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The first Lusophone author: a palimpsest named António Feliciano de Castilho

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ABSTRACT

It is my argument that António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875), poet laureate of his time, sought to create a significant literary presence beyond the space of the Portuguese metropolis. Sometimes he did so in his own name, whereas on other occasions he resorted to the members of his vast intellectual circle. Such moves are here argued to have converged into the emergence of a true republic of letters (Goodman, 1994) in Portugal. I will focus on two major works by Castilho, *Camões* (1st ed. 1849) and *A Felicidade pela Agricultura* (1st ed. 1849), as well as on a series of texts published in periodicals by the poet and members of his circle, which altogether point to a deliberate participation in the creation of a literary scene in Macau and the Azores in the 1840s to 1850s, taken here as two case studies. These are both peripheral, overseas (pen)insular territories, both somehow diverging from the nation of which they form part and thus rendering problematic the categories of colonial/regional/national commonly employed in literary criticism.

With this in mind, this essay seeks to support two interconnected theses. The first is that Castilho is one of the first Portuguese authors to have developed a systematic publication plan that includes the colonial and insular territories of Portugal. The second thesis is that this plan is linked to a textual phenomenon of systematic and continuous incorporation in his works of texts by other authors of his intellectual group, most of them 'on the field'.

The aim of this essay is therefore to investigate how the relationship of Portuguese literates such as Castilho to several Portuguese-speaking literate communities such as the Azores and Macao allows us to draw a different map, for the Romantic period, of what would later be addressed as Portuguese-language literature(s). The critical-theoretical consequences to be drawn from this remapping will also be examined, for they shed new light into the 'formation' of Portuguese-language literature(s) and also call for an urgent re-evaluation of Castilho's oeuvre.

Just as our Camões was superintendent for the dead and missing in Macau by profession, I want to occupy the same role out of sheer affection. How fond I am of all those unfortunate poets!

(Castilho 1863, II, p. 150)

1. Introduction

António Feliciano de Castilho (1800-1875), a writer and intellectual, and his circle of friends are a perfect example of a “republic of letters” (Goodman, 1994) in Portugal: a group made up of “men of letters”, as they were known at the time. This category encompassed intellectuals and liberal politicians (Ramos, 2019) and even included women, unlike the purportedly modern Generation of '70 that took its place¹. This article is based on the premise that the blind poet and his coterie were less interested in affirming themselves as Europeanists, as the Generation of '70 would go on to do, than in establishing bases in Portugal's overseas territories (colonies and islands), where they played a vital role in legitimising literary practice in the Portuguese language. António Feliciano de Castilho appears to have been the central node in this process, making the texts in which he describes the circumstances and context of his literary activity particularly important. These are the texts that will be examined in this article. I will focus on several works by Castilho, including *Camões* (1st ed. 1849) and *A Felicidade pela Agricultura* (1st ed. 1849), as well as a series of texts published in periodicals by the poet or members of his circle, which show deliberate participation in the creation of a literary scene in Macau and the Azores in the 1840s and 50s. I will also explore the role of associations, circles, guilds and the periodical press, as journals may also be understood as a form of associativism in this context.

This article will examine an island territory and a colonial territory, which are both peripheral, overseas (pen)insular territories. The aim is to make a specific contribution to an epistemological and methodological rupture with the nationalistic vision of literary traditions in Portuguese established by critics of Lusophone Studies by interpreting these territories as cultured local communities rather than peripheries of national traditions. These communities are not necessarily to form a nation, the latter being only a very particular kind of *imagination* that a community develops about itself, as taken from the well-known analysis by Anderson (2008).

Both Macau and the Azores diverge from the nations of which they form part, rendering the categories of colonial/regional/national commonly used in criticism still more problematic. Macau is particularly ambiguous, belonging to Portugal and China simultaneously; despite the dual

¹ One of these women was Amélia Janny (1842-1914).

administration no longer being in force during the historical period in question, the Chinese community always played a major role. The decision to compare the Azores (a region rather than a colony) with an official colony (Macau, although its colonial status is subject to debate) offers an opportunity to reconsider different categories relating to the circulation of printed information, which regularly circulated through the same channels in both regional and overseas contexts.

