

PORTUGUESE AMERICA AND HERITAGE SAFEGUARDING IN COLONIAL TIMES (1721-1822)

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this text is to map a body of practices and institutions related to safeguarding policies in Portugal and Brazil through extensive bibliographic and legal research. This research includes the issuing of the first Portuguese law directly regulating the preservation of Cultural Heritage in August 1721, the reconstruction of Lisbon, and the establishment of academies and museums. The growth of a shared scientific culture gained particular importance in Brazil during the period when the Portuguese Court resided in Rio de Janeiro, on the brink of independence in 1822. The text sheds light on a variety of sources, providing a foundation for new narratives in Portuguese-Brazilian heritage history.

KEYWORDS

Architecture | Cultural Heritage | Art | Portuguese Law

The concept of Cultural Heritage is neither universal nor static. Thus, since Brazil gained its independence from Portugal in 1822, talking about “Heritage safeguarding in colonial times” implies searching for multiple concepts, values, practices, and objects that preceded what is understood in that country today as *Patrimônio Cultural*, which were undoubtedly substantially different¹. The taste for classical Roman antiquities, for instance, can be tracked back to the late Middle Ages, and it was very much alive in 16th century intellectuals such as João de Barros (1496-1570) André de Resende (c.1500-1573) [fig.01]; Diogo Mendes de Vasconcelos (1523-1599), Damião de Góis (1502-1574); as well as in painters such as Francisco de Holanda (1517-1584) or later Félix da Costa (1639-1712) (Costa, 1967)². That historicist taste, so to speak, became a whole style much later named “Portuguese Plain Architecture” (Kubler, 1972).

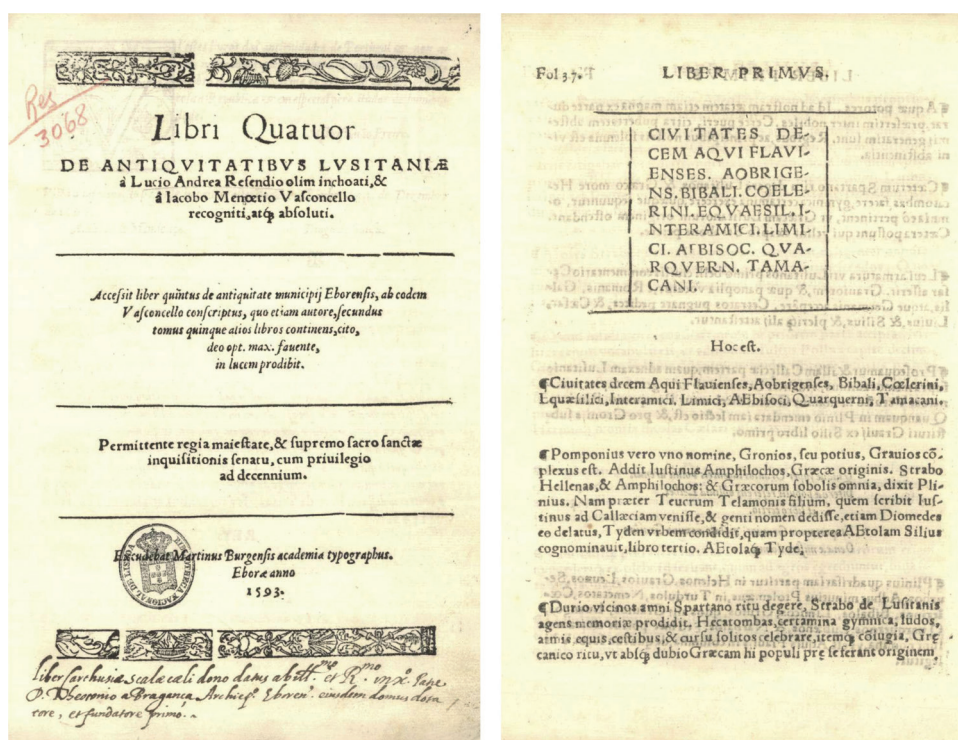


Fig. 01- André de Resende (c.1500-1573). *Libri Quatuor de antiqvitatibvs lvsitaniæ* [...]. Eboræ: Excudebat Martinus Burgensis, 1593. Title page and bk.1/fl.37 (source: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

1. The Ecclesiastical History, while undoubtedly connected to the preservation of Cultural Heritage, has its own distinct tradition that has been excluded from this study for the sake of concision and focus on civil public policies directly related to the subject. As a result, we will not discuss the regulations of the Canon Law or the contributions of historians such as Simão de Vasconcelos (1597-1671), João Filipe Bettendorff (1625-1698), Vicente do Salvador (1636-1639) or Monsenhor Pizarro (1753-1730).
2. *Libri Quatuor de antiqvitatibvs lvsitaniæ* à Lucio Andrea Resendio olim inchoati, & à Iacobo Menœtio Vasconcello recogniti atque absoluti. [...]. Excudebat Martinus Burgensis academia typographus. Eboræ anno 1593. *Libro das antiguidades e cousas notaveis de antre Douro e Minho, e de outras m[u]ltas de España e Portugal*. Por loão de Barros. Composto no an[no] de 1549. [manuscript] *Vrbis Olisiponis descriptio* per Damianvm Goem eqvitem lvsitanum, In qua obiter tractantur nō nulla de Indica navigatione, per Græcos, et Pænos et Lusitanos, diuersis temporibus inculcata. 1554. [Colophon:] Eboræ, apvd Andream Burgensem [...]. Mense octobri. 1554. Francisco de Holanda's manuscripts were published many times later, based on copies, from the 19th century on (i.e. Holanda, 1984).

In Portuguese America, printing was prohibited during colonial times, and those books today known as *classical treatises* (Lamers-Schütze, 2003) were scarce. Architectural culture primarily circulated through other literary genres, with the most prevalent being legal and religious texts (Macedo, 2017). The interest in Classical Antiquity was closely connected to the revival of classical Roman Law, which provided a solid conceptual foundation for the emerging national state. This development was driven by advancements in commerce and navigation technologies that supported colonial expansion. Therefore, the concept of legally reserving property for its memorial value was not entirely new to Portuguese legal scholars, as they were already familiar with the principles of Roman Law. For instance The *Codex Theodosianus* [Theodosian Code] (429-438) stated:

“all the buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments and that were constructed for the public use or pleasure shall not be destroyed by any person, and that it shall transpire that a judge who should decree that this be done shall be punished by the payment of fifty pounds of gold. If his apparitors and accountants should obey him when he so orders and should not resist him in any way by their own recommendation, they shall be subjected to the punishment of cudgeling, and they shall also be mutilated by the loss of their hands, through which the monuments of the ancients that should be preserved are desecrated” (Pharr et al., 2001: Nov. Maj 4.1).

THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE POST-EARTHQUAKE RECONSTRUCTION OF LISBON

In the Modern Age, the valuation and conservation of cultural heritage, meaning property of historical value, was instituted as a public policy by the Royal Decree [*Alvará*] of 20 August 1721, along with the creation of the Royal Academy of Portuguese Ecclesiastical and Secular History [*Academia Real da Historia Portugueza Ecclesiastica, e Secular*] [fig.02]. This seminal law aimed to protect Antiquities from ancient times, establishing that from them on:

“no person of any status, quality, or condition whatsoever shall destroy or demolish, in whole or in part, any building that shows to be from those times, even if partially ruined, and likewise statues, marbles, and gravestones, in which are sculpted some figures or have Phoenician, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arabic, or plates of any metal that contain the said inscriptions or characters, as well as medals or coins that show to be from those times, not even from the lower ones up to the reign of King Sebastian [1577-1578], nor cover up or conceal any of the above”³.

According to that Decree, anyone who damaged, destroyed or concealed the antiquities would be subject to the same penalties as those who melted coins, namely death. The City Councils were tasked with preserving these antiquities, reporting their existence to the Academy or sending it directly, if they were engraved metal plates. The Academy’s Director and Censors were responsible for their conservation. The numerous records of the conferences held in the Academy during the next 15 years indicate that this mechanism was put into practice to some extent from that time on.

3. “Hey por bem que daqui em diante nenhuma pessoa de qualquer estado, qualidade, e condiçãõ que seja, desfaça, ou destrua em todo, nem em parte qualquer edificio, que mostre ser daquelles tempos, ainda que em parte esteja arruinado, e da mesma sorte as Estatuas, Marmores, e Cippos, em que estiverem esculpidas algumas figuras, ou tiverem letreiros Fenices, Gregos, Romanos, Goticos, Arabicos, ou Laminas, ou Chapas de qualquer metal, que contiverem os ditos letreiros, ou caracteres, como outro sim Medalhas, ou Moedas, que mostrarem ser daquelles tempos, nem dos inferiores atè o reinado do Senhor Rey D. Sebastiaõ, nem encubraõ, ou occultem algũa das sobreditas”. [*Alvará* de 20 ago. 1721, “Dá providencias sobre a Academia da Historia Portugueza”, in: *Academia Real da Historia Portugueza*, 1721–1736: v. 1).

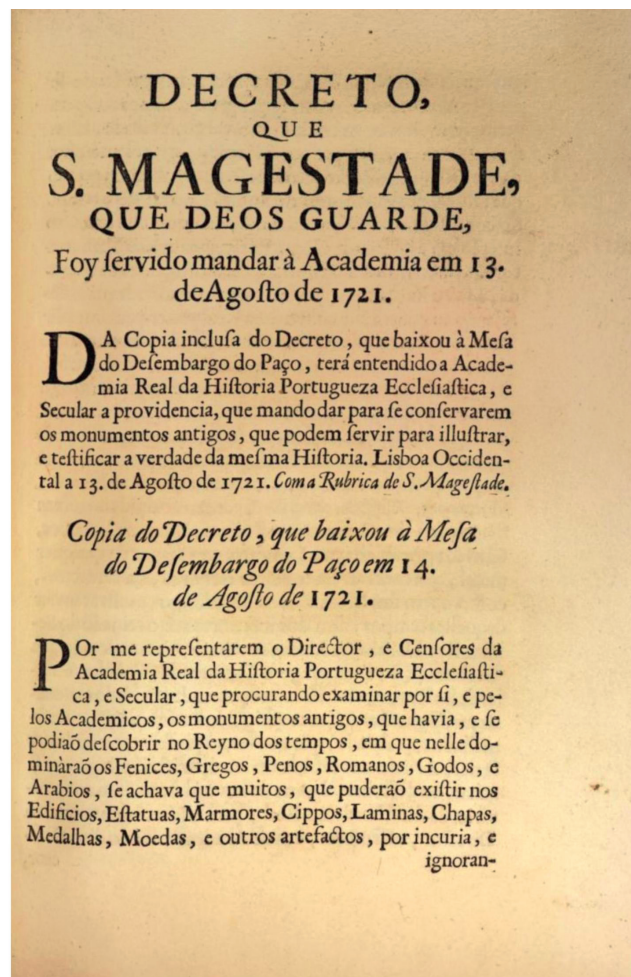
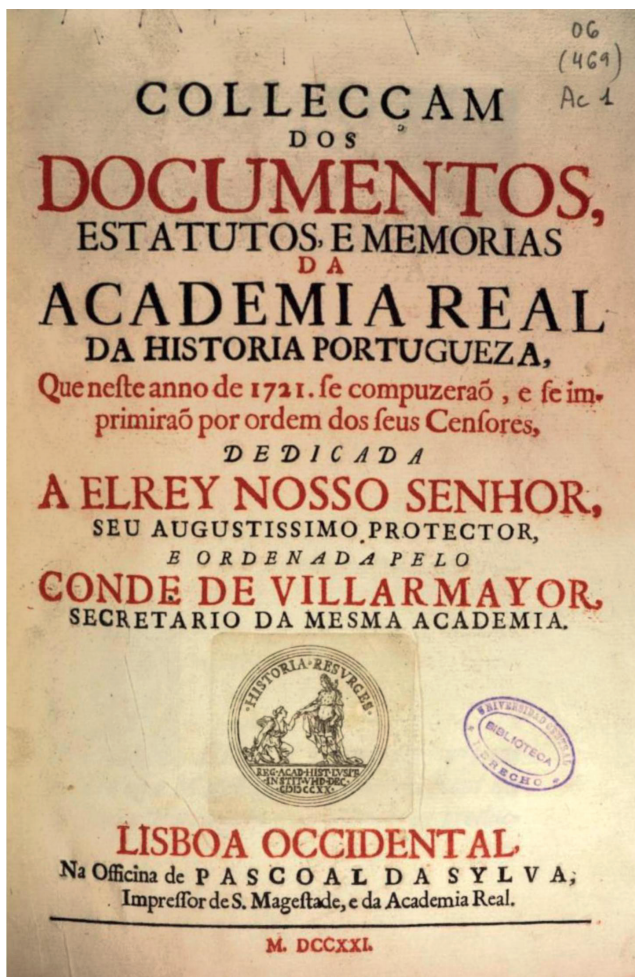


Fig. 02. *Collecçam dos documentos, estatutos, e memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza* [...]. Lisboa Occidental: Na officina de Pascoal da Sylva, 1721. Title page and "Alvará de 20 ago. 1721, Dá providencias sobre a Academia da Historia Portugueza" (source: Google Books; Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

The earthquake that devastated Lisbon on the 1 November 1755, followed by a tsunami and a fire, led to new developments in Portuguese architectural practice, especially regarding the preservation and restoration of remaining buildings and their relation to the new ones. For example, Mathias Ayres Ramos da Sylva de Eça (1705-1763), a Brazilian intellectual, wrote a book named *Problema de architectura civil*, which was published in 1770 by his son [fig.03]. The book addressed the question: "why ancient buildings had, and have more durability than modern ones? And why are the latter are less resistant to movement when earth trembles?". Eça's answer was relatively simple: "the reason ancient buildings last longer is that they were made of good materials, while modern buildings do not last as much because they are usually made of inappropriate materials"⁴. Preserving and restoring ancient construction techniques was therefore also a matter of survival.

