

# DICIONÁRIO DE HISTORIADORES PORTUGUESES

DA ACADEMIA REAL DAS CIÊNCIAS AO FINAL DO ESTADO NOVO

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**AMARAL, António Caetano do** (Lisbon, 1747 - Lisbon, 1819)

António Caetano do Amaral (here also referred to as ACA), son of António do Amaral, Guard of the House of India, and Joana Ignacia do Nascimento, was born in Lisbon in June 1747 and died in that same city in January 1819. From a modest family background, he was yet another case of a man of Humanities who rose socially through merit, although only as far as merit could allow him to rise when not combined with family capital.

According to Mendo Trigo, his peer and panegyrist at the Academia das Ciências, his 'talent and stern application' were apparent from his earliest years. Of weak constitution, modest and shy, and very prone to pious practices, he began his preparatory studies in the humanities, after which he went to the University of Coimbra. He enrolled in the School of Canons in 1767 and graduated in Canons in June 1771, still at the pre-Pombaline University.

In the meantime, the new statutes of the Pombaline Reform were put into effect, and the Reform came into force in the School of Canons from October 1772, bringing with it a new course in 'Natural, public and universal law, and the law of nations', which conveyed the positions of jus-naturalism. António Caetano do Amaral, like the rest of the students, had to prove that he had 'made the most of the years he had already attended' and had his graduation ceremony in the first year of the Reform in 1773. This graduation ceremony took place in the presence of the dean and reformer Francisco de Lemos Pereira Coutinho and following the Pombaline Reform guidelines set out in the *Compêndio histórico do estado da Universidade* [Historical compendium of the state of the University] and the *Estatutos da Universidade* [University Statutes] (1772). When he finished his degree, he returned to Lisbon, where he became part of the capital's erudite social networks (according to Mendo Trigo, 'he was welcomed, sought after and esteemed by all due to his knowledge and distinguished behaviour'), which allowed him to be chosen as a supernumerary member when the Academia Real das Ciências was founded in 1780.

Thus, it was thanks to his reputation as a scholar and the cultural capital of his degree in Canons that ACA entered the Academy. António M. Hespanha, referring to this decade when the Academia Real das Ciências was founded, and particularly with regard to the areas where Amaral was active, says the following: 'In fact, it is very clear that, from the eighties of the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, jus-rationalist reformism took hold as the



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dominant political culture in the circles of intellectuals, who occupy the new public sphere of academic literature, newspapers, academies, offices of the new 'reformist active administration' (*Guiando a mão invisível...*, [Guiding the invisible hand] 2004, p. 45).

In the context of this 'jus-rationalist reformism', which was also present in the Academia das Ciências [Academy of Sciences], ACA situated his historical studies. We will try to understand how he interpreted jus-rationalism. In the very first year of the Academy's existence, Amaral presented the *Projecto de huma História civil da Monarchia Portuguesa* [Project for a Civil History of the Portuguese Monarchy] at an academic session on 19 July 1780. Here, and also in the *Plano da História Civil apresentado à Academia na Assembleia de 15 de Novembro de 1780* [Civil History Plan presented to the Academy at the Assembly of 15 November 1780], the historian sets out his conception of History, his objectives and his method. In his own words, he intends to 'undertake... a History, whose object is everything that concerns the internal government of the Portuguese Monarchy... I do not say a simple History of Portuguese Law, confined to our written laws: who ignores that in Civil life there are other unwritten laws, which naturally stem from the genius of the People, I mean, customs and usages' (*Projecto de uma historia civil...*, [A Civil History Project] p. 507).

His aim, therefore, was not to build a history of warfare or politics, nor an ecclesiastical history, nor a topographical or natural history, but rather 'a project that should make known the system of Legislation and of all the domestic management of the Monarchy', in other words, a History of the 'system' of 'Civil Society' (*Plano...* [Plan]). According to Caetano do Amaral, this history will be extremely useful because it will show 'the legislator clearly the genius and character of his people, the passions that have dominated them; the effects that this or that type of legislation has had on them... the occasion that has given rise to many laws'. Only in this History too, he adds, will the Jurisconsult 'find... the true art of legal interpretation', and only in it will ministers find the means that the country has within itself to grow in opulence and policing. For better political organisation, knowledge of the spirit or nature of the people is therefore essential. It is the idea that nothing can help the future of a state more than knowing its specific qualities: its people, its history, its resources, its passions, and its customs.

