RELATORIO FROM PORTUGAL: THE ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES OF PORTUGAL AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE STUDY OF BRAZILIAN HISTORY

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IN THE LAST DECADE SCHOLARS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A REAPPRAISAL OF Brazil's colonial experience conjunctly with Portugal's pioneering endeavors in imperial expansion and persistent occupation. Sequentially these dual facets have encouraged an appreciation of research materials in Portugal for the study of Brazilian history. Portugal's vast archives, excellent museums, and numerous libraries are abundant in historical manuscripts and printed works as are the various town halls, monasteries, private homes, and Misericordias, most of which remain insufficiently utilized by foreign scholars. Increased fellowship funds and more cosmopolitan academic attitudes have facilitated accessibility to geographically widespread collections, the benefits of which are immeasurable.

Despite the growing concern, there is, as yet, no comprehensive summary guide to this plethora of archival materials. It is my intention, therefore, to provide a concise but detailed guide to the collections relevant to the study of Brazilian history. Emphasis will be placed on the major archives, the most extensive sources, and special document cores, with contents and the indices available to them noted. The scholar can expect to find abundant materials for social, economic, political, military, and administrative history. While a sizeable bulk of the known records consist of official correspondence, deliberations and decrees, council reports, etc., there is a considerable amount of other, seldomutilized records such as bills of lading, merchants' memoranda on crews, laborers, cargo, appointments, notarial records, parish and provincial registers and the like. In other words, enough materials to contribute to social and economic studies, local and regional histories within the Portuguese Empire, agricultural and medical studies, and others. More detailed descriptions of the various archival collections and the types of materials one can expect to find in them are noted with the specific collections.

Unlike Spain, which possesses three major centers for research in imperial

and internal history—Madrid, Simancas and Seville—Portugal possesses only one center of predominance—Lisbon, and it is with her collections that this article will be most concerned. There are institutions in other parts of Portugal which also have some important holdings and they, too, will be discussed.

LISBOA

The queen city of Portugal straddles the Tagus and possesses one of the finest harbors in the Iberian peninsula. Through this channel and into the Atlantic sailed some of the world's greatest fleets, past tiers of pink and ochre houses, marble churches, and elegant palaces. Along her Guincho coast ,beating waves, rustling palms and blossoming jacarandás have cast their shadows on Phoenician traders, Roman legions, and Gothic conquerers. Under the Arabs, Lisbon became a prosperous city until Alfonso Henriques, with the help of rapacious bands of Crusaders, laid siege to the citadel and made her Christian.

As the capital of the Burgundian kings, within a short time Lisbon became one of the wealthiest ports in Europe. With the voyage of Vasco da Gama, Lisbon emerged as the European center of the spice trade, and soon the flags of many nations flew along the Tagus. Lisbon prospered on the spices, gold and diamonds of her valuable colonies and managed to perpetuate four centuries of splendor, all of which ended in fifteen minutes of holocaust.³ Few scars remain from the almost-totally destructive earthquake of 1755, and Lisbon today, despite severe losses, remains as a storehouse of historical materials.

ARQUIVO HISTORICO ULTRAMARINO4

Address: Palácio da Ega, Calçada da Boa Hora, 30; Lisboa-3; Tel: 63 59 24 Hours: 1:30 to 7 p.m. weekdays; 9:30 to noon, Saturdays; closed Sundays and public holidays.

Permission needed: A letter from the researcher's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundations.

Director: Dr. Joaquim Alberto Iría, Junior.

The AHU, created by the decree of June 9, 1931, and housed in the sixteenth-century former palace of the Counts of Ega, is the most important repository for records pertaining to the Portuguese overseas empire. It is located off the Rua Junqueira, a main boulevard which parallels the Tagus, in a famous district of Belém. Just a short distance away is the Jeronymite Monastery and the Torré do Belém of the discoverers. The Arquivo is, however, located some distance—thirty or forty minutes by public transportation—from the center of Lisbon.

When the Arquivo was originally installed, its purpose was to guard, inventory, and catalogue documents significant for the study of all aspects of Portuguese colonial history; to promote the publication of documents of major importance, which existed in its deposits, as well as of their inventories and general works; and to acquire copies or resumés of inventories and indices of manuscripts existent in the public and special archives of Portugal and other nations, relative to Portuguese colonial history. It was also intended to centralize the copies of inventories and documents of historical interest which existed in the archives of the Portuguese colonial governments and to publish the Legislação Colonial, which hitherto had been under the aegis of the Ministério das Colónias, the Anuário Colonial, and the Arquivo das Colónias.⁶

The collections and libraries transferred here included those manuscripts and documents in the possession of the Ministério das Colónias and its dependencies. Also moved to the Palácio have been the documents identical to those existing in colonial government archives; those pertaining to tribunals, repartições and state institutions in the colonies; other historical documents from the extinct Conselho Ultramarino, Arquivo da Marinha, and those relative to colonies which together formed the Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar. By the decree of April 7, 1934, it was also determined that the AHC would initiate publications of the Colecção dos Classicos da expansão portuguesa no mundo, in series.

Guides: Although there is not one complete catalogue to facilitate research, a number of useful guides are located in the reading room of the AHU: E. Ennes and M. A. Hedwig Fitzler: A Secção Ultramarino de Biblioteca Nacional; Inventories I: Codices do Extincto Conselho Ultramarino, Estudas a Notas, by M. A. Hedwig Fitzler; Inventories II: Codices do vindos de Moçambique por iniciativa da Antonio Ennes; Inventarios III: Codices do Arquivo da Marinha, published, annotated and introduction by Ernesto Ennes (Lisboa, 1928). Originally compiled for the collections housed at the Biblioteca Nacional, it is still valuable as a guide to the original classification of documents and to the codices, for which it gives a summary listing with their present numbering.

The present director, Dr. Iría, has written a few helpful articles; "A Fundação do Governo Geral do Brasil e o Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa," in the *Anais do IV Congresso de Historia Nacional*, 2, 1950; "A Baía no Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa," in the same issue; and his "A Organização dos Serviços do Archivo Histórico," "in the *Boletim do Archivo Histórico Colonial*, 1, 1950, 1–83, is an important statement on the condition of the archive, its organization and its system of records reclassification. ¹⁰ Although somewhat dated, all provide rather good accounts of materials available, but Dr. Iría has published recently, "Inventário Geral dos Codices do

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino apenas referentes as Brasil (Fontes para a Historia Luso-Brasileira," (memoria apresentada ao IV Coloquio de Estudos Luso-Brasileiro na Baía, 1959), *Studia*, XVIII, Agosto 1966, 41–191.)

L. da Fonesca's "Indice abreviado dos documentos do seculo XVI do Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa," in the Anais do Primeiro Congresso de Historia de Bahia, 2 (Bahia, 1950), 7–353; and S. de Silva Texeira's Index Indicum do Arquivo Histórico Colonial, 1947, are important guides. The latter is a typescript kept in the Arquivo's library, which describes indices, inventarios, and lists for the following sections of the archives: Conselho Ultramarino—consultas de partes of the Conselho da Fazenda and codices of Merces Gerais; Marinha; Former Direcção-Geral de Fazenda das Colónias; Expedição a Moçambique; Direcção-Geral Militar das Colónias; Direcção dos Serviços de Fazenda de Moçambique. Also consult his Catálogo descritivo e analitico dos Codices do Conselho Ultramarino l á 27. This manuscript copy is also kept in the AHU and is very useful, but the total project was never completed beyond the 27th codex. Iría's article is now more useful.

The Roteiro (guide), intended to be an official publication of the archive, has never appeared, although it has been "in preparation" since 1950. The Boletim do Archivo Histórico Colonial was established for the systematic publication of the most important documents of the archives as well as articles on colonial history. The first Boletim appeared in 1950, but since then there have been no other issues. The Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Antiga (1446–1754), 1 (Lisboa, 1867); and ibid. (1755–1834), 2 (Lisboa, 1867); and the Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Novissima (1834–51), 1 (Lisboa, 1867), are also available at the AHU.

Materials: The holdings of the AHU, particularly excellent for the seventeenth century, and from 1640 on, are divided into two major sections. The first possesses all documentation before 1833 and consists primarily of the holdings of the Arquivo do Conselho Ultramarino, while the second section contains all the documentation of the Arquivo do Ministério das Colónias.¹¹

The records of the overseas Conselho, nucleus of the AHU, were preserved after the Conselho's abolition in 1868 in the archives of the Secretaria da Marinha e Ultramar. In 1889, the records were transferred to the BNL because of lack of space in the Torre do Tombo and, for the same reason, the *Arquivo da Marinha* was transferred there in 1891. Ten years later the two sections were combined to form the *Arquivo da Marinha e Ultramar*, with a collection of 3,555 volumes and 2,917 maços. ¹² In 1926, the able librarian-archivist of the Ministério das Colónias, António José Pires Avelanoso, began the transfer of scattered archives to the Palácio da Ega. Within the next five years large-scale reconstruction of the building and its documentary core had been sufficiently

completed to allow the establishment of the AHC (see above). At that time it was decided to transfer the AMU from the BNL along with the records of the Ministério das Colónias: maps, books, and other sources for overseas history to the Palácio da Ega.¹³

Considering the physical conditions and organizational circumstances from which the collections emerged, the re-organization at the AHU has been a monumental feat. Perhaps the most important contribution has been in freeing the collections from the old cataloging system, shared by the ANTT and the BNL, i.e., by generic titles such as *consultas* and *merces*. Now the materials are arranged according to geographical areas: Reino; Ilhas Adjacentes; Africa; Asia e Oceania; Brasil; Lugares de Africa; and almost all are subdivided and in chronological order.

The Brazil collection is so vast as to require several large rooms, and its contents are subdivided according to captaincy, arranged chronologically, and housed either in caixas (metal boxes), maços or codices. The ones which have not yet been chronologically ordered are in maços, and are noted as documentos em organização. Some of the caixas contain papers on specific topics; there are two caixas with documents relative to limites (demarcation and limits): 1740–58, and 1759–1806. An additional two caixas contain miscellaneous documents on the Inconfidência Mineira, and one other box (sal) pertains to the contract of salt in Brazil. But otherwise, the materials conform to the general pattern.

An attempt at chronological ordering within the caixas is evident but some documents fall outside the time limits indicated and frequent use of some caixas has caused disarrangement of materials. The maços are referred to by years, not numbers, possibly to avoid renumbering once all the papers have been put into order. Otherwise, there is no difference in the kinds of materials which are kept in caixas or maços.