An earthquake that occurred in the Madeira Islands on the 24 May 1614, had already required the approval of special legal measures⁵. However, nothing before or after the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake can be compared to the great effort of restoration, reconstruction, and renewal of the Portuguese metropolis. More than 35 regulations related to it were issued between 1755 and 1787. The first significant regulation issued a few weeks after the tragedy was the decree "Regulating the Plan of the Places and Houses in Lisbon"⁶, which ordered a detailed and extensive survey of the losses.

4. "O problema de Architectura Civil, que devemos resolver, e demonstrar, he o seguinte. Porque razaõ os edificios antigos tinhaõ, e tem mais duraçaõ que os modernos? e estes porque razaõ resistem menos ao movimento da terra quando treme? [...] a razaõ, porque os modernos não tem a mesma duraçaõ, he porque saõ cõmummente fabricados com materiaes improprios" (Eça, 1777: 1/1-8). See also: Macedo and Ficher, 2015].

5. Carta Régia, Providencias sobre reedificaçaõ da Villa da Praia, 31 maio.1615 (J. J. de A. e Silva, 1854-1859: 2/123).

6. Decreto de 29 nov. 1755, "Regulando o Plano das Praças e Casas de Lisboa" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/401).

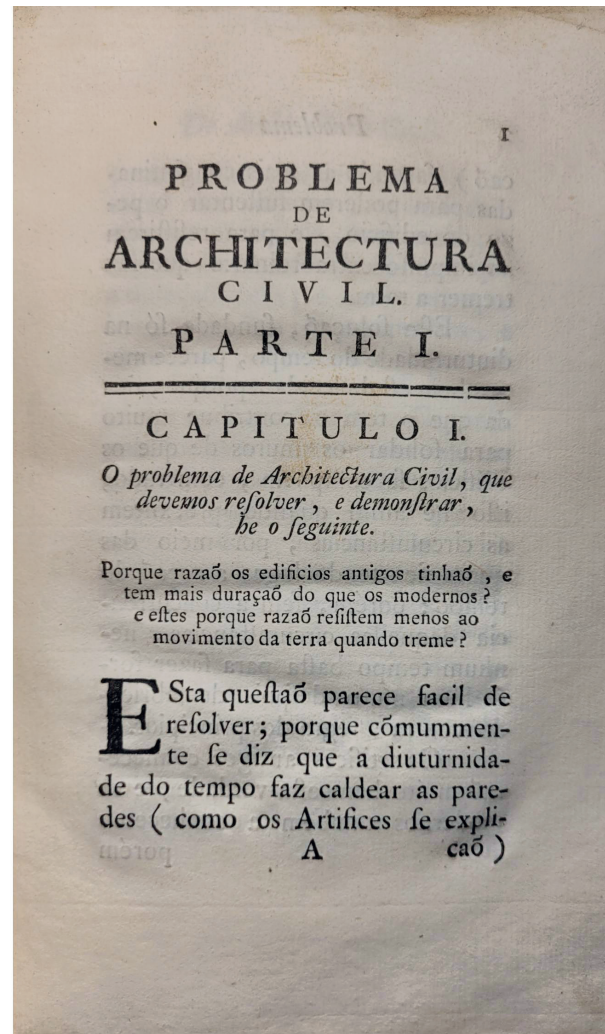
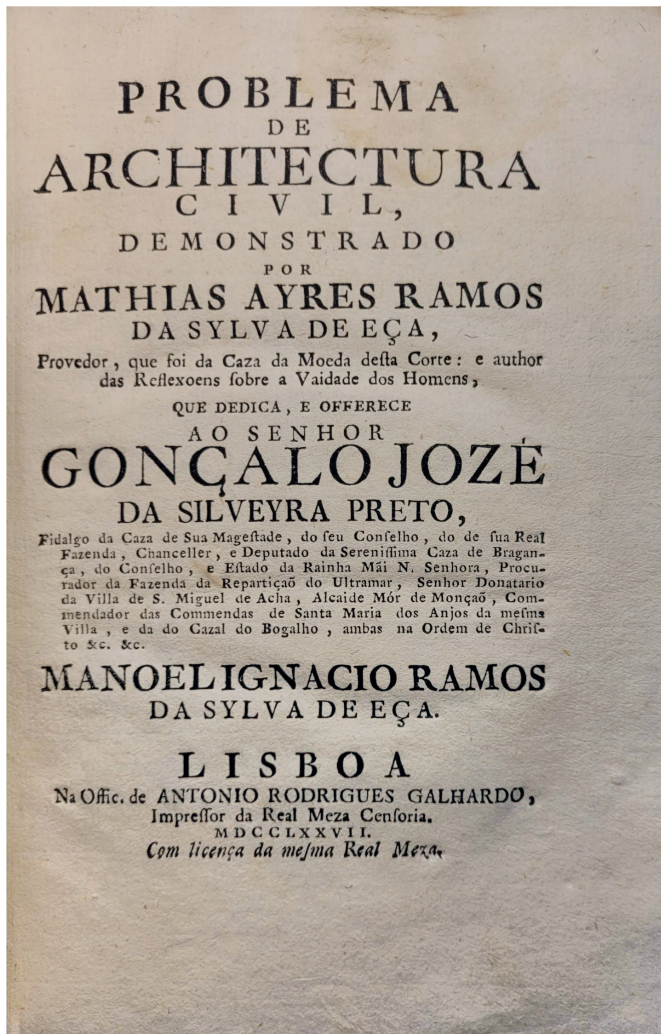


Fig. 03· Mathias Ayres Ramos da Silva de Eça (1705-1763). *Problema de architectura civil* [...]. 3ed. Lisboa: Na Offic. de Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo, 1777. [1ed. 1770] (source: author's collection).

Some safeguards were provided for the remaining assets with the Public Announcements of the House of Appeals "So that the pieces that may be found in the Fire are sent to the General Deposit", of 10 December 1755⁷; and "Prohibiting the construction of houses in Lisbon without completing the Land Registry and measurement of the burned ones", of 30 December 1755⁸. The experienced architect Manuel da Maya (1677-1768) immediately wrote his influential "Dissertations" on the reconstruction of the Capital (França, 1989: 16). The Prime Minister, Sebastião José de Melo, Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782), issued the decree "Regulating the reconstruction of the Town of Lisbon" issued only on 12 May, 1758⁹.

7. Edital da Casa da Supplicação de Lisboa de 10 dez. 1755, "Para que as peças que se encontrarem no incendio irem para o Deposito Geral" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/406).
8. Edital da Casa da Supplicação de Lisboa de 30 dez. 1755, "Prohibindo levantarem-se casas em Lisboa sem finalizar o Tombo, e medição das incendiadas" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/406). This Public Announcement was usually printed with the Aviso of April, 20th of 1759, *Acerca da reedificação da Cidade de Lisboa*.
9. Alvará de 12 maio 1758, "Regulando a reedificação da Cidade de Lisboa" (A. D. da Silva, 1825-1847: 1750-62/602; Sousa, 1785-1818: 4/265).