This article aims to explore the ways in which Castilho activated his circle to reach the Portuguese colonies and territories under Portuguese cultural influence at a time before the empire rose to the top of the political agenda, as it would at the end of the century. He achieved this in two ways: by publishing his work in these places himself or by drawing on his circle of friends and relatives to publish or write in or about them, covering all the main Portuguese-speaking areas. Another example of this phenomenon is his brother, Alexandre Magno de Castilho, who wrote about Africa in 1866. Other authors, who were also intimately linked to the blind poet, such as Tomás Ribeiro, had a considerable cultural influence on places like Goa over the following decade, while António Feliciano and his brother José Feliciano de Castilho worked in Brazil. Indeed, Brazil was the only one of these places that the poet discovered first-hand during a visit in 1855.

Yet the process did not end here: later on, in the body of the text or in his usual abundant notes and annexes, Castilho's lengthy monographs would compile much of the literature produced by his circle in what could be described as an archival frenzy, in a way perhaps similar to what Derrida, in his famous essay, calls the "archive drive" or "conservation drive" (Derrida, 1998, p. 19). Castilho stood at the apex of an immense pyramid of literary production by these authors, transcribing long letters, articles, book excerpts, poems and scholarly notes that they had written. His textuality is expansive in geographical terms, linking to and originating from many different places, and also in terms of the book format that he adopts, publishing huge volumes under his own name containing work by several different authors. By analysing these two unstoppable processes of expansion – within the works themselves and in the multiple geographies that they reference – this article contributes to tentatively outline an alternative vision of the 19th century in Portuguese literature, focusing especially on the first two Romantic generations and breaking away from the stigma attached to Castilho and his friends and followers by the Generation of '70, which remains present to this day but is not the most accurate interpretation of the facts.

2. Castilho in the Azores; the Azores in Castilho

In the notes to his drama *Camões* (1849), written in the Azores, Castilho describes his arrival in Ponta Delgada as a political exile in the late autumn of 1847: "Prometheus chained to my

rock on his back but with more than one vulture at his entrails” (1863, p. 66). He refers to his new abode in the Azores as living in exile because it was a politically motivated relocation triggered by the crisis of Cabralism, akin to the banishment of Ovid, whose work he soon began to translate. The other dimension of this exile is that the vast intellectual programme upon which he embarked within the island setting was largely separate from the mainland, making it ‘overseas’ in the literal sense of the term. This is not to suggest that the Azores are to be interpreted as a colonial territory, but rather that there were times, especially in the pre-autonomous period (until 1895), when the islands were akin to overseas provinces in terms of the circulation of information and even the education system².

On the archipelago, Castilho engaged in extensive civic and cultural activity, which centred around the establishment of two guilds: the Sociedade Promotora da Agricultura Micaelense³ (Society for the Promotion of Agriculture in São Miguel), which was the first of its kind in the country (Supico, II, p. 632, 781), and the Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras e das Artes (Society of Friends of Literature and the Arts), which focused on teaching and culture, inspiring several other societies and guilds over the years (Supico, 1995, II, pp. 392-393). Castilho’s grasp of agriculture was conceptual and moral rather than technical, and he began to contribute his thoughts to *O Agricultor Micaelense*, where he became editor in the second series of the journal (1848, p. 51). His articles were later published in a volume entitled *Felicidade Pela Agricultura* (1849) and presented boldly utopian yet highly specific proposals (whose theoretical dimension has been exaggerated by critics) for reforming the country, which include transforming the representative party system and the relationship between the State and the Church, as well as abolishing the army and overcoming women’s political and civil inferiority.

The second society had a significant impact on education on São Miguel Island. All the evidence points to the poet’s activity being precisely the opposite of what Lopes and Saraiva casually describe as “superficiality” (2000, p. 728). Indeed, the society appears to have given structure to a nascent primary education system⁴ and was one of few on the island to offer

² Castilho views the Azores as clearly separate from mainland Portugal: “this example (...) that the Sociedade Micaelense is setting to all Portuguese territories, and even to the motherland itself” (Castilho, 1987, p.38). João (2008) discusses the founding of medical and surgical schools in the capitals of the overseas districts, stopping one step short of including the Azores in this category.

³ In fact, the guild already existed before the arrival of Castilho, who re-founded it in 1847. It fell into decline in the 1850s, corresponding with the time of Castilho’s departure. Cf. S.P.A.M. entry in the *Enciclopédia Açoriana*, <http://www.culturacores.azores.gov.pt/ea/pesquisa/Default.aspx?id=10194>.