The first section, or documentation of the old Conselho Ultramarino, is paramount for the study of colonial Brazilian history, and includes manuscripts and registers of its annexes as well: Desembargo do Paço (documents of the supreme tribunal); Mesa de Consciencias e Ordens; Conselho de Fazenda; Conselho de India; Conselho de Guerra; and Tombos de Ceilão. As the Conselho was the overseer of all matters colonial, its most prominent collections are the volumes and papeis avulsos (unbound papers).

The papeis avulsos contain the voluminous correspondence between the government in Portugal and the Brazilian Viceroys; communications of officials in Asia and particularly West Africa to the Brazilian Viceroys; as well as memoranda from merchants and officials in the other parts of the Empire to the Brazilian officials regarding trade and other significant matters.

The Livros da Registos (bound volumes) are essentially the registers of the official and private documents which were either brought up for review or drafted by the Conselho. The most important section here is the Registo de consultas (deliberations/recommendations to the crown): 1617–1833, in 66 volumes. They are the records of the opinions of each member of a council upon matters referred to it for advice; they usually conclude with the recommendations of the whole council and note the action taken.

The Livros da Registos, in addition to minutes of the Conselho Ultramarino, consist of livros, leis (laws), decrees, or various original documents and registers of correspondence: Registos de Consultas (see above); Registo de avisos (orders signed by a secretary of state); the Registo de Provisoes (provisions), Registo de cartas regias (royal edicts), Registo de Oficios (appointments), and Registo de regimentos, all in 56 volumes for the years 1541–1832; Registo de decretos (decrees); Registo de portárias (orders to officials); and the Registo de sesmarias: 1795–1825 in five volumes. Within each series and codex the documents are registered in chronological order. This section, which contains approximately 4,380 codices, is especially important because many of the original documents no longer exist and also because they contain otherwise unobtainable copies of much of the outgoing correspondence from the Crown.

The material on Brazil has, fortunately, received some attention from institutions outside Portugal. There is a very good *Inventário dos Documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar de Lisboa*, which has established an inventory for each date on documents pertinent to colonial Brazilian history. The *Inventário* includes papers of the Conselho Ultramarino as well as those from the Arquivo da Marinha, and others which had been in the BNL. The general section on Brazil consists of the captaincies of Bahía, Ceará, Goyaz, Maranhão, Matto Grosso, Minas Gerais, Pará, Parahyba, Pernambuco, Piauhy, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Negro, São Paulo, and São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul—from 1750 to 1822.

The first five volumes concern Bahía and are of prime significance for the second half of the eighteenth century. The first volume covers 1613 to 1762, with only six documents before 1740, because the inventory of materials on Bahía has revealed few records before 1750 and none after 1807. In total there are more than 30,000 documents, some with annexes and some with more than one document included. The Rio collection contains nearly 20,000 documents, of the same order. The inventory is not as complete as one would hope, as it was finished before the archive was reorganized, but it is still an extremely helpful time-saving guide: Volume 31 Bahía, 1613–1762; Volume 32, 1765–1786; Volume 34, 1786–1798; Volume 36, 1798–1800; and Volume 37, 1801–1807, all entitled Bahía.

The period after the transfer of the capital from Bahía to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 is especially important, but unfortunately the four volumes of Rio materials have not been inventoried after 1757. Nevertheless, the guide is still very useful. The volumes, all entitled Rio de Janeiro, are Volume 39, 1616–1729; Volume 46, 1729–1747; Volume 50, 1747–1755; Volume 71, 1756–1757. Both of the series are arranged chronologically and can be located by date; copies are kept in the library of the AHU.

The records for Bahía and Rio de Janeiro are the largest and most important, with the Bahía collection containing 186 caixas and 156 maços, inclusive of the dates 1569–1837. The Rio de Janeiro materials exist in 155 caixas and 130 maços, inclusive of the years 1614–1834. Gwendolin Cobb, in her article on the Bancroft microfilm collection (cited above), has given sample dates, numbers and contents for specific captaincies and caixas of the papeis avulsos and *Livros de Registos do Conselho Ultramarino*. As the order and contents remain the same, I shall not repeat the process here.

In addition to the important collections listed above, there are other major ones in the first section which also have guides to them. J. A. G. de Melo Neto has edited the Relacões de papeis avulsos e de codices relativos a Capitania de Pernambuco (1605–1794 and 1597–1671): Manuscritos do Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geografico Brasileiro has issued a fifteen-volume Catálogo de Documentos sobre a História de São Paulo existente no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Rio de Janeiro, 1956–1959), an extremely important collection for the pre-nineteenth century. One might also consult the "Catalogo da Exposição Cartografica e Iconografica Commemorativa do V Centenario do Nascimento de Pedro Álvares Cabral Descobridor do Brasil" (Lisboa, 1968); "Historia dos Anímais e Arvores do Maranhão por Frei Christovão de Lisboa, estudo e notas do Dr. Jaime Walter e prefacio de Alberto Iría (Lisboa, 1967); "Inventario de Iconografia Brasileira existente no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Subsidios para o Dicionário de Iconografia do Brasil)," Alberto Iría (Studia, XVI, 1965).

The second section of the AHU contains documentation after 1833, and for this reason it is not as valuable to the Brazilianist. To Scholars might wish to peruse some of the documentation in this section, if there is time, to find occasional references to Brazil and her dealings with the Portuguese Empire. Some of the more important series in this section are: Representados of the CU from 1851–1868; Junta Consultiva da Ultramar; Conselhos Colonial e Superior das Colónias; Inspecção-Geral da Fazenda do Ultramar; Direcções da Fazenda das Colónias; Direcções de Administração Civil; Direcções de Fomento das Colónias; Direcções das Colónias do Oriente e do Ocidente; and Direcções dos Serviços Centrais.

The documentation discussed above is some of the most important for the

study of colonial Brazil but is merely a part of the superb collection for all of the overseas provinces. Although the stress is on seventeenth-century materials, there is abundance of documentation for all of the colonial period, encompassing political, economic, administrative, and financial history; military, missionary and social studies; and diverse topics such as plants, medicine, forts, *pombeiros*, bandits, pirates, and animals. The student of Brazilian history should not, if possible, miss the opportunity of working in the archival collections reposing in the Palácio da Ega.

ARQUIVO NACIONAL TORRE DO TOMBO

Address: Palácio das Cortes, Largo de São Bento, Lisboa-2; Tel. 56 44 15. Hours: 10:45 a.m. to 4:40 p.m. weekdays. Closed Sundays and public holidays. Permission needed: A letter from the researcher's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundations.

Director: Dr. José Pereira da Costa.

The history of the ANTT began in 1188, when Dom Sancho I designated as "meo repositário" the portable manuscript collections of his predecessors, a mobility that resulted from the custom of European rulers of carrying their documents by mule or horseback whenever they traveled or joined military expeditions. Despite Sancho's good intentions, the permanent physical placement of the archives tended to be elusive. Sometime between 1352 and 1378, the royal archive was ensconced in the *torre albarra* (castle keep) in Lisbon. It was the strongest available tower and housed not only the royal treasure but also the *tombo* (land register) of the kingdom. During the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the records were entrusted to a *Guarda-Mor* who, until 1842, was also state chronicler. The job of the royal archives was not only to conserve documents but also, in its first two centuries, to issue *certidões* (attestations) from the records. Today the ANTT is still fulfilling its function as an active public records office.

The ANTT bears witness to the whims of nature and man, a striking instance of which occurred in the mid-fifteenth century when the Guarda-Mor, Gomes Eannas de Azurara, "reformed" the archives. Because of the "great profusion of useless entries," he had the most important ones copied from the chancery registers and other records so that the remainder of the records could be destroyed to leave more room. More of the records were lost between 1526 and 1532, most probably in the great earthquake of January 1531. The process of pilfer and borrow caused more losses in the seventeenth century, and in the 1755 earthquake the tower was completely destroyed, although most of the records were recovered. In August 1757, the archive was moved to the monastery of São Bento where today it occupies an entire wing of the government buildings.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the archive had acquired the designation Arquivo Real, which it retained until 1821 when it was retitled the Arquivo Real e Nacional. Only since the middle of the eighteenth century have state papers been regularly sent to the ANTT, and other large-scale transfers and acquisitions began only after the revolution of 1820-1821. These were made up largely of records of civil and ecclesiastical institutions suppressed by the liberal regime. Most of the material brought to the ANTT in the nineteenth century remains unorganized, uncatalogued, and barely usable. By the decree of July 27, 1939 (No. 19,952), the ANTT was reorganized but there still remains a great deal to be done. For example, in 1950, the Foreign Office archives from the mid-eighteenth century to 1851 were transferred there, but no systematic catalogue has been adopted. Because there is no clearly defined policy, a tendency toward autonomous departmental recording exists. Nevertheless, the records housed in the ANTT are, with the exception of those in the AHU, the most important collections that a student of Brazilian history could consult, and are particularly weighty for the sixteenth century.

Guides: The holdings of the ANTT fall under two general categories. The first section is composed of collections and miscellaneous documents varied in subject matter and origin. The second section, or *Incorporações posteriores ao establecimento do regime liberal*, contains records of tribunals, departments and offices of church and state, designated accordingly.

There is no adequate general guide, either in print or in manuscript, to the contents of the ANTT. There are a number of incomplete but useful ones, probably the best of which is A. Mesquita de Figueiredo's ANTT Roteiro Practico (Lisboa, 1922). The ANTT itself does not have a copy of it but there is one in the BNL and in the AHU. There is also the Azevedo and Baiao book (see note 18) which is helpful for general information. A former director of the archive, Dr. J. M. da Silva Marquas, had planned a threevolume ANTT Ensaio de um Manual de Heuristica e Arquivologia. Volume I was to include inventories, indices, and catalogues; Vol. II would have been a practical descriptive guide to the collections and to various bodies of documents; and Vol. III was to be a history of the Torre do Tombo. Only Vol. I has appeared, entitled *Index Indicum*, as Vol. I of *Ethnos* (Lisboa, 1935), and it is the only real guide to the ANTT collections. One serious flaw is that since its publication, the indices themselves have been renumbered so that the reference numbers given are entirely superceded. However, the ANTT has a corrected copy of the Index Indicum which shows the current numeration, and because the collections are not neatly categorized under geographic areas, it is most helpful to use the indices.