One of the greatest cultural treasures lost on the fire was the Royal Library, containing over 70,000 books, maps, manuscripts, and works of art gathered in three lavishly decorated rooms of the Palace of Ribeira, the Royal Palace facing the Tagus River (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 68-79), which was now reduced to rubble. King John V (1689-1750) had put forth a special effort to enhance the collection in every possible way, as a demonstration of a cultural power equivalent to the richness conveyed by the colonies. For the new king, Joseph I (1714-1777), and his powerful Prime Minister, Marquis of Pombal – an institutional beacon of the Portuguese Enlightenment –, to reconstruct the Royal Library was a matter of state as important as rebuilding Lisbon (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 117).

THE LIBRARY AND THE MUSEUM

Using as a new start point the preserved library at the Palace of Ajuda, in the surroundings of Lisbon, the Crown would promptly acquire large collections of books, such as the one gathered by the notorious bibliographer, the abbot Diogo Barbosa Machado (1668-1772). This intellectual, author of the monumental *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (1741-1759)¹⁰, was one of the former members of the then extinct Royal Academy of Portuguese History. Since 1771, the Portuguese Crown envisaged the opening of a public library subordinate to the newly created Royal Board of Censorship [*Real Meza Censória*], to which every book printed in Portugal or imported into its domains must then be submitted for approval.

However, it was only with the ascension of Queen Mary I (1734-1816) to the throne in 1777 that a truly enlightened state policy began to take shape. In 1779, her uncle, João Carlos de Bragança, Duke of Lafões (1719-1806), founded the *Real Academia de Sciencias de Lisboa* (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/37). For over a century, the academy served as the cornerstone of Portuguese science and culture, with its own press and a continuous production of scientific and historical research by its members, which were compiled *Collecções and Memórias*¹¹.

In 1781, the members of the Academy planned to create a National Museum in Lisbon. For this ambitious project, they published “Short instructions for the correspondents of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon on the shipments of products and news related to the History of Nature to form a National Museum”. This publication included valuable directions on the reports that should be made on the culture of countries “that may be in some way useful for improving the commerce and Arts”, including “serious examinations on the morale of the peoples that inhabit them”. This included studying aspects such as “Religion, Politics, Economy, Arts, Traditions etc.”.

Regarding Economy, they should refer to: 1º The way of educating children, the quality and form of their homes, and their common exercises; 2º Their food and how to prepare it, the material and style of their clothing; 3º The properties of their language and the form of its characters, if they use any type of writing.

Regarding the Arts, they should show: 1º The state of their agriculture, the uses and defects of their farming tools; 2º The way they hunt and fish; 3º The plants they use for sustenance, clothing, remedies, dyes, etc.; 4º The animals they employ for work and other domestic services; 5º The minerals they extract from the earth, the uses to which they apply them, and the way to reduce them to those uses; 6º The perfection or imperfection of the arts, crafts, and all kinds of industry and commerce existing in the country.

10. *Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Cronologica. Na qual se comprehende a noticia dos Autores Portuguezes, e das Obras, que compuserão desde o tempo da promulgaçã da Ley da Graça até o tempo prezente. Offerecida à Augusta Magestade de D. Joaõ V. Nosso Senhor por Diogo Barbosa Machado Ulyssiponense Abbade da Patriarchal Igreja de Santo Adriaõ de Sever, e Academico do Numero da Academia Real.* Tomo [I]. Lisboa Occidental: Na Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca Anno de M. D. CC. XXXI [1741-1759]. 4v.

11. For instance, the *Historia e Memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 12v., 1797-1839; *Memorias de Litteratura portugueza* 8v., 1792-1814; *Memorias Economicas para o adiantamento da agricultura, das artes e da industria portugueza*, 5v., 1789-1815 (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1865).

Regarding Traditions, they should examine: 1º Their origin, antiquity, universality, probability or extravagance; 2º The way to preserve and defend them; 3º If there is any kind of monument in the country, an accurate description of it shall be given. Finally, an idea of the best possible way of the customs of the peoples, whose knowledge may somehow influence the good of society, shall be provided¹².

A few years later, the Royal Museum of Natural History of Ajuda [*Real Museu de História Natural da Ajuda*] was effectively established. In 1791 Antonio das Neves Pereira (m.1818) was appointed as its Chief-Steward [*Guarda-Mór*] (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/121). Prior to its establishment, the scientist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (Bahia, 1756-1815), graduated in Coimbra, was already working on its collections between 1778 and 1783. During that time, Ferreira embarked on a ten-year “Philosophical Journey” to the Amazon and Center-West Brazil. In this expedition, he catalogued the fauna and the flora of that vast region, registering as well the agriculture and the ways of live of its native peoples in a truly anthropological study made in accordance to the Academy’s *Short instructions* (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/122). In Belém, Ferreira likely came into with Giuseppe Antonio Landi (1713-1791), an architect who had studied under Ferdinando Galli da Bibiena (1657-1743) at the Bolognese *Accademia Clementina*. Landi was highly knowledgeable about Italian architectural heritage and had published at least three albums on the subject¹³. In his “Philosophical Journey”, Ferreira reproduced some of Landi’s architectural projects for buildings in Northern Brazil, many of which involved interventions on preexisting or ongoing constructions (Ferreira, 1970-74) [fig.04].

On the other hand, those scientists were in touch with the latest European scientific and cultural developments. For example, the Brazilian intellectuals José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838), Manuel Ferreira da Câmara Bittencourt e Sá (1762-1835), Manuel de Arruda Câmara (1752-1810) and the Portuguese Joaquim Pedro Fragoso da Motta de Siqueira (1760-1833) traveled through Europe between 1790 and 1800 on a scientific travel through France, England, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Hungary, Italy and Turkey. They made contact with most of the scientists, mathematicians and probably artists of that time who attended the national Academies of those countries (Ribeiro et al., 1871-93: 2/128; Blake, 1883-1902: 6/31,75; I. F. da Silva, 1858-1923: 4/143). The Museum of Ajuda, along with its botanical garden, was directed by the Italian naturalist Domenico Vandelli (1730-1816), also a professor at the University of Coimbra.

12. *Breves instruções aos correspondentes da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa sobre as remessas dos produtos e noticias pertencentes à historia da natureza para formar hum Museo Nacional:*

“todas as observações, que tiverem feito sobre o fisico do paiz, serão bem acceitas, principalmente aquellas, que possão de algum modo ser uteis para o augmento do commercio e das Artes.

Para satisfazer a este importantissimo fim, que a Academia se propõe, não será menos conveniente, que os seus Correspondentes ajuntem ás noticias Geograficas do fisico do paiz todas as que puderem alcançar, depois de serios exames, relativas ao moral dos povos que o habitão.