The kind of History that ACA sets out to do should, therefore, ultimately contribute to greater governing rationality in his country, and this will come above all from a better understanding of the nature of the Portuguese people because good government is also the government of passions. History is, therefore, ultimately, political intervention, but for ACA it is also proposed as religious intervention by comparing the Church discipline of his time with the lives and works of St Fructuosus and St Martin – the subject of two of his publications mentioned below – and therefore with the Ecclesiastical Discipline 'of the happy times of the primitive Church'.

His fellow members applauded the *Projecto* [Project] but remained sceptical about the feasibility of implementing such an ambitious plan. It was, however, no different from the Academy's own project, expressed by Abbot Correia da Serra in his 'Discurso Preliminar' [Preliminary Speech] for the edition of *Memorias Económicas da Academia Real das Ciências* [Economic memoirs of the Royal Academy of



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Sciences] (volume I, 1789). Correia da Serra, the institution's Secretary and one of its main figures, says that the ultimate aim of the Academy is to advance public prosperity, towards which History contributes decisively: 'the knowledge of what the nation is and what it can be, based on what it has already been, is of the greatest benefit to its happiness, and can only be expected from the united efforts of a body such as the Academy' (*Memorias...*, [Memoirs] *Volume I*, pp. 10-11). And why? According to Correia da Serra, because the history of each people corresponds to 'a series of actions, motivated by modes of seeing, speaking, and desiring'. The history of the nation, therefore, shows 'the way of being' or, in ACA's words, the 'genius' of a people. In the *Colecção de Livros Inéditos* [Collection of Unpublished Books] published by order of the Academia Real, the Academy's secretary reiterates the same opinion as ACA: for the laws that govern us, the form of public administration and the customs we follow, only in History can we find 'the explanation of their nature' ('Discurso Preliminar' in *Colecção...*) ['Preliminary Speech' in Collection...]. To summarise, 'in the end, ACA concludes, we need to know ourselves'. Rationalism or pre-romanticism in this view of history and politics? Perhaps just a time of transition, which means multiple combinations between past and future, i.e., multiple timescales.

At this same academic session, Amaral promised that if his *Projecto* [Project] was approved, he would immediately present the *Plano* [Plan] he intended to follow. It will be, he says, a Civil History, but one cannot do without giving an idea of the state of the nation in each era, in terms of religion and the forces of both militia and trade, which, 'because they are the lifeblood of the State, are the subject of many Rules of Public Law'. In addition to being an expert in legal history, ACA will therefore be, as Alexandre Herculano recognises, and as far as the Middle Ages are concerned, the founder of the social history of the Portuguese people (*Opúsculos*) [Opuscles]. Amaral's 'Plano' ['Plan'] divides his work into epochs and, as the History he does is above all that of the Monarchy, the first epochs will be like an 'Introduction' comprising four stages: pre-Roman Lusitania, the Roman period, the Barbarian period and the Arab period. At the time of Count D. Henrique's marriage and the beginning of his conquests, History will finally begin, and this first part of History will last until the end of D. Fernando's reign; another period will last until the reign of D. Sebastião; the 3<sup>rd</sup> period will begin in the Philippine period and end in the author's own time.

*Plano da História Civil* also presents the method to be used in this work in progress. As for the method, he says that he will not make a 'positive history', accumulating documents, because in that case, 'he would not be writing History; he would be bringing evidence for it', but also, at the opposite extreme, that he will not make 'an abstract Discourse'. And he concludes: 'Threatened by these two extremes, I thought that I would follow a rational path, leading a straightforward discourse, but always keeping to the historical memories that produced it, showing readers the connection between things'. Therefore, a rational and explanatory history, full of references to original documents, but in notes where readers can understand the nature of things (*Plano...*, [Plan] p. 510). If he applied 'judicious criticism' to the sources, if he sought the means to 'enter into the spirit of ancient times, and not interpret them by present ideas', if he spoke 'the truth' – his fellow members would judge him in due course and the readers would make 'their own judgements'. Submitting



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one's work to the criticism of one's peers and contributing with it to the 'truth' in an ideal of collective work was one of the major contributions of these modern Academies.

Paulo Merêa ('Súmula Histórica da História do Direito Português' [Historical Summary of the History of the Portuguese Law], 1921) did not hesitate to praise Amaral's work, calling it 'profoundly original', 'preciously documented', supported by the author's 'surest erudition' and 'privileged critical skills'. Still according to Merêa, ACA embodies the new trends in legal history in the transition to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Like Merêa, many other historians praised Amaral's work, such as Alexandre Herculano and Fortunato de Almeida, among others. Even today, recent research continues to admire and confirm ACA's accurate historical criticism.