⁴ See the very detailed account of the changes to the education system (Supico, 1995, I, pp. 194-199). He wrote two textbooks: *Primeiros Exercícios de Leitura para as Escolas da Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras e Artes em S. Miguel*, publicados pela mesma Sociedade, published in S. Miguel, in 1852 and *Noções rudimentares, para uso da Escolas da Sociedade dos Amigos das Letras e Artes em S. Miguel* by A. F. Castilho, published in Ponta Delgada: Typ. da Rua das Artes 68, in 1850 (p. 196). He also wrote *Ramalhate Poético* (Supico, 1995, I, p.199).

secondary education (Supico, I, p.194), contradicting those who view Castilho's activity as purely rhetorical and ideological (Lopes & Saraiva, 2000, p. 729)⁵. His work also had an impact on the system for circulating information, affecting journalism, libraries, reading rooms and even print shops⁶, which accelerated the island's progress towards cultural and literary maturity. When he left, he described his activities in the following terms:

In your land I organised a new system for easy reading, now approved for the whole kingdom; in it I composed a new treatise on versification and poetry, also approved for the same purpose; in it a treatise on mnemonics: three elementary books not without value. As for poetry, I started a course that produced two promising lyric poets, and another course for the ladies, had they wanted: I offered it to them. I offered my services teaching Latin and Portuguese at the same time; it was not my fault that no pupils came. As an invitation to the outlawed spirit of sociability, beaten down by bad politics, I launched a journal of literature and poetry, *A Serêa*, to be read aloud in public venues on holidays; it was not well-received either and it failed. I introduced wood engraving. I tried lithography. It could be said that I brought typography forward a step. I awakened a love of the beautiful and good in some soulful young men; I hope that the new schools guiding them with exemplary fervour and holy fanaticism will take root and endure. I undertook what had not yet been undertaken in Portuguese lands: to use poetry and music, once wasted on love affairs and vanities, to encourage minds to do serious and useful things; this led to the *Hymno do trabalho*, the *Hymno da Infancia nos estudos* and the *Hymno dos Lavradores* (as cited in Ferreira 1947, p.109-110)⁷.

Before embarking on this ambitious project, Commander B. J. de Senna Freitas had asked Castilho to translate a French play from the previous year based on the national epic to be performed at the local theatre in São Sebastião (Castilho, 1863, II, p. 67). The outcome was *Camões: estudo histórico poético liberrimamente fundado sobre um drama francez dos senhores Victor Perrot e Armando du Mesnil* (1849) (*Camões: a historical poetic study based on a French drama by Victor Perrot and Armando du Mesnil*), written and published during Castilho's stay in the Azores in the same year as a more well-known work, *Felicidade pela Agricultura*, a compilation of

⁵ "The crisis of Cabralism and the European revolution of 1848 found him in São Miguel. Another Castilho emerged: an idealistically progressive Castilho (...) [who extols] the virtues of agricultural work, the 'agrarian fraternity' between social classes, the establishment of farmers' associations whose primary objective was education and the organisation of mutual credit – laying the foundations for a reform of the country (...). All this without detriment to the existing political and religious institutions, obtaining due permission and support from them..." (Lopes & Saraiva, 2000, p. 729). This unjust, superficial criticism culminated in aggressive accusations of 'opportunism' (Lopes & Saraiva, 2000, p. 731). The two critics also make reference to "a *Camões* by two French authors (...) which (in a phenomenon common at the time) he passes off as his own" (Lopes & Saraiva, 2000, p. 730). This comment merely demonstrates that the authors have read neither the drama nor the two volumes of notes accompanying it.

⁶ Via the journal *Agricultor Micaelense*, he introduced typographic engraving on wood to São Miguel (Castilho, 1863, II, pp. 82-83). The article 'Typographias em Ponta-Delgada' (pp. 50-51), in no. 13 of the *Revista dos Açores*, published in 1851, notes that Castilho's *Typographia das Artes* or *Typographia do Castilho* was the fourth on the island.

