empire of Humanity A History of Humanitarianism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- BARNETT, M. and STEIN, J. G. (eds.) (2012). Sacred Aid: Faith and Humanitarianism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BARTH, B., and OSTERHAMMEL, J. (eds.) (2005). Zivilisierungsmissionen: Imperiale Weltverbesserung seit dem 18. Jahrhundert. Konstanz: UVK.
- BOUWMAN, B. (2022). "Between Dialogue and Denunciation: The World Council of Churches, Religious Freedom, and Human Rights during the Cold War". Contemporary European History, 31, 15-30.
- BYRNE, T. (1997). Airlift to Biafra: Breaching the Blockade. Dublin: The Columba Press.
- CONKLIN, A. L. (1999). A Mission to Civilize. The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- COOPER, F. (1998). "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans and the Development Concept", in F. Cooper and R. Packard (eds.), *International* Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge. Berkley: University of California Press, 64-92.
- DESGRANDCHAMPS, M. (2018a). "From the Congo to Biafra: Civil wars and humanitarianism in postcolonial international relations". Relations *Internationales*, 176, 4, 55-67.
- DESGRANDCHAMPS, M. (2018b). L'humanitaire en guerre civile. La crise du Biafra (1967-1970). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- DOYLE, M. W. (1986). *Empires*. New York and London: Cornell University Press.
- FIOLA, T. and WZEKWEM, O. (eds.) (2016). Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- FISCHER-TINÉ, H. and MANN, M. (eds.) (2004). Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India. London: Anthem Press.
- GUARDIÃO, A. (2023). Os Refugiados da (Des)colonização. Direitos Humanos, Humanitarismo e o Fim dos Impérios Coloniais em África (1950-1975). Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- GUARDIÃO, A. (forthcoming). "Between the 'colonial and the 'post-colonial': Portugal and humanitarian engagements during the Nigeria-Biafra War (1967-1970)". International History Review.
- GOULD, M. (2013). The Biafran War: A Struggle for Modern Nigeria. London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HARTEEN, L. (2017). The Biafran War and Postcolonial Humanitarianism:

- Spectacles of Suffering. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HARTEEN, L. (2021). "Biafras of the mind: French Postcolonial Humanitarianism in Global Conceptual History". *The American Historical Review*, 126, 4, 1448-84.
- HALL, C. (2002), Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- JERÓNIMO, M. B. (2015). The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism, 1870-1930. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- JERÓNIMO, M. B. (2018). "Repressive developmentalisms: idioms, repertoires, trajectories in late colonialism", in M. Thomas and A. Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 537-554.
- JERÓNIMO, M. B. and DORES, H. (2017a). "Internationalisms and the Politics and Policies of Mission in the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1885-1930)". *Illes I Imperis*, 19, 101-123.
- JERÓNIMO, M. B. and DORES, H. (2017b). "On the 'Efficiency' of Civilization: Politics, Religion and the Native Settlement in Portuguese Africa in the 1940s". *Portuguese Studies Review*, 25, 1, 179-204.
- JERÓNIMO, M. B. and MONTEIRO, J. P. (2020). "The Inventors of Human Rights in Africa: Portugal, Late Colonialism and the UN Human Rights Regime", in D. Moses, M. Duranti and R. Burke (eds.), *Decolonization, Self-determination and the Global Rise of Human Rights Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 285-315.
- LESTER, A. (2005). "Humanitarianism and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century", in N. Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 64-85.
- LESTER, A., and DUSSART, F. (2014). Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance. Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MERZIGER, P. (2019). "Mediatization of Disasters and Humanitarian Aid in the Federal Republic of Germany", in Johannes Paulmann (ed.), *Humanitarianism and Media*. Berghahn: Nova Iorque e Oxford, 240-62.
- MONTEIRO, J. P. (2022). The Internationalisation of the 'Native Labour' Question in Portuguese late Colonialism, 1945-1962. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- OMAKA, A. I. (2016). The Biafran Humanitarian Crisis: 1967-1970: International Human Rights and Joint Church Aid. Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- OMAKA, A. I. (2019). "Through the Imperial Lens: The Role of Portugal in the Nigeria-Biafra War". *Journal of Global South Studies*, 36, 1, 186-209.

- O'SULLIVAN, K. (2014). "Humanitarian encounters: Biafra, NGO's and imaginings of the Third World in Britain and Ireland, 1967-1970". Journal of Genocide Research, 16, 2-3, 299-315.
- O'SULLIVAN, K. (2021). The NGO Moment: The Globalization of Compassion from Biafra to Live Aid. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- KUHN, Konrad (2016). "The credibility of our humanitarian effort is at risk': Tensions between Solidarity and Humanitarian Aid in the Late 1960s", in Johannes Paulmann (ed.), Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 311-28.
- PAULMANN, J. (2013). "Conjunctures in The history of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century". *Humanity*, 4, 2, 215-38.
- PORTER, A. (2004). Religion vs. Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- PORTER, A. (2016 [1994]). European imperialism 1860-1914. Bloomsbury Publishers.
- PRUDHOMME, C. (2005). "Mission religieuse et action humanitaire: quelle continuité?". Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, 112, 2, 11-29.
- REID-HENRY, S. (2014). "Humanitarianism as liberal diagnostic: humanitarian reason and the political rationalities of the liberal will-to-care". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 39, 3, 418-431.
- SALVATICI, S. (2019). A history of humanitarianism, 1755-1989: In the name of others. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- SEIBERT, G. (2018). "São Tomé and the Biafran War (1967-1970)". The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 51, 2, 263-92.
- SIMPSON, B. (2014). "The Biafran secession and the limits of self-determination". Journal of Genocide Research, 16, 2-3, 337-54.
- SKINNER, R., and LESTER, A. (2012). "Humanitarianism and Empire: New Research Agendas". The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 40, 5, 729-47.
- STANLEY, B. (1990). The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British *Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* Leicester: Apollos.
- STREMLAU, J. (1977). The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- WELCH JR, C. (2001). "Mobilizing Morality: The World Council of Curches and Its Program to Combat Racism". Human Rights Quarterly 23, 4, 1969-1994.

Conceptualisations of Citizenship among Educational Stakeholders in Newly Independent Madagascar¹

ELLEN VEA ROSNES

VID Specialized University ellen.rosnes@vid.no https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1958-8441

HELIHANTA RAJAONARISON

University of Antananarivo helihanta@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0009-0005-0657-8967

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 01/03/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 29/10/2024



Abstract. After independence from France in 1960, there were different views on how to educate newly independent Malagasy citizens. This article asks what kinds of citizenship was to be promoted and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world. Through a framework for critical citizenship education and perspectives on citizenship and transloyalities, this article analyses national, international, public, and private (religious) conceptualizations of citizenship education post-independence. The analysis is based on four reports: a 1960 Protestant conference report, a 1963 UNESCO mission report, a government document from 1964, and a 1968 report from a student organization conference. The analysis reveals that different stakeholders within newly independent Malagasy education promoted different conceptualizations of citizenship, some more critical than others.

Keywords. Citizenship, Madagascar, Education, Independence, decolonisation.

Introduction

Following Madagascar's independence in 1960, educational reform was needed. The existing educational system was impacted by more than 60 years of French colonial educational policy and a century of Protestant and Catholic mission education. A key aim of education is to educate citizens within both a national and global framework. Thus the central question is: What kind of citizenship was to be promoted post-independence, and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world? The key interest in this article is conceptualizations of Malagasy

¹ Financed by the Research Council of Norway (project number 334299).

citizenship among educational stakeholders and loyalties promoted. Of further interest, from a critical point of view, is what Malagasy educational stakeholders primarily promoted post-independence and what was lacking in conceptualizations of citizenship. The aim is to create awareness of past conceptualizations of citizenship to increase an understanding of what contemporary conceptualizations are built upon and which loyalties they promote.

In this research, educational stakeholders include international, national, private, and public that played a role in forming the Malagasy educational system at independence. Some research has been conducted on the actors in this context (GOGUEL 2006; KOERNER 1999; RAKOTOANOSY 1986; ROSNES 2019; RAKOTOANOSY & ROSNES 2016). Recent research on decolonisation of education from a more transnational and global perspective help to contextualise decolonisation within a larger international framework (e.g. BAGCHI, FUCHS & ROUSMANIERE 2014; MANIÈRE 2010, MATASCI 2017; MUSCHIK 2019; PEARSON 2020; ROSNES, GUIDI & MARTINEAU 2024). The contribution of this article is its inclusion of different perspectives and the combination of various sources and voices, including local voices. This enables an analysis of the ways in which different educational actors thought about education and citizenship in the postcolonial age.

The international United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), created after World War II, has played a key role in promoting the right to education for all and global citizenship. UNESCO's engagement in fighting illiteracy, reducing inequality and globalise the right to education was not always appreciated by the colonial powers. In the postwar era, they feared that the weak educational conditions in the colonies would be revealed and that they would lose their colonial territories (MATASCI 2017: 45; MUSCHIK 2019; PEARSON 2017: 527). France's strategy was to build institutions, to replace the French empire with the French Community (Union française). Educational institutions were key and through them the metropolitan educative system was copied in all former colonies. In fact, in the period of independence, according to Laurent Manière, "never had the African and the metropolitan educational system been so closely interconnected" (MANIÈRE 2010: 163, authors' translation).

The First Malagasy Republic was born out of the 1958 referendum, which was a French decision for its former colonies. This referendum could be regarded as a masquerade organized by France to fulfil its UN charter obligations to restore independence in Madagascar which was given through international sovereignty in 1960 (URFER 2020: 233-266). During the 1960s, UNESCO sent experts to assist the implementation of post-independence educational

systems (MATASCI 2017: 43-44). This article shows that the Malagasy government continued the former colonial power's scepticism towards UNESCO, due to its continuing close relations with the former colonial power. As other presidents and governments in former French colonies, President Philibert Tsiranana, elected May 1st, 1959, and the First Republic had close ties with the former colonial power (MANIÈRE 2010). Cooperation agreements (Accords de cooperation entre la République française et la République de Madagascar) were negotiated on April 6th, 1960, and signed the day after the proclamation of independence on June 27th, 1960. This continued close connection led to questioning the detachment from French colonial policies (GOGUEL 2006).

Other important stakeholders within education were private institutions, mostly Catholic and Protestant churches, of whom Protestants are included in this study. To meet the needs of education in this newly independent country, the First Republic was dependent on private actors (ROSNES 2019: 69). Both Catholic and Protestant missions and churches were impacted by global Christian networks and mission movements. Another group of stakeholders were teachers and students, represented in this study by the student organisation Fédération des associations d'étudiants de Madagascar (FAEM). FAEM was a socialist association inspired by international student organisations in the 1960s. The leaders of FAEM were mostly former students in France who were members of AEOM (Association des Étudiants d'Origine Malgache), an association with close ties to communist groups in Europe. AEOM worked for independence and advocated for the release of Malagasy deputies in the French National Assembly² from the Democratic Movement for Malagasy Rejuvenation (MDRM) political party, who had been imprisoned in France after the 1947 uprising³.

This study's primary data consists of four reports written by key 1960s national and international educational stakeholders in Madagascar: a 1960 Protestant conference report for their school principals, a 1963 UNESCO report on the situation of education, a 1964 government document on the development of primary education, and a 1968 FAEM conference report (FAEM 1968; FPM 1960; MEN 1964; UNESCO 1963)⁴. These reports were found in archives and libraries in Madagascar and France and are non-exhaustive. The

² From 1945, after the 1944 Brazzaville conference, citizens in French colonies were able to vote for deputies to the French Assembly.

³ The 1947 uprising was fighting for independence and against foreign domination. The uprising lasted for several months in all parts of the island, resulting in the deaths of more than 100,000 Malagasies and 550 French (RAJAONARISON 2018; TRONCHON 1986).

⁴ The Protestant report was written in Malagasy and the others in French. Citations from the reports in this article are authors translations.

documents are analysed using the framework for critical citizenship education developed by Laura Johnson and Paul Morris (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010) and the concept of 'transloyalities' (LUDWIG et al., in press), that we will present in part 2. In part 3, we present a general history of education in Madagascar, providing context for the actors, positions, and perspectives of education at independence. Part 4 highlights perspectives on citizenship and citizenship education in the four documents. Lastly, we discuss and contextualise the findings and compare the different conceptualizations of citizenship found in the reports, thereby identifying citizenship types that were promoted in the newly independent Malagasy context.

1. Theoretical approaches to citizenship and transloyalities

Citizenship can be regarded as a shared responsibility and way of behaving: "In its most foundational or perhaps traditional constructions, citizenship is about the lives of citizens who act in a given national space on the basis of institutionally or otherwise agreed upon rights and responsibilities" (ABDI, SHULTZ & PILLAY 2015: 1). The traditional role of education has been to construct and strengthen identity and citizenship in a national context (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010; OSLER 2011). Despite the primary focus on national contexts, a secondary aim is to promote a more global citizenship through Global Citizenship Education (GCE) that, according to UNESCO, "support learners of all ages to become ethical, empathetic and respectful human beings who can adapt to the world rapidly moving forward, even amidst its most complex challenges and threats" (UNESCO No date-b). Critical approaches to citizenship focus on its potential to foster reflection on "how we came to think/be/feel/act the way we do and the implications of our systems of belief in local/global terms" (ANDREOTTI 2006: 49). A need to decolonize citizenship has been raised as there are "different perceptions and practices of citizenship" (ABDI et al. 2015: 3). Morongwa B. Masemula describes the different conceptualizations of citizenship in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial education in Africa (MASEMULA 2015). She argues that it is challenging for formerly colonised peoples to thoroughly decolonise citizenship as they are educated within the same system. If there is no awareness of historically embedded understandings, education will ensure a continuity of power relations.

The data analysis in this research is inspired by Johnson and Morris' framework for critical citizenship education (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 90) (See Table 1). Johnson and Morris compare and contrast the fields of 'critical

thinking' and 'critical pedagogy'. They argue that there are different understandings and descriptions of 'critical thinking', and "From the citizenship educator's perspective, this ambiguity opens up the space for the term 'critical' to be interpreted from the standpoint of critical pedagogy, which stresses the need for political engagement" (Ibid.: 78). Developing the framework revealed 'spaces' for critical pedagogy within education. Based on the work of Paulo Freire (FREIRE 1972) and others, Johnson and Morris identify four elements that distinguished critical pedagogy from critical thinking: "the ideological/ moral; the collective/social; the subjective/context-driven; and praxis (reflective action)" (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 80). The first is focused on identifying and fighting the roots of injustice (not only learning about injustice), the second with collective dialogue (in contrast to an individualistic and competitive focus), the third with the subjectivity of reasoning (self-awareness), and the fourth with agency (how to change for a better world). They relate these elements to terms typically used in curricula, namely knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions which represent both individual attributes and culture (Ibid.: 87). In the selected data material for this study, due perhaps to its political rather than pedagogical character, the elements of knowledge and values are most relevant for the analysis.

Table 1: Table based on Johnson and Morris' framework for critical citizenship education (JOHNSON & MORRIS 2010: 90).

	POLITICS/ ideology	SOCIAL/ collective	SELF/ subjectivity	PRAXIS/ engagement
Knowledge	Knowledge and understanding of histories, societies, systems, oppressions and injustices, power structures and macrostructural relationships	Knowledge of interconnections between culture, power, and transformation; non-mainstream writings and ideas in addition to dominant discourses	Knowledge of own position, cul- tures, and context; sense of identity	Knowledge of how collectively to effect system- atic change; how knowledge itself is power; how behaviour influ- ences society and injustice
Values	Commitment to values against injustice and oppression	Inclusive dialogical relationship with others' identities and values	Concern for so- cial justice and consideration of self-worth	Informed, responsible, and ethical action and reflection

Inspired by the framework, we identified the following questions to guide

our content analysis: What kind of knowledge were post-independence Malagasy pupils supposed to learn? Is there any focus on injustices, power, macrostructural relationships, interconnections between cultures and alternative perspectives? Is self-awareness a topic, as well as the possibility to collectively work for change in this newly independent context? When it comes to values, are values against injustices and oppression promoted? In a context where colonial power had been promoting la politique de races (race policy) for several decades, is inclusive dialogue with others' identities and values a topic? Can we find any concern for social justice and self-worth leading to informed, responsible, and ethical action and reflection?

The concept of transloyalties enables an analysis of the multifaceted processes through which identities are transformed and contested (LUDWIG et al., in press). The term 'trans' is inspired by transnational perspectives in migration studies (SCHILLER, BASCH & BLANC-SZANTON 1992). 'Loyalty', according to Bernard Gert, is about having a faithful adherence to a lawful government, but also to one's own community (GERT 2013). Navigating between loyalties connected to different contexts, institutions, norms, and traditions can be called processes of transloyalties. As the following pages will demonstrate, stakeholders within education in Madagascar at independence had different conceptualizations of citizenship, some more critical than others. Identifying conceptualizations of citizenship, rooted in the country's history of education, illustrates the processes of transloyalities that teachers and pupils in Malagasy schools in the post-colonial age were subject to.

2. The history of education in Madagascar

Although Arabic writing (Sorabe) was introduced in Madagascar under the Antemoro Kingdom around the 15th Century, orality remained a strong feature of Malagasy societies. Oral tradition still plays an important role in the transmission of values and the development of individuals. In families, memory is maintained by the stories elders tell their children, who in turn preserve them. One should not understate oral tradition as a source of knowledge of Madagascar's past and it is common family practice to raise children in the world of imagination. A concrete example is the importance of tales and legends (angano) in the education of children. The same is true for the collective memories of communities, found in ritual songs and collective celebrations. Tools of education include proverbs, *kabary* (speeches), and oratory of different kinds, depending on the region (hain-teny, rija, ôsika, tôkatôka, etc.), and

which are presented as entertainment. These collective practices have been and continue to be an important part of children' learning.

During the 19th century, the Merina kingdom, reigning in the island's interior, came to be politically dominant among several kingdoms. In the 1820s, under King Radama I (1810-1828), British missionaries brought a western form of education to the island. From 1835-1853, missionaries were expelled from the island, after which British missionaries returned, and other Catholic and Protestant missions joined them. Many among the Merina aristocracy converted to Protestantism and this period was considered a promising period for missions.

France colonised Madagascar in 1896 and a few years later the colonial administration took measures to tighten their control over education by introducing regulations. The missions found it difficult to adhere to the regulations, particularly that education should be secular and in French, which led to the colonial government taking over as the dominant provider of education on the island. Protestant and public schools had different approaches to education. For the colonial power, educating citizens loyal to the French empire and training bureaucrats for the colonial administration were key objectives (ROSNES 2019: 154). For the missions, the objectives were primarily Christianisation, educating Christian citizens, and church building in which the Malagasy language was key. A dual system of education, for indigenous and European (French and French assimilated) that dated back to the start of the colonial period, was removed through the educational reform of 1951 (RADAODY-RALAROSY 1951-1952). This was in line with the French post-war educational policy promoting more equality of education within the French Community. French remained the language of instruction, but local history and language was at least included again after having been removed at the start of the century.

The president of the first Malagasy Republic, Tsiranana, was a moderate socialist and anti-communist from the Party of the Disinherited of Madagascar (PADESM), created by the French Republic to counterbalance the nationalist party MDRM (GOGUEL 2006: 19, 116-117). Primary education came under the responsibility of Malagasy authorities in 1958 and higher education in 1960. Nevertheless, as in most of the French former colonies, cooperation agreements sealed the fate of the newly born nation (RAJAONARISON 2014). Regarding education, the aim was to provide French teachers to former colonies, construct school buildings and enable education across French-speaking countries (MANIÈRE 2010: 167). Many of the bureaucrats negotiating Malagasy interests in discussion with French cooperation partners as well as high-ranking bureaucrats possessed French citizenship (GOGUEL 2006: 19, 116-117: 21-22, 39). The French historian, Anne-Marie Goguel, argued

that there was no real national educational system at independence because it was highly dependent on "former and present decisions taken in different ministries in Paris" (Ibid.: 21, authors' translation). There were also some attempts at processes of adaptation, such as rural primary schools, bilingualism in primary school, reforms in history, geography, and natural sciences. But, since diplomas should be valid in France, there were limitations on the processes of adaptation. The Addis Ababa conference of 1961 recommended the promotion of an everyday language for communication and a language of wide currency in education (UNESCO 1961: 49; MATASCI 2020). However, the Malagasy educational system, as part of the French Community, had their ambitions directed towards French universities and thus French continued to have a dominant place in education (ROSNES & RAKOTOANOSY 2016).

In this post-independence context, citizens were to be educated within the framework of an independent nation. A major principle in the Malagasy constitution was the right to education: "Every child has the right to education and instruction. This is assured by the parents and by the teachers they chose" (TSIRANANA 1959, 1197, authors' translation). Parents had the right to ensure the moral, physical, and intellectual education of their children. Public education was the responsibility of the state, but private education, in compliance with the laws of the state, was accepted. The initial post-independence Malagasy educational policy was ambitious with an aim to increase the enrolment rate over a ten-year period, for first cycle school-aged children from 44% to 78%, and for the second cycle to 62% (MEN 1964: 12).

International trends connected to the protests of 1968 also reached Madagascar. In May 1972, a revolution erupted, inspired by students aiming for a real independence from the former colonial power, more equality, and better conditions. The revolution led to the end of the First Republic. After a transition period, Didier Ratsiraka came to power in 1975. His regime (1975-1992) was marked by socialism and Ny Boky Mena (The Red Book), aiming for true independence and malgachisation, including all levels of the educational system (RATSIRAKA 1975).

3. Different conceptualizations of citizenship in Madagascar at independence

This section presents conceptualizations of citizenship from the 1960s in Madagascar found in the selected four documents. Inspired by the theoretical approaches presented in part 2, it aims to describe which kinds of knowledge

and values were important for educational actors to transmit to pupils post-independence.

3.1. Protestant's conceptualisation of citizenship

During the colonial period, Protestant missions and churches adapted to the colonial secular and assimilationist educational policy while simultaneously guarding their own specificities: teaching in Malagasy and teaching Protestant religion (ROSNES 2019). At independence, a new political climate encouraged Protestants to reconsider their aim of educating Malagasy children and youth. In July 1960, one month after Madagascar gained independence, a conference for Protestant principals was arranged in the capital to discuss the future of Protestant schools in the new nation (FPM 1960; ROSNES 2019: 76-77, 127-128). In the report we found in the archives of the Lutheran Church (Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy – FLM), it is not mentioned who were present in the conference, but most probably they were principals in private schools run by the two key Protestant church actors within education: The Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar (FJKM), that was a merge of different religious orientations with the French and British Calvinists being most influential, and the FLM following on from the Norwegian and American Lutheran missions. What made Protestant schools Protestant was, according to the report, that they "spread the Gospel to the children to become prepared for all good work" which should be accomplished through "teaching of the Bible" and "the dedication of teachers as witnesses" (FPM 1960: 1). Teachers should regard themselves as workers of God and consider their mission as a call from God.

The report argued that there was a need for Protestant schools. In the city schools, the religious component should be strengthened through religious studies and the relationship between the school and the church to "foster the love of religion" (Ibid.: 4). Village schools, where reading, writing, and counting in the local language were considered key knowledges to be taught, should be established in rural areas without primary schools. Boarding schools were also considered an important place for Christian education "where you develop a good and successful person who will have the spirit of service and who would like to take responsibilities" (Ibid.: 7).

Regarding the language of instruction, the report was clear: "Malagasies should know that "CEPE" [the primary school exam] in fact is a level of knowledge that has to reach everybody. This should be in French in FRANCE. And it should be in MALAGASY here in MADAGASCAR [original capital letters]" (Ibid.: 10; ROSNES 2019: 150-151). The local language was the best tool to transmit both knowledges and values. A political argument, that it contributed to the independence of the nation, was also put forth as a reason why teaching should be in the mother tongue:

- 1) To defend the Malagasy nation not to vanish, or not to disappear under the influence of other countries.
- 2) Malagasy language proficiency makes learning other subjects much easier, particularly the learning of national language.
- 3) If we want pupils to understand well and quickly what we teach them, we must teach in Malagasy. Otherwise, they only learn by heart without any comprehension of their lessons. Teaching in Malagasy is a way to well-educated and shaped young Malagasy minds (FPM 1960: 10).

The report highlighted that Protestant schools had been using the Malagasy language for decades. They had worked to preserve the language and fought for it not to disappear. For them, "The Malagasy language is the root of identity formation in a country" (Ibid.). At secondary level, Malagasy language and content were also to be strengthened. Parents should be informed that, "In taking care of the child, it is more important to focus on developing the heart and reflections, than to, at any cost, obtain the diploma" (Ibid.). Citizenship education was more than transmitting knowledge. It was, first and foremost, about values and 'shaping' youth.

3.2. UNESCO's conceptualisation of citizenship

In 1963, a UNESCO educational planning committee had their first mission to Madagascar (UNESCO 1963). The committee was led by the Belgian specialist in comparative education, Mr. Marion Coulon, and other members were the Vietnamese economist Mr. Lê Thành Khôi, statistician Miss Deblé, expert and Director of UNESCO Madagascar, Mr. Jean-Claude Pauvert, Mr. J.J. Deheyn from UNESCO and FAO expert Mr. Botelho Neia. According to the report, the primary aim of education was to strengthen the level of education and teaching and promote national awareness. Planning education should reinforce nationalistic feeling (Ibid.: 21).

The Malagasy post-independence educational system is described rather negatively in the report. Above all, teaching imitated a French educational model (Ibid.: 33-34). The educational system was not adapted to the rural realities. Also, technical education was not relevant to the needs of the Malagasy agricultural or rural environment (Ibid.: 85). Moreover, textbooks were

not adapted, did not correspond to Malagasy realities, and did not value local cultures and realities. The colonial legacy was observed in exams and the curriculum. Arts education was said to be non-existent although Malagasies had a great taste for art (Ibid.: 108). Due to Madagascar being an island, isolation was considered a challenge to communication and circulation of knowledge, revenue, and people. Another issue was the low salary of teachers who, in remote areas, were tempted to leave. In addition, few Malagasies had posts with responsibility as there were not many qualified candidates.

The report was critical of the scope of higher education, specifically Humanities and Social Sciences which, in their view, should promote national values, such as local history:

> Instead, they preferred to keep intact the content of French education and to relegate to the side degrees with no French equivalent, thus considered not prestigious. - Degrees such as the specialisation of Humanities and civilization of Madagascar - everything that had to do with the country and its history. This regrettable state has nothing to do with the intrinsic value of this degree and the studies that are done there, but only with how it is regarded from the outside (Ibid.: 113).

According to the UNESCO report, political democracy is based on informed citizens and therefore also promotes adult education (Ibid.: 224). Teachers in rural areas were considered informed citizens who should be mobilised to share knowledge with the masses.

Education in Madagascar was, according to the UNESCO report, in dire need of reform to become relevant for economic, rural, and social development. Malgachisation should take place at primary level and higher levels, in content as well as in language (Ibid.: 249). Planning was needed, not only for the content of education, but for administrative structures, budgeting, and teacher training. The objective proposed was to offer education inspired by national realities, taking into account Malagasy cultures (in plural). An authentic Malagasy school should be "an integral malgachisation, a uniting factor for planning and for the union of the nation" (Ibid.: 21). Despite clear recommendations, the UNESCO experts realised their study was too partial to draw conclusions (Ibid.: 132). According to Goguel, this report was confidential, and remained so for many years, probably because of its open support of malgachisation as a unifying factor, which could be used by the political opposition against the French friendly ruling party (GOGUEL 2006: 256).

3.3. The Malagasy government's conceptualisation of citizenship

A report from the Ministry of Education on the development of primary education in Madagascar was published in 1964 in relation to the second Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking African and Malagasy countries (CONFEMEN), held in Antananarivo (MEN 1964). The aims of CONFEMEN conferences were to evaluate challenges for educational systems in independent nations (MANIÈRE 2010: 169-170). In the Malagasy report's introduction, the Minister of Education, Laurent Botokeky, argued that educational authorities should aim to provide an elementary education that enabled people's contribution to the development of the country. The report includes a speech given by the Minister during the inauguration of the first training centre for rural teachers in 1962. It reflects on the development of national education in the 1960s, recruitment procedures for primary school teachers, the role of teachers and primary schools, and educational funding. Botokeky's speech was later criticised for being provocative and not totally aligned with the educational policy at the time. It is therefore important to distinguish between the minister's words and other sections of the report.

In his speech, the minister emphasised that the educational system in Madagascar was not adapted to the reality and needs of the Malagasies as it was an "almost complete application of French primary education to Madagascar" (Ibid.: 2). He described primary education thus:

> theoretical instruction is provided that further distances the young Malagasy from the realities of his country. This teaching does not take into account, or only very little, the individual and collective psychology of the Malagasy people. It neglects too much the relationship between the individual and his/her civilization and, what is very serious, it does not place sufficient emphasis on the relations which must exist between individuals and the various social groups. Finally, this teaching has remained too alien to the problems of development, thus neglecting to show young Malagasy people the true face of their country, and consequently not encouraging them to make efforts for the economic and social progress of the island (Ibid.: 2).

Another challenge that the minister mentioned was that individual values needed among Malagasies had been suppressed by ancestral beliefs and the lack of experience in taking up responsibility. What was needed was to develop specific values: " - the sense of human dignity, - the sense of responsibility, the sense of challenging oneself, - keeping a favourable enthusiasm towards

development of own physical and intellectual dynamism to implement individual qualities" (Ibid.: 2). In the context of a newly independent country, the Minister of Education believe in citizenship education on different levels:

> This new independent Malagasy state is young, and it is necessary to help individuals adapt to the different levels of social structures. To this end, efforts must be directed towards the development of a sense of social responsibility and a sense of civism. This need for civic education is at the heart of all the pressing problems facing the country. Nothing will be done without this conscious, voluntary, and unbiased adherence of the individual to society, to the fatherland. Therefore, our education has to

- develop mysticism
- educate citizens who are aware and responsible without fear to be able to say that the best must become apostles

I firmly believe that until we manage to acquire this sense of citizenship, our education cannot reach its essential task: to promote the development of the country by integrating all intellectual and technical organisms, official or private that work accordingly. This has been one of our major concerns and it is where the novelty of our system, its revolutionary side, is to be found (Ibid.: 3).

The minister was clearly aiming for a change and his main concern was that the school needed to "awaken citizens who are conscious of the difficulties of the country and the necessary efforts for development; thus, she [the school] should stimulate the attachment to the Malagasy fatherland, helping in this way to fully realise independence" (Ibid.: 5).

As the minister's speech was inaugurating the first training centre for rural teachers adapting primary education to the local context, it is natural that adaptation was a central theme in his speech. Rural schools were a cheaper alternative to ordinary primary schools, as municipalities were expected to support teacher salaries and construction of buildings. They used Malagasy as the language of instruction, recruited teachers without pedagogical training, and focused on local participation. The local environment was to be the basis for courses in history and geography. Rural schools were considered necessary to achieve educational aims, and people's own engagement in the education of their children was seen as a positive outcome (MEN 1964: 12). As stated by the government report, the objective of rural schools was, "To give as many children as possible a general elementary instruction" and to "love their country more" relying on the following elements:

- Reading, writing, and using the mother tongue
- Practical calculation
- Useful knowledge obtained through observation
- Initiate knowledge about the Malagasy nation
- Prepare young people for a new spirit, new attitudes; it is about developing in them a civic spirit: a sense of belonging to a free nation which is broader than the limits of the village or the region; a sense of effort required by everyone and in all areas; ability to cooperate, to work with others for common tasks.

(Ibid.: 39-40).

According to the government's report, teachers in primary school should acquire knowledge about the Malagasy nation and key historical impacts on the nation:

- the study of the Malagasy civilisation
- the problems of national unity and
- the contact between Madagascar and foreign civilisations
- the implication of the colonial period
- the access to independence and entrance into the concert [of nations] (Ibid.: 29-30)

In the 1966 educational reform, it was planned that the first four years of all primary schools should be aligned with the pedagogy of rural schools (GOGUEL 2006: 204-205). The implementation experienced delays, and according to Goguel, one of the reasons was that some parents were concerned that the lack of French teaching would deprive their children of opportunities to climb the social ladder.

While the UNESCO report determined that higher educational levels should give more weight to Malagasy issues, the government report stated that, "In this field, thanks to the very important effort made by the French Republic, the next decade will see the completion of a university complex likely to provide the country with the elites necessary for the construction of a truly independent state" (MEN 1964: 13). A critical question that went unasked is, which citizenship education these elites attained in Malagasy universities? Did the fact that the Malagasy government was dependent on financial resources from the former colonial power impact its opportunity to become truly independent? This was a question that Malagasy students and teachers in FAEM were concerned with

3.4. Students and teachers' conceptualization of citizenship

A more critical view can be accessed through the student organisation FAEM. In 1968, they had their fourth national seminar on the subject, "Malgachisation and democratisation of education in Madagascar" (FAEM 1968). Teachers, professors, students, and leaders of youth movements participated in the seminar. The report from the conference described the educational situation in Madagascar as "a failure at all levels, and especially the prominent use of the French language" (Ibid.: 7). The main selection criterion in the school system was mastery of the French language and, in reality, only privileged children had access to education whereas poor children became "failures of a system that opposes their aspirations" (Ibid.: 7).

Malgachisation and democratisation were related according to FAEM (Ibid.: 2-3). Democratisation was described in two aspects: equal access to education and an education that responds to people's aspirations and the needs of society. The former needed to be ensured through a free and secular compulsory primary school, education adapted to the needs of pupils in different environments and preparation for working life. The latter needed to be ensured trough a transmission of cultural heritage, open education that responded to the socio-economic development and political consciousness among people, and was open to collaboration with different countries and the whole humanity. Malgachisation was understood in that education should be adapted to the economic situation in Madagascar, to use the Malagasy language, favour a collective spirit, have a content that rejected uprooting pupils from the realities of national life, and that was in favour of the young Malagasy personality in their group.

In 1962-63, 47.4% of children were enrolled in school and the FAEM report emphasized disparities between regions as a challenge (Ibid.: 4-11). The education budget was diminishing year by year and external aid for primary education constituted in total 42%, while at higher levels it was 82%. Furthermore, there were concerns that technical assistance from abroad hindered training of national teachers who were, in fact, less expensive. The report argued that the presence of foreign workers was a 'camouflaged neo-colonialism under the name of technical assistance'.

Education in Madagascar was not, according to the report, promoting a general development of the country as it was not adapted to the national realities, but instead favoured higher economic classes. This was illustrated by how teaching of history and geography was conducted in higher levels. 'Is it then surprising that the failures are many?' they asked. French was the criteria for success and the content was unfamiliar to most of the children who lived

in non-French speaking areas. The report suggested rural schools were promising and often obtained better results than urban schools: however, they were financially disadvantaged by being dependent upon local support and finance from the municipalities (Ibid.: 7).

Concerning teaching methods, the FAEM report argued that they did not develop a critical spirit and an intellectual training. It was argued that "teaching French as a mother tongue is more than contrary to common sense" (Ibid.: 8). The educational system encouraged pupils to memorise rather than learn, and, by using the French language, children could not secure support in their own environment. This was called "intellectual pressure", and the consequence was that Malagasy children faced retardation in school (Ibid.: 8). Education should contribute towards progress for the whole society, which required people "to be ideologically and politically armed for fighting and reacting", developing the Malagasy personality (Ibid.: 11). In this conceptualization of citizenship, and in the FAEM report in general, the critical approach and focus on identifying deeper causalities is present. According to FAEM education must be based on "the use of the Malagasy language as an instrument of work and rooting the education in the realities of the Malagasy world" (Ibid.: 11).

4. Discussion of different perspectives of citizenship

The question for this study is what kind of citizenship was promoted in post-independence Madagascar and to whom should Malagasies learn to be loyal as citizens of their village, the newly independent nation, and a global world? In this section, we will discuss how the four reports promoted 'knowledge' and 'values', as described by Johnson and Morris (2010, see section 2), in the education of Malagasy pupils.

The four reports agreed in criticising the education system of the First Republic by stating that it was strongly impacted by the French model. There were, however, differences in their critical approaches to the issue. Before we proceed, it is important to underline the weight of the French presence in Madagascar's connections with the outside world. The links between the First Malagasy Republic and the French Republic underpinned national policies. France did not want to let go of its interests in Madagascar and independence was subject to the agreements binding the First Republic to France. France pretended to detach itself by creating the French Community, organizing the referendum, and drafting the Cooperation Agreements. Finally, it is important to understand that the president of the First Republic, Tsiranana, was a product

of the French system and leader of the French supported PADESM political party. He was accountable to the former colonial power.

There was also support for Tsiranana's educational policies. Among others, civil administrator Rabearison argued that the Tsiranana government was focused on effective and rapid development to educate Malagasy youth (RA-BEARISON 1974). As a former teacher, the president was well acquainted with the educator profession, according to Rabearison. He based his argument mainly on the number of schools, technical high schools, and pedagogical centres that had been established, and the increased enrolment rate. An interesting point is that Rabearison blamed the minister Botokeky for his speech (analysed above). Apparently, Botokeky proposed new direction for education which had shocked the public. This illustrates that within the government itself, there were different ideas and perspectives regarding educational policies.

France's biased attitude was the origin of UNESCO's strong criticism of the French shadow in Madagascar. The implementation of French Cooperation Agreements impacted the entire education system. To question this system was equivalent to questioning the very foundation of the regime: that it never cut ties with France, but on the contrary, nourished them. The UNESCO report noted that Malagasies in general (without considering the nomadic population) had a passion for education. The educational system was, however, inadequate. It was removed from local realities and teaching professionals needed training. The objective was to offer an education that promoted the Malagasy people's passion for education and a teaching that strengthened national feeling and loyalty to the independent nation. Malgachisation should be the unifying force. And education, a foundation for informed citizenship, should be available to all.

We would argue that through their focus on the nation, national awareness and national feeling, the UNESCO report promoted knowledge that, in the context of independence, partly falls within the critical framework for citizenship education. It was loyalty to the nation which was key. In their conceptualization of citizenship, Malagasy pupils should have knowledge and understanding of their history, their own position, culture, and context. What seems to be lacking is a clear focus on oppression and injustices, alternative approaches, and how to collectively work for change. Even though the report mentions Malagasy cultures in plural, from a critical perspective on promoting the value of an inclusive dialogue between identities and values, what is lacking, for instance, is constructing this national feeling between different social groups. The UNESCO experts themselves admitted that their analysis was only partial and an awareness of the complex situation when it comes to different identities in the Malagasy contexts was perhaps one of their biggest lacunas.

The Minister of Education argued that what pupils learned in school was not relevant for them to become active citizens working to change society and navigate the newly created national space. For the minister, the lack of emphasis on the relation between the individual and 'social groups' and 'their civilization' hindered development. In other words, he seems to endorse inclusive dialogues with others in what he sees as a diverse society. An important sentence in the minister's speech is that "efforts must be directed towards the development of a sense of social responsibility and a sense of civism" (MEN 1964: 3). He talks about awaking citizens to contribute to development. The focus is on promoting citizenship to develop the nation where the sense of belonging to this nation is key, but there is also an awareness of pupils' sense of belonging to the village and the region. The minister even points to the sense of citizenship as the potential 'novelty' and 'revolutionary side' of the Malagasy educational system.

While one could argue that conceptualizations of citizenship in the minister's speech value local language, history, and culture (local knowledge), inclusive dialogue with others, commitment, motivation, and responsibility to collectively work to change society, there is still a lack of critical perspectives focusing on injustice, power, and interconnections. Especially concerning the education system itself, its roots in French colonisation and its role in creating and reproducing power structures. In the section following the speech, it is uncritically stated that a higher education funded by France would provide the country with the elites needed to construct an independent country. Teachers in rural schools were encouraged to learn about critical issues in Malagasy history. Yet for the pupils, it was only stated that they should learn about the Malagasy nation. Not taking critical perspectives clearly into account in this context of independence would not promote skills to analyse deeper causalities and enable imagining a better world for Malagasies in their villages, in the nation, and as citizens in a global world. We would argue that this period of independence where the new nation struggled to cut ties with its former colonial power is an example of a context deeply impacted by negotiations of loyalties and processes of transloyalities. Not freeing the nation from its close ties with France through a deep revision of the content of education while simultaneously cultivating a national belonging exposed Malagasy learners to different kinds of loyalties which were difficult to negotiate.

There is some awareness of deeper structures and critical reflections on power relations in the Protestants' report. It is agreed that through the Malagasy language, considered the root for identity formation, they would strengthen Madagascar faced with other countries (without naming a specific country).

Using the Malagasy language made learning easier and helped children understand and not only memorise. Seen from a citizenship education perspective, it would be easier for children to learn skills, dispositions, thoughts, emotions, and actions, not only knowledge, if they were taught in Malagasy.

To promote loyalty, and love, for the religion was a clear aim in Protestant schools, while giving pupils agency to work for a better world was framed within a Christian life inspired by Bible-based Christian knowledge. A focus in Protestant schools was fostering knowledge on social change and promoting informed and responsible pupils motivated to create a better world. There was, however, no focus on critical reflections and other perspectives on this issue. In the report from the Protestants, we find a focus on the importance of education in developing personalities in this new nation, not only on obtaining a diploma, which continued to be impacted by the French colonial educational policy. This is a question of value and self-worth, and the nation as a space for acting out citizenship. Seen from a loyalty perspective, loyalty to the Protestant religion suited well with loyalty to the new Malagasy nation. However, as long as Protestant schools had to comply with the public education system and public diplomas involving French language and content, their schools promoted transloyalities to the different institutions among Malagasy pupils.

FAEM's report is the most critical of the four. Here, we see a clear outspoken criticism of the French impact. The report calls the educational system "a failure at all levels" and for this they blame the French language (FAEM 1968: 7). The report uses the words "camouflaged neo-colonialism", openly addressing the reality of the French hold on the island post-independence (Ibid.: 9). In addition, the report openly asks for Madagascar to open up to the whole world, in other words not only France. FAEM is clear about the lack of critical spirit and intellectual training in Malagasy schools. They believed in critical citizenship and their aim was specifically to "educate humans ideologically and politically to be armed for fighting and reacting" (Ibid.: 11). In FAEM's report, there is a preoccupation with forming citizens with knowledge of injustice, power, and macrostructural relationships, who were informed and responsible for ethical action as citizens of groups, the nation, and a more global humanity.

For FAEM, self-worth was important, as they advocated for a Malagasy approach which promoted Malagasy language teaching. Teaching should be illustrated by Malagasy realities using examples from the Malagasy context. A malgachisation approach was to be developed by President Ratsiraka through his Red book in the period 1975-1992 (RATSIRAKA 1975). According to Ratsiraka, who was inspired by FAEM and was advised by its leaders, malgachisation was part of a Malagasy paradigm and highlighted local realities.

Malgachisation of the educational system, from kindergarten to university, should provide local answers to local questions, local needs, and innovations adapted to local realities (Ibid.: 79-87). The Malagasy language, in its different dialectal variants, should be used so that all Malagasy populations would feel included. President Ratsiraka realised that education was key for development and introduced a policy that aimed for an educational system built on democratisation, decentralisation, and malgachisation. The period under Ratsiraka did not solve the challenges of the education of Malagasy children and youth, and the malgachisation policy was reversed in the 1990s (SHARP 2002). Elaborating on the malgachisation period and its reversal is out of scope of this article, due to space constraints, but could be explored in another.

Conclusion

This study has shown that in the post-independence Malagasy context, different conceptualizations of citizenship were apparent among international, national, public, and private educational stakeholders. Through the four reports, we find that Madagascar's relation to the wider world was largely impacted by the country's relation to the former colonial power. Proposed solutions to malgachisation (adaptation) and democratization, that would first and foremost consider Malagasies as citizens of their village and newly constructed nation, were strongly present. They existed among international experts, national educational authorities, students, teachers, and private educational providers. The main difference between them, based on the reports analysed, was their different stances towards critical approaches. Considering France's strong impact on the education system, the post-independence period was a context where processes of transloyalities took place: loyalties to the community, the new nation, the former colonial power, and in private schools, to religious communities. We believe that an awareness of the embeddedness of these different historical conceptualizations of citizenship has the potential to inform contemporary approaches to citizenship education. This awareness will provide an understanding of colonial legacies that still influence how citizenship is taught in schools. This is important in countries still struggling with historically embedded understandings of citizenship integrated into their educational systems, ensuring the continuity of power relations in society (MASEMULA 2015).

Abbreviations:

AEOM - Association des Etudiants d'Origine Malgache

CONFEMEN - Conference of Ministers of Education of French-speaking African and Malagasy countries

FAEM - Fédération des associations d`étudiants de Madagascar

FJKM - The Church of Jesus Christ in Madagascar

FLM - Fiangonana Loterana Malagasy

FPM - Fampianarana Protestanta eto Madagasikara

MDRM - Movement for the Renovation of Madagascar

MEN - Ministère de l'éducation nationale

PADESM - Parti des déshérités de Madagascar

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

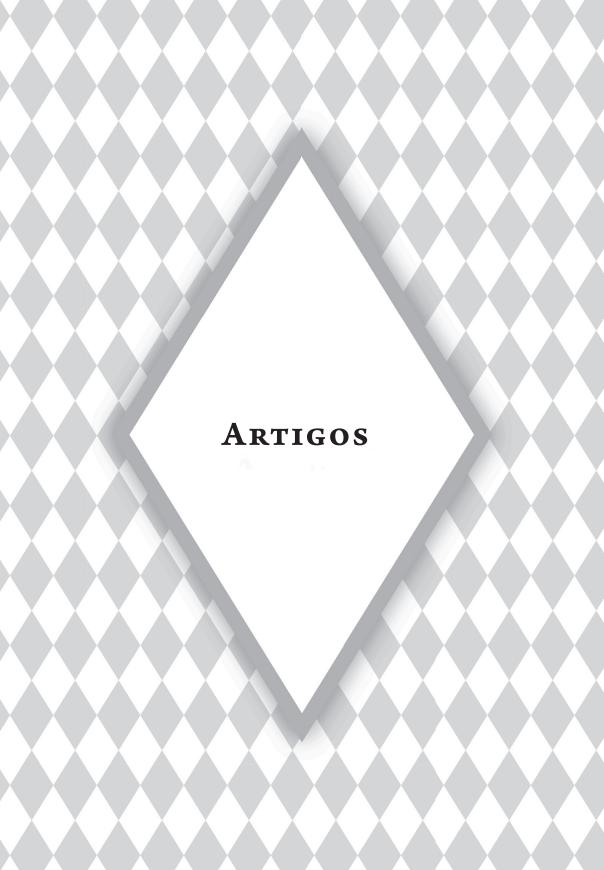
Bibliography

- ABDI, Ali A.; SHULTZ, Lynette & PILLAY, Thashika (2015). "Decolonizing Global Citizenship. An Introduction", in A. Ali; Lynette Shultz & Thashika Pillay (eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education. Rotterdam: SensePublisher, 1-9.
- ANDREOTTI, Vanessa (2006). "Soft versus critical global citizenship education". Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review, 3, 40-51.
- BAGCHI, Barnita, FUCHS, Eckhardt, & ROUSMANIERE, Kate (eds.) (2014). Connecting Histories of Education. Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)Colonial Education. New York: Berghahn.
- FAEM (1968). IV Séminaire national de la FAEM. Résultats des travaux. Malgachisation et démocratisation de l'enseignement à Madagascar. Antsirabe 31.mars-6.avril.
- FPM (1960). Zaikaben'ny mpitondra sekoly tamin'19-22 Jolay 1960. Tao Faravohitra FFM Antananarivo.
- FREIRE, Paolo (1972). Pedagogy of the oppressed (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- GERT, Bernard (2013). "Loyalty and Morality". Nomos, 54, 3-21. https://doi. org/10.18574/nyu/9780814785935.003.0001.
- GOGUEL, Anne-Marie (2006). Aux origines du mai malgache. Désir d'école et compétition sociale 1951-1972. Paris: Éditions Karthala.
- JOHNSON, Laura & MORRIS, Paul (2010). "Towards a framework for critical citizenship education". *The Curriculum Journal*, 21, 1, 77-96. https://doi.

- org/10.1080/09585170903560444.
- KOERNER, Francis. (1999). Histoire de l'enseignement privé et officiel à Madagascar (1820-1995). Les implications religieuses et politique dans la formation d'un peuple. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- LUDWIG, Frieder; ROSNES, Ellen V.; HAGA, Joar; WANG, Marina X. & PEREIRA, Jairzinho L. (eds.) (in press). *Transloyalties, Connected Histories* and World Christianity during the Interwar Period: 1919-1939, vol. 1. New York: Routledge.
- MANIÈRE, Laurent (2010). "La politique française pour l'adaptation de l'enseignement en Afrique après les indépendances (1958-1964)". Histoire de l'éducation, 128, 163-190. https://doi.org/10.4000/histoire-education. 2281.
- MASEMULA, Morongwa B. (2015). "Whose Knowlege is Transmitted through Public Education in Africa", in Ali A. Abdi; Lynette Shultz & Thashika Pillay (eds.), Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education. Rotterdam: SensePublisher, 173-178.
- MATASCI, Damanio. (2017). "Assessing needs, fostering development: UNES-CO, illiteracy and the global politics of education (1945-1960)". Comparative education, 53, 1, 35-53. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2017.1254952.
- MATASCI, Damanio. (2020). "«Un rendez-vous africain» l'Unesco, la fin des empires coloniaux et le plan d'Addis-Abeba (1945-1961)". Histoire *Politique*, 41. https://doi.org/10.4000/histoirepolitique.380.
- MUSCHIK, Eva-Maria. (2019). "Managing the world: the United Nations, decolonization, and the strange triumph of state sovereignty in the 1950s and 1960s". *Journal of global history*, 14, 1, 155-155. doi: 10.1017/ S1740022818000426.
- OSLER, Audrey (2011). "Teacher interpretations of citizenship education: national identity, cosmopolitan ideals, and political realities". Curriculum Studies, 43, 1, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2010.503245.
- RABEARISON (1974). "Le treize mai malgache 13-5-72. Ses motivations et ses consequences".
- RADAODY-RALAROSY, Paul (1951-1952). "De la nouvelle orientation de l'enseignement général indigène à Madagascar". Bulletin de l'Academie malgache, XXX, 143-150.
- RAJAONARISON, Helihanta (2014). Sociétés et photographie : les usages sociaux de la photographie à Tananarive (milieu XIXe-milieu XXe siècle). Ph.D. thesis. Antananarivo: l'Université d'Antananarivo.
- RAJAONARISON, Helihanta (2018). "Des photographies de Vazaha en révolte Une autre facette de l'insurrection de mars 1947 à Madagascar". Cahier d'Études Africaines, 2, 230, 513-534. https://doi.org/10.4000/

- etudesafricaines.22175.
- RATSIRAKA, Didier (1975). Charte de la révolution socialiste Malagasy. Tananarive: Imprimerie d'Ouvrages Éducatifs.
- MEN (1964). L'èvolution de l'enseignement primaire à Madagascar. Tananarive.
- PEARSON, Jessica Lynne. (2017). "Defending Empire at the United Nations: The Politics of International Colonial Oversight in the Era of Decolonisation". The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 45, 3, 525-549. https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2017.1332133.
- PEARSON, Jessica Lynne. (2020). "Introduction: Globalizing the History of French Decolonization". *French politics, culture and society,* 38, 2, 1-8. https://doi.org/10.3167/fpcs.2020.380201.
- RAKOTOANOSY, Monique I. R. (1986). Historique et nature de l'enseignement à Madagascar de 1896 à 1960. PhD thesis. Paris-Sorbonne Paris IV: Centre International d'Étude Francophone.
- ROSNES, Ellen V. (2019). The Norwegian Mission's Literacy Work in Colonial and Independent Madagascar. New York: Routledge.
- ROSNES, Ellen V. & RAKOTOANOSY, Monique I. (2016). "Contextualiser la place du français et du malgache dans le système éducatif du Madagascar. Une perspective historique". *Paedagogica Historica*, 52, I-II, 43-57. https:// doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2015.1133670.
- ROSNES, Ellen V.; GUIDI, Pierre & MARTINEAU, Jean-Luc. (eds.) (2024). History through Narratives of Education in Africa. Social Histories in Times of colonization and Post Independence (1920s - 1970s). Leiden: Brill.
- SCHILLER, Nina G.; BASCH, Linda & BLANC-SZANTON, Cristina (1992). "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration". Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered, 1-24. https://doi. org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x.
- SHARP, Lesley A. (2002). The Sacrificed Generation: Youth, History, and the Colonized Mind in Madagascar. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- TRONCHON, Jacques (1986). L'insurrection malgache de 1947. Fianarantsoa, Paris: Éditions Ambozontany, Éditions-Diffusion Karthala.
- TSIRANANA, Philibert (1959, 29 April). "Constitution". Journal officiel de la République Malgache, 75, 41, 1097-1104.
- UNESCO (1961). Final Report. Paper presented at the Conference of African States on the development of education in Africa, Addis Ababa. https://repository. uneca.org/handle/10855/34775.
- UNESCO (1963). Groupe de planification de l'education à Madagascar (15 jan*vier - 15 avril)*. Rapport de la première mission No 27, UNESCO archives.

- UNESCO (No date -b). Global citizenship and peace education. https://en.unesco.org/themes/gced/definition (accessed Februrary 23, 2024).
- URFER, Sylvain (ed.) (2020). Histoire de Madagascar. La construction d'une nation. Antananarivo: Foi & Justice.



O Pacto entre a rainha D. Urraca e sua irmã D. Teresa. I. O documento e a história da sua datação

The Pact between D. Urraca and her sister D. Teresa. *I.* The document and the history of his dating

António Resende de Oliveira

Universidade de Coimbra, CHSC, Faculdade de Letras antonioroliveira19@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2123-1943

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 17/10/2023 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 20/05/2024



Resumo. Em data incerta, D. Urraca de Castela e Leão terá enviado a D. Teresa de Portugal um esboço de um pacto de amizade e apoio mútuo – preservado atualmente apenas no Liber Fidei da Sé de Braga -, no qual era cedido a Teresa um vasto território em troca dos serviços a prestar a sua irmã. Neste primeiro estudo sobre o documento estarão em observação alguns dos seus aspetos formais, bem como o senhorio a conceder à governante portuguesa e um percurso historiográfico pela datação da iniciativa. Ao longo do texto serão igualmente interrogados alguns dos pressupostos das datas que lhe têm sido atribuídas.

Palavras-chave. Pacto, D. Teresa, D. Urraca, cronologia, política.

Abstract. On an uncertain date, D. Urraca of Castille and León sent D. Teresa of Portugal a draft of a pact of friendship and mutual support – currently preserved only in the Liber Fidei of Braga Cathedral -, in which was given to Teresa a vast territory in exchange for services rendered to her sister. In this first study of the document, some of its formal aspects will be observed, as well as the landlord to be granted to the portuguese ruler and a historiographical journey through the dating of the initiative. Throughout the text, some of the assumptions of the dates that have been attributed to it will also be questioned.

Keywords. Pact, D. Teresa, D. Urraca, chronology, policy.

Um dos documentos mais importantes do governo de D. Teresa é, sem dúvida, o pacto ou acordo estabelecido entre ela e sua irmã D. Urraca, rainha de Castela e de Leão. A iniciativa terá certamente partido da rainha, que, no documento, se dirige a D. Teresa pedindo-lhe o juramento de uma amizade verdadeira como a que deveria existir de "bona germana ad bona germana", e propondo-se doar-lhe uma larga faixa sobretudo leonesa recentemente conquistada (e os respetivos direitos), situada sensivelmente entre Zamora e Simancas e, a sul, entre Coria e Talavera de la Reina¹. Essa doação tinha igualmente subjacente, como é referido já na parte final do documento, o serviço vassálico que esperava de D. Teresa e das suas forças militares na manutenção da segurança desses territórios "contra mauros et christianos", não devendo ainda sua irmã acolher vassalos desleais à rainha². Terminava o documento com a menção à quebra do pacto a partir do momento em que uma das partes o denunciasse, o que diz bem da precaridade destes documentos, sujeitos a conjunturas rapidamente ultrapassadas.