His death at the age of 72 did not allow him to complete his 'Plan'. The work ended with Memory V – *1.ª Época da Monarquia Portuguesa, desde o Conde D. Henrique até o fim do reinado d' El Rei D. Fernando* [1<sup>st</sup> Period of the Portuguese Monarchy, from Count Henry to the end of King Ferdinand's reign]– with the last two 'Epochs' still to be written. The Academy, in the scope of the project where Amaral's work was included, honoured its author immediately on the presentation of the first Memory: he was made a full member of the Literature Class, and it was in this capacity that he opened the public session held in the Real Palácio das Necessidades [Royal Palace of Needs] with a prayer in 1786. This was the recognition of the work and the author by the Academy. Memory II was read in 1791 and, like the others, was included in *Memórias de Literatura Portuguesa* [Memoirs of the Portuguese Literature], published by the Academy. At the same time, he was tasked with restoring to its original state and publishing a manuscript (by then already very damaged) that the institution had acquired: *Soldado Prático* [Practical Soldier], by Diogo de Cout.

However, these scholars needed means of livelihood that would allow them to devote themselves exclusively to their studies. This was also the case with António Caetano do Amaral: he had a modest income from a Benefice in the Church of St Lawrence and precisely in 1791 he was appointed Deputy of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Lisbon. But the Inquisition was already a shadow of its former self. In these 1790s, the Pombaline Reform was already fully felt in the changes to the Inquisition, which was mainly at the service of the state and the punishments were almost exclusively spiritual. The networks of influence that affected people and institutions meant, however, that positions in one institution served as economic security for intellectual work in another.

Less than eight years later, he was promoted again: he took up the post of Canon of Évora Cathedral. This promotion was certainly due to his position as Deputy of the Lisbon Inquisition, but it also corresponded to the success of his studies and the prestige and influence of the Academy. This is how scholarly careers were built throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, he had no desire to leave the capital, following in the footsteps of many other scholars and academicians before him, so he renounced this Ecclesiastical Benefit in 1806, reserving for himself a small part of the pension with which he survived until he was appointed Inquisitor of the Lisbon Inquisition in 1816. Nevertheless, with more or less prosperity, ACA always remained austere in his life, his science and his morals, cultivating to the end an extreme dedication to his work.

Meanwhile, Caetano do Amaral also continued his 'cursus honorum' at the Academy. After the publication



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of Memory III in 1796, he was appointed interim Secretary of the Real Academia at the beginning of 1797 during Correia da Serra's incapacity and, when Garção Stockler replaced Correia da Serra as Secretary of the Academy, Amaral was re-elected Vice-secretary for repeated three-year terms.

Let us now take a closer look at the work he was producing in the meantime. In the Prologue to Volume I of *Memorias de Literatura Portuguesa* [Memoirs of the Portuguese Literature], and after the dedication to the Queen signed by the Duke of Lafões, it is made clear that Portuguese Language and History form the two objects that make up what the Academy meant by Portuguese Literature. Thus, in this first volume of the Memories of Literature, Memory I is published (1792, Caetano do Amaral was 44 years old) dedicated to the 'State of Lusitania until the time when it was reduced to a Roman Province'. With all due caution and reduced to the scarcity of sources, the author rejects the 'vain glory that is sought in lying antiquities' and emphasises the Lusitanians' simplicity of legislation – 'rare laws and simple customs' – 'austere sobriety' and 'love of freedom'.

Memory II is dedicated to the study of the 'Estado Civil da Lusitania no tempo em que esteve sujeita aos romanos'. The immense and solid critical apparatus, based above all on classical authors and Roman inscriptions, is not matched by the same narrative endeavour, always hampered by the rigid conception of the initial purposes of the strict 'Civil State'. His mastery of written sources would have allowed him to explore multiple paths, but this was beyond the scope of his project, to which he always sought to remain faithful. We are left with a rich catalogue of sources accompanied by reliable indications for exploring them. The conclusion of Memory II is that in this 'state of civil subjection, in vain would we look for legislation proper to the Lusitanians, either created by them themselves or emanating from Rome' (p. 344).

Thus, decadence is not only the Romans' but also the Lusitanians': 'what is also clear is that the Lusitanians were slowly becoming Romans; customs, taste, uses, genius, everything gradually moulded to those of the Conquerors' (p. 348). The epilogue is moralising: 'this is the sorry scene that Lusitania presents to us over the four centuries that it remained part of the Roman Empire: without forces or virtues of war to give them glory...; without a system of government or its own legislation to give them a certain and particular character; but as inert material... without ever being infused with a spirit to animate it' (p. 353).