E para observarem nesta relação a ordem, que em tudo he necessaria, poderão reduzir todas as noticias, que examinarem, a titulos diversos, preferindo sempre a divisão mais natural; v.g. Religião, Politica, Economica, Artes, Tradições, &c. Em quanto á Economica, devem referir 1º a maneira de educar os filhos, a qualidade e fórma de suas habitações, os seus mais communs exercicios; 2º os seus alimentos, e o modo de os preparar, a materia e feito de seus trajes 3º as propriedades da sua lingua, e fórma dos caracteres, se usarem de algum, genero de escritura. Em quanto ás Artes, mostrarão 1º o estado da sua agricultura, os usos e defeitos de seus instrumentos de lavoura; 2º o modo de fazerem as suas caças e pescas; 3º as plantas, de que se servem para sustento, vestido, remedios, tintas, &c.; 4º os animaes que empregão no trabalho, e em outros serviços domesticos; 5º os mineraes que extrahem da terra, os usos a que os applicão, e o modo de os reduzir a esses mesmos usos; 6º a perfeição ou imperfeição das artes, manufacturas, e de todo o genero de industria, e commercio que houver no paiz. Em quanto ás Tradições, devem examinar 1º a sua origem, antiguidade, universalidade, probabilidade ou extravagancia; 2º o modo de as conservar, e defender; 3º se no paiz houver algum genero de monumento, se dará delle huma exacta descripção. Finalmente dar-se-ha huma idéa do melhor modo possivel dos costumes dos Povos, cuja noticia possa influir de alguma sorte no Bem da Sociedade” (Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1781: 43–45).

13. *Racolta di alcune Facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più riguardevoli di Bologna.* In Bologna nella Stamperia di Lelio Dalla Volpe. Bologna: Stamperia di Lelio della Volpe, [1743].

Disegni di architettura tratti lo più da fabbriche antiche e intagliate da G. L.. [Bologna]: [1746].

Alcune prospettive diseguate ed intagliate da Giuseppe Antonio Landi e dal medesimo dedicate alla gloriosa Madre Sant’Anna sua particolare avocata. [1750]. See also: Mendonça, 2003; Macedo, 2017: 1743/1, 1746/1, 1750/1.

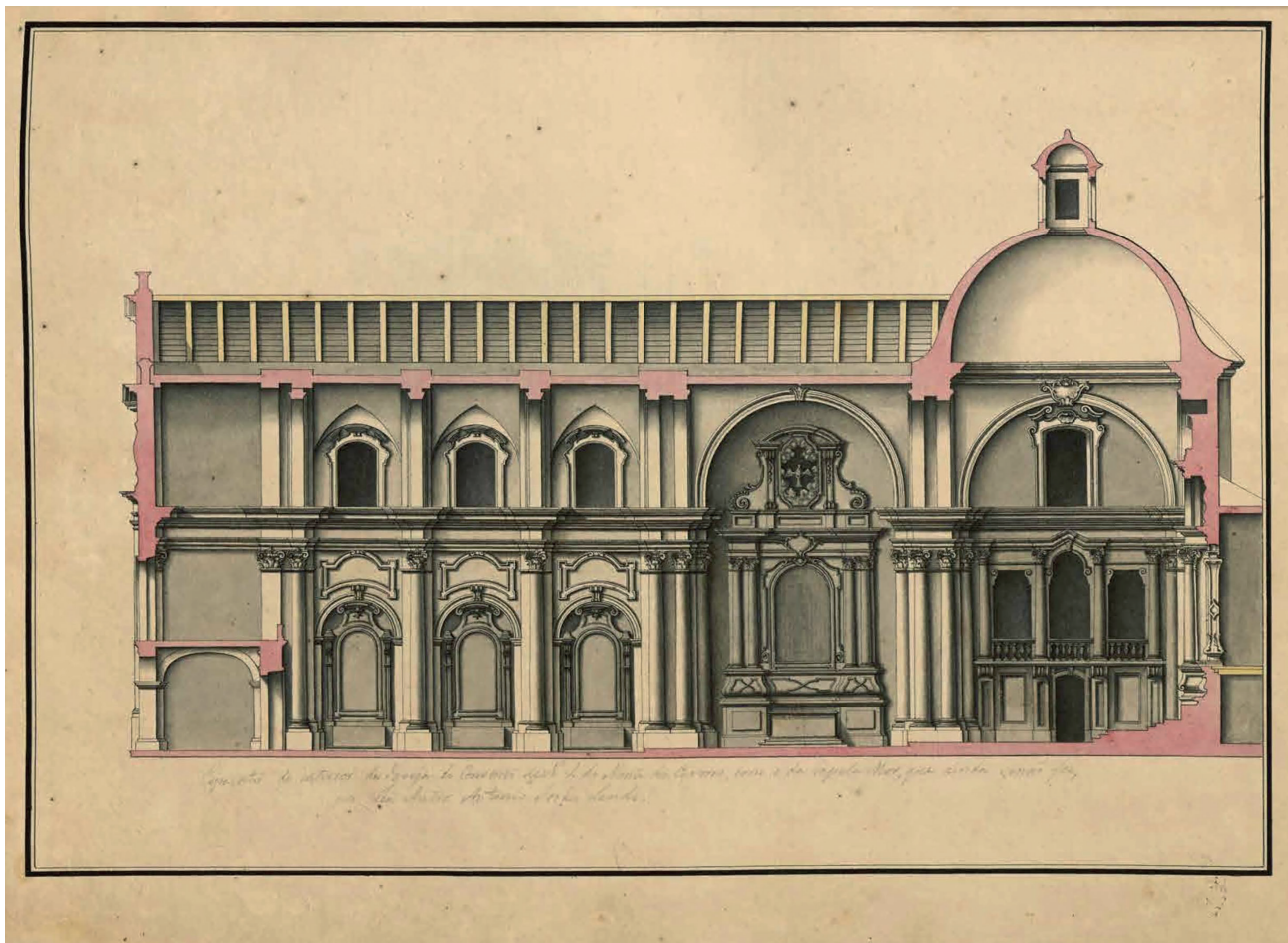


Fig. 04. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1756-1815). Projeto para a igreja da ordem de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo, por Giuseppe Antonio Landi (1713-1791). In: *Viagem filosofica pelas capitãncias do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá 1783-1792*. v.2, p.12 (source: Museu Nacional / Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro).

Queen Mary's reign was short-lived, as she was declared insane in 1792, when her son, Prince John, took over as Prince Regent. He continued and even intensified the Enlightened policies of his mother, with the support of other influential statesmen such as Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the Count of Linhares (1755-1812). In 29 February 1796, a decree was issued creating the Royal Public Library of Lisbon [*Real Biblioteca Pública de Lisboa*], which incorporated the new collections gathered since the earthquake. The Library was established with the purpose of “promoting efficiently the progresses of Portuguese literature”, serving as:

“...a treasure of all Arts and Sciences, and where may be found, along with the most precious books due to their rarity and esteem, also the most respectable monuments of the same Arts and Sciences, that shall constitute a very rich deposit, not only of all human knowledge, but also of the most appropriate means to guide men to achieve virtuous wisdom”¹⁴.

14. “...sendo hum dos objectos, que occupão a Minha Real consideração, o cuidado de promover effizazmente os progressos da Literatura Portugueza; e conhecendo quanto será util, e vantajoso para se conseguir este fim, o estabelecimento de huma Livraria Pública, a qual sirva como de hum thesouro de todas as Artes e Sciencias, e aonde se achem, com os Livros mais preciosos pela sua raridade, e estimação, os monumentos mais repetaveis das mesmas Artes, e Sciencias, que constituão hum riquissimo deposito, não só de todos os conhecimentos humanos, mas tambem dos meios mais proprios para conduzir os homens a conseguirem a virtuosa sabedoria” [Alvará de 29 fev. 1796, “Creando a Real Bibliotheca Publica de Lisboa,” in: A. D. da Silva, 1825-47: 1791-801/259).