Embora o documento não esteja datado, admitimos já, tendo em conta a ausência do conde D. Henrique do documento, que este terá sido redigido depois da primavera de 1112, altura do falecimento do marido de D. Teresa (MIRANDA, OLIVEIRA 2010: 299-300, nt.12). No entanto, o mesmo se poderá dizer em relação a D. Urraca, que surge também, pela mesma altura, com plena autonomia e identificada como rainha. Se tomássemos em atenção apenas este segundo indicador, o termo a quo seria o de 1109, altura em que sucede ao pai no trono. No entanto, perante igual ausência de Afonso I de Aragão, com quem Urraca casara em 1109, e admitindo que um pacto como este somente poderia ser efetivado após a separação do casal, teríamos de pensar talvez numa data posterior a 1112 como início do período em que D. Urraca e D. Teresa, ambas sozinhas, libertas dos respetivos maridos e à frente dos destinos de Castela e Leão, por um lado, e de Portugal, pelo outro, poderiam ter preparado o pacto de não agressão, prestação de serviços e remuneração que nos é devolvido pelo documento em estudo³.

Não foi, no entanto, uma reflexão deste teor a que presidiu, como todos os que se interrogaram já sobre o documento sabem, às tentativas de datação que o acompanharam desde a sua descoberta. Deixaremos, porém, a nova proposta que pretendemos apresentar para momento mais oportuno, importando, por agora, refletir sobre alguns aspetos do pacto no quadro de documentos similares do mesmo período, em particular do bem conhecido Pacto Sucessório, e ainda clarificar o senhorio recebido por D. Teresa, e concretizar as datações que até hoje foram propostas e as justificações aduzidas.

Englobando o território leonês entre os rios Douro e Tejo, um território pressionado pelos muçulmanos na bacia do Tejo, penetrava ainda em Castela numa estreita faixa situada entre Ávila e Medina de Rio Seco, integrando também algumas povoações que, partindo de Sanabria, apontavam quer para a Galiza quer para Leão. Há balanços recentes sobre as duas governantes em GORDO MOLINA, MELO CARRASCO 2018 e AMARAL, BARROCA 2012; sobre a imagem de ambas na historiografia coeva debruçou-se FERREIRA 2010.

² Liber fidei..., doc. 592. A reedição da obra pela Arquidiocese de Braga em 2016, com revisão de José Marques, não introduziu qualquer alteração ao documento, pelo que seguimos a edição anterior.

³ Um breve balanço sobre a cronologia do pacto encontra-se em AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: 334, nt. 3. Para as dúvidas subsistentes vejam-se, na mesma obra, as páginas 178-179. Voltaremos a esta questão, para um primeiro ponto da situação quanto à nossa proposta, na parte final deste estudo.

São passos prévios, mas que consideramos necessários para – voltando ao documento e refletindo sobre as circunstâncias históricas que rodearam Castela e Leão nos anos subsequentes à rutura do casamento régio –, podermos apontar para uma cronologia mais precisa e que possa resolver todas as dúvidas que ainda subsistem sobre este tão mal-amado pacto.

Conteúdos e forma

O documento em estudo não é um documento como os outros. Não tanto pelo modo como chega até nós, através de uma cópia num cartulário da Sé de Braga, mas mais pelo facto de, como é referido pelos autores da biografia de D. Teresa, se encontrar "desprovido de invocação, de intitulação e de qualquer subscrição ou elemento de datação" (AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: 178). Mas não é caso único. Podemos relembrar aqui o famoso Pacto Sucessório, estabelecido nos inícios do mesmo século entre D. Raimundo e D. Henrique, ambos condes e casados respetivamente com as mesmas Urraca e Teresa⁴. Antecedido por uma carta ao abade de Cluny Hugo, em que é referida a presença no ato do seu legado Dalmácio Geret, e começando com a invocação da Trindade, dá-se então conta do "pacto de amizade" entre os condes, que se inicia com o juramento de D. Henrique de que, após a morte de Afonso VI, apoiará as pretensões de D. Raimundo, seu senhor, ao trono e defenderá a terra que lhe foi deixada pelo rei Afonso, comprometendo-se ainda, caso conseguisse o tesouro de Toledo antes de Raimundo, a entregar-lhe duas partes reservando para si apenas uma. Em resposta, D. Raimundo jura que lhe dará Toledo e sua terra, na condição de que o reconheça como seu senhor e o acompanhe na guerra contra vassalos rebeldes. Jura, ainda, caso obtenha o tesouro de Toledo, dar-lhe a terça parte reservando as restantes. Numa garantia final do acordo, feita nas mãos de Dalmácio, D. Raimundo prometia-lhe enfim a Galiza no caso de não lhe poder dar Toledo, desde que o ajudasse a conquistar todo o reino castelhano-leonês. Colocado sob a égide de Cluny, o documento conclui-se solenemente: "Com a ordem de Deus e também com a intercessão das pias orações da Santa Igreja de Deus. Ámen" (AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: doc.1).

Associados, embora, a circunstâncias políticas diferenciadas – neste último estava em causa a sucessão de D. Afonso VI enquanto para o primeiro terão

⁴ Sobre o enquadramento deste pacto, BISKHO 1970: 155-185. Mais recentemente, o Pacto Sucessório foi alvo de análise em dois estudos de Abel Estefânio (ESTEFÂNIO 2011 e 2014), dos quais se deve ter em conta sobretudo o mais recente. O documento será citado neste texto a partir da tradução dele feita em AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: doc. 1.

contribuído seguramente fortes razões político-militares em conjuntura de alguma fragilidade dos governos de Urraca e Teresa –, estes documentos não deixam de se aproximar em diferentes aspetos do seu conteúdo, remetendo para: (I) tratados de amizade, coligando os condes da Galiza e de Portugal com o objetivo de reforçar a candidatura de D. Raimundo ao trono, ou os poderes castelhano-leonês e portucalense tendo em vista ameaças do lado muçulmano ou cristão; (II) pactos estabelecidos entre forças de nível diferente, entre condes mas em que um aparece como senhor comprometendo-se a pagar principescamente o serviço vassálico do outro, ou entre irmãs mas opondo a rainha castelhano-leonesa à infanta portucalense, a quem a primeira promete igualmente um avultado senhorio; (III) pactos em que, invariavelmente, o senhorio a atribuir ao lado portucalense se situa na fronteira sul do território castelhano-leonês, escamoteando-se a existência da Galiza, esquecida no segundo e emergindo apenas como segunda escolha no primeiro. Trata-se de um território do qual o poder castelhano-leonês parece nunca querer abrir mão, apesar de a ameaça da autonomização de um terço desse reino pairar no Pacto Sucessório, com a referência à tripartição do tesouro de Toledo e com a promessa final da doação da Galiza, que cumpriria o mesmo desiderato. Seria, neste caso, o regresso à tradição da tripartição do reino leonês que sobrevivera até 1065 e se procurava fazer esquecer depois das doações feudais da fatia galego-portuguesa aos condes de além-Pirenéus. Mas tratava-se talvez de um mero chamariz diplomático, uma tentativa de comprometer mais profundamente os condes portucalenses, de uma quase utopia que D. Teresa perseguiria ainda a partir de 1117 sem conseguir fazê-la descer ao noroeste peninsular⁵.

A estas similitudes ligadas aos respetivos conteúdos podem acrescentar-se aproximações de um ponto de vista mais formal: a ausência, já mencionada, de um conjunto de elementos que, por norma, surgem na documentação de arquivo, em particular o local, a data e as testemunhas presentes às transações ou acontecimentos reportados. Todos estes se encontram ausentes em ambos os pactos, como se não estivéssemos perante atos dignos de serem preservados para memória futura ou em que a escrita não seria, pelo menos, chamada a ter um papel de primeiro plano, como acontecia com cartas de compra e venda ou doação de bens que ocupam grande parte da documentação medieval.

Olhemos mais de perto para os documentos. No Pacto Sucessório, vemos dois juramentos que se moldavam um ao outro, num percurso que partia de D. Henrique para D. Raimundo, e em que cada um deles, de viva voz, ia jurando e aproximando-se das posições definidas à partida por ambas as partes. Seguia-se,

⁵ Sobre o enquadramento da titulação régia de D. Teresa veja-se OLIVEIRA 2007: 25-27.

no final, a garantia pelo segundo da entrega da Galiza a D. Henrique se a hipótese de Toledo se gorasse e desde que D. Henrique o tivesse apoiado na conquista de toda a terra de Leão e Castela. Este juramento final de D. Raimundo era feito nas mãos de Dalmácio Geret, colocando Cluny como garante desta parte do acordo.

Já no acordo entre Urraca e Teresa, sobressaem duas alterações: em primeiro lugar, e ao contrário do que ocorria no Pacto Sucessório, em que se encenavam os dois juramentos com D. Henrique a iniciar o processo, aqui somos confrontados apenas com o juramento de D. Urraca, que segue basicamente o percurso de qualquer dos juramentos anteriores na sequência pacto de amizade, doação e concretização do apoio exigido. Sintetizamos a sequência em causa a partir do documento, com a transcrição do início da cada parte e a referência final à quebra do acordo por desrespeito dele por parte da rainha:

> Hoc est iuramentum et convenimentum quod facit regina domna Hurracha ad sua germana infanta domna Tarasia que li sedeat amica... Et da la regina ad sua germana Zamora cum suos directos,... Et que sic ista honor que la regina da ad germana quomodo et altera que illa tenet quia adiuvet ad anparar et defender contra mauros et christianos⁶... Et si illa regina isto iuramento non attenderit que des illo die que li demandar la infante ad XL (?) dies si illa noluerit integrare que nos sedeamus soltos et vos periuratos (Liber fidei..., doc.592).

Em segundo lugar, como decorre da síntese que acaba de ser feita, nota-se igualmente a falta de encenação oral do juramento, neste caso apenas de D. Urraca, e que no Pacto Sucessório era dado a conhecer pelas palavras de ambos os condes. Aqui o redator, deixada de parte a teatralização, parece optar por uma descrição mais neutra dos principais tópicos tocados pela rainha, ou seja, o juramento de amizade inicial, a concretização da doação feita e do apoio pretendido, e as condições de anulação do pacto.

A ausência de D. Teresa, ou da parte que lhe deveria competir e que seria em princípio uma resposta afirmativa ao juramento da rainha castelhano-leonesa – viesse antes do juramento da rainha, como no Pacto Sucessório em que D. Henrique toma a palavra inicialmente, ou depois desse juramento -, levanta naturais dúvidas em relação a um eventual acordo entre ambas. Será que estamos perante uma descrição do próprio pacto no seu todo, sem qual-

⁶ O que parece estar aqui em causa é o amparo e defesa, por parte de D. Teresa, dos dois senhorios de que passa a dispor após a doação que lhe é feita neste pacto por D. Urraca: o Condado Portucalense, por um lado, mas, diríamos, sobretudo o senhorio castelhano-leonês agora acrescentado, por outro.

quer intervenção de D. Teresa? Ou devemos admitir que sobreviveu apenas a descrição de uma parte do pacto e, porventura, ainda numa fase primeva da sua preparação? Inclinando-nos mais para esta última solução, reconhecemos que não é fácil responder a qualquer destas questões, restando, com segurança, o interesse manifestado por parte de D. Urraca, em determinado momento do seu reinado, no estabelecimento de um pacto com a irmã tendo a configuração denunciada no documento que conhecemos; documento que, por sua vez, independentemente da ausência de atestação cronológica e testemunhal, não parece conter elementos que nos permitam contrariar a sua veracidade.

Por outro lado, não podemos deixar de assinalar que a teatralização subjacente, direta ou indiretamente, a estes documentos, funciona como porta de entrada para a componente ritual/cerimonial destes pactos, para a sua encenação vocal e gestual, aspetos que seriam essenciais para a sua credibilização na sociedade da altura, e se situariam acima do papel memorial da escrita, mais voltada para a sua preservação futura. Talvez esta secundarização da escrita em detrimento da oralidade, no contexto de cerimónias públicas testemunhadas por pessoas adscritas aos principais intervenientes, aliada à volatilidade de muitos destes pactos, possa justificar a especificidade destes documentos, aparentemente avessos a deixar sinais claros de uma sua credibilização para o futuro. E funcionando eles, ao mesmo tempo, como meros adjuvantes desses rituais políticos, e como suportes de pactos rapidamente ultrapassados, seriam naturais as maiores dificuldades da sua sobrevivência⁷. Acresce, enfim, que estamos ainda numa fase de formação das chancelarias condais e régia peninsulares, em que estava fora dos horizontes das cortes a preocupação com a constituição de códices de registos dos documentos delas saídos ou neles guardados, o que dificultaria a preservação dos documentos avulsos aí registados. Não será casual que a documentação hoje conhecida da chancelaria condal portucalense provenha em muitos casos de cópias tardias, efetuadas nomeadamente no âmbito das inquirições de D. Afonso III8.

⁷ AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: 183-184, anotaram já o "carácter provisório da redacção" destes tratados, associando-o sobretudo à "consciência que os intervenientes parecem revelar da condição efémera dos convénios estabelecidos". Para os pactos entre reinos, e numa perspetiva europeia, é obrigatória PASCUA ECHEGARAY 1996.

⁸ É o caso do atualmente conhecido como Livro II da chancelaria de D. Afonso III, resultante de cópias efetuadas na 4ª alçada das Inquirições de 1258. Constituído por 183 documentos, são mais de uma centena os que dizem respeito aos reinados anteriores. Cf. VENTURA, OLIVEIRA 2011: 8-10.

A segunda "honra" de D. Teresa

Parte essencial do acordo é o elenco de povoações/territórios e respetivos direitos dados pela rainha a sua meia irmã Teresa, vistos como um segundo senhorio que lhe garante com o intuito de ser por ela apoiada na sua defesa e segurança. Atente-se num primeiro contacto com o território em causa a partir do extrato correspondente do documento latino:

> Et da la regina ad sua germana Zamora cum suos directos, Exema cum suos directos, Salamanca et ripa de Torme cum suo directo, Avila cum suos directos, Arevalo cum suos directos, Conka cum suos directos, Olmedo cum suos directos, Portelo cum suos directos, Manlas et Tudiela et Medina de Zofranga cum suos directos, Tauro cum suos directos et Torre cum suos directos, Medina et Pausada cum suos directos, Senabria et Ripeira et Valdaria et Baronzeli cum suos directos, Talaveira et Kouria cum suos directos, Setmankas et Morales que stant pro ad iuditio de Egas Gondesindiz et Geda Menendiz et de el conde domno Monio cum Fernando Iohannis et Exemono (sic) Lupiz qui si potuerint avenire que sed, et si non mittant sortes quales iurent et quos iurarent levent illam (*Liber fidei...*, doc. 592).

A doação do conjunto das povoações referidas e respetivos direitos, situados na sua grande maioria nas margens do Douro ou entre este e o Tejo, merecem uma maior atenção, tanto mais que é hoje difícil ter uma perceção completa do território em causa; e não apenas, como veremos, pelo facto do desaparecimento de algumas povoações. Seguir a sequência do próprio documento permite desenhar alguns percursos que podem ser úteis para se poderem detetar, quer os topónimos em causa, quer, tendo em conta o conjunto, a intencionalidade subjacente à definição da geografia final do senhorio que D. Urraca se propunha doar.

A descrição do território inicia-se em Zamora, um importante e amuralhado centro urbano leonês que fazia parte do Caminho da Prata, encaminhando-se depois em direção ao sul, por Gema, e concluindo-se em Salamanca⁹. O segundo percurso toma como ponto de partida Ávila, cidade situada mais para o interior e já a meia distância entre o Douro e o Tejo, e avança em sentido

⁹ Para Exema poderia pensar-se em Gema, a sudeste de Zamora, ou em Ejeme, a sudeste de Salamanca. A opção pela primeira povoação resulta da sequência do próprio texto. Não é clara a referência à ribeira de Tormes após Salamanca, mas poderá significar uma extensão do domínio senhorial de D. Teresa ao rio Tormes, afluente do Douro que passava em Salamanca, ou a parte do seu percurso.

inverso, isto é, em direção a norte, por Arévalo, Coca¹⁰, Olmedo, Portillo, Mamblas¹¹ e Tudela [del Duero]. Um terceiro percurso, situado entre os dois anteriores, contempla o sul e norte do Douro, desde a desaparecida povoação de Zofraga (de Medina del Campo)¹², a sul, até Posada¹³, passando por Toro, Torrelobatón¹⁴ e Medina de Rioseco.

A estes três percursos com a direção norte-sul ou sul-norte, seguem-se três novos percursos, agora com a orientação oeste-este ou este-oeste. O primeiro é um dos que se afasta da geografia definida anteriormente, ao posicionar-se próximo da fronteira galego-leonesa a norte de Portugal, sendo definido pelos topónimos Sanabria, Ribeira, Valderia e Baroncelle. O primeiro identifica um vasto território situado a norte de Puebla de Sanabria, o centro principal desta região leonesa limitada a sul por Portugal e a este pela Galiza. O segundo, muito provavelmente, remete para a região do mesmo nome ao sul de Xinzo de Límia, próximo da estrada de Verín-Orense, ainda hoje inscrita em várias das suas povoações¹⁵. A nordeste de Puebla de Sanabria, junto à estrada para La Bañeza, posiciona-se La Valdería, pequeno território que acompanha parte do percurso do rio Ería e que se incorporou no nome de alguns núcleos populacionais que o acompanham¹⁶. Finalmente, a oeste de Sanabria, já em território galego, situava-se Baroncelle, hoje uma obscura povoação mas que teria sido no período medieval nome de uma terra mais alargada próxima de Verín (PALLARES, PORTELA 2006: 86). Nesta região mais setentrional e mais próxima de Portugal, parece claro que os topónimos referidos remetem não tanto para centros urbanos mas para territórios mais amplos, leoneses ou galegos. E todos eles se posicionavam próximo da via que ligava Orense a Leão, passando próximo da fronteira portuguesa nas regiões de Chaves e de Bragança, e desviando-se, após Puebla de Sanabria, para nordeste, em direção

¹⁰ Poderia tratar-se de Cuenca de Campos, ao norte de Valladolid e fora da geografia em análise, ou Coca, um povoado próximo de Arévalo e Olmedo. A escolha do segundo resulta mais uma vez da sequência deste percurso.

¹¹ Em relação a Mamblas, seguimos a proposta de MARTÍNEZ ORTEGA 2007: 101, que situa a povoação, entretanto desaparecida, no atual Pico de la Mambla de Tudela, junto a Tudela del Duero.

¹² Esta povoação aparece na documentação medieval e estaria situada junto do rio Zapardiel, próximo de Rueda. Cf. MARTÍNEZ ORTEGA 2007: 101-102.

¹³ Igualmente desaparecida, foi identificada por Martínez Ortega com San Miguel de Posada ou Posada del Rey, que se situaria próximo de Medina de Rioseco (MARTÍNEZ ORTEGA 2007: 103). Ocuparia, talvez, uma das elevações que se divisam imediatamente a sul-sudeste de Medina.

¹⁴ O facto de aparecer identificada apenas por "Torre" confirma a designação que lhe era atribuída, por vezes, na documentação medieval. Cf. MARTÍNEZ ORTEGA 2007: 102-103.

¹⁵ Nomeadamente, em Mosteiro de Ribeira e Parada de Ribeira, por onde passava o caminho que, pela margem esquerda, se dirigia para o baixo Lima. Cf. FERREIRA PRIEGUE 1988: 181.

¹⁶ Derivará daqui, segundo pensamos, e não de Valderas, um centro urbano leonês mais afastado e banhado pelo Cea, a referência à "Valdaria" do acordo.

a Leão.

O segundo percurso latitudinal, mencionando Talavera [de la Reina] e Coria, desenha uma primeira aproximação ao Tejo, dada a proximidade de ambas as povoações dessa importante via fluvial ibérica. Talavera era um dos principais pontos de passagem do Tejo desde finais da Antiguidade, num caminho que, da povoação castelhana de Valhadolide e passando por Ávila, se dirigia, para sul, em direção a Córdova e Sevilha. Ainda hoje se mantém de pé a ponte romana ao sul da cidade, cujo desenho e dimensão seriam já motivados pelo alargamento do Tejo em resultado das ilhas que se terão começado a formar no seu leito. Coria, mais afastada do Tejo e próxima de Portugal, era servida por uma variante à Via da Prata, que vai acompanhando de longe a fronteira portuguesa, seguindo de Salamanca para Ciudad Rodrigo e Coria, e ligando-se depois, já pela Via da Prata, a Cáceres e Mérida, em direção a Sevilha. Da sua importância falam ainda hoje a ponte romana de Ciudad Rodrigo, ou, a outro nível, o castelo de Portezuelo, já perto da confluência com a Via da Prata¹⁷.

Se o segundo percurso latitudinal acompanhava o Tejo desde Talavera de la Reina a Coria, o terceiro seguia o curso do Douro entre Simancas, junto a Valhadolide, e Morales. Este último termo identifica, porém, várias povoações próximas do Douro na zona mais fortemente presente na doação de D. Urraca, onde detetamos Morales de Campos (a W de Medina de Rioseco, já afastada do Douro), Morales de Toro (a E de Toro) e Morales del Vino (a S de Zamora). Pensando no segundo percurso, apontaríamos para Morales del Vino, perto do Douro e mais próximo de Portugal, e também porque as restantes povoações com o mesmo nome não deixariam de aparecer associadas à cidade ou região à qual estavam ligadas.

Resumindo, globalmente considerado, este "segundo" senhorio a atribuir a D. Teresa situava-se sobretudo entre o Douro e o Tejo leoneses e numa linha longitudinal castelhana que, partindo de Ávila prosseguia em direção ao Douro, atravessando-o em Tudela e avançando por Torrelobatón até Medina de Rio Seco. Fora destes espaços apenas restavam os territórios galego-leoneses ao norte de Portugal¹⁸.

¹⁷ MANTAS 2019: Fig. 1. Na perspetiva da circulação militar no âmbito da reconquista, LOMAX 1984: 125-128 fornece uma síntese da principal rede viária peninsular para o período em análise.

¹⁸ O facto de nem todos os territórios serem concelhios e de estes estarem ainda em processo de formação, dificulta a apresentação de um mapa territorial que dê uma ideia mais concreta do senhorio a transferir para D. Teresa. Veja-se, no entanto, em MONSALVO ANTÓN 2010, na carta da página 108, alguns dos territórios ao sul do Douro, quando os de Salamanca e de Ávila estavam ainda abertos ao seu alargamento para sul. Deixámos ainda em Anexo um mapa com os principais topónimos mencionados, seguindo a sua sequência no pacto e com o percurso aproximado da fronteira entre Leão e Castela até 1230, nos períodos em que ambos os reinos estiveram separados. Pode assim visualizar-se, claramente, o avanço do novo senhorio a atribuir a D. Teresa para além da fronteira leonesa, numa faixa que alargava quer a norte, quer a sul do rio Douro.

A avaliação da importância desta doação e seu enquadramento histórico passa, antes de mais, por uma análise preliminar da situação da fronteira sul portuguesa e castelhano-leonesa pouco depois da morte de D. Afonso VI, cronologia que tem sido lembrada mais recentemente para a datação do pacto em estudo. É isso que nos propomos fazer antes de concluir a primeira parte deste ensaio passando em revista as diferentes propostas já apresentadas pelos historiadores para a sua efetivação.

Preâmbulo à fronteira sul

Convém começar por relembrar que em meados do século XI as fronteiras sul de Portugal, de Leão e de Castela se situavam ainda no rio Douro e que somente a partir da conquista de Seia, em 1055, se iniciaria o decisivo avanço em direção ao Tejo. O momento era propício para as forças cristãs devido à fragmentação política do Al-Andalus na sequência do fim do Califado de Córdova e do surgimento de múltiplos reinos, os chamados reinos de taifa. Junto aos reinos cristãos posicionavam-se os três maiores, governados a partir de Badajoz, Toledo e Saragoça. Mais a sul, uma multiplicidade de pequenos reinos dividia o território que restava, numa malha em constante mutação de acordo com as alterações resultantes da reconfiguração dos poderes nas diferentes regiões desse território¹⁹.

Na sequência da conquista de Seia, Fernando Magno prosseguiu o avanço na mesma região com as conquistas, entre outras povoações, de Lamego e Viseu, e a chegada ao Mondego com a conquista de Coimbra (1064). Deste lado ocidental, o espaço entre o Mondego e o Tejo manter-se-ia como terra de fossados de mouros e de cristãos, tendo-se verificado uma primeira ocupação de Lisboa e Santarém em 1093, embora de modo ainda episódico. Do lado propriamente leonês o avanço aproximar-se-ia do Tejo em 1079, com a conquista de Coria, e em Castela a chegada ao Tejo seria feita com estrondo com a conquista da importante cidade de Toledo em 1085. Por outras palavras, em cerca de trinta anos esse avanço tinha sido significativo e parecia aproximar-se já do seu termo. No entanto, a conquista de Toledo alarmara algumas taifas, em particular a de Sevilha, que pedira auxílio aos novos detentores do poder no norte de África, os Almorávidas. Foi neste contexto que o emir Yusuf ibn

¹⁹ Para o período entre a desagregação do califado de Córdova e a presença almorávida pode consultar-se qualquer boa síntese sobre a história da Península, mormente a de GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR 1979: cap. 3, ou a de RUCQUOI 1995: 167-174. O século XI e a primeira metade do seguinte mereceram a atenção mais demorada de REILLY 1996. LOMAX 1984 segue sobretudo as peripécias da atividade militar.

Tashfin, apresentando-se na Península com um forte exército no verão de 1086, vence Afonso VI em Sagrajas, junto a Badajoz, colocando as forças cristãs na defensiva. E apesar de ter regressado a África nesse mesmo ano, em 1089 e 1090 regressara prosseguindo nos anos subsequentes as principais tarefas que se tinha proposto: (1) reunificação política do Al-Andalus, com a conquista dos reinos de taifa; (2) colocação sob pressão de toda a fronteira sul dos reinos cristãos, tentando desestabilizá-la militarmente e fazer reverter algumas das conquistas desses reinos.

A primeira foi prosseguida e concluída ao longo das duas décadas seguintes, enquanto a pressão sobre a fronteira se manteve para além dessas décadas mas talvez sem os resultados desejados. É certo que a zona do Tejo terá vivido o seu período mais dramático, com movimentações constantes dos exércitos almorávidas e a ocupação mais ou menos temporária de parte das cidades da zona, mas a resistência foi permanente, graças à intervenção do exército régio, mas sobretudo dos exércitos das cidades mais importantes, cuja atividade neste período é mais difícil de seguir, impedindo uma perceção clara do domínio real das povoações ao longo deste período. No meio desta azáfama militar, Toledo, apesar de todos os esforços almorávidas, manteve-se incólume, o que terá dado um alento extra às castigadas populações fronteiriças. Mas o resto da linha do Tejo andou a saltitar de mãos em mãos: em Portugal Lisboa, Sintra e Santarém, cedidas em 1093 a Afonso VI pelo rei de Badajoz em troca de auxílio, foram tomadas pouco depois ou alguns anos mais tarde pelos Almorávidas, o mesmo acontecendo a outras povoações leonesas e castelhanas situadas próximo do Tejo, nomeadamente as duas que nos dizem diretamente respeito, a leonesa Coria e a castelhana Talavera de la Reina. Infelizmente, faltam indicações claras sobre os períodos em que estiveram em mãos cristãs ou muçulmanas, obviando a uma melhor clarificação da data do pacto em análise. Mas seriam ainda castelhano-leonesas na altura da morte de Afonso VI, e apenas terão claudicado após 1113, apesar do saque sofrido por Talavera em 1109 (LOMAX 1984: 102-103)²⁰.

Em conclusão, na sequência da tomada de Toledo, a entrada dos Almorávidas na Península, para além de ter contribuído para a reunificação do Al-Andalus, travou o avanço da expansão dos reinos cristãos em direção ao Tejo, com a perda de algum território do lado português e leonês, obrigando os reis cristãos e os novos concelhos fronteiriços a uma atitude mais defensiva no sentido de conter a grande atividade militar desenvolvida em toda a bacia

²⁰ Um balanço mais recente, com alguma cartografia e a concretização da 'sociedade de fronteira' que emerge com a oposição aos almorávidas no entre Douro e Tejo, pode ver-se em MONSALVO ANTÓN 2010: 108-112; veja-se também PALLARES, PORTELA 2006: 57-64.

do Tejo nas décadas da mudança de século. Nessa altura, as povoações da zona mais próxima do Tejo que D. Urraca se propunha doar a D. Teresa sofreram o embate das tropas muçulmanas, sendo saqueadas ou tomadas durante períodos temporais de maior ou menor amplitude. E esta ameaça proveniente do Sul, que se manteve na primeira década do século XII prolongando-se pela década seguinte, parece ecoar nas preocupações demonstradas por D. Urraca com a segurança de alguns dos seus territórios mais ocidentais, e ser, em consequência, um dos detonadores do pacto que tentou selar com sua irmã D. Teresa.

A história da datação

Independentemente dos problemas que têm persistido até à atualidade em relação a D. Teresa e seu percurso, podemos dizer que, com alguma consistência historiográfica, a sua história começa verdadeiramente com Frei António Brandão. O próprio historiador parece dar-se conta da situação quando inicia a narrativa do período da sua governação com uma prevenção aos leitores:

Por morte do Conde D. Henrique ficou o governo de Portugal à Rainha D. Teresa, e nele continuou por espaço de dezasseis anos, até ser excluída pelas armas do Infante D. Afonso seu filho. Resolução é esta muito nova, e que causará admiração aos leitores, os quais não terão ouvido coisa alguma deste tempo do senhorio particular da Rainha; antes fundados no que dizem nossas histórias, terão para si que as diferenças [entenda-se, conflitos] entre esta Princesa e seu filho se principiaram pouco depois da morte do Conde D. Henrique; e assim que não houve tempo livre em que a Rainha só governasse. (BRANDÃO 1632: fl. 64, com atualização do texto).

E Brandão continua com a análise de alguns documentos que confirmam e concretizam a realidade desse governo. Mas já anteriormente, na parte relativa ao tratamento da figura do conde D. Henrique, e para justificar a ideia de que este e D. Teresa teriam tido pretensões à herança dos reinos de Castela e de Leão, invoca, entre outras provas, as terras de Galiza e de Leão conquistadas pelas armas, bem como um contrato celebrado pelas rainhas de Portugal e de Castela, em que seriam cedidos à primeira pela segunda importantes cidades e territórios leoneses, com transcrição e tradução do documento em apreço, o pacto já referido, retirado de um importante cartulário medieval da Sé de Braga já mencionado (ver a nota 2).

Embora não haja qualquer tentativa de enquadramento histórico do do-

cumento em causa, porventura pela consciência da não efetivação da cedência dos territórios nele referidos, Frei António Brandão retoma posteriormente no cap. XXVIII a ideia da perseguição da herança castelhano-leonesa por parte dos condes portucalenses (BRANDÃO 1632: fl.54-55v). Tratando-se de um capítulo relativo aos anos de 1110-1112 quando o Conde desenvolveu grande atividade militar, quer apoiando Afonso I de Aragão, quer D. Urraca, tendo em vista o alargamento do Condado Portucalense, é bem provável que o historiador alcobacense associasse o contrato entre D. Urraca e D. Teresa precisamente a este período muito conturbado e em que o papel militar de D. Henrique foi tão requestado. Na realidade era esse contrato que, de algum modo, mais se aproximava da divisão territorial equitativa entre D. Henrique e Afonso de Aragão ou D. Urraca, tão propalada pela Primeira Crónica Anónima de Sahagún mas pouco vista na concretização por ela feita dessa divisão²¹.

Dedicando igual atenção a este período da história do Condado, cerca de dois séculos depois Alexandre Herculano, perante a análise do mesmo pacto, optou por o situar no contexto da invasão de Portugal por D. Urraca e do cerco de D. Teresa no castelo de Lanhoso, facto que se terá verificado em junho de 1120²². No próprio texto, Herculano não avança argumentação consistente, limitando-se a integrá-lo como parte da paz então conseguida entre as irmãs: "Um tratado, porém, existe celebrado entre as duas irmãs, que atribuímos a esta conjuntura e que, na verdade, fora dificultoso de conciliar com outra data" (HERCULANO 1980: 357). No entanto, na nota X de final de volume relativa a este tratado, o historiador oitocentista vai mais longe dando a entender que a presença do tratado nesta altura se ligaria à necessidade de justificar a continuidade do domínio de Teresa no sul da Galiza, concretamente em Tui e Orense, do qual, de outro modo, teria sido certamente desapossada nesta altura. Ao mesmo tempo, tendo verificado o tratamento de "infanta" dado pela rainha castelhano-leonesa à irmã, numa altura em que esta já aparecia na documentação identificada como rainha²³, Herculano vê no documento igualmente uma tentativa de renovação da situação vassálica do feudo portucalense que teria sido quebrada pela irmã a partir do momento em que reivindicara a realeza, isto é, a partir de 1117.

²¹ Crónicas Anónimas..., 38-43. Associam-se nesta crónica a repartição de Palência, com D. Henrique, ao pacto de D. Urraca, que é transcrito em nota. Mas a discrepância territorial é demasiado visível, sendo, por outro lado, mais tardia a assunção por D. Teresa do título de rainha, algo que o cronista dá como efetivado já no contexto da dita repartição.

²² HERCULANO 1980: 353-357. Embora este historiador situasse a entrada em Portugal no ano de 1121, ela ter-se-á verificado cerca de um ano antes. Cf. AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: 378.

²³ A mudança verifica-se em 1117, embora já anteriormente, mas de um modo esporádico, o título de "rainha" pudesse surgir associado a D. Teresa. Cf. Documentos medievais..., docs. 11, 14, 32, 37, 40 (t. I), e nt. X (t. II).

Ao contrário do que acontecera em Brandão e Herculano, a História de Portugal dirigida por Damião Peres, apesar da sua dimensão, quase esquece D. Teresa. Vê o seu período como uma espécie de época de trevas porquanto "é julgada pelos que melhor a conhecem como uma das mais obscuras e complicadas da história da Península". E com a atenção focada sobretudo na evolução da Igreja no período do Condado Portucalense, limita-se a anotar a falta de coerência no tratamento das questões eclesiásticas por parte da mãe de Afonso Henriques, apenas se demorando, na parte final, no avolumar da crise que conduziria à batalha de S. Mamede e ao início do governo de D. Afonso Henriques²⁴. Coube a Luís Gonzaga de Azevedo retomar a análise do pacto entre D. Urraca e D. Teresa, com algumas observações, quer sobre o documento em si, quer sobre o momento da sua produção. Olhando para os tratados do período e pensando no afastamento do pacto (formalmente lacunar e utilizando uma "linguagem bárbara") do conjunto de convenções deste género de documentos conclui que "o mais que se pode conceder é que há ali uma minuta, rascunho ou borrão para um acordo, feito por algum interessado" (AZEVEDO 1940: 234). Tal situação leva-o a pensar que o documento preservado pelo *Liber fidei* poderá dizer respeito à divisão do reino "por ygual suerte", entre D. Urraca e o Conde, mencionada nas Crónicas Anónimas de Sahagún como tendo sido efetivada em Palência, um complemento necessário para credibilizar a Crónica quanto à divisão então efetuada²⁵. É, finalmente, esta associação do pacto à reunião de Palência que leva Gonzaga de Azevedo a situar o pacto em finais de 1110, após a batalha de Candespina e na sequência do abandono por parte do conde portucalense da fação do rei aragonês.

Pouco depois de meados do século passado, a edição das chancelarias dos condes portucalenses por Rui Pinto de Azevedo levou a um novo contacto com o importante documento que analisamos. Para além da respetiva edição, Rui de Azevedo reavaliou o enquadramento histórico e algumas discrepâncias formais anotadas por Gonzaga de Azevedo (Documentos medievais..., t. I, doc. 31; t.II, nts. IX e XXXI).

Em relação à datação do pacto, concordando com Gonzaga na discordância em relação a Herculano, discorda dele na data proposta, isto é, 1110, avançando com dois argumentos de peso: (I) a falta de ligação entre a reunião de Palência entre D. Henrique e D. Urraca e a do "pacto" entre D. Urraca e D.

²⁴ Cf. PERES 1928: cap. "O Condado Portucalense", por Manuel Ramos.

²⁵ Crónicas Anónimas..., 40-42. Na verdade, apesar da magnanimidade que atribui a Urraca na divisão dos territórios, o cronista só consegue falar na doação de Zamora e no castelo de Cea. Ora, o imponente território doado no pacto permitiria certamente resolver a contradição referida. Falta saber se a contradição era real ou se simplesmente se pretendia dar essa imagem da Rainha numa crónica em que é manifesta a defesa das suas posições. Sobre a leitura que fizemos desta crónica veja-se MIRANDA, OLIVEIRA 2011: 269-301.

Teresa, atendendo quer às transações territoriais realizadas quer aos respetivos intervenientes; (II) o facto de considerar "inverosímil" um acordo desta grandeza, que envolvia transferências territoriais de grande dimensão, sem a presença do Conde português caso ele estivesse ainda vivo. Sem ter divisado, no período em que as duas irmãs governaram paralelamente os respetivos territórios, qualquer contexto que justificasse a celebração de um pacto com as características como o preservado no Liber Fidei, optou enfim por integrá-lo apenas na cronologia mais dilatada que acompanha a governação de Urraca e Teresa, ou seja, entre Maio de 1112, altura da morte do conde D. Henrique, e Março de 1126, quando, por morte de D. Urraca, Afonso Raimundes acede ao trono como D. Afonso VII (Documentos medievais..., t. II, nt. IX).

Quanto ao documento em si, e concordando com Gonzaga sobre a sua insuficiência para provar a realização do acordo, Rui de Azevedo vê-o mais como "notícia de um pacto de aliança", semelhante a outras notícias idênticas, o que justificaria as anomalias sugeridas por Gonzaga, desde a utilização de um latim de menor qualidade caldeado com romance à falta de elementos de autenticação (Documentos medievais..., t. II, nota XXXI).

No último meio século o enquadramento histórico do pacto não se alterou substancialmente, limitando-se os diferentes investigadores peninsulares a fazerem as suas opções a partir das hipóteses até aqui delineadas. Sobretudo a partir de duas delas, dado a proposta de Herculano não ter sido reivindicada posteriormente: a de Gonzaga de Azevedo, que o situa em finais de 1110, após a batalha de Candespina; e a de Rui de Azevedo, que remete a sua feitura para o largo período de 1112-1126, quando Urraca e Teresa governam simultaneamente os respetivos reino e condado. A primeira hipótese, integrando-o numa determinada conjuntura, parece ter suscitado mais adeptos, sobretudo autores que publicaram a documentação de D. Urraca (MONTERDE ALBIAC 1996; RUIZ ALBI 2003), obras sobre a sua vida ou a de D. Afonso I de Aragão (PALLARES, PORTELA 2006; GORDO MOLINA 2008; LACARRA 1978), ou crónicas coevas (*Crónicas Anónimas...*). Embora de origem portuguesa, são raros os historiadores da mesma origem que a fizeram sua sem reservas, como Torquato de Sousa Soares ou Maria João Branco (SOARES 1974; BRANCO 2015).

Já Rui de Azevedo, talvez pelas balizas alargadas que propôs, somente foi acompanhado pelo editor do Liber Fidei, o cartulário que preservou o pacto, e mais recentemente por Lobato Yanes (2000). E, no entanto, parecem-nos acertadas as críticas que fez à escolha da data de 1110, conseguida através da sobreposição de dois documentos que nada indica que tenham sido compostos na mesma altura e em ligação um com o outro, dada a disparidade de

intervenientes e de territórios cedidos aos governantes portucalenses por D. Urraca²⁶. Acertado, também, parece ter sido o período geral escolhido por Rui de Azevedo, englobando o período de tempo em que, concomitantemente, Urraca e Teresa governaram os (respetivos) territórios de Castela/Leão e de Portugal. Como ele refere, dada a importância da cedência territorial feita a D. Teresa, seria incompreensível a ausência do conde D. Henrique se ainda fosse vivo, ou de D. Afonso I, se continuasse junto de D. Urraca (*Documentos medievais...*, t. II, nt. IX).

Finalmente, alguns historiadores, não tendo aprofundado o enquadramento do pacto acabaram por se distanciar um tanto das datas que acolheram maior apoio, mesmo quando se aproximaram mais de uma delas. Tal aconteceu com José Mattoso, que tocou o problema em obras gerais, limitando-se a sugerir a plausibilidade da data proposta por Torquato Soares²⁷; e com Luís Carlos Amaral e Mário Barroca, cuja adesão à data de 1110 não foi feita sem assinalarem várias questões por ela colocadas ainda não resolvidas (AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: 178-181 e 334-335).

Deste percurso, das reflexões já feitas e da argumentação aduzida por diferentes autores, em particular por Rui Pinto de Azevedo, pensamos ser dentro do período por ele assinalado que se deve equacionar o pacto ou a tentativa de pacto gizada por D. Urraca. Mais do que isso, acreditamos ainda, desde já, ser possível reduzir substancialmente a cronologia proposta por Rui de Azevedo atendendo a uma importante alteração do estatuto político de D. Teresa em 1117 que não é acolhida no texto do pacto. Referimo-nos ao facto de, a partir desse ano, ela se ter passado a intitular em toda a documentação subsequente como "rainha", alteração que ocorria quando o futuro do infante D. Afonso Raimundes passava a estar ligado definitivamente à sucessão de D. Urraca, deixando livre uma ligação ao governo da Galiza a que estaria condenado caso o casamento da mãe com Afonso I de Aragão tivesse frutificado. Por outras palavras, o afastamento do infante do território galego, despertou em Teresa a velha tradição leonesa da divisão do reino pelos filhos do monarca, no caso presente pelas duas filhas de Afonso VI, e a consequente reivindicação do território mais ocidental do reino, a Galiza, que havia sido governada durante um

Referimo-nos à consideração de que a reunião de Placência entre D. Urraca e D. Henrique e o pacto entre D. Urraca e D. Teresa teriam ocorrido num mesmo contexto de negociações entre os governantes portucalenses e D. Urraca tendo em vista a sua coligação contra Afonso I de Aragão.

²⁷ A questão coloca-se-lhe em 1984 e 1993, sendo tratada de modo semelhante embora o nome de Torquato Soares só apareça na segunda obra. Cf. MATTOSO 1984 e 1993.

breve período pelo rei Garcia, na sequência da morte de Fernando Magno²⁸. Ora, como do articulado do pacto o tratamento dado a D. Teresa reflete ainda a relação hierárquica, vassálica, que as unia, diríamos que o pacto somente poderia ter estado a ser preparado até aos inícios de 1117. Posteriormente, como foi já assinalado, os conflitos ou afastamento entre ambas acentuaram-se²⁹.

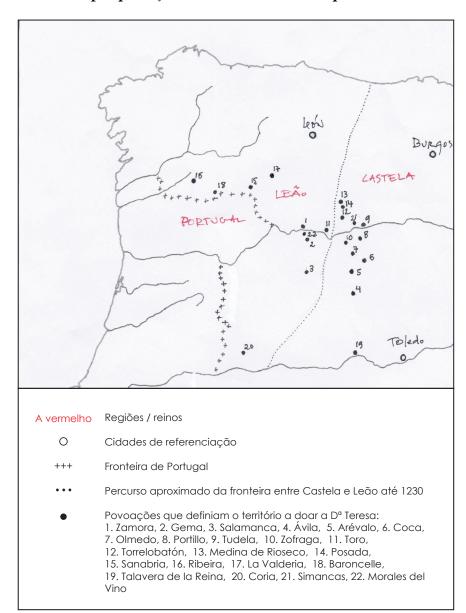
Mais difícil será indicar o termo a quo. Se o casamento de Urraca com Afonso I de Aragão é declarado nulo já em junho de 1110, sabemos que se mantêm juntos por mais algum tempo, chegando a sentença de separação apenas em outubro de 1114. De qualquer modo, pensando que D. Henrique faleceu em Astorga a 24 de abril de 1112, e que D. Urraca e D. Afonso I entraram em rota de colisão a partir do ano seguinte, apontaríamos, de momento, para uma cronologia entre meados de 1112 e inícios de 1117, esperando que uma análise mais atenta do "pacto" e das circunstâncias político-militares do período permitam chegar a uma datação ainda mais restritiva³⁰.

²⁸ Foi neste contexto que justificámos a assunção do título régio pela governante portucalense; como é sabido, em todo o percurso posterior D. Teresa procurou estreitar relações com importantes famílias e instituições galegas tendo em vista a prossecução desse objetivo. Cf. AMARAL, BARROCA 2012: sobretudo 221-228. Sobre o período de governo de Garcia veja-se PORTELA 2001.

²⁹ Já em 1116 D. Teresa cercara a irmã no castelo de Sobroso. Era então acompanhada pelos Trava, o que marcará o início de uma relação que se prolongará por mais de uma década (MATTOSO 2006: 28).

³⁰ Segundo PALLARES, PORTELA 2006: 45-46, a rutura entre Urraca e Afonso I de Aragão ter-se-á verificado em junho de 1110 e, definitivamente, em maio de 1112, mês em que os vemos juntos pela última vez.

Principais povoações do senhorio a transferir para D. Teresa



Bibliografia

- AMARAL, Luís Carlos; BARROCA, Mário Jorge (2012). Teresa, a condessa--rainha. Lisboa: Círculo de leitores.
- AZEVEDO, Luís Gonzaga (1940). *História de Portugal*. Vol. III. Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos (pref. e rev.). Lisboa: Biblion.
- BISKHO, Charles Julian (1970). "Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny and the antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório". Revista Portuguesa de História, XIII, 155-185.
- BRANCO, Maria João (2015). "Antes da independência de Portugal", in Artur Teodoro de Matos, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa e Roberto Carneiro (coord.), *Portugal e Espanha. Amores e desamores*, Vol. 1. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 11-102.
- BRANDÃO, Frei António (1632). Monarquia Lusitana. Vol. III. Lisboa (reed. fac-similada com introd. de A. da Silva Rego e notas de A. Dias Farinha e Eduardo dos Santos. Lisboa: INCM 1973).
- Crónicas Anónimas de Sahagún (1987). António Ubieto Arteta (ed. crít., notas e índices). Zaragoza: Anubar ediciones.
- Documentos Medievais Portugueses. Documentos régios (1958-1962). Vol. I. Documentos dos condes portucalenses e de D. Afonso Henriques: A.D. 1095-1185. Rui Pinto de Azevedo (org.). 2 ts. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História.
- ESTEFÂNIO, Abel (2011). "O "pacto sucessório" revisitado: o texto e o contexto". Medievalista, 1, 10. https://doi.org/10.4000/medievalista.239
- ESTEFÂNIO, Abel (2014). "Proposta de aclaração do "pacto sucessório" à luz de novos dados". *Medievalista*, 1, 16. https://doi.org/10.4000/medievalista.1401
- FERREIRA, Maria do Rosário (2010). "Urraca e Teresa: O Paradigma Perdido (historiografia e poder feminino no séc. XII)", in Esther Corral Díaz (org.), In marsupiis peregrinorum. Circulación de textos e imaxes arredor do Camiño de Santiago na Idade Media. Florença: Galluzzo, 201-214.
- FERREIRA PRIEGUE, Elisa (1988). "Los Caminos Medievales de Galicia". *Orense: Boletin Avriense*, Anexo 9.
- GARCÍA DE CORTÁZAR, José Angel (1979). La Época Medieval. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- GORDO MOLINA, Ángel G. (2008). "Urraca I de León y Teresa de Portugal. Las relaciones de fronteras y el ejercicio de la potestad feminina em la segunda mitad del siglo XII. Jurisdicción, Imperium y Linaje". Intus-Legere Historia, 2, 1, 9-23.
- GORDO MOLINA, Ángel G.; MELO CARRASCO, Diego (2018). La Reina

- *Urraca I (1109-1126). La práctica del concepto de imperium legionense en la primera mitad del siglo XII.* Gijón: Ediciones Trea.
- HERCULANO, Alexandre (1980). História de Portugal desde o começo da monarquia até ao fim do reinado de Afonso III. José Mattoso (pref. e notas). T.I. Lisboa: Bertrand (1ª edição 1846).
- LACARRA, José María (1978). *Alfonso el Batallador*. Zaragoza: Guara Editorial. *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae* (1990). T.III. A. de Jesus da Costa (ed. crít.). Braga: Junta Distrital de Braga.
- LOBATO YANES, Elena (2000). *Urraca I (1109-1126)*. *La corte castellano-leonesa en el siglo XII*. Palência: Diputación Provincial de Palência.
- LOMAX, Derek W. (1984). La Reconquista. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica.
- MANTAS, Vasco Gil (2019). "Da capital da Lusitânia a *Bracara Augusta* pela Serra da Estrêla". *Conimbriga*, 58, 255-300.
- MARTÍNEZ ORTEGA, Ricardo (2007). "Crítica textual sobre la documentación latina de Doña Urraca de Castilla y León". Fortunatae, 18, 95-106.
- MATTOSO, José (1984). "O Condado Portucalense", in José Hermano Saraiva (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 2. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 3-51.
- MATTOSO, José (1993). História de Portugal. II. A monarquia feudal. Lisboa: Circulo de Leitores.
- MATTOSO, José (2006). D. Afonso Henriques. Lisboa: Circulo de Leitores.
- MIRANDA, José Carlos Ribeiro; OLIVEIRA, A. Resende (2010). "Da 'História Compostelana' à 'Primeira Crónica Portuguesa': o discurso historiográfico sobre a formação de Portugal", in Esther Corral Díaz (ed.), In Marsupiis Peregrinorum. Circulación de textos e imágenes alrededor del caminho de Santiago em la Edad Media. Actas del Congreso Internacional, Santiago de Compostela, 24-28 marzo 2008. Firenze: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 295-324.
- MONSALVO ANTÓN, José Maria (2010). Atlas Histórico de la España Medieval. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis.
- MONTERDE ALBIAC, C. (ed.) (1996). Diplomatario de la Reina Urraca de Castilla y León (1109-1126). Saragoça: Anubar Ediciones.
- OLIVEIRA, A. Resende (2007). "Do reino da Galiza ao reino de Portugal (1065-1143)". *Revista de História das Ideias*, 28, 17-37.
- PALLARES, María del Carmén; PORTELA, Ermelindo (2006). La Reina Urraca. San Sebastián: Editorial Nerea.
- PASCUA ECHEGARAY, Esther (1996). Guerra y Pacto em el Siglo XII. La consolidación de um sistema de reinos em Europa Occidental. Madrid: CSIC.
- PERES, Damião (1928). *História de Portugal*. Vol. I. Barcelos: Portucalense editora.
- PORTELA, Ermelindo (2001). García II de Galicia. El rey y el reino (1065-

- 1090). Burgos: Editorial La Olmeda.
- REILLY, Bernard (1996). Cristão e Muçulmanos. A luta pela Península Ibérica. Lisboa: Editorial Teorema.
- RUCQUOI, Adeline (1995). História Medieval de la Península Ibérica. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa.
- RUIZ ALBI, Irene (2003). La Reina Doña Urraca (1109-1126). Cancillería y colección diplomática. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro.
- SOARES, Torquato de Sousa (1974). "O governo de Portugal pela infanta-rainha D. Teresa", in Colectânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. Doutor Damião Peres. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 99-119.
- VENTURA, Leontina; OLIVEIRA, A. Resende (2011). Chancelaria de D. Afonso III. Livros II e III. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

De scriptoria medievalia. La producción escrita del obispo Mauricio y la consolidación de la sede castellana $(1213-1238)^{1}$

De scriptoria medievalia. The written production of bishop Mauricio and the consolidation of the castillian see (1213-1238)

ALEJANDRO GARCÍA MORILLA

Universidad Complutense de Madrid alejag47@ucm.es https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2717-8285

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 19/12/2023 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 15/07/2024



Resumen. La historiografía ha considerado al obispo Mauricio de Burgos como una de las piezas clave en la vida religiosa, política y social del medievo hispano. La riqueza de acontecimientos y los cambios que se están produciendo en las sedes episcopales a propósito de las directrices del IV Concilio de Letrán junto con las disputas sucesorias en Castilla y la llegada de tan importantes monarcas como Fernando III fueron el caldo de cultivo que sirvió al prelado burgalés para imponer su supremacía en el control efectivo de iglesias, monasterios y clérigos regulares y seculares y para convertirse en uno de los árbitros de la vida política de su tiempo. Como es lógico, todo ha quedado reflejado en la producción escrita de estos años. El presente artículo tiene por objeto analizar una serie de documentos e inscripciones que son reflejo de estos acontecimientos mostrando una serie de novedades y particularidades en las mesas capitular y episcopal y también en las oficinas lapidarias de su jurisdicción.

Palabras clave. Mauricio, scriptorium, sellos, documentos, inscripciones.

Abstract. Historiography has considered Bishop Mauricio de Burgos as one of the key pieces in the religious, political and social life of the Hispanic Middle Ages. The wealth of events and the changes that are taking place in the episcopal sees regarding the guidelines of the IV Lateran Council together with the succession disputes in Castile and the arrival of such important monarchs as Fernando III were the breeding ground that served the Burgos prelate to impose his supremacy in the effective control of churches, monasteries and regular and secular clergy and to become one of the arbiters of political life of his time. As is logical, everything has been reflected in the written production of these years. The purpose of this article is to analyze a series of documents and inscriptions that are a reflection of these events, showing a series of novelties and particularities in the capitular and episcopal tables and also in the lapidary offices of their jurisdiction.

Keywords. Mauricio, *scriptorium*, seals, documents, inscriptions.

Este estudio se enmarca dentro del proyecto "Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium II", convocatoria del Plan Nacional de Investigación, del Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades. Convocatoria Proyectos I+D+i 2019, Retos de la Sociedad (PID2019-104395RB-I00 HIS).

Hablar del obispo Mauricio es hablar de Burgos y es hablar de su catedral. Nuestro mitrado regentó la sede castellana de 1213 a 1238 y, a todas luces, es considerado una figura de especial relevancia dentro de la vida política y religiosa, no solo de esta ciudad sino del medioevo hispano. A pesar de que su figura ha sido fuertemente referenciada, lo cierto es que los avances biográficos no han sido muchos desde la célebre obra de Luciano Serrano (SERRANO 1922). A través de la semblanza dibujada por este autor, podemos reconocer al mitrado burgalés trascendencia, al menos, para las siguientes disciplinas. En primer lugar, la Historia del Arte y la Arquitectura le agradecen no solo el impulso constructivo de la Catedral, sino ser considerado el artífice que posibilitó una de las vías de acceso del gótico europeo a Castilla, así como la llegada de importantes maestros y técnicas constructivas de este orden. En segundo lugar, la Historia le recuerda por su intensa actividad jurídica y política durante los reinados de Alfonso IX y Fernando III (GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ 1980). Las intrigas palaciegas y las disputas familiares acabarían en la unión definitiva de León y Castilla. La historiografía considera a Mauricio pieza clave en las labores diplomáticas con el rey leonés durante las tensiones sucesorias a la muerte de Alfonso VIII (GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ 1960). Alineado con Berenguela, con el ascenso del Rey Santo, su figura se encumbró. En tercer lugar, desde el punto de vista jurídico-eclesiástico cabe destacar el papel del prelado en la consolidación de la sede episcopal castellana frente a las aspiraciones territoriales del obispo de Osma. Su defensa, ante el papa, fue afrontada en Roma en 1215 en el contexto del IV Concilio de Letrán. Desde este momento, se convierte en actor y árbitro de la vida jurídica, política y religiosa de su tiempo. Todo ello justifica que traigamos, aquí y ahora, la 'imago' de Mauricio obispo y lo hagamos a través de la impronta que su personalidad dejó en sellos, documentos e inscripciones. Por tanto, en las siguientes líneas abordaremos el estudio crítico de estos escritos poniéndolos en relación y tratando de arrojar luz sobre los modos y maneras escriturarios en torno a su figura.