In Memory III, 'Sobre o Estado Civil da Lusitania, desde a entrada dos Povos do Norte até á dos Arabes' ['On the Civil State of Lusitania, from the entry of the Northern peoples to that of the Arabs'], and regarding the form of government of the Peoples of the North, which he points out as a hereditary monarchical government, Amaral states: 'and this Country, which Providence had destined for the seat of a Monarchy... always finds government by a single person' (p. 137). A peremptory and not insignificant statement at a time of the French Revolution. Since the Goths were now the sole masters of Lusitania, they adopted the customs that the 'climates', 'communications', 'needs', 'and other different adjuncts' gave them according to the different regions they spread across, and the same happened in Lusitania. Amaral explains that he is not in favour of those who believe that climate has a very powerful influence on the customs of people, but he agrees that it cannot be denied that it has some influence. We know that he is well acquainted with



Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des lois* [The spirit of the Laws], because he cites this work several times, sometimes to agree with it, others to disagree with it.

It is possible that Montesquieu was partly a source of inspiration for ACA, especially as a historian. Although *De l'esprit des lois* [The spirit of the Laws] caused a great deal of controversy and was a contentious book, Montesquieu was nevertheless present in Lisbon's libraries, namely the ones in convents. The climate is, for Montesquieu as for ACA, just one of many factors that can contribute to the 'general spirit' of a society. Since the climate is a physical cause, the other factors (among which the most important are laws, religion, and the maxims of government) were of a non-physical nature. It is the legislator's duty to counterbalance the influence of climate, says Montesquieu, since this influence is not insurmountable, except in primitive societies. In fact, for Caetano do Amaral, it is not only legislation that accommodates to the 'genius of the people', but it can also be legislation that contributes to shaping the 'character' of that people.

Memory III delves deeper into the study of the Visigoth Code and the form of government in this new Civil State, constantly resorting to sources that he mastered supremely. And here an important analysis immediately emerges: 'it is necessary to ponder who the Legislator is; I mean, who has Sovereign power here; what kind of Government, and Civil State is this, which is born anew in Lusitania' (p. 156). And ACA continues: 'ever since the Visigoths appeared here, they were always presided over by a King', whose succession usually passed from father to son or from brother to brother, although it was rarely peaceful. With the 'Civil Laws' and in order to prevent rebellions and usurpations of the throne, the Gothic kings were elected with the votes of the 'distinct Orders of the state' and led to the throne with general approval, but they did not ignore the fact that, once elected, they immediately received sovereign power from God. It is, therefore, concludes ACA, a modified Monarchy, but this sharing of the rights of Sovereignty that the monarch grants is not equally communicated to the various Orders (pp. 158-160). Due to the circumstances, the greatest weight lies with the 'Ecclesiastical Prelates', particularly since the Barbarians were brought up, even in Paganism, in subordination and respect for the Ministers of Religion. However, although the Ecclesiastics played a significant role in the Visigoth government, the Nobles also had some power (more, says ACA, than they might have had in a pure Monarchy).

As for the Visigoths, rather than legislation shaping the social character of this People – by studying and directing all the physical and moral causes that can influence the customs of a People – it was, on the contrary, the 'impetuous torrent of customs' that dragged the Legislation and made it vary according to the whim of the passions, or the occurrence of events (p. 203). However, analysing the Visigoth Ordinances, the Visigoths were not unaware of the reciprocal offices of sovereign and vassal: At his enthronement, the king swears to fulfil his obligations towards his subjects, and the latter swear to fulfil theirs towards the king – 'These Barbarians were not unaware that the Prince is not for himself, but for the People; that with the latter he forms a body, of which he is the Head, and must therefore seek the preservation of his subjects as much as that of his own limbs: nor can he have as comfort or happiness anything other than that which is common to him and them: that he is the minister of God's authority, to make justice and piety reign' (pp. 206-207).



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Caetano do Amaral is well acquainted with the traditional model that conceives society as a 'body' endowed with a metaphysical destiny, a model that he certainly studied in the political doctrines of jurists and theologians, especially from the late Middle Ages and early Modern period. As we shall see, he is equally familiar with the other political paradigm of the modern era, the jurationalist one.