⁷ He adds further information in a controversial pamphlet: "Not a year and a half has passed since I disembarked here, and I have already produced for the public a treatise on mnemonics, another on versification and poetry, a drama – *Camões* –, an almost complete version of the *Fasti* of Ovid, a volume of an agricultural journal, a new method for teaching reading, a society of friends of literature and the arts, and through it a brilliant exhibition, and twenty schools; finally, I have introduced engraving and lithography: let the commission (...) achieve the same in 50 years as I did in so little time" (Castilho, 1849, pp. 7-8).

conceptual and doctrinal texts. From the first to the second edition, the number of notes accompanying the drama recreated in Portuguese swelled to such an extent that an additional two volumes were added in 1863.

These notes to *Camões* bear little relation to the drama and are used as an opportunity for lengthy digressions on a variety of subjects, some of which are more interesting than the drama itself. Castilho's curious notion of the nationalisation of literary works, as we can see, goes much further than mere translation. Instead, it is an adaptation that completely transforms the original work, a complete recreation or rewriting, as the resulting work is triple the length of the original, highlighting the intertextual peculiarities of Castilho's authorial process. Although *Camões* was at the root of the polemic that arose around Castilho's work, demonstrating the extent of his impact on the intellectual milieu in the Azores, this polemic came on the heels of earlier controversies regarding the organisation of religious festivities on the island⁸. Castilho was accused of plagiarism by local intellectuals, who claimed that he was passing a translated drama off as his own original work. The poet angrily responded:

(...) behind closed doors, they wrote a feeble libel, (...); printed it (...) and distributed it widely by hand. Among other things, it said that I was a plagiarist (...) for presenting the translation of a French drama as something of my own. (...); tell me, can there be anything more morally disgusting than printing that without reading or hearing the drama? (...) Why does misfortune always rise up from all sides against the poor cultivators of letters? Is it not misery enough for them to be almost always ill-favoured by fortune? To live in a kind of unsacred hermitage? To concern themselves with utopias? To be little known and wrongly judged? To devour envy and ingratitude? To live shorter lives? To doubt often the glory for which they sacrifice themselves? To achieve it only when they can no longer hear it? And to experience nothing but poverty? Must libel still come on the heels of criticism of their work to tarnish them, like a stinking harpy? (Castilho, 1863, II, pp. 73-74)

Sociocultural reflections on the status of men of letters in Portugal in the 19th century of this kind are highly valuable, allowing us to reconstruct intellectual communities in different contexts, such as the Azores, and to explore the processes of socialisation and institutionalisation of literature and authors in the first half of the 19th century. Yet the scope of Castilho's work is broader still. In the notes to *Camões*, he presents a series of civic projects for monumentalising the historical and especially literary memory surrounding this reflection on the condition of men of letters. In this regard, many of the civic and social proposals made by Castilho, a true moral conscience in the 19th century in Portugal, represented the future in his era and some have indeed come to pass. Many of them were implemented amid efforts to monumentalise the past at the end

⁸ The controversy was triggered by João José de Andrade, known as Papa Açorda, who was from Faial and wrote *Cartista dos Açores* (Supico, 1995, I, p. 91). He is the subject of a biography by Supico (1995, II, pp. 812-813), who reproduces the polemic in Supico (1995, III, pp. 1222-1230).

of the century: statues of poets, an intense Camonism or cult of Camões, codification of spelling and creation of an 'Elysian Fields' (cemetery) for artists were some of his most enduring concerns. Other, more unusual proposals never came to fruition, such as the creation of new punctuation signs, which would be quite useless to the blind poet, who nevertheless believed them to be necessary for the community. Proposals like the home for young and elderly artists may be viewed as a very early forerunner to organisations such as the Casa do Artista in Lisbon, which was founded in 1999. The cemetery for poets was partially constructed, although it differed from Castilho's vision. This points to quite the opposite conclusion to that reached by Óscar Lopes and António José Saraiva in their influential literary historiography: "he was always capable of adapting (...) to the ideas in vogue" (Lopes & Saraiva, 2000, p. 728). Far from it: years later, the ideas in vogue adapted to him.