1. Obispo Mauricio de Burgos

Los orígenes de don Mauricio resultan ciertamente controvertidos toda vez que Alemania, Inglaterra y la propia Castilla arguyen su nacionalidad (FLÓREZ 1771: 300-301). Argáiz fue uno de los que con mayor perseverancia incidió en un origen castellano, habida cuenta de su presencia a corta edad en el monasterio de Fitero (ARGÁIZ 1675: 355). Serrano lo sitúa con mayor precisión en la montaña burgalesa, en torno a Medina de Pomar (SERRANO 1922: 20). De vocación eclesiástica temprana, sí sabemos que se formó en Leyes en París junto a don Rodrigo, futuro arzobispo de Toledo (SERRANO 1922: 21). Su carrera eclesiástica comenzó en Toledo como arcediano en 12092. Pronto su profunda formación le sirvió de aval ante el pontífice Inocencio III que acudió a él para dirimir distintas cuestiones desde 1210. Entre las principales destaca su papel mediador en diversos conflictos de la sede burgalesa con el abad de Oña o con la abadía de Castrojeriz. La elección de su persona para todas estas cuestiones relacionadas con la cabeza de Castilla refuerza, para algunos, la hipótesis de su origen burgalés.

Desde el inicio de la decimosegunda centuria hasta 1213 fueron cuatro los obispos que precedieron a Mauricio: Mateo, Fernando González, García Martínez de Contreras y Juan Maté (FLÓREZ 1771: 290-300). Ese año de 1213, accedió a la mitra nuestro protagonista. Al siguiente, ya lo vemos litigando con los testamentarios, primero de Alfonso VIII y días más tardes de su viuda Leonor, en favor de los derechos de la Iglesia de Burgos, para que le fuesen devueltos ciertos territorios usurpados en Mena y Amaya. Fue uno de sus primeros éxitos al llegar a la sede, que cristalizó en 1214, cuando fue reconocida dicha ocupación y su restitución³.

Los años siguientes continuaron con una intensa actividad; es más, su papel de mediador político-religioso fue en aumento (GONZÁLEZ DÍEZ 2019). Así, por ejemplo, en 1216 se logró un acuerdo de paz entre León y Castilla, que más tarde sería ratificado por el papa. En este contexto, su intercesión fue esencial en el desenlace sucesorio de la corona de Castilla. Apoyó y asesoró a Berenguela para que Fernando III se hiciera con el poder en el reino. Primero, don Mauricio, intervino ante el papa para que invalidase el matrimonio de Enrique I y Mafalda, aduciendo el grado de consanguineidad que tenían, que confrontaba con lo dispuesto en el Concilio de Letrán. Con esta acción trató de restituir los agravios que en el entorno de este monarca se habían producido contra el clero burgalés. Debilitada esta línea sucesoria –segundo–, tocaba ahora combatir a los Lara para asegurar el trono a Fernando III. Sin embargo, estos contaban con el apoyo del rey leonés, que no tardó en intervenir y ocupar Castilla. El conflicto se resolvió con buenas dosis de diplomacia y con la mediación de nuestro prelado y de don Rodrigo de Toledo. Corría el año 1218 (GONZÁLEZ DÍEZ 2019: 38). A partir de este momento, Mauricio se erige como uno de los principales asesores del Rey Santo. Al año siguiente, y como

² Becerro de Toledo, ms. 978 b, fol. 85 V°, consultado en SERRANO1922: 22.

³ Así se dejó constancia en el instrumento conservado en el archivo catedralicio. Cf. ACB, Vol. 3, fol. 193. Noticia tomada de SERRANO 1922: 27, nota 2.

ilación de su nueva posición en la Corte, encabezó la comitiva que debía traer a la futura reina Beatriz a Castilla. Muchas fueron las consecuencias de este viaje, pero si hemos de destacar una, fue que a su paso por Francia y Alemania conoció y se admiró del nuevo arte gótico que allí había cuajado. La fascinación y empeño con todo aquello llegó hasta tal punto que la historiografía reconoce en su figura una de las vías de acceso de penetración en Castilla de la nueva corriente artística y arquitectónica europea. Fruto de ello, a su vuelta, fue la materialización de proyecto de construcción de la nueva catedral bajo los auspicios del gótico.

Otros arbitrajes, no menores, de su persona en esta etapa tuvieron que ver con las cuestiones sucesorias en Portugal, la unificación del obispado de Cuenca o con la actualización y creación de nuevos tributos para sufragar las Cruzadas.

Sin embargo, es bien conocido que los años veinte de esta centuria serán recordados por el comienzo de las obras de la nueva catedral. El día 20 de julio de 1221 se colocó la primera piedra, estando al frente del proyecto el maestro Enrique (GONZÁLEZ DÍEZ 2019: 61). La primera parte de la construcción fue rápida. El efectivo sistema recaudatorio ideado por Mauricio posibilitó que en algo menos de diez años ya se hubiera instalado el cabildo en la nueva edificación y se celebrase misa con asiduidad. Sin embargo, la consagración no se llevó a cabo hasta 1260 cuando buena parte de la construcción principal ya había sido terminada (GONZÁLEZ DÍEZ 2019: 66). Además de la parte arquitectónica, esta etapa destacó por la reorganización y redistribución de funciones del cabildo. Todo este desarrollo normativo fue recogido en unos estatutos capitulares conocidos como Concordia Mauriciana en 1230 (SÁN-CHEZ ALMEIJEIRAS 2001: 192). Más adelante volveremos sobre ello.

Pero tampoco debemos confundirnos. Los esfuerzos en torno a la catedral y cabildo no restaron un ápice de intensidad a su faceta política. La piedra angular de su estrategia, en este momento, fue asegurarse la influencia de la mitra en la Corte después de Fernando III. Así, en solemne acto celebrado en 1222, se invistió príncipe heredero al futuro Alfonso X en Burgos. Allí, don Mauricio se erigió en su protector y aquel pasó los siguientes años en las medianías de Burgos, bajo su tutela, cuidado y educación. La maniobra se completó con un nuevo acercamiento a León, auspiciado por la fundación del monasterio cisterciense de Vileña, al que se trasladaría la reina Urraca, viuda de Fernando II de León. El tercer frente en el que actuó en esta etapa fue la preparación de las huestes que habían de acompañar a Fernando III en la cruzada contra los moros de 1224. Unos años más tarde, en 1235 se encargó de oficiar en las Huelgas el funeral de la reina Beatriz, mujer de Fernando III y dos años después, ofició

las nupcias del Rey Santo con Juana de Ponthieu. Como es lógico, la respuesta del monarca hacia nuestro prelado se concretó en más favores; donaciones y prebendas hacia el cabildo y la diócesis, tanto intra como extra muros de su sede episcopal.

Durante todo este periodo, el desarrollo del cabildo y la diócesis experimentó un proceso de transformación y crecimiento. Ello se vio reflejado en un nuevo impulso para fundaciones y construcciones monásticas. Fue especialmente relevante la del monasterio femenino de Villamayor de los Montes, bajo la observancia del Císter y el control de las Huelgas, en 1228; aunque no la única, como veremos. En la misma línea, no podemos obviar que desde 1214 comenzó el paulatino asentamiento de órdenes mendicantes en Burgos. Primero fueron los franciscanos, después los trinitarios, los dominicos y las clarisas.

Murió don Mauricio el día doce de octubre de 1238 (BERGANZA 1719: 352) y fue sepultado en su sede catedralicia, en el presbiterio. Fue posteriormente trasladado y hoy se encuentra en la nave central.

2. Las inscripciones

En este contexto, cobran especial importancia cuatro inscripciones de consagración protagonizadas por don Mauricio. Y cobran especial importancia porque se corresponden principalmente con procesos de ampliación, reconstrucción y mejora de viejos templos preexistentes (MICHAUD 1996). Como es bien sabido, el obispo era el encargado de celebrar la liturgia de consagración de templos y altares, también cuando se trataba de una modificación sustancial del entramado original en el que se incluía un nuevo altar (MICHAUD 1996; MÉHU 2008). Ello justifica y explica la presencia de esta tipología epigráfica en un momento en que prácticamente habían desparecido en el territorio burgalés (GARCÍA MORILLA 2015: 40-41)⁴. La organización interna del texto de estas inscripciones –las fórmulas– cuenta, según Michaud, con tres datos siempre necesarios: la fecha de la celebración; la consagración o dedicación; y el patrocinio (MICHAUD 1996: 185). El resto de datos, según este investigador, son añadiduras no esenciales dentro del programa litúrgico de consagración (MICHAUD 1996: 185). Sin embargo, y precisamente por no resultar esenciales, su inclusión en los programas epigráficos es especialmente representativa y bastante habitual, cabría añadir. Máxime, cuando se trata del

Sobre las provincias burgalesa y riojana utilizamos la colección epigráfica de referencia en sus respectivos volúmenes: Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Medievalium. Existe otra publicación sobre epigrafía burgalesa a cargo de CASTRESANA LÓPEZ 2015.

nombre del obispo. Las inscripciones que incluyen en su formulación los términos "per manum", incurren y profundizan en la representación simbólica de la alianza de Cristo con la Iglesia. Dicha representación cristaliza en la ceremonia de consagración donde el obispo, convertido en Cristo -vicario de Cristo-, se desposa con el templo, que deja de ser un simple edificio para convertirse en la "puerta del Cielo" (MICHAUD 1996: 184, 186). García Lobo y Martín López añaden a estas cuestiones litúrgicas la carga política que imprime la presencia del prelado en este acto, como muestra de la "reafirmación y consolidación del territorio diocesano" (GARCÍA LOBO y MARTÍN LÓPEZ 2011). Por tanto, y en principio, garantizan la participación activa y no delegada del obispo en dicha liturgia. Admitiendo que así fue, a la intensa actividad descrita para los años 20, cabrían añadir los desplazamientos a distintos y alejados puntos de la diócesis para celebrar estas liturgias de consagración.

De los ejemplos que aquí traemos, uno tiene un carácter fragmentario, y lo localizamos hoy inserto en uno de los muros de acceso a la capilla de la iglesia de San Pedro Apóstol en Santa Gadea del Cid (RODRÍGUEZ MONTAÑÉS 2009: 1427-1435; GARCÍA MORILLA 2015: 155-156)⁵; el segundo también está fragmentado, perteneció al monasterio de Santa María la Real de Aguilar de Campoo (AA.VV. 1990: 191). Otro, algo maltratado por el paso de los años, aún se lee en varias dovelas del arco de la portada de acceso a la iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de San Vicente del Valle, es el más completo de todos (AA.VV. 1990: 157-158). El cuarto ejemplo, se conserva en la hoy ermita de Nuestra Señora de las Fuentes en Valgañón y tampoco está completo (MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ 2013; PEREIRA GARCÍA 2020: 294-295)6. La primera inscripción, apenas conserva los datos relativos a la intitulación del obispo, cuyos años en la prelatura nos sirven para fechar la pieza y las obras de esta etapa de la edificación. En la segunda se leen con facilidad los datos relativos a la notificación, el obispo consagrante y la data -los esenciales que nos indicaba Michaud-, pero su estado incompleto, especialmente en la parte final, nos impide saber si se incluyó o previó la relación de reliquias que se depositarían en el altar de la iglesia recién terminada (FLÓREZ 1771: 309)7. Las dos últimas tienen una estructura interna muy similar. Ambas fechadas en noviembre de 1224, fueron ejecutadas con una semana de diferencia -días 7

⁵ La pieza, además de fragmentaria, se encuentra colocada hacia abajo, lo que indica su pérdida de valor publicitario en el momento en que fue reutilizada arquitectónicamente en las obras de ampliación de la iglesia.

⁶ Esta localidad hoy pertenece a la comunidad de La Rioja. Sin embargo, en el momento de la consagración de la iglesia se encontraba en la diócesis de Burgos, de ahí que fuera consagrada por nuestro obispo Mauricio.

Ofrece Flórez noticia de esta lápida tomada de Gil González, pero advierte que no se trata de la original. El texto dado reza: "ista ecclesia est consecrata per manum / Mauricii Burgensis episcopi, tempore ab / batis Michaelis et prioris Sebastiani, regnan / te rege domino Ferdinando III, Kalendas / novenbris anno gratiae 1222".

y 14-. Utilizan prácticamente el mismo formulario: notificación, dedicación, intitulación, data y relación incompleta de las reliquias del altar⁸. De la inscripción de San Vicente resulta también llamativo que en el arranque del mismo arco se encuentra el borrador o inicio fallado de la inscripción (GARCÍA MORILLA $2020)^9$.

Respecto a la materialización de las mismas, también hay diferencias. La primera es la única que utilizó la técnica de bajorrelieve, lo que le confiere un aspecto cuidado. Cuenta con separación de palabras a través de tres puntos verticales y ausencia de abreviaturas. La de Aguilar, tiene una mise en page más descuidada. Fue realizada con la técnica del vaciado o incisión. Aún hay resto de pautado técnico –líneas rectoras y caja de escritura– en el margen superior, pero el tamaño y la altura de las letras varía, dibujando ondulaciones en algunos renglones (GARCÍA MORILLA 2012). Utiliza el mismo sistema de separación de palabras y también son infrecuentes las abreviaturas. Las otras dos tienen una impaginación también descuidada. En la de San Vicente pudiera deberse a que el *ordinator* tuvo que adaptar el texto a un espacio curvo, bastante reducido y con un programa prolijo. A pesar de la mala distribución y de la irregularidad del tamaño y disposición de las letras, se aprecia un gran dominio en la factura y *ductus* de las letras. No son raros los detalles decorativos en los trazos iniciales y finales de las letras. En la separación de palabras también se utilizan los puntos verticales, aunque con cierta irregularidad. En Valgañón el ordinator tuvo más problemas. Errores de rogatario en la transliteración llevaron a que se tuviera que incluir la palabra "manu" fuera de la caja de escritura, en otro sillar, lo que parece una corrección posterior del texto una vez esgrafiado (SÁENZ PRECIADO 1996)¹⁰. Tampoco se justificaron bien todas las líneas en el pautado y son abundantes las abreviaturas. Dado que en las dos el texto está incompleto en lo relativo a la secuencia de reliquias, nos induce a pensar que fueron realizadas con anterioridad a la liturgia de consagración. También resulta llamativo, que las que incluyen la fecha completa, no respetaron el domingo como día del ceremonial; ambas lo hicieron en miércoles (VIVES 1941).

Del análisis paleográfico se desprenden varias cuestiones. En primer lugar,

⁸ La de San Vicente es algo más completa, indicando claramente que se inicia la lista de reliquias incluidas en el altar mayor. En la de Valgañón, únicamente se incluyó tras la data tres letras INM dejando en blanco el resto. Pero no parece haber dudas que seguiría la misma secuencia que la anterior, próxima espaciotemporalmente. Cf. Publicación de la nota anterior.

⁹ Solo se incluye el verbo notificativo y la data en lo que pudiera resultar la minuta epigráfica de la inscripción definitiva. Sobre este tipo de minutas lo dicho por este autor.

¹⁰ Hoy este sillar está incluido en la parte superior de la lápida, justo encima de la palabra a la que acompaña. Sin embargo, parece que pudo ser continuación del anterior en su emplazamiento original según Sáenz Preciado.

todas fueron realizadas en escritura carolina, aunque con gran evolución de su caligrafia y mezclando varias formas en algunas de sus letras -carolinas gotizadas-. Por ejemplo, se utiliza indistintamente la D uncial y la cuadrada; la E rectangular y la redonda, a veces muy cerrada sobre sí misma; la M de trazos rectilíneos y la de trazos curvos cuyo primer trazo está completamente cerrado en forma de O. También la T recta y con el trazo vertical dextrógiro, etc. Destaca la utilización de la N gótica, cuyas formas curvilíneas muestran un acusado contraste de trazos gruesos y finos. Hay que tener en cuenta que son inscripciones realizadas en un ambiente en el que la nueva escritura gótica ya había hecho acto de presencia. Sin embargo, la epigrafía, especialmente en el ámbito rural, muestra una tendencia al arcaísmo que se conserva durante todo el siglo, incluso con algunas reminiscencias visigóticas (GARCÍA MO-RILLA 2018). Estas reminiscencias se aprecian en la S de trazos rectos, la O romboidal, la R con el último trazo rectilíneo, la M también de trazos rectos y convergentes, etc. que vemos en la inscripción de San Vicente del Valle:



Fig. 1. Detalle de la escritura de la Consecratio de San Vicente del Valle.

3. Los documentos

En lo relativo al control jurídico y religioso, también se desplegó en la prelatura de don Mauricio una enorme labor legislativa, que tiene su traducción en una importante producción documental¹¹. Ya hemos visto que los frentes fueron muchos y de diversa índole. Pero si hay un punto de inflexión fue el conjunto de disposiciones enunciadas en Letrán sobre la disciplina y el control de monasterios y clérigos regulares y seculares (DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ 2017: 488). Su puesta en marcha no fue fácil y se demoró en el tiempo, lo que no fue óbice para que se iniciasen ahora grandes campañas de negociación con iglesias y monasterios.

Todo ha quedado reflejado en la actividad diplomática de su gobierno. Sin querer entrar ahora en cuestiones relativas a la conservación, lo cierto y verdad es que durante esta etapa creció exponencialmente la actividad de las mesas episcopal y capitular (OSTOS SALCEDO 1995). Así, desde 1215 contamos con numerosos documentos en los que el obispo hace valer su preponderancia en las fundaciones de su jurisdicción. Así, por ejemplo, en 1217 se estableció concordia entre el obispo Mauricio y la iglesia de San Esteban de Burgos sobre distintos tributos eclesiásticos (GARRIDO GARRIDO 1983: 331). En 1218 la concordia se estableció entre el monasterio de Oña y el obispo sobre diezmos, participación en sínodos y otros derechos eclesiásticos (GARRIDO GARRI-DO 1983: 338). Dos años más tarde, en 1220, el Papa Honorio III confirmó una sentencia a favor del Obispo contra el cabildo y clérigos de Castrojeriz, de nuevo sobre derechos eclesiásticos (GARRIDO GARRIDO 1983: 353). Ya en 1221, se recoge el reconocimiento hecho por estos clérigos de Castrojeriz al mitrado en lo relativo al nombramiento de cargos y administración de la iglesia (GARRIDO GARRIDO 1983: 357); y también en 1221 ocurre algo análogo cuando los clérigos de Cueva-Cardiel le prometen obediencia (GARRIDO GARRIDO 1983: 338 DOC).

Pero si en un año nos interesa detenernos es en 1222. Y lo haremos por varias razones. En primer lugar, porque de los nueve documentos conservados en el Archivo de la Catedral de Burgos para este año, cuatro versan sobre concordias firmadas para la observancia del entendimiento del obispo en el nombramiento de cargos eclesiásticos y otras cuestiones del gobierno de sus cenobios. Así en enero se libró con el monasterio de Silos, en junio con el de San Juan de Ortega, en julio con la Colegiata de Covarrubias y en octubre con la iglesia de Castrojeriz. En segundo lugar, porque la estructura documental

¹¹ Sobre la situación diplomática del reino de León en toda esta etapa Vid. con carácter general RIESCO TERRERO 1988 y CÁRCEL ORTÍ 2018.

en tres de ellos es muy similar, habiendo mención expresa en el en la parte final del cuerpo documental a la imposición de sellos dentro de la fórmula corroborativa:

> "... Ut, ergo, hoc nostrum arbitrium stabile maneat et firmum, sigillum dominum Mauricii, Burgensis episcopi, et sigillum capituli eiusdem et sigillum conuentus Sancti Iohannis de Ortega, cum sigillis nostris, apponi fecimus"; "... et sigillata sigillis domini regis et reginarum et episcopi et capituli Burgensis et abbatis et conuentus de Caueisrubeis..."; "In quilibet, autem, instrumentos sint apposita tria sigilla, scilicet, sigillum Mauricii, Burgensis episcopi, et capituli Burgensis et capituli Sancte Marie de Castro".

Hay en ello algunas cuestiones sobre las que merece la pena reflexionar. Una de ellas es que en todos los documentos se aponen varios sellos. Incluido en la concordia con el monasterio de Silos, a pesar de no haber mención expresa a ello en la corroboratio. Sin duda responde a la propia lógica jurídica de esta tipología documental. Decía Canellas que se sellan los documentos para garantizar la palabra dada (CANELLAS LÓPEZ 1992: 50). Por tanto, parece evidente que, en un documento de concordia, todas las partes suscriban el pacto y lo hagan a través de los medios más eficaces con que contaban. Más eficaces y modernos, podríamos decir, porque es ahora cuando se generaliza la utilización del sello como elemento probatorio de los documentos diplomáticos. Lo más significativo es que, a pesar de tratarse de una época temprana, encontramos ya diferenciados los sellos del obispo y del cabildo en los tres documentos. Ostos sostiene que un punto de inflexión hubo de ser precisamente la "Constitución Mauriciana" a la que antes hacíamos mención. Si bien esta sirvió esencialmente para regular la organización del cabildo en lo relativo a la participación y disposición de los canónigos en el coro y la ordenación de su asistencia a los oficios divinos, también nos ha permitido conocer la composición del cabildo y la delimitación de funciones para cada estamento. Aquí destaca la ausencia del maestrescuela, encargado habitual de materializar los documentos, que, sin embargo –y tal y como vemos–, no eximió de contar con profesionales avezados en la confección de documentos. A pesar de que los pormenores presentados al respecto por esta investigadora son extensos, no conviene ahora ir más allá de que para estas fechas, parece que bien podría existir una oficina de expedición de documentos relativamente bien organizada, distinguida de la propia del obispo y desde luego con sello propio y en circulación para la validación de documentos (OSTOS SALCEDO 1995: 436-439). Tal afirmación vendría a confirmarse con la formulación de la data en el documento de concordia de

Silos: "Actum in capitulo burgensi, sub era Ma CCa LXa, sexto idus iaunuarii". Esta es una cuestión significativa. Si bien la presencia del sello episcopal en Burgos aparece ya a mediados de la anterior centuria, el del cabildo no lo hace en las fórmulas diplomáticas hasta 1217 (OSTOS SALCEDO: 1995: 437). Hay que tener en cuenta que el sellado de los documentos conlleva también una serie de formalismos que se indican en la redacción de la corroboratio documental. Allí se describen todas las vicisitudes de la aposición del sello o los sellos utilizados. "La cláusula de anuncio indicaba siempre cualquier irregularidad –o particularidad- en el sellado como es la presencia de un sello que no era el apropiado en esa circunstancia o del sello prestado a un tercero, para evitar de este modo cualquier sospecha de falsedad" (CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS 1996: 54). Entre estos arbitrajes se encuentra la jerarquización dispositiva cuando el documento contaba con varios sellos. Lo más habitual es que el lugar de honor fuera el de la izquierda y que se siguiese la secuencia hacia la derecha de mayor a menor relevancia (CANELLAS LÓPEZ 1992: 54). Según Canellas, la notoriedad está relacionada con el conocimiento y reconocimiento público que se dé a los sellos, figurando en primer lugar los reales y en segundo orden los de señores y obispos. Por debajo ya estarían los de otras instituciones y, aún después, los particulares (CANELLAS LÓPEZ 1992: 49). Ateniéndonos a esta cuestión, se observa en los tres documentos objeto de estudio el respecto a la norma. En la concordia con Covarrubias se cuenta con sello regio, que tal y como mencionamos anteriormente, abre la secuencia sigilar¹². Cuando no hay sello real, se inicia con el del obispo al que sigue siempre el del cabildo. A continuación, vienen los de la parte contraria. Aquí también se puede dar una dicotomía entre el abad y el convento. Lo habitual es que solo aparezca este último, aunque en Covarrubias en la fórmula se distingue entre ambos.

También suele ser frecuente que se describa en esta parte del documento las formas en que fueron fijados al soporte. Adheridos o pendientes, se llegan a describir los métodos y materias utilizados en esta aposición: lacrados –de cera-, filamentos de hilo de seda o cáñamo, tiras de pergamino, cordones, etc. (CANELLAS LÓPEZ 1992: 52). Elementos todos que el receptor debe cotejar para comprobar la autenticidad del documento (MARÍN MARTÍNEZ 1997: 184-185). Sin embargo, este punto no se recogió en ninguno de nuestros diplomas.

Hay otra cuestión elocuente en la corroboratio de dos de nuestros documentos. Tanto en el de Covarrubias como en el de Castrojeriz se señala que fueron

¹² La concordia se había librado con el consentimiento del rey Fernando III.

realizados "duo intrumenta eiusdem tenoris confecta sunt" (GALENDE DÍAZ 1996)¹³. Una copia debía ser guardada por el convento y la otra "debet in burgensi armario conseruari". Además, en este último - Castrojeriz - se concreta que las dos copias deben dividirse "per alphabetum"; estamos por tanto ante cartas quirógrafas, cuyo ejemplar sellado se conservaría en el archivo episcopal (GIRY 1984: 510)14. Según la prof. Martín López, la inclusión del sello vino a solventar la dificultad probatoria con la que las cartas partidas aseguraban su autenticidad, para lo cual era necesario contar con los dos ejemplares (MARTÍN LÓPEZ 1996: 852). Todo ello es una muestra más de la importancia de los elementos validatorios del documento a la hora de garantizar el negocio jurídico y del desarrollo que habían adquirido a comienzos de la duodécima centuria (GARRIDO GARRIDO 1983: 359)¹⁵.

El cotejo de estas descripciones con la realidad física de los documentos no resulta del todo esclarecedor, toda vez que solo dos de ellos conservan sellos. El primero, es la concordia de Silos, que tal y como hemos dicho más arriba, no describe la aposición de sellos en la corroboratio:

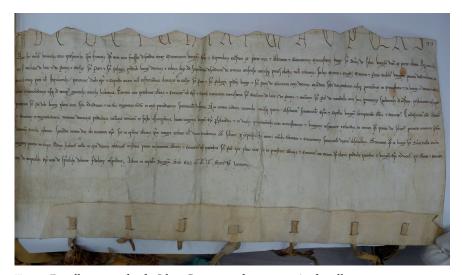


Fig. 2. Detalle concordia de Silos. Carta partida y aposición de sellos.

¹³ Sobre la evolución de los quirógrafos y cartas partidas, vid. Con carácter general.

¹⁴ Forma de validación habitual en este tipo de documentos, toda vez que garantiza a ambas partes no solo la tenencia de un original, sino que este sirva como medio eficaz de autentificación del negocio con los otros ejemplares.

¹⁵ Aunque sea simplemente a modo de anécdota, queremos dejar constancia de la existencia de un documento del archivo de la catedral de Burgos, fechado en enero de 1221, donde se deja constancia expresa de que no fue sellado (doc. 528): "Cum, inquam, hec omnia tunc facta fuissent, instrumenta de his confecta non fuerunt sigillata, ideo, prescripta omnia huic instrumento duximus annectenda; que omnia dictus I., camerarius carrionensis et modo prior naiarensis et conuentus naiarensis rata sunt et confirmant".

Sin embargo, tal y como se aprecia en el detalle, conserva resto de tres de ellos, desatando el del cabildo de Burgos que se encuentra en relativo buen estado de conservación, permitiéndonos una descripción crítica del mismo (VIVANCOS GÓMEZ 1988: 156-157)¹⁶:



Fig. 3. Detalle sellos conservados en la concordia de Silos: Cabildo de Burgos.

Hacemos nuestra la descripción de los sellos conservados realizada por Vivancos (doc. 102). Los tres sellos pertenecen al abad de Silos (SIGILLUM DOMINICI, ABBATIS SANCTI DOMINICI SILENSIS), cabildo de Burgos (SIGILLUM BURGENSIS CAPITULI) y el maestro Pedro, arcediano de Burgos (SIGILLUM MAGISTRI PETRI V. ARCHIDIACONI).

4. La concordia con San Juan de Ortega: sus sellos¹⁷

Es el segundo de los documentos que conserva sellos¹⁸. Tal y como se desprende de lo que hemos dicho hasta ahora, parece lógico utilicemos esta concordia por ser la única en que se puede cotejar la cláusula corroborativa con la aposición efectiva de los sellos. Lo haremos valiéndonos, por un lado, de los sellos conservados y, por otro lado, utilizando la concordia de Silos y otros documentos contemporáneos para reconstruir el del cabildo y el obispo.

Para situar el conflicto librado en nuestro diploma, haremos una breve sinopsis de este monasterio en el contexto espacio-temporal que nos atañe. En primer lugar, cabe recordar que el origen de esta institución se remonta a la fundación de un hospital y capilla erigidos hacia 1120 por Juan de Quintanaortuño en los Montes de Oca, con el objeto de dar servicio corporal y espiritual a los peregrinos jacobeos (MARTÍNEZ GARCÍA 2009). Esta fue la antesala de la instauración de una comunidad de canónigos regulares en 1138 bajo la observancia de la regla de San Agustín (MARTÍN MARTÍNEZ DE SIMÓN 2022: 193). La edificación del monasterio parte de mediados del siglo XII cuando la capilla original había dejado de ser operativa ante el auge y devoción que se había despertado entre los viajeros del Camino (MARTÍN MARTÍNEZ DE SIMÓN 2022: 195). La mayor parte de las dependencias cobran vida en los albores de la siguiente centuria, rematándose las estructuras monacales y la sala capitular (MARTÍNEZ BURGOS 1951). Todo ello fue debido, en buena medida, a la autonomía de que había gozado desde su fundación, sin responder a más autoridad que a la de la Santa Sede (SERRANO 1922: 92). El primero que trató de revertir tal situación fue el obispo don García. En sus litigios trató de adherirse la total propiedad de San Juan de Ortega, bajo el pretexto de que las prerrogativas reconocidas en su fundación por la Santa Sede habían prescrito.

Se ha elegido el estudio del aparato validatorio de este diploma por varias cuestiones. En primer lugar, tal y como se ha mencionado en el texto, por incluir varios sellos con un grado de conservación suficiente para poder realizar una aproximación sigilográfica. En segundo lugar, porque nos permite comprobar cómo fue el proceso diplomático de validación documental mediante sellos tanto en el tenor documental como en la aposición propiamente dicha de los mismos. En tercer lugar, porque al tratarse de una concordia con varias copias del documento, se utilizó también el sistema quirográfico conservando la parte inferior con los sellos en el armario catedralicio y la superior en el archivo del monasterio, parte contraria. Demetrio Mansilla, en su catálogo cita para este documento un único sello y con sellos deteriorados también la concordia con Covarrubias y la concordia con Silos, de la que cita hasta siete sellos, tres de ellos desprendidos. Para la de Castrojeriz da noticia de la conservación únicamente de los hilos. Cf. MANSILLA 1971: 141-143, ns. 536, 540, 541 y 543. Tal y como hemos podido comprobar, hoy solo el de Silos y el de San Juan de Ortega tienen restos de sellos.

Para la descripción sigilográfica se emplea el criterio clásico de Faustino Menéndez-Pidal (MENÉNDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS 1993). Sobre la aportación al estudio de los sellos de este autor Vid. RAMOS AGUIRRE 2007. Resulta interesante también el compendio de estudio interdisciplinares sobre sellos abordado en FRANCISCO OLMOS y MARTÍN LÓPEZ 2023.

Recuérdese que en ellas se había reconocido personalidad jurídica propia e independiente del episcopal y, por tanto, no debía rendirle cuentas. Pese a los envites, el monasterio conservó su independencia gracias a la protección que siguió profiriéndole el papa Inocencio III. Sin embargo, pocos años después el conflicto fue resucitado por Mauricio que en litigio ante el abad de Valladolid consiguió hacer caer esta exención. En 1222 se firmó la concordia que nos compete¹⁹.

En dicho documento se establece la nueva organización del convento. Seis deben ser los miembros de la comunidad a los que se suma el superior. Este número podría aumentarse cuando crecieran las rentas. El superior sería nombrado por el obispo de Burgos de entre los religiosos de la casa. El prior o abad se encargaría de forma exclusiva del gobierno de la casa respondiendo de la administración y nombramiento de nuevos miembros ante el prelado. El mitrado se comprometía a visitar el convento una vez al año tal y como se había establecido en las cláusulas de Letrán (FLÓREZ 1771: 310-311):



Fig. 4. Detalle de la concordia con San Juan de Ortega.

¹⁹ ACB, Vol., 19, fol. 119.

Diplomáticamente aún quedan cosas por decir. En primer lugar, está redactado en un único folio de pergamino con cuidados caracteres pregóticos. Es una escritura de transición muy cuidada donde los astiles y caídos son pronunciados, hay poco grado de cursividad y las letras se encuentran bien separadas dentro de la palabra (HERRERO JIMÉNEZ 2016). En la parte superior se ven los restos de las letras del quirógrafo, lo que nos sitúa de nuevo ante una carta partida, aunque no se cite textualmente en el tenor documental. Además, tal y como veíamos más arriba, la parte sellada de la copia se conservó en el archivo de la catedral. En la plica se observan hasta seis perforaciones. Sin embargo, la primera de ellas no atraviesa la parte de atrás del pliegue y, además, no conserva cordón de pergamino como sí lo hacen los otros cinco. Este cordón es el método empleado para sostener todos los sellos. En el detalle de la imagen se constata que actualmente solo se conservan los tres últimos sellos. Si nos guiamos por la descripción de la *corroboratio*, estos pertenecerían al convento de San Juan de Ortega -quizá también a su abad- y el último a otra autoridad o autoridades distinta/s (cum sigillis nostris apponi fecimus). El estado de conservación de estos es muy deficiente lo que dificulta la interpretación y lectura de la leyenda:



Fig. 5. Sellos de la concordia con San Juan de Ortega.

Se empleó cera natural en todos los casos. Los dos primeros aún conservan la forma biojival característica de los sellos eclesiásticos, aunque parece lógico pensar que fuera la misma para el resto (CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS 1996: 31). Todos ellos con reborde protector (sellado en cuna) que se aprecia especialmente en el primero de ellos²⁰. En el campo se vislumbran figuras pedestres de la dignidad eclesiástica –abad u obispo–. Alrededor del perímetro incluían la leyenda identificativa, aunque el estado de conservación no nos permite llegar a interpretaciones concluyentes.

Los dos que faltan en la parte izquierda son los pertenecientes al obispo y cabildo. Ya hemos visto que, en la concordia de Silos, el del cabildo se encuentra en buen estado de conservación: en el campo aún se guarda la figura estante de un mitrado y alrededor la leyenda enmarcada por gráfilas en escritura carolina -mayúscula publicitaria-: SIGILLVM BURGENSIS CAPITULI (capitular). El del obispo lo reconstruimos a partir del capitular. El campo, análogo al anterior, la figura pedestre del mitrado y alrededor la levenda que rezaría: SIGILLVM MAURICI BURGENSIS EPISCOPI (episcopal) (VIVANCOS GÓMEZ 1988: 158-159)²¹.

Conclusiones

De todo lo visto hasta el momento se extraen importantes datos que sirven para dibujar la 'imago Mauricio' de la producción escritura de su tiempo.

Como no podía ser de otra manera, se utilizaron distintos objetos escritos en función de la finalidad que se pretendiese con cada uno de ellos. Los documentos para la comunicación jurídica y en ellos se empleó la escritura ordinaria, la cursiva, aunque esmerada y con estilizaciones "cancillerescas". Ya hemos visto que estamos en un periodo de transición –documentos de 1222– donde el ciclo gótico se viene anunciado a través de una grafía carolina tan deformada que los especialistas ya han dejado de considerarla como tal. La escritura de los cuatro documentos es muy similar y probablemente trazada por la misma mano, aunque en ninguno de ellos se dejó constancia del rogatario.

Las inscripciones y los sellos se valieron de la escritura publicitaria para sus textos. Escritura publicitaria que tiene un proceso evolutivo más conservador o tardío que la documental. A pesar de ello, tampoco estamos ante una escritura

²⁰ Sobre esta cuestión agradecemos la indicación y sugerencia de descripción indicada por uno de los evaluadores de este trabajo.

²¹ Documento de concordia, también de 1222 (doc. 103), entre la abadía y los clérigos de la villa de Silos, conservado en el Archivo del Monasterio de Silos.

carolina pura sino muy mezclada con grafías de rasgos gotizantes y otras de clara tradición visigótica. Este es un aspecto significativo y predominante en la provincia burgalesa, donde se ha comprobado la convivencia de tres realidades distintas, según los centros de producción, durante el primer cuarto del siglo XIII. Inscripciones puramente carolinas, inscripciones mezcladas e inscripciones con escritura gótica bien definida (GARCÍA MORILLA 2013: $142)^{22}$.

Ello nos invita ya a presentar aquí algunas hipótesis en cuanto al uso de la escritura publicitaria. A pesar de que los grandes centros productores de objetos escritos –libros, documentos e inscripciones – irradiaron de forma temprana los nuevos usos escriturarios, el arraigo fue muy desigual por toda la provincia y no se debió necesariamente a su mayor o menor proximidad, o al grado de permeabilidad de los monasterios o centros culturales en los que se produjeron dichos objetos, ni siquiera a la formación de los calígrafos, sino más bien al gusto por una determinada forma de escritura de notoriedad. Posiblemente la consideraban más exitosa en cuanto a su capacidad de transmisión por su mayor facilidad de lectura y por el peso de la tradición. Una segunda reflexión nace obligatoriamente de la comparación de la escritura publicitaria en distintos soportes:

²² Resulta curioso que en Cueva-Cardiel nos encontremos con un conjunto de explanationes doctrinales en su pila bautismal, datada en los años finales del siglo XII con una escritura predominantemente gótica. Cierto es que este tipo de mobiliario era encargado a grandes talleres especializados cuyo hábito epigráfico podría -y muchas veces lo hacía– diferir del modelo gráfico empleado en el lugar de recepción en la misma cronología.



Fig. 6. Cuadro comparativo de las distintas grafías.

Si nos fijamos, aun habiendo una concatenación de morfologías para la ejecución de algunas letras, siempre encontramos un mismo tipo gráfico compartido en los sellos y las inscripciones. No se aprecia ninguna diferencia significativa entre alfabetos que tenga que ver con el soporte. Si el nivel evolutivo de esta escritura se mide por el grado de artificiosidad, los trazos germinados y decorativos y la abundancia de abreviaturas que significan el ciclo gótico, observamos el mismo estadio en la escritura publicitaria de las leyendas y de las inscripciones (GARCÍA MORILLA 2014).

De todo ello se deduce que toda la escritura salió de calígrafos profesionales. Calígrafos conocedores de los distintos tipos gráficos, incluso de la vieja escritura visigótica que se resistía a desaparecer. Calígrafos que trabajaron en los mismos scriptoria que ejecutaban documentos en escritura minúscula ordinaria, también con una tendencia conservadora, pregótica solemos decir, pero más evolucionada que la epigráfica. Lo que constata, tal y como ya sabíamos, que la evolución de la escritura documental fue más rápida que la redonda y desde luego que la publicitaria.

Bibliografía

- AA.VV. (1990). "Aguilar de Campoo", en Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León, Palencia, vol. I. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 167-215.
- ARGÁIZ, Gregorio (1675). La soledad laureada por san Benito y sus hijos en las Iglesias de España, T. VI. Madrid: Impr. Gabriel de León (edición digital de la Biblioteca Digital de Castilla y León).
- BERGANZA, Francisco de (1719). Antigüedades de España, propugnadas en las noticias de sus reyes, en la Coronica del Real Monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña, en Historias, coronicas, y otros instrumentos manuscritos, que hasta ahora no han visto la luz pública, vol. I. Madrid: Francisco del Hierro.
- CANELLAS LÓPEZ, Ángel (1992). "Diplomática y sigilografía". Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales y Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas, 17, 47-56.
- CÁRCEL ORTÍ, Milagros (2018). Diplomática episcopal. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.
- CARMONA DE LOS SANTOS, María (1996). Manual de Sigilografía. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura.
- CASTRESANA LÓPEZ, Álvaro (2015). Corpus inscriptionum christianarum et mediaevalium provinciae burgensis. ss. IV-XIII. Madrid: Oxford: Archaeopress.
- DOMÍNGUEZ SÁNCHEZ, Santiago (2017). "El Arzobispado de Compostela,

- los obispos del noroeste de la península ibérica y el IV Concilio de Letrán de 1215". Hispania Sacra, 140, 487-503.
- FLÓREZ, Enrique (1771). España Sagrada, T. XXVI. Madrid: Oficina de Pedro Marín.
- FRANCISCO OLMOS, José María y MARTÍN LÓPEZ, María Encarnación (2023). Sigilografía hispana: nuevos estudios. Madrid: Dykinson.
- GALENDE DÍAZ, Juan Carlos (1996). "Un sistema de validación documental: de la quirografía a las cartas partidas". Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, historia Medieval, 9, 347-381.
- GARCÍA LOBO, Vicente y MARTÍN LÓPEZ, María Encarnación (2011). "Las inscripciones diplomáticas de época visigoda y altomedieval (siglos Vi a XII)". Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, 41, 2, 87-108.
- GARCÍA MORILLA, Alejandro (2012). "Impaginatio en las inscripciones del románico burgalés", en Ma. E. Martín López y V. García Lobo, *Impaginatio* en las inscripciones medievales. León: Universidad de León, 213-230.
- GARCÍA MORILLA, Alejandro (2013). "La escritura carolina publicitaria en la provincia de Burgos". Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia medieval, 26, 139-183.
- GARCÍA MORILLA, Alejandro (2014). "La escritura gótica publicitaria del siglo XIII en la provincia de Burgos". Progressus. Rivista di storia, Anno 1, 2, diciembre, 1-28.
- GARCÍA MORILLA, Alejandro (2015). Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium. Burgos, I. León: Universidad de León.
- GARCÍA MORILLA Alejandro (2018). "Escritura visigótica de transición. Entre la visigótica y la carolina. El paradigma burgalés". Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III. Historia medieval, 31, 271-302.
- GARCÍA MORILLA, Alejandro (2020). "La confección de epígrafes en la Edad Media: las minutas". Edad Media. Revista de Historia, 21, 291-317.
- GARRIDO GARRIDO, José Manuel (1983). Documentación de la Catedral de Burgos (1184-1222). Salamanca: Fuentes Medievales Castellano-Leonesas.
- GIRY, Arthur (1984). Manuel de Diplomatique. Diplômes et chartes, chronologie technique, éléments critiques et parties constitutives de la tener des chartes. Les chancelleries, les actes privés. París: Slatkine reprints.
- GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ, Julio (1960). El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII. Madrid: CSIC.
- GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ, Julio (1980). Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y caja de Ahorros de Córdoba.
- GONZÁLEZ DÍEZ, Emiliano (2019). "Una nueva muestra de proximidad hacia el obispo Mauricio de Burgos", en F. Martínez Llorente (coord.),

- Memoria de un rey, memoria de un reinado. Fernando III rey de Castilla y León 1217-1251. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 251-258.
- MANSILLA, D. Demetrio (1971). *Catálogo documental del archivo de la catedral de Burgos*. Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez.
- HERRERO JIMÉNEZ, Mauricio (2016). "La escritura gótica documental castellana (siglos XIII-XVII)", en J. C. Galende Díaz, S. Cabezas Fontanilla y N. Ávila Seoane, *Paleografía y escritura hispánica*. Madrid: Síntesis, 171-198.
- MARÍN MARTÍNEZ, Tomás et alii (ed. 1997). *Paleografía y Diplomática*, T. II. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia.
- MARTÍN LÓPEZ, María Encarnación (1996). "La carta partida como forma de validación". *Estudis Castellonencs*, 6, 839-855.
- MARTÍN MARTÍNEZ DE SIMÓN, Elena (2022). "El monasterio de San Juan de Ortega, una visita en nuestro camino". *Biblioteca: estudio e investigación*, 35, 191-206.
- MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ, Irene (2013). "La inscripción de consagración de la antigua iglesia parroquial de Valgañón (La Rioja)", en J. C. Galende Díaz (coord.), Funciones y prácticas de la escritura: I Congreso de Investigadores Noveles en Ciencias Documentales. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 129-134.
- MARTÍNEZ BURGOS, Manuel (1951). "San Juan de Ortega". Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos, 29, 361-378.
- MARTÍNEZ GARCÍA, Luis (2009). "El monasterio de San Juan de Ortega. Relato breve de un señorío abadengo castellano en el Camino de Santiago (siglos XII-XV)", en M. I del Val Valdivieso y P. Martínez Sopena, *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, vol. I. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León-Universidad de Valladolid, 341-353.
- MÉHU, Didier (2008). "Histoire et image de la consécration de l'église au Moyen Âge", en D. Méhi (coord.), Mise en scène et mémoires de la consrécration de l'église dans l'occident médiéval. Turnhout: Brepols, 15-48.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCUÉS (1993). Apuntes de sigilografía hispana. Madrid: Aache.
- MICHAUD, Jean (1996). "Epigrafía y liturgia. El ejemplo de las dedicaciones y consagraciones de iglesias y altares". Estudios Humanísticos, Geografía, Historia y Arte, 18, 183-208.
- OSTOS SALCEDO, Pilar (1995). "Documentos y cancillería episcopal de Burgos anterior a 1300", en Ch. Haidacher, Die Diplomatik der Bischofkunde vor 1250. La Diplomatique épiscopale avant 1250. Insbruck: Tiroler Landesarchiv, 429-451.
- PEREIRA GARCÍA, Irene (2020). Corpus Inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium.

- La Rioja (siglos VIII.XV). León: Universidad de León.
- RAMOS AGUIRRE, Mikel (2007). "La sigilografía en la producción científica de Faustino Menéndez Pidal de Navascués". Príncipe de Viana, 24, 559-566.
- RIESCO TERRERO, Ángel (1988). "Diplomática eclesiástica del reino de León hasta 1300", en El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media, vol. VII. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 333-589.
- RODRÍGUEZ MONTAÑÉS, José Manuel (2009). "Santa Gadea del Cid", en Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León, Burgos, vol. IV. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 1427-1435.
- SÁENZ PRECIADO, Juan Carlos (1996). "La necrópolis medieval de Nuestra Señora de las Tres Fuentes (Valgañón, La Rioja)". Estrato. Revista riojana de arqueología, 7, 88-95.
- SÁNCHEZ ALMEIJEIRAS, Rocío (2001). "La portada del Sarmental de la catedral de Burgos: fuentes y fortuna". Materia. Revista Internacional d'Art, 1, 161-198.
- SERRANO, Luciano (1922). D. Mauricio. Obispo de Burgos y fundador de su catedral. Madrid: Escuela Española en Roma.
- VIVANCOS GÓMEZ, Miguel Carlos (1988). Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954-1254). Burgos: Fuentes medievales castellanoleonesas.
- VIVES, José (1941). "Consagraciones de iglesias visigodas en domingo". Analecta sacra tarraconensia, 15, 257-264.

Two Marias: Illegitimacy and Agency on the fringes of the Restoration Court

BEN JAMES

Palácio Nacional de Sintra ben.djames@yahoo.co.uk https://orcid.org/0009-0002-8684-410X

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 21/01/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 29/07/2024



Abstract. Soror Maria da Cruz was a nun at the convento de Nossa Senhora da Quietação in Alcântara whilst Dona Maria lived unprofessed at the convento de Santa Teresa de Jesus in Carnide. These seventeenth-century women have long been considered the same person. Both were illegitimate and were related to the royal family. An analysis of the letters that they wrote and received evidence the scope of their roles and their influence which extended into the political and diplomatic spheres.

Keywords. Nuns, Early modern Portugal, Letter writing, Illegitimacy, Royal family.

God willing that, based on these and other elements that may eventually appear, a faithful portrait of the kind and sympathetic Soror Maria da Cruz, now only sketched, may one day be [properly] drawn (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 22)1.

Introduction

In 1944, António Rodrigues Cavalheiro published an article in the *Anais* da Academia Portuguesa da História in which he attributed letters and other documents, either as author, recipient or subject, to one woman (CAVA-LHEIRO 1944: 11-76)². In fact, Cavalheiro had conflated the documents of two different women; a nun, Soror Maria da Cruz, and an illegitimate infanta, Dona Maria. Both of these women had important links to the royal family through their illegitimate kinship as well as broad social networks that consisted

¹ "Oxalá que, sôbre êstes e outros elementos que porventura apareçam, se possa um dia traçar o fiel retrato da bondosa e simpática Soror Maria da Cruz, agora apenas esboçado" (all translations are my own).

² The originals are held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Cavalheiro was an active member of the Integralismo Lusitano and went on to support António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) and the Estado Novo (1933-1974). The secret police "considered him, according to the 1949 register", "one of the most enthusiastic and fervent nationalists of all time"/considerava-o, segundo registo de 1949, "um dos mais entusiastas e fervorosos nacionalistas de todos os tempos" (BRANCO).

of other influential individuals including Portuguese nobles as well as foreign dignitaries. Cavalheiro's misnaming matters because it has limited not only our understanding of the royal kinship network in seventeenth-century Portugal but also obfuscated the influential roles of two of its members. Thus neither Soror Maria da Cruz nor Dona Maria have ever been considered relevant players in the historiography of seventeenth-century Portugal. This is consistent with a broader historiographical trend that has limited the number of women included in the social, political and diplomatic histories of early modern Portugal. Overwhelmingly, studies of Portuguese queens dominate, even senior noblewomen have not figured prominently within these same historiographies and so the merging of these Marias' identities and obfuscation of their roles has dovetailed with existing lacunae within Lusophone historiography.

This article seeks to fulfil part of Cavalheiro's hope quoted at the beginning, and in so doing it will correct his mistake that has so muddied the historiography. By correcting Cavalheiro's conflation this article also intends to expand the understanding of the network of the newly-restored royal family in Portugal as well as underscore the political, courtly and diplomatic relevance of these two Marias. By clearly separating these two illegitimate members of the royal family, this article will clarify what their separate positions and roles were. Soror Maria da Cruz was an agent of the state in both her capacity as a nun praying for the welfare of the kingdom and royal family but also in her engagement with foreign and Portuguese political and diplomatic actors. Dona Maria was a much more constrained individual, her royal blood acting as a double-edged sword that both afforded her influence and connections to power whilst also defining her as a potential threat to the supremacy of the legitimate family.

Firstly I will lay out a biographical overview of each woman in order to ground the analysis of their writings. Secondly, I will consider the spread of Cavalheiro's mistake within the historiography as well as other gaps within the literature. Thirdly, I will analyse the existing documentation pertaining to both Marias, starting with Cavalheiro's collection before moving on to sources found in other archival collections.

1. Biographies

Soror Maria da Cruz was born at some point in the late 1620s presumably, in or near Sanlúcar (Andalusia), the seat of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia. Her father was Gaspar de Guzmán y Sandoval, 9th Duke of Medina Sidonia

(1602-1664) but her mother's identity remains unknown³. Her paternal aunt was Luísa de Guzmán (1613-1666), Queen of Portugal 1640-1666. Soror Maria joined her aunt when she went to Portugal in 1633 in order to marry the duque de Bragança, future King of Portugal. In Vila Viçosa (Alentejo), Luísa de Guzmán went to live at the ducal palace and Soror Maria da Cruz went to be educated in the neighbouring Franciscan convento das Chagas. In December 1640, Soror Maria moved to Lisbon with the newly proclaimed royal family where she entered the Franciscan convento de Nossa Senhora da Quietação in Alcântara (BELÉM 1758: 546). She made her final profession in 1644 with the royal family in attendance and at which Padre António Vieira, the celebrated Jesuit, preached (VIEIRA 1644). This convent received royal funds and abutted the *Quinta de Alcântara*, one of the favoured residences of the new royal family (CASTELLO BRANCO 1971: 50-79; COSTA, CUNHA 2008: 169; COSTA 1712: 650). Soror Maria herself received 40 mil réis a year from the Casa de Bragança – the patrimonial estate of the duques de Bragança (BA, Man., 51-X-17: fl.214). It was within this convent that Soror Maria probably spent time with two of her cousins the *infantas* Dona Joana (1635-1653) and Dona Catarina (Catherine of Braganza 1638-1705, Queen-consort of England 1662-1685), and where she would eventually welcome foreign diplomats and dignitaries. It was from this convent that she would be one of the first to welcome the French queen-consort Maria Francisca de Sabóia (1646-1683) when she arrived in 1666 to marry Afonso VI (1643-1683), King of Portugal 1656-1683.

Dona Maria was born in Lisbon in April 1644, her father was João IV (1604–1656), King of Portugal 1640–1656, and her mother has been described as an açafata (dresser) to the queen-consort. Dona Maria was conceived whilst the queen was in the latter stages of a difficult pregnancy that resulted in the birth of Afonso VI (DEMERSON 1994: 790, 802)⁴. After Dona Maria was born, her mother was sent to live at the *mosteiro de Santa Maria de Chelas* (RAPOSO 1947: 206). Dona Maria was the only recognised illegitimate child of João IV; it was because of her recognised status that she was addressed by the styling of

³ Don Gaspar led a rebellion against Philip IV of Spain from his power base in Andalusia (ALMELA 2013: 4-6).

⁴ Luísa de Guzmán gave birth to seven living children but two died on the same day – Dona Ana (21st January 1635) and Dom Manuel (6th September 1640). An eighth child was stillborn sometime in November 1642, no name is recorded so presumably there had been no chance to perform a Baptism.

highness and that she was afforded the honorific Dona⁵. Initially, she was raised by António Cavide (João IV's confidant and secretary) until 1650 when she entered the Discalced Carmelite convento de Santa Teresa de Jesus in Carnide and remained there until her death (FIGUEIREDO 1817: 471-477). Here Dona Maria was raised by her father's third cousin Madre Micaela Margarida de Santa Ana⁶. Unlike Soror Maria da Cruz, Dona Maria was kept at a greater distance from the royal family presumably because she had royal blood in her veins – which would be discussed in reference to the fear of a succession crisis at the *cortes* – assembly/parliament – of 1674 (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 43-45). Whilst Carnide was nowhere near any royal residence, Dona Maria was afforded a sizeable income from the Crown and the Casa de Bragança that allowed her to become patron of Santa Teresa as well as founding a male convent, São João da Cruz de Carnide (ANTI, Ord. Carm. Des., Convento de São João da Cruz, Liv. 1, *Livro da Fundação*, Frontispiece)⁷. In 1687, Dona Maria was entrusted in turn with the education of her niece, Dona Luísa (1679–1732) – the illegitimate daughter of her half-brother Pedro II (1648-1706), Prince-Regent 1668-1683, King of Portugal 1683-1706 (SOUSA 1741: 459-460).