The History done by this author is by no means neutral; he continually asserts positions and principles. It is clearly a morally, legally, and politically committed history. The final draft of this Memory III must have run parallel to the preparatory studies for Amaral's two other major works: *Vida e Opusculos de S. Martinho Bracarense* [Life and Opuscles of St. Martin of Braga] (1803), and *Vida e Regras Religiosas de S. Fructuoso Bracarense* [Life and Religious Rules of St. Fructuoso of Braga] (1805). These works were commissioned by his great friend, Friar Caetano Brandão. The historian and the Bishop of Pará, later Archbishop of Braga, shared the same ideas about the need to 'revive the precious memories of the ancient Discipline in the spirit of the Clergy'. Therefore, these two books also have clear intentions of intervening in the contemporary society and Church, in favour of a pure monarchy and an austere Church.

Memory V, '1ª Epoca da Monarchia Portugueza, desde o Conde D. Henrique até o fim do reinado d' El Rei D. Fernando' ['The 1<sup>st</sup> Epoch of the Portuguese Monarchy, from Count Henry to the end of the reign of King Ferdinand'], (the 1945 edition is quoted here), is finally the gateway to Amaral's true objective – 'the foundation of the Portuguese Monarchy'. In his own words, this is where the body of the Work truly begins. This first period, during which the Portuguese monarchy remained within the limits of the European continent, has in the reign of D. Fernando its final milestone. Amidst the difficulties of a kingdom formed by force of conquest, 'the blueprint of the primitive Portuguese Legislation, Legislation adapted to the character of men of war, is sprouting and pulsating'. Once the conquest was over, new concerns arose about 'its culture, wealth and civilisation; and consequently, new objects for Ordinances and Provisions'. The first question that arose was the independence and separation of the new State starring with Count D. Henrique. Old historiographical struggles dispute this, but only the well-documented ones guarantee victory, which is why he mentions the decisive contribution of some colleagues from the Academia das Ciências [Academy of Sciences], particularly João Pedro Ribeiro. Countless documents that were in the Registry of the Academia Real das Ciências [Royal Academy of Sciences], copied from their original sources by the academician João Pedro Ribeiro, Friar Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo and Joaquim de Santo Agostinho, will serve as the basis for Caetano do Amaral's History, in yet another demonstration of the collective work that characterised these 18<sup>th</sup> century Academies.

Portugal was, thus, born as an independent Kingdom with Count D. Henrique. As for the Pope's concession or confirmation of the Kingdom, the author leaves no doubt that this is a totally erroneous idea that can only come from ignorance of the rightful limits of spiritual power, the only power proper to the Church. The Popes' inspection of the Kingdoms' temporal affairs is so clearly irregular 'that it could not fail to hurt the eyes of natural reason' (p. 30), leading to strong and fair responses from the Kings, namely that of D. Afonso IV on the provision of the Bishopric of Oporto. A peremptory statement that places ACA in the royalist

defence of the separation of papal and royal jurisdiction. He, thus, stands alongside names such as António Pereira de Figueiredo, and is also on the same side as Philo-Jansenism. These positions taken amidst the controversies and polemics surrounding the main political issues of the time are historiographical and also religious views, but above all they are deeply political.

The author then moves on to another fundamental aspect: knowledge of the Kingdom's Constitution and form of government. And here he is, once again, peremptory: it has always been a 'pure monarchy' and hereditary, in fact, he says, 'like the rest of the Gothic race'. The previous Memory had already mentioned 'the command of a single Chief' and, he continues, 'the various Orders of State are contemplated in serious cases; but only to ensure the suitability of the Ordinances, and not to have an influence on them with a decisive vote' (p. 32). The Courts of Lamego confirmed with a written Law the hereditary succession to the throne, which had already been established since Count D. Henrique. According to ACA, and in the same vein as the Academia Real da História [Royal Academy of History], 'it is improper and useless for any Portuguese person to investigate the veracity of a monument, the contents of which have been authentically received as our Fundamental Law' (p. 32).