While the drama and accompanying notes were already adapted to the Azores (including authors from or active in the archipelago, such as Frederico Leão Cabreira, in the notes), it was *Felicidade pela Agricultura* that best revealed the role of the islands as a laboratory for a global, totalising project in which literature, journalism and illustration, understood as an Enlightenment legacy, represented an opportunity for social, political and civilisational reform, but not a revolution⁹. His work could not have been more political, although he denied it on several occasions. The controversies surrounding Castilho on the island were also political (between Chartists and Septembrists), as was his activity aimed at expanding and controlling the educational, cultural, literary and other apparatus. Although the project focuses on agriculture, it may be understood as an inflection of Castilho's cultural plans. Everything is culture and the foundation for it – in a philosophical materialism not entirely concealed behind a rhetorical deism – is agriculture (Castilho, 1987, pp. 43-52). In this work, Castilho also presents the philosophical underpinnings of his societies. Yet his activity, as we have seen, was quite concrete. At a time when the state was only just beginning to influence society in the Azores, his society fulfilled multiple functions: it was, quite literally, a library, theatre, school, art gallery, showcase for commercial and industrial products, museum and even a concert hall (Castilho, 1987, p. 130).

Castilho provides transcriptions of documents relating to every step involved in creating his Sociedade dos Amigos, from its foundation to the construction of a building to house it, as well as all the advertisements, letters and official notes, further demonstrating the archival frenzy present in his work. The archival quality of his writing is a metonymy for the structures to which his work is linked: societies, interlinking circles and journalism itself. The idea of a journal, in this case O

⁹ He responds to accusations of Phalansterianism (II, p. 123), suggesting that C. Fourier's legacy had a bad reputation at that time.

Agricultor Micaelense, as an interactive archive, organ of a society and immediate embodiment of a republic of letters is expressed in the programmatic text presenting the second series of the journal, 'O Redactor ao Publico', in issue 1 published on 1 January 1848:

The Society, whose organ we are, aims to guarantee the duration of this, its archive, with the greatest possible support. And, with prudent wisdom, it is understood that for this purpose nothing is more convenient than to add to the agricultural matters themselves, which are its purpose and its primary commitment, all the other true interests, no matter what kind they may be. Soon, what was at first an agricultural review, is transformed into a Polygraphia Encyclopedica (...). In this reform of the *Agricultor*, akin to the reform of the *Jornal dos Conhecimentos Uteis* in Paris a long time ago and of the *Revista Universal* in Lisbon (...) the journal takes on a new importance and a new efficacy to do good work, with which far more ambitious spirits than our own and far more renowned figures in the Literary Republic could be flattered (Castilho, 1848, p. 4).

Therefore, it is natural for these activities to be understood as a continuation of one another and for literary activity to include other things, just as these other things include it: "without having renounced my place at the common banquet of contemporary writers (...) my poems today are the schools" (Castilho, 1987, p. 116)¹⁰. As we will see, the most specific fruits of this activity came after the poet's return to the mainland in 1850, with the continuation of a literary periodical press on the islands. As for the notion of republic of letters, it should be by now clear that Castilho's group in deed constitutes what we could call a Luso-colonial republic of letters, if taken into account its vast geographical dispersion (Brazil, India, China, Portugal, the Atlantic Isles), the institution of a political sociability (Goodman, 1994), the use of several textual genres such as monographies, correspondence and newspapers but also the solidification or even creation (for the Azorean case) of "a modern age in which the printing press, polite conversation, and public opinion were the defining discursive institutions" (Goodman, 1994, p. 5).

Not long after the press was created (1829), the *Revista dos Açores* (1851-1853) demonstrated the maturity of a cohesive literary and cultural group in Ponta Delgada. It was a very Castilhan project, with a focus on material improvements on the islands, compilation of their historical events, and local literature and public education. The journal belonged to another society, the Sociedade Auxiliadora das Letras Açoreanas¹¹, about which little is known. It is likely to have

¹⁰ He left an agenda for the educational press: "Free some portion of the space that old habits will fill with unnecessary (or even harmful) novels, ridiculous anecdotes and vanities of all kinds from foreign journals for original translations or imitations, which, while teaching the farmer some useful new information regarding his trade, give him pride in his own eyes by proving that the Press, the wise and the grown and civilised nations do not hold him in contempt" (Castilho, 1987, p. 44).

¹¹ Named in no. 54 of 7 December 1852, with José Joaquim d'Oliveira Machado Junior appointed as administrator. The society aimed to create (*Revista*, 208) a journal reading room and a literary gallery. The first opened in 1852 (*Revista*, 236). Cf. Supico (1995, II, p. 633).

been based on the Sociedade Promotora da Agricultura Micaelense¹². It is this journal in particular that shows how Castilho's presence on the archipelago built momentum for the creation of an Azorean literature, with a group acting as a catalyst. The material compiled by Francisco Supico in *Escavações* (1995) reveals that the associativism advocated by Castilho was not just another society in a series of almost exclusively formal guilds nor a mutual admiration society, as we can deduce from the false narrative of Lopes and Saraiva in *História da Literatura Portuguesa*, but rather an endeavour that provided the island with the necessary material conditions for the production of a literary culture.