2. Seventeenth-century Convent Life

It was not unusual that both Soror Maria and Dona Maria spent their lives within convents as convents were considered suitable places for female education; they ensured a single-sex environment as well as the opportunity to be socialised with women and girls of a similar rank. With regards to illegitimate daughters, the conservative seventeenth-century writer Francisco Manuel de Melo advised that they should be raised in convents (MELO 1820: 116). Life within a convent did not cut women and girls off from their non-cloistered social or kinship networks. In Portugal, queens had rights of entry into Lisbon's female convents and would enter with the senior women of their households - many of whom were related to the women within the convents. Additionally, it was common for nuns to receive visitors – especially family – in their parlours. The presence of elite women inside convents and the maintenance

⁵ There is a mention of a boy – Frei Manuel da Conceição – who was born in the year of João's marriage to Luísa de Guzmán, but who was not formally recognised. He became a Discalced Augustinian and was instrumental in the foundation of Luísa de Guzmán's convent even serving as the same queen's confessor (UC, Ms 997, Fundação dos Agostinhos: fls.2v-4).

⁶ Madre Margarida was the illegitimate daughter of Matthias (1557–1619), Holy Roman Emperor 1612-1619. She shared a common ancestor with João IV in D. Manuel I (1469-1521), King of Portugal 1495-1521.

⁷ Fundadora, & Padroeira a Sereniss. Sñra D. Maria, filha do Sereniss. o Rey, & Sñr D. Ioão o 4o.

of their social and kinship networks allowed for certain convents in Lisbon to become places of important political or diplomatic exchange as has been demonstrated in other settings and will be explored later in this article.

In addition to the possibilities for continued social, cultural and political engagement, life within one of Lisbon's convents was not the picture of austerity that the monastic constitutions outlined. For example, convent communities hosted musical recitals, plays, poetry recitals (ANASTÁCIO 2010: 97; LISBOA, MIRANDA & OLIVAL 2002: 69; LISBOA, MIRANDA & OLIVAL 2005: 71). Men could sometimes enjoy the pleasures of convent hospitality though they were expected to remain outside of the monastic enclosure. In 1668, Cosimo de'Medici (later Grand Duke of Tuscany) enjoyed the gallant conversation and excellent music of the nuns at Odivelas. The nuns themselves were attired in pleated and starched veils such that "they descend[ed] like crystal bells" (RIVERO, RIVERO 1933: 277)9. The festivals of the Roman Catholic church and the monastic ceremonies provided regular opportunities for celebration, festivities and convent hospitality. The nuns at Madre de Deus would expose the alleged Holy Shroud that was in the community's possession, an annual event to which many people would gather outside the convent on land and on the river to see (RIBEIRO 1966: 199). Profession ceremonies or the election of an abbess might be marked by a procession of nobles or night-time illuminations and ringing bells (GAZETA 1723: 96; MATOZO 1934: 110).

3. Historiography

What of the lives of non-cloistered noblewomen? Early modern Portuguese noblewomen inhabit a lacuna within the historiography which skews towards an analysis of queens lives. There is a repeated position – that this article resists - that Portuguese noblewomen lived restricted and cloistered lives that prevented them from taking an active role within society.

In 2003, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro analysed the structure and functioning of the Portuguese nobility as a privileged group and the ways in which it was managed by the Crown (MONTEIRO 2003). Monteiro's analysis is predominantly quantitative and does not enter into an analysis of the specific roles of

This has been noted across Roman Catholic Europe in a number of excellent studies. James E. Kelly noted the importance of female convents as loci of information exchange and political planning for English Catholics (KELLY 2020). Equally, Magdalena S. Sánchez explored the relationship between monastic spaces and political power at the Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid (SÁNCHEZ 1998).

⁹ "veli bianchi in testa piegati, e insaldati, che scendono a guisa di campane di cristallo".

noblewomen either at court, in their own households, or on their estates. In the broader historiography, the notion that elite Portuguese women lived restricted lives has been repeated and reinforced without much critique. Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Monteiro wrote that "foreign travellers corroborated the enclosure to which the ladies of the nobility were condemned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (CUNHA, MONTEIRO 2011: 238). However, it is notable that these predominantly French texts engage in a pronounced orientalising of Portuguese custom and practice. Negative presentations of Spain and Portugal by French authors has been well-documented (SAID 1979: 1-13).

Of course it is undeniable that the overwhelming messages that women in Portugal received – as elsewhere in Western Europe – reinforced a cultural myth that women were ontologically inferior and should therefore remain subordinated within society. Maria Antónia Lopes writes that women were: "Maintained in the greatest ignorance "bombarded" from all sides by the misogynist message which was transmitted by storytellers, moralists, theologians, preachers, missionaries, husbands and fathers, jurists and doctors" (LOPES 1989: 6)10.

Elite Portuguese women were constrained in a number of ways but what remains widely absent from the historiography is a broader analysis of the other avenues that were available to Portuguese women including economic power and positions within networks of power and influence.

In the seventeenth century, for example, many elite women played crucial roles in the defence of the newly sovereign kingdom during the War of Restoration (1640-1668)¹¹. João IV corresponded with the marquesa de Ferreira and the condessa de Vidigueira who were raising troops and horses for the war effort from their Alentejan lands (COELHO 1940: 93). At the same king's request, Ferreira mobilised her wealth to finance the fortification of the (still disputed) border town of Olivença/Olivenza (COELHO 1940: 23). In 1641, non-elite women entered the trenches with the men in the defence of this same border town (RELACAM 1641: fl.5v). The successful defence of another border town in the north – Monção – was attributed to Dona Mariana de Lencastre Vasconcelos e Câmara, condessa de Castelo Melhor. The conde de Ericeira, in his História de Portugal Restaurado (History of Restored Portugal – the first part

^{10 &}quot;Mantidas na maior ignorância, "bombardeadas" de todos os lados pela mensagem misógina que transmitiam os contistas, moralistas, teólogos, sermonistas, missionários, maridos e pais, juristas e medicos".

¹¹ The Kingdom of Portugal had been in personal union with the Kingdom of Spain for sixty years following Philip II of Spain's acclamation to the throne of Portugal in 1581. The 1640-1668 conflict has come to be known as the Guerra da Aclamação or da Restauração (War of Acclamation or of Restoration).

of which was published in 1679), lauded the action that Castelo Melhor took in leading the repositioning of artillery that then hammered the Spanish army so heavily that it allowed the Portuguese time to regroup at a crucial moment. In Ericeira's words: "When they were in the tightest spot they benefitted from the prudence, and manly heart of the condessa de Castelo Melhor" (ERICEIRA 1751: 448)12. Of course this is merely a snapshot of a long and complex conflict and notes the roles of only a few women.

Independent or familial wealth furnished many elite women with significant economic power – as in the cases noted above. Portuguese women's access to economic power has been increasingly recognised. Darlene Abreu Ferreira has explored the important economic role of working women in detail within the fishing communities of northern Portugal (FERREIRA 2000: 7-23). Elite women coupled economic power with social power, and access to a network of similarly powerful individuals. A factor that will become apparent when we consider the roles of the two Marias.

As with other elite women of the era, it is not hard to find references to Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria in archival sources held in Portugal as well as in both France and the UK. However, they have remained understudied or simply ignored. Both Marias lurk in the background of royal history and queenship studies, and yet their lives and actions have yet to be fully analysed and woven into those historiographies. These women remain almost entirely absent from Anglophone historiography which is a particular loss as Soror Maria da Cruz met with the English agents, diplomats and ambassadors including Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich, Sir Richard Fanshawe, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir William Godolphin and Lionel Fanshawe. Sir Richard and Lord Sandwich in particular were responsible for negotiating the Treaty of Madrid (1667) that prepared the way for the Treaty of Lisbon (1668) that formally ended the war between Portugal and Spain.

Cavalheiro's mistake has been repeated throughout the historiography continuing to obscure both Marias. Hipólito Raposo quoted Cavalheiro in passing and repeating the claim that Dona Maria became Soror Maria da Cruz in his biography of Luísa de Guzmán (RAPOSO 1947: 206-207). In the 1979 Descriptive List of the State Papers Portugal 1661-1780, assembled by Charles R. Boxer, Soror Maria da Cruz is recorded accurately enough as "Sister Maria [de la Cruz]" – the letter in question is in Spanish and she signs using that variant of her name. However, Dona Maria is recorded as "Dona Maria [de la Cruz]" and so the fusion is repeated (BOXER 1979: 33, 67). In Joana Almeida

^{12 &}quot;Quando andavão no mayor aperto lhes valeo a prudencia, e varonil coração da Condessa de Castello Melhor".

Troni's 2008 biography of Catherine of Braganza, the difference between Dona Maria and Soror Maria da Cruz was identified. However, these women are not central to Troni's excellent biography and so their roles are not fully explored. Troni comments on the piety of Soror Maria da Cruz and the helpfulness of Dona Maria in securing a convent place for one of the queen's English maids (TRONI 2008: 185-186, 227-230).

Ana Cristina Duarte Pereira discusses the fact that a marriage between Dona Maria and the 1st duque de Cadaval was mooted in an effort to avert a succession crisis in her analysis of Portuguese princesses and infantas (PEREIRA 2008: 70-72). In Monique Vallance's 2012 biography of Luísa de Guzmán, Cavalheiro's conflation is repeated but Vallance directly references Raposo rather than Cavalheiro (VALLANCE 2012: 87-88). Another biography of the same queen, also from 2012, co-authored by Maria Paula Marçal Lourenço and Ricardo Fernando Pinto repeats the same claim that Dona Maria took the name Maria da Cruz (LOURENÇO, PINTO 2012: 118). Neither women are mentioned in António Álvaro Dória's 1944 biography of the French queen-consort, Maria Francisca de Sabóia (DÓRIA 1944). A later analysis of the two wives of Pedro II published in 2011, did not misname Dona Maria and considered her – as Pereira did – within the discussions that surrounded the potential succession crisis in the 1670s. However, the same book misnamed Soror Maria da Cruz as Maria do Céu though correctly acknowledged her familial connection to the royal family through the House of Medina Sidonia (BRAGA, BRAGA 2011: 48, 118, 120, 290, 310, 328). Francisco Pardal offers a clear account of Dona Maria's life in his analysis of her material wealth (PARDAL 2022: 129-133).

It would be churlish to dismiss the cited works simply for the misrepresentation, or merging, of Dona Maria and Soror Maria da Cruz; that is not the intention of this article. These works were focused on making different historiographical contributions, they touched lightly upon Dona Maria and/or Soror Maria da Cruz repeating what has been assumed or only partially researched. The exceptions remain Pereira, and Pardal, along with Isabel Drummond Braga and Paulo Drummond Braga, who situated Dona Maria – however briefly – within a broader analysis of court politics and succession debates. This article seeks to push that analysis further by firmly situating both Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria in the networks of political and diplomatic influence that stretched from Lisbon to London, and even to Madrid.

4. Cavalheiro's Collection

Cavalheiro's transcription of the sixty-two documents is faithful and almost entirely accurately reproduced; he even maintained the seventeenth-century orthography though he offered no additional editorial commentary to this spelling which is the contemporary norm. Cavalheiro did not arrange the letters chronologically, claiming that it was not possible owing to the lack of dates on several letters. Whilst this is true it will be shown that several letters, at least, can be dated with relative certainty. Cavalheiro arranged the documents into four groups: "a) Letters of royal people to Soror Maria da Cruz; b) Letters of Soror Maria da Cruz to royal people; c) Letters of Soror Maria da Cruz to the Duke [and Duchess] de Cadaval; d) Various documents" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 22)¹³.

By making no attempt to arrange the documents chronologically it makes the collection, as a whole, harder to navigate and to immediately note patterns and themes that run between the different documents; further complicated by the central fact that these documents pertain to two separate people.

What evidence is there in Cavalheiro's collection that Maria is in fact two people? Firstly, in the valedictions Dona Maria signs *Dona Maria* and indicates that she is writing from Santa Thereza i.e. Carnide; Soror Maria da Cruz signs Soror Maria and writes convento de Nossa Senhora da Quietação or convento de Alcântara – though she indicated her location less frequently than Dona Maria. Secondly in the letters from Catherine of Braganza, the queen addressed Dona Maria as *irmã* and Soror Maria as *prima* – sister and cousin respectively. To fully appreciate the differences, however, one must read the letters in their original form; they are holographs and the orthography is distinct.

Of the total sixty-two documents, fifty-three are letters to or from Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria. The remaining nine are a collection of documents that relate to Dona Maria's estate and her status. Only sixteen of the letters were holographs from Soror Maria. The information of the people to whom she wrote is laid out in Table 1.

^{13 &}quot;a) Cartas de pessoas reais a Soror Maria da Cruz; b) Cartas de Soror Maria da Cruz para pessoas reais; c) Cartas de Soror Maria da Cruz para os Duques de Cadaval; d) Documentos vários".

Table 1. Letters sent from Soror Maria da Cruz

Recipient	Number of letters
Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo, 1 st duque de Cadaval	14
Maria Angélica Henriqueta de Lorena, duquesa de Cadaval	1
Joana de Faro, condessa de Tentúgal and Odemira ¹⁴	1

In the collection, there is only one letter that is written to Soror Maria da Cruz, see below.

Table 2. Letter sent to Soror Maria da Cruz

Sender	Number of letters
Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England	1

Twenty-five of the documents gathered by Cavalheiro were holographs from Dona Maria. Below is laid out a list of the people to whom she wrote.

Table 3. Letters sent from Dona Maria

Recipient	Number of letters
Nuno Álvares Pereira de Melo, 1 st duque de Cadaval	17
Pedro II, Prince Regent/King of Portugal	6
Isabel Luísa Josefa, Princess of Beira, Infanta of Portugal (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 42) ¹⁵	1
Maria Sofia de Neuburgo, Queen of Portugal	1

In the collection, ten letters were written to Dona Maria and in Table 4 you can see who these individuals were.

¹⁴ Cavalheiro identifies this letter as being sent to Maria Angélica Henriqueta de Lorena, duquesa de Cadaval but the dates disprove this assertion. Cadaval's young daughter, Dona Joana, seems the most likely candidate (SOUSA 1743: 342).

^{15 &}quot;à Rainha D. Catarina de Inglaterra (?)". Cavalheiro cautiously records this letter as sent to Catherine of Braganza; however I would suggest that the recipient is more likely Isabel Luísa Josefa, Princess of Beira.

Table 4. Letters sent to Dona Maria

Sender	Number of letters
Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England	4
Pedro II, Prince Regent/King of Portugal	2
João IV, King of Portugal	1
Afonso VI, King of Portugal	1
Maria Francisca de Sabóia, Queen of Portugal	1
Isabel Luísa Josefa, Princess of Beira, Infanta of Portugal ¹⁶	1
Maria Sofia de Neuburgo, Queen of Portugal	1

As is clear from the tables above, many more letters from the collection were written from or to Dona Maria rather than Soror Maria da Cruz. Of course, Cavalheiro's collection is not a comprehensive collection of the letters written by and to these women but they do demonstrate that both were in correspondence with senior members of the royal family as well as the kingdom's senior nobleman - Cadaval.

Below are the nine remaining documents that are not letters. For those documents that have a date, I have indicated it and for those that do not I have either suggested one or simply placed it within a suggested chronological order.

Table 5. Documents pertaining to Dona Maria

Date	Title	
1665	Confirmation of the gifts given to [Dona Maria] by João IV	
	Formula for letters written to [Dona Maria]	
1670s	Document for the Delegates of the Assembly	
1670s	Paper for the Assembly	
1682	Papal Brief written for [Dona Maria] from Innocent XI	
	Form and way in which Maria Sofia should be with the Senhora Dona Maria	
	Extract of [Dona Maria's] will	
1693	Letter from Dona Luísa to Pedro II	
	Articles of the defence against a case brought by the nuns at Chelas	

¹⁶ "Carta duma Infanta" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 65). Recorded as from "an infanta". It can only be Isabel Luísa Josefa (only daughter of Pedro II and Maria Francisca de Sabóia) as she was the only infanta during Dona Maria's lifetime (SOUSA 1741: 447-452).

Soror Maria's letters in Cavalheiro's collection were all sent to Cadaval save for two. As was customary in early modern letter writing, she demonstrated great care for her recipient's health, opening one letter with: "My Duke and my Lord, concern for the throat pain of Your Excellency had me up with the larks" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 26)¹⁷. In another letter she centres herself as a cog within the spiritual care for his welfare: "May Our Lord be so pleased to free Your Excellency from all complaints and [so] achieve many long and prosperous years of life and health for which this your *oradora* [one who prays] wishes" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 51)18. Her concern was also focused on other members of Cadaval's family. We should read this concern in two primary ways that neither diminish nor exclude the other. Firstly, we must assume that Soror Maria was acquainted with members of Cadaval's household and held genuine affection for them. Secondly, this was a way in which Soror Maria could discursively place herself within Cadaval's household and in so doing, placing herself at his service but also under his protection. In a letter to Cadaval from July 1667, she requested news of his brother Dom Teodósio, who was "Canon of the Cathedral of Lisbon [and] Chaplain of Honour to the king Dom Afonso VI" (SOUSA 1755: 33), and his daughter Dona Joana de Faro "who – like everyone – I love" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 53)¹⁹.

Cavalheiro identifies two of the letters from Soror Maria da Cruz as letters sent to Dona Maria Angélica Henriqueta de Lorena - Cadaval's second wife but the first of his two French wives. As noted in the footnote to Table 1, I have suggested that one of these letters should be re-labelled as sent to Cadaval's daughter, Dona Joana de Faro (1661-1669). The first letter, dated 1673, is certainly written to Dona Maria Angélica Henriqueta de Lorena. This is a simple letter to congratulate her on the safe delivery of her son (SOUSA 1755: 35). Alongside the letter Soror Maria sent a present: "I offer these flowers to Your Excellency to adorn [your] oratory the first time that Your Excellency goes there" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 48)²⁰. An ephemeral gift that has left no other historical imprint. The second letter appears later in Cavalheiro's arrangement but was actually written in 1667 meaning that it cannot be addressed to any duquesa de Cadaval and certainly not his second wife. Cadaval's first wife died in 1664 and Cadaval did not marry again until 1671. Therefore, we should as-

¹⁷ "Meu Duque e meu Senhor o cuidado da dor de garganta de Vossa Excelencia me fas amanheser na Cotovia".

^{18 &}quot;queira Nosso Senhor aproveite tanto que livre Vossa Excelencia de todas as queixas e logre dilatadisimos e prosperos annos a vida e saude que lhe deseja esta sua oradora".

^{19 &}quot;D. Theodosio de Mello de Bragança, foy Conego na Sé de Lisboa, Sumilher da Cortina delRey D. Affonso VI", "darme particulares novas suas do senhor dom Theodosio e da senhora dona Joana que como a todos amo

²⁰ "Esas flores ofereso a Vossa Excelencia para se hornar o oratorio a primeira ves que Vossa Excelencia for a elle".

sume that Soror Maria was writing instead to his young daughter Dona Joana de Faro, condessa de Tentúgal and Odemira. Soror Maria writes: "I assure Your Excellency [that] I have a broken heart in the absence of our princes... the consideration of the solitude of Your Excellency, being parted from the Lord Duke, costs me no less" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 55)²¹. As a condessa in her own right, Dona Joana was entitled to the styling of Vossa Excelência (Your Excellency), a rather grand styling for a girl of five or six but the correct one. However, this formality did not preclude a more intimate relationship, one that is evidenced in two further letters written to Cadaval in the summer of 1668. In early July, Soror Maria wrote of Dona Joana: "I kiss [her] hand and send these sweets for her to enjoy" - one wonders if these lasted half as long as the flowers for the duquesa's oratory (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 27)²². On 31st August she wrote simply: "to [the] senhora Dona Joana, I send an embrace" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 26)²³.

In addition to the care that Soror Maria demonstrated in her writings she took a more active role in Cadaval's familial arrangements when she took responsibility for one of Cadaval's illegitimate daughters. Born in 1666, Dona Teresa Maria de Melo, entered Soror Maria's convent when she was five (c.1671), professed in 1683 and eventually held the title of abbess (SOUSA 1743: 349)²⁴. In an undated note, that concerns itself with the queen's health, Soror Maria records her presence when she added, "Teresa kisses the hand of Your Excellency" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 52)²⁵. Dona Teresa's mother is not recorded in the printed genealogies but she makes a brief appearance in another of Soror Maria's letters, in which Soror Maria explained that: "her mother wrote this letter to me, that Your Excellency will see, asking me to be mediator so that Your Excellency might permit her licence to retire to this city as where she remains is unhealthy" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 52)²⁶.

The implications of this attempted mediation are fairly brutal. Cadaval had removed his daughter from her mother's care and kept her from Lisbon. Soror Maria did not need to mediate for Dona Teresa's mother, or rather there was

²¹ "Prometo a Vossa Excelencia tenho o coracaŏ dividido nesta ausençia dos nossos prinçipes... naŏ me custa menos a conçideração da soledade de Vossa Excelencia vendose apartada do senhor duque".

²² "A senhora dona Joana beyo a mão e ofereso esas alcorsas para se desenfadar".

²³ "a senhora dona Joana mando hum abraço".

²⁴ "D. Theresa Maria de Mello, que nasceo a 19 de Junho do anno de 1666, que creando-se a idade de cinco annos no Mosteiro das Flamengas de Alcantara, junto a Lisboa, da primeira Regra de Santa Clara, nelle tomou o habito, e professou no anno de 1683, e depois foy Abbadessa".

²⁵ "Theresa beya a mão a Vossa Excelencia".

²⁶ "sua mai me escreveu esta carta que Vossa Excelencia vera pedindome fose medianeira para que Vossa Excelencia se sirva permitirlhe liçença a rrecolherse nesta çidade que donde esta não tem saude".

no material need for her to do so. Soror Maria's own mother's fate and identity remain unknown; might this mediation hearken to a particular feeling for the mothers of illegitimate daughters? For now, this must remain speculation as it is impossible to be conclusive on this particular point.

As suggested, Soror Maria's care for Cadaval's household was also a way for her to discursively place herself within that household and so under Cadaval's protection. By positioning herself in this way, Soror Maria was better placed to directly petition Cadaval. For example, in 1675, with the arrival of the Father Commissary General of the Franciscans in Lisbon, Soror Maria da Cruz asked Cadaval to continue his patronage of the current Provincial Father a certain Frei António dos Arcanjos (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 46)²⁷. However, her petitions were not focused solely on the politics of her religious order, her convent or herself. Cadaval was the kingdom's premier noble who held many senior positions of courtly and political significance, including voting on the nomination of bishops (PAIVA 2006: 264). One of the major courtly roles that Cadaval occupied throughout his lifetime was that of mordomo mor (high steward) to successive queens (SOUSA 1755: 34; CARDIM 2011: 168)²⁸. It was because of these roles that, in an undated letter to Cadaval, Soror Maria mentioned that she had written to the queen concerning "the vacancy of the Bishopric of Coimbra asking His Highness [Pedro, Prince Regent] if he had memory of my brother the padre Frei Domingos de Gusmão" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 47)²⁹. Soror Maria's brother (or rather half-brother) was another illegitimate child of the 9th Duke of Medina Sidonia (SOUSA 1755: 120-122, 122³⁰). Though undated by Soror Maria, it is possible to date this letter to 1670 with relative certainty. Firstly, the diocese of Coimbra had lacked a bishop since the death of João Mendes de Távora in 1646. This coincided with the lack of a formal relationship between Rome and Lisbon due to the War of Restoration; this relationship was re-established formally in 1670 (PAIVA 2000: 158-163). During this rupture, there could be no papal approval for royal appointments to dioceses or archdioceses. Secondly, a letter from Soror Maria written on 22nd July 1670 appears to have preceded this undated letter in which she seeks

²⁷ "pesolhe agora contenue o favoresellos abonando suas pesoas e governo".

²⁸ "Mordomo mór das Rainhas Dona Maria Francisca, Dona Maria Sofia, e Dona Maria Anna de Austria", "no seio desse corpo de servidores domésticos do rei o protagonismo pertenceu, sempre, a duas principais figuras, o mordomo-mor e o camareiro-mor".

²⁹ "sobre a vacatura do bispado de Coinbra pedindo a Sua Altesa tivese memoria de meu irmão o padre Frei Domingos de Gusmão". Maria Francisca de Sabóia maintained the styling of queen even after her divorce from Afonso VI and her marriage to his brother Dom Pedro, Prince Regent.

³⁰ "Teve o Duque fóra do matrimonio a estes filhos... D. Fr. Domingos de Gusmaō, havido em huma Senhora de grande qualidade".

Cadaval's help in writing to Maria Francisca de Sabóia as she claimed that she did not have the confidence to do so without permission (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 50)31. If we accept the dating of 1670, then it is clear that Soror Maria was petitioning her cousin the Prince Regent, through Cadaval and Maria Francisca de Sabóia, to elevate her half-brother to the bishopric of Coimbra. Her intercession was not successful; the bishopric went to Manuel de Noronha in December 1670. Frei Domingos was eventually awarded (briefly) the seat of Leiria in 1677 and then that of Évora in 1678 which he held until his death in 1689 (SOUSA 1755: 122); Maria Francisca de Sabóia turned out to be instrumental in securing this position (PAIVA 2006: 469-470). The brieflines of petition from Soror Maria da Cruz evidence a continued relationship between these illegitimate half-siblings who – whilst born in Spain – both achieved positions of influence in Portugal (COSTA 1694: 126). When Soror Maria died in January 1676, Frei Domingos wrote of her to Cadaval in Spanish: "My Cousin and my Lord, [I want to inform] Your Excellency how much I devoted myself to the señora Soror María de la Cruz, my sister [...] and what loving siblings we were" (BNF, Man., Portugais 31: fl.198)³².

Though she was unsuccessful in securing the bishopric of Coimbra for her half-brother, Soror Maria's ability as a petitioner or advocate was acknowledged by her cousin, the Queen of England. In 1669, Catherine of Braganza wrote to Soror Maria to ask her to speak in person to an English diplomat – Sir William Godolphin – who would be passing through Lisbon on his way to Madrid. The queen addressed Soror Maria's as *prima* (cousin) in the opening of the letter and referred to her throughout as $v \circ s$ (you) rather than any other styling. This was probably a way for the queen to sidestep the strictures of etiquette by using the more intimate language of family. She instructed Soror Maria to "with all frankness inform [Godolphin] of the claims that my cousin [Juan Claros Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, 11th Duke of Medina Sidonia (1642–1713)] and the heirs of the House of Medina Sidonia have" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 56)³³. It is within this letter that she signalled her respect for Soror Maria's ability when she wrote, "you would represent this to him better by your rhetoric" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 57)³⁴.

³¹ "se podera o duque escrever a rainha minha senhora que eu fis presente a Sua Magestade o desejava mas que naõ tivera confiança para isto sem liçença".

³² "Primo y S.r mío, constando a VE lo mucho deví a la S.a Soror María dela Cruz mi herm.a (que goçe de Dios), y quan amantes hermanos eramos".

³³ "com toda a llaneça o informeis de todas as pretensoes que meu primo e os herdeiros da casa de Medina Sidonia

^{34 &}quot;vos lho poderdes representar melhor polla vossa retorica".

The majority of Dona Maria's letters from this collection are also sent to Cadaval and the main issue that Dona Maria raises in her letters is money, specifically that the Crown or its agents had failed to pay her annuity, and later that of her niece Dona Luísa. João IV left large sums of money for Dona Maria in his last will and testament with the intention that, in time, she should marry or profess monastic vows (SOUSA 1740: 257)35. Dona Maria's half-brothers committed the Crown to providing her with 4,000 cruzados (1.6 million réis) a year as well as gifts of 50,000 cruzados at different times – vast sums of money (ANTT, Ord. Carm. Des., Convento de Santa Teresa, Mç 3: fl.7r, SILVA 2001: 226). In addition to money, Dona Maria owned a fabulous array of silverware (PARDAL 2022: 144-145).

Whilst Dona Maria used her letters to petition Cadaval her tone was notably different to that of Soror Maria. On the subject of a certain doutor João Coelho who "has done several services for me and for this convent" she wrote: "I will be pleased that he should know the value of my intercession and will be pleased for all that Your Excellency will do in this" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 25)36. This was still a petition but it was framed in much more direct – almost imperative - language. On another occasion Dona Maria wrote to Cadaval when she and her niece were in desperate need of money to complete some building works, having been unable to pay the workmen for five weeks. The work needed completing as it was "on the very convent and it cannot be left open because everything will be ruined if any rain comes". Despite their great need, Dona Maria still wrote in a commanding way in which to extract financial assistance from Cadaval: "it is proper to the nobility of his blood and his piety to come to the aid of those who require his support" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 33)³⁷. An approach quite unlike Soror Maria's claims to early mornings of worry or to being Cadaval's oradora. It should not be too surprising that the formulation of Dona Maria petitions are more commanding than those of Soror Maria because Dona Maria's are not the letters of a subordinate to a superior - as in the case of Soror Maria to Cadaval. Dona Maria was entitled to the styling of Vossa (Sua) Alteza – Your (Her) Highness – and, simply put, in a society and culture that valued status, she outranked Cadaval (SOUSA 1740: 259)38.

^{35 &}quot;porque ElRey cuidou em dar estado a esta filha".

³⁶ "me tem feito alguns servisos e a este convento e terei gosto que elle conhesa o vallor da minha entresesão e ficarei agradesida a Vossa Excelência a tudo o que nisto obrar".

³⁷ "ha sinco somanas que naõ se paga aos ofisiaes por naõ ter dinheiro e como a obra he sobre o mesmo convento nao se pode dexar em aberto porque tudo se arruinara vindo alguma chuva", "he proprio da nobreza de seu sangue e da sua piedade acudir a quem se valeo de seu emparo".

³⁸ "Era tratada pela Corte de Alteza".

In spite of her acknowledged royal paternity, Dona Maria's relationship with the rest of the royal family was less clear cut. As an acknowledged daughter of João IV she was afforded honours and incomes however, her position and status were a double-edged sword. Illegitimacy had never precluded a place within the Portuguese royal succession; João I (1357-1433) the first king of the Avis Dynasty (1385-1580) was himself an illegitimate son (LENCASTRE 2012: 8)³⁹. The possibility that Dona Maria, or any child she might bear, held rights of accession to the throne was an uncomfortable reality.

By the 1670s, it was becoming clear that the Prince Regent and his wife Maria Francisca de Sabóia were unlikely to have any more children. A document was produced which discussed the potential role that Dona Maria could play in the continuation of the dynasty. With so few claimants to the throne available, Dona Maria's status as a daughter of a king took greater significance. 40 The anonymous document is entitled Papel dos Procuradores de Côrtes sobre casar o duque de Cadaval com a Senhora Dona Maria/Document for the Delegates of the Assembly concerning the marriage of the duque de Cadaval with the Senhora Dona Maria. Its intention was to provide a possible solution to the "conservation of the monarchy" and the "succession of the crown" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 43-45, 43⁴¹). At the time of the document the royal family consisted of the Prince Regent, his wife and their only child the *infanta* Isabel Luísa Josefa, Princess of Beira. The problem – as defined by this document – was that there was little probability of another child being born to the royal couple and therefore Isabel Luísa Josefa would inherit the throne and a husband would need to be found. Such a husband would most likely be foreign and this had the potential of inviting further problems that might threaten the safety and recently-won sovereignty of Portugal. The remedy - according to the document's author - was that Dona Maria should marry Cadaval, himself a descendant of a royal scion. Their children would carry the requisite – and presently rare – royal blood. One of these imagined children might then marry a child of Isabel Luísa Josefa. Previously, this idea had been discussed between Cadaval and Padre António Vieira as evidenced by a letter written from Rome by the priest, in 1669. The subject of the letter is Cadaval's marriage prospects and after presenting a number of Italian prospects Vieira writes that Cadaval should marry quickly and that: "Your Excellency should complete the Carnide business by the best possible routes until you establish

³⁹ The Bragança family itself was descended from an illegitimate child of João I – Afonso I, duque de Bragança.

⁴⁰ By this point, Afonso VI was living in exile, the Queen of England had given up her claims and there were no more surviving siblings - even João IV's siblings had all died.

⁴¹ "conçervação da monarchia", "sucçessão da coroa".

success, or disappointment" (VIEIRA 1735: 200-201)⁴².

The suggestion that Dona Maria should marry Cadaval was met with a certain coolness by the Queen of England. Gaspar de Abreu, the Portuguese envoy, reported that the queen's response to the idea was simply: "It seems to me that Dona Maria wishes to be a nun" (PEREIRA 2008: 73)⁴³. Troni argues that this was not because of a lack of love between the queen and Dona Maria but rather that there was considerable tension between the Queen of England and Cadaval (TRONI 2008: 229-230). Although it is also feasible that the queen was aware of Dona Maria's true feelings on the subject. In the marriage market, Pereira writes that Dona Maria "was always a [game] piece to be considered by various political factions"; she notes that Afonso VI even considered marrying his half-sister to Don Juan de Austria (1629-1679) - Philip IV of Spain's illegitimate son (PEREIRA 2008: 70)44. Despite these ideas, Dona Maria remained unwed.

Dona Maria was always careful to show her support for, and respect to, the senior branch of the royal family. Considering the suggestions that had swirled around a possible marriage between her and Cadaval, this demonstrates an awareness of how her position might be manipulated to present a threat to the legitimate line. Conscious of this uncertain familial position, Dona Maria's letters to various members of the royal family were carefully constructed missives of compliment that not only reinforced her intimacy with the family but also her obedience to it. After Pedro II's second wife arrived in Portugal from Heidelberg, Dona Maria sent her a gift which was presented to the new queen consort by Cadaval. Dona Maria Sofia de Neuburgo (1666-1699), Queen of Portugal 1687-1699, wrote to Dona Maria on 9th September 1687: "The muff, that was presented to me by [Cadaval] on your behalf, greatly pleased me, and more than anything I wish to thank you with an embrace, as soon as time permits" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 64)⁴⁵.

Dona Maria wrote to Maria Sofia de Neuburgo, following the birth of a prince, likely written in 1688 and so congratulating the queen on the birth of her first, tragically short-lived, son: "[Dona Luísa and I] ask God that the health and life of Your Majesty be very long so that He might give us many

^{42 &}quot;O que supposto, e ser necessario que V Exc. caze quanto mais depressa, o que parece à Senhora Duqueza (e eu tambem o julgàra, como creado de V Exc.) he que V. Exc. pelas melhores vias devia apertar o negocio de Carnide athè averiguar o effeito, ou o desengano".

⁴³ "Pareçe me que Dona Maria quer ser freira".

⁴⁴ "foi sempre uma peça a considerar por parte das várias facções políticas".

⁴⁵ "O regalo que de vossa parte me presentou o duque, estimei muito, e mais que tudo podervolo aggradecer com hum abraço, logo que o tempo me der lugar".

heirs for the preservation of this monarchy" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 58)⁴⁶. When news reached Dona Maria that Maria Sofia might be paying her a visit, she sent a note to Cadaval, keen to be given more details about the upcoming visit: "I have news that the Queen, my Lady, wishes to do me the honour of coming to this house; might Your Excellency advise me so that I may be certain of the day" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 35)⁴⁷. Dona Maria passed on this careful positioning of herself in relation to the senior royal family to her niece, Dona Luísa – Pedro II's illegitimate daughter. In one surviving letter from Dona Luísa to the gueen-consort Maria Sofia a second hand takes over in places to make corrections and to write the valediction in full – a hand that is very similar to that of Dona Maria (BNF, Man., Portugais 32: fl.15r-v)

In addition to compliment, Dona Maria could be called upon to help the royal family. An extraordinary letter from the Queen of England demonstrates the crucial position that Dona Maria occupied in a network of Roman Catholic ladies. Just as with Soror Maria, the Queen of England used familial language avoiding the rigidity of formal styling. She styled Dona Maria as *irmã* and throughout her letters referred to her as vós (you) as opposed to Vossa Alteza (Your Highness); likewise Pedro II greeted her as simply Honrada D[on]a M[ari]a minha Irmãa - Honoured Dona Maria my sister. The queen's principal motive for writing was to ask her half-sister to take an English girl into her care who the queen had raised "with the intention that she be a nun" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 65)⁴⁸. The chronicle of the Franciscans in Portugal records that this girl was born into an Anglican family but who converted to Roman Catholicism and eventually took vows at Madre de Deus, Lisbon where she took the name Soror Helena da Cruz (BELÉM 1755: 327-356). The chronicle records that she arrived in Portugal in the same year that Afonso VI married Maria Francisca de Sabóia which was in 1666 – thus offering a date for the letter. Dona Maria was not the only lady that the queen included in her plan, as she wrote in the letter: "The condessa de Redondo will give you more particular details" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 65-66)⁴⁹. Was this evidence of the Queen of England's active Roman Catholic evangelism and convent recruitment? James E. Kelly writes that during the sixteenth century it was "priests, covertly ministering in England, [who] were involved in the transfer of potential postulants to mainland Europe". This recruitment:

^{46 &}quot;pedimos a Deus que a saude e vida de Vossa Magestade seia mui dilatada para que nos de muitos erdeiros para conservasão desta monarquia".

⁴⁷ "tenho por notisias que a rainha minha senhora me quer fazer merce de vir a esta caza queira Vossa Excelencia avizarme tanto que souber a serteza do dia".

⁴⁸ "criei huma menina ingleza com intecão de que fosse religioza".

⁴⁹ "A condessa de Redondo vos hade dar mais particulares notícias".

never really recovered after the English Civil War, which is somewhat surprising as it is usually argued that Catholic existence was easier under Charles II, at least until the wave of executions that followed the fabricated Popish Plot of the late 1670s (KELLY 2020: 24-26).

As Kelly notes, Titus Oates's allegations of a sectarian inspired assassination plot were a complete fiction; however, as the Queen of England's letter to Dona Maria evidences, the queen was involved in the conversion and transportation of an English subject from both the Anglican faith to the Roman Catholic, and from England to Portugal. This letter also evidences the trust that the queen had with her half-sister considering the political risks that the queen was taking in making such arrangements.

Whilst Dona Maria did have good relations with her half-siblings this did not prevent her from writing a furious tirade to the Prince Regent in 1682 about money owing to her from João IV's will. This particular letter is an example of how a transcribed version might make the text clearer to read but, in so doing, dull the other ways that we might analyse the document. In comparison to Dona Maria's other surviving letters this is by far the longest but it is also the one in which she takes the least time, and allows the least space, to make her salutation and valediction. In the holograph, the traditional closing, "I kiss the Royal Hands of Y our H ighness]", is squeezed into the bottom of the page where Vossa Alteza is contracted to VA (BNP, Portugais 27: fl.49v)⁵⁰. In Cavalheiro's version, this valediction is given plenty of space and he chose to spell out Vossa Alteza with no indication that he was expanding the contracted form (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 40). This editorial decision disguises the physicality of Dona Maria's letter writing, the stresses that may have imbued the very formation of her words and phrases not to mention the effects on her usually elegant hand. Crucially, this letter demonstrates Dona Maria's firm understanding of her financial situation and the inheritances that had been bequeathed to her. In 1677, the Prince Regent had written to his half-sister – a copy of which is held at the British Library, London. The prince assured Dona Maria that:

> I have ordered you to be given all the money that refer to you from the word of the will of the king, my lord and our father (who is in glory), and António Cavide's declarations, alongside those payments of money that were given in interest. (BL, Add MS 15170, p.268)⁵¹.

^{50 &}quot;Beijo as Reaes Mãos de VA".

⁵¹ "mandei ordenar vos mandasse entregar todo o dr.o que da berba do testamento delRey meu S.r e nosso Pay q santa gloria haga, e declaraçoes de Antonio Cabide constou vos tocava, e juntam.te aquelles redditos do dr.o que estava dado a juro".

Dona Maria's letter of 1682 claims that in spite of the Prince Regent's order, her money had never been paid.

There was no discernible difference in the ways in which Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria made their petitions versus those employed by legitimate noblewomen. In many cases Cadaval was petitioned as a middleman considering his seniority at the Portuguese court and his occupation of numerous important offices. In 1720, Dona Luísa Bernarda Telo de Vasconcelos petitioned Cadaval – in his role as *mordomo mor* of the queen's household – for a habit of the Order of Christ for any future husband of hers and an annuity for herself of 100 mil réis, as reward for her service as *moça de câmara* (maid of the bedchamber). In this instance Dona Luísa Bernarda was not considered worthy of such an income and Cadaval suggested an annuity of 60 mil réis instead (BNP, Man., Portugais 35, fl.98). What both Marias could do that Dona Luísa Bernarda could not was to petition or write to members of the royal family directly. Whilst they may have been illegitimate, their connection to the royal family gave them scope for intercession and petition that were not open to all.

Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria both used letter writing to affect change, to petition influential people, or to intercede for people under their care or who may have requested their help. However, the approaches, intentions and writing styles of these women were different for several reasons. One of these overarching reasons was the difference in relational dynamics that Soror Maria and Dona Maria had with the royal and noble families. Soror Maria was related to the royal family through Luísa de Guzmán and as an illegitimate niece she did not have the direct claim to royal kinship that Dona Maria had as daughter of a Portuguese king. As noted above Soror Maria positioned herself as a servant to the royal family and a subordinate to Cadaval. In this way, Soror Maria made gentle requests and sought the support of her influential correspondents. Because of her subordinate position she offered no threat to the new dynasty but rather could act as a diplomatic intermediary. Dona Maria's legally defined status emboldened her to write in a more commanding tone to Cadaval, and even to dare to show her anger to the then Prince Regent. At the same time, this status and kinship with the royal family were a blessing and a curse. Whilst she may have been afforded great respect and wealth, she – alongside any child of her body – was also viewed as a potential threat to the supremacy of the senior branch of the family.

5. Additional Sources

Beyond the letters collected by Cavalheiro there are several others held within archival collections in the UK. In both those collected by Cavalheiro and those held in the UK there are suggestions of further letters that have yet to be uncovered. There are almost certainly other letters that have yet to come to light from, or to, either Soror Maria or Dona Maria.

At the National Archives, Kew, there are three holographs addressed to Charles II (1630-1685), King of England 1660-1685. The one from Dona Maria was written in Portuguese in January 1667. It appears to be the first of such letters, Dona Maria wrote: "My words are too limited in order to thank Your Majesty for the honour and favour that he has done in permitting me his news". It is a short letter of compliment in which Dona Maria hopes: "that Your Majesty knows my soul and the care with which I beseech Our Lord [for] the life and health of Your Majesty" (NA, SP 89/8/4: fl.6)52.

It is possible that Charles II had waited until after his mother-in-law's death – in 1666 – before writing to his wife's illegitimate half-sister so as not to cause offence. It is probably unsurprising that Dona Maria did not have a close relationship with her father's wife and queen. The very presence of Dona Maria at Carnide prevented Luísa de Guzmán from retiring to the convent there.⁵³ Her husband's daughter was the all too real reminder of her husband's many infidelities from the early days of their marriage that continued throughout her multiple pregnancies – not all of which resulted in live births (RÊGO 1995: 40⁵⁴; COSTA, CUNHA 2008: 170⁵⁵). Writing on her retirement the queen noted: "My inclination dictates that the convent should be that of Santa Teresa. To this I say that in Carnide there is the difficulty of Dona Maria" (ANTT, Man. Liv., No. 380: fl.2v)⁵⁶.

Briefly, she considered a Dominican convent (Bom Sucesso) but as it was on the coast it was rejected as being too dangerous. Ultimately, Luísa de Guzmán founded a Discalced Augustinian convent into which she retired (ERICEIRA 1759: 188-189: ABLANCOURT 1701: 131).

The other two letters held at Kew are both written from Soror Maria da Cruz in Castilian Spanish, dated 1662 and 1663 (NA, SP 89/5/81: fl.117, SP

^{52 &}quot;Mui limitadas são as minhas palavras p.a agradeser a VMg.de a honrra e merçe q me ha feito em me permitir novas suas", "q VMg.de conhesa meu animo e o cudado com q peso a nosso Snor a vida e saude de VMg.de".

⁵³ The widowed queen had been ousted from government and had chosen – or was encouraged – to withdraw to

⁵⁴ "a duquesa se sentia que a delícia do duque seu marido não parava nos teatros".

^{55 &}quot;procurou consolo em outras damas que circulavam pelo paço".

⁵⁶ "Mi inclinacion me dita q el Convento sea de Sta Tereza. Aesta digo, q en Carnid ay la difficultad de Doña Maria".

89/6/46: fl.87). In the first, Soror Maria expresses customary feelings of love and devotion for the king, signing off as "your faithful slave". In the latter part of the letter, she writes that the only cure for not being in the king's presence (which she never had been nor ever would be) was "the antidote of news from Your Majesty" (NA, SP 89/5/81: fl.117)⁵⁷. The second letter runs in a similar vein though it evidences that the king had written to her, Soror Maria referred to "your letter which I have put under my eyes so many times" (NA, SP 89/6/46: fl.87)⁵⁸. Currently, of this letter (or letters?) from Charles II there is no sign. From these letters held at Kew, two points are apparent. Firstly, Soror Maria da Cruz appears to have been involved in the dissemination and sharing of information between various political actors to which we shall return. Secondly, Soror Maria da Cruz demonstrates an ability to write in both Spanish and Portuguese, which was not at all uncommon, especially amongst the Portuguese nobility and the educated. This had much to do with many centuries of cultural exchange between Spain and Portugal, particularly with regards to poetry, music and theatre. In the prologue to Dona Bernarda Ferreira de Lacerda's Soledades de Buçaco the author wrote: "I write in Spanish because it is a clear and almost communal language" (LACERDA 1634: Prólogo)⁵⁹. It is presumably for this same reason that in 1662 when a description was written of the celebrations in Lisbon on the departure of Catherine of Braganza for England it was published in Spanish (ANON 1662). There was an awareness amongst the Portuguese when one muddled or mixed their language with another and which they expressed with very particular vocabulary. In a letter from the Queen of England to Dona Maria, the queen demonstrated such an awareness. Just before her valediction, the queen wrote a brief apology: "my Portuguese is already so *enxacoco* [muddled] due to lack of use, that because of this I will beg your forgiveness" (CAVALHEIRO 1940: 67)60. There is no satisfactory direct translation for *enxacoco* in English – muddled has to suffice. *Enxacoco* means "to confuse the language of [one's] fatherland with a foreign [one]" (BLUTEAU 1713: 164)61, or "mixing one language with another" (SILVA 1789: 519)⁶².

The Queen of England had a facility with both Spanish and Portuguese, letters from her mother were written in Spanish and she is known to have re-

^{57 &}quot;su fiel esclaba", "el contraveneno de nuevas de VMgtad".

⁵⁸ "sus letras las quales puse sobre mis ojos muchisimas beses".

⁵⁹ "escrivo en Castellano por ser Idioma claro, y casi comun".

^{60 &}quot;o meu portugues he ja taõ enxacoco pollo poco uzo, que ate isso uos eide pedir perdão".

^{61 &}quot;Fallar enxacoco. Patrium cum alieno sermonem confundere".

^{62 &}quot;Fallar enxacoco, misturando huma lingua com outra".

plied to certain French ambassadors in Spanish (RAPOSO 1947: 413-440⁶³; BNF, Man., Français 22787: fl.25⁶⁴). No letter is known – at the moment – in which Dona Maria writes in Spanish. This does not mean that Dona Maria had no aptitude or skill with Spanish, the library at Carnide contained a large quantity of books that were in Spanish and were printed during or before Dona Maria's lifetime; it is safe to assume that many would have been there during her time. After the state took control of the convent in the nineteenth century, an inventory of its possessions was taken between 1891 and 1892. During this process the books at Carnide were inventoried, the first seven books on the list were all published in Spanish, the very first item was a 1681 edition of the Mystica cidad [sic] de Dios written by the Spanish Conceptionist nun Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda. Whilst the text was in Spanish it had been printed in Lisbon (ANTT, Min. Fin, Convento de Santa Teresa, Cx. 1983: fl.82-90). At the very least, Dona Maria would have been exposed to spiritual writings and histories written in Spanish.

At the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there are two letters written by Soror Maria da Cruz to Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich during his tenure as Ambassador Extraordinary to Madrid⁶⁵. One of Sandwich's letters to Soror Maria is also held within this collection (Bodleian, MS. Carte 75: fl.460, fl.462r-v, fl.481). The diplomat, Sir Robert Southwell, acted as Sandwich's postman to Soror Maria on at least one occasion, "I received your letter from the hand of *Don Roberto Southvel*" (Bodleian, MS. Carte 75: fl.460)⁶⁶. All three letters were written in 1666, prior to the completion of the Treaty of Madrid, and like the letters to Charles II, these letters were also written in Spanish. Unlike the Queen of England and the Prince Regent (later King of Portugal), Sandwich referred to Soror Maria as Excelentísima Señora – Most Excellent Lady – and Vuestra Excelencia – Your Excellency (Bodleian, MS Carte 75: fl. 462r-v). Despite this formal styling, it is possible to read a flirtation into the letter that Sandwich sent to Soror Maria, there is a quality to the language that conceivably goes beyond the bounds of polite letter writing. Certainly, courtly rhetoric is discursively present. Sandwich wrote how happy he was that she had granted him permission to send letters to her "most pure hands"; he wrote how he longed for a resolution of the negotiations and for wings to carry him

⁶³ The originals are held at the Biblioteca da Ajuda and the Universidade de Coimbra.

^{64 &}quot;le même jour apres midi de la Reina douairiere d'Angletere, je lui parlay en Fransois elle me repondit en

⁶⁵ Sandwich took over from Sir Richard Fanshawe in Madrid in May 1666 to complete the Treaty of Madrid, signed in May 1667.

^{66 &}quot;Resebi Su papel de mano de don Roberto Southvel".

to her presence; he wrote how he would practise: "this Language: so that I might find myself more capable of the contentment and the satisfaction that always accompany the sweet Conversation of Your Excellency" (Bodleian, MS Carte 75: fl.462r-v)⁶⁷. There is certainly an implied longing in the text that is imaginatively portrayed. If this were evidence of light flirtation, Sandwich would not be the last English visitor to do so with nuns in Lisbon. When the Duke of Grafton accompanied Pedro II's second wife, Maria Sofia, to the city it is recorded that "accompanied by several Captains of his fleet, [he] was eager to touch the hands &c. of the Nuns of Odivelas" – the enigmatic "&c." leaving much to the imagination (LAHONTAN 1704: 127)68.

More letters from Sandwich would be required to make any more conclusive statements on the quality of their relationship. Equally, it would be an overreach to conclude – from the existing documents – that Soror Maria was involved directly in the mediation of the Treaty of Madrid. However, the fact that every British agent involved in the process passed through her convent, met with her, carried letters for her combined with her kinship with the Queen of England, the royal family in Portugal and the nobility of Spain, should count for something. As noted above, we know from Cavalheiro's collection that the Queen of England at least respected her skills of rhetoric (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 56-57). Soror Maria da Cruz should be considered an important node and useful communicator within the network of people who facilitated peace on the Iberian peninsula. Furthermore, Soror Maria's role as spiritual intercessor should also be included in this picture. Her prayers were directed towards the resolution of the peace process and the reality of their efficacy for early modern actors cannot be diminished. Spiritual intercession combined with church or monastic ritual were not separated from political or diplomatic action. The marquês de Alegrete would receive his title thanks to the happy conclusion of the marital contract in Heidelberg for Pedro II's second marriage; this success was widely accepted as being contingent on the intercession of his sister – the abbess at Madre de Deus (ANON 1700: 170; SOUSA 1688). Allusion to prayer was not simple rhetoric and so when Soror Maria wrote to Sandwich, "I ask God for order so that it may be for the benefit of the two Kingdoms", she was not only articulating a desire but also claiming her place within the diplomatic process in her role as spiritual intercessor (Bodleian, MS Carte 75:

⁶⁷ "empieço á gozar de la liçençia que V.E ha sido servida conçeder á que mis Cartas puedan llegarse á sus purissimas manos... La Brevedad con que (espero) llegaran los Publicos Negoçios al termino que se dessea, me servira de alas para pasarme quanto antes á la Presençia de VE... aprender este Lenguage; para que... me halle mas capaz del contento & satisfaçian que siempre accompañan á la dulçe Conversaçion de VE.a".

^{68 &}quot;Milord Grafton suivi de quelques Capitaines de sa flotte, eut la curiosité de toucher les mains &c. des Réligieuses d'Odivelas".

fl.481)⁶⁹. This role was also acknowledged by an eighteenth-century source in which Soror Maria was meant to have: "asked [Luísa de Guzmán] to be served to give her leave to stay in this Monastery, in which to serve God, praying to the same Lord for the State, and augmentation of Her Majesty, and for all the Royal House" (SANTA MARIA 1744: 25)⁷⁰.

Whether or not she asked this question, Soror Maria da Cruz was memorialised as a nun dedicated to the betterment of the state and royal family.

6. Portraits

Cavalheiro wrote how he hoped that a faithful portrait of his subject might be drawn. A few contemporaneous writers left impressions of Soror Maria and Dona Maria that help flesh out the impressions left by the surviving documentation. There are extant sketches of Soror Maria da Cruz provided by a mix of Italian and English observers. The first is from the memoirs of Ann, Lady Fanshawe. In 1662, Lady Fanshawe met Soror Maria da Cruz and recorded in her memoir that:

> The Abadessa of the Alcantara [sic], niece to the Queen-Mother, natural daughter of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, sent, to welcome me into the country, a very noble present of perfumes, waters and sweetmeats, and during my abode in Lisbon we often made visits and interchanged messages, to my great content, for she was a very fine lady (FANSHAWE 1907: 106).

When the ambassadorial family returned to England in 1664, Soror Maria bade farewell to Sir Richard in a letter in which she referred to one of his daughters - mi presiosa Margarita/my darling Margaret - "to whom I send this toy cart"; Soror Maria certainly understood the importance of gift giving (Barking and Dagenham Arch., NR90/248)⁷¹. In 1668, following a meeting with Soror Maria da Cruz, Sir Bernard Gascoigne (né Bernardino Guasconi) wrote to the Queen of England that:

> I have found her to be a Lady of a very great witt and most excellent conversation, and I would have given much that your M[ajes]ty could have

^{69 &}quot;pido a dios de horden p.a que sea en probecho de los dos Reinos".

^{70 &}quot;pedia a Sua Magestade quizesse ser servida de lhe dar licença para ficar naquele Mosteiro, se servir nelle a Deos, rogando ao mesmo Senhor pelo Estado, e aumento de Sua Magestade, e de toda a casa Real".

⁷¹ "mi presiosa margarita a quien enbio esa carrosilla".

heard, with how much mirth and how wee passed 3 houres times ... I was persuaded that ye vivacity of her witt, and her galant way of speaking did proceed much from ye length of time that shee had lived and that shee was in age; but att her appearance to ye Doore I found her handsome and fresch.

From the same letter, Gascoigne records that Soror Maria had asked whether the periwig he wore was his own hair. Gascoigne told her that it was not and removed it to show his true hair "which caused much laughter". He was then encouraged to put the wig "upon a great old bald saint that was placed within ye dore of ye Porteria [...] to which most readily I made a very devout present, and returned without itt" (BL, Add MS 38850: fl.19v-fl.20). Another Italian visitor to Lisbon provides us with another glimpse. According to Lorenzo Magalotti, Cosimo de'Medici (future Grand Duke of Tuscany) was impressed by this royal cousin and Magalotti recorded that she was "very young in appearance, and with a manner not unbecoming to a royal person" (RIVERO, RIVERO 1933: $271)^{72}$. These impressions help shape a sense of Soror Maria. Her letters evidence a capable and educated woman who was adept at managing the important relationships within her influential and well-connected social network as well as demonstrating a caring nature towards the families, particularly children, within her circle. However, the impressions left by others present evidence which is hard to mine from holographs; Soror Maria comes across as a charming and amusing individual.