Corpo chronologico (Chronological Collection): The Corpo Chronologico¹⁹ and the GAVETAS (see below) are the two most important collections

for the study of Brazil and the overseas provinces. The Corpo C, largest of the miscellaneous collections, is primarily unbound exchequer papers and much original correspondence between the Viceroys of India and Brazil. It contains 82,902 documents in approximately 525 maços, divided into three parts. Each bundle usually has 100–200 documents, arranged in chronological order without regard for subject or area.²⁰ The three parts are also chronologically parallel and similar in content. The dates are inclusive of 1161 to 1699, but the greatest number are for the sixteenth century. The first maço of each part usually contains miscellaneous documents for the two or three earliest centuries and the second maço usually begins the largest part of the documentation. For example:

Part One: 120 maços; maço 2 begins with November 1492; maço 108 begins with 1566.

Part Two: 373 maços; maço 2 begins with January 1489; maço 238 begins with October 1542.

Part Three: Only 32 maços; maço 2 begins with May 1500; the last few drift into the seventeenth century.

Each document carries a brief summary or description of its contents endorsed on it when the collection was formed. The arrangement was begun by Manuel Maia (then Guarda-Mor) after the 1755 earthquake, probably as an emergency measure.

Available at the ANTT are several helpful indices to the Corpo C which should be used whenever consulting these documents. Indice do Corpo Chronologico divido em tres partes, Index No. 223, is a single manuscript volume compiled under da Maia's direction in 1764. It lists the three parts of the collection by bundle, indicates the limits of each, and therefore eases the search for the materials of a specific time period. Sumários do Corpo Chronologico, Indices Nos. 224 to 229, are six manuscript volumes completed immediately after the collection was formed that give some indication of the contents, and catalogue the documents of the greatest importance. Each gives some generic description, although only a small fraction of the documents is catalogued. Suplementos (to the above summaries), Indices Nos. B86 to 169, are 84 Volumes of handwritten cadernetas (slips) which summarize the contents missed in the Sumários. The entries in red ink show the documents which have been incorrectly dated, and thus are out of sequence in the collection. Of these cadernetas, Nos. B86 through 112 are for Part I; Nos. B113 through 169 are for maços 1 to 32 in Part II. The rest of Part II and all of Part III lack catalogues except for the inadequate Sumários.

Indice de cognomes (surnames), Indices Nos. 230 to 232, are three manuscript volumes (A-D; E-O; P-Z) indexed according to the name of the re-

cipient of documents.²¹ These are very incomplete but suffice as reference to individuals. *Indice de nomes comuns* (offices and places), Index No. 233, is one manuscript volume. It and Index No. 234 form part of the series (Nos. 230 to 234) on names. In addition, it includes some personal names.

These indices give the best indications of the collections and serve a much more useful purpose than if sample entries were given here. For example, in the sections not inventoried, many bundles from maços No. 166 in Part II contain large numbers of power-of-attorney letters and the like, which are extremely valuable for Brazilian history.

In addition to the Corpo C itself, there is the *Fragmentos do Corpo Chronologica*, which contains 33 maços of mutilated Corpo C and miscellaneous documents. The majority are from the sixteenth century and have no index, no inventory, no numbering or arrangement, or any indication of the time period.

Gavetas (Drawers): It was the pre-1755 practice to keep certain important classes of documents in drawers. Originally, the Gavetas were referred to only by their contents but that was changed by Maia. There are 23 Gavetas containing more than 5,500 documents in maços, dating from the twelfth century but predominating in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts. Because of the more formal, legal, and diplomatic nature of the Gavetas, archivists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were prone to regard this collection more highly than the Corpo C.²² The Gavetas contain cartas, doações (grants), testamentos (testimonies), and tratados internacionais (international agreements), which are now kept in numbered caixas.

There are 53 volumes of transcriptions (*Livros da reforma dos documentos das Gavetas*) made at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which contain copies of all the documents in the first 21 Gavetas. The transcriptions are good and it is easier to use this instead of struggling with the paleographic originals. There are a number of principal indices which should be used:

Inventarios dos documentos chamados das Gavetas, Indices Nos. 271 to 273, are three volumes which cover the first 21 Gavetas (1 to 11; 12 to 18; 19 to 21) and are sufficient as a guide to the materials. Indices do documentos que se guardam nas XX Gavetas antigas, Indices Nos. 267 and 268, is an alphabetical index of places, offices, and persons compiled in 1765. The first volume lists the number of maços and documents for each Gaveta, and one of its appendices enumerates some of the documents in Gaveta XXI. But this is incomplete and somewhat unreliable. Indice Supplementar: Próprios á Comuns (first names and place names), Indices Nos. 269 and 270, catalogue the documents omitted from the 1765 index as well as those in Gavetas XXII and XXIII. In addition to these two major holdings, the ANTT has a number of

other significant collections (see below) with much information regarding Brazilian history.

Cartas missivas (Letters from the Portuguese sovereigns): These number 1,717 documents in four maços. Many are not letters and many of the letters are not from Portugal's rulers. Most of the documents are undated and the best suggestion is to go directly to Index 12, *Inventario das Cartas Missivas*, which was compiled in 1953 and follows precisely the order of the maços.

Cartas de Vice-Reis e Governadores da India e de Outras Pessoas para el Rei (Letters from the Viceroys and Governors of India and other Persons to the King): In one maço of 190 documents are a series of letters, a few of which bear indirectly on Brazil. All are from the sixteenth century and most are undated. The best guide is Index No. B267, a somewhat defective compilation from the eighteenth century endorsements.

Nucleo antigo (the old nucleus of documents): This miscellaneous collection of volumes and documents from the Torre do Tombo, after the earthquake, is best checked by using Index No. 299a, Inventario dos livros e maços e documentos que se guardam no Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo. All of the present locations of the documents are given in pencil.

Colecção especial (Special Collection): These records of the suppressed religious houses are abundant in letters from domestic convents to other branches in the overseas provinces. They have unwisely been divided into three categories in chronological order:

Part I: Papal Bulls; briefs from nuncios; and correspondence with high Church officials; caixas 1 to 27 (2,204 documents).

Part II: Charters; caixas 28 to 77 (10,478 documents).

Part III: Miscellaneous documents; caixas 78 to 186 (number unknown).

All told, there are 186 caixas. For Part I, bulls and briefs are listed in Index No. B251-V, *Bulas e breves*. There is no index for Part II, but there is a list of the boxes which indicate the reigns to which the contents refer (e.g., Caixa No. 37 contains the documents for the reign of Manual). Part III has been inventoried only up to Caixa No. 110 (Fourteenth century) and the officials are reluctant to allow anyone to help in continuing the arrangements. This section, as yet, contains little for Brazilian history but the possibility exists that it may hold some valuable documentation for later periods.

Livraria: Manuscritos: The contents are basically the same as the Colecção Especial, on the eighteenth and nineteenth-century suppressed religious houses. The index includes 1,199 manuscript volumes.²³ Almost all of the manuscripts are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and information in them can be found in volumes and maços entitled: Consultas [deliberations] del consejo

de estado; Papeis varias; and Miscelaneas Manuscritas. Manuscritos da livraria, Indices Nos. B520 to 528, is rather poor because it gives only the title and occasionally the date. Miscelaneas Manuscritas, Indices Nos. B529 to 537, is an index by name, place, subject, office, etc., of its volumes and maços. There are other indices specifically for the convents: Nos. B540 to 552 and No. 482. Chancelarias Reaes (Royal Chancery registers): total about 1,100 documents from the twelfth cenutry until the reign of Pedro IV, and are divided into three sections:

- 1. Doações: registers of land and pension grants; appointments to office, etc.
- 2. *Perdões* (pardons): licenses, rights, etc., plus letters to legitimatize the children of the clergy and laity.
- 3. Privelegios: licenses to beg alms, rights to ride mules, and the like, dating from Afonso II through Pedro IV, in whose reign this register ended.²⁴

There are gaps in the registers caused by the old custom of transferring the chancery registries to the Torre do Tombo only after the King was dead. *Inventario dos Indices das Chancelarias Reaes e do Registo des Merces*, Index No. 19, is arranged in alphabetical order and is reliable. The holdings before the reign of João III are incomplete.

Leitura Nova (New Transcripts): Completed in 1552 by Manuel's archivist, Rui de Pina, these 60 volumes are the "more important documents" used to support royal lawsuits and commoner pretensions to honors and offices. A large number are from the chancery registries and were put into volumes partly according to subject and partly on a regional basis. There are a number of errors made by the copyists so it would be best to check the originals. Each volume has an index and the contents are mainly fifteenth and sixteenth century.

Legislação: These 50 maços contain original documents of laws and legislation dating from March 12, 1211, until 1926. The earlier maços also include regimentos (instructions) and alvarás (royal decrees). There is some duplication, since 18 of the registers were compiled within the collection, Chancelaria mor da corte e reino (1576 to 1826). One other register, Leis e Regimentos de Dom Manuel (1495 to 1521), was completed in 1532. Another useful volume of miscellaneous legislation is the Leis Extravagantes.

Index No. 306, Alfabeto das leis modernas e ordenações antigas feito sendo guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo João Couceiro de Abreu e Castro . . . no ano de 1731, is a rudimentary listing of seven of the books of the Chancelaria mor . . . collection (above) for 1576 to 1717, as well as the Leis Extravagantes. Indice de Leis, No. 308, is a chronological index of the remaining eleven books of the Chancelaria (see above) collection, for the years 1532, 1681, and 1711 to 1826. In addition, it gives the references to the original texts of the laws and

indicates when they were printed. Legislação, Nos. 309 and 310, is a complete chronological index with Vol. I (1211 to 1826) and Vol. II (1856 to 1926), and it also lists laws found in the Gavetas, Leitura Nova, and the Chancelaria. These are laws which are applicable for the entire empire and as such are valuable for the study of Brazil.

Bulario: These Papal Bulls, briefs, and rescripts date to 1881; number 3,426 documents in maços; and contain the rare Bulas Aureas as well. Indices Nos. 5 and 6, Inventario das Bulas, Breves, e Trasuntos Pontificos que se acham no Torre do Tombo (1751–1753) are in two volumes. Vol. I contains maços 1 to 45 for Lucius to Benedict XIV, and Vol. 2 has maços 46 to 53 from Urban VI to Clement XIV, both in alphabetical order. Index No. 8, Bulas do Arquivo, also alphabetically orders those bulls of 1099 to 1882 by the names of the Popes and contains many other documents besides the bulls. Index No. 7 is an incomplete listing by bishoprics.