It is no coincidence that these goals are reminiscent of those of a museum or an academy. In fact, in 1802, the Prince instructed the Head Librarian to create a “Great Collection of Pieces of Antiquity and Rarity”, which would be important “not only for the knowledge of the Sacred and Political Antiquities and for the enlightenment of the Arts and Sciences, but also for the ornament of that Library”. The prince then referred to the decree of 1721, which assigned the Royal Academy of Portuguese History and its Secretary the task of conserving the Cultural Heritage, and reassigned the same responsibilities to the Royal Public Library and its Head Librarian, now responsible for collecting every antiquity found in the reign¹⁵.

ACADEMIES AND THE PORTUGUESE COURT IN BRAZIL

That extensive and valuable Library, predominantly located at the Palace of Ajuda and at the Palace of Necessidades, was packed and transported in ships to Rio de Janeiro starting from 1809. This relocation was a result of the Portuguese Court’s momentous escape to Brazil in 1808, following the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. In Rio de Janeiro, the Library was installed in the Carmo church, which was in close proximity to former Governor’s Palace in Rio de Janeiro. This site was now converted into the Royal Palace, where the Bragança Monarchy continue to reign for 80 years, first as an European Kingdom and, after 1822, as the Brazilian Empire.

During the colonial period, Brazil witnessed various cultural initiatives that indicated a relatively vibrant cultural life. Brazilian authors usually travelled extensively and, although they were not allowed to print in Brazil, they did publish their literature in Europe. Brazilian intellectuals also created several amateur Academies throughout the 18th century: Brazilian Academy of the Forgotten [*Academia Brasilica dos Esquecidos*] (Bahia, 1724); Academy of the Happy [*Academia dos Felizes*] (Rio de Janeiro, 1736); Academy of the Selected [*Academia dos Seletos*] (Rio, 1752); Academy of the Reborn [*Academia dos Renascidos*] (Bahia, 1759); Scientific Academy of Rio de Janeiro [*Academia Scientifica do Rio de Janeiro*] (1772) (Ribeiro et al., 1871–1893: 1/166-167).

An *Academy* was then more commonly an association of literary enthusiasts who gathered regularly to recite poetry, share praiseworthy texts, compose epigrams and occasionally present historical and scientific dissertations. It was not a public institution with a specific mission of research, arts or sciences. As a precaution against potential accusations of conspiracy, these Academies were often housed by local aristocrats and Crown Officials. Nevertheless, it is possible that they exerted some influence on the cultural policies of the Kingdom.

15. “...por Me representar o Bibliothecario Maior da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa a importancia de que seria não só para o conhecimento das Antiguidades Sagradas e Politicas, e para illustração das Artes e das Sciencias, mas para ornamento da mesma Bibliotheca, formar-se nella huma grande Collecção de Peças de Antiguidade e raridade, que possa servir aos indicados fins; e Querendo que com effeito se forme em utilidade pública a referida Collecção, Hei por bem suscitar a disposição do Alvará de Lei de 20 de Agosto de 1721, pelo qual o Senhor Rei D. João Quinto, Meu Avô, ordenára em beneficio da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza a conservação e integridade das Estatuas, Marmores, Cippos, Laminas, e outras peças de antiguidade, em que se achassem figuras, letreros, ou caracteres, o qual Alvará Mando novamente publicar para se pôr em inteira e plena observancia, a bem da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa. Determino porém, que nas funções no mesmo Alvará declaradas pertencentes ao Secretario da dita Academia, quanto á correspondencia com as Camaras sobre os monumentos que se acharem, fiquem pertencendo ao Bibliothecario Maior da dita Real Bibliotheca” (Alvará de 4 de fevereiro de 1802, ordenando que “não se desfiação Estatuas, Cippos &c. a beneficio da Real Bibliotheca de Lisboa,” in: A. D. da Silva, 1825-47: 1802–10/44).

The creation of a “Zoological House” or “House of the Birds” in Rio de Janeiro, by Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1742-1809) during his tenure as Viceroy of Brazil (from 1778 to 1790), may be directly related to the establishment of the Scientific Academy in 1772, which aimed to promote the study of natural sciences in the colony. The Zoological House was directed by Francisco Xavier Cardoso Caldeira (†1810) (Netto, 1870: 11), with the collaboration of the Franciscan friar José Mariano da Conceição Veloso (1742-1811), who later conducted an extensive botanical survey of the region, which was published decades later as *Floræ Fluminensis*¹⁶.

Veloso not only contributed to the collection of specimens for the Royal Museum of Ajuda, which was then directed by Vandelli, but he also led the Editorial House of the Arco do Cego [*Casa Literária do Arco do Cego*], a branch of the Royal Press responsible for producing technical books aimed at promoting the cultural and economic development of Brazil. Over 140 titles were produced at the Arco do Cego on the turn of the 18th to the 19th centuries, many of which focused on arts and architecture (Campos, 1999; Macedo and Ficher, 2013).

When the Court arrived in Rio in 1808, the colonial city became the center of Portuguese Culture, but neither the people nor the town were prepared for such a change. In terms of cultural institutions, the Royal Public Library would be fully available to Portuguese Americans from 1813 onwards (Schwarcz et al., 2002: 275). The urban fabric soon underwent many improvements and renewals, and printing in the territory was now allowed. Several cultural institutions were now not only welcome but also sometimes fostered by the Crown, and this was not only in Rio. For instance, the Public Library of Bahia in 1811 thanks to the initiative of the local *Aufklärer* Pedro Gomes Ferrão Castello Branco (Moraes, 2006: 150-172).

Amongst the court’s main priorities, was the establishment of universities and cultural institutions that could cater to the demand for healthcare, a new army and navy, as well as architects and engineers capable of upgrading the defense system and embellishing the buildings and cities to meet the needs of new the immigrant and aristocratic population. Two schools of medicine were established in the Military Hospitals of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro in 1809,¹⁷ while in 1808 the Royal Academy for Midshipmen was established. However, the largest military school was the Royal Military Academy of Rio de Janeiro, which was founded in 1810 and trained local engineers. In 1818, it also became the home of the “Cabinet of Mineralogy and Natural History Products”¹⁸.

The Beaux-Arts Academy was only established in November of 1820, under the name *Academia de Artes*¹⁹, which officially recognized a group of French artists brought to Brazil by Joachim Lebreton (1760-1819) in 1816, later known as the “French Mission”. At least two of these artists had a particular interest in antiquities and their preservation. The architect Auguste-Henri-Victor Grandjean de Montigny (1775-1850) had already published in Europe the books *Architecture toscane* (1806-1815) and *Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (1810) [fig.05], as well as an album of prints documenting his own restoration work in Germany,

16. *Floræ Fluminensis, seu descriptionum plantarum præfectura fluminensi sponte nascentium liber primus ad systema sexuale concinnatus Augustissimæ Diminæ Nostræ per manus Ill.mi ac Ex.mi Aloysii de Vasconcellos & Souza Brasilæ Pro-Regis Quarti &c. &c. &c. sistit Fr. Josephus Marianus a Conceptione Vellozo Præsb. Ord. S. Franc. Reform. Prov. Flum. 1790. Flumine Januario. Ex Typographia Nationali. 1825. 12v.*

17. Decreto de 12 abr. 1809, “Crêa no Hospital Real Militar e de Marinha uma cadeira de medicina clinica, theorica e pratica” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1809/1/40); Carta Régia de 22 set. 1809, “Estabelece uma Escola de Medicina e Cirurgia do Hospital Militar da Bahia para instrução dos Cirurgiões Ajudantes dos Regimentos” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1808/2/9).