Concerning her role as a political or diplomatic actor, it is hard to truly define Soror Maria's role. However, in 1676, Francis Parry (English resident in Lisbon) reported her death to Henry Coventry, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department writing: "Donna Maria de Guzman Cosen German to her maj[es]ty our Queene, a Nunn of the Flemish monastery at Alcantra died ye beginning of the month" (NA, SP 89/13/78: fl.139). Why would a member of the diplomatic corps report the death of a Portuguese nun? One answer would be that she was the Queen of England's first cousin – or "Cosen German" to use Parry's language. On the other hand, considering the frequency with which Soror Maria da Cruz met with foreign dignitaries from the Fanshawe family and the Earl of Sandwich to Cosimo de'Medici, we must assume that Soror Maria da Cruz was an acknowledged node within a network of international diplomacy – by the English at the very least.

A more complete portrait of Dona Maria is harder to define though further evidence exists of the honours paid to her and the respect shown. Dona Maria's

^{72 &}quot;assai giovane, di aspetto, e di maniere non disdicevoli a persona reale".

status was respected throughout her life and even in death this respect was demonstrated. However, this respect was closely managed and appears to have insulated Dona Maria from being written about in a way that might allow us to understand how she was viewed separate to her royal lineage. Dona Maria's royal status was acknowledged not just by João IV's recognition and the styling of Vossa Alteza but also by the right she had to make use of royal arms, a right she shared with other infantas of Portugal. On the frontispiece of Padre Manuel Fernandes's Alma Instruída there is an image of the infanta Isabel Luísa Josefa. At the base of the engraving there is an impaled coat of arms, the dexter side is blank whilst the sinister side shows the royal arms of Portugal (FERNANDES 1699: Frontispiece). The blank dexter side was awaiting the arms of the royal house into which she would marry, though the infanta died unmarried. As main patron of the convento de São João da Cruz, Dona Maria's arms were displayed on the frontispiece of the Livro da fundação do Real Convento de Carnide (Book of the Foundation of the Royal Convent of Carnide); the dexter side shows the royal arms of Portugal whilst the sinister shows the arms of the Discalced Carmelite order. A symbol that seems to present a union between the royal house of Portugal and the family of Carmel (ANTT, Livro da fundação: Frontispiece).

As noted, the relationship with her half-siblings appears to have been, broadly, good; tantalisingly, Virgínia Rau suggested that Catherine of Braganza may have owned a portrait of Dona Maria in the garb of a Carmelite (RAU 1947: 83). However, it is certain that Dona Maria's position as an illegitimate member of the royal family was a source of stress which was compounded by an insecurity in her incomes (however large) and constraints on her movements. In the Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza the authors recorded the visit that Maria Francisca de Sabóia made to Carnide so that "the formality with which kings [and queens] are accustomed to honour their siblings, even if illegitimate" be known (SOUSA 1740: 258)⁷³. Dona Maria greeted Maria Francisca in the interior part of the gate house on her knees, the queen raised her up, embraced her, and then they went to the chapel to pray together. They then went to take refreshments in Dona Maria's rooms where Dona Maria took the position of a duchess in relation to where the gueen sat (SOUSA 1740: 258-259). Whilst this meeting afforded Dona Maria great honour it was also highly stage managed, this was a meeting that had to be controlled and regulated. Hers was not an easy relationship to maintain. Financial troubles created tensions in the relationship with Pedro II. Her concerns about this relationship with her half-brother were written into her will. Of her brother she wrote:

^{73 &}quot;se saiba a formalidade, com que os Reys costumaõ honrar aos seus irmãos, ainda que illegitimos".

To the King Dom Pedro my Lord, and brother – may God preserve him – I ask him to forgive me the troubles that I have caused him, and with all the affection in my heart I thank him for the favours that I have always received from his magnanimity (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 16).74

These insecurities concerning income and familial relations were key stresses in her life that may have contributed to a worsening of Dona Maria's mental health. There were contemporaneous concerns about Dona Maria's health, identified using the early modern term of melancholy. It would break the Goldwater rule to attempt a psychological analysis of Dona Maria with the distance of years and difference of terminology. Dom Luís da Cunha (who knew Dona Maria personally) recorded: "[she] entered such a melancholy that she began to say that she despaired of her salvation [...] what followed is that the friars said that a malignant spirit had entered her, and they began to exorcise her following the rites of the church" (SILVA 2001: 227)⁷⁵.

Whether possessed or not, whether suffering from what we might conceivably interpret as an episode (or chronic period) of mental ill-health, or not, Dona Maria ultimately died on 6th February 1693. By the standards of the Roman Catholic church, Dona Maria was afforded a good death. In 1682, she had received a papal brief from Innocent XI (1611-1689, pontiff from 1676) in which it was stated: "if you invoke the name of Jesus devoutly with [your] mouth; or not being able to with [your] mouth, with your heart; mercifully, by the Lord, we grant you plenary indulgence; and remission of all your sins" (CAVALHEIRO 1944: 67)⁷⁶.

By the standards of funerary honours, Dona Maria received all respect. We are told that following her death the king withdrew for five days and wore mourning for a month (SOUSA 1740: 260). Meanwhile, her body was laid to rest in a truly magnificent tomb of inlaid marble that can still be seen in the lower choir at Carnide. A Latin inscription proclaims her royal father and is further emblazoned with an elongated diamond bearing the royal arms of Portugal – on this occasion, *not* impaled by the arms of the Discalced Carmelites. However, Dona Maria's final resting place is miles from both the original pantheon at Belém as well as the later one at São Vicente de Fora. This illegitimate infanta was kept in death as she was in life, honoured but far away from the legitimate family.

⁷⁴ "A El-Rey D. Po meu Sor, e irmão que D.s G.de, pesso me perdoe as molestias que lhe houver cauzado, e com todo o afecto do meu coração lhe agradeço os favores que sempre recebi de sua grandeza".

⁷⁵ "entrou em tal melancolia que começou a dizer que despesperava da sua salvação... de que se seguiu dizerem os frades que nela tinha entrado o espírito maligno, e a começaram a exorcizar segundo os ritos da igreja".

^{76 &}quot;se invocares devotamente o nome de Iezu com a boca; ou nao podendo com a boca, com a coração; mizericordiamente em o Senhor vos concedemos plenaria indulgencia; e remissaõ de todos vossos peccados".

Conclusion

Historic gender bias has obscured the important contributions that these women made to court life, international diplomacy, and to their monastic institutions and orders. When Cavalheiro transcribed those documents he did both a great archival service and a great historiographical disservice. Undoubtedly the printed typeface is much clearer to contemporary readers; however, his editorial decisions and historical assertions have left a stubborn stain on the historiography.

Soror Maria da Cruz and Dona Maria both exercised their agency through letter writing, gift giving and hospitality challenging the notion that elite Portuguese women were inactive or passive. Soror Maria's illegitimacy and her monastic estate did not prevent her from acting as an agent of the Crown and she mobilised her kinship and social networks for petitions and diplomacy as well as ecclesiastic and monastic politics. Dona Maria's letters – at least those that survive – were more focused on maintaining her incomes from the Crown and a peaceful relationship with the royal family; though her role in welcoming an English convert to Lisbon evidenced a fascinating departure from this norm. Certainly, Soror Maria da Cruz had a greater diplomatic impact than Dona Maria. Beyond interceding for "the heirs of the House of Medina Sidonia" it remains unclear the extent to which she interceded for particular policies. However, it is clear that Soror Maria da Cruz was well-known by the key diplomatic figures of the age who were all instrumental in formalising the peace between Portugal and Spain in 1668.

In both cases, illegitimacy did not preclude these women from exercising their agency. As previously noted, the Avis and Bragança dynasties were ultimately descended from illegitimate sons whilst numerous illegitimate children of the nobility held positions of great importance within the Church and/or one of the organs of state; Frei Domingos de Gusmão, Soror Maria da Cruz's aforementioned half-brother, being an excellent example of this. Crucially, in both cases, their networks crossed not simply over their convent walls but across seas and political boundaries.

Manuscripts

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon). Ministério das Finanças, Convento de Santa Teresa de Carnide de Lisboa, Caixa 1983, Inventário de extinção do convento de Santa Teresa de Carnide de Lisboa.

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon). Ordem dos Carmelitas Des-

- calços, Convento de São João da Cruz de Carnide, Livro 1, Livro da Fundação do Real Convento de Carnide.
- Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon). Manuscritos da Livraria, No. 380, Cortes que celebraram na cidade de Lisboa sobre a deposição do rei D. Afonso VI e regência do reino ao príncipe D. Pedro, seu irmão. Ano de 1668, Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon). *Manuscritos*, 51-X-17.
- Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra (Coimbra). Ms 997, Fundação dos Agostinhos Descalços de Portugal.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris). Manuscrits, Français 22787 (1601-1800). Collection de l'abbé Dangeau sur l'état de la France au temps de Louis XIV CXCIV-CXCV Melanges sur l'histoire de Portugal.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris). Manuscrits, Portugais 27.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris). Manuscrits, Portugais 31; 32; 35.
- British Library (London). Western Manuscripts, Add MS 15170, Copies of Letters and Official Papers relating to business transacted by the Duke of Cadaval, when Minister of State in Portugal, in the years 1691-1697.
- British Library (London). Western Manuscripts Add MS 38850, Hodgkin Papers Vol. V, Letter to Queen Catherine (1668), fl.19v-fl.20.
- Bodleian Library (Oxford). MS. Carte 75: fl.460, Sister Maria de la Cruz to Sandwich: written from [Lisbon]; fl.481, Maria de la Cruz to Sandwich: *written from Dal Convento* [sic] [in Lisbon].
- Bodleian Library (Oxford). MS Carte 75, fl. 462r-v, Lord Sandwich to Maria de la Cruz.
- The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham Archives (London). The papers of Sir Richard Fanshawe BART, NR90/248 'From the Lady Abbess at Alcantara near Lix.a Doña Maria Guzman dated 12 feb.ry 1664'.
- The National Archives (London). Records assembled by the State Paper Office, including papers of the Secretaries of State up to 1782, SP 89/5/81, 'Folio 117: Sister Maria de la Cruz to Charles II. 1662 Oct 4 Convent of the Flemish Nuns Lisbon'.
- The National Archives (London). Records assembled by the State Paper Office, including papers of the Secretaries of State up to 1782, SP 89/6/46, 'Folio 87: Sister Maria de la Cruz [Lady Abbess of Alcantara] to Charles II. Effusive thanks and compliments. 1663 Apr 9 Lisbon'.
- The National Archives (London). Records assembled by the State Paper Office, including papers of the Secretaries of State up to 1782, SP 89/8/4, 'Folio 6: Dona Maria to Charles II. Thanking him for his favours and protesting her own devotion to him. 1667 Jan 22 Lisbon'; SP 89/13/78, 'Folio 139: Francis Parry to Secretary Coventry. 1675 Jan 18/28 Lisbon'.

Printed sources

- ABLANCOURT, Nicolas Fremont d' (1701). Memoires de Monsieur d'Ablancourt, Envoyé de Sa Majesté Très-Chrétienne Louis XIV en Portugal. Amsterdam: J. Louis de Lorme.
- ANON (1662). Relacion de las Fiestas que se hizieron en Lisboa con la nueva del casamiento de la Serenissima Infanta de Portugal Doña Catalina (ya Reyna de la Gran Bretaña) con el Serenissimo Rey de la Gran Bretaña Carlos Segundo deste nombre. Lisbon: Officina de Henrique Valente de Oliveira.
- ANON (1700). An Account of the Court of Portugal under the Reign of the present King Dom Pedro II. London: Thomas Bennet.
- BELÉM, Jeronymo de (1755). Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves, da Regular Observancia de Nosso Serafico Padre S. Francisco, vol. 3. Lisbon: Officina de Ignacio Rodrigues.
- BELÉM, Jeronymo de (1758). Chronica Serafica da Santa Provincia dos Algarves, da Regular Observancia de Nosso Serafico Padre S. Francisco, vol. 4. Lisbon: Officina de Ignacio Rodrigues.
- BLUTEAU, Rafael Bluteau (1713). *Vocabulário Portuguez e Latino*, vol. 3. Coimbra: Real Collegio das Artes da Companhia.
- Descriptive List of the State Papers Portugal 1661-1780 in the Public Record Office London (1979). Charles R. Boxer (ed.). Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa.
- CAVALHEIRO, António Rodrigues (1944). "Soror Maria da Cruz, Filha Natural de D. João IV. Documentos da Biblioteca de Paris", in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História*, 8, 11-76.
- COELHO, P.M. Laranjo (ed.) (1940). *Cartas de El-Rei D. João IV para diversas autoridades do Reino*. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História.
- DEMERSON, Paulette (1994). "Correspondance diplomatique de François Lanier resident de France a Lisbonne (1ère partie, année 1642)", in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, vol 33. Lisbon/Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- ERICEIRA, Luís de Meneses, conde de (1751). *História de Portugal Restaurado*, vol. I. Lisbon: Officina de Domingos Rodrigues.
- ERICEIRA, Luís de Meneses, conde de (1759). *História de Portugal Restaurado*, vol. 4. Lisbon: Officina de Ignacio Nogueira Xisto.
- FANSHAWE, Ann (1907). *The Memoirs of Ann Lady Fanshawe*. London: John Lane.
- FERNANDES, Manuel Fernandes (1699). *Alma Instruída*, vol. 3. Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Deslandes.

- Gazeta de Lisboa Occidental, No. 12, 25 março (1723). Lisbon: António Correia de Lemos.
- LACERDA, Bernarda Ferreira de (1634). Soledades de Buçaco. Lisbon: Mathias Rodrigues.
- LAHONTAN, Baron de (1704). Suite du Voyage de l'Amerique, ou Dialogues de Monsieur le Baron de Lahontan et d'un Sauvage. Amsterdam: Veuve de Boeteman.
- LISBOA, João Luís; MIRANDA, Tiago C.P. dos Reis; and OLIVAL, Fernanda (eds.) (2002). Gazetas manuscritas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Vol. 1 (1729-1731). Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- LISBOA, João Luís; MIRANDA, Tiago C.P. dos Reis; and OLIVAL, Fernanda (eds.) (2005). Gazetas manuscritas da Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Vol. 2 (1732-1734). Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- MATOZO, Luiz Montez (1934). Ano Noticioso e Historico, vol. 1. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional.
- MELO, Francisco Manuel de (1820). Carta de Guia Casados. London: Hansard. RAU, Virgínia (ed.) (1947). Inventário dos bens da Rainha da Grã-Bretanha D.
 - Catarina de Bragança. Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade.
- RÊGO, Raul (ed.) (1995). Tácito Português. Vida, Morte, Dittos e Feitos de El Rey Dom João IV de Portugal. Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora.
- Relaçam verdadeira da milagrosa victoria que alcançarão os Portugueses, que assistem na Fronteira de Olivença (1641). Lisbon: Jorge Rodrigues.
- RIBEIRO, Aquilino Ribeiro (1966). O Galante Século XVIII: Textos do Cavaleiro de Oliveira. Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand.
- RIVERO, Angel Sanchez and RIVERO, Angela Mariutti de Sanchez (eds.) (1933). Viaje de Cosme de Médicis por España y Portugal (1668-1669). Madrid: Rivadeneyra.
- SILVA, Abílio Diniz (ed.) (2001). Instruções políticas D. Luís da Cunha. Lisbon: Commissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses.
- SILVA, António de Moraes (1789). Diccionario da Lingua Portugueza, vol. 1. Lisbon: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira.
- SOUSA, António Caetano de (1740). Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza, vol. 7. Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana.
- SOUSA, António Caetano de (1741). Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza, vol. 8. Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana.
- SOUSA, António Caetano de (1743). Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portugueza, vol. 10. Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana.
- SOUSA, António Caetano de (1755). Memorias Historicas, e Genealogicas dos

- Grandes de Portugal. Lisbon: Regia Officina Sylviana.
- SOUSA, Manoel Caetano de (1688). Sermam panegyrico, e gratulatorio. Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Manescal.
- VIEIRA, António Vieira (1644). Sermam de S. Joam Baptista na Profissam da Senhora Madre Soror Maria da Cruz, Filha do Excellentissimo Duque de Medina Sydonia, Sobrinha da Raynha N. Senhora. Lisbon: Domingos Lopes Rosa.
- Cartas do P. Antonio Vieyra da Companhia de JESU, Vol. 2 (1735). Lisbon: Officina da Congregação do Oratorio.

Bibliography

- ALMELA, Luis Salas (2013). The Conspiracy of the Ninth Duke of Medina Sidonia (1641). Leiden: Brill.
- ANASTÁCIO, Vanda (2010). "Women and literary sociability in eighteenth-century Lisbon", in Anke Gillcir, Alicia C. Montoya and Suzan van Dijk (eds.), Women Writing Back/Writing Women Back: Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era. Leiden: Brill,
- BRAGA, Isabel Drumond; BRAGA Paulo Drummond (2011). Duas rainhas em tempo de novos equilíbrios europeus: Maria Francisca Isabel de Sabóia, Maria Sofia Isabel de Neuburg. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.
- BRANCO, João. "Cavalheiro, António Rodrigues", in Dicionário de historiadores portugueses da Academia Real das Ciências ao Final do Estado Novo. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal and Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa. http://dichp.bnportugal.pt/ (consulted 03.12.2023).
- CARDIM, Pedro (2011). "A corte régia e o alargamento da esfera privada", in Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro (ed.), História da Vida Privada em Portugal: A Idade Moderna. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 160-202.
- CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da; MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo (2011). "As grandes casas", in Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro (ed.), História da Vida Privada *em Portugal: A Idade Moderna.* Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 202-243.
- DÓRIA, António Álvaro (1944). A Rainha D. Maria Francisca de Sabóia (1646-1683). Porto: Livraria Civilização.
- FERREIRA, Darlene Abreu (2000). "Fishmongers and Shipowners: Women in Maritime Communities of Early Modern Portugal". The Sixteenth Century Journal, 31, 7-23.
- FIGUEIREDO, Pedro José de (1817). Retratos, e Elogios dos Varões, e Donas, que illustraram a Nação Portugueza, vol.1. Lisbon: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira.

- LOPES, Maria Antónia (1989). Mulheres, espaço e sociabilidade. A transformação dos papéis femininos em Portugal à luz de fontes literárias (segunda metade do século XVIII). Lisbon: Livros Horizonte.
- LOURENÇO, Maria Paula Marçal; PINTO, Ricardo Fernando (2012). D. Luísa de Gusmão (1613-1666). Lisbon: Gradiva.
- MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo (2003). Elites e Poder. Entre o Antigo Regime e o Liberalismo. Lisbon: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais.
- PAIVA, José Pedro (2000). "A Igreja e o poder", in Carlos Moreira Azevedo (ed.), História Religiosa de Portugal, Volume 2: Humanismos e Reformas. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 135-185.
- PAIVA, José Pedro (2006). Os Bispos de Portugal e do Império: 1495-1777. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- PARDAL, Francisco José Pegacha (2022). "Cultura material à revelia da corte: o ouro e a prata de D. Maria (1643-1693), filha ilegítima de D. João IV", in Isabel Drumon Braga and Paulo Drumond Braga (eds.), Rainhas, Princesas e Infantas. Quotidiano, ritos e cerimónias na Península Ibérica (séculos XVI XX). Lisboa: Temas & Debates, 129-153.
- PEREIRA, Ana Cristina Duarte (2008). Princesas e Infantas de Portugal (1640-1736). Lisbon: Edições Colibri.
- RAPOSO, Hipólito (1947). Dona Luísa de Gusmão: Duquesa e Rainha, 1613-1666. Lisbon: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade.
- SAID, Edward W. (1979). Orientalism. New York: Random House.
- TRONI, Joana Almeida (2008). Catarina de Bragança (1638-1705). Lisbon: Edições Colibri.
- VALLANCE, Monique (2012). A rainha restauradora: Luísa de Gusmão. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.

O imigrante português na Primeira República carioca: o antilusitanismo no mundo do trabalho1

The Portuguese immigrant in the First Republic of Rio de Janeiro: anti-Lusitanism in the world of work

CAROLINA MORAES SOUZA

Centro Universitário - Instituto de Educação Superior de Brasília cmoraesouza@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1461-9600

> Texto recebido em / Text submitted on: 16/01/2024 Texto aprovado em / Text approved on: 05/07/2024



Resumo. Este artigo tem como objetivo revelar os fatores do antagonismo na relação entre portugueses e brasileiros no contexto urbano carioca entre os anos de 1890 e 1930. Estimulados pelas leis pró-imigração, pela proximidade cultural e da língua, a "terra da promissão", como era conhecido o Brasil no período republicano, prometia aos europeus recém-chegados a oportunidade de acumular riquezas e de construir patrimónios. Contudo, os imigrantes disputavam espaços no mercado de trabalho com brasileiros e, principalmente, com os ex-libertos do sistema escravista. As teorias raciais, as condições de trabalho das grandes cidades e os ideais nacionalistas fortaleciam hostilidades no cenário da nova república, renovando conflitos sociais dos tempos da colonização.

Palavras-chave. Antilusitanismo, Mercado de trabalho, Imigração portuguesa, Primeira República brasileira.

Abstract. This article aims to reveal the factors of antagonism in the relationship between Portuguese and Brazilians in the urban context of Rio, between the years 1890 and 1930. Stimulated by pro-immigration laws, cultural and language proximity, the "land of promise", as Brazil was known in the republican period, it promised newly arrived Europeans the opportunity to accumulate money and build assets. However, immigrants competed for space in the job market with Brazilians and, mainly, with former freedmen from the slavery system. Racial theories, working conditions in large cities and nationalist ideals strengthened hostilities in the new republic, reviving social conflicts from the times of colonization.

Key-words. Antilusitanism, Job market, Portuguese immigration, First Brazilian Republic.

Doutora em História Contemporânea pela Universidade de Coimbra (Faculdade de Letras).

Introdução

A transição do século XIX para o século XX representou um momento de grandes mudanças nos âmbitos sociais, políticos, culturais e económicos no Brasil. Em 1888, o Brasil tardiamente aboliu a escravidão e um ano e meio depois teve a Monarquia destituída por um golpe, dando espaço político e ideológico para a formação da Primeira República. O contexto gerado por tantas mudanças propiciou o desenvolvimento de um discurso munido de promessas de igualdade e cidadania, num cenário em que a aparência de modernidade se "impunha menos como opção e mais como etapa obrigatória e incontornável" (SCHWARCZ 2012: 19).

Essa nova era brasileira, capaz de aceitar – seguindo os modelos europeus – o fim do trabalho escravizado e coercitivo, o desenvolvimento da cidadania e a luta por direitos de inclusão, por meio da educação, parecia inaugurar uma nova forma de pensar e agir contra os modelos conservadores de hierarquia social estrita e excludente, que estavam ligados aos critérios de origem dos indivíduos. No entanto, o que de facto se apresentou como definição para a Primeira República brasileira foi a retoma do projeto hierárquico, mas agora com uma nova roupagem: baseado na diferenciação racial.

As transformações no universo mental das classes dominantes a respeito da transição do escravismo para o ofício remunerado revelaram um esforço amplo e constante para a elaboração de uma nova conceção sobre a ética do trabalho. A nova forma de pensar o labor, a partir de um processo com intuito civilizatório, construiu uma ideologia baseada na etnia do trabalhador livre. O pensamento dessa classe perpassava pela perceção de que os libertos eram indivíduos que estavam despreparados para a vida em sociedade, pois a escravidão não lhes dera noções de justiça, ambição de fazer o bem e de obter uma ocupação honesta. Pensava-se que os libertos tinham vícios provenientes dos seus estados anteriores e, por isso, não estariam civilizados enquanto não passassem por um processo de educação, criando hábitos do trabalho por meio da repressão, da obrigatoriedade e da manutenção e fiscalização da ordem (CHALHOUB 2012).

A ideologia civilizatória do trabalho procurou razões para justificar a sua obrigatoriedade nas classes populares e encontrou-a, portanto, no discurso conceptual sobre o trabalho, dividido em etapas argumentativas. A primeira noção reforçou o trabalho como elemento fundamental e ordenador da sociedade, constituindo-se como lei suprema. Ao saúde, segurança, direitos individuais e honra por parte do Estado, o cidadão devia retribuir com o seu trabalho. Outro princípio que foi explorado foi a relação entre trabalho e moralidade, fazendo

a associação direta de quanto maior a dedicação e abnegação no trabalho, maior o seu compromisso e atributos morais. O hábito de trabalhar também deveria ser incutido na sociedade. Fez-se, então, o elo entre a ação de trabalhar e a garantia de uma vida confortável, estável e feliz, por meio, principalmente, da obtenção da propriedade privada (CHALHOUB 2012).

Na Câmara dos Deputados é possível notar esse empenho por parte da classe política para garantir tais ideais, como se observa nos comentários do deputado Mac-Dowel sobre o projeto de lei de Ferreira Viana, a respeito da obrigatoriedade do trabalho para as camadas populares, principalmente para os libertos.

> Votei pela utilidade do projecto, convencido, como todos estamos, de que, hoje mais do que nunca, é preciso reprimir a mendicidade desnecessária [...]. Nas circunstancias atuaes do paiz, é preciso, é útil, esta medida de repressão. [...] corresponde o dever imperioso da parte do Estado de reprimir e oppor um dique a todos os vicios que o liberto trouxe de seu antigo estado, e que não podia o effeito miraculoso de uma lei fazer desaparecer, porque a lei não pode de um momento para o outro transformar o que está na natureza. [...]. por esta forma a lei produzirá os desejados effeitos, será supprimida a vadiação, compelindo-se a população ociosa ao trabalho honesto, minorando-se o effeito desastroso que fatalmente se prevê como consequência da libertação de uma massa enorme de escravos, atirada no meio da sociedade civilizada, escravos sem estimulo para o bem, sem educação, sem os sentimentos nobres que só pode adquirir uma população livre e finalmente será regulada a educação dos menores, que se tornarão instrumentos do trabalho intelligente, cidadãos morigerados, uteis ao mesmo tempo a si e ao bem commum, e servindo de exemplo e edificação aos outros da mesma classe social (Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro 1888: 259 e 260).

Observa-se também no excerto que, sendo o trabalho a lei suprema da sociedade, a ociosidade tornava-se, portanto, uma ameaça à ordem. Considerava-se que o ocioso, para além de não pagar a sua dívida com a comunidade, colocava-se à margem da sociedade porque nada produzia para promover o bem comum. Um indivíduo ocioso não possuía educação moral, não tinha ideia de responsabilidade, não sabia o que era respeito pela propriedade e estava condenado à perversão e ao vício. A vadiagem representava um ato preparatório para o crime, já que sem os bons costumes ninguém era capaz de alcançar a consciência e o compromisso com a civilização.

Por conseguinte, a reconstrução do preconceito racial e nacional no pós-abolição inaugurava diversas imposições aplicadas pelas classes dominantes com o objetivo de ajustar as massas populares às condições da luta pela sobrevivência. A imagem republicana ainda precisava de mostrar que apesar das condições de oferta de força de trabalho, mantinha-se nas grandes cidades brasileiras a ordem e o progresso. O fim da escravidão libertou a mão de obra do campo para a cidade, "formando-se um mercado de trabalho com superabundância de oferta, na medida em que o afluxo de imigrantes veio reforçar o contingente dos libertos [...]" (LOBO 1981: 301). Reuniu-se, na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, um contingente populacional superior às vagas limitadas nos setores industrial e de serviços.

1. Rio de Janeiro daquele tempo: imigração de trabalhadores lusos

A modernidade transparecida no centro da cidade do Rio de Janeiro do fim do século XIX e início do século XX, escondia um ambiente hostil para trabalhadores imigrantes e brasileiros. As rusgas entre nacionais e portugueses tinham fundamento no desafio constante, na procura da sobrevivência, eram fortalecidas pelo racismo e encontravam ecos nos discursos nacionalistas e antiestrangeiros. O quotidiano laboral e as dificuldades vinculadas à habitação urbana estimulavam "as rivalidades étnicas e nacionais" tornando, assim, as "expressões dos conflitos provenientes da concorrência no mercado de trabalho capitalista em desenvolvimento" (SOUZA 2023: 92).

A imigração portuguesa para o Brasil ao longo do período republicano representou um significante impacto na vida das cidades brasileiras, caracterizando-se como o fluxo imigratório mais importante e transformador da lógica social e económica urbana no país. Esse tipo de imigrante tinha um perfil relativamente bem definido de homens solteiros em idade ativa, dispostos e necessitados para se tornarem força de trabalho na antiga colónia. Por isso, no contexto urbano, o português foi a principal nacionalidade estrangeira em disputa com os trabalhadores livres após a abolição da escravatura, momento caracterizado pelas crises económicas, carestia e preços altos dos alimentos, baixos salários e consequente insatisfação popular. Nesse contexto, os portugueses imigrantes tornaram-se os principais concorrentes, como patrões e como empregados, tanto no mercado de trabalho assalariado quanto nos setores do comércio e da indústria (RIBEIRO et al. 2018; SCHWARCZ 2012).

A cidade recebeu nos anos anteriores e seguintes à abolição da escravatura um número expressivo de imigrantes, juntando-se ao alto contingente de negros

e mulatos que viviam na urbe suas primeiras experiências como trabalhadores livres. As estatísticas sobre a lógica ocupacional em 1890 mostram uma intensa marginalização no Rio de Janeiro de cidadãos não-brancos, causada em parte pela presença dos imigrantes europeus, principalmente portugueses. Os números revelam que

> mais da metade dos 89 mil estrangeiros economicamente ativos trabalhava no comércio, indústria manufatureira e atividades artísticas, ou seja, os imigrantes ocupavam os setores de emprego mais dinâmicos. Enquanto isso, 48% dos não-brancos economicamente ativos empregavam-se nos serviços domésticos, 17% na indústria, 16% não tinham profissão declarada e o restante encontrava-se em atividades extrativas de criação e agrícolas (CHALHOUB 2012: 81).

Aos portugueses que chegavam ao Brasil interessava ocupar as cidades brasileiras em busca do enriquecimento, da autonomia e da conquista da propriedade. No território americano não tinham laços afetivos e, por isso, boa parte da remessa adquirida e poupada tinha Portugal como destino. Para acumular mais rápido, trabalhavam muitas vezes de forma exaustiva num mercado cada vez mais português, onde contavam com os seus patrícios na admissão do emprego e na adaptação à cidade.

Nas páginas dos periódicos *Jornal do Commercio* e *O Paiz*, entre os anos 1890 e 1920, ambos com maior tiragem na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, é possível encontrar dezenas de anúncios como os abaixo. Muitas vezes, procurava-se um tipo específico de trabalhador que desembarcava no Distrito Federal e que, disposto a acumular remessas de forma rápida, trabalhava arduamente para alcançar os seus objetivos e regressar à sua terra.

TRABALHADORES PORTUGUEZES

Precisa-se para se empregarem em uma fabrica próxima a esta capital, pagando-se bons ordenados; para tratar na rua Primeiro de Março n. 17, 1° andar, das 10h ás 4h da tarde (Jornal do Commercio 1890: 7).

CONSULADO GERAL DE PORTUGAL: AVISO

Chegou ao conhecimento deste consulado geral que, na cidade de Monte Alegre, Triangulo Mineiro, Estado de Minas Geraes, é dada colocação a quatro ou cinco trabalhadores portuguezes, nas propriedades agrícolas e de olaria, com ordenados que variam de 4\$ e 5 \$ para simples trabalhadores, a 6\$ e 7\$, diários, para oleiros práticos (O Paiz 1918: 8).

A nova República mostrava a edificação de um novo momento na história brasileira, no qual o trabalho era uma importante base para a construção da modernidade urbana. Para dar um novo sentido ao ato de trabalhar era necessário que a representação do "trabalho escravo, degradante, vil, violento, coercitivo e brutal" (RIBEIRO 2017: 209), que era do negro e do mestiço, fosse extinto. Por isso, naquele momento, o Brasil tornava-se a imagem do território por excelência do enriquecimento de imigrantes brancos e europeus, visto como mais qualificados e preparados para ajudar na elaboração da nova nação civilizada dos trópicos.

A "terra da promissão", com "vasto campo de exploração agrícola, de exploração industrial e comercial, insuficientemente povoado, prodigiosamente rico de tôda sorte de matérias primas"² (BARROS 1919: 16), mostrava-se como um bom destino para o fluxo migratório português em massa. É por isso que no Rio de Janeiro de 1890, os estrangeiros representavam 40% da força de trabalho total da cidade (LOBO 2001: 41) e em 1920, quando o recenseamento já discriminava os números de brasileiros e estrangeiros por setores ocupacionais, o comércio concentrava mais de 45 mil estrangeiros, seguindo-se a indústria de vestuário e toucador com 19.110, o serviço doméstico com 15.086, os transportes terrestres e aéreos com 12.115 e a indústria de edificação com 10.153 imigrantes (MAIC 1920: 124). Na cidade do Rio de Janeiro, em 1890, um quinto da população era constituída por lusitanos, com o número total de 106.461 portugueses, dos quais mais de 77 mil eram homens e menos de 29 mil eram mulheres. Os homens portugueses correspondiam a mais de 50% da população estrangeira na cidade, enquanto as mulheres portuguesas eram apenas 18% desse total. A grande maioria desembarcava na cidade ainda jovem, entre os 15 e 30 anos, prontos para ocupar os espaços no mercado de trabalho e para aceder à propriedade de imóveis na cidade. O ano de 1891, por exemplo, atingiu o apogeu no fluxo de imigrantes para o país com a entrada de 215.239 estrangeiros, porém o ano em que o Brasil mais recebeu portugueses foi o de 1913, tendo entrado no território brasileiro mais de 70 mil (IBGE 1950).

2. Os 'pés-de-chumbo' na 'terra da promissão': antagonismos entre brasileiros e portugueses

Os portugueses que chegavam às cidades brasileiras vinham, principalmente, para trabalhar nos balcões dos bares, armazéns, sapatarias, quitandas,

² Citação de Malheiro Dias em BARROS 1919.

padarias, alfaiatarias, lavanderias e açougues e atuavam, também, como caixeiros e estivadores. Ou seja, na grande maioria das vezes ocupavam espaços de trabalho que não exigiam alta qualificação e que tinham como características serem serviços que exigiam muitas horas de trabalho e muitas vezes baixa remuneração (RIBEIRO et al. 2018).

As duras condições de trabalho, às quais os imigrantes lusos se submetiam à procura de uma vida melhor no Brasil, foram tema de textos publicados em periódicos e crónicas não só no território brasileiro, mas também em Portugal. Raul Martins, correspondente de O Comércio do Porto no Brasil, explicava que o trabalho realizado por imigrantes no país nem sempre apresentava "compensações ao seu esforço e atividade", pois "a luta em terras estranhas sempre foi áspera, sempre foi rude e brutal", num esforço para denunciar a vida difícil e os problemas passados pelos lusos trabalhadores no Brasil. Esclarecendo que na "conquista da fortuna num país novo" apenas "três ou quatro conseguem [...], chegar à tentadora meta da fortuna e do poderio", o cronista, assim, desaconselhava os portugueses a emigrarem, pois considerava que não estavam preparados para "servir como caixeiros num armazém de secos e molhados, ou serem garçons num botequim" (MARTINS 1928: 1). João do Rio, cronista brasileiro, também revelava as circunstâncias do trabalho imigrante:

> Quando chega vapor, de novo removem o pedregulho para os saveiros e de lá para o porão dos navios. Esse trabalho é continuo, não tem descanso. Os depósitos cheios sem trabalho de carga para os navios, os trabalhadores atiram-se à pedreira, à rocha viva. Trabalha-se dez horas por dia com pequenos intervalos para refeições, e ganha-se cinco mil réis. Há, além disso, o desconto da comida, do barração onde dormem, mil e quinhentos; de modo que o ordenado da totalidade é de oito mil réis. Os homens gananciosos aproveitam então o serviço da noite, que é pago até de manhã por três mil e quinhentos e até meia-noite pela metade disso, tendo naturalmente, o desconto do pão, da carne e do café servido durante o labor. É uma espécie de gente essa que serve às descargas do carvão e do minério e povoa as ilhas industriais da baía, seres embrutecidos, apanhados a dedo, incapazes de ter ideias. São quase todos portugueses e espanhóis que chegam da aldeia, ingênuos (RIO 1995: 114, grifo deste trabalho).

A legislação específica sobre os direitos do trabalho no Brasil, até 1919, era incipiente e por isso cabia às entidades patronais, indústria e fábricas determinar as regras e definir a regulamentação trabalhista. De forma geral, os trabalhadores não faziam descansos para além do momento da refeição e laboravam de 9h a

12h por dia. A utilização do trabalho infantil e feminino gerava a diminuição dos salários, incentivando a concorrência entre os trabalhadores. A Primeira Guerra Mundial piorou a situação salarial, provocando aumento dos preços de bens de primeira necessidade e, consequentemente, quebra da capacidade de consumo dos trabalhadores (CRUZ 2013).

Devido a essas circunstâncias quotidianas do mercado de trabalho citadino, notava-se a recriação³ do antilusitanismo na República, atrelado, entre outras, às questões voltadas à resistência à imposição do pagamento salarial, por parte dos patrões – que ainda estavam habituados às relações de trabalho escravistas, e nos laços sociais que vinculavam patrões e trabalhadores –, e à ideologia da disciplinarização no trabalho, que tinham o imigrante europeu como representante do bom e ordeiro trabalhador. Os conflitos entre brasileiros – principalmente os pobres, negros e pardos – e portugueses no mundo do trabalho estavam também relacionados à imagem que cada um correspondia no meio político republicano. Enquanto os portugueses apareciam como sujeitos trabalhadores, ordeiros, obedientes e pacatos, os brasileiros pobres – já estigmatizados por serem, na maioria das vezes, negros ou pardos – eram associados à preguiça, malandragem, vadiagem e subversão. Essas imagens resultavam na

> clara predisposição por parte dos membros das classes dominantes em pensar o negro como mau trabalhador e em reconhecer no imigrante uma gente capaz de acelerar a transição para ordem capitalista. Em termos práticos, isso significava que os indivíduos que tinham o poder de gerar empregos tendiam a exercer práticas discriminatórias contra os brasileiros de cor quando da contratação de seus empregados. O forte preconceito contra o negro se combinava na época com a obsessão das elites em promover o "progresso" do país (CHALHOUB 2012: 113).

Assim, nota-se que os trabalhadores de ambas nacionalidades já competiam diariamente por espaços no mercado de trabalho, por sobrevivência e pelo alcance de seus objetivos. Tal condição era exacerbada, então, pelas representações de ambos na sociedade, pelas supostas vantagens e desvantagens que tinha cada tipo de trabalhador.

Dispostos a qualquer tipo de trabalho, a imagem do português "burro de carga", "pé-de-chumbo", daquele que aceitava qualquer salário e trabalhava

³ Utiliza-se a expressão "recriação", em acordo com os autores Gladys Ribeiro e Paulo Terra (2018), por referir-se a uma nova roupagem do antilusitanismo e da lusofobia já visualizadas no período do Império, mas também desveladas desde o Brasil colonial, representadas pelas rivalidades em entre antigos colonizadores ou naturais mestiços e os portugueses recém-chegados.

muito duro, foi explorada ainda com maior força e ressentimento ao longo das primeiras décadas republicanas. A imagem estereotipada dos portugueses em relação ao trabalho foi o produto de uma reação, principalmente de negros e pardos brasileiros, embora estimulada por uma elite branca que dava correspondência ao processo de racialização social no mercado de trabalho. As relações tensas entre trabalhadores brasileiros e portugueses e as consequentes imagens criadas sobre os portugueses refletiam uma "expressão simbólica de ressentimento da população mais oprimida do final do século XIX, que eram os negros, ex-escravos, ex-libertos e pardos" (MACHADO 2018: 143).

No jornal carioca *O Paiz*, de 1913, há uma notícia referente à intervenção do delegado da Confederação Operaria do Brazil, Antonio Vieitas, num evento sobre o tema da emigração em Portugal. Após saudar o operariado português, o delegado fez, segundo o jornal,

> a maior propaganda anti-emigratoria, visto que a emigração para o Brazil constitue um perigo para todos os operários que para ali vão. Affirma que no Brazil se tratam os emigrantes peior do que animaes, pois independente do máo trato dos criados capitalistas, há ainda a péssima alimentação e o trabalho é violento e recompensado de uma fórma anti-humana. [...] os homens são escolhidos como antigos escravos e encerrados em apertados vagões, onde chegam ao local do trabalho nas peiores condições. [...] Recomenda a todos os proletários portuguezes que não emigrem para o Brazil, pois ali só irão encontrar a sua ruina moral, material e intellectual (O Paiz 1913: 10).

As condições pelas quais passavam os portugueses imigrantes e a quantidade de pessoas vindas nesse fluxo imigratório ajudam a revelar algumas das possíveis motivações para eles não serem bem recebidos por toda a população carioca. Como observou Gladys Ribeiro (2017), a partir da análise de jornais e de processos criminais, os lusos eram vistos pelos trabalhadores cariocas como concorrentes no mercado de trabalho, sendo essa concorrência injusta, já que os portugueses aceitavam tudo pelo trabalho e também eram o perfil preferido dos patrões – brancos, europeus, civilizados, representando a referência do bom trabalhador.

Para além dessas questões, os lusos tinham mais uma vantagem em relação aos brasileiros: eram muitas vezes ajudados pelos seus patrícios nos espaços de trabalho urbano carioca. Ao chegar para trabalhar no comércio, encontravam na cidade um mercado laboral que já era em grande parte português, assim, os recém-chegados eram protegidos e assegurados pelos laços sociais com imigrantes mais antigos, que os recebiam com moradia e trabalho garantidos. Logo, os novos imigrantes colocavam-se sob a tutela dos outros portugueses. Dessa forma,

a ideologia do trabalho realizava-se pela exploração e pelo paternalismo dentro das casas comerciais. Não havia conflitos entre os imigrantes portugueses no mundo do trabalho, quando a possibilidade de trocas recíprocas de bens e serviços para a reprodução da própria existência era palpável (RIBEIRO 2017: 213).

Nesse sentido, como explicam Souza (2022) e Ribeiro (2017), dois tipos de imigrantes portugueses eram mais comuns no mundo do trabalho carioca: o patrão, que já algum tempo sabia lidar com as intempéries da imigração, e o empregado, que se fortalecia nas lições do patrão e patrício para dar continuidade à vida de estrangeiro. Os dois tipos perseguiam os mesmos objetivos: juntar dinheiro, comprar propriedades, enviar remessas e voltar para Portugal com a condição financeira muito melhor do que quando saíram. Essa perseguição da autonomia e liberdade estimulava uma espécie de permissividade na relação, na qual empregados se deixavam ser paternalizados pelos seus patrões. A imagem dessa relação era, portanto, associada ao vínculo entre pai e filho, no qual o chefe era uma espécie de "juiz doméstico" que tinha a responsabilidade de guiar e aconselhar o seu empregado (CHALHOUB 2012). Nessa conceção trabalhista, a relação contratual desigual acabava por se submeter em prol da procura de propósitos análogos. Esta imagem ideal entre patrão e empregado era um instrumento de controle social, com o intuito de diminuir as chances de ocorrências de conflitos entre patrícios nos espaços de trabalho.

Nesse sentido, "no comércio, a solidariedade com os interesses do patrão era muito comum. Os portugueses vendiam a sua força de trabalho julgando trabalharem para si. O modelo era do patrão" (RIBEIRO 2017: 220). Sobre essa relação entre patrão e empregado conterrâneos escreveu o cronista e jornalista Luiz Edmundo:

> porque sofreu, na terra mirrada e pobre onde nasceu, frio, descrença e fome, (...) trepa para um navio, saco às costas e, confiante e tranquilo, deixa que ele o conduza e o encaminhe até nós. Na hora de embarcar ouviu isto: - Para com teu patrão, meu rico filho, muita submissão e respeito, que outro não será o que há de te dar, na falta de teu pai, a mesa, o ensino e o futuro. (...) Chega à proa de um vapor, consignado a uma firma comercial qualquer (...). E como ele, chegam milhares. (...) Dorme o escravo branco, recém-chegado à terra, sobre uma tábua nua, pousada sobre dois caixotes. (...) Cresce, engorda, assim mesmo. O pé já não entra na tamanca. Com a idade vai aprendendo a conhecer o mundo pela filosofia do patrão (COSTA 1957: 357-362).

No contexto de antilusitanismo e más condições de trabalho, as greves e reivindicações sindicais faziam sentido e assumiam maior legitimidade na luta diária pela sobrevivência. Na verdade, o estereótipo, muitas vezes disseminado pelos nacionais, do trabalhador português ordeiro, fura-greves e defensor do patrão, não se aplicava nesse tipo de relação trabalhista. Tanto que, ao pesquisarem sobre a realidade dos caixeiros no Rio de Janeiro entre os séculos XIX e XX, Gladys Ribeiro e Paulo Terra (2018) salientam que os imigrantes tiveram um papel fundamental nas lutas por melhores condições de trabalho da categoria e também na criação de leis que regulamentassem a profissão, como a diminuição da jornada de trabalho do comércio e o pagamento devido pela função exercida.

3. Portugueses indesejados: hostilidades nas ruas e nas ideias

O imigrante português que tinha coragem de se insurgir contra as condições de trabalho era perseguido pelo governo brasileiro: o Congresso Nacional aprovou em 7 de janeiro de 1907 o Decreto n.º 1.6414, conhecido por Lei Adolfo Gordo⁵, com o nome do deputado que a legislou. A norma foi elaborada com o intuito de afastar as lideranças sindicais propagadoras de teorias anarquistas e comunistas, e para isso facilitava a expulsão de estrangeiros que disseminavam essas ideias pelo Brasil (MENEZES 1996). No seu artigo 1°, a norma previa que "o estrangeiro que, por qualquer motivo, comprometer a segurança nacional ou a tranquilidade pública, pode ser expulso de parte ou de todo o território nacional" (Diário Official 1907). Sara Cruz e Lená Menezes (1996) interpretaram os processos de expulsão com o objetivo de analisar a atuação sindical desses imigrantes. De facto, ao questionarem o *status quo*, esses portugueses não se adequavam ao comportamento que era esperado de um europeu: honesto, qualificado, exemplar e ordeiro. Por isso eram considerados indesejáveis pelo governo republicano, merecendo um tratamento policial, como assevera Sara Cruz:

> antes da expulsão propriamente dita, os indíviduos alvo de suspeita eram investigados e referenciados, atribuindo à polícia um papel de destaque nas manobras repressivas. [...]. Os esquemas policiais envolviam não só a

A lei de 1907 foi posteriormente modificada pelo Decreto nº 2.741 de 1913, revogou os artigos 3, 4 e 8, mas não alterou o objetivo fundamental da norma.

⁵ Para além da primeira lei da expulsão de estrangeiros de 1907 (modificada em 1913), o nome de Adolfo Gordo também foi atribuído à segunda lei de expulsão dos estrangeiros, a lei de acidentes no trabalho, ambas de 1919, e a lei da imprensa, de 1923.

vigilância das manifestações públicas, mas também a infiltração dos "secretas" nas associações operárias, assim como nas fábricas (CRUZ 2013: 54).

O governo de Epitácio Pessoa, em 1920, ainda demonstrava preocupação em relação à entrada e à permanência de estrangeiros que, segundo ele, eram os "principaes agentes dessas paredes [greves], em grande parte infensos a idéa de patria" (Mensagem do Presidente da República ao Congresso Nacional 1920). Para o presidente, esses estrangeiros – "indivíduos de mãos precedentes" – que traziam os ideais anarquistas para o Brasil, aconselhavam os nacionais à subversão da ordem social existente. Tais imigrantes, por não terem amor à nação, desejavam "extinguir a patria formada por nossos antepassados com o seu sangue e o seu trabalho, toda história que constitue o nosso patrimonio nacional e a esperança das nossas novas gerações" (MPR 1920: 101). Por isso, Epitácio mostra sua posição de forma clara:

> taes factos estão demonstrando que nos devemos armar de leis protectoras da sociedade contra essa seita, cujo ideal é a abolição da patria, destruição da família e o banimento de todas as religiões, que constituem a disciplina moral da humanidade. É indispensável e urgente que o Poder Legislativo arme o Governo de leis de defesa contra os maus elementos que demandem o paiz, contra os estrangeiros que aqui se tornem nocivos e contra os nossos próprios compatriotas, que se associem à sua acção criminosa. [...] Tendes em adiantada discussão o projecto que regula a entrada de estrangeiros em nosso território e tudo aconselha que o convertaes quanto antes em lei. Os paizes mais liberaes do mundo estão adoptando medidas rigorosas nesse sentido. Só nos temos as portas escancaradas á invasão do rebutalho humano, que as outras nações rejeitam e expellem do seu seio (MPR 1920: 103).

Como referido na questão da expulsão de estrangeiros, a hostilidade sofrida pelos portugueses tinha origem não só nas disputas pelo espaço no mercado de trabalho, mas também nas medidas do governo republicano que, por muitas vezes, tinha como intuito proteger a economia brasileira da ocupação estrangeira. Outra resolução governamental com o mesmo objetivo foi a nacionalização da indústria pesqueira. Segundo Jorge Fernandes Alves (2020), a nacionalização

⁶ "Os "secretas" não oficiais eram, na maioria das vezes, contraventores que ganhavam a liberdade em troca de serviços prestados à polícia. A sua tarefa era a de vigiar e denunciar os anarquistas ou operários suspeitos de estarem envolvidos na organização de greves ou na preparação de manifestações públicas ou comícios. Na linguagem dos operários, as ações desses agentes eram desagregadoras e, portanto, odiosas, pois desempenhavam um papel "contrarevolucionário", fazendo intrigas e praticando sabotagem contra o trabalho de organização e de conscientização dos operários" (ALVES 1997: 57).

da pesca foi uma medida com o objetivo de reservar o desenvolvimento econômico do setor aos nacionais, pois a maioria dos pescadores eram portugueses e espanhóis.

> A nacionalização da pesca integrou, assim, uma vertente da política nacionalista a desenvolver pela Armada, cujo discurso apontava para a industrialização do sector, para a proteção do pescador nacional e seu controlo social, para a promoção do abastecimento de peixe e para dar visibilidade ao serviço prestado pela Armada, procurando reforçar a simpatia dos meios políticos e da opinião pública a seu favor (ALVES 2020: 15).

Os chamados "poveiros", homens naturais da vila portuguesa de Póvoa do Varzim, destacaram-se como pescadores de sardinhas em diversos territórios litorâneos brasileiros, como o Rio de Janeiro e o Amazonas. Ao saberem da movimentação legal para a nacionalização da pesca⁷ decidiram associar-se – criando a Associação Marítima dos Poveiros⁸, em 1916 – com o intuito de defender os direitos da classe, bem como amparar os sócios que eram processados ou perseguidos.

As perseguições sofridas pelos poveiros podiam ser observadas, como afirma Jorge Alves (2020), por exemplo na atuação da missão do Cruzador José Bonifácio, comandada por Frederico Villar. A missão tinha a incumbência de fiscalização, estudo e saneamento do litoral, bem como organizar os pescadores em colónias, garantindo a reserva de recrutamento pela Marinha e o cumprimento da regra de nacionalização pesqueira. As atividades executadas pela missão encontraram resistências porque havia denúncias de imposições, hostilizações e ações arbitrárias, por parte da equipa do cruzador, sofridas por pescadores, especialmente pelos poveiros. No seu estudo, o autor expõe

De forma sintética, as regras que regulamentavam a pesca no Brasil foram inicialmente regidas pela Convenção Internacional de Haia, que em 1882 estabeleceu o limite das águas territoriais do Brasil e definiu que "a pesca é aí um direito exclusivo dos filhos do país". Em 1912, a Lei nº 2.544 criou, por decreto, a Inspetoria de Pesca, com o objetivo, entre outras normas, de organizar as colónias de pescadores brasileiros, que deviam matricular-se na Capitania dos Portos do Estado e contribuir com associações de classe. No entanto, a lei concedia o direito da pesca em águas brasileiras não só aos filhos do país, mas aos cidadãos do país, incluindo os naturalizados. O mesmo direito também foi concedido posteriormente aos pescadores amadores, de diversas nacionalidades. Essa lei exigia um prazo de 5 anos para entrar em vigor, mas antes disso, em 1915, o artigo 399 do Decreto nº 11.505 determinou que dois terços, e não apenas a metade da tripulação das embarcações que pescavam em águas nacionais, fossem brasileiros. Por fim, em 1920, o governo do presidente Epitácio Pessoa, decidido a fazer valer a naturalização, determinou que, estando vencido o prazo para a nacionalização estipulado por lei, o título de pescador deveria ser obtido na Marinha, bastando para isso que o interessado apresentasse prova de que havia requerido a naturalização brasileira (ALVES 2020).

Jorge Fernandes Alves indica, referindo a reportagem de 16 de agosto de 1915 do Jornal do Comércio, que a associação congregava "cerca da 100 lanchas e dois mil homens" (ALVES 2020: 20).

diversas fontes jornalísticas que revelam a insatisfação de parte da imprensa em relação à missão, como o artigo do jornal Gazeta de Notícias ao considerar que o objetivo da atuação do cruzador surgia "em nome de um nacionalismo que seria nobre se não fosse profundamente vesgo, ilógico e antinatural, porque se apresenta simplesmente fratricida" (Gazeta de Notícias 1920a: 25). Entretanto, tal opinião não representava o governo, como explica o historiador:

> pelo contrário, o ministro da Marinha reenviava para o governador do Pará uma queixa dirigida ao presidente da Confederação das Colónias Cooperativas de Pescadores do Pará, na qual se pedia a atenção do governador para o auxílio ao cumprimento e observância do regulamento de pesca, por alguns «indivíduos que exploram a indústria da pesca no Pará estarem novamente infringindo o aludido regulamento e, desse modo, prejudicando os pequenos pescadores já matriculados pela fiscalização exercida quando ali esteve o José Bonifácio». As colónias de pescadores promovidas por Villar já estavam organizadas em Confederação e faziam ouvir os seus interesses contra os pescadores estrangeiros (ALVES 2020: 26; Gazeta de Notícias 1920b: 6).

Na Câmara dos Deputados, a missão ganhava mais verbas para dar continuidade ao seu trabalho, pois era vista como uma ação de organização da atividade, geradora de maiores rendas para a Marinha brasileira e de desenvolvimento da indústria pesqueira, resultando na melhoria dos processos e no aumento da produtividade. Na justiça, a questão da naturalização obrigatória para o exercício da profissão era questionada com pedidos de habeas corpus de alguns poveiros, gerando discussões na imprensa brasileira e portuguesa. Os intelectuais nativistas utilizavam os seus espaços de divulgação de ideias para disseminar a lusofobia e o antiestrangeirismo, defendendo a nacionalização da pesca e da marinha mercante e organizando manifestações antilusitanas. Em 5 de outubro de 1920 foi organizada uma passeata a favor da nacionalização da pesca e em defesa de Frederico Villar, na qual os manifestantes empunhavam bandeiras do Brasil, cartazes com slogans patrióticos e nomes de colónias de pescadores criadas no Rio de Janeiro.

> Depois desta manifestação antiportuguesa organizada pelos nacionalistas brasileiros, a campanha nativista continuou a ser discutida na Câmara dos Deputados, dias depois, com discursos sobre a manifestação e contra artigos da imprensa, em particular, sobre um artigo do tenente Sambrisson que acusava os deputados que tomaram posição na questão da pesca contra o comandante Villar de vender «a consciência às bocas mercenárias que

procuram prejudicar os interesses vitais da nossa Pátria» e de falta de patriotismo (ALVES 2020: 36).