Mesa de Consciencia e Ordens: The board was founded in 1532 by João III in order to decide matters outside the jurisdiction of the existing tribunals; its authority was extended to the military orders, Ordem de Cristo Aviz, and Sant'Iago. From 1833 on, its records were transferred to the ANTT, but only about one-fourth of them are accounted for now. Included in this collection are 250 registers of provisoes (1592 on) and many more maços of documents. They too have indices: No. B622, Livros Diversos, lists 236 volumes in alphabetical order according to contents (e.g., consults, provisoes; cartas e alvaras), and gives the old and new reference numbers. Index No. 377, Livros e documentos diversos: Relações (lists) 1 to 9, is more complete and describes, briefly, the contents. These are inventories made on each of the nine occasions when transfers were made from the Board to the ANTT, and, because there is no index, they can be difficult to use.

Junta do Comercio: The Junta, a part of the Ministério do Reino, was established by a decree of 1755, and was raised to the position of Supreme Tribunal in 1788, as the Real Junta do Comercio, Agricultura, Fabricas, e Navegação d'estes reinos a seus dominios. Its function was to supervise and control all matters concerning commerce, industry, and the merchant marine, and it was given the power to issue all necessary orders and regulations. When it was abolished in 1834, its papers were sent to the ANTT in 370 volumes and 377 maços.

The Junta records are particularly important for any economic history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and contain much that is valuable for colonial Brazilian history. Index No. 305, *Junta do Comercio*, is a summary inventory of the records at the time of their transfer to the ANTT, and is supplemented by No. B466, *Junta* . . . *Inventario dos maços*, and No. B467,

Inventário dos Codices. Some of the bundles were so weighty that they were broken up into several other maços; thus, the old numbering is somewhat askew (e.g., old maço No. 305 contained 9 new bundles so that old No. 306 is now No. 314). Because of this reclassification, it is necessary to use the supplementary indices. The most important of the Livros are those entitled and indexed, Livros de registo geral, comprehendendo do consultas, decretos, avisos . . . , Indices, No. 107 to 171. Anyone interested in the economic and social history of Brazil as well as her relationship with Africa should consult this collection.

Conselho da Fazenda: This important conselho was founded in 1591 by Philip II to secure his control over the foreign administration of Portugal and its territories. Each of the major sectors of Empire was given its own conselho: India; Costa da Mina; Guinea; Brazil; and the islands of São Tome and Cape Verde. The Conselho was reformed in 1761 to strengthen its organization and judicial powers, but in 1833 it was abolished and its papers moved to the ANTT. The Livros de Receita e Depresa da Fazenda Real deal with the years 1490 to 1694, while the documents of the Arquivo do Conselho da Fazenda are almost all post-1755. The holdings in both collections refer to the public finances of each territorial Casa. Index No. 212 notes about 1,412 maços and 1,717 registers which were transferred to the ANTT between 1833 and 1894. But the index is only a general one.

Conselho de Guerra: This council, of major importance, was created by João IV in 1640. Its transfer in 1736 to the Secretaria do Ministerio dos Negocios Estrangeiros e Guerra, followed by the effects of the 1755 earthquake, caused a great mix-up in the various military and diplomatic documents. In addition, the materials were transferred piecemeal to the ANTT during the year 1865 to 1899. The total collection includes 189 maços of decretos, 255 maços of avisos, and 14 maços of portarias.

Index No. 311 lists the registers for 1640 to 1832. Other Indices, Nos. 213, 214, 215 to 219, and 221, are also available but none is totally adequate. Scholars might wish to consult C. B. P. Chaby's Sinopse dos Decretos remetidos ao extincto Conselho de Guerra desde 11/12/1640 até 1/7/1834 (eight volumes, Lisboa, 1869–92 and another 3 volumes since 1945). Volumes 1 to 7 have synopses of decrees by author; Vol. 7 also contains a brief review of the avisos and portarias, as well as a list of the livros de registo, 1799 to 1834. Vol. 8 has the consultas (1640–56) of the first 16 maços fully catalogued, while the remainder (1656 to 1750) are listed only chronologically with a general description of the contents of each maço.

Other collections in the first section of the ANTT which have relevance to Brazilian history:

- a. Desembargo do Paço: a body of documents which pertain to this supreme tribunal of the kingdom.²⁷ It contains more than 2,000 maços of documents, the majority of which are dated after 1755. The most interesting nucleus in this collection is the *Leitura de Bachareis* (transcripts of lawyers' briefs) which are part of the *processos de habilitações* (records of inquiries) of the tribunals.
- b. Ministério do Reino: an important department from which hundreds of maços and livros survive, concerning various issues which came under its jurisdiction. There are indices to this collection: B174 to 251; B631 to 33; 382.
- c. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: As mentioned above, much of the documentation for this department was confused with that of the Conselho da Guerra so that the two collections should be consulted together. Use the same indices as for the Conselho da Guerra to find materials, plus No. B170 and No. 381.
- d. Companhia União Mercantil contains some documents relative to Brazil which are inventoried in Index No. 209.
- e. Manuscriptos Brasileiros, indexed under the same title, No. 4, contains 56 codices with documents pertaining to the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.
- f. The cartório of the *Junta do Tobaco* is important for that trade in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries and includes interesting items for Brazil.
- g. The Arquivo Militar contains about 9,000 manuscripts for 1640 to 1833, all military and diplomatic in nature.

The second section of the ANTT is also a repository for documents relative to Brazilian history, but not in such great profusion. Scholars may especially wish to consult the records of the *Conselho Geral* of the *Santo Oficia da Inquisições*, established in 1570.²⁸ While district tribunals were created for all parts of the empire, the Supreme Tribunal and controlling body remained in Lisbon and it was to the capital that all records were sent. These contain more than 12,000 *processes de habilitações*,²⁰ thousands of *auto forenses* (court records of cases tried by the Conselho Geral); and approximately 36,000 *processos de crimes* (criminal proceedings records). The materials here are of inestimable worth to the student of Portugal and Portuguese colonial societies of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

The records were all transferred to the ANTT in 1825, only four years after the Inquisition was abolished. There is an old and rather inadequate index for this collection (No. 499) but others, such as Nos. 450 to 471 are better and in alphabetical order. Indices Nos. 472 to 476 are for the regional tribunal proceedings and No. 477 is for proceedings against ecclesiastics.

There are about 71 collections housed at the ANTT; those that have not

been mentioned would yield only occasional documents with reference to Brazil. Thus, it is neither possible nor desirable to discuss them all at this time. The documentation presented above runs the gamut of valuable large or small nuclei, and in addition, contains considerable materials on colonial Brazil which probably will not be duplicated elsewhere.

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Address: Largo do Biblioteca Nacional.

Hours: Sala de Leitura (general reading room) 10:00 a.m. to 9:00 p.m. Monday through Friday, and 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Saturdays; Sala de Reservados (Manuscript room) 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Monday through Friday, and Saturdays 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Closed Sundays and public holidays.

Permission needed: A letter from the researcher's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundations. Two passport-size photographs, and passport.

Director: Dr. Manuel Estevens Santos.

The BNL was established in 1796 as the Real Biblioteca Publica da Corte, but in 1836 it was installed at its present address, a former monastery of the Franciscans. Through transfers, purchases, and gifts, the manuscript collection of the BNL now includes: 12,681 codices; 2,284 maços; and 234 caixas. The majority of these compose the *Fundo Geral* (general collection) and the remainder are in special collections.

The Fundo Geral includes 10,659 codices and 233 caixas of documentos avulsos, particularly valuable for the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The first 739 manuscripts are completely described in the *Inventário Secção XIII Manuscritos* (Lisboa, 1896). The *Inventário* is divided into three sections: the first and largest gives a description of the manuscripts by numerical order and includes the number of folios in each manuscript. The second section is a handwritten list of the contents of the first five caixas; the last section is of the Inspecção Geral des Biblioteca e Archivos Publicos.

The remaining manuscripts of the Fundo are only perfunctorily noted on loose slips of papers in the Reservados room, mostly ensconced in wooden trays. Separate collections, such as music manuscripts, are catalogued together with their own slips of paper, separate from the general tray section. The slips are written according to author, subject, and title and are much better on personal names than on places names—all of which makes it somewhat difficult to work here.

Hopefully, when the BNL has completed its move (which it is in the process of doing) to newer and better quarters, some systematic filing of the manuscripts will take place.³⁰

In addition to the Fundo, there are a few collections relevant to the study of colonial Brazil. Perhaps the most important is the Collecção Pombalina, which has some of the best material available anywhere for the Pombaline Era (1699 to 1782). There are, in total, 756 codices of manuscripts, both copies and originals, including items from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Fortunately, there is a handwritten catalogue, the Inventário dos Manuscriptos Secção XIII: Collecção Pombalina (Lisboa, 1891), as well as a printed Inventário of the Collecção Pombalina (Lisboa, 1889), which is divided into three sections: 1) the first half of the index enumerates each manuscript and gives a general description of the contents of each codex; 2) gives an alphabetical listing of the principal points included in the codices; 3) is a small section, at the end of which is an alphabetical listing of the authors or names mentioned therein. The Colecção was purchased from the heirs of Pombal and incorporated into the BNL in 1888. Many of the codices have the official papers of government departments whose records are, otherwise, in the ANTT. There is also included a large amount of diplomatic correspondence. Most of the documents are from the first half of the eighteenth century.

In addition to the Pombaline collection, there are the *Codices de Alcobaça*, 454 in number, 311 of which are pre-sixteenth century. They are fully catalogued in the *Inventário dos Codices Alcobacense*, five volumes (Lisboa, 1932–38). There is a small part of the *Camara Ecclesiastica Livraria* from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, the remainder of which reposes in the ANTT. Also in the BNL are other small collections, and various miscellaneous manuscripts on trade, inquisitions, or other matters of colonial interest, quite a few of which relate to Brazil.

The general section of the BNL relates to current affairs and includes most of the newspapers and journals from the various sections of the country, many of which contain constant in-depth reports on Brazil. The Portuguese have kept close tabs on their ex-colony and there is a curious ambivalent relationship which pervades nineteenth- and twentieth-century Portuguese newspapers in their myriad articles and editorials on Brazil.