Castilho collaborated with the journal¹³ and is referred to in it as an educator (1851, p. 50), poet (1851, p. 51) and critic¹⁴, providing criticism of the work of Azorean authors in the latter case. His society is also frequently mentioned (pp. 240-243) in the 'Azorean Poets' section, transformed into or alternating with 'Azorean Literature', which Urbano Bettencourt identifies as the founding moment in the historical and critical fixation of this syntagm (2017, pp. 34-35)¹⁵. Bettencourt¹⁶ highlights the "institutional function" (2017, p. 36) of these notes, in the sense of the institutionalisation of literature, in a reading à la Antonio Candido. He observes that the name change "conveys a change of conceptualisation and practice" (2017, p. 36), moving away from an exclusive focus on poetry to encompass prose, albeit not fiction.

It is interesting to note that what the critic views as evidence of a formative moment in a system is in fact a clear symptom of a reality that should be approached differently. Bettencourt, who works with a notion of regional literature rooted in the national model, states that *literature* is very broadly defined in these notes and that the adjective 'Azorean' is understood solely as a demonym, "without any definition of contents and genres" (2017, p. 37). On the one hand, the journal employs an open concept of literature, which is more typically Romantic/Enlightenment, echoing Castilho, than positivist, as the journal describes it: the letters are not only literature, but the whole life of the mind, encompassing science, history and law. On the other hand, literature is also a local and translocal community or republic of letters, without necessarily being a microcosm of national literature, a variety confirming the one in the many or a geothematic inflection of this

¹² Cf. Torres (1849): <http://www.culturacores.azores.gov.pt/ea/pesquisa/Default.aspx?id=9716>.

¹³ For example, in the article 'Escripta repentina' in no. 23 of 4 June 1851 (*Revista*, pp. 91-92).

¹⁴ Castilho, with his authority as a theoriser of versification, makes a critical reference to the sonnet form (*Revista*, 151) in relation to satirical poet João José Jácome (1791-1838) from the Azores in a column in no. 38 published on 17 September 1851.

¹⁵ According to Bettencourt (2017), the syntagm first appeared in 1852 in no. 70 of the *Revista dos Açores*, published on 28 April 1851. The section 'São Miguel Poets' appeared in one issue (*Revista*, 68), preceding the 'Azorean Poets' section.

¹⁶ Bettencourt's theoretical models are Cândido (1959), Cristóvão (1983) and classical comparativism. He applies the model of national literature to a smaller context, which is a microcosm and an integral part of the wider context (Bettencourt, 2017, p. 28).

national literature. Although the authors' nativeness is emphasised in the notes, the poetry published in the journal is by authors who happened to be in São Miguel at the time, rather than solely native authors.

The opening texts explore similar topics to those of interest to Castilho (Ovid and his *Fasti* in 'Annals of São Miguel', no. 1, *Revista* 1851, no. 2), while the poet and his society are mentioned on p. 4 in the 'Bibliography' section. The publication features a fixed number of poets, who are mentioned repeatedly and are almost all from or closely linked to Castilho's social circle: João Albino Peixoto, Frederico Leão Cabreira, Filipe do Quental, M. Street Arriaga, Luiz Filipe Leite, Manuel Antonio Vasconcellos, J. A. Cabral de Mello, A. T. de Macedo, J. M. do Couto Severim and Jose Bem-Saude¹⁷. There are also texts that may be read as fictional narratives¹⁸. Yet the most direct connection between the journal and the poet is provided by the learned Francisco Maria Supico, who states that one of the journal's founders, (Bento) José Torres, who had already worked on *Agricultor Micaelense* (Supico, 1995, II, p. 781), was from Castilho's circle¹⁹. Supico, who attributes the unsigned articles in the journal (II, p. 839) to Castilho in a text originally published in 1897, explains: "all the young men admitted to his inner literary circle at that time received a spark of his genius and became worthwhile men of merit" (Supico, I, p.212). In short, the *Revista dos Açores* is clearly affiliated with Castilho, who may be viewed as the grandfather, if not the father, of Azorean literature: its instigator, so to speak. But did he have the same influence in Macau?