Depois de intensos debates nos âmbitos legislativo, judicial e nos espaços de discussão da sociedade civil, a questão sobre os poveiros no Brasil findou no dia 12 de outubro – data limite para a naturalização de pescadores estrangeiros - com o pedido de repatriamento de mais de 600 portugueses, número que chegou posteriormente a mais de 1000 pedidos. Jorge Alves conclui, portanto, que esses imigrantes foram as vítimas da promoção da ideia nacionalizadora entre os pescadores brasileiros e a opinião pública, mas "resgataram-se por si próprios ao negarem a naturalização e ao optarem pela repatriação, indiferentes aos jogos e aos cálculos políticos que ultrapassavam as suas práticas e sentimentos de coesão, entreajuda e patriotismo" (ALVES 2020: 49).

As dificuldades pelas quais os trabalhadores portugueses passavam no Brasil – representadas não só pelas más condições de trabalho, mas também pela hostilidade por parte dos nacionais e pelas medidas governamentais nacionalistas – foram tema de discussão numa sessão da Câmara dos Deputados portuguesa⁹ em fevereiro de 1921, e o deputado Tamagnini Barbosa denunciou as ofensas sofridas pelos seus compatriotas emigrados:

> E ao mesmo tempo que nós assistimos com a alma alanceada à partida de tantos portugueses que vão em busca de riquezas, seduzidos por enganosas miragens de felicidade, para terras estranhas, onde longe de serem recebidos com aqueles carinhos de que é digno todo o que vai procurar pelo seu trabalho engrandecer o país para onde parte, constatamos magoados que eles são antes recebidos com verdadeira hostilidade, vendo levantar-se no Brasil contra os estrangeiros e especialmente – o que representa a melhor prova de ingratidão – contra os portugueses, uma campanha que é verdadeiramente desumana (*Apoiados*), para não aplicar outro qualificativo. [...] Ainda há pouco mão amiga me enviou dessas terras um punhado de notícias recortadas de um jornal fluminense e de um jornal de S. Paulo, em que os nossos compatriotas são atacados injustamente, rudemente, de uma forma imprópria da civilização e do progresso de que tanto se orgulha esse país. [...] Mas o mais grave desse assunto é que a maior parte dos portugueses

Como abordou Jaime Gouveia (2017), a questão também suscitou preocupação por parte do legislativo português, pois ela representava um esvaziamento da mão de obra no país. No caso Amazónico, por exemplo, como ressalta o autor, as péssimas condições de trabalho indicam ser ainda mais graves que no Rio de Janeiro. Lá, esses imigrantes foram ludibriados por agenciadores que lhes prometiam uma vida laboral digna, mas na realidade os submetiam ao trabalho compulsório análogo à escravidão.

que ainda se encontram no Brasil, e que para ali emigram, devido a não se terem tomado providências, são considerados como criaturas inferiores, classificados de galegos, tomada esta palavra na acepção menospresante de moços de frete (Diário da Câmara dos Deputados 1921: 4, grifo deste trabalho).

Já o deputado António Mantas reforçou essa denúncia pedindo a palavra para ler "trechos escritos em jornais brasileiros contra os portugueses", sem afirmar o nome e data do periódico em questão:

> A maior homenagem que Portugal pode prestar ao Brasil é limpar a nossa terra da praga desses daninhos filoxeras, repatriando-os; é deixar de despovoar o seu solo, cessando de nos remeter diariamente, às centenas, esses indesejáveis que aqui só nos veem saltear, ofender e denegrir. Portugal, paisesco de bôrra, é o eterno carrapato achatado no dorso deste gigante Brasil. O pobre Portugal, polisecular e quási defunto (DCD 1921: 5).

No Brasil, a questão da migração portuguesa também se desenvolvia nas instituições e nos espaços de opinião pública. Veja-se, por exemplo, o relato de uma reclamação feita por operários portugueses a respeito de abusos realizados pelo engenheiro responsável de obra do estado do Rio:

> O Amazon trouxe até nós o Sr. Francisco Cruz, digno Vice-Consul de Portugal em Nietheroy, capital do Estado do Rio de Janeiro que em boa hora veiu nos dizer se era verdade terem sido explorados por um Engenheiro Brasileiro dezenas de operários nossos, que estão trabalhando nas obras d'esse Estado. [...] O nosso entrevistado adeantou mais: "Quanto ao que me pergunta sobre o boato que aqui chegou da exploração de trabalhadores portuguezes na minha jurisdição, é infelizmente, exacto. Esclareço melhor para só culpar a quem merece e não as autoridades locaes, alheias por completo ao que se passou. O Engenheiro brasileiro Heitor de Mello, contractante de algumas grandes obras do Estado tem, entre os seus operários dezenas de portuguezes. A crise foi-se avolumando. Que fez o Engenheiro? Pagou com 50 por cento as férias, pretextando dificuldades da crise, quando é certo que recebe do Governo do Estado as verbas correspondentes ás épocas de fartura. Alguns operários se me queixaram do agravo inqualificável. Mas que poderia fazer? Onde está a clausula de um convénio entre Portugal e o Brasil que me desse autoridade para não transgredir? É preciso salientar um facto: os Governos cumprem sempre os seus contractos. Os seus contractantes particulares é que não tiram mais do que mais porque não podem.

E, depois, esta gente, coitada, na sua forma simples de apreciar as coisas, atribue-as ao Brasil, como se o hospitaleiro paiz tivesse culpa dos erros das creaturas que dentro delle vivem (O Fluminense 1915: 1).

Discursos iguais ao do senador Gilberto Amado, como resposta às impressões de D. João Evangelista Vidal, revelam a intenção dos políticos nacionalistas de subestimarem as dificuldades económicas pelas quais a colónia portuguesa passava no país, bem como de menosprezar a reclamação dos portugueses a respeito das hostilidades por eles sofridas no Brasil, preocupados, acima de tudo, com a boa imagem do país no exterior.

A imprensa de cunho nacionalista e republicano, como as Revistas Brazilea e a Gil Blás, sublinhava que os portugueses apresentavam um "odioso privilégio" no comércio e o exerciam com "soberano despreso pelos interesses do povo e do paiz" (BOMÍLCAR 1917: 369). Segundo o editor de Brazilea, Álvaro Bomílcar, a presença portuguesa no comércio e indústria não era benéfica para o Brasil, pois os imigrantes preferiam a contratação de patrícios, desprezando brasileiros miscigenados e negros. Outra desvantagem do predomínio comercial lusitano no Brasil era que grande parte das remessas de dinheiro conquistada por esses estrangeiros no território americano eram enviadas para Portugal, a fim de aumentar o enriquecimento daquele país europeu, como se vê no seguinte excerto: "as correntes de emigração portugueza – essencialmente comerciais, são parasitariamente perigosas e nenhuma compensação nos offerecem com os seus processos rotineiros, em que a seva ganacia a tudo açambarca", pois "95% das nossas rendas, que daqui se escoam annualmente em saques para a Europa são 'serviços' mais relevantes, o 'beneficio' mais evidente que nos presta o commercialismo portuguez que tanto nos tem infelicitado" (Brazilea 1917: 241).

Em relação à atuação portuguesa no comércio, Bomílcar ressalta que o trabalhador brasileiro "vê-se enxotado dentro do seu próprio país", se sentindo inútil, incapaz e subjugado. Para ele, o brasileiro "só pode aproximar-se do balcão como consumidor... e consumidor altamente ludibriado" (BOMÍLCAR 1917: 369). A presença ostensiva dos imigrantes portugueses no comércio a retalho brasileiro representava o monopólio luso nesse mercado e também em alguns setores da indústria. Por conta da frequência com que eram encontrados os portugueses nas casas de pasto, açougues, mercados, padarias, pensões e outros estabelecimentos, os autores nacionalistas da revista afirmavam serem estes os responsáveis pela carestia de produtos, precificação exorbitante e pela ludibriação nos pesos e nas medidas.

O domínio português no comércio a retalho e nos setores da indústria não era considerado benéfico pelos nativistas em nenhum aspecto porque tirava o espaço dos brasileiros no mercado de trabalho com a preferência na contratação de patrícios – como exemplificado no excerto, "o homem da bigodeira, nascido por acaso no Brazil, onde ganha a vida laboriosamente como tantos outros portugueses, vive, ainda, em espirito, entre os seus compatriotas da outra banda!" (Gil Blas 1917: 604) -; estimulava o preconceito de raça quando preferia contratar brancos europeus a negros ou mestiços brasileiros; não havia retorno financeiro e económico para o país, pois as remessas adquiridas no Brasil eram, em grande parte, enviadas para Portugal com o objetivo de sustentar as famílias desses imigrantes.

Os portugueses, já "senhores do commercio", "não só impossibilitam, quando não querem que a seu lado negociem nacionaes, mas chegam a consignar em seus contractos clausulas impedindo os empregos do commercio aos rapazes brazileiros" (VIEIRA 1920: 2). França e Silva refletiu sobre a presença massiva desses imigrantes no Rio: "tudo, quasi tudo aqui é portuguez: o commercio, as artes, as industrias, a imprensa em sua maioria, e atá as ordens religiosas pertencem é nefasta gente que há quatro seculos nos infelicita, quer com os seus males raciais e sem tic de progresso" (SILVA 1921: 4).

É possível notar que os jornalistas das revistas consideravam que a imigração portuguesa para o Brasil era a principal causa das mazelas económicas pelas quais passava o país. O prejuízo não apenas perpassava pela predominância dessa colónia no comércio, na indústria, na imprensa e até no funcionarismo público – que acabava por tirar a oportunidade dos nacionais –, mas também por gerar déficits económicos nessas regiões, tal como o "encarecimento da vida, augmento phantastico do preço dos alugueis, deterioramento dos géneros de primeira necessidade" (VIEIRA 1920: 2).

Para eles, era "tempo de finalizar esta exploração. O Brazil precisa agora de correntes immigratorias de outros povos, que nos venham auxiliar a completar a obra definitiva do nosso edifício social, politico, económico e financeiro" (VIEIRA 1920: 2). A independência económica, de acordo com as revistas, só se concretizaria quando encerrado o monopólio português no comércio, visto que era ele a fonte de "torturas, vexames e dissabores" que "matam lentamente o operariado português". Assim,

> si quisermos encetar a nossa vida, si quisermos redimir o novo brazileiro do grande mal da carestia da vida, preferencialmente devemos atacar este polvo de mil tentáculos que vivem em cada quarteirão da nossa metrópole e que são os varejistas lusitanos, que há 400 annos installaram-se como parasita monstruoso, encrustado nas principais cidades do litoral do Brazil (Gil Blas 1921: 4).

De acordo com tais intelectuais nacionalistas, um dos maiores problemas gerados pela presença em massa de portugueses no Brasil era o protagonismo dessa colónia no comércio e na indústria, dado que acreditavam que os imigrantes portugueses ocupavam o espaço dos brasileiros no mercado de trabalho e que, para além disso, eram em geral os patrões nesses setores. Por serem maioria no comércio a retalho, na indústria e nos meios de comunicação, os autores propalavam a existência de uma tentativa de (re)colonização por meio do âmbito económico. O Brasil estava assim, portanto, sob renovada relação de tutela, agora de caráter eminentemente económico, em relação aos lusos.

Conclusão

A entrada de milhares de trabalhadores livres – ex-escravos – no mercado de trabalho, a perseguição pela cidadania e a inclusão no discurso republicano, a chegada de uma diversidade de imigrantes europeus, estimulada pelo racismo científico, e a noção de civilização a todo custo com a faxina social nas urbes alteraram as lógicas de mão de obra e os meios de sobrevivência das novas classes que surgiam nas grandes cidades. A tessitura social que se formava na transição do século e a forma como os governos lidavam com essas transformações foram a mola propulsora para os movimentos e tensões antilusitanas no quotidiano carioca da República.

Os conflitos entre as nacionalidades, que já revelavam um caráter político – o receio do retorno à dependência e o revanchismo pelos abusos em torno da colonização –, passaram também a assumir cunho social e económico. Os imigrantes disputavam com os brasileiros, quase sempre possuindo vantagens, o mercado de trabalho. O facto de serem brancos, tal como as elites brasileiras o eram na sua esmagadora maioria, de existirem muitos descendentes de portugueses que eram patrões, e de a abolição legal da escravatura ser recente, além do facto de o europeu ser considerado disciplinado e ordeiro eram os principais motivos pelos quais os portugueses eram privilegiados na escolha para o trabalho. A preferência gerava ressentimentos na população trabalhadora brasileira, empobrecida, "de côr", vista como sem qualificação e considerada preguiçosa.

A facilitação no processo de naturalização de estrangeiros, conquista política que foi normatizada com leis nacionais e locais, sustentou o momento de maior imigração de europeus para o Brasil. O fluxo mais tradicional de portugueses era para trabalhar no comércio e em serviços, mas também vinham em menor número aqueles que procuravam as grandes obras públicas e as plantações. Ao

desembarcarem na `terra da promissão', a regra era juntar o máximo de remessas para o envio ao país de nascimento. Para isso, esses imigrantes sujeitavam-se às mais diversas condições de trabalho, muitas vezes, sem poder insurgir-se contra patrões e juntar-se aos movimentos trabalhistas, com risco de serem expulsos ou repatriados, segundo a previsão legal da época (MENEZES 1996; CRUZ 2013). Os `pés-de-chumbo' eram, portanto, a preferência do patronato, pois estavam amparados pelos ideais raciais, pelo cenário capitalista do mercado de trabalho e, também, pela impossibilidade de atuação enérgica contra as explorações.

A composição étnica do mercado de trabalho da cidade que tinha o predomínio de imigrantes portugueses e de brasileiros não-brancos revelava a continuidade das duas principais clivagens da sociedade colonial e imperial como partes integrantes da vida urbana brasileira, mais especificamente carioca. Enquanto o português reforçava na América a conceção cultural de superioridade em relação ao brasileiro e ao negro/pardo, os nacionais ressentiam-se dos portugueses por ocuparem a maior parte das vagas de emprego disponíveis na cidade.

O antilusitanismo no Brasil renovou-se, portanto, tendo também motivos laborais e compondo um ciclo de preconceitos que se retroalimentava. Os trabalhadores brasileiros eram influenciados pelo discurso antiestrangeiro do nacionalismo republicano e este apoiava-se no enfrentamento à preferência pelo imigrante europeu no mundo do trabalho. A circunstância exacerbava-se quando o comércio de produtos de primeira necessidade e as habitações eram mercados explorados essencialmente por portugueses nas urbes brasileiras.

Em conclusão, nota-se que os portugueses trabalhadores no Brasil – principalmente aqueles que viviam nas grandes cidades, como o Rio de Janeiro – lidavam não só com as adversidades económicas que os levavam a viver em condições escassas e insalubres, a trabalhar o dia todo sem descanso, lutando pela sua sobrevivência, mas também tinham de enfrentar preconceitos e hostilidades, por parte da sociedade que os via como concorrentes no mercado de trabalho e dos governantes com ideais nacionalistas - acreditando ser necessário proteger o comércio e a indústria do país - que obstaculizavam a vida dos trabalhadores imigrantes lusos.

Fontes

Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro (1888). Câmara dos Deputados, Terceira Sessão da Vigésima Legislatura, Volume VII. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 259-260. https://bd.camara.leg.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/29899 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).

- BARROS, João (1919). *A aproximação luso-brasileira e a paz*. Lisboa: Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand.
- BOMÍLCAR, Álvaro (1917). "Nacionalismo: América Latina". Revista Brazilea: sociologia, arte e critica, anno I, 2, 369. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/ DocReader.aspx?bib=217425&pagfis=371 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).
- COSTA, Luiz Edmundo (1957). O Rio de Janeiro do meu tempo, vol. 2. 2ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Conquista.
- Diário da Câmara dos Deputados (25 de fevereiro de 1921). Sessão 29. https:// debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r1/cd/01/04/03/029/1921-02-25/5 (consultado em 12 de janeiro de 2024).
- Diário Oficial (1907). Artigo 1º do Decreto nº 1641, de 7 de janeiro de 1907. https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1900-1909/decreto--1641-7-janeiro-1907-582166-publicacaooriginal-104906-pl.html (consultado em 12 de janeiro de 2024). Publicação original: Diário Official - 9/1/1907, 194.
- Gazeta de Notícias (1920a). Nacionalismo vesgo. Anno XLV. n. 53. Edição de 23 de fevereiro. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=103730 05&pasta=ano%20192&pesq=&pagfis=443 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- Gazeta de Notícias (1920b). Anno XLV. n. 180. Edição de 1 de julho. http:// memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=103730 05&pasta=ano%20192&pesq=&pagfis=1520 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- Gil Blas: pamphleto de combate (1917). Variedades. Anno I, n. 11. 604. http:// memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=217425&pagfis=557 (acesso em 1 de junho de 2024).
- Gil Blas: pamphleto de combate (1921). 5° comicio popular de Gil Blas: mais uma grande victoria popular do Nacionalismo. Anno III, n. 101, 4. http:// memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=224561&pagfis=1399
- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (1950). Anuário Estatístico do Brasil, de 1950 do IBGE. https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/periodicos/20/aeb 1950.pdf. p. 23 e 55 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).
- Jornal do Commercio (1890). Ano 68. Edição 287, 7. http://memoria.bn.br/ DocReader/docreader.aspx?bib=364568 08&pasta=ano%20189&pesq=%22trabalhadores%20portugueses%22&pagfis=2191 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- MARTINS, Raul (1928). "A eterna ilusão da vida". O Comércio do Porto, LXXIII, 31, 7 de fevereiro.
- Mensagem do Presidente da República, Epitácio Pessoa, ao Congresso Nacional

- no dia 3 de maio de 1920, 101. https://bit.ly/3Cqzg2H (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- Ministério da Agricultura, Industria e Commercio (Directoria Geral de Estatística) (1920). Recenseamento do Brazil: População do Rio de Janeiro (Districto Federal), vol. 2, 124. https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv6383.pdf (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- O Fluminense (1915). "Portugal no Brasil". Ano 38, n. 9568. Nictheroy, 10 de julho, 1. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bi-b=100439_05&pesq=%22trabalhadores%20portuguezes%22&pasta=a-no%20191&hf=memoria.bn.br&pagfis=8033 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).
- O Paiz (1913). "A Confederação Operaria do Brazil e a imigração". Edição nº 10378 de 7 de março, 10. http://memoria.bn.br/docreader/DocReader. aspx?bib=178691_04&Pesq=%22trabalhadores%20portugueses%22&pagfis=15805 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- O Paiz (1918). "Consulado Geral de Portugal: Aviso". Anno XXXIV. Edição 12287, 8. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bi-b=178691_04&Pesq=%22trabalhadores%20portuguezes%22&pag-fis=38988 (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- Revista Brazilea: sociologia, arte e critica (1917). "A emancipação do Brazil". Anno I, n. 6, 241. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/docreader.aspx?-bib=217425&pasta=ano%20191&pesq=&pagfis=241 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).
- RIO, João do (1995). *A alma encantadora das ruas*. Rio de Janeiro: Coleção Biblioteca Carioca. http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/dlstatic/10112/4204210/4101365/alma_encant_ruas.pdf. (consultado em 9 de janeiro de 2024).
- SILVA, França (1921). "Commentarios". *Gil Blas: pamphleto de combate.* Anno III, 146. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader.aspx?bib=224561&pagfis=1929 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).
- VIEIRA, José (1920). "Carta aberta a Alvaro Bomilcar". *Gil Blas: pamphleto de combate*. Anno II, 72. http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/DocReader. aspx?bib=224561&pagfis=1087 (consultado em 1 de junho de 2024).

Bibliografia

- ALVES, Paulo (1997). A verdade da repressão: práticas penais e outras estratégias na ordem republicana. São Paulo: Arte e Ciência/UNIP.
- ALVES, Jorge (2020). "Entre nativismo e patriotismo a repatriação dos pes-

- cadores poveiros emigrados no Brasil (1920)". Boletim cultural da Câmara Municipal da Póvoa do Varzim, 54, 15-53.
- CHALHOUB, Sidney (2012). Trabalho, lar e botequim: o cotidiano dos trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da belle époque. 3 ed. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp.
- CRUZ, Sara (2013). Emigração e expulsão: Repressão de anarquistas e comunistas portugueses no Brasil (1890-1930). Dissertação de Mestrado. Universidade do Porto.
- GOUVEIA, Jaime Ricardo (2017). "Os refluxos culturais da emigração portuguesa para o Brasil no fim do século XIX e no início do século XX – um olhar a partir do Folclore". Revista do IHGB, 474, 177-216.
- LOBO, Eulalia (1981). "Condições de vida dos artesãos e do operariado no Rio de Janeiro da década de 1880 a 1920". Nova América. Universita degli Studi, Torino, 4, 310-325.
- LOBO, Eulália (2001). Imigração portuguesa no Brasil. São Paulo: Hucitec.
- MACHADO, Igor José (2018). "Ressentimentos e estereótipos: ensaio sobre as representações a respeito do português no Brasil (século XIX)". Revista Topoi, 19, 37, 125-143.
- MENEZES, Lená (1996). Os Indesejáveis: desclassificados da modernidade. *Protesto, crime e expulsão na Capital Federal (1890-1930).* Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ.
- RIBEIRO, G; TERRA, P; POPINIGIS (2018). F. Portugueses e Cidadãos, Experiências e Identidades nos Séculos XIX e XX. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad.
- RIBEIRO, Gladys Sabina (2017). O Rio de Janeiro dos fados, minhotos e alfacinhas: o antilusitanismo na Primeira República. Rio de Janeiro: Eduff.
- SCHWARCZ, Lilia Moritz (coord) (2012). História do Brasil Nação: a abertura para o mundo (1889-1930), vol. 3. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva.
- SOUZA, Carolina (2023). Os discursos antilusitanistas na formação da identidade nacional brasileira (1890 – 1930). Tese de doutoramento em História. Universidade de Coimbra.

Entrevista Interview

Towards a Global and Long-Term Historical Sociology of Empire. An Interview with Peter Fibiger Bang

EDGAR PEREIRA

Universidade de Coimbra, CHSC, FLUC epereira@fl.uc.pt https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8547-6777



Professor Peter Fibiger Bang was invited by the Centre for the History of Society and Culture (CHSC) to give a lecture at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Coimbra on 27 October 2023, as part of the CHSC's permanent seminar series The Worlds of History: New Perspectives and Debates. In his thought-provoking and warmly-received lecture titled "Beyond the Wilsonian Moment – Empire and the Rethinking of World History," Professor



Fibiger Bang summarized and expanded upon the theoretical assumptions, analytical frameworks, and novel insights derived from his latest publications. These include the two-volume *Oxford World History of Empire*, published by Oxford University Press, which he co-edited with the late Christopher Bayly and Walter Scheidel, and his forthcoming book, The Roman Empire and World History, also to be published by Oxford University Press.

Professor Peter Fibiger Bang is an Associate Professor at the SAXO Institute, University of Copenhagen, and his research has focused on reconsidering the role of the Roman Empire in world history. A highly interdisciplinary and collaborative scholar, he has authored monographs, articles, and chapters on topics such as statecraft, economic integration, and elite interest aggregation in the empire of the Caesars. Among his key works in Roman history is The Roman Bazaar: A Comparative Study of Trade and Markets in a Tributary Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Building on his expertise in Ancient Rome, Professor Fibiger Bang has

also been at the forefront of the comparative history of empires. He has authored several influential studies in this growing field, including Tributary Empires in Global History (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, co-authored with C. A. Bayly), Universal Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2012, co-edited with D. Kolodziejczyk), and The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean (Oxford University Press, 2013, co-edited with W. Scheidel). His collaborative work in this burgeoning new field culminated in the aforementioned Oxford World History of Empire, a two-part edited volume featuring contributions from over fifty scholars. By treating "Empire" as a capacious, trans-geographical, and trans-chronological concept, this volume examines imperial phenomena over the longue durée—spanning five thousand years, from the Bronze Age to the end of the 20th century.

Building on previous works, including Irregulare Aliquod Corpus? Comparison, World History, and the Historical Sociology of the Roman Empire (Copenhagen, 2014), Professor Fibiger Bang's forthcoming book, The Roman Empire and World History, further elaborates on his views on the methodology of comparative historical sociology applied to the study of empires.

Professor Fibiger Bang generously accepted RHSC's invitation for an interview, during which he discussed the future of imperial history, offered insights into the dialogue between comparative and connected analyses, and shared his thoughts on the contemporary relevance of imperial studies, from news headlines to media and entertainment.

Edgar Pereira - The starting point for the lecture you gave at the University of Coimbra on October 2023, was the conventional wisdom that we inhabit a globalized, post-colonial and post-Cold War world that successfully transitioned from an age of imperialism into one characterized by independent, sovereign, and self-governing nations. However, as you noted, this narrative is inadequate, given the discernible imperial phenomena evident in many parts of the world today. In your opinion, how can contemporary Imperial Historians assist us in dispelling this seductive yet ultimately erroneous narrative once and for all?

Peter Fibiger Bang – The best thing we can do, I would argue, is to adopt a much deeper chronological perspective. Decolonization was, obviously, a very important event or process in history; but really to understand it, requires us not only to look at it over the relatively short time-span within which it unfolded, we must also look beyond and place it in a far longer sequence and chronological context. This would, for instance, alert us to expect new powers to take over when old powers fall. When South America achieved independence from Spain and Portugal, it was part of a process that saw the rise of the British Empire to world predominance. And so, it was again with the collapse of British and French Power after the Second World War; they did not simply disappear, their place was claimed by others.

EP – Imperial history continues to bear the unwarranted stigma of being one of history's most outdated and regressive sub-disciplines, often regarded as a relic of antiquated perspectives on humanity's past. During your presentation, you referenced a playful provocation made by Mary Beard, who likened a discussion she attended on imperial history to "maps and chaps", in short a handful of men and their maps, pontificating on military campaigns, territorial shifts, and influential figures orchestrating the fates of millions. How would you advocate for the "new imperial history," a field in which you are a prominent practitioner, in response to the sceptics who persist in certain corners of our academic community?

PFB – Above all else, I think one of its strongest selling points is the turn to world history, both comparative and connected. I guess, the important thing is not to remain stuck in yesterday's battles, continue to go over the same territory again and again, ruminating the same strategic challenges etc. etc. In my own "local" field, the "decline and fall" of Rome, left as a warning to us, is one of those endlessly repeated metaphors and stories. Against this kind of history, I would advocate a new type of history, which in addition to taking a long temporal perspective should also be daringly comparative. The old stale imperial history, if we can call it that, tended to write imperial history in a "national" format. Against this type of parochialism there is no better remedy than world history and its capacity to place phenomena in wider and deeper perspective. Moreover, such a change of perspective will also tend to allow the crucial dynamics of colonial and provincial societies to emerge with much greater clarity rather than simply repeat the view from the metropolitan "situation room."

EP – Now, I would like to direct our attention to the monumental Oxford World History of Empire (OWHE), of which you were one of the co-editors. The geographical and chronological scope of this two-part volume is extremely impressive, and its analytical ambition is daring, considering that it surveys no less than forty five different empires within a chronology spanning five millennia and looks for commonalities. My first question is: what strategies did you and your co-editors devise

to successfully carry out this ambitious agenda of macro-historical comparison and synthesis? Secondly, what are the benefits of juxtaposing imperial polities that can be vastly different in chronological, geographical, and cultural terms? What unique insights can such comparisons offer that more conventional and specialized frameworks (e.g., area studies) might obscure?

PFB - Well, if you approach the problem as a philosopher, you will quickly run aground. It is simply impossible to put so much history on a single, coherent and logical formula. That doesn't mean that you should not try to define empire, but it does mean to define empire in a simple way and then be sensitive to how the conquest and domination of states changes over the course of history. Others might prefer a more maximalist approach to the problem of definition. But the more detailed you try to make the definition, the more it will tend to correspond only to, say, empires of a particular period. Simplicity is a virtue, not a sin, when we deal with definitions. So, analytical rigeur has to be balanced or guided by a good measure of pragmatism. Even with 45 examples included, the volumes don't comprise everything. However, in making our selection of cases, broad and inclusive coverage was important, across all the different regions of the world. Otherwise it wouldn't really be a world history. Additionally, we also decided on something which might come as counter-intuitive to many scholars in the humanities: size. We didn't use size as the only criteria, but we did build our selection from the top, as it were, and made sure to include most of the largest and durable empires across the centuries. When is a state big enough to be an empire? This is a question to which there is no easy answer and, at the very least, the answer would change over the course of history and the growing size of humanity. Even very small states depend on dominating some territory. However, to elevate every little "puny Leviathan", as John Hall calls it, to the status of an empire would obviously be unreasonable and convince very few historians. So, we started with the unquestionable examples and then expanded our selection to include some more liminal cases. I think such an approach has one major merit, when we are talking of a world history, it makes it possible to identify the predominant global pattern and also probe its limits. We weren't simply trying to describe a lot of individual imperial histories, we also wanted to see what were the main developments and allow the big picture to emerge that came out of the endless rivalries and attempts of both large and small players, to conquer and dominate territories and resources. This is one of the main reasons for doing world history - to allow a bigger picture to emerge that is simply inaccessible to the historian only writing about a single entity. I think

that is a point really worth stressing! Therefore, the synthesizing and thematic sections of the world history are no less important than the discussions of individual empires. We wanted our history to operate on several levels of generalization.

EP - Continuing from the previous question, what would you identify as the principal recurring features, overarching themes, and broad-ranging developments shared by the world's empires over five millennia, setting aside the uniqueness of each experience and the internal changes they underwent throughout their existence? Personally, I was struck by your description of the "enduring paradox of imperialism", wherein compulsory cooperation between regional powers, indigenous elites, and the imperial center ultimately undermines and brings about the collapse of empires. Could you delve further into the significance and pervasiveness of this specific imperial dynamic?

PFB – Well, at the moment it has become fashionable in public discourse to conceive of empire in a neat dichotomy, metropolitan rulers and resisting subjects. But that is a postcolonial, post independence myth. Empires were always very lean ruling systems and therefore depended on co-opting elites in the conquered territories. These, in fact, always had to do much, in fact most of the work. Imperial power is therefore always subject to a tendency to drift out from the metropolis to the colonies and provinces. It is a conception which is often connected with the Arab thinker, Ibn Khaldun. But, he was himself mostly interested in the conquerors that failed to produce durable hegemonies and saw their power dissipate in a few generations. The Mongols fit that description. But they only represent one end of a spectrum of outcomes. If the conqueror establishes more in terms of governmental institutions, things become more durable and capable of reproducing the imperial power structure, but not necessarily more centralized. Take Roman state-craft; as the imperial hegemony matures, the Roman state seems to acquire greater administrative capacities. The collection of Roman law is a product of the late Roman Empire. Many see a strengthened central state. Yet, it confronts us with a paradox, because at the same time, there is a pronounced tendency towards fragmentation, the empire breaking up into regional parts. The thing is that the strengthened governmental apparatus represents an opportunity for local elites to acquire imperial rank and office. In short, they strengthen their hold on power and the central state quickly runs up against limits to its control. Chris Bayly always reminded me how when the power of the Mughal court is weakened over the 18th century, many regions in India still saw forms

of Mughal state-craft sink deeper down in provincial society. And this was accompanied by fragmentation and the rise of regional rulers, the so-called Nawabs. Yet, another variation could be seen with the Qing dynasty where the state Confucian examination system was more widely adopted than ever. At the same time, the state-apparatus remains very small, especially compared to the enormous and growing population. In many local communities, it is really the gentry, holding exam degrees, and their lineages that run the empire, not the distant and few officials. In short, the growing strength and status of provincial elites is often a sign of the success of the imperial system, not of its failure. That, also goes for Decolonization. It was often the colonial elites in closest dialogue with metropolitan society and its reigning ideologies that developed the movements for independence and revolution, be it national or Marxist. I just re-read Nehru's autobiography; and I was struck by the fact that his main complaint about British rule was not that it was oppressive, though it certainly was also that. But other rulers had also been oppressive and exploitative. Nay, the real problem was that the British did not invest enough in the modernization of India, they prioritized Britain. So, India had to take care of itself. The spread of nationalism was in way a reflection of the success of imperial governments to tap into the energies and co-opt elites in colonial societies. But, with its emphasis on independence and the self-determination of peoples, it is very destabilizing as an imperial hegemonic form of ideology. In the long run, co-operation becomes suspect and empire unstable.

EP - Transimperial history has gained popularity over the past decade, likely because it offers a way out of the trap of the "nationalization" of empires that some historians seem to have encountered and sprung. By this, I mean the tendency to study metropolitan centers and colonies as integrated, discrete and self-contained units of analysis, inadvertently reintroducing the very same national biases that historians had sought to discard. Historians utilizing the prefix "trans" can either employ the comparative method (such as Ann Stoler's "Politics of Comparison" and OWHE) or adopt a connected framework, focusing on flows, interstices, and imperial borders. Additionally, certain historians, particularly those studying 19th and 20th-century empires, have explored inter-imperial cooperation, examining how imperial powers formed coalitions to maintain a global power status quo. While each approach has yielded valuable insights, combining cooperative and connected methodologies presents challenges. However, do you envision a feasible and fruitful way to integrate these approaches effectively?

PFB – Why do you say that combining comparison and connections presents challenges? Sure, in the market place of ideas a turn to connection has sometimes been offered in rejection of comparison. But these two approaches aren't really mutually excluding. I have just completed revising a new monograph in ancient history were I try to show that to make the study of connections meaningful, we have to use cross-cultural comparisons to identify a context where the examples of global connections acquire significance. It is not enough merely to rely on a vague, universalized sense of the ubiquity of globalization. Globalization is a process we can locate in history, from the 16th century and with increased intensity from the long 19th century. But many significant cultural connections preceded that development. Here we need comparison between societies to identify the forces that created them. Good global or world history need creatively to combine a host of perspectives and strategies and allow them to reinforce each other. In short, I think it is to some extent a question of being eclectic, otherwise we wont be able to write densely textured histories.

EP - How has your background as a scholar of Roman Antiquity influenced your approach to studying the global and long-term sociology of imperial projects, distinct from, say a scholar focusing on the Songhai and Ottoman Empires or the twentieth-century Pax Americana?

PFB – That's a good question. Perhaps, it might paradoxically shine through in the decision to go back, all the way to the Bronze Age. Modern historians who have tried their hand on world history and empire rarely go further back than Rome. But that would then be more a question of being an ancient historian in general. I am not so sure that being a Roman historian, as such, could be said to have shaped my approach. Many Roman historians are not interested in global comparisons, at all. I think it is more a question of the particular group of historians who inspired me. Finley was a pretty decisive inspiration in the first place, together with William McNeill, Marshall Hodgson and Braudel. Uffe Østergaard, a Danish historian of Europe, gave me a decisive impetus while the Roman historian who first taught me, Eric Christiansen, always reminded be to study other societies and periods to enrich my understanding of Rome. Then Peter Garnsey and Keith Hopkins in Cambridge, Richard Saller in Chicago enabled to bring my comparative studies to fruition. And then through these, I forged collaborative links with both Walter (Scheidel) and Chris (Bayly). It is also, I suppose, a reflection of my own scholarly journey, and increasing range. It started off with a very focused comparison between the Roman and Mughal Empires, then grew into an ambition to expand these comparisons to include more Afro-Eurasian land empires and find more interloquotors. This took place in a network supported by COST Action [the interdisciplinary research network European Cooperation in Science & Technology]. It was only after this, that Chris, Walter and I then decided that we might expand the range even further and attempt to do a real world history of empire, spanning both ancient and modern, European colonialism as well as the empires of antiquity, Afro-Eurasia and the Americas. And, of course, through these projects I have developed a huge network of historians from all sorts of fields that have inspired and helped shape my own approach. So, I guess, if being a historian of Rome has influenced the OWHE, then it is by being the historian of Rome who has taken as his brief to explore how Roman history can communicate with other fields of imperial history.

EP - In your talk at Coimbra and within both your own contributions to the aforementioned OWHE, and that of your collaborators, empire-building is portrayed as a quintessential Eurasian phenomenon, albeit not exclusive to this macro-region. A distinction arises between two modes of imperial expansion: one characterized by longevity and a gradual pace, exemplified by the Roman and Asian landed empires; and another marked by competitiveness and volatility, embodied by the post-Medieval Western European colonial states. Could you briefly delve into this dichotomy and elucidate its practical implications for the post-sixteenth-century global power dynamics, a period of heightened direct and intense engagement between empires situated on opposite ends of Eurasia?

PFB – The point is that successful universal empires, see an imperial ruling establishment conquer and subject its strongest, closest and most intense rivals. That renders their hegemony relatively secure and stable, at least for a period. The imminent threats have, so to speak, been eradicated and rivalry pushed to the margins of their world. European colonialism breaks up this pattern or, perhaps better, fails to achieve this situation. In Europe, universal empire is defeated and a new doctrine of state-hood, stressing regional sovereignty is gradually established. Instead of conquering each other, the big European powers remain stuck in confrontation and rivalry. No one ever really wins and therefore competition endures. Instead, empires are now acquired overseas in an attempt to strengthen the state in its competition with its European rivals. That generates even more competitive energies that are unleashed in periodically recurring continental and eventually world-wide wars. These are immensely destructive, and regularly result in the unravelling of colonial

empires. All the great European and World wars, from the 18th century onwards are accompanied by "waves" of imperial break up and decolonization. So while high European colonialism has for many "moderns" become simply the only "real" imperialism, it is, in fact, both enormously powerful and transformative, but also the most unstable, least durable. I was struck by how many of the historiographies of European colonial empire are punctuated by periods such as the first, second and third empires, all within a relatively short time span. The Portuguese attempt at empire in the Indian Ocean is perhaps the first really to feel this competitive pressure where the Dutch and British quickly encroach on the "Estado da India".

EP – As you put the final touches on your upcoming book, could you offer insights into its theme and key ideas?

PFB – It's going to be called *The Roman Empire and World History* and is based on a simple paradox. European historians always emphasise how it was decisive for European history that a new universal empire in the style of Rome never succeeded. Nevertheless, Roman historians generally like to mirror the Roman experience in later European parallels. But, if Europe is characterized by not being Rome, Roman historians should seek models elsewhere, for instance among the other vast universal empires of the Afro-Eurasian world. This then is what the book sets out to accomplish, in discussing a range of topics, from the growth of peasant populations, slavery and state-formation, the dynamics of universal empires and cosmopolitan cultures, to the evolution of cosmopolitan languages, monotheist religions and world trade before globalization. Basically, the book is an attempt to provide a new world history context for Rome. Traditionally thought of as the quintessentially Western empire, Rome may in fact rather be one of the hinges that can link western and eastern history together.

EP – The post-9/11 reality has refuted Francis Fukuyama's notion of the 'End of History', demonstrating the enduring presence of 'empire', even in its more conventional militaristic guise. Do you believe that recent military conflicts, many of which exhibit imperial undertones (some might even argue, overtones), such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine or the ongoing Israeli onslaught in Gaza, could imbue historical examinations of empire-building and collapse with renewed urgency and significance?

PFB – I think that already became clear with the American interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. We can now see that these were not fluke accidents. Empire remain a strong force in the contemporary world. In the early 2000s when people could still believe that empire had fallen off the map, Denmark made an agreement with Putin to return the mother of the last Zar, the Danish princess Dagmar, Zarina Marija Fjodorovna who had died in exile in Denmark after the Russian Revolution. It all happened in a grand ceremony, with escorts of military guards from both countries, the Russian imperial flag and much else to see her coffin taken from Denmark to St. Petersburg and interred in the Peter-Paul Cathedral among the other Romanovs. I gave some talks about this and also pointed to the imperial symbolism involved in all this. People thought it was interesting, even fascinating, but few took it seriously as a reflection of real imperialism, only a bit of theatrical entertainment and historical curiosities. But we can now see that it was a sign of a resurgent Russian imperialist ambition.

EP - To conclude our interview on a lighter note, empires have long been a favored subject in entertainment and fiction. Streaming platforms and cinema continually produce period dramas that aim to recreate historical empires, while creators of fantasy and science fiction envision fictional empires inspired by real-life historical figures, events, and dynamics. Consider recent examples like the much-discussed Napoleon biopic directed by Ridley Scott, the remake of the 1980s series Shogun (based on the James Clavell novel of the same name), or the recent adaptation of Frank Herbert's Dune, which explores themes of imperialism and colonialism in a fictional universe. What are your thoughts on the portrayal of past empires in contemporary media? Do you believe that achieving historically informed and accurate depictions of the past in current television shows and movies is feasible? Furthermore, do you think historians should take a more active role in shaping not only public discourse, education, and heritage policies but also popular culture's representations of history?

PFB – To be frank, I don't think that historians will ever be able to make artists comply with standards of historical accuracy. They are myth-makers as already Plato complained. I have long since made peace with the fact that no matter what I do, Ridley Scott through Gladiator will probably more decisively have shaped the image that most people have of Rome than anything I will ever come up with. So I see the question differently, we can benefit from artistic productions. If successful, they can constitute a platform for us to join the conversation and communicate a more balanced and truthful version of history to the public. We should also engage the artists and be available for

consultation. Once, I had the joy of engaging with a small theatre in Copenhagen that did a play about Spartacus. Yes, they did what they wanted, but we did achieve a constructive dialogue where the myth-making was at least to a large extent put at the service of history. In due time, I have a dream perhaps to form a collaboration with a team of gaming programmers to develop a computer game about empires. There are in fact quite a few out there, with a huge audience, and it would be an interesting challenge to create a game with more of the historians' history fed into it.

Para uma Sociologia Histórica dos Impérios Global e na Longa Duração. Uma Entrevista com Peter Fibiger Bang

EDGAR PEREIRA

Universidade de Coimbra, CHSC, FLUC epereira@fl.uc.pt https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8547-6777



O Professor Peter Fibiger Bang foi convidado pelo Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura (CHSC) para proferir uma palestra na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra no dia 27 de outubro de 2023, no âmbito do seminário permanente do CHSC "Os Mundos da História: Novas Perspetivas e Debates". Na sua intelectualmente estimulante e muito bem-recebida palestra "Beyond the Wilsonian Moment - Empire and the Rethinking of World History" o Professor Fibiger Bang apresentou e aprofundou os pressupostos teóricos, metodologias e as novas perspetivas que propôs nos seus trabalhos mais recentes. Estes incluem a obra coletiva em dois volumes Oxford World History of Empire, publicada pela Oxford University Press, que coordenou com o falecido Christopher Bayly e Walter Scheidel, e *The Roman* Empire and World History, que será lançado em breve, também com a chancela da Oxford University Press.

O Professor Peter Fibiger Bang é Professor Associado no Instituto SAXO da Universidade de Copenhaga, e a sua investigação tem procurado reconsiderar o papel do Império Romano na história mundial. Além de ser um académico com um forte pendor interdisciplinar e colaborativo, é autor de monografias, artigos e capítulos sobre temas como as formas de governo, a integração económica e a agregação de interesses das elites no império dos Césares. Entre as suas principais obras sobre a história da Roma Antiga destaca-se The Roman Bazaar: A Comparative Study of Trade and Markets in a Tributary Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2008). Além da sua expertise sobre o império romano, o Professor Fibiger Bang tem estado na vanguarda da história comparada dos impérios. É autor de vários importantes estudos neste campo historiográfico em ascensão, incluindo Tributary Empires in Global History (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, em coautoria com C. A. Bayly), Universal Empire (Cambridge University Press, 2012, coordenado com D. Kolodziejczyk) e The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean (Oxford University Press, 2013, cooordenado com W. Schei-

del). O seu trabalho colaborativo neste novo campo de estudos culminou na supracitada Oxford World History of Empire, um volume editado em duas partes que reúne contribuições de mais de cinquenta académicos. Conceptualizando "Império" como um fenómeno histórico amplo, transgeográfico e transcronológico, este volume examina os fenómenos imperiais na longue durée – abrangendo cinco mil anos, desde a Idade do Bronze até ao final do século XX. Partindo de obras anteriores, como Irregulare Aliquod Corpus? Comparison, World History, and the Historical Sociology of the Roman Empire (Copenhaga, 2014), o próximo livro do Professor Fibiger Bang, The Roman Empire and World History aprofundará ainda mais as suas ideias sobre a metodologia da sociologia histórica comparativa aplicada ao estudo dos impérios.

O Professor Fibiger Bang teve a amabilidade de aceitar o convite do RHSC para uma entrevista, durante a qual discutiu o futuro da história imperial e sugeriu estratégias para conjugar abordagens comparadas e conectadas. Partilhou também as suas reflexões sobre a relevância dos estudos imperiais para a compreensão da atualidade, desde as manchetes dos jornais ao entretenimento.

Edgar Pereira – O ponto de partida para a palestra que deu na Universidade de Coimbra, em outubro de 2023, foi a visão convencional de que vivemos num mundo globalizado, pós-colonial e pós-Guerra Fria, que transitara com sucesso de uma era de imperialismo para uma caracterizada por nações independentes, soberanas e autogovernadas. No entanto, como de resto mencionou na altura, esta visão está muito longe de corresponder à realidade, e somos atualmente confrontados com exemplos de projeção imperial em vários pontos do globo. Na sua opinião, como é que os atuais historiadores da projeção imperial nos podem ajudar a desfazermo-nos de uma vez por todas desta narrativa sedutora, mas errónea?

Peter Fibiger Bang – Creio que o melhor a fazer é adotar uma perspetiva cronológica muito mais profunda. A descolonização foi, obviamente, um processo muito importante na história da humanidade; mas para compreendê-la realmente, não podemos apenas olhá-la no curto espaço de tempo em que se desenrolou. Pelo contrário, devemos recuar no tempo e inseri-la numa sequência de eventos e contexto cronológico bastante mais amplos. Uma perspetiva na longa duração levar-nos-ia a esperar que emergiriam novas potências que ocupariam o lugar deixado vago pelas cessantes. A independência da América Latina de Espanha e Portugal foi parte de um processo mais amplo que culminou na preponderância mundial do império britânico. O

mesmo aconteceu depois, quando o poder imperial britânico e francês colapsaram após a II Guerra Mundial. As potências imperiais não desapareceram simplesmente, o seu lugar tende a ser ocupado por outras.

EP – Nalguns quadrantes, a história imperial continua a ser menosprezada como uma das subdisciplinas mais arcaizantes e bafientas da história; considerada uma relíquia de formas antiquadas de escrever sobre o passado. Na sua palestra em Coimbra referiu uma provocação bem humorada que lhe foi feita pela conhecida historiadora Mary Beard, que comparou uma sessão a que tinha assistido sobre história imperial a "some maps and chaps" ("uns fulanos e os seus mapas"). Ou seja, a um grupo de historiadores do sexo masculino, que munidos dos seus mapas pontificavam sobre campanhas militares, transferências de soberania sobre territórios e líderes providenciais que decidiam os destinos de milhões de pessoas. Como defenderia a "nova história imperial', um campo historiográfico do qual é um dos principais cultores, face aos céticos?

PFB – Em primeiro lugar, penso que um dos pontos mais fortes da nova história imperial é a viragem para a história global, tanto na vertente comparativa como conectada. Parece-me muito importante que não fiquemos presos às controvérsias de antanho, chovendo no molhado e ruminando sobre os mesmos desafios estratégicos, etc., etc. Na minha própria área de especialização, o topos do declínio e queda de Roma, é uma dessas metáforas históricas que são repetidas ad nauseum. Contra este tipo de história baseado em lugares comuns, eu defendo um novo tipo de história, que, além de adotar uma perspetiva temporal mais longa, deve ser ousadamente comparativa. A velha e estagnada história imperial, se assim a pudemos chamar, tendia a escrever a história imperial num quadro nacional. Contra este tipo de paroquialismo, o melhor remédio é a história global e a sua capacidade para colocar os fenómenos do passado numa perspetiva mais ampla e profunda. Além disso, essa mudança de foco também permite percecionar as dinâmicas cruciais das sociedades coloniais e provinciais com muito mais clareza, evitando o olhar a partir da "sala de crise" metropolitana.

EP – Gostaria agora que nos focássemos um pouco na monumental Oxford World History of Empire (OWHE), de que foi um dos coordenados. O escopo geográfico e cronológico desta obra coletiva em dois volumes impressiona, tendo em conta que abrange nada menos do que quarenta e cinco impérios diferentes, numa cronologia de cinco milénios, procurando identificar pontos de contacto e características estruturais

do fenómeno imperial que transcendem o espaço e o tempo. A minha primeira pergunta é a seguinte: que estratégias foram delineadas, pelo professor Fibiger Bang e os demais coordenadores, para levar a bom porto tão ambiciosa agenda de comparação e síntese macro-histórica? Em segundo lugar, quais são os benefícios de comparar entidades imperiais tão diferentes em termos geográficos, cronológicos e culturais? O que podemos extrair dessas comparações, que as análises mais convencionais e localizadas no tempo e espaço (como as dos area studies) escondem?

PFB – Se abordarmos a sua questão na perspetiva de um filósofo, vamos acabar num beco sem saída. É simplesmente impossível condensar tanta história numa fórmula única, coerente e lógica. Isso não significa que não se deva tentar conceptualizar a noção de "Império", mas sim que o conceito deve ser simples, aberto e sensível à forma como a conquista e dominação de uns Estados sobre outros muda ao longo da história. Outros podem preferir uma abordagem mais maximalista ao problema da definição. No entanto, quanto mais específica e fechada for a definição, mais ela tenderá a corresponder apenas, digamos, a impérios de um determinado período. A simplicidade é uma virtude, não um pecado, quando lidamos com definições. Portanto, o rigor intelectual deve ser temperado com algum pragmatismo. Mesmo com quarenta e cinco casos de estudo, a obra não aborda tudo. No entanto, ao fazermos a nossa seleção de casos, privilegiamos uma cobertura ampla e inclusiva que abarcasse casos de estudo em todas as diferentes regiões do mundo. Caso contrário, não seria uma História Mundial.

Por outro lado, utilizamos um critério que pode parecer contraintuitivo para muitos académicos da área das humanidades: o tamanho e dimensão. Não foi o nosso único critério, mas começámos a nossa seleção a partir do topo, assegurando que os impérios geograficamente mais extensos e duradouros eram incluídos. Quando é que um estado é grande o suficiente para ser considerado um império? Esta é uma pergunta difícil, cuja resposta varia ao longo da história, nomeadamente à medida que a população mundial foi crescendo. Mesmo estados muito pequenos devem a sua existência ao controlo de algum território, ainda que exíguo. No entanto, elevar cada pequeno "Leviatã insignificante", como diria John Hall, ao estatuto de império seria, obviamente, pouco razoável e convincente. Por isso, começámos com exemplos incontestáveis, alargando depois o nosso leque de escolha para incluir casos de estudo mais liminares. Estou convencido que, no âmbito da História Mundial, tal abordagem tem o mérito de identificar um padrão global predominante, ao mesmo tempo que testa o seu alcance e limites. Não estávamos

apenas a tentar colecionar o maior número possível de histórias imperiais individuais. Queríamos acima de tudo perceber quais foram os principais desenvolvimentos e adquirir uma visão holística que transcendesse as intermináveis rivalidades e tentativas, tanto de grandes como de pequenos atores, de conquistar e dominar territórios e recursos. Esta é uma das principais razões para fazer história global – discernir uma visão abrangente, que está fora do alcance dos historiadores que trabalham apenas e só sobre uma entidade imperial. Penso que este ponto merece ser salientado! As abordagens de história mundial desenvolvidas na OWHE, patentes nas secções de síntese e de análise temática que abordam contextos diferentes, não são menos importantes do que as discussões sobre impérios individuais. Queríamos que a nossa história operasse em vários níveis de generalização.

EP - Na sequência da pergunta anterior, e deixando de lado a singularidade de cada experiência imperial e as mudanças internas que sofreram ao longo da sua existência, quais considera terem sido as características recorrentes e os grandes desenvolvimentos comuns inerentes à condição imperial ao longo de cinco milénios? Da leitura da obra, retive a noção do 'paradoxo duradouro do imperialismo', segundo a qual a cooperação entre poderes regionais, elites indígenas e o centro imperial acabava invariavelmente por corroer os impérios por dentro e provocar, a prazo, o seu colapso. Poderia aprofundar um pouco sobre o significado e a recorrência desta dinâmica imperial em particular?

PFB - Nos últimos anos virou moda no discurso público uma visão de império assente na dicotomia entre governantes metropolitanos e súbditos resistentes. Ora, esta dialética tem muito de mito pós-colonial e pós-independência. Os impérios nunca foram sistemas de governo particularmente esguios e escorreitos, dependendo sempre da cooptação de elites nos territórios conquistados. Estas sempre tiveram que fazer muito em prol do jugo imperial, arcando, na verdade, com a maior parte do fardo administrativo e disciplinar. O poder imperial esteve, portanto, sempre sujeito a forças centrífugas, que o impeliam para longe da metrópole em direção às colónias e províncias. Esta é uma conceção de autoridade imperial muitas vezes associada ao pensador árabe Ibn Khaldun, que, no entanto, estava mais interessado nos conquistadores que falharam em produzir hegemonias duradouras e viram o seu poder dissipar-se em poucas gerações. Os Mongóis encaixam nessa descrição, mas representam apenas um desfecho entre muitos outros corolários. O conquistador que assegurava instituições governamentais mais estáveis, tenderia a alcançar um domínio mais duradouro, ainda que a estrutura de

poder imperial não fosse necessariamente a mais centralizada. Veja-se o caso da administração romana: à medida que a hegemonia imperial amadureceu, o estado aparentou estar a adquirir maiores capacidades administrativas. A compilação e sistematização do direito romano é um produto do Império Romano tardio, que muitos veem como uma manifestação do fortalecimento do estado central. No entanto, o historiador é confrontado com um paradoxo, já que ao mesmo tempo que o direito romano é sistematizado acentuou-se a tendência para a fragmentação, com o império a desintegrar-se regionalmente. O que aconteceu foi que o fortalecimento do aparato governamental representou uma oportunidade para as elites locais adquirirem cargos e estatuto imperial. Em resumo, fortaleceram o seu poder provincial e regional ao passo que a autoridade central se viu perante diversos entraves.

Chris Bayly lembrava-me amiúde que quando o poder da corte Mogol enfraqueceu no século XVIII, formas de administração associadas ao centro político aprofundaram-se nas sociedades provinciais em muitas regiões da Îndia. Esse processo decorreu em paralelo com a fragmentação e a ascensão de governantes regionais, os chamados Nababos. Uma outra variação sobre este mesmo tema ocorreu na China Qing, onde o sistema de exames confucionistas registou uma generalização sem precedentes. Ainda assim, o aparato estatal permaneceu exíguo, especialmente face à enorme e crescente população. Em muitas comunidades, o império era administrado pela gentry, elites da governança local cujos membros passavam nos exames de acesso à burocracia, e não pelos poucos funcionários imperiais nomeados pelo centro dinástico. Em suma, o crescente poder e estatuto das elites provinciais é frequentemente um sinal de sucesso do sistema imperial, não do seu fracasso. O mesmo vale para a descolonização. Foi entre as elites coloniais em maior diálogo com a sociedade metropolitana e suas ideologias dominantes que desabrocharam muitos dos movimentos de independência e revolução, fosse ela nacionalista ou marxista. Acabei de reler a autobiografia de Nehru e fiquei impressionado por a sua principal queixa em relação ao domínio britânico não ser o seu caracter opressivo, embora o fosse indiscutivelmente. No seu entender, outros governantes também haviam sido opressivos e exploradores da população indiana. Não, o verdadeiro problema era que os britânicos não investiram o suficiente na modernização da Índia, dando prioridade à Grã-Bretanha e deixando a Índia a cuidar de si mesma. A propagação do nacionalismo foi, de certa forma, um reflexo do sucesso dos governos imperiais em captar as energias e cooptar elites nas sociedades coloniais. Mas, com sua ênfase na independência e na autodeterminação dos povos, estas elites destabilizaram a hegemonia imperial. A longo prazo, a cooperação torna-se suspeita e o império instável.