The newspapers, journals, and other published materials are catalogued in the general reading room and indexed only by subject. If it is difficult to locate sources, go to the central catalogue at the front desk which contains almost any information one should be seeking. It is relatively easy to locate information on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Brazil in this section.

FILMOTECA ULTRAMARINA PORTUGUESA31

Address: Rua da Junqueira, 86 (under the auspices of the Centro de Estudos

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Históricos Ultramarinos headquartered at the Palácio da Ega, Calçada da Boa, Hora, 30, Lisboa-3; Tel. 63 59 24.

Hours: 11:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday; 9:00 a.m. to noon Saturdays; closed on Sundays and public holidays.

Permission needed: A letter from the investigator's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundations.

Director: Padre Antonio da Silva Rego.

I include this special institute in this article because the Filmoteca is a pleasant, superbly organized place to work and is an important microfilm documentary repository. The Filmoteca is a part of the CEHU, a center which was created by decree (law No. 40070) of February 24, 1955. CEHU, under the direction of Overseas Minister, Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues, has as its purpose "the coordination, stimulation and promotion of historical research relating to Portugal's activities, both past and present, throughout the world," a task which it has very effectively carried out.³²

The Filmoteca itself, founded in 1952 by Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues, has as its chief purpose the collection in one major center of all documents relating to Portuguese overseas affairs existing in Portuguese or non-Portuguese archives. To fulfill this goal the Filmoteca has developed plans of historical research, prepared and published inventories of all manuscripts pertaining to overseas affairs, and maintained and developed the Portuguese overseas microfilm library. To accomplish the second objective mentioned above, CEHU publishes two periodicals. *Studia* is a review which theoretically appears twice a year; the *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, appearing three times a year tries, among other tasks, to keep scholars abreast of the Filmoteca collections.

In order to collect documentation the Filmoteca despatches teams of trained scholars two or three times a year to investigate archives and libraries in various countries and to make records of pertinent holdings for their files in Lisbon. The published results of this effort are available in three different sources: 1) Studia, whose list of publications includes the Gavetas of the Torre do Tombo, Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, documents from the Biblioteca Municipal in Madrid, the British Museum, and the Archivo General de Simancas;³³ 2) the above-mentioned Boletim; and 3) the Catálogo de Biblioteca and the Roteiro da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa published in 1962.³⁴ A new edition of the Catálogo is scheduled for publication in 1969 or 1970 and will include holdings acquired since 1963. The Roteiro of the Filmoteca includes an index of the institutions from which its holdings were microfilmed.³⁵

By making research materials more accessible through microfilm, the

Filmoteca is helping to surmount a major handicap to students of Portuguese colonial history. Those items which relate specifically to Portuguese America are, as yet, relatively few; most of the material refers to Asia and Africa. Plans are underway for acquisition of more Brazilian collections. The value of the Filmoteca (at this stage) to the student of Portuguese America is that it enables him to view Brazil in the broader perspective of the Portuguese Empire.

The collection includes manuscripts, maps, rare books, family papers, and the like, and the Filmoteca makes two positive copies of each negative developed for consultation—an excellent practice. By its presence, its organization and functions, the Filmoteca assures its future importance as a major center for the study of Brazilian history.

BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA³⁶

Address: Palácio da Ajuda

Hours: 10:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., Monday through Friday. Closed Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays.

Permission needed: A letter of introduction from the investigator's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundations, and passport.

Director: Dr. Mariana Emilia Machado Santos.

Not far from the AHU in the neighboring district of Ajuda stands the BAL, housed in the former residence of the Portuguese royal family. It was the royal library, founded in 1756 to replace the one destroyed in the earthquake of the previous year. The important manuscript section has mainly volumes of official papers which have strayed into libraries and bear close relationship to records in ANTT or AHU. Most are of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and especially important are those for the period from 1580 to 1640.

The regular card catalogue of all the manuscripts at Ajuda is collected into several large wooden trays, is arranged in alphabetical order, but is not topically reliable. The best source for the Brazilianist to consult is a printed catalogue, the Carlos Alberto Ferreira Inventário dos manuscritos de Biblioteca da Ajuda referentes á America do Sul (Coimbra, 1946),³⁷ a copy of which is in that library and will be given to use upon request. It facilitates matters to consult it, and one should order manuscripts from it as well. Ferreira lists the collections, supplies a description of each document and also notes whether the document/manuscript is the original or a copy. The collection covers the years 1522 to 1881, but the bulk of the materials relate to the seventeenth century, as can be seen by a perusal of the index of the five sections into which the catalogue is divided.

Among the approximately 100,000 pieces in Ajuda, are some very im-

portant nuclei of sixteenth century works; 5,000 manuscripts *not* of an archival nature; 500 cartographs especially valuable for the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Portuguese colonies; and a number of *manuscritos iluminatos* specifically referring to Brazil. The collections which possess documents of major importance for Brazilian history are:

- 1. Governo de Portugal: documents of the Portuguese and Spanish empires from the end of the sixteenth century.
- 2. Cartas dos Governadores da India, Africa e Brasil: documentation from the sixteenth century.
- 3. Conselho da India: seventeenth-century records with occasional references to Brazil.
- 4. Conselho da Fazenda: documents from the end of the seventeenth century.38
- Correspondencia: letters and reports of various individuals which concern the Restoration, some of which discuss the implications for the overseas territories.

In addition to the above-mentioned catalogue, there is also a subject index of the entire manuscript collection compiled by Cardozo de Bethencourt, a typescript copy of which is kept in the reading room in Ajuda. The headings are very general and reference is given only to volumes, so it takes time to locate the items and one may find that much is missing. There is also a card index far more detailed than Bethencourt's, but it lacks a rule for headings—some are geographical, some personal.

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO DO MINISTÉRIO DAS FINANÇAS39

Hours: 9:00 to noon and 2:00 to 5:30 p.m., Monday through Friday; 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., Saturday; closed Sundays and public holidays.

Permission needed: A letter of introduction from the investigator's embassy or from Portuguese fellowship foundation.⁴⁰

Director: Dr. João Duarte Carvalho.

A small but important center of research is the AHMF, created in 1937 from a number of extinct services, and bearing on the financial affairs of the Empire, e.g., the *Archivo da Direcção-Geral da Fazenda Publica*. As such it is an invaluable and rarely-used font for the economic and social life of Portugal and her overseas colonies. Anyone who intends to undertake research on the two celebrated Pombal companies—Companhias Gerais do Commércio e Navegação⁴¹—certainly should consult the AHMF. It possesses one of the major nuclei of documents for the Pombaline companies, as well as information bearing on Portuguese and Brazilian social and economic history. This collection is also important for the study of the foundation of aldeias with Negro slaves

and the import/export trade between Portugal and her overseas colonies. The Arquivo is divided into three sections:

- 1. The Arquivo dos Próprios Nacionáis, containing materials from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, and also divided into three parts:
 - a. Records of various groups such as the Cartório da Ordem de Malta; Cartório do Tribunal das Capelas da Carõa;
 - b. Records of suppressed or extinct convents;
 - c. Military orders; padrões (patterns, models, standard criterion); a large number of pergaminhos (vellum or parchment).
- 2. Materials relative to the Casa Real in four parts:
 - b. Administração da Fazenda da Casa Real, whose holdings are pre-1883, with especially heavy emphasis on the second half of the eighteenth century.
 - b. Administração da Casa Real, holdings from 1835 to 1910; also some plantas (plans) of diverse Reais Paços e Propriedades from the end of the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century; and the cartorios of Pombal companies which relate to the Casa Real.
 - d. Pombal's Companhias Gerais do Commercio e Navagação da Pará e Maranhão (1775 to 1908) for which there are three nuclei of documents; the Companhias Gerais da Pernambuco e Paraíba (1766 to 1887); and the Junta da Liquidação of the second company (1833 to 1904). In addition there are 150 maços of various documents, correspondence, and inventarios referring to the administration of the two commercial companies.
- 3. Section three of the collection contains:
 - a. Libros dos Cartorios das Repartições, inclusive of the years 1833 to 1862;
 - b. Listas das bens (properties) and foros (quit-rents); Cartas de arrematação (auction sales) and Rostos de Listas;
 - c. Inventários, relações and various processos debens, which deal mainly with publication administration post-1834, such as the Tribunal do Tesouro and Junta do Credito Publico and Próprios Nacionais (1833 to 1862). In addition, this section included under Incorporações e Depositos (1602 and 1922) fourteen different collections, especially deposits from important private archives.

OTHER ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES IN LISBON

The six institutions discussed above are those which contain the most pertinent materials for the study of Brazilian history, but there are a number of smaller, lesser known, and seldom utilized archives and libraries in Lisbon. These institutions are usually not as well organized and do not receive as much monetary attention from the state; consequently few of the collections are well catalogued.⁴² A decision to work in some of these institutions will most likely

depend on time available, although all contain scattered materials pertinent to Brazilian history.⁴³

ACM (ARQUIVO DA CASA DA MOEDA)

This archive contains materials for the economic, financial and monetary history of Portugal and the Empire. It has two sections of collections, one with documents from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, both of which consist of contracts, privileges, and books of *entradas* (entry books) of gold and silver currencies. There are accounts for the sixteenth to the nineteenth century as well as correspondence, nominations, essays and letters for the same period.

ADDAE (ARQUIVO DE DESENHOS DE DIRECÇÃO DA ARMA DE ENSENHARIA)

The particular feature here are the more than 15,000 maps and other objects of cartographic interest, inclusive of Brazil.⁴⁴

AFF (ARQUIVO DOS FEITOS FINDOS)

Annexed to the ANTT by the decree of 1915, the AFF houses the Relações of Lisbon. It is the successor to the Casa da Suplição and has collections of the cartories dos crimes (registries or solicitor's offices reports on crime); Misericordia; Justificações do Reino; Nunciatura; India e Mina; and the Registos Paroquiais. It contains documents on the Companhia do Grão Pará e Maranhão, some of special interest, others more general. The documents in this archive are not separated, so those pertaining to Brazil are mixed in with others referring to the overseas provinces, such as books on bankrupt commercial houses. There are indices of names in alphabetical order and the contents appear quite valuable for social and economic history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

agal (arquivo geral da alfandega de lisboa)

Among the many institutions affected by the earthquake of 1755 this archive suffered a great deal of damage, but still retains some codices and documents avulsos of the different sections from which it was composed, i.e., the Alfandegas of each province/district of the country from the sixteenth century. It also has some interesting documents from the Alfandega de Setubal and the sixteenth to the nineteenth-century Casa da India.⁴⁵ In all it contains about 771 manuscripts, chiefly concerning the military orders, alvarás (royal decrees), money, and ships for the overseas territories as well as Portugal.