18. Aviso de 5 maio 1808 “Manda estabelecer a Real Academia dos Guardas Marinha no Convento de S. Bento” (Araujo, 1836–1844: 1/13; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808–1889: 1808/2/9); Carta de Lei de 4 dez. de 1810, “Crêa uma Academia Real Militar na Côrte e Cidade do Rio de Janeiro” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1810/1/232); Decreto de 22 jan. 1818, “Crêa na Academia Real Militar desta Côrte um Gabinete de productos de Mineralogia e Historia Natural” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1818/1/7).

19. Decreto de 23 nov. 1820, “Crêa nesta cidade uma Academia de Desenho, Pintura, Esculptura e Architectura Civil, e dá-lhe Estatutos”. (Araujo, 1836-44: 3/132; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1820/1/100).

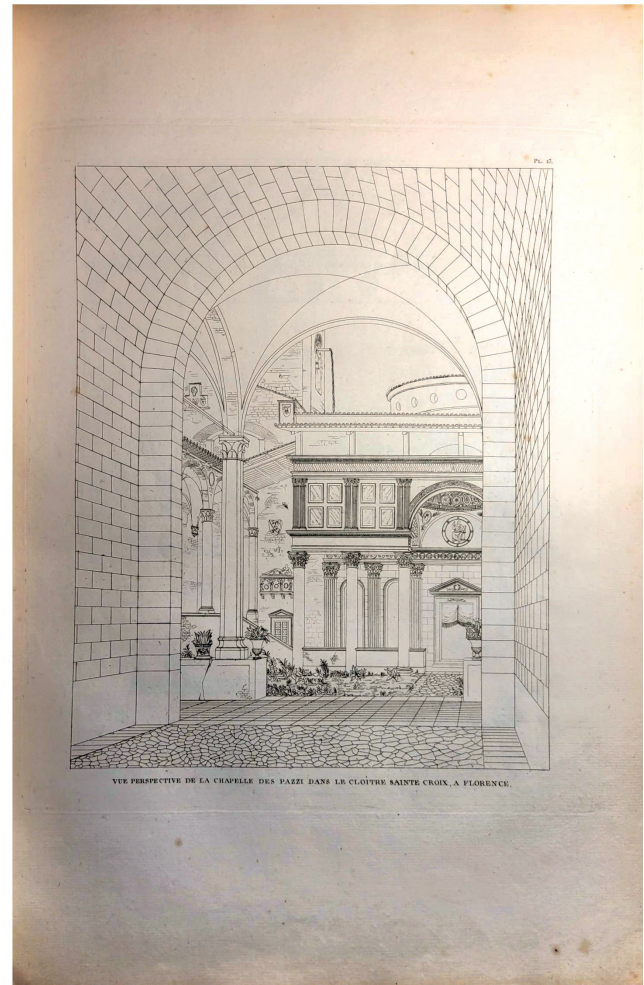
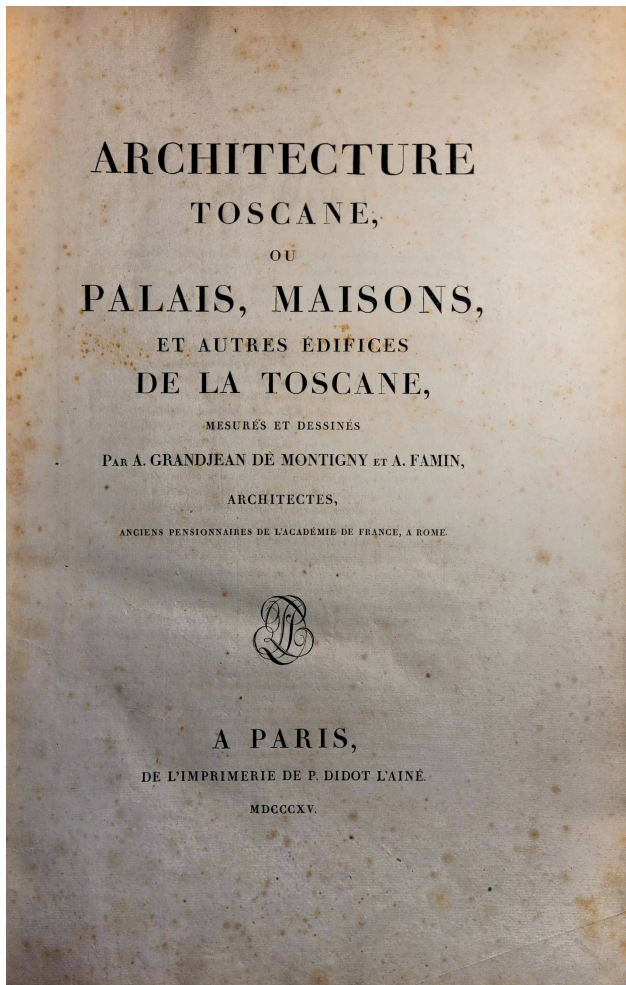


Fig. 05. Auguste Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny (1776-1850) and Auguste Famin (1776-1859). *Architecture toscane* [...]. Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'ainé, 1815; Title page and plate 13: "Vue perspective de la Chapelle des Pazzi dans le cloître Sainte Croix, a Florence" (source: author's collection).

entitled *Plan, coupe, élévation et détails de la restauration du palais des états et de sa nouvelle salle à Cassel* (1810)²⁰. The painter Jean-Baptiste Debret (1806-1848) would print on the following years an extensive collection of 26 booklets documenting Brazilian Cultural and Natural Heritage, later gathered and named *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1831)²¹.

20. *Architecture toscane, ou palais, maisons, et autres édifices de la toscane, mesurés et dessinés par A. Grandjean de Montigny et A Famin, architectes, anciens pensionnaires de l'Academie de France, a Rome*. Paris: Chez l'Auteur; Imprimerie de P. Didot; Gueffier, 1806-1815. *Recueil des plus beaux tombeaux exécutés en Italie dans les XV^e et XVI^e siècles d'après les dessins des plus célèbres architectes et sculpteurs mesurés et dessinés Par A. Grandjean de Montigny architecte, ancien pensionnaire de l'Académie de France a Rome*. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie de P. Didot l'Ainé. M DCCCXIII [1813]. *Plan, coupe, élévations et détails de la restauration du Palais des États et de sa nouvelle salle à Cassel, publié et gravé au trait par Grandjean de Montigny Cassel: Impr. royale*, 1810. 10p. (See Moraes de los Rios Filho, 1941: 258–59). The *Palais des États* was how the Museum built by Frederick II was named during the French occupation of Westphalia, when it was used as a Parliamentary building ("Fridericianum," 2022). The prints are today in the *Objektdatenbank* of the *Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel*, as lose prints in: <https://datenbank.museum-kassel.de/0/32470/herst/0/0/0/0/objektliste.html>. Accessed in 13 May 2023. See also: "Fridericianum". *Wikipedia*. In: <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Fridericianum&oldid=1121275020> (Access: 2024).