EP – A história transimperial cresceu em popularidade na última década, em parte porque permite escapar à armadilha da "nacionalização" dos impérios. Refiro-me à tendência para estudar os centros metropolitanos e as colónias como unidades de análise umbilicalmente ligadas, bem delimitadas e intrinsecamente coerentes, que reintroduz inadvertidamente o nacionalismo metodológico. Os historiadores que utilizam o prefixo "trans" podem recorrer ao método comparativo (estou a pensar nas "Politics of Comparison" de Ann Stoler e na própria OWHE), ou adotar uma análise conectada, atenta aos fluxos, interstícios e cruzamentos das fronteiras dos impérios. Além disso, certos historiadores, particularmente aqueles que estudam o fenómeno imperial dos séculos XIX e XX, exploraram a cooperação inter-imperial, examinando como é que as principais potências formaram coligações para manter o statu quo do poder global. Embora estas duas abordagens tenham produzido resultados estimulantes, a conjugação em simultâneo de metodologias comparativas e conectadas coloca vários desafios ao historiador. Para si, qual é a forma mais viável e frutífera de integrar essas duas abordagens?

PFB - Por que razão considera que a conjugação de comparações e conexões coloca desafios? É verdade que no mercado das ideias as abordagens conectadas têm sido, por vezes, promovidas como uma rejeição da comparação. Mas as duas abordagens não são, de todo, incompatíveis. Terminei recentemente a revisão de uma nova monografia sobre História da Antiguidade, na qual tento mostrar que as comparações interculturais são indispensáveis para que o historiador possa determinar em que contextos é que conexões globais se tornam transformativas. Não basta apenas confiar numa noção vaga e universalizada da ubiquidade da globalização. A globalização é um processo que podemos localizar historicamente, a partir do século XVI, e que se intensificou ao longo do longo século XIX. No entanto, muitas conexões culturais significativas precedem estes desenvolvimentos. E, para identificar as forças que estiveram por trás dessas conexões, precisamos da comparação entre sociedades. A boa história global (global history) ou mundial (world history) deve combinar criativamente uma série de perspetivas e estratégias, que se robustecem reciprocamente. Em resumo, penso que se trata, em certa medida, de ser eclético; caso contrário, não conseguiremos produzir análises históricas detalhadas.

EP – De que forma é que o seu percurso como especialista em Antiguidade Romana influenciou a sua abordagem de sociologia global e de longo prazo dos projetos imperiais, de maneira distinta, por exemplo,

de um historiador do Império Songhai, do Otomano ou da Pax Americana do século XX?

PFB – Essa é uma boa pergunta. Talvez, paradoxalmente, isso se manifeste na decisão de voltar atrás, até à Idade do Bronze. Os académicos contemporâneos que escrevem história mundial e dos impérios raramente recuam para lá do império Romano. Admito que esta perceção se deva ao facto de ser historiador da Antiguidade em geral, mas não estou tão certo de que o estudo de Roma e do seu império, em si, tenha moldado a minha abordagem. Muitos historiadores do império Romano não estão de todo interessados em produzir comparações globais. Acho que é mais o resultado da influência de e da minha convivência com um grupo específico de historiadores que muito me inspirou. Finley foi uma inspiração decisiva desde o início, juntamente com William McNeill, Marshall Hodgson e Braudel. Uffe Østergaard, um historiador dinamarquês das sociedades Europeias, deu um impulso decisivo à minha carreira, ao passo que Eric Christiansen, que me introduziu ao estudo do império romano, insistia na importância de se estudar outras sociedades e períodos para enriquecer a minha compreensão de Roma. Depois, Peter Garnsey e Keith Hopkins, em Cambridge, e Richard Saller, em Chicago, permitiram-me concretizar os meus primeiros estudos comparativos. E, através deles, estabeleci laços colaborativos com o Walter (Scheidel) e com o Chris (Bayly). É, também, suponho, um reflexo da minha trajetória académica e das leituras e reflexões mais amplas que tenho feito nos últimos anos. Comecei por ensaiar uma comparação entre os Impérios Romano e Mogol, que depois procurei expandir com a inclusão de mais impérios territoriais afro-euroasiáticos e dialogando com outros interlocutores. Este alargamento do escopo comparativo ocorreu no âmbito de uma rede apoiada pelo COST Action [a rede de investigação interdisciplinar European Cooperation in Science & Technology]. Foi então que o Chris, o Walter e eu decidimos que poderíamos expandir ainda mais o alcance da nossa sociologia histórica comparativa e tentar escrever uma verdadeira história mundial dos impérios, abrangendo tanto a antiguidade como a modernidade, o colonialismo europeu e os impérios da Antiguidade, Afro-Eurásia e Américas. E, claro, através destes projetos, estabeleci uma vasta rede de historiadores de diversas áreas que me inspiraram e ajudaram a moldar a minha própria abordagem. Portanto, suponho que, se a minha especialização em história de Roma teve alguma influencia na elaboração da OWHE, foi na medida em que me motivou a relacionar e colocar essa história em perspetiva com a de outros campos da história imperial.

EP – Na sua palestra em Coimbra e na OWHE, tanto nos capítulos

da sua autoria e dos demais autores, a ascensão de formações imperiais é retratada como um fenómeno essencialmente eurasiático, embora não exclusivo desta macro-região. É sugerida uma distinção entre dois modos de expansão imperial: um caracterizado pela longevidade e por transformações muito graduais, exemplificado pelos impérios territoriais da Roma Antiga e da Ásia; e outro caracterizado por uma intensa competitividade e volatilidade, representado pelos estados coloniais da Europa Ocidental pós-medieval. Poderia aprofundar um pouco esta dicotomia e clarificar quais as implicações destes dois modelos distintos para as dinâmicas de poder globais posteriores ao século XVI? Este que foi um período em que os contactos e interações entre impérios situados em extremidades opostas da Eurásia se tornaram diretos e mais intensos.

PFB – A questão central é que os impérios universais bem-sucedidos são normalmente aqueles que conseguiram conquistar e subjugar os seus rivais mais próximos e fortes. Isso assegurava que a sua hegemonia era relativamente segura e estável, pelo menos por algum tempo. As ameaças mais imediatas foram, por assim dizer, erradicadas e os focos de tensão e zonas onde as rivalidades se materializavam foram empurradas para as margens dos seus territórios. O colonialismo europeu quebra esse padrão ou, talvez melhor dizendo, não consegue alcançar essa estabilidade. Na Europa, o império universal é derrotado e uma nova doutrina de autoridade estatal, que enfatiza a soberania regional, é gradualmente estabelecida. Ao invés de se conquistarem uns aos outros, as grandes potências europeias enredam-se em confrontos e rivalidades, dos quais não emerge nenhum vencedor claro e, por isso, a competição persiste. Em vez disso, os impérios constituem-se fora da Europa numa tentativa de fortalecer os Estados metropolitanos face à sua competição com os seus rivais europeus. Essa competição extraeuropeia gera novas energias competitivas, que são desencadeadas em guerras continentais e, eventualmente, mundiais, que se repetem periodicamente. Estas guerras são imensamente destrutivas e culminam regularmente no desmantelamento dos impérios coloniais dos perdedores. Todas as grandes guerras europeias e mundiais, a partir do século XVIII, são acompanhadas por "ondas" de desintegração imperial e descolonização. Portanto, embora o colonialismo europeu seja, para muitos de nós na atualidade, o único "verdadeiro" imperialismo, o mais poderoso e transformador, é também o mais instável e o menos duradouro dos modos de expansão imperial. Ao ler as historiografias sobre os impérios ultramarinos e coloniais europeus, saltou-me à vista o facto de se sucederem "Primeiros", "Segundos" e "Terceiros" impérios num período de tempo relativamente curto. A tentativa portuguesa de império no Oceano Índico é talvez a primeira a sentir realmente essa pressão competitiva, dado que os holandeses e britânicos rapidamente invadem o "Estado da Índia".

EP - Sei que está neste momento a finalizar o seu próximo livro. Poderia levantar um pouco o véu sobre o tema e as ideias principais da obra?

PFB – O título do livro é The Roman Empire and World History (O Império Romano e a História Mundial) e baseia-se num paradoxo simples. Tradicionalmente, os historiadores europeus enfatizam a efemeridade do império romano, argumentando que a sua queda foi decisiva para a história do continente. Em simultâneo, os historiadores de Roma e do seu império têm por hábito projetar a experiência romana na história europeia subsequente. Mas, se a Europa do pós-Antiguidade se caracteriza essencialmente por não ser Roma, então os historiadores devem procurar modelos inspiradores noutros lugares, por exemplo, entre os outros vastos impérios universais do mundo afro-euroasiático. O objetivo do livro é, portanto: discutir uma série de tópicos, desde o crescimento das populações camponesas, a escravatura, a formação de estados, as dinâmicas dos impérios universais, das culturas e línguas cosmopolitas, até às religiões monoteístas e comércio mundial antes da globalização. Basicamente, o livro é uma tentativa de fornecer um novo contexto de história mundial para Roma. Tradicionalmente vista como o império ocidental por excelência, Roma pode, na verdade, ser um dos elos de ligação entre a história ocidental e oriental.

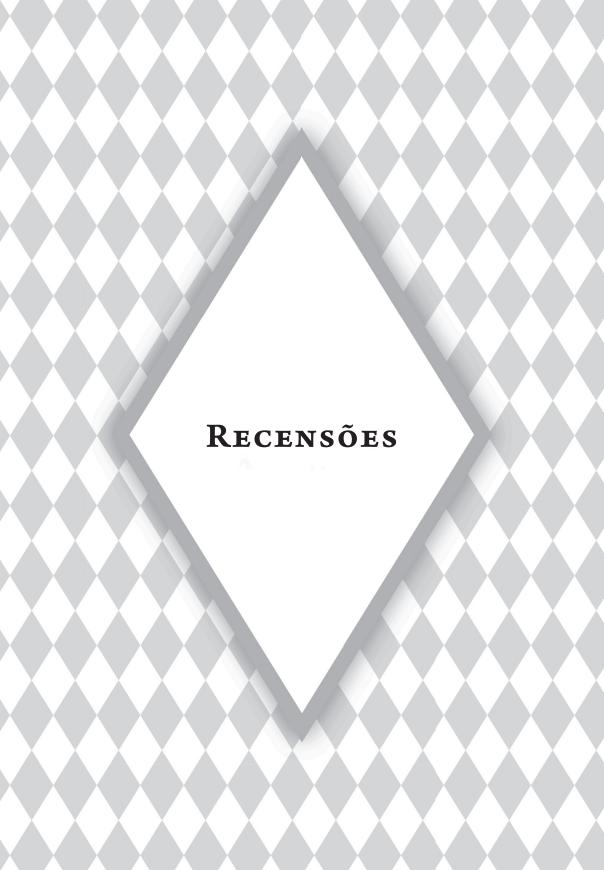
EP - O mundo pós-11 de setembro refutou a tese do "Fim da História" de Francis Fukuyama, demonstrando a resiliência dos impérios, inclusivamente na sua forma militarista mais convencional. Acredita que os recentes conflitos militares, alguns dos quais com laivos imperialistas, como a invasão da Ucrânia pela Rússia ou o morticínio em Gaza às mãos do exército israelita, deram uma nova urgência e relevância aos estudos históricos sobre a construção e queda de impérios?

PFB – Creio que a sobrevivência dos impérios já tinha ficado patente com as intervenções americanas no Afeganistão e no Iraque, que, podemos agora concluir, não se trataram de acidentes fortuitos. O "Império" continua a ser uma força poderosa no mundo contemporâneo. Nos primeiros anos do novo milénio, quando as pessoas ainda podiam alimentar a ilusão de que os impérios tinham desaparecido do mapa, a Dinamarca fez um acordo com Putin para devolver os restos mortais da mãe do último czar, a princesa dinamarquesa Dagmar/czarina Maria Feodorovna, que tinha morrido no exílio na Dinamarca após a Revolução Russa. A devolução decorreu numa grande cerimónia, com escoltas de guardas militares de ambos os países, a bandeira imperial russa hasteada e muito mais, e culminou com o caixão a ser levado da Dinamarca para São Petersburgo e sepultado na Catedral de Pedro e Paulo, entre os outros Romanov. Dei algumas palestras sobre o acontecimento onde apontei para o simbolismo imperial envolvido em tudo isto. As pessoas acharam interessante, até fascinante, mas poucos o levaram a sério como um reflexo de imperialismo real, apenas um pouco de entretenimento teatral e curiosidade histórica. Todos estes anos volvidos, podemos olhar para este momento como um sinal de uma ambição imperialista russa em ascensão.

EP - Para concluir a nossa entrevista num registo mais leve, os impérios são um tema muito explorado no entretenimento e na ficção. Plataformas de streaming e estúdios de cinema produzem continuamente dramas históricos que procuram recriar impérios passados. Criadores no género de fantasia e ficção científica imaginam impérios fictícios inspirados por figuras, eventos e dinâmicas históricas reais. Referindo apenas exemplos recentes, tivemos o controverso biopic de Napoleão, realizado por Ridley Scott, o remake da série dos anos 80 Shogun (baseada no romance homónimo de James Clavell) ou a adaptação de Dune, romance de sci-fi de Frank Herbert, que explora temas de imperialismo e colonialismo num universo imaginário. Qual é a sua opinião sobre a forma como os impérios do passado são representados nos media contemporâneos? Acredita que é possível produzir representações historicamente informadas e credíveis do passado nas séries de televisão e filmes atuais? Além disso, acha que os historiadores deveriam envolver-se mais na clarificação, não apenas do discurso público sobre o passado e de políticas de educação e património, mas também na consultoria das representações da história na cultura popular?

PFB - Para ser franco, não acredito que os historiadores consigam, alguma vez, fazer com que os artistas se guiem por critérios de precisão histórica. São criadores de mitos, como já Platão se queixava. Há muito que fiz as pazes com o facto de que, não importa o que eu faça, Ridley Scott, através do filme Gladiador, terá moldado de forma mais decisiva a imagem que a maioria das pessoas tem de Roma do que qualquer um dos meus trabalhos ou palestras.

Vejo a questão de forma diferente: a de que os académicos podem beneficiar das produções artísticas. Se forem bem-sucedidas, podem constituir uma plataforma para nos juntarmos à conversa e comunicar uma versão da história mais equilibrada e verdadeira ao público. Também devemos envolver os artistas e estar disponíveis para consulta. Uma vez, tive o prazer de colaborar com um pequeno teatro em Copenhaga que fez uma peça sobre Espártaco. Sim, o encenador e atores fizeram o que quiseram, mas conseguimos um diálogo construtivo, onde a criação de mitos foi colocada ao serviço da história. Com o tempo, tenho a ambição de, talvez, formar uma colaboração com uma equipa de programadores de jogos para desenvolver um jogo de computador sobre impérios. Na verdade, já existem bastantes no mercado, alguns dos quais conquistaram um grande público, e seria um desafio interessante criar um jogo que incorporasse ainda mais conhecimento dos historiadores.



TITTERTON, James (2022). *Deception in Medieval Warfare: Trickery and Cunning in the Central Middle Ages.* Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 292 pp., ISBN 978-1-78327-678-3.

O volume que aqui apresentamos, intitulado *Deception in Medieval Warfare: Trickery and Cunning in the Central Middle Ages*, da autoria de James Titterton, pretende abordar a utilização de estratagemas e outro tipo de subterfúgios similares, como recursos importantes que se encontravam à disposição dos comandantes medievais e respetivos combatentes. Tem como objetivo primordial evidenciar os episódios deste tipo que se encontram presentes em fontes narrativas, embora, como bem refere o autor, muitas das descrições possam ser fruto da imaginação dos cronistas, pelo que se deve ter algum cuidado na sua generalização.

Este livro encontra-se dividido em nove capítulos, nos quais se discute a utilização das fontes e os problemas que encerram, o uso da informação (e desinformação), as emboscadas e os ataques noturnos como elemento surpresa, as retiradas simuladas, os disfarces, os subornos, os juramentos e as tréguas, a linguagem do engano e a moralidade na aplicação deste tipo de ardis. Enquadram estas temáticas uma introdução e uma conclusão, com mapas que auxiliam o leitor na compreensão e localização de alguns dos episódios mencionados, uma bibliografia aturada e, ainda mais importante, a merecer destaque, um apêndice que elenca todos os episódios que o autor recolheu de fontes narrativas, o que pode constituir uma importante ferramenta para outros investigadores interessados em estudar esta temática.

O primeiro capítulo, dedicado às fontes, talvez seja um dos mais aliciantes de toda a obra. Neste ponto discute-se o contributo da literatura medieval para o estudo do assunto, evidenciando-se uma série de composições – entre as quais as que versam sobre o famoso Robin dos Bosques – em que se relatam momentos em que se recorreu aos ardis, nalgumas vezes associados a figuras que, à primeira vista, não seriam propriamente o referente moral para os padrões sociais do período, como por exemplo os piratas e os fora da lei. Numa segunda parte, aborda-se a influência dos autores clássicos no pensamento medieval, aos quais a guerra não passou ao lado. De entre estes, destaca-se a figura de Vegécio, um teórico romano do século IV, e criador do compêndio *De re militari*, apontado por muito autores como um dos maiores influenciadores do pensamento estratégico dos comandantes medievais. Este tratado foi amplamente divulgado por todo o ocidente medieval, copiado em mosteiros e conservado em vários locais, servindo ainda como modelo para

a descrição de batalhas por parte dos cronistas, e encorajava os seus leitores a adotar o engano ou, pelo menos, a conhecer os recursos à sua disposição, neste domínio.

O capítulo seguinte é dedicado à "desorientação" - misdirection no original -, à recolha de informações e àquilo a que podemos atribuir o termo genérico de espionagem. Por "desorientação" entenda-se todas as ações que eram suscetíveis de provocar confusão no inimigo, procurando ludibriá-lo através de retiradas simuladas, por exemplo, com o intuito de tirar partido da conjetura, situação ilustrada tanto com a tomada de sítios fortificados, como com sua aplicação em enfrentamentos campais. De igual modo, a utilização de fenómenos atmosféricos, como os nevoeiros, também auxiliavam os exércitos medievais a esconder os seus movimentos, podendo ser incluídos nesta forma de dissimulação. No que diz respeito à informação, o autor aborda a sua utilização como meio para inflacionar os números e o estado da própria força, espalhando rumores que permitissem chegar aos ouvidos do inimigo uma condição muito melhor do que a real. Assim, era possível, recorrendo à mentira, "plantar" uma série de informações falsas, que depois eram canalizadas por veículos de transmissão, representados na figura dos viajantes, dos camponeses ou dos desertores. Nesta linha de pensamento surgiam ainda os agentes duplos e, obviamente, os espiões, com James Titterton a dedicar uma parte interessante à utilização de clérigos nesse papel (p. 46-51).

No terceiro capítulo discutem-se as ações levadas a cabo com recurso ao elemento surpresa, nomeadamente as emboscadas e os ataques noturnos. Ainda que pudessem ser consideradas uma das ações mais simples da guerra medieval, usando como ingredientes a paciência e a escolha de um local propício, as emboscadas só poderiam constituir um elemento tático favorável se planeadas corretamente. São vários os exemplos citados, tendo como cenário florestas, bosques e passagens estreitas e íngremes que constituíam locais de oportunidade para se lançar uma grande variedade de armadilhas. Reveste-se de particular relevância o uso do som, geralmente trombetas ou gritos, como condicionante psicológica destinada a semear o pânico e a confusão entre o inimigo. Outra forma de apanhar o inimigo desprevenido passava por levar a cabo ações durante a noite, ou mesmo às primeiras horas da madrugada.

O capítulo imediato abrange as fugas simuladas, ou seja, a utilização de aparentes retiradas do campo de batalha, de modo a incitar o adversário à perseguição. Apresenta-se como exemplo paradigmático a batalha de Hastings, travada em 1066 entre o exército anglo-saxão de Harold Godwinson e a força invasora normanda, e onde esta última terá empregado uma solução deste tipo. O autor discorre sobre as várias possibilidades neste domínio, procedendo a uma revisão bastante completa e crítica da literatura, exibindo argumentos que demonstram que este tipo de procedimento não era, de todo, desconhecido dos comandantes normandos deste período, citando-se os casos de Rogério I da Sicília e Boemundo de Tarento. Seja como for, tão pouco se pode afirmar que esta solução fosse exclusiva do ocidente medieval, como se comprova pela sua prática documentada no mundo islâmico, nomeadamente para tirar partido do uso de arqueiros a cavalo. De forma resumida, reconhece-se a pertinência deste tipo de manobra como forma de afastar o inimigo da sua posição defensiva, para o atrair para uma emboscada ou, como no caso supracitado, para evitar o contacto direto com o inimigo, preferindo a relativa segurança dada pela distância.

Em seguida, no capítulo cinco, explana-se a menção ao disfarce como recurso referido nas fontes narrativas. Ocultando a identidade de um guerreiro, aparentando ser um não combatente, era possível iludir a captura, passar ileso pelas linhas inimigas ou até mesmo tomar de assalto uma fortaleza, através do elemento surpresa. Particularmente relevantes, como assinala o autor, são os procedimentos descritos pelas fontes e tidos como aceitáveis e que, passavam, geralmente, por ocultar a condição militar, removendo o equipamento ou ocultando-o, por intermédio de vestes mais largas, como uma capa, ou até mesmo pelo uso de hábitos clericais. Também se poderia recorrer à alteração física, nomeadamente pelo corte da barba ou do cabelo, permitindo esconder, não apenas a identidade do indivíduo, mas também a sua condição social, dificultando o seu reconhecimento por parte do inimigo. Outra forma, como fingir a morte para entrar ou sair de um castelo, apesar de ser das mais referidas nas fontes, parece ter sido mais uma liberdade fantasiosa por parte dos cronistas do que uma realidade, com aplicação real.

No capítulo seis explora-se outro tipo de *praxis*, traduzida no pagamento de subornos, uma alternativa válida e aceitável quando comparada com os riscos inerentes ao assalto das muralhas de uma fortificação. Logo, e embora a traição fosse altamente condenável, o suborno não deixava de ser encarado como um meio interessante ao serviço dos comandantes medievais. Não obstante, Titternon encara esta situação com alguma cautela, notando, com propriedade, que muitas vezes se acusavam os responsáveis pelo comando das fortalezas, ou mesmo a sua guarnição, de traição e consequente aceitação de pagamento em troca da sua rendição, quando poderia ser uma situação não enquadrável nesta categoria. Ou seja, conquanto se contasse que os defensores empregassem uma defesa mais ou menos vigorosa da sua posição, era comummente aceite que não poderiam resistir por tempo indeterminado, pelo que a escassez de provisões e a falta de socorro iriam ter um papel decisivo

no desfecho dos acontecimentos. Por conseguinte, quando um ponto estratégico de alguma importância caía em poder dos inimigos, depressa corriam rumores de suposta traição por parte dos sitiados. O autor continua a analisar esta situação, ilustrando o processo com vários exemplos, desde a aplicação dos subornos em sentido contrário para levantar um cerco, os procedimentos das negociações para o pagamento do valor acordado, ou a religião como móbil para a traição.

O capítulo sete debate os juramentos e as tréguas ou, mais propriamente, as situações em que se tomava partido da sua quebra, isto é, da violação da palavra dada, considerado um sacrilégio para os contemporâneos e moralmente condenável. Tudo isto porque se partia do princípio de que a palavra constituía um vínculo inquebrantável, assente na confiança. O mesmo se aplicava aos períodos de trégua, em que a atividade militar era suspensa, para permitir a livre circulação de mensageiros entre os beligerantes. Ainda assim, um comportamento que fosse contrário podia ser visto com alguma ambiguidade; se por um lado se criticava o lado menos honrado do processo, por outro elogiava-se a perspicácia e a astúcia do individuo. Manifesta-se, então, o peso que a honra e a vergonha desempenhavam no quadro mental de valores do guerreiro do ocidente medieval, em claro conflito com as necessidades reais dos teatros de guerra da época, com os cronistas a procurar encontrar formas de encaixar e, de certo modo, desculpar este tipo de conduta.

No capítulo oito refere-se aquilo que se pode considerar como a "linguagem" do engano e dos estratagemas, mais concretamente o registo utilizado pelos vários autores enunciados para transmitir este tipo de informação. Conclui-se que recorriam aos mesmos termos para descrever as ações de heróis e vilões, o que pode sugerir que comportamentos deste tipo estariam longe de ser considerados como negativos ou injustificados, podendo até servir como uma demonstração de esperteza, ousadia e iniciativa. Sob esta perspetiva, podemos afirmar que o conceito de moralidade em tempos de guerra estava revestido de alguma flexibilidade, relegado para segundo plano quando o mais importante era a vitória sobre o inimigo.

O último capítulo da obra encontra-se reservado para uma discussão sobre o que seria entendido como lícito e, portanto, como moralmente aceite dentro do campo dos estratagemas e dos ardis. Nesse sentido, o autor analisa as posições de alguns cronistas relativamente a esta questão, iniciando este périplo pelos trabalhos de natureza canónica e teológica. Logo depois, concentra a sua atenção nas justificações avançadas por algumas fontes narrativas quanto ao uso do engano como arma, bem como a maneira como encaram estas práticas quando são levadas a cabo por inimigos "não normativos", isto é, grupos que fugiam dos cânones militares ocidentais, como os galeses, os irlandeses, os escoceses, os gregos e os muçulmanos.

Este volume encerra-se com uma parte dedicada às conclusões, das quais registamos as mais importantes: os estratagemas eram uma parte integrante (e aceite) da guerra medieval; embora a maioria dos episódios possa ser fruto da imaginação dos autores que os descreveram, não deixam de ser indicativos das qualidades apreciadas pelos autores do período; a ambiguidade com que diferentes cronistas relataram o mesmo episódio, fez com que o mesmo fosse encarado como traição ou prudência, consoante o ponto de vista; a sacralidade dos juramentos e a condenação dos que os quebravam; a desconstrução da ideia de que o guerreiro medieval era completamente desprovido de noções de estratégia e tática de natureza militar, quebrando uma ideia, ainda recorrente, de que o ideal de cavalaria medieval era avesso a outras formas de combate que não o enfrentamento direto; a possibilidade de expandir a geografia do estudo a outras zonas da Europa, procurando pontos de contacto ou de rutura; e, por fim, a necessidade de a historiografia proceder a uma revisão do conceito de honra dentro da classe guerreira.

Conforme acima referimos, existe uma clara delimitação geográfica neste estudo, abrangendo sobretudo as Ilhas Britânicas, a França e a Terra Santa, o que poderá constituir uma limitação e induzir a uma generalização das conclusões. No entanto, referem-se episódios pontuais ocorridos em Portugal, como a conquista de Lisboa, em 1147, e o cerco movido pelos almóadas a Santarém, em 1184. Esta temática até tem merecido alguma atenção por parte da historiografia ibérica, destacando-se, para esta cronologia (c. 1050c.1320), a monografia Castilla y León frente al Islam – Estrategias de expansión y tácticas militares (siglos XI-XIII), de Francisco García Fitz, ou as contribuições de Carlos Afonso e Miguel Gomes Martins, e, para um período posterior, João Gouveia Monteiro. Assim sendo, podemos referir muitos exemplos para o contexto peninsular, perfeitamente enquadráveis no assunto em questão, como as ações levadas a cabo por Geraldo Geraldes, o "Sem Pavor", entre 1165 e 1173, no Alentejo; a simulação de retirada operada por Fernando Magno, em Valência (1065), que culminou na perseguição da sua força por parte da guarnição muçulmana da cidade, e consequente derrota da mesma; ou mesmo a conquista, através da surpresa, de Ajarquía, em finais de 1235 ou inícios do ano seguinte, em que os atacantes cristãos utilizaram trajes muçulmanos para ocultar a sua verdadeira identidade. À medida que caminhamos para o final do século XIV encontramos mais paralelos na atuação de Nuno Álvares Pereira, reconhecido por empregar uma grande variedade de ardis e artimanhas, sobretudo para tomar lugares fortificados "a furto", para utilizar a expressão consignada nas Siete Partidas, de Afonso X, para ações deste tipo.

A originalidade do tema e a sua pertinência enquanto objeto de estudo, as questões que levanta relativamente à crítica das fontes, o estudo aturado e exaustivo dos episódios, o questionário criterioso e o cuidado colocado na estruturação da obra, levam a que a mesma seja de leitura recomendada para todos os que se interessem sobre história militar medieval, como se comprova pela sua recente reedição, noutro formato, durante o presente ano.

João Rafael Nisa

Universidade de Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, Faculdade de Letras jnisa@fl.uc.pt https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7698-7567



LEHNER, Ulrich L (2022). *The Inner Life of Catholic Reform. From the Council of Trent to the Enlightenment.* New York: Oxford University Press, 312 pp., ISBN: 9780197620601.

Pela mão da prestigiada Oxford University Press, Ulrisch L. Lehner, professor da Universidade de Notre Dame, Indiana (EUA), analisa a reforma tridentina no quadro de dinâmicas de renovação espiritual dos fiéis no período que medeia entre o Concílio de Trento e o Iluminismo. O foco da obra centra-se no estudo da espiritualidade emanada a partir do Concílio de Trento, sobretudo no processo de renovação espiritual marcado por crenças, sentimentos, imaginação, práticas e vivências religiosas dos fiéis. Esta perspetiva distingue-se de abordagens historiográficas que têm enformado o tema e que se enquadram, maioritariamente, numa perspetiva institucional e política. Distingue-se, igualmente, de abordagens centradas na questão do disciplinamento e controle social. Lehner defende que a renovação tridentina, cujo principal propósito passava pela salvação das almas, foi gizada através da veiculação da ideia de amor divino, que não apenas através da inculcação do medo, contrastando as teses de Jean Delumeau. A obra está estruturada em 10 capítulos, que vão desde questões e conceitos associados à espiritualidade, passam pela formação e ação dos párocos, tocam na questão da família para depois relevarem a prática sacramental, o papel das associações confraternais na renovação espiritual, a oração e a importância dos símbolos e imagens.

No capítulo 1 observa-se o que estava em jogo com a dimensão espiritual da Reforma Católica - a santidade. Para a conseguir era necessário operar uma transformação interior dos fiéis através da graça divina. A graça era obtida pela via da prática sacramental. A oração, a caridade e a mortificação eram instrumentos da graça de Deus. Não era nada de novo na história da Igreja; o que era novo era a intensidade com que se projetava o conceito de santidade no período moderno. A santidade transformou-se num ideal para todos os crentes. Tratava-se, em termos teológicos, de um regresso às origens do cristianismo, à pureza da fé e da doutrina. Era, todavia, um regresso com as necessárias adaptações à realidade coetânea moderna que obrigava ao discernimento, isto é, à interpretação da palavra de Deus de acordo com a recta ratio, em coerência com o espírito da Igreja. O universo dos fiéis, obrigava ainda a outro tipo de adaptações, maioritariamente de natureza catequética, em virtude da existência de crentes com origens sociais e culturais muito diversificadas, resultantes das dinâmicas globais dos impérios. A designação espírito de Trento é apresentada como sendo mais consentânea com esta realidade, considerando-se que este conceito reflete melhor um processo flexível e por isso adaptativo que se moldou a culturas, práticas e costumes distintos.

O capítulo 2 aborda o papel dos clérigos, que a Igreja tridentina considerava elementos-chave no processo de reforma, pelas funções que desempenhavam e pela proximidade que tinham com os fiéis. Em termos teológicos, após o Concílio de Trento, almejou-se instituir uma imagem do sacerdote mimética de Cristo, doutor e juiz in persona Christi, médico das almas e dispensador dos tesouros do céu. Deveria, igualmente, assumir-se como o pai dos fiéis e cuidador do rebanho de Deus. Para que os clérigos fossem tudo isto, era preciso renovar a sua imagem, a formação, o zelo e a ação, bem como o comportamento moral. Criaram-se modelos de clérigos, produziram-se obras que veiculavam o modelo de clérigo exemplar, que assentava no amor a Deus e numa união com Deus e com o próximo. Apesar do ensejo da Igreja em renovar o estado clerical, não houve melhorias substanciais do clero até ao século XVIII como se reconhece na obra. O autor refere que os seminários não contribuíram para melhorar a formação do clero, em virtude da falta de recursos e a Universidade também não foi determinante, pelo reduzido número de clérigos que a frequentava. Refere, ainda, que as visitações eram marcadamente ineficazes em termos de disciplina clerical e espiritual do clero. A desvalorização que se faz das visitas pastorais, enquanto instrumento de disciplinamento, mas igualmente de renovação espiritual do clero e dos fiéis, é discutível. No caso português as visitas foram instrumentos eficazes no plano dos comportamentos, mas igualmente não se deve excluir a sua relevância na dimensão das consciências, hábitos e atitudes religiosas. Lehner parece apontar que as razões da melhoria do estado clerical no século XVIII decorrem da veiculação dos modelos de clérigos e de normas e práticas associadas ao múnus, bem como do aumento da exigência dos fiéis para com os sacerdotes, sobretudo no plano do comportamento moral. Concomitantemente, revela que os exames de ordinandos passaram a ser mais exigentes. Teriam os fiéis tanta consciência das faltas dos párocos no plano moral como se quer fazer crer, considerando os níveis de iliteracia existentes? Por outro lado, a exigência dos exames de ordinandos não pode ser vista como passível de se estender ao universo católico. Em Portugal, por exemplo, os exames eram pouco exigentes.

O capítulo 3 é dedicado à homilia. Lehner releva a importância da homilia, colocando a ênfase na questão do sermão. O recurso aos púlpitos, à linguagem corporal, às metáforas e alegorias bíblicas, o apelo aos sentimentos e emoções eram formas comummente utilizadas pelos clérigos nestes contextos. A homilia era encarada como um instrumento fundamental no controlo dos afetos, subjugando-os a Deus. Para estimular os afetos era importante conhecer as causas que os determinavam, quer endógenas, isto é, orgânicas, quer exógenas, externas ao organismo. O afeto mais estimulado na homilia era o medo, nomeadamente o receio de Deus, do inferno e das penas do purgatório. Condenavam-se, por isso, os vícios, em particular a avareza e ressaltavam-se as virtudes, nomeadamente a caridade. Assevera-se, todavia, que no século XVIII, algumas comunidades, caso dos Padres Vicentinos, contrariamente a outras comunidades a exemplo dos Jesuítas, prescreviam uma pregação menos temerosa, assente no amor divino através da veiculação de obras homiléticas. Avaliar as dinâmicas do sermão e a sua eficácia a partir de textos, maioritariamente, provenientes de membros de ordens religiosas é questionável. Pode não refletir a realidade de muitas paróquias, onde os párocos, por norma, eram do clero secular, com carências no plano da formação, alguns com parcos réditos, que poderiam não ter acesso ou interesse em obras deste cariz. Por outro lado, como o próprio autor reconhece, o disciplinamento e controlo social consubstanciados através da inculcação do medo tiveram papel relevante na sermonaria e não podem ser completamente dissociados do processo de renovação espiritual dos fiéis.

O ensino da doutrina evidencia-se no capítulo 4. Os focos da pastoral tridentina, no que à fé diz respeito, passaram a ser a família e a paróquia. O pároco estava incumbido de operar a transformação dos fiéis através da doutrinação. Por sua vez, a família teria de assumir a responsabilidade de criar as condições, por exemplo através do ensino da doutrina ou da oração, para que a transformação espiritual se operasse no seio familiar. A relevância dos catecismos é sublinhada, quer em contextos europeus, quer nos impérios onde foram necessariamente alvo de adequação às respetivas realidades sociais e culturais. Nestes casos, os catecismos expressavam a inexistência de quaisquer diferenças socias, étnicas e culturais no que à salvação dizia respeito. Todavia, se o igualitarismo se afirmava no plano espiritual, a Igreja não se coibia de justificar as diferenças entre os seres humanos no mundo natural. A catequização, reconhece-se na obra, não ocorreu sem escolhos, entre outros fatores pela iliteracia dos crentes que muitas vezes não compreendiam o significado da mensagem, limitando-se a reproduzir o que ouviam. Pese embora se apresente a catequização como instrumento fundamental do processo de transformação espiritual dos fiéis, as evidências sugerem, no caso português, que os párocos por norma não a exercitaram até ao século XVIII.

O capítulo 5 foca-se na família. Começa por discutir o casamento, enquanto sacramento determinante para a salvação dos crentes e promotor do ideal de família assente nos pressupostos da Igreja. Trento promoveu o casamento através de modelos, sendo o da Sagrada Família aquele que tinha, naturalmente, peso maior. Por outro lado, os procedimentos associados ao casamento foram prescritos ao universo dos crentes, a exemplo da necessária catequização dos nubentes, do período de banhos e da sacralização e ritualização do ato. Na obra, Lehner destaca o modelo de casamento que o Concílio de Trento inspirou. O casamento orientado pelo amor, não pela luxúria e dinheiro. A mulher deveria ser obediente ao marido e este tinha obrigatoriamente de a amar e cuidar, sendo a constituição da prole a principal finalidade do matrimónio. O adultério era um pecado contra Cristo e a Igreja, pelo facto de o matrimónio espelhar a união entre Cristo e a comunidade dos fiéis. Por sua vez, os filhos deveriam ser educados e preparados para o casamento através, por exemplo, da imitação da vida de santos para se distanciarem dos pecados e dos vícios. O casamento acabou por ser um instrumento fundamental de transformação interior dos fiéis, sendo que esta transformação foi muito além da questão da espiritualidade. Contudo, não basta olhar para as disposições da Igreja ou da doutrina relativas ao casamento. Importa perceber a forma como ele era entendido pelos fiéis, pois só assim é possível discernir se a transformação individual ocorreu e isto não transparece de forma evidente da leitura do livro. Por outro lado, seria igualmente relevante perceber a forma como a Igreja encarou o casamento de indivíduos de grupos sociais e culturais muito distintos, a exemplo dos seres humanos escravizados, no que concerne, caso tenham existido, à reformulação de exigências e adequação de práticas e rituais em função das especificidades destes grupos sociais.

No capítulo 6, o enfoque são as confrarias e as comunidades de leigos. O Concílio promoveu a generalização das confrarias e os crentes encontraram nestas associações o reforço da solidariedade social, das ligações comunitárias e o conforto espiritual. As irmandades marianas jesuíticas e das Ordens Terceiras desempenharam papel relevante na renovação da Igreja. Foram determinantes na promoção de exercícios espirituais, para a revigoração espiritual no plano individual. Assumiam práticas de oração e caritativas. Promoviam, igualmente, práticas de imitação de santos nos hábitos e atitudes. O capítulo termina com referência à espiritualidade feminina vivida no seio de movimentos e associações laicas e das consequências sociais da existência de cada vez mais mulheres no universo católico a assumirem uma religiosidade fervorosa. Os movimentos laicos no seio da Igreja foram, em alguns casos, vistos com desconfiança pelas autoridades, nomeadamente pelos bispos, com comunidades de mulheres obrigadas à clausura e à obediência episcopal. É insofismável que as associações confraternais foram instrumento de grande relevância para a Igreja enquanto dispositivos de renovação espiritual. Contudo, o impacto dessa renovação não é fácil de entrever. De resto, a este respeito, na página 72, o autor diz: "How successful the self-transformation of sodality members was on a large scale is impossible to assess".

O capítulo 7 debruça-se sobre a eucaristia e a confissão. A eucaristia era vista como comunhão espiritual, que consubstanciava o amor por Deus. Por outro lado, a missa era vista como uma forma de união da comunidade dos fiéis com Cristo. Nas obras catequéticas e doutrinárias sobre eucaristia, promovia-se a existência de um Deus amoroso e compreensivo. A penitência era apresentada como restituição da confiança em Deus e da misericórdia e perdão divinos, em troca do exame de consciência, arrependimento e contrição. Competia ao padre aferir se os crentes estavam em condições de ser absolvidos. A estratégia era pautada por um diálogo empático, assente na confiança, para levar ao remorso, devendo o clérigo avaliar os sinais, nomeadamente a contrição e a atrição. Em suma, para o autor o amor era relevado, rebatendo-se as teses de Delumeau que assentam na utilização do medo enquanto instrumento confessional. Lehner não deixa de abordar a relevância do confessionário na Época Moderna, como barreira criada com propósito de afastar fisicamente os confessores dos fiéis, mas que não impediu os casos de solicitação. A questão da solicitação é paradigmática da dificuldade que o historiador enfrenta para descobrir sinais de transformação espiritual na consciência dos crentes. Intuir a reforma interior, sobretudo a partir de escritos de cariz teológico ou doutrinário, permite vislumbrar parte desta realidade. A transformação espiritual de alguns eclesiásticos ficou aquém das expetativas. As disposições canónicas e teológicas concernentes aos clérigos, a afirmação do zelo com que deviam pautar a sua ação no estrito cumprimento das normas da Igreja, os modelos de clérigos exemplares, a afirmação do celibato não foram variáveis determinantes para que muitos confessores cumprissem as disposições da Igreja. Com efeito, o autor refere que em Espanha o número de crimes de solicitação era elevado, sendo que em Portugal, como estudos têm relevado, acabava por ser igualmente frequente.

O tema da oração assume relevância no capítulo 8. A espiritualidade tridentina, onde a prática sacramental era fundamental, assentava no exercício frequente da oração como forma de obtenção da graça. Por outro lado, o amor divino carecia de oração. A oração tinha de ser sincera, ou seja, não bastava que fosse apenas mera expressão vocal; a mente tinha de estar, igualmente, focada em Deus. No capítulo sublinha-se a valorização da oração pelas almas do purgatório. A tónica foi posta na boa vida. Foram teólogos como Belarmino que afirmaram esta perspetiva; uma boa vida assente nas virtudes e na moral. A boa vida passava igualmente pela repressão dos sentidos através

da mortificação. Era a passagem da ars Moriendi para a ars Vivendi, em síntese a boa morte era consequência da boa vida. A partir de evidências de obras de cariz catequético ou teológico, assume-se que nos finais do século XVII os leigos estavam imbuídos de uma nova consciência a respeito da oração. Avaliar de forma generalizada a consciência dos leigos a este respeito é problemático, sem se referir práticas dos fiéis associadas à oração que a comprovem. Por outro lado, o universo dos leigos era de tal ordem, que seguramente haveria leigos que interiorizaram as novas práticas, enquanto outros jamais tiveram consciência do significado e da relevância da oração mental como instrumento de graça divina.

O capítulo 9 centra-se nos símbolos e imagens, mormente na sua relevância para a transformação espiritual dos fiéis. A arte refletia o divino e as igrejas passaram a ser fontes de imagens, símbolos e rituais de fé. Os sinos assumiram uma linguagem simbólica. Por sua vez, a música, em particular os hinos, ensinavam os mistérios da fé e as virtudes. Poderiam ser facilmente aprendidos e lembrados. Os objetos, como os objetos sagrados e as relíquias também eram elementos importantes na Época Moderna no reforço da crença e fé. O poder das imagens era imenso. No século XVII apareceram novas imagens, a exemplo da infância de Jesus que se acreditava mimetizar as fraquezas da infância ou a necessidade de se olhar para os seres indefesos e marginalizados, dependentes da graça de Deus. O surgimento da imagem do Sagrado Coração de Jesus também ocorre neste período. Pese embora tivesse origens medievais, o culto só se generalizou na Época Moderna. A representação de anjos tornar-se-ia frequente. Os Anjos de Guarda foram introduzidos no calendário romano apenas em 1608 e a partir de 1670 tornaram-se numa festa obrigatória para os fiéis. Eram tidos como protetores, promotores da fé, defensores dos fiéis. Eram igualmente vistos como modelos de virtudes. Os Putti massificaram-se na Época Moderna, como mensagem de pureza e inocência. Consubstanciavam aquilo que os fiéis deveriam ser através da graça divina, bem como simbolizavam os sacramentos e a vida em prol de Deus. Neste capítulo, em função do enquadramento da obra, relevou-se a questão das representações imagéticas na construção da fé perseguida através do amor divino. Contudo, as dimensões angelicais e pueris de Cristo não podem esconder a existência de representações barrocas cujo propósito passava pela inculcação do medo de Deus, da justiça divina ou das penas do inferno que enxameavam as igrejas na Época Moderna. Por outro lado, como se refere na obra, o poder de transformação das imagens e objetos podia ser contraproducente, considerando que havia fiéis que achavam que os objetos sagrados tinham poderes sobrenaturais, o que era considerada uma forma de superstição.

O último capítulo da obra centra-se em Maria e José. Apesar de o culto

a Maria ser praticado desde a Antiguidade, a piedade mariana só adquiriu relevância e projeção a partir do século XVI. Para o autor era uma forma de enfatizar o amor e a misericórdia de Deus, pelos poderes intercessores da Virgem. A piedade mariana foi veiculada, sobretudo, através do rosário e do escapulário que se vulgarizaram no período moderno. Teve uma expressão global, sendo vivida de forma fervorosa em territórios distantes da Europa. O culto mariano foi também utilizado como forma de atrair fiéis para o universo católico onde a salvação, contrariamente ao universo protestante, não era previamente determinada pelo indivíduo. Concomitante à afirmação do culto mariano, massificou-se o culto a S. José. As irmandades dedicadas a S. José passaram a ser comuns e o surgimento das imagens deste santo tornaram-se frequentes nas igrejas. Para os teólogos tridentinos S. José personificava, juntamente com Maria, a importância da família. Servia de modelo para os homens, enquanto cuidador, educador e disciplinador, através do amor e da justiça. Encarnava o modelo da castidade.

Em suma, Ulrich L. Lehner, com grande erudição, foca-se numa dimensão menos valorizada pela historiografia: a renovação espiritual dos fiéis. A partir de uma vasta bibliografia e de fontes de cariz teológico, catequético e doutrinário leva o leitor para o cerne da renovatio tridentina: a salvação. Várias formas concorreram para o processo, como sejam a oração, a homilia, as confrarias, as imagens e símbolos ou a doutrinação. A dinâmica assentava na afirmação do amor e misericórdia divinos, que não apenas na inculcação do medo como bem se atesta na obra. A transformação espiritual dos fiéis era o principal desiderato. O alcance dessa transformação, num universo católico em crescimento desmesurado e composto por uma diversidade de crentes de níveis sociais e culturais muito distintos não é, contudo, facilmente percetível na obra. Por outro lado, certos comportamentos podem não testemunhar verdadeiras alterações do intelecto no plano espiritual, como aliás o autor reconhece na conclusão. Nada disto tira o lustre a uma obra de grande fulgor, que tem o condão de recentrar o discurso historiográfico sobre um dos processos mais marcantes operados na história de transformação dos fiéis e do catolicismo.

João Nunes
Instituto Politécnico de Viseu | Universidade de Coimbra, CHSC
jnunes@esev.ipv.pt
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0328-307X



UCERLER, M. Antoni J. (2022). The Samurai and the Cross: The Jesuit Enterprise in Early Modern Japan. New York: Oxford University Press, 445 pp., ISBN: 978-0-19-533543-9.

Esta obra não é uma síntese da história da evangelização jesuítica no Japão. Ainda que o título o possa sugerir, longe está a intenção do seu autor de replicar padrões narrativos já adotados pelos clássicos trabalhos de Charles Boxer e Léon Bourdon na historiografia ocidental, por exemplo.

Na verdade, o foco de M. Antoni J. Ucerler é mais circunscrito. Almejando compreender algumas das idiossincrasias da instalação do cristianismo no arquipélago nipónico, o historiador, padre jesuíta e atual diretor do Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, no Boston College, centra a sua atenção em "dilemas intelectuais". Ou seja, em questões de fundo que dividiram os missionários no contacto com a diversificada paisagem política, cultural e espiritual da região. O seu estudo é, pois, uma reflexão sobre o quadro mental que conformou a atuação dos jesuítas e sobre os limites da sua plasticidade face a exigentes envolvências.

Formalmente, *The Samurai and the Cross: The Jesuit Enterprise in Early Modern Japan* corresponde a uma "versão expandida e substancialmente revista e retrabalhada" (p. xix) de um conjunto de palestras proferidas na Universidade de Oxford, em 2006. Além disso, ela revela-se como uma malha analítica urdida pelos interesses do seu criador pela história do cristianismo moderno no Japão e na China, pelas histórias conectadas extraíveis dos primígenos contactos euro-asiáticos, bem como pelos testemunhos documentais dessas interações culturais, incluindo a sua dimensão iconográfica, facilmente discerníveis quando se contempla o produto literário final.

A sua estrutura principal é tripartida, com um amplo número de imagens e figuras a complementar as explanações escritas que um trabalho de pesquisa arquivística intercontinental permitiu formular.

A primeira parte é intitulada "Re-inventing Christianity" e engloba três capítulos. Nela aquilatam-se alguns dos mecanismos que estiveram na base da apresentação do cristianismo às audiências japonesas, num processo que foi entendido como reminiscente da cristandade primitiva. É neste contexto que Ucerler apresenta uma das principais fontes primárias do seu volume. Um compêndio latino, traduzido para japonês, de finais do século XVI, escrito pelo vice-provincial nipónico Pedro Gómez e dirigido aos estudantes dos jesuítas no arquipélago (parcialmente transcrito, numa edição em japonês e em latim, no final da obra). Conquanto este compêndio se divida em três áreas do saber

– astronomia, filosofia e teologia – é o segmento da teologia o que mais absorve o historiador. Em concreto, foi recuperado um conjunto de preceitos com que, sob o formato de uma casuística probabilista, os missionários pretenderam auxiliar os convertidos japoneses na procura por uma apropriada vivência cristã, nomeadamente tendo em consideração a volatilidade belicosa com que, na transição para o século XVII, o Japão se vestia.

A segunda parte da obra, "Re-imagining the enterprise", abarca quatro capítulos. Nela Ucerler excogita os modelos enquadrantes da atuação missionária, desta vez alargando o seu foco para lá do Japão, alcançando a China, as Filipinas e o continente americano. Nesse sentido, empreende-se um esforço de avaliação do dualismo procedimental substanciado, por um lado, nas estratégias de acomodação, em muito vertebradas pelo visitador jesuíta Alessandro Valignano, e, por outro, nos contrastantes ímpetos coercivos, clamadores de uma conquista espiritual suportada e aliada a uma conquista temporal, tal como encarnados no jesuíta Alonso Sánchez (figura de proa nesta segunda parte da obra). O que o exame de Ucerler faz emergir é uma complexa discussão enraizada nas demais experiências missionárias mundiais e desenvolvida sobre apoios nem sempre uniformes em termos individuais e diacrónicos.

O terceiro momento é designado "Re-interpreting 'Reason of State'" e inclui os últimos cinco capítulos do volume. Esta é uma secção textual particularmente atenta às características e consequências das interferências governativas e militares da Companhia de Jesus no Japão. Desde as implicações da administração inaciana de Nagasáqui até aos apelos por empoderamento bélico do padre Gaspar Coelho. Desde a necessária formulação de uma "casuística de guerra civil", orientadora da ação missionária em contextos belígeros, até à difícil neutralidade procedimental. Desde a progressiva desconfiança das autoridades nipónicas para com o cariz subversivo imputado ao cristianismo até ao agudizar das perseguições anticristãs e à proscrição da religião e da presença mais lata de europeus no arquipélago. Estas são algumas das principais estacas interpretativas que Ucerler utiliza no decurso deste capítulo.

No cômputo geral, The Samurai and the Cross consegue, muito adequadamente, demonstrar o esforço de adaptação do discurso moral cristão às necessidades locais e desconstruir a ideia de uma rigidez de ação no âmago da Companhia de Jesus, comprovando, em simultâneo, o pouco fundamento da noção de que as origens geográficas dos jesuítas determinariam os seus posicionamentos individuais nas discussões emergentes. Além disso, Ucerler estabelece uma conexão pertinente entre a específica interiorização da experiência cristã por parte dos convertidos nipónicos e a sobrevivência da fé católica num contexto de repressão religiosa. Não passando, ainda, despercebida a utilização de fontes primárias asiáticas, as quais complementam as europeias e enriquecem as reflexões do autor.

Sem embargo, este trabalho também manifesta pontos de deslouvor. Um deles no domínio conceptual, por o investigador não se coibir de utilizar, no seu sentido atual e, por isso, anacronicamente, as categorias de "nacionalidade" e "nação" quando se debruça sobre as origens geográficas dos religiosos (p. 20-21).

Noutros instantes, a clareza e o encadeamento expositivos são afetados. Identifiquem-se apenas dois exemplos. Primeiramente, Ucerler é rápido em equivaler a divulgação de textos de teor doutrinário em determinadas regiões nipónicas com o efetivo acatamento das suas orientações pelos indivíduos cristianizados. Porém, tratando do limitado impacto da divulgação do compêndio de Pedro Gómez em virtude da proibição da produção literária cristã pelas autoridades locais a partir de 1614 (p. 92), o historiador não reflete acerca do efeito direto e explícito das cerca de duas décadas de difusão do texto no comportamento da população batizada.

O segundo exemplo resume-se ao estranho protelamento para o final da obra de uma ponderação, apropriada, a respeito das resistências levantadas no seio do poder japonês à implantação do budismo no século VI e dos seus paralelismos com os entraves colocados ao cristianismo volvido mais de um milénio. De facto, considerando o próprio autor que as primeiras resistências são "altamente significativas" (p. 310) para o seu estudo, questiona-se se não teria sido mais adequado introduzi-las numa outra secção que não o epílogo, na qual surgem pela primeira vez.

Ainda assim *The Samurai and the Cross* deverá figurar nas bibliotecas daqueles atraídos pelo estudo do moderno proselitismo europeu (mormente, nas paragens da Ásia Oriental) como também nas dos interessados pelas inflexões ideológico-comportamentais que os contactos interculturais são capazes de estimular nos atores históricos, sobremaneira no campo da espiritualidade.

Guilherme Miguel Mendes de Sousa

Universidade de Coimbra, Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura, Faculdade de Letras guisousa160@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9408-1427



POSKETT, James (2022). Horizontes, uma história global da ciência (trad. Elsa Vieira). Lisboa: Bertrand, 503 pp., ISBN: 978-972-25-4300-2.

A obra *Horizontes – Uma História Global da Ciência* é um livro inovador, especialmente pela abordagem proposta e pela análise levada a cabo. O seu autor é James Poskett, que foi um dos palestrantes na passada edição do seminário anual do Centro de História da Sociedade e da Cultura "Os Mundos da História. Novas Perspetivas e Debates". Originalmente publicado pela editora Viking, em 2022, e traduzido para português pela editora Bertrand, o livro utiliza as aportações teóricas da História Global para analisar a História da Ciência. A principal tese da obra é a de que os cientistas interagem com as sociedades humanas e o seu conhecimento é produzido e compartilhado ao redor do globo.

O livro está estruturado em quatro partes e finaliza com um epílogo. A primeira foca-se na Revolução Científica que ocorreu entre 1450 e 1700, no Renascimento e na Expansão Europeia. A segunda incide no período compreendido entre 1650 e 1800, procurando observar a relação do Iluminismo com os sistemas escravista e imperialista. A terceira propõe observar o chamado "longo século XIX", que vai desde finais de 1790 até a Primeira Guerra Mundial. A derradeira parte observa os avanços científicos no pós-Primeira Guerra e ao longo do século XX, até aos anos de 2000. Por fim, o epílogo transporta a obra para as mais recentes décadas do século XXI, focando no período da "nova Guerra Fria".