Likewise, says ACA, the form of government is offered at first glance as purely monarchical, i.e., the Courts 'had a nature that was no different from that of any less solemn Council, where the Kings listened to the Bishops and Greats of the Court... no one would say that these secret consultations... denoted a shared right to legislate between the Sovereign and the people heard or consulted'. The same is true of the courts, they are purely 'consultative'. Sovereignty lies exclusively with the King. And, in this regard, he goes on to quote João Pedro Ribeiro and Pascoal José de Melo Freire in a note to *Dedução Cronológica e Analítica* [Chronological and Analytical Deduction]. In fact, in all these aspects, ACA is in total agreement not only with the Pombaline Statutes of the University of Coimbra and the new degree in Natural, Public and Universal Law, but above all with Pascoal José de Melo Freire, with whom the coincidence of positions and points of view is very significant. In the field of political-religious thought, the author's position is also clear on another strong and controversial topic of his day (a position that goes hand in hand with that of A. Pereira de Figueiredo), the question of the Church's material assets: 'the Sovereign retains an eminent dominion over all the assets of his Kingdoms so that he can dispose of them for public needs' (pp. 62-63), all the more so, he says, because many of those same goods had been 'liberalised' by the monarchs themselves or by previous monarchs. The references are often to the excessive opulence and 'exemption' of the ecclesiastics in those days, confused as they were due to their ignorance of the limits of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction.

Thus, many Bishops and Popes spent the days of their episcopate trying to defend temporal assets and rights, when they should have used them 'for the sanctification of their flock and the edification of the Church' (p. 101). He goes on to list cases of 'exorbitant claims by ecclesiastics' (p. 106), as well as cases where the Pope resorts to 'remedies not only extreme, but far beyond his legitimate power' (p. 103). The author criticises the fact that the royal power was not always firm in 'upholding the rights of the Crown and the usefulness of the people', at times proving to be vacillating, which ACA condemns. The sound principles of





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upholding the rights of the Crown were ‘flashes of natural light’, although unfortunately not sustained by ‘a fixed system’.

One of the greatest privileges that could be granted to vassals, if not the greatest, was ‘civil and criminal jurisdiction’ in their Lands, and the provision of Ministers to administer justice in them. However, as ACA states, this situation could not last for long without a reform of ‘such a great excess in alienating the rights of the Crown’; the Sovereigns’ path was only one, which is why D. Fernando passed a law restricting and modifying these donations, a law that was later incorporated into the *Ordenação Afonsina* [Aphonsine Ordination]. Finally, Monarchs were also sovereigns of the people and, since ‘the main cause of the quietness of the people, and the conservation of the vassals, is the guardianship of the forums, and their exemplifications’, Kings granted privileges ‘in proportion to their merit’ to each Judicial District and each Municipality.

In short, the search for political rationality and the defence of the public good allowed in the first period of the Monarchy, as well as at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the King to act in the name of his sovereignty, a concept of sovereignty that for ACA had little or no limitation on royal power. ACA thus provides the historical basis for the political theory that ‘gave the King greater room for manoeuvre to carry out reforms’, be them social, religious and/or political, in the transition from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century; in particular, it supported the ideas of subordination of the Church to the State or a certain anti-feudalism (see A. Hespanha, op. cit., pp. 42-43).

This historical, legal and political position, when published in the Memories of the Academy, was, we must not forget, legitimised by the Academy itself. However, this did not prevent different and discordant views from being expressed within the institution. Nevertheless, in this period of transition, jus-rationalist reformism took hold, according to A. Hespanha, as the ‘dominant political culture’. ACA did not fail to assert and sustain this historically. Caetano do Amaral’s work was read and used politically in a wide variety of ways. The author summoned up various and distant eras, all of which were different forms of thinking about the present. The author thought about his own present, but he also offered the past and the present to be thought about by others, who interpreted and used it differently (regardless of being liberals, conservatives, or other).

**Bibliografia activa:** “Memoria I. Sobre a forma do Governo, e Costumes dos Póvos, que habitarão o terreno Lusitano, desde os primeiros tempos conhecidos, até ao estabelecimento da Monarquia Portuguesa”, in *Memorias de Litteratura Portuguesa*, Tomo I, Lisboa, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1792, pp. 16-30; “Memoria II. Para a Historia da Legislação e Costumes de Portugal. Sobre o Estado Civil da Lusitania no tempo em que esteve sujeita aos Romanos”, idem, Tomo II, pp. 313-353; Memoria III. Para a Historia da Legislação e Costumes de Portugal. Sobre o Estado Civil da Lusitania desde a entrada dos Povos do Norte até á dos Arabes”, *Idem*, Tomo VI, pp. 127-437; Memoria IV. Para a Historia da Legislação e Costumes de Portugal. Sobre o estado do Terreno, que hoje occupa Portugal, desde a invasão dos Arabes até á Fundação da Monarchia Portuguesa”, *Idem*, Tomo VII, pp. 60-236; *Memoria V. Para a história da legislação e costumes*



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Isabel Ferreira da Mota

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