21. *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, ou Séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil, depuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, époques de l'avènement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro Ier., fondateur de l'Empire brésilien. Dedié à l'Académie des beaux Arts de l'Institut de France* par J. M. Debret... Paris, Firmin Didot frères, MDCCCXXXIV [1834]. 3v. (Moraes, 2010: 1/298).

In 1813, the Portuguese King commanded the extinction of the “various employments of the Museum of this Court” and ordered that “all the natural products found there to be handled to the Royal Military Academy”²². It is likely that the Museum in question was “House of the Birds” created by the Viceroy three decades before, as its administrator, Francisco Xavier Cardoso Caldeira, had passed away in 1810 (Oliveira, 2005: 266; Azevedo, 1877: 2/219-241). However, the collection was incorporated into cornerstone of all the Brazilian scientific and cultural institutions: the Royal Museum, now known as National Museum of Rio de Janeiro. The Museum was founded by decree on 6 June 1818, which “creates a Museum in this Court, and orders that it may be established in a Building at Campo de Sant’Anna”. Its goal was to “to promote the knowledge and study of natural sciences in the Kingdom of Brazil, which contains within it thousands of objects of observation and examination that can be employed for the benefit of commerce, industry, and the arts”, all of which the King wished “to foster as great sources of wealth”. King John VI then commanded that “the instruments, machines, and cabinets that are already scattered in other places” should be transferred to the new Museum²³.

In 1819, the *Impressão Regia* published a set of Instructions to the voyagers and employed in the colonies on the manner of collecting, conserving and sending the objects of Natural History, as compiled by the administration of Royal Museum of Natural History in Paris and translated [...] from the original in French printed in 1818. The publication was “augmented, with many notes, by the instructions to correspondents of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, printed in 1781; and preceded by some reflections on the Natural History of Brazil, and the establishment of the Museum and Botanical Garden in the court of Rio de Janeiro”. The foreword, titled “Reflections on Brazil’s Natural History, and on the establishment of the Museum and Botanical Garden in the City of Rio de Janeiro”²⁴, extensively references many scientists and authors who wrote on the subject of Brazil’s natural history, both in Portugal and in Brazil, and includes a transcription of the instructions of 1781 on how to report on cultural elements (Castilho, 1819: XII/XIX). The foreword also lists some agricultural products native to the Americas, such as Quinoa, Carnaúba Palm or Pelican Flower, along with instructions on how to cultivate them and their uses.

The work is attributed to the physician José Feliciano de Castilho (1769-1826)²⁵, and its second part corresponds to the French original book: *Instruction pour les voyageurs et pour les employés dans les colonies, sur la manière de recueillir, de conserver et d’envoyer les objets d’Histoire Naturelle* (1818), by the botanist André Thouin (1747-1824)²⁶. However, while the French original focuses on directions for collecting, conserving and sending specimens of fauna and flora, as well as mineral samples, the Portuguese version, augmented with notes from the instructions of 1781 and reflections on Brazil’s natural history, also includes recommendations on cultural issues and lists agricultural products native to the Americas.

22. Decisão de 22 de junho de 1813, “Manda que se hajam por extintos os diferentes empregos do Museu desta Côrte”: “Constando na real presença de Sua Alteza Real o Príncipe Regente Nosso Senhor a pouca utilidade que se tira da despeza feita com os empregados no denominado — Museu; foi o mesmo Senhor servido ordenar, que se hajam por extintos os diferentes empregos de semelhante repartição, cessando os ordenados e vencimentos das pessoas a ella addidas, e sendo-lhes pago o que se lhes estiver devendo. Outrosim foi o mesmo Senhor servido ordenar, que sejam entregues à Academia Real Militar, todos os productos naturaes, que alli se acharem e tudo quanto pertencer à Real Fazenda, expedindo-se as ordens a esse fim necessarias” (Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1813/2/26).

23. Decreto de 6 jun. 1818, “Crêa um Museu nesta Côrte, e manda que elle seja estabelecido em um predio do Campo de Sant’Anna que manda comprar e incorporar aos proprios da Corôa”: “Querendo propagar os conhecimentos e estudos das sciencias naturaes no Reino do Brazil, que encerra em si milhares de objectos de observação e exame, e que podem ser empregados em beneficio do commercio, da industria e das artes, que muito desejo favorecer, como grandes mananciaes de riqueza; hei por bem que nesta Côrte se estabeleça hum Museu Real, para onde passem, quanto antes, os instrumentos, machinas e gabinetes que já existem dispersos por outros lugares; ficando tudo a cargo das pessoas que eu para o futuro nomear”. (Araujo, 1836-44: 2/332; Brasil and Portugal [Leis], 1808-89: 1818/1/60).

24. “Reflexões sôbre a História Natural do Brazil, e sôbre o Estabelecimento do Museu e Jardim Botânico em a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro” (Castilho, 1819: III).

25. Sacramento Blake lists this book first as a work by friar Leandro do Sacramento (1778-1829) (Blake, 1883-1902: 5/294), an later repeats the work under the name of Pedro Machado de Miranda Malheiros (c.1780-1838). Following the opinion of Alfredo do Valle Cabral, Ana Maria Camargo and Rubens Borba de Moraes find that “tudo leva a crer que o autor da obra é José Feliciano de Castilho, que depois de se desaver com o reitor da Universidade de Coimbra, D. Francisco de Faria Pereira Coutinho, chegou ao Brasil em 1818, ocupando o cargo de médico da colônia de suíços de Nova Friburgo, de que era administrador Pedro Machado de Miranda Malheiros” (Camargo and Moraes, 1993: 1/660). Anyway, the Minister and Secretary of State for the Kingdom’s Affairs who demanded the book was Thomaz Antonio de Villanova Portugal (1755-1839) – the same political patron of the Brazilian Beaux-Arts Academy.

In many ways, the relocation of the Portuguese Court to Brazil added a layer of complexity to the country's political landscape, with Brazil finding itself at the same time heading a foreign empire and under its jurisdiction. Furthermore, as the Independence movement was led by the Luso-Brazilian cultural elite, questions of cultural identity and heritage remained largely unresolved in the decades following independence, as Brazil was still ruled by the Portuguese Royal Family. The main official initiative in this sense during the 19th century would be the creation of the Brazilian Geographical and Historical Institute [Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro] in 1838, under the protection of the Emperor D. Pedro II and with his sponsorship, which would act like an Academy of Sciences in the country. However, a mature official national policy of cultural heritage would only be developed one hundred years later, after the proclamation of the Republic, with the establishment of the Service for the National and Artistic Heritage in 1937.

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