As sobreposições temporais foram escolhas propositadas, visando demonstrar continuidade no avanço científico. A ausência de partes situadas nos períodos da Antiguidade Clássica ou Idade Média dá-se pela premissa de entender as origens e desenvolvimento da ciência moderna. Isso gera a impressão de que a ciência moderna não possui bases medievais ou da antiguidade, perspetiva questionável que a obra não procura esclarecer.

Cada capítulo começa com ricas introduções ao território analisado, para iniciar o leitor na história pessoal da miscelânea de cientistas produtores de conhecimento. A obra demonstra como o conhecimento científico não estava concentrado apenas nas academias científicas e nos seus membros, maioritariamente brancos e europeus. A ciência estava presente nos mundos coloniais da América, África, Ásia, do Pacífico, além do Leste Europeu e no território russo. As populações originárias desses territórios, como Poskett argumenta, eram cientistas mulheres, indígenas e escravizados que produziam conhecimento de forma semelhante à dos europeus. O autor elenca diversos agentes que tiveram um papel de protagonismo na produção e partilha de conheci-

mento. Além disso, argumenta que descobertas, obras e invenções, como a cartografia moderna, as leis de Newton, a Origem das Espécies e a Revolução Verde não existiriam sem o seu contributo. No entanto, os seus nomes e feitos foram progressivamente apagados pela historiografia eurocêntrica, em prol da narrativa que as diversas Revoluções Científicas foram desenvolvidas num contexto isoladamente europeu. Na verdade, ao longo do tempo analisado, o intercâmbio entre indivíduos consolidou uma comunidade científica mundial que ultrapassou os limites políticos e geográficos dos territórios. Estas questões, levantadas por Poskett, questionam a interpretação dominante de que as comunidades europeias estavam, à chegada dos europeus, em decadência, longe das suas "épocas de ouro".

A primeira parte do livro procura demonstrar como o Renascimento e a Revolução Científica tiveram o contributo dos conhecimentos Astecas e de outras comunidades indígenas, além dos mundos islâmico e asiático. Os centros desses locais são descritos como tecnologicamente avançados, como no caso de Tenochtitlán, que tinha um jardim botânico, ou Samarcanda com o seu grandioso observatório. Esta parte subdivide-se em dois capítulos, o primeiro dedicado à América e o segundo à África e à Ásia.

O primeiro capítulo traz à discussão personagens como a de Bernardino de Sahagún, autor da obra Códice Florentino. Com ajuda de cientistas e alunos indígenas do Real Colégio de Santa Cruz, Bernardino descobriu e ilustrou mais de 39 mamíferos, 120 aves e 600 plantas, utilizando o sistema asteca de taxonomia. A obra demonstra as limitações das obras produzidas na antiguidade, como a Geografia de Ptolomeu, que desconheciam o continente. Relativamente ao mundo islâmico, analizam-se figuras como Ali Qushji, que foi capaz de calcular precisamente a duração do ano solar em 365 dias, 5 horas, 49 minutos e 15 segundos, falhando apenas 25 segundos. Trazendo à liça Pequim, o autor permite ao leitor observar as maravilhas da ciência chinesa, entre elas o Gabinete Astronómico da cidade, por meio do jesuíta Matteo Ricci e do convertido Xu Guangqi, enquanto renovavam as tradições chinesas por meio da ciência europeia. No subcontinente indiano, o autor releva diversos intercâmbios científicos entre o Império Mogol e a Europa, entre eles a missão científica do astrónomo Abdu'llah e o jesuíta português Manuel de Figueiredo, que os levou a conhecer o rei D. João V numa missão científica para Portugal.

A segunda parte transporta a obra para o momento da consolidação dos sistemas imperiais europeus. Os seus dois capítulos analisam as dinâmicas imperiais e globais da escravatura e a forma como elas estavam na base do conhecimento iluminista. O primeiro dá relevo à figura de Isaac Newton, designadamente às suas obras e aos cientistas que nelas se inspiraram. O argumento do autor é que, ao contrário do mito de génio isolacionista, Newton era um indivíduo conectado com o sistema global e escravocrata, investindo mais de 20.000 libras em ações da Companhia dos Mares do Sul. A sua obra *Principia*, que defendia a lei da gravidade e a forma "esferoide" da terra, foi influenciada pelas descobertas de Jean Richer, um explorador francês patrocinado por Luís XIV. Nas suas expedições ao Senegal, Cayenne e às Caraíbas, Richer era guiado por mais de 250 escravos.

O segundo capítulo incide sobre as descobertas em que indivíduos escravizados participaram, como foi o caso de Graman Kwasi, nascido na África Ocidental. Aos 10 anos foi sequestrado e obrigado a trabalhar numa plantação de açúcar do Suriname. Fascinado por plantas, o seu conhecimento do território permitiu-lhe descobrir uma planta cor-de-rosa única. A sua descoberta foi enviada para Carl Lineu, que trouxe alforria e fama para Graman, conhecido depois disso como "professor de herbologia no Suriname". Poskett demonstra como a ciência teve a capacidade de trazer liberdade para as civilizações e para os indivíduos. O capítulo elenca depois outros atores que participaram na troca de plantas e animais pelo mundo, como o transporte do chá para o Reino Unido ou de elefantes para o Japão.

A terceira parte visa entender como as conquistas e a consolidação do sistema imperial global, o capitalismo e os conflitos revolucionários tiveram impacto na criação do conhecimento científico. O modelo analítico é idêntico às páginas anteriormente escritas fazendo diálogo com a conjuntura imperial na produção das ciências biológicas, com atenção não menos forte à física e a química.

O primeiro capítulo desta parte demonstra a relação entre a globalização e a vida de um cientista, neste caso de Charles Darwin. Revolucionários chineses ou naturalistas russos de influência socialista inspiraram-se na teoria evolucionista para legitimar os seus preceitos revolucionários. Acresce que a viagem a bordo do SS beagle desencadeou diversos centros de ciências naturais evolucionistas, como na Argentina ou no Japão Meiji. O segundo capítulo retoma a observação de vários agentes, muitos participantes dos primeiros congressos científicos internacionais como a Exposição de Paris, e as suas redes de apoio pelo mundo, entre os quais Julia Lermontova, nascida em São Petersburgo, em 1846. A cientista russa descobriu os pesos atómicos exatos dos "metais de platina", possibilitando a tabela periódica de Mendeleev. Foi a primeira mulher eleita como membro da sociedade Técnica Russa e uma das primeiras da Sociedade Russa de Química, em 1881 e 1875, respetivamente.

A quarta parte debruça-se no século XX e os diversos acontecimentos do mundo após a Primeira Guerra Mundial, demonstrando como as ciências complexificaram os problemas e as conjunturas do período. Poskett continua a observação da comunidade global de cientistas, exposta na terceira parte, concomitante à observação dos seus contextos nacionais. Aí explora como

os socialistas, fascistas, nacionalistas e revolucionários utilizavam a ciência para modificar o contexto em que viviam. Enquanto isso ocorria, os Estados financiavam-nos para obtenção de vantagens na nova organização mundial.

O capítulo que inaugura esta última parte observa as relações entre a física e a política internacional na primeira metade do século XX. Começa com uma narração das viagens feitas por Albert Einstein, indivíduo interessado na política mundial, segundo Poskett. Einstein procurava apoiar cientistas de todo o mundo, como na Índia, onde conheceu Nath Bose, cientista e revolucionário indiano. A partir do apoio, Bose trabalhou diretamente com Einstein na descoberta da partícula de Bose-Einstein. Durante esse projeto, Einstein começou a apoiar ativamente a criação de um Estado para os indianos, além de outros movimentos independentistas. O capítulo prossegue com o impacto dessa personalidade noutros territórios não europeus, além de oferecer uma leitura multifacetada da ciência nos regimes socialistas. O estudo da relação dicotómica de incentivo e aprisionamento do regime Estalinista demonstra a complexa relação entre cientistas e Estados.

O segundo capítulo começa por evidenciar como a genética moderna começou não com a descoberta do ADN, mas sim com a era atómica. Através do trabalho de Masao Tsuzuki, médico em Hiroxima que realizava partos de vítimas da bomba, Poskett observa a complexa situação da genética: ao mesmo tempo que promoveu o aumento da produção de alimentos no México, local de nascimento da Revolução Verde, também foi usado para demonstrar a superioridade de determinadas "raças" ou excluir atletas transsexuais nos jogos olímpicos no México. A história de Verónica Rodrigues é uma das que é realçada. A cientista nascida no Quénia, filha de imigrantes goeses que estudou com bolsa na Irlanda, continuou os seus estudos na recém-independente Índia, onde investigou a relação entre a mutação genética e o sistema nervoso.

Por fim, o epílogo. Nele exploram-se as polémicas da contemporaneidade em relação às descobertas científicas atuais e a "Nova Guerra Fria" entre os EUA e a China. O autor explicita esse embate em três áreas científicas: a Inteligência Artificial, as Viagens Espaciais e as ciências climáticas. Acerca da IA, Poskett faz uma série de assustadoras demonstrações de como esses países ativamente utilizam essas tecnologias de supervisão para espionar os seus cidadãos. Casos como a prisão de Charles Lieber, presidente do Departamento de Química e Biologia Química de Harvard, pelo FBI em 20 de janeiro de 2020 com a acusação de participar no "Plano dos Mil Talentos" da China, não são a exceção.

No âmbito da tecnologia para viagens espaciais Poskett demonstra como os Emirados Árabes Unidos procuram financiar ativamente o setor turístico da viagem espacial. Essa parte mostra-se pertinentemente profética depois do sucesso da missão Polaris no dia 12 de setembro de 2024. Jared Isaacman foi o primeiro civil, e milionário, a caminhar no espaço. Esse plano consiste em criar uma "nova época de ouro de descobertas árabes e islâmicas", demonstrando como a narrativa, que o próprio autor visa desconstruir, é amplamente utilizada pelos Estados, de forma propagandística. O livro não explora, contudo, os efeitos negativos da exploração espacial, como a utilização de recursos naturais para essas missões espaciais de lazer ou a desigualdade económica atrelada ao tópico. Poskett termina o epilogo com um tom apocalíptico, ao focar as mudanças climáticas, destacando a falta de esforço por parte dos países para concretizar uma "virada ecológica" ou um desenvolvimento equilibrado, como é, entre outros, o caso do governo brasileiro.

Em conclusão, o livro explica como os acontecimentos históricos influenciam a observação do mundo por parte dos cientistas e pensadores. Apoiada por testemunhos de grupos marginalizados, a escrita de Poskett torna acessível as diversas invenções e inovações científicas e permite a construção de uma narrativa de longa duração. O autor evidencia a face humanitária da ciência e os seus efeitos positivos para a humanidade, ao mesmo tempo que ilumina a sua face destrutiva, imperialista e escravista. Poskett transforma uma história marcada por conexões e contradições numa leitura acessível e informativa para especialistas e o público em geral. Ao mesmo tempo, a excessiva demonstração das ruturas entre os períodos moderno e contemporâneo e o conhecimento medieval e da antiguidade apresenta-os como sombrios e de pouco conhecimento científico. Contudo, estas críticas não põem em causa os enormes contributos historiográficos da obra e muito menos diminuem a capacidade que demonstrou em conhecer e revelar a face global da ciência moderna e a diversidade dos seus agentes.

Pedro Teixeira

Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras pedroaateixeira@outlook.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9993-5628



BIRLOUEZ, Éric (2022). *Histoire de l'Alimentation des Français*. Editions Ouest-France, 283 pp., ISBN: 978-2-7373-8652-7.

O livro *Histoire de l'Alimentation des Français* convida-nos, nas palavras do próprio autor, a empreender uma "grande viagem no tempo, por campos e hortas, à volta dos fogões e dos pratos, limitada geograficamente ao território que constitui atualmente a França" (p.10). Trata-se de uma proposta ambiciosa e de responsabilidade: ambiciosa, desde logo, pelo extenso recorte cronológico visado, que se estende do Paleolítico até ao século XXI, e pela multiplicidade de dimensões de análise, que se intercetam na História da Alimentação; de responsabilidade, pela relevância da cultura alimentar enquanto marcador identitário dos franceses e pela influência que teve, e continua a ter, a nível internacional. A inscrição da "refeição gastronómica dos franceses" na lista do Património Cultural Imaterial da Humanidade pela UNESCO em 2010, realça o papel que a alimentação tem na vida social do país.

O autor, Éric Birlouez, é engenheiro agrónomo de formação, especialista em sociologia e história da alimentação, com vasta obra publicada em França. A evolução dos hábitos alimentares, das tradições culinárias, a evolução da agricultura, as inovações tecnológicas e as tendências culturais na alimentação humana, são os temas privilegiados nos seus trabalhos, que se orientam para a divulgação junto do grande público.

O livro está estruturado em seis capítulos, além da introdução e da conclusão. Os temas apresentados obedecem a uma sequência cronológica, que se estende da Pré-história até à atualidade. Em cada período histórico examina-se como fatores sociais, económicos, políticos e tecnológicos influenciaram a dieta e as práticas alimentares dos franceses. As inúmeras ilustrações, criteriosamente selecionadas, enriquecem a experiência de leitura.

No primeiro capítulo do livro, Éric Birlouez discorre sobre a dieta dos primeiros habitantes da região que viria a tornar-se a França, recorrendo a estudos nas áreas da arqueologia e da paleontologia, como por exemplo, as análises realizadas aos fósseis humanos encontrados no sítio arqueológico de Caune de l'Arago, no sul francês. Sobre a dieta do Homem de Tautavel, até hoje o representante mais antigo do género *Homo* que habitou França, sabe-se que incluía carne, gordura e medula de bisontes, renas ou cavalos que caçava. Depois de alguma reflexão acerca do papel do domínio do fogo e da cozedura dos alimentos na evolução da espécie humana, a atenção volta-se para o desenvolvimento da agricultura e criação de animais ao longo do Neolítico, salientando a importância do cultivo de cereais, que constituiriam a

base da alimentação por um longo período.

Avançando na linha cronológica traçada, o autor toma lugar à mesa dos gauleses, dando a conhecer os principais aspetos dos banquetes e das refeições quotidianas dos povos que habitavam o solo francês quando da presença dos romanos. Excelentes agricultores e criadores de gado (ovino, caprino, bovinos, aves e porcos) trataram de aumentar a área arável para o cultivo de cereais, leguminosas, vegetais, bem como plantas oleaginosas. A produção agropecuária, a par dos recursos silvestres e da caça disponíveis, permite deduzir que os gauleses teriam uma alimentação mais diversificada. Não existindo fontes escritas que elucidem sobre o menu gaulês, deve-se à arqueozoologia e à carpologia algum conhecimento sobre os hábitos alimentares destes povos. O vinho era apreciado pelas elites, que o importavam da península itálica, talvez em troca das charcutarias que Estrabão referiu serem muito apreciadas na capital do império romano.

O terceiro capítulo, "Comer na Idade Média", analisa três modelos alimentares distintos: o modelo aristocrático, o modelo monástico e a alimentação das comunidades populares (rurais e urbanas). A mesa reflete o estatuto social, o poder e a cultura das diferentes camadas da população. Os fatores de diferenciação não se limitam aos alimentos, à sua maior ou menor abundância, qualidade, diversidade e riqueza, mas também, às técnicas de preparação, às formas de servir, à etiqueta ou cerimonial a seguir e, não menos importante, às dimensões dietéticas e simbólicas do alimento que definem o lugar a atribuir a cada um na grande mesa medieval. Este capítulo, e parte do seguinte, no que se refere à alimentação renascentista, não aporta um conhecimento das especificidades da alimentação dos franceses, sobressaindo na síntese apresentada pelo autor, os traços comuns que definem a alimentação deste período histórico na generalidade dos países da europa ocidental.

As mudanças na alimentação que se desencadearam a partir do início do século XVI são o tema central do quarto capítulo, sublinhando algumas tendências que deixaram marcas profundas no desenvolvimento da cozinha francesa. Em primeiro lugar, Éric Birlouez aborda as influências externas, nomeadamente da cultura italiana renascentista nos hábitos alimentares, etiqueta e protocolo à mesa da aristocracia francesa. Sem que haja neste período uma rutura com os elementos fundamentais da alimentação medieval, como sejam a valorização da carne e o uso abundante de especiarias, começam, porém, a reposicionar-se outros alimentos, como por exemplo, os legumes e as frutas, que passam a integrar as refeições dos mais abastados. Alcachofras e espargos são apenas alguns dos mais apreciados. A introdução de novos produtos alimentares, numa época de grandes navegações e descobertas, trouxe transformações duradouras na alimentação dos franceses. Mereceu ainda destaque a mesa opulenta de Versalhes durante o reinado de Luís XIV, bem como o nascimento da "nouvelle cuisine". Esta expressão, hoje mais associada a um movimento do século XX, foi usada no início do século XVIII por Francois Marin, no livro Les Dons de Comus, para designar um novo modelo culinário aristocrático alicerçado no respeito pelo gosto natural dos alimentos. A redução do emprego de especiarias e dos tempos de cozedura, a valorização dos legumes, das ervas aromáticas, e da manteiga como gordura de eleição, são traços desta corrente gastronómica. O facto de a literatura culinária francesa ter sido traduzida para outras línguas a partir no século XVII, ao mesmo tempo que os cozinheiros franceses assumiam o comando da cozinha nas casas aristocráticas europeias, foram fatores decisivos para a difusão do modelo culinário francês a nível internacional. A encerrar este capítulo, que percorre toda a Época Moderna, algumas páginas dedicadas à monótona dieta das classes populares, que em pouco se distingue das épocas anteriores. O pão na base da alimentação, leguminosas, vegetais, frutas e pouca proteína animal constituíam a base de uma alimentação que aportava um valor calórico suficiente sem garantir a diversidade de nutrientes essenciais.

No quinto capítulo, Éric Birlouez concentra-se nas transformações alimentares ocorridas ao longo de todo o século XIX e na primeira metade do século XX. Segundo o autor este foi o período de viragem, que finalmente começou a beneficiar as camadas populares, quer nos meios urbanos quer nos meios rurais. O contexto socioeconómico da revolução industrial, a crescente produtividade agrícola, a urbanização bem como os avanços tecnológicos no campo dos transportes (caminhos de ferro) e da indústria alimentar (conservas, refrigeração, produtos alimentares industriais) expandiram os recursos em termos de quantidade e de diversidade. Era a época da ascensão dos restaurantes e dos cafés, de diferentes categorias, instituindo novas formas de sociabilidade.

No início do século XX, este trajeto seria interrompido pelos dois conflitos mundiais, que trouxeram escassez, racionamentos e a necessidade do uso mais eficiente dos recursos nas cozinhas francesas. No entanto, os franceses estariam em vésperas de mudanças profundas, mudanças essas descritas no derradeiro capítulo do livro, intitulado "A grande mudança: dos anos 1950 até à pandemia de COVID 19". Neste ponto o autor aborda a modernização da agricultura francesa após a Segunda Guerra Mundial, e o desenvolvimento da indústria agroalimentar, um setor que ganhou grande importância na economia francesa. O comércio de bens alimentares sofreu igualmente profundas mudanças ao longo da segunda metade do século XX. Os supermercados e

os hipermercados instituem-se como o lugar conveniente onde tudo se pode encontrar. Os produtos congelados e as refeições pré-cozinhadas, os produtos transformados industrialmente, o fast-food difundem-se numa sociedade onde cada vez mais mulheres trabalham fora de casa e gastam menos tempo a cozinhar. Os comensais transformam-se progressivamente em consumidores, o que não impede que os franceses sejam o povo que mais tempo passa à mesa e que o modelo alimentar francês sobreviva.

No último capítulo, Éric Birlouez foca-se na atualidade, abordando os impactos no sistema alimentar da recente crise sanitária e os desafios que a alimentação humana enfrenta. A soberania alimentar, a ética, as preocupações ambientais, as novas tendências alimentares e os efeitos na saúde são algumas das reflexões avançadas pelo autor, que com os olhos posto num futuro próximo trata de perscrutar o que será a alimentação dos franceses em 2050.

Histoire de l'Alimentation des Français é uma síntese redigida de forma clara, acessível, e fundamentada em algumas obras de relevo na história da alimentação. A ausência de referências específicas ao longo do texto dificulta o aprofundamento dos temas ao leitor mais interessado, sem, contudo, penalizar uma visão abrangente da evolução da alimentação na França consentânea com o propósito de divulgação destas temáticas junto do grande público.

SANDRA FERNANDES MORAIS

Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras sfernandesmorais@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2860-612X



JUNIOR, Carlos Lima; SCHWARCZ, Lilia; e STUMPF, Lúcia (2022). O sequestro da Independência: Uma história da construção do mito do sete de setembro. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 378 pp., ISBN: 978-65-5921-163-0.

Confrontados com a chegada do bicentenário da independência do Brasil, os historiadores e professores da Universidade de São Paulo Carlos Lima Jr., Lilia Schwarcz e Lúcia Stumpf reagiram com *O sequestro da Independência: Uma história da construção do mito do sete de setembro*, lançado em agosto de 2022 pela Companhia das Letras. Situada como uma verdadeira resposta histórica a tempos de polarização política, de ascensão de nacionalismos e de idealização do processo de independência do Brasil, a obra apresenta uma leitura inovadora, ainda que em conformidade com as interpretações mais recentes, deste processo da independência. Entretanto, a narrativa diferencia-se dos demais relatos e investigações sobre o fenómeno da independência do Brasil pois esta não é a personagem principal por si. Por meio da análise das imagens e das diferentes crónicas da independência, é construída a história do seu sequestro.

A própria imagem da capa, encomendada especificamente para o livro, é analisada antes de mais nada. A pintura de imagens turvas, cuja tinta parece escorrer quadro abaixo, é explicada como uma releitura de *Independência ou Morte!*, a tela de Pedro Américo que foi feita de retrato oficial da independência, e, por meio de uma breve explicação sobre a imagem da capa, os autores também nos levam ao objetivo do seu livro: desafiar a construção oficial do processo de independência do Brasil.

O sequestro da Independência está dividido em introdução, seis capítulos e dois apêndices, elaborados como uma conclusão e um pós-escrito. Ainda que o livro comece pela análise da imagem da capa, a "Introdução, ou quando uma nação se imagina a partir de um quadro", resgata a caracterização anteriormente mencionada pelo pequeno prólogo para, de facto, introduzir o assunto do sequestro. O quadro de Pedro Américo é novamente convocado, juntamente com o hino nacional brasileiro, ao imaginário do leitor, principiando assim a desconstrução dos símbolos oficiais da independência. Coerente com as especializações dos respetivos autores, que são também uma antropóloga e dois historiadores da arte, a introdução dita o ritmo do livro por meio da análise de algumas imagens da família imperial brasileira e da comparação de Independência ou Morte! com outras telas emblemáticas na geração da identidade nacional de outros países. Por trás das telas, é tecida uma

análise dos primeiros anos do fenómeno independentista, período vital para a construção de uma identidade brasileira e, consequentemente, para a instituição de uma historiografia nacional e oficial, aquela que continuamente sequestra a independência.

Os dois primeiros capítulos, intitulados "François-René Moreaux: a Independência do Brasil ocorreu na Europa" e "Pedro Américo e a criação de uma pintura que grita!", continuam nos moldes da análise da arte sob uma perspetiva comparada e que tem como pano de fundo diferentes momentos históricos. Em ambos os capítulos, são contadas as histórias por trás da conceção das telas, ambas encomendadas como pinturas de género histórico. Moreaux e Américo são humanizados e transformados em atores históricos, num mecanismo que ajuda o leitor a perceber a arte como interpretação do artista e fruto de seu tempo, e não como verdade histórica e absoluta.

Segundo os autores, o fracasso de Moreaux e da sua tela Proclamação da Independência, estudada ao longo do primeiro capítulo, acabou por deixar uma importante lacuna na construção identitária imperial, preenchida mais de 40 anos depois por Pedro Américo, cuja obra, que se tornou representação histórica de D. Pedro I do Brasil e da proclamação da independência, é analisada mais a fundo na segunda parte. Como um artista da corte de D. Pedro II, Américo foi capaz de criar a idealização que o imperador buscava impor, superando Moreaux não só na técnica, mas especialmente na leitura histórico-política que fez do momento da independência. Entretanto, a República foi proclamada apenas um ano depois do termo do projeto, e, assim como é recontado o percurso de insucesso da pintura de Moreaux, é contada também a difícil trajetória inicial da tela de Américo, esquecida em face da sua atual fama.

Numa espécie de defesa deste personagem complicado que é Pedro Américo, os autores também argumentam que a crítica ao significado de Independência ou Morte! é mal direcionada ao pintor, pois este escreveu e publicou um diário em que diferenciou a realidade que encontrou nas suas pesquisas da que construiu na sua pintura histórica. Além do mais, esta é uma história de apropriação, e não foi Pedro Américo em si quem ignorou a realidade a favor da imagem, mas sim a família imperial, que, como explicam os autores, tomou como sua a independência do Brasil.

"A quem pertence o 'brado retumbante'? São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro na disputa pelo Centenário da Independência" é o terceiro capítulo da obra e possivelmente um dos mais instigantes. Nesta parte, Lima Jr., Schwarcz e Stumpf transportam o leitor para as celebrações do sete de setembro de 1922 e continuam a desestruturar qualquer noção da independência como a conhecemos e como existe na historiografia oficial. A narrativa explora a procura por uma identidade nacional republicana e marca o momento do centenário como palco de uma querela pela independência. De um lado, a capital apropria-se dos festejos do sete de setembro e tenta utilizá-los como um símbolo republicano e como uma expressão de unidade num momento político turbulento. Do outro, São Paulo evoca a imagem das margens do Ipiranga e inaugura o Museu Paulista, numa tentativa de transformar a independência do país em parte da identidade local. Mas, de acordo com os autores, as tentativas não substituíram o imaginário da população, muito enraizado na lógica imperial, e os novos sequestros não conseguiram, nem no Rio, nem em São Paulo, romper com o original.

O quarto capítulo do livro, "O 'imperador defunto': os 150 anos da Independência durante os anos de chumbo da ditadura militar", segue os mesmos moldes do terceiro, mas agora situado em 1972. Os autores argumentam que a produção artística e literária do centenário foi substituída por um novo tipo de propaganda, concebida durante o período mais sombrio do regime e apostada em legitimá-lo. Naquele sete de setembro, dizem os três historiadores, o governo militar foi tratado, por meio de campanhas publicitárias, discursos, imagens e frases de efeito, como uma continuação do governo imperial, numa comemoração que transpôs 1822 e 1964. Destaca-se o retorno do corpo de D. Pedro I, antes enterrado em Portugal, para a celebração, num rapto físico da narrativa da independência.

Em "Ecos do Grito: as muitas (re)leituras de um quadro", Lima Jr., Schwarcz e Stumpf retomam a obra de Pedro Américo no sentido de entender o seu atual significado. Num primeiro momento, são analisadas diversas paródias do grito do Ipiranga, provando o impacto simbólico do quadro sobre a sociedade dos dias de hoje. Numa segunda parte deste quinto capítulo, os autores exploram mais arte inspirada pela tela de Pedro Américo, desta vez observando a sua presença em diferentes contextos e locais e o fenómeno de transferência de questões atuais aos moldes de *Independência ou Morte!*. Em alguns casos, nem Moreaux escapa das releituras. E, como alegam os autores, o conteúdo da obra de Américo torna-se maleável, assim abrindo espaço para diferentes significados e interpretações.

No sexto e último capítulo, "As várias independências do Brasil", são exploradas algumas dessas novas interpretações, não só sobre o quadro, mas sobre a narrativa histórica da independência em si. Mais uma vez, os autores desafiam a historiografia oficial e, neste capítulo, apresentam alternativas a ela, destacando a participação de novos atores. Numa análise de extrema importância, riquíssima em termos de produção historiográfica, é contada a história da independência do Brasil para além de D. Pedro às margens do Ipi-

ranga, a partir de outros lugares e de outras personagens. Fala-se das revoltas a norte e a nordeste e dos projetos abolicionistas e republicanos que a independência travou, fala-se da guerra a seguir ao grito e fala-se das mulheres, dos escravizados e dos indígenas que lutaram nela. Aqui, Lima Jr., Schwarcz e Stumpf escrevem história local e incorporam-na nos cânones da história nacional, escancarando as portas da prisão da independência.

As conclusões da obra são divididas em duas partes. Em "Para terminar: Lembrar é esquecer", é tecida uma reflexão de cariz um pouco mais teórico, em que a relação entre história e memória explica a formulação e a instrumentalização das diferentes interpretações, oficiais e extra oficiais, do processo histórico da independência. Até a data de sete de setembro, escolhida apenas em 1826 como marco da independência, é questionada, e Independência ou Morte! acaba por ser apresentada como uma projeção, de múltiplos significados e valores simbólicos. Já o "Pós-escrito: Passado do presente. O Sete de Setembro em 2022" surge como um exemplo prático da instrumentalização da memória independentista. Nele, os autores trabalham o contexto político em que estiveram inseridos em setembro de 2021, refletem sobre as possibilidades de 2022 e expõem a tentativa de sequestro da independência por parte do então presidente Jair Bolsonaro.

Por fim, conclui-se que a "Independência é processo aberto, e não data fixa no calendário" (p. 311). De leitura fácil, O sequestro da Independência propõe não só uma descrição historiográfica apoiada na análise artística e aproximada de um ideal de História total do processo de independência do Brasil, mas também uma desconstrução completa do fenómeno como o conhecemos. Através da defesa encetada neste livro pelos três historiadores, a independência conquista a libertação do cárcere ideológico, ao menos no imaginário de quem lê. Assim sendo, é uma leitura indispensável.

Júlia Resende De Paoli

Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras julia.depaoli.uni@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0009-0009-1064-6941



NADIR, MOHAMMED (2023). As Relações Luso-Marroquinas no século XVI. Presença Portuguesa em Agadir e Região de Sus (1505-1541). Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 406 pp., ISBN: 978-989-26-2288-0.

O livro que Mohammed Nadir nos apresenta é o resultado da dissertação de mestrado com o título "Santa Cruz do Cabo de Guer (Agadir) e a Região de Sus: Presença Portuguesa (1505-1541)", defendida na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra (2004), e que foi distinguida com o Prémio Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian da Academia Portuguesa de História (2008).

Pode-se dizer que o século XVI consiste no ponto de partida da cronologia historiográfica que norteou o percurso de investigação do autor, culminando no seu trabalho como Bolseiro de Pós-Doutoramento na Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Brasil, no qual trabalhou o tema "A História Ambiental e seus desafios no Sul Global (Marrocos, Brasil, Africa e América Latina)", integrado no projeto "As relações Diplomáticas de Marrocos com o Mercosul".

Não será por acaso que Mohammed Nadir escolheu a região do Sus, nesse já longínquo século XVI, como objeto para o estudo das relações de poder. Como sabemos, foi nessa região que se abriu uma nova página da história daquilo que agora é parte do reino de Marrocos, como aliás tem sido sublinhado por diversos autores, como Robert Ricard, Andrew Hess, Dahiru Yahia, Dias Farinha, Lucette Valensi, entre muitos que entre académicos e historiadores se dedicaram a esta fascinante história. O Sus foi o palco onde Mohammed el-Cheikh se afirmou definitivamente depois da Conquista da Fortaleza de Santa Cruz do cabo Guer. Partiria daí para desafiar os Oatácidas e, depois de conquistar a cidade de Fez, unir a berberia. Como tem sido amplamente sublinhado, a luta contra as potências externas, fossem os reinos ibéricos que procuravam manter as suas posições, ou contra os otomanos que pretendiam implantar-se no Magrebe ocidental, consolidou esta dinastia. Vale a pena recuperar as palavras de Garcia-Arenal a propósito do vencedor da batalha dos três reis, a 4 de agosto de 1578, como "construtor do mundo Islâmico":

> he is still considered in Moroccan textbooks as one of the main founding figures of Moroccan national history, a reputation enhanced by his keeping at bay olberian and Ottoman interventionism, and by uniting

the country under a new series of administrative, economic and military measures that entailed the beginning of modernization (GARCÍA-ARE-NAL 2009: 140).

A respeito do papel da intervenção externa em Marrocos, retoma-se pela observação de José Manuel de Azevedo e Silva na apresentação do livro, quando refere que o autor do livro "Remata com a questão, aparentemente estranha, do abandono pelo monarca português".

Sendo este um tema recorrente na historiografia da expansão portuguesa no Norte de África, Mohammed Nadir acrescenta uma abordagem que continua ausente no estudo desta problemática fundamental: continua a faltar o cruzamento sistemático entre as perspetivas provenientes das duas margens do estreito de Gibraltar; ou seja, um transitar entre a memória histórica comum, seja esta luso-marroquina ou marroco-portuguesa.

Logo à partida, a obra de Mohammed Nadir possui a grande vantagem de nos apresentar um importante conjunto de fontes árabes - tantas vezes deixadas de lado pela barreira linguística –, lidas por um falante desta língua, com todas as vantagens que esse facto lhe confere.

É também um estudo de conjunto, "sistémico e globalizante" sobre esta região crucial na história do Mediterrâneo. O autor apresenta-nos uma imagem clara do território, sendo o seu domínio da língua particularmente importante neste contexto. Mas também nos abre uma vasta perspetiva que engloba a população, e a forma como se organizou a economia local. E as elites religiosas, cujo papel foi crucial na luta contra a intervenção externa, em especial no que concerne aos reinos ibéricos. Mas também refere a aculturação que se manifestou em diversos domínios, decorrente de vários fatores entre os quais se encontra a influência das potências externas, ou da integração dos descendentes dos imigrados de Granada, ou dos convertidos cristãos. Neste particular, Mohammed Nadir faz-nos um desenho abrangente da evolução do quadro político-militar em função da apropriação e reinterpretação de tradições e abordagens provenientes de espaços exteriores a Marrocos, onde se pode destacar a intervenção de cristãos na génese das novas fortificações sádidas.

No seu conjunto, Mohammed Nadir oferece-nos uma valiosíssima âncora a partir da qual partirão, no futuro, os mais diversos estudos especializados que, sem dúvida, resultarão numa visão muito mais alargada de Marrocos nos alvores da idade Moderna.

Bibliografia

GARCÍA-ARENAL, Mercedes (2009). Ahmad al-Mansur. The Beginnings of Modern. Morocco. Oxford: Oneworld.

Luís Costa e Sousa

Universidade Nova de Lisboa, CHAM-Centro de Humanidades, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas luiscostasousa@fcsh.unl.pt https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5998-2438



MÜLLER, Axel (2024). Gunpowder Technology in the Fifteenth Century: A Study, Edition and Translation of the Firework Book. Woodbridge: Royal Armouries Research Series, Boydell & Brewer, 378 pp., ISBN: 978-1-80543-175-6 ePDF.

Axel E. W. Müller é diretor do International Medieval Congress e professor no Institute for Medieval Studies na Universidade de Leeds, tendo focado a sua investigação nas origens das armas de fogo na Europa Ocidental. É este o tema do livro em análise, *Gunpowder Technology in the Fifteenth Century. A Study, Edition and Translation of the Firework Book*, publicado pela editora Boydell and Brewer.

A obra tem como objetivo fornecer ao público uma transcrição de um manuscrito alemão, designado como *Firework Book*, invulgar no contexto europeu, e a sua respetiva tradução para inglês, bem como realizar uma análise historiográfica da mesma.

Esta fonte divulgava as formas de usar e fazer a pólvora, a sua utilização em vários tipos de armas de fogo e as suas potencialidades no campo de batalha. Tinha uma natureza instrutiva e era dirigida ou para auxiliar artesãos já com alguma especialização na área, enquanto "livro de receitas", ou manual de estudo para aprendizes no ofício. Atualmente, segundo Müller, restam 65 cópias de manuscritos, cujas características permitem a sua classificação como *Firework Book*, que têm a particularidade de ter um conteúdo similar, embora com diferenças entre si, resultado, porventura, de adições que cada mestre artesão fazia na sua edição.

O autor optou por transcrever para alemão, e traduzir para inglês, uma cópia disponível nas Royal Armouries de Londres, o manuscrito RA I.34, até aqui não explorado. Este manuscrito contém o conteúdo-base que forma este tipo de fonte, mas, além disso, tem um conjunto invulgar de ilustrações e parece estar ainda na sua encadernação original. Apesar desta edição recusar a abordagem comparativa com outros manuscritos, o autor mostra conhecimento do conteúdo das restantes cópias, assinalando erros de escrita. A correção da palavra "semig", por "samig", através do estudo do manuscrito de Friburgo MS.362, é um elucidativo exemplo (p. 91).

O livro está dividido em três partes. A primeira contém três capítulos, onde o autor apresenta a informação introdutória sobre o tipo de obra transcrita e traduzida, e a sua importância na época. Aí apresenta os diferentes usos que esta fonte poderia ter, a sua autoria, datação e público-alvo. No final desta parte, podemos encontrar um estudo paleográfico do exemplar RA I.34,

tanto das suas características físicas, como da sua origem. Este longo estudo introdutório, é essencial, tendo em conta que esta fonte ainda era desconhecida do panorama historiográfico europeu, com exceção do universo germanófilo.

Não obstante a dimensão desta parte, caberia ainda, e teria sido útil, a inserção de uma perspetiva comparativa com outra documentação avulsa, no espaço europeu, nomeadamente, receitas de pólvora, privilégios dados a mestres pirobalísticos ou cartas de compra/venda de pólvora. Esta análise teria sido determinante para perceber de que forma o centro da Europa, se distinguiu, ou não, quanto ao seu avanço técnico, na primeira metade do século XV. Outra questão que importaria clarificar é o uso, pelo autor, do conceito de "master gunner", tanto para designar o mestre na produção de armas de fogo e pólvora, quanto o seu utilizador no campo de batalha. Apesar de existir uma correlação das duas funções no mesmo indivíduo, especialmente na cronologia em questão, sugeria-se o uso do termo "handgunner" para o combatente (p. 37-38).

Um dos principais pontos positivos desta primeira parte da obra está relacionado com a capacidade que o autor demonstrou em apresentar várias hipóteses interpretativas, para os problemas em análise. Tal é feito na consideração do Firework Book como um tipo específico de fonte (p. 10-13), referindo, apesar disso, outros autores que não partilham da mesma opinião, ou no levantamento de 65 manuscritos com a designação de Firework, lembrando que parte da historiografia considera a existência de menos exemplares (p. 13-16). Esta abordagem permite, assim, um diálogo historiográfico importante e a problematização das questões apresentadas.

A segunda parte integra o terceiro e quarto capítulos e diz respeito ao propósito principal do livro. Aí se apresenta a transcrição integral do manuscrito RA. I34 para alemão, e a respetiva tradução para inglês. Ao apresentar a transcrição e a tradução em simultâneo, permite-se que os leitores versados em alemão e inglês possam analisar o original acompanhando a tradução. As notas de rodapé têm diversidade e qualidade, remetendo para explicações adicionais, usando a bibliografia mais recente, ou para significados alternativos para o uso de uma palavra específica naquele contexto. Além disso, o autor alerta para outras traduções, possivelmente válidas, e para duplicações e erros do escrivão, mantidos no texto. É ainda de enaltecer a interdisciplinaridade presente nesta segunda parte da obra, que exige conhecimentos históricos, para poder discernir o contexto e significado prático dos termos utilizados, conhecimentos químicos, para interpretar as receitas de pólvora e elementos em latim – como "salomoniae", identificado como cloreto de amónio (p. 105)

-, conhecimentos paleográficos, que possibilitam a transcrição para alemão, e conhecimentos linguísticos que transportam a obra para o mundo anglófono.

A terceira parte da obra, correspondente ao quinto capítulo, elabora uma análise detalhada do texto transcrito. Aqui são decifrados um conjunto de conceitos fulcrais para entender a tradução apresentada na parte anterior, como *plug, barrel* ou *stone gun*, sendo recomendada a sua leitura antes da análise do texto da fonte (p. 309-314). Além disso, o autor consegue enquadrar o *master gunner*, enquanto parte da sociedade corporativa medieval, mas com um estatuto diferenciado face a outros mesteirais (p. 306-307), e interpreta o termo *Knollenpulver* como um tipo de pólvora, numa posição técnica intermédia, até agora desconhecida, entre a pólvora em pó e a pólvora granulada (p. 321-322).

No entanto, podem ser feitas duas breves anotações a este capítulo. Uma diz respeito à profusão de instruções quanto à produção e manutenção de salitre, algo que Axel Müller considera ser um sinal de falta de experiência técnica do autor da fonte. Ora, podia acrescentar-se que é só a partir desta cronologia que se registam os primeiros produtores de salitre na Europa, sendo até aqui um produto importado a um preço elevado. Além disso, tendo em conta a relevância da obra para o estudo da pirobalística europeia no século XV, teria sido importante uma reflexão sobre o seu significado no debate da "Revolução Militar", cuja análise ficou limitada a um breve parágrafo na conclusão (p. 348).

No sentido de melhor compreendermos o contributo que este livro traz, é importante perceber o que outras edições, do Firework Book, acrescentaram ao panorama historiográfico (WILHELM 1941; KRAMER and LEIBNITZ 2001; NIBLER 2005). A edição de Hassenstein, com base no Firework Book de Augsburgo (1529), foi escrita em alemão, durante a governação nazi. Assim, foi influenciada pelo nacionalismo da época, por exemplo, quando defende a originalidade alemã no surgimento da pólvora na Europa. Problemas semelhantes são encontrados na edição de Gerhard Kramer, químico alemão, e Klaus Leibnitz, quando em 2001, transcreveram para alemão e traduziram para inglês o Firework Book presente na Biblioteca da Universidade de Friburgo, o manuscrito MS. 362. Assim, os autores consideram, por exemplo, Berthold Schwarz como alquimista e autor real desta fonte, ao contrário da maioria da historiografia que o considera apenas uma referência lendária. Por último, Ferdinand Nibler, formado em Física, realizou, em 2005, a transcrição, para a língua alemã, do referido MS. 362 de Friburgo, procurando compará-lo com a edição de Augsburgo (1529), de Hassenstein. Este projeto comparativo acabou por detetar um elevado número de diferenças subtis, mas poucas

diferenças estruturais, revelando, assim, uma abordagem historiográfica pouco proveitosa.

Assim, por esta análise, é percetível que, até à edição de Müller, esta fonte não havia sido analisada com o devido rigor histórico, sendo também raras as suas referências na língua inglesa. Esta obra apresenta um contributo historiográfico muito relevante para a área em questão, permitindo a divulgação para a língua inglesa de um tipo de fonte quase desconhecido e abre horizontes para futuros trabalhos historiográficos sobre a pirobalística europeia do século XV. A abordagem interdisciplinar desta publicação é também inédita. O autor mobilizou conhecimentos transversais a várias áreas de conhecimento, nomeadamente, a História, a Química e a Filologia, sem os quais a obra perderia boa parte da sua qualidade.

Bibliografia

- WILHELM, Hassenstein (1941). Das Feuerwerkbuch von 1420. 600 Jahre Deutsche Pulverwaffen und Büchsenmeisterei. Nachdruck des Erstdruckes aus dem Jahre 1529 mit Übertragung ins Hochdeutsche und Erläuterungen von Wilhelm Hassenstein. München: Verlag der deutschen Technik.
- KRAMER, Gerhard W.; and LEIBNITZ, Klaus (2001). "Das Feuerwerkbuch: German, circa 1400: Translation of MS 362 dated 1432 in the Library of the University of Freiburg". *Journal of the Arms & Armour Society*, 17.1, 5-89.
- NIBLER, Ferdinand (2005). Feuerwerkbuch: Anonym, 15. Jahrhundert; Synoptische Darstellung zweier Texte mit Neuhochdeutscher Übertragung. https://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/technikhist/tittmann/5%20Feuerwerkbuch.pdf# (consultado em 2024.06.01).

Pedro Filipe Fernandes Sebastião

Universidade de Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras psebastiao03@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1592-8832



CALDEIRA, Alfredo e ESTEVES, João (coord.) (2024). *Tarrafal. Presos Políticos e Sociais (1936-54 e 1961-74)*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri, 444 pp., ISBN: 978-989-566-395-8¹.

Com o correr dos anos, uma muito considerável bibliografia versando o Tarrafal foi emergindo. Diversos aspetos têm vindo a ser iluminados, quer a partir de testemunhos, como os de Cândido de Oliveira, Edmundo Pedro ou Luandino Vieira, quer a partir de estudos, como os de José Vicente Lopes, Victor Barros ou Celestino Domingos Tavares Silva, ou ainda teses de doutoramento, como a de Antónia Gato Pinto, ou diversas exposições. Daí que este novo contributo, surgido no cinquentenário do seu encerramento definitivo, deva ser assinalado. Porque, como é sabido, o Tarrafal teve duas vidas: entre 1936 e 1954, acolhendo, maioritariamente, opositores portugueses do Estado Novo; entre 1961 e 1974, recebendo militantes dos movimentos de libertação das então colónias. Mas, o Tarrafal teve, por assim dizer, "outras vidas", no sentido em que este modelo prisional foi antecipado já em tempos de Ditadura Militar, quer na ilha de S. Nicolau, também no arquipélago de Cabo Verde, quer em Timor. Corolário dessas experimentações de encarceramento político, o Tarrafal foi, decerto, o mais impiedoso lugar de todo o sistema (quase quatro dezenas de vítimas mortais), que incluía as não menos tristemente famosas prisões de Caxias, do Aljube, de Angra do Heroísmo e de Peniche. Neste sentido, muitos presos transitaram, uma e outra vez, entre estes espaços, aí cumprindo penas ou aguardando que o julgamento (nunca) chegasse.

Assinado por um conjunto de autores conceituados nos estudos do antifascismo e do anticolonialismo, este livro é, antes de mais, um projeto ainda em curso. Lançado em finais de 2022, como referem os coordenadores Alfredo Caldeira e João Esteves, no intuito de "criar um Centro de Documentação do Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal, abrangendo, pela primeira vez, as duas fases", assim como de gerar "uma plataforma informática que assegurasse a disponibilização de informação sobre o Tarrafal e de quantos lá foram encarcerados" (p. 13), o projeto irá permitir uma contínua atualização dos dados existentes. Esta última característica, entre as mencionadas, constitui uma das suas mais promissoras originalidades. De resto, duas secções do livro permitem aferir da importância do recurso ao digital: as "Biografias da Fase I (1936-1954)" (p. 73-257); e as "Notas biográficas" relativas a "Angola" (p. 279-332), à "Guiné" (p. 365-385) e a "Cabo Verde" (p. 397-406). É que, se

¹ Este trabalho foi financiado por Fundos Nacionais através da FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, no âmbito do projeto UIDB/04059/2020.

alguns presos, como Mário Castelhano, "destacado dirigente anarcossindicalista e da CGT" (p. 238), dispõem de informação pormenorizada, outros veem a sua nota concluída com um lacónico "saiu em liberdade", ao passo que outros ainda, sobretudo aqueles oriundos dos movimentos anticoloniais, não chegam a dispor de fotografia ou até de qualquer outro dado, a não ser o nome com o qual deram entrada no campo. Sem dúvida que a plataforma informática, transcendendo a natureza mais constante das páginas em papel, apesar da possibilidade de uma segunda e terceira edição, irá permitir completar, a pouco e pouco, o perfil daqueles que passaram os umbrais da prisão, dando rosto aos nomes e acrescentando vida vivida aos que lograram traspor os mesmos umbrais, muitas vezes para ingressar em novo cárcere. Trata-se, pois, de um esforço de ampliação do laconismo simbólico do memorial, ao mesmo tempo que se pretende preservar e renovar, do ponto de vista histórico e historiográfico, a memória das lutas contra a ditadura.

Por seu lado, diversos pequenos estudos, fazendo as vezes de capítulos, enquadram estas longas secções biográficas dos presos. Um primeiro conjunto destes textos refere-se à Fase I. Veja-se que o primeiro capítulo, da autoria de Fernando Rosas, "Morte Lenta no Chão Bom" (p. 19-26), pretende sublinhar a "originalidade" do Tarrafal, apesar do já mencionado experimentalismo da Ditadura Militar. Situando a sua criação na cronologia da consolidação do regime de Salazar, Rosas recapitula estes passos, quer do ponto de vista da legislação surgida, quer a partir das primeiras revoltas contra o Estado Novo. Por último, o historiador salienta, sem perder de vista o momento presente, que "é com essa imprescindível memória que também se há-de construir e defender o futuro da democracia política e social" (p. 26).

Se o contributo de Luís Farinha, "O Estado Novo e o novo 'perigo espanhol' A fascização do regime na segunda metade dos anos 30" (p. 27-37), partindo de uma frase de Ramada Curto, traz de novo à liça a questão da categorização "fascista" do regime, já o texto de João Esteves, "A Greve Geral Revolucionária do 18 de Janeiro de 1934" (p. 39-43), explicita a organização, os objetivos e os envolvidos neste momento seminal da resistência ao Estado Novo, levado a cabo em diversos pontos do país, e não apenas na Marinha Grande, que congraçou, não sem disputas, organizações sindicais anarquistas, comunistas, socialistas e independentes. Por sua vez, seguindo um fio cronológico, "Da Revolta dos Marinheiros de 1936 ao Tarrafal" (p. 43-53), de Luísa Tiago de Oliveira, caracteriza a outra grande leva dos primeiros presos a chegar ao campo de concentração. À semelhança do que sucede com outros textos, estamos perante sínteses, quando talvez se impusesse artigos de maior fôlego. Porém, percebe-se a opção, uma vez que este volume de 444 páginas consagra 267, ou seja, 60%, às notas biográficas de 588 homens, incluindo, também, um "Dever de Memória" (p. 425-427), de Diana Andringa, e um glossário (p. 429-434) com uma lista dos diretores e algum do jargão do campo.

Os capítulos finais da Fase I, assinados por Domingo Abrantes, "Os Comunistas e o Tarrafal" (p. 55-59), e Antónia Gato Pinto, "Resistência Anarquista" (p. 61-67), revelam-se, talvez, dos mais interessantes, em virtude da sua análise, ainda que sucinta, às condições e ao quotidiano. Cada um, a seu modo, entretece uma narrativa acerca das organizações que se constituíram no campo, as quais sustentavam visões políticas e ideológicas diferenciadas, mas também sobre os "colaboracionistas, aqueles que nomearam por 'amarelos', 'rachados', 'Bufos', enfim... 'não idóneos'" (p. 66). Porque, acrescenta Antónia Gato Pinto, "unidos, os resistentes, formaram uma força coesa contra as intenções dos carcereiros, enfrentaram os piores momentos de repressão, criaram mecanismos de solidariedade em proveito de todos os reclusos", em nome de uma "grandeza moral" que transcendeu todas as divisões (p. 65-66).

Relativamente à Fase II, o denominado "Campo de Trabalho de Chão Bom", esta começa por ser objeto de análise por parte de Maria da Conceição Neto, através de dois textos: "Campo de Chão Bom, Tarrafal – uma prisão (também) angolana" (p. 265-272) e "Angolanos no Tarrafal. Pequeno guia para uma história política" (p. 273-278). Enquanto o primeiro traça a diversidade étnica e ideológica dos envolvidos, o segundo enuncia as diversas levas (ou grupos) encaminhados para a prisão de Cabo Verde entre 1962 e 1970. Na verdade, escreve a autora: "para os Angolanos a ida para o Tarrafal acrescentava, na prática, o degredo à prisão. Mesmo que as condições materiais não fossem piores do que as dos cárceres angolanos, a distância impedia o contacto com outros conterrâneos" (p. 270-271).

Por seu turno, Julião Soares Sousa, em "A repressão colonial na Guiné a partir de 1962" (p. 335-342), e Arlindo Caldeira, "Residência Fixa... numa prisão" (p. 343-346), procuram reconstituir o grupo sobre o qual, provavelmente, subsistem mais interrogações. Disso mesmo dão conta ambos os autores. Enquanto Julião Soares Sousa adota um olhar mais analítico em torno do "longo calvário e uma das mais cruéis páginas da repressão colonial na Guiné" (p. 342), Alfredo Caldeira reconhece a complexidade do trabalho de investigação conduzido, porquanto "nenhum desses homens tinha sido levado a tribunal, julgado ou condenado. Concentrados primeiro na designada Colónia Penal da Ilha das Galinhas, no arquipélago dos Bijagós". Numa palavra, em muitos casos, nomes numa lista, cujas diligências ainda não conseguiram destrinçar e "conhecer melhor o verdadeiro percurso de cada um desses homens" (p. 343).

Por último, Luís Fonseca, em "Presos cabo-Verdianos no Tarrafal, 1970/1974" (p. 389-396), ex-secretário executivo da CPLP e sobrevivente do campo, é autor de um ensaio pleno de informação, no qual destaca as questões da alimentação, dos cuidados médicos, da censura aos livros lidos pelos presos, dos castigos, das visitas e da organização prisional clandestina. Outros textos, de igual modo sucintos, alguns dos quais assinados, não deixam de situar o papel da Cruz Vermelha, entre "omissão e encenação" (p. 407-408), a libertação do campo, no 1 de Maio de 1974 (p. 413-416), além da legislação.

Não obstante os textos breves, o livro aqui passado em revista revela-se pleno de informação e de pertinência. Na medida em que remete para dois sites, memoriacomum.org e tarrafal-ctd-org, as valências multiplicam-se, com a inclusão de testemunhos e de obras que os leitores/internautas podem consultar, conferindo, deste modo, uma outra dimensão à bibliografia (https://tarrafal-ctd.org/dossier/memorias-e-estudos-fase-i). Por outro lado, há também a possibilidade de visionar o documentário Tarrafal – Memórias do Campo da Morte Lenta, de Diana Andringa, e de ter acesso a outros documentos fílmicos, sendo de destacar as entrevistas com os antigos presos.

Sérgio Neto

Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Letras | CITCEM² sgdneto@gmail.com https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9737-0029



² https://doi.org/10.54499/UIDB/04059/2020

Caderno Temático: Religion and Empire. Rethinking Religious Dynamics in Colonial and Postcolonial Histories

"A Vast and Beautiful Country": Ideas of Exile, Racial Hierarchies, and Industrial Education in the Formation of the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) and the Congo Free State (CFS), 1832-1890
REUBEN A. LOFFMAN

Fear and Loathing on the Margins of Empire: Socio-religious perspectives connecting the Netherlands and South Africa before and into the South African War

RETIEF MÜLLER

British Empire, Chinese Nationalism, and Protestant Mission Schools: Navigating Loyalties in the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College (1925-1930)

MARINA XIAOJING WANG

The World Council of Churches Assembly in New Delhi 1961 and the German Democratic Republic: Navigations in a Complex Network of Loyalties

Frieder Ludwig

Between Idealism and Pragmatism: The Christian Churches' humanitarian aid to Biafra in and from colonial São Tomé (1967-1970)

Ana Guardião

Conceptualisations of Citizenship among Educational Stakeholders in Newly Independent Madagascar Ellen Vea Rosnes and Helihanta Rajaonarison

Artigos

O Pacto entre a rainha D. Urraca e sua irmã D. Teresa. I. O documento e a história da sua datação António Resende de Oliveira

De scriptoria medievalia. La producción escrita del obispo Mauricio y la consolidación de la sede castellana (1213-1238) ALEJANDRO GARCÍA MORILLA

Two Marias: Illegitimacy and Agency on the fringes of the Restoration Court $\ensuremath{\mathsf{Ben\ James}}$

O imigrante português na Primeira República carioca: o antilusitanismo no mundo do trabalho Carolina Moraes Souza

Entrevista

Towards a Global and Long-Term Historical Sociology of Empire. An Interview with Peter Fibiger Bang Edgar Pereira