AGM (ARQUIVO GERAL DA MARINHA)

The documents here are particularly interesting for a study of the marine service in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are, however, some nuclei of documents, especially those of the Departmento Maritimo do Norte, Livros de registro de listas da tripulação (of crews) and the terms of finances for ships for Brazil (1713 to 1826).

AGMOP (ARQUIVO GERAL DO MINISTÉRIO DAS OBRAS PUBLICAS) 46

Not only is this archive one of the most pleasant in which to work, but it also has a few small, significant collections for the study of Brazilian history. Located in a corner of the Praça do Commercio (Terreiro do Paço), and completely modernized in equipment and facilities, the archive is now under the direction of the able and immensely helpful Dr. M. A. Nunes Costa. His article, "Nucleos do Arquivo Geral do Ministério das Obras Publicas," is a good guide to the materials available here.⁴⁷

The complete holdings have been typed on cards with full entries and have been indexed according to collection.⁴⁸ The cartórios or fragments of cartórios provide a valuable fund for the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries and there is a small but useful nucleus of documents (1757 to 1831) for the study of the two Pombaline companies. A significant collection of documents relative to the Junta do Comércio is housed here with close to 200 maços and about 150 codices of documents for the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

AHM (ARQUIVO HISTORICO MILITAR)

Created in 1911, it has some items from the sixteenth cenutry, but deals mainly with 1605 to the present. Documents from the old Arquivo Geral do Ministério da Guerra are housed here and are heavy on wars and political-military events from the sevententh to the twentieth century. The materials are in three sections: the first contains documentation on the military campaigns, war, and skirmishes in Portugal (1762 to 1919). The second section has two parts, the first of which retains documents on expeditions and campaigns in the Portuguese colonies from 1815 to 1918, but does not include Brazil. The other part of this section, however, contains documents on Brazil from the seventeenth century until 1824, as well as maps of Brazil in the nineteenth century. Section three includes records of general military matters, i.e., clothes, hospitals, and the like.

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AHNME (ARCHIVO E BIBLIOTECA DO MINISTÉRIO DOS NEGOCIOS ESTRANGEIROS)

Address: Largo de Rilvas, Lisboa.

Hours: 9:00 a.m. to noon and 2:00 to 5:00 p.m., except Sundays and public holidays.

Permission needed: Official permission from the Secretary-General of the Foreign office.)

This is an important depository for documents relative to diplomatic, political and economic history, although some of its materials are now in the ANTT. The codices and caixas are classified chronologically under the number of section headings. The documents of the *Arquivo do Estado* section has a date limit of 1833 and is divided into four nuclei:

- 1. Processos: reports or questions on diplomatic matters.
- 2. Correspondence of Portuguese diplomats and consuls, as well as foreign diplomatic correspondence to Portugal.
- 3. Registos: documents despatched by the Secretary of State to other countries.
- 4. Avulsos and diverse correspondence for:
 - a. 1668 to 1834, including letters and materials on the Jesuits in America; demarcations in America, and other miscellaneous notices concerning America.
 - b. Caixas of diplomatic correspondence according to Portuguese legations and mainly concerned with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
 - c. Registos: pre-1883 despatches with a number of documents of special reference to Brazil.
 - d. Avulsa correspondence, 1668 to 1833. The rest of the large amount of materials here are dated from 1851 and are extremely difficult to consult.⁵¹

AMIPL (ARQUIVO DA MITRA E IGRE JA PATRIARCAIS DE LISBOA)

This archive does have some importance for overseas affairs and possesses a large number of documents, mainly post-1755, which bear heavily on both ecclesiastical and civil history. There are records of estates, registers, and other secular documentation.

ATC (ARQUIVO DO TRIBUNAL DE CONTAS)

Although this archive is mainly concerned with Portugal, the materials here contain much that is applicable to the Empire as a whole, especially documents in the second section. L. B. S. L. Guerra and M. M. Ferreira's Catálogo do Arquivo do Tribunal de Contas, Casa dos Contos a Junta da Inconfidencia (Lisboa, 1950), is a good guide to the holdings here. The collections are of

major importance for any financial/economic history of greater Portugal for the sixteenth to the twentieth century and the documentation is divided into four sections:

- 1. Casa dos Contos: complete records for 1630 to 1770.
- 2. Junta de Inconfidencia: This is the most important collection for Brazilianists. It contains registries and documents from solicitors' offices and is of particular interest for a history of the Jesuits in Portugal, Brazil, Africa, and India. In addition, it is significant for any historical study of the properties of the houses (casas) de Aveiro, Tevora, Atougia, and any other number of families who fell from royal favor. There are also included in this section species of sixteenth- and eighteenth-century documents for general matters relative to those times, and copies of pre-sixteenth-century documents.
- 3. *Real Erario*: The fundamental nucleus of the archbishopric (1761 to 1834) which is itself divided into thirteen parts.
- 4. This section is unnamed but contains five nuclei of documents on doações, merces (rewards), alvaras from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.

BACL (BIBLIOTECA DA ACADEMIA DAS CIENCIAS DE LISBOA) 52

Address: 19, Rua da Academia das Ciencias.

Hours: 9:30 a.m. to noon and 2:15 to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

A small archive in a select institution, BACL counts among its achievements a large-scale publications program. Founded in 1779 under royal patronage, it is one of the best organized libraries in Portugal. The Academy has two sections: the smaller one devoted to manuscripts, the other section housing a rather extensive collection of ancient and modern editions.

In the first section are two series of manuscripts: 1) of 1,936 codices bound in blue which are acquisitions of the academy; and 2) 950 codices bound in red, taken from the Franciscan Convent in whose building the BACL is now housed. The manuscripts in the two nuclei include:

- 1. Manuscripts from the library of the Convent of Nossa Senhor de Jesus, both copies and originals for the sixteenth- to the eighteenth-century documents. Its correspondence to and from overseas missions is also included.
- 2. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents with the species relative to Brazil being the official correspondence from Rio de Janeiro in 1829–1830; various documents relative to the Treaty of Paris; and delimitations on proceedings with French Guiana. Manuscripts are catalogued on slips bound in four volumes in alphabetical order (A-Co; Co-Lac; Lac-Pro; Pro-Z).

There are a few additional codices of the *Livro des Armadas*, sixteenth century, and a large number of uncatalogued documents, still inaccessible. In

total, 300,000 species are at the BACL, of which 5,000 are Reservados (4,000 manuscripts and 1,000 printed). The Academy also possesses an extensive selection of important foreign publications.

BAAN (BIBLIOTECA E ARQUIVO DA ASSEMBLEIA NACIONAL) 53

The library and archive of the national assembly do have collections regarding international issues and events. The materials here deal mainly with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and are:

- 1. Assembleias eleitorais: reports of the electoral assemblies (1821 to 1925).
- 2. Câmara dos Deputados do Regime Monarquico: The Chamber of Deputies proceedings during the regime of the monarchy (1821 to 1910).
- 3. Câmara dos Dignos Pares do Reino: The Chamber of Lords of the kingdom proceedings (1826-1910).
- 4. Câmara dos Dignos Pares do Reino Constituida em Tribunal de Justicia.
- 5. Congresso da Republica: Proceedings of the Congress of the Republic (1911 to 1925).
- 6. Processos: Legislative proceedings of the Assembly (1935 to 1938).

In addition to the above, there is also a vast collection of parliamentary records.

The holdings of the BAAN are important for the student of Brazilian diplomatic history or other topics which involve intercourse between the two nations. Portugal evinced constant concern for the affairs of her ex-colony and various subjects pertaining to Brazil are found in the legislative records.

BSG (BIBLIOTECA DE SOCIEDADE DA GEOGRAFIA)

Address: Rua das Portas de Santo Antão 100, Lisboa.

Hours: 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. and 3:00 to 7:30 p.m., Monday through Friday; 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., Saturdays; closed on Sundays and public holidays. No specific permission needed.

Founded in 1875, the Society's library has a small but well-organized manuscript collection which, with rare books, are classified as Reservados. Legislative records and diplomatic correspondence establish this library as an important repository for the student of 19th century Brazil. All the materials here are catalogued by subject, title, and author.

A full discussion of the private archives and libraries in Lisbon might require an article, but I would like to comment on them briefly. Some of the more important private archives belong to the Casas de Duques do Palmela; Casa de Lafões; Casas dos marqueses de Fronteira; Casa de Abrantes; Casa de

Ponte de Lima; Casa de Rio Maior; Casa de Alegrete; Casa de conde de Sabugosa de Murca. Those archives belong to families whose roots extend deep into the Portuguese colonial past and whose services, either of a private or public nature, were lynchpins of the Empire.

A few family archives have particular relevance for Brazil. The Casa de Cadavál (1638 to 1725), contains thousands of documents with vellums that date from the fifteenth century. Another important collection is the *Arquivo da Familia Albuquerque de Melo Pereira e Caceres*, especially the documents concerning Luis de Albuquerque de Melo Pereira e Caceres, governor and captain-general of the Capitania of Matto Grosso and Cuiabá from 1771 to 1790. The holdings include manuscripts and maps relative to that captaincy, plus the 361 codices of the Familia Linhares, which are extremely significant for the late colonial period in Brazil. There is no set pattern to obtaining access to these archives, although friendly contacts may help, as do letters of recommendation from well-placed officials.

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES OUTSIDE LISBON

Relatively few people engaged in research on colonial Brazil may travel beyond the limits of Lisbon, but for those who want to audit the resources available in other cities of the peninsula, a trip north, to Lisbon's rival port, the city of Oporto and to the ancient university city of Coimbra, is in order.

The ancient city of Coimbra, which lies 200 kilometers north of Lisbon, is the home of one of the oldest universities of Europe. Most of the library of the university is housed in a modern building, but a portion of its collection is retained in the more antiquated original building. The library is open daily from 9:00 a.m. to noon, and from 2:00 to 6:30 p.m., and, during the academic sessions, also from 8:00 to 11:00 p.m. Under the direction of Dr. M. Lopes de Almeida, Coimbra's library houses an impressive million-plus books, as well as a small manuscript collection in 3,050 codices. The manuscripts tend more toward legal than historical information. The document collection has been completely catalogued and published as supplements to the Boletim da Biblioteca de Universidade de Coimbra. One of the supplementary volumes is hte Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra Relativos ao Brazil (Coimbra, 1941, in Extractos do Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra by Francisco Morais, Conservador do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros).

The largest part of this nucleus on Portugal in America, and the most important of its kind in Coimbra, consists of the five volumes of the Rellação da Bahia, libros de registo de proviscoes, regimentos, in Codices Nos. 706 707,

708, 709, and 710.⁵⁷ In addition, Codice No. 554, covers a large number of documents from February 1720 to June 1737, on the Fazenda, the Junta Comercio, and the Casa da Moeda de Minas. Codices Nos. 452 and 466 have several documents and a large number of miscellaneous items relative to Brazil. There are some documents relative to the Pombaline reforms in Brazil and other manuscripts on the Pombaline companies in general.

The Arquivo Municipal de Coimbra (AMC), now a part of the Biblioteca Municipal, contains materials primarily on local affairs. However, one should consult the Roteiro dos Manuscritos do Arquivo Municipal de Coimbra (Coimbra, Edição da Camara Municipal, 1964, by Jose Branquinho de Carvalho and Armando Carneiro da Silva).

Slightly more than 100 kilometers to the north of Coimbra lies Porto, capital of the "north country." Porto today, as the traditional rival of Lisbon, is the second city of the Empire, and prominent as the commercial center for the wines of its Douro river provinces. Commensurate with its position as a seaport and commercial center, Porto's archives and libraries contain good documentary colections, albeit the heaviest concentration is on local issues and provincial history. The Biblioteca Publica Municipal do Porto (Address: Rua Barão S. Cosme; Hours: 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. and 8:00 to 11:00 p.m., Monday through Friday), has a manuscript collection of 2,037 cordices described in the general Catálogo da Biblioteca Publica Municipal do Porto— Indice prepatorio do Catálogo dos Manuscritos, which appeared in ten parts from 1880 to 1896.58 The library also possesses a fairly large collection of "materials on Brazil, particularly concerned with colonial trade and navigation."59 Out of the first "Congresso da Historia da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo, 5 secção," came the Catálogo dos Manuscritos Ultramarinos da Biblioteca Publica Municipal do Porto (Lisboa, 1938), which lists, in three Series, the collections pertaining to Asia, Africa, and Brazil (Portuguese America). Each codice (or pasta, of which there are few) is listed with the century; description of contents; number of folios; full pages/blanks, size and lines; then detailed descriptions of each, or of each folio, relative to the subject; the first sentence is also given. The number of documents on Brazil is equal to twice the total for Asia and Africa combined. There is much here for the geographer. Of the few pastas, Nos. 19, 24 and 25 are excellent sources on the geography for all the Brazilian provinces, particularly as they were in the eighteenth century.

The Arquivo da Câmara Municipal do Porto (ACMP) is one of the richest and most important in Portugal. In the Boletim de Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, P. Ernesto Donato, Volumes IX (p. 351), X (p. 322), and XI (p. 97) is an index of old documents in the ACMP: for example the

Livros de actas das sessoes camaras since 1390; eight livros do pergaminhos from about 1300; and a number of others from the fourteenth century on. Of further interest may be the Arquivo de Misericordia do Porto, with materials from the late fifteenth century. An Inventario Geral, scarcely complete, was prepared by one Sousa Couto in 1852.

Coimbra and Porto safeguard the best collections outside of Lisbon but there are documentary collections scattered throughout Portugal. The Ministério da Educação Nacional, Divisão das Bibliotecas e Arquivos (see n. 43) keeps current an unpublished list of each resource facility throughout the Empire, and enumerates 51 general types of research centers. These include parliamentary and administrative libraries; the archives of various national, provincial, and city departments (communication, transportation, economic, finance, army, navy, justice, foreign affairs, health), as well as prisons, veterinary services, and the like. University faculties are included as those of every town; boys' and girls' schools; associations; police and fire departments, technical schools and societies. There is also a section on the collections of the archives and libraries in the overseas provinces. The catalogue is at the Secretariat and access to it is easy, through the director or his assistant, but the catalog lists only the centers; it does not describe collections.

Officials outside of Lisbon do not seem so concerned as to one's business/ research subjects; consequently there is little call for official identification, judging by my experience in Coimbra, Porto and other district archives. These *Arquivos Distritais Portugueses*, incidentally, are pleasant to work in. Since July 27, 1931 (Decree Nos. 19 and 952), the library and archive service has been undergoing reorganization, which sometimes causes confusion of location, contents of collections, and the like, but otherwise provides some enjoyable adventures. Some of the more important provincial archives which contain scattered materials on Brazil are noted below.

BPADE (BIBLIOTECA PUBLICA E ARQUIVO DISTRITAL DE EVORA)

(Address: Largo do Conde de Vila Flora, Evora). Evora is a lovely old city in the center of the vast and fertile plains of the Alentejo, 154 kilometers east of Lisbon. Its archive/library is small but does contain some documents relative to Brazil, which can be found in the Catálogo dos Manuscritos da Biblioteca Publica Eborense, Tomo I: Que comprehende a noticia dos codices e papeis relativos as cousas da America, Africa, e Asia (Lisboa, 1850) by Joaquim H. da Cunha Rivera.

BPB (BIBLIOTECA PUBLICA DE BRAGA)

Braga, which lies 53 kilometers north of Porto, was founded by the

Romans and for more than 1,000 years retained a reputation as one of the religious centers of the peninsula. The archive in Braga was annexed to the library by the decree of 1931, and was then reorganized. Most of its more than 10,000 manuscripts deal with local matters, although it does have a few documents which are concerned with overseas matters. The most important is Manuscript No. 779, which is a precious collection of letters on Ethiopia and parts of Africa and America.

BPPD (BIBLIOTECA PUBLICA DE PONTA DELGADA)

Situated in the Azores, this library houses much documentation for Portuguese discoveries, for Portuguese America and Africa, and for the Azores.

Other archives and libraries scattered throughout Portugal may be of some use, especially in the city of Faro, in the Algarve, and in the southern district of Portugal.⁶⁰

SOME PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

The mere existence of materials does not guarantee easy access to them. In addition to the common problems of limited budgets, inadequate or antiquated facilities, and poorly trained professional personnel, which plague many European research centers, there is in Portugal the additional pitfall of government intervention into projects challenging the fixed views of the "Estado Novo." In this light, all letters of introduction, especially for the ANTT and the BNL, should express interest solely in Brazil. Any deviation (particularly interest in Portuguese Africa) can cause unwanted delays.

Scholars should expect to find many documents in a lamentable state of preservation caused by centuries of exposure to mice, ants, worms and weather. Inconveniences such as the prohibition of typewriters and the lack of central heating during the chilling winter months can be overcome with adequate mental and physical preparation. The most serious drawback may well be the lack of microfilm facilities. Only the AHU and the Filmoteca provide complete service. It is possible to engage a private photographer or, occasionally, to do the filming oneself, but in either case formal application must be made well in advance.

A letter of recommendation, a prerequisite for study in most of the research institutions, may be obtained from the cultural attaché of one's embassy. Because of the political sensitivity of the government, such a letter should state explicitly the geographic area, time period, and specific topic intended for research. As of this writing, only the BNL requires a passport and photos, but it is always wise to have such documentation on first visits. It is helpful to

know the schedules of the various archives (these often change for summer months) but, generally speaking, the national and municipal libraries maintain the longest hours while other archives are usually open only in the afternoon. Although state, religious, and university collections are easily accessible, private collections and family archives—some of considerable size—are never open to the public, often very difficult to consult, and frequently uncatalogued.

Only recently have the Portuguese begun to complement their documental collections with a growing concern for classification, cataloguing, and publication of guides and documentary volumes. ⁶¹ But despite the impediments to research which I have noted, Portugal remains a documentary workshop and cultural storehouse of immense historical significance.

NOTES

- 1. Gwendolin B. Cobb, in her article, "Bancroft Library Microfilm: Portugal and her Empire," HAHR, XXXIV (February 1954), 114–125, had discussed the "growing interest in things Luso-Brazilian" which, for a long time, had been ignored by all but Portuguese scholars.
- 2. See Fernando da Silva Correia, Origens e formação das misericordias (Lisboa, 1944).
- 3. See Harold Livermore, A History of Portugal (Oxford, 1940), and Livermore (ed.), Portugal and Brazil (Oxford, 1953), for descriptions of the earthquake destruction. According to the writings of numerous Europeans of the time, the quake served not only to destroy Lisbon, but also to encourage cynical assessment of man's values and abilities.
- 4. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, cited hereinafter as AHU. The predecessor, the Arquivo Histórico Colonial, will be cited hereinafter as AHC.
- 5. The Belem district is one of the most famous and interesting areas in Portugal. It was from this quarter along the Tagus that much of Portuguese maritime history was made. Both the Tower and the Monastery are symbols of the Age of Discoverers and are built in distinctive Manuelin style.
- 6. In a personal communiqué from Dr. Iría, whom I would like to thank for the courtesies he extended to me at the AHU.
- 7. The Conselho Ultramarino and the Arquivo da Marinha are cited hereinafter as Conselho and AM respectively.
- 8. The series included: A Exploração do Atlantico; O Imperio do Oriente; O Imperio de Marrocos; O Imperio Africano; Providencias Governaturas (which combined general legislation with special interest for the history of Portuguese overseas expansion).
- 9. The Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, cited hereinafter as BNL.
- 10. Pages 6-15 contain descriptions of microfilm funds of the AHU; see also pp. 58-59, 81-93.
- 11. The first, and abortive, attempt to create a Conselho occurred during the Spanish "captivity" when the administrative agency, the Conselho da India, was created in 1604, and patterned after the Consejo de Indias. Within eight years the Conselho da India was moribund. The imposing Conselho Ultramarino was finally resurrected on July 14, 1643, by decree of João IV, in order to invest responsibilities for the overseas provinces, which hitherto had been divided among many tribunals and sections preoccupied with other matters, into a single

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body. The administrative reforms of 1736 placed it under the newly-created Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da a Dominios Ultramarinos, later remodeled into the Secretaria da Marinha e Ultramar by the Constitution of 1822. In 1910 the department became the Ministério da Marinha e Colónias and the following year was designated, simply, the Ministério das Colónias. (Its manuscripts at one time had been housed in the BNL.) The Arquivo de Conselho Ultramarino and the Arquivo do Ministério das Colónias are cited hereinafter as ACU and AMC, respectively.

- 12. The Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar and the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, cited hereinafter as AMU and ANTT, respectively.
- 13. Note also that the AHU is today a departmental archive which acquires current files of the Ministério das Colónias and its subordinate bodies after a 10-year lapse.
- 14. There is some overlapping between caixas because of attachment of documents and copies of documents, of an earlier date, to later correspondence. To change the documents and classify them in rigid chronological order would have taken them out of context.
- 15. Edited by E. de Castro e Almeida in Vols. 31, 32, 34, 36-37, 39, 46, 50 and 71 of the Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (Rio, 1913-1916).
- 16. Cobb, 119-123.
- 17. There is also a fifty-year rule which is waived only by ministerial authority.
- 18. See P. A. de Azevedo and A. Baiao, O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo. Sua Historia Corpos que o compoem e organização (Lisboa, 1905), and Eric Axelson, South-East Africa, 1488–1530 (London, 1940), Appendix V, for good historical coverage of the ANTT. I also wish to thank Dr. Pereira da Costa for his answers to a number of questions and for giving generously of his time.
- 19. The *Corpo Chronologico*, cited hereinafter as Corpo C. (Gwendolin Cobb, p. 118, overestimated the "very large collection (over 300,000 documents)." The number is considerably less, but the collection is still the largest and most important for overseas research.
- 20. The number of pages in maços is usually 400 to 800 pages, composed mainly of unsorted and unclassified manuscripts, poorly dated. Caixas contain 1200 to 1600 pages of manuscript, with each document filed in a separate folder with a date and an identifying title.
- 21. It was the practice of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century archivists to index documents in this manner.
- 22. The entire *Gavetas* have been published by the CEHU. All documents in them referring to overseas have been published in full; the documents that relate only to Portugal have merely been cited. It is the plan of the CEHU to publish the entire Corpo C according to the same scheme; see pp. 25–26 above and pp. 35–36 below.
- 23. Azevedo and Baiao, p. 37, cite 2,253 manuscript volumes.
- 24. These three sections contain a miscellany of documents which actually span a broad range of grants and privileges. I mention licenses, alms, etc., because they appear frequently.
- 25. All errors in this index were noted and corrected by Silva Marques in Index Indicum, p. 35.
- 26. The military orders were very prominent in the conquest of many overseas provinces. For a discussion of them and their records, see A. Baiao, "Algumas provenças de Torre do Tombo no Seculo XVI," Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos de Portugal, II (1916).
- 27. Desembargo do Paço was the name of the long-time supreme tribunal of the kingdom and gave its name to the collection of documents which contain its deliberations.

- 28. The Santo Oficio itself dates from 1536.
- 29. The processos de habilitações here refer to the genealogical listings of the various "candidates" in the different places where the Inquisition was established.
- 30. The BNL is in the process of moving to a new building near the bullring. The move was supposed to be completed by 1970. In the meantime, various collections have been closed to consultation until the transfers are finished.
- 31. The Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa and the Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, cited hereinafter as Filmoteca and CEHU respectively.
- 32. As cited in the publication sheet of the CEHU and noted by Fr. da Silva Rego in an interview with the author. I should like to thank him for giving his time, on many occasions, to discuss the Filmoteca with me.
- 33. The Gavetas da Torre de Tombo have been published in six volumes. The documents from Madrid, London, Simancas, and other places have been published as Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa, Vols. I to V; while Axelson has edited Documents on the Portuguese in Moçambique and Central Africa, in five volumes, with many more to come.
- 34. This appears in one volume, with the *Catálogo* section prepared by Dr. Maria de Lourdes Pinto do Souto, and the *Roteiro* by Dr. Maria Augusta Veiga e Sousa.
- 35. Institutions and individuals are welcome to order microfilms at the cost of 1½ Escudos (5¢) per frame, or a microcard (which contains up to 60 pages on a 4 x 6 film card) at 20 Escudos (or 75¢) per microcard.
- 36. Biblioteca da Ajuda da Lisboa, cited hereinafter as BAL.
- 37. A few catalogues on the various collections in Ajuda are being prepared by CEHU.
- 38. Much of this collection is housed in the ANTT.
- 39. The Arquiro Histórico do Ministério das Finanças, Lisboa, cited hereinafter as the AHMF.
- 40. To microfilm documents here one must obtain special permission from the Chefe Pessoa do Patrimonio, Direcção-Geral de Fazenda Publica, Ministério das Finanças.
- 41. The full names of both companies are: Companhia Geral do Commercio e Navegação de Pernambuco e Paraíba and the Companhia Geral do Commercio e Navegação da Pará e Maranhão.
- 42. Some of these archives are shunted from place to place, their possessions disarrayed, and their hours a matter of conjecture. Any aid in locating materials once in the archives, however, can be obtained from the functionaries, who are usually eager to oblige the researcher.
- 43. If one wishes to utilize the materials in these smaller institutions, obtain information on their location, hours, and current particulars from the Ministério de Educação Nacional, Divisão das Bibliotecas e Arquivos (ADDRESS: Campo dos Martíres da Patria, Lisboa). The Divisão keeps current all information of this nature. Both the Director, Dr. Luis Silveira, or his assistant director, Dr. Fernando Bandeira Ferreira, are helpful.

Briefly, the smaller archives and libraries include the Arquivo da Administração Militar, materials from 1641–1816; the Arquivo da Faculdade de Medicina de Lisboa, for Portuguese Empire medical history; the Arquivo Geral do Ministério do Interior; the Arquivo Geral do Ministério da Justica; the Arquivo do Governo Civil de Lisboa; the Arquivo Histórico Municipal (of the Camara Municipal, Lisboa) has some records such as those of oil commerce between Portugal and overseas territories (1626–1884); the Arquivo do Hospital de São

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- Jose; the Arquivo da Imprensa Nacional; the Arquivo da Junta do Credito Publico; the Arquivo da Misericordia de Lisboa; the Arquivo do Recolhimento de Lazaro Leitão; the Arquivo de São Vicente; the Arquivos de Confraries, Irmandades, Casas de Beneficencia e Igreja; and the Arquivos de Escola da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes.
- 44. For a good guide to the materials, see Dona Luisa da Fonseca's "Mapas e plantas do Brazil do Arquivo de Desenhos de Direcção da Arma de Engenharia," in the *Proceedings* . . ., I (1950), 224-234.
- 45. See Virginia Rau (1953), pp. 192-194, for a detailed list of the holdings.
- 46. The Arquivo Geral do Ministério das Obras Publicas, cited hereinafter as AGMOP.
- 47. In the Boletim Internacional Biblioteca Luso-Brasileira, IV (January/March 1963), pp. 115-164, Lisbon.
- 48. Some of the collections housed here have larger sections of documentation in the ANTT or AHU; in the case of the Junta do Comercio, the documentation is in the ANTT and AHMF.
- 49. Virginia Rau, in her article cited above, overestimated the amounts of material in the AGMOP; this was especially true for the documentation she noted for the Pombaline companies and the Junta do Comercio. Dr. Nunes Costa claims that the collection did not approach 270 maços; the cards on the subjject indicate slightly more than 30 full bundles. Reappraisal and cataloging of the materials has shown far fewer than the number previously assumed for the AGMOP. Still, the small nuclei on the Junta and the Companies are extremely valuable. Also, there are about 40 maços or codices of the Montaria Mordo Reino of the original nucleus of the civil government of Lisbon, as well as documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This collection is well indexed and has several annex codices. Very old documents from the Ministério das Obras Publicas, some from the eighteenth century, and others from the Ministério do Reino, are indexed on 71 note cards, with another 71 annex books also filed; several of the documents in this section also refer to the Pombal companies. There are, in addition, various ledgers and miscellaneous manuscripts.
- 50. For a detailed appraisal of this collection, see Henrique de Campos Ferreira Lima's "Documentos Manuscritos e cartograficos relativos ao Brazil que existem no Arquivo Histórico Militar," in Congresso do Mundo Portugues, XI, pp. 222-241.
- 51. Eric Axelson, in his introduction to *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, 1875–91 (Johannesburg, 1967), outlines the difficulties for the scholar of Portuguese overseas history relative to the Foreign Ministry.
- 52. The Biblioteca da Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa, cited hereinafter as the BACL.
- 53. The Biblioteca e Arquivo da Assembleia Nacional, cited hereinafter as the BAAN.
- 54. See Virginia Rau (ed.), Documentos Ineditos da Casa de Cadavál Relativo a Brasil, Vols. I and II (Coimbra, 1964 and 1966).
- 55. The Filmoteca has microfilmed all 361 codices of this collection.
- 56. The publications have appeared in fourteen supplementary *Boletims* from 1935 to 1967. Most have been edited by the present director, Dr. M. Lopes de Almeida.
- 57. Cobb, pp. 118, 124, notes that this collection was microfilmed by the Univ. of Coimbra for the Bancroft Library in 1954.
- 58. This old catalogue, issued in sections, gives summaries of one or more pages on each manu-

- script relative to Portuguese America. All the indices can be obtained at the main desk in the manuscript room.
- 59. See Cobb, pp. 118, 124–125, for a description of the documents she had microfilmed for the Bancroft.
- 60. Dr. Iría, Director of the AHU, has done much research on the Algarve. In this Da Navegação Portuguesa no Índico no Século XVII (Lisboa, 1963), he discusses documents of the AHU and Faro, most of which are unpublished and almost completely unknown.
- 61. One of the principal avenues for promotion of research in Portugal have been the Luso-Brazilian Colloquiums, which have been held with some regularity over the past 18 years. During the first conference, in Washington, D. C., at the Library of Congress (October 18–21, 1950), one of the sessions was devoted to the "instruments of scholarship." Charles Boxer's, "Some Considerations of Portuguese Colonial History," stressed the need for guides and documentary publications from archival records relating to Portuguese civilization and expansion, important for the history of Portugal as well as of Brazil. Virginia Rau's "Arquivos de Portugal: Lisboa," gave an account of the 25 or so archives in Lisbon, while Bailey Diffie's "Bibliography of the Principal Published Guides to Portuguese Archives and Libraries" fulfilled its purpose. All three of these significant articles can be found in the *Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies*, edited by A. Merchant (Nashville, 1953). See also Os Arquivos e as Bibliotecas em Portugal by Antonio Ferrao (Coimbra, 1920), and Instituções Cientificas, Literarias e Artisticas Portugueses (Lisboa, Centro de Documentação Cientifica, 1953).