3. Castilho in Macau; Macau in Castilho

In the final year of the *Revista dos Açores*, Castilho's poem 'O Anno Bom dos Romanos' was published in the first issue of the *Boletim do Governo da Província de Macau, Timor e Solor e Macau*²⁰ in 1852 (3rd January 1852, volume VII, number 1, 4; pp. 6-8), most likely under the auspices of Francisco Maria Bordalo, secretary to the Government of Macau. The poem is actually a translation from Ovid's *Fasti*, part of a translation project that he began in the Azores. This issue of the journal also features an article on a planned statue of Dom Pedro, which was also penned

¹⁷ We re-encounter Frederico Cabreira, cited in the notes to the drama *Camões*, in Macau; Leite, to whom the poet refers (1987, p. 207), is an intimate protégé of Castilho; Filipe do Quental is one of the directors of the primary schools supported by the society (Supico, I, p. 89). Severim was one of its founders (Torres, 1849, p. 3).

¹⁸ 'A flora' (*Revista* 1851, 97/98; 105/106), 'Invasão de mar' (*Revista* 1851, pp. 31-33) and 'Ela' (*Revista* 1851, pp. 253-254, pp. 256-258 and pp. 261-268).

¹⁹ B. José Torres was the first secretary of the Sociedade dos Amigos (Supico 1995, II, p. 839) and attended a soirée dedicated to Castilho in November 1848, where he and the other guests recited eulogies in verse (Supico, 1995, I, p. 212).

²⁰ This was not Castilho's only appearance in the Asian Portuguese-language press, as the articles by L. F. Leite on Castilho were republished in the journal *Tirocínio Literário* in Nova Goa (1862).

by the blind poet. In it, he returns to the idea of a home for elderly men of letters, which he had discussed in the notes to the drama *Camões*, before ending the article with his own design for the statue: a group of seven elements, in which six provinces (it is unclear whether or not they are overseas provinces) kneel before the king. The poem relates to a theme that appears completely alien to Macau. We immediately imagine a typically colonial situation: an author from the motherland writing on a subject of no interest to China. However, this is not entirely accurate.

Although it is only indirectly linked, the theme is not alien to Macau. Classical Greco-Latin culture has been present in Portuguese texts on China since the 16th century, many of which are written or set in Macau around the famous *Querela dos Ritos*, appearing in the work of authors such as Francisco de Sousa and his *Oriente Conquistado* (1710). In this corpus, it appears as a cultural reference used in an attempt to explain the Chinese cult of ancestors, associated with the Manes or the Roman Penates. Later, Janus would be used as a symbol of the territory in the essay *Macau, A Cultural Janus* by Chinese author Christina Miu Bing Cheng, who uses this numen as a symbol of the city to represent a place with two faces or dimensions that only briefly touch: the Chinese and Portuguese²¹. Meanwhile, Castilho's version of the poem celebrates Janus as the god of the festival of peace and concord that opens the new year, perhaps symbolising the *pax lusitânica* that the Portuguese were seeking to establish in Macau at the time to bring an end to clashes with the Chinese community. That year saw significant tension between the Chinese and Portuguese communities in the aftermath of governor Ferreira do Amaral's assassination (1849).

The other texts in this issue of the journal point to the need to reinforce Portuguese power in China and to pacify the colony following the assassination of Amaral and the capture of the Passaleão fort (1849), against the backdrop of the Kuang Si rebellion taking place at the same time in mainland China. For example, the article by Francisco Maria Bordalo, also published in this issue of the *Boletim*, proposes the Orientalisation of China and the solidification of colonial Macau²² by boosting Portuguese cultural influence. The invitation issued to Castilho to write for the *Boletim* is

²¹ Cheng writes: "Macau is 'read' as a Cultural Janus. Janus is a Roman god or numen, guardian of the doorways of dwelling houses and city gateways. He is usually portrayed with two faces looking in opposite directions and is denoted to have two contrasting characteristics. Hence, I would call Macau a Cultural Janus on both near literal and metaphorical planes. It is because Macau is China's 'gate' to the outside world and has two faces: the face of Chinese civilisation and the face of Portuguese legacies. Since Macau has been nurtured by two dominant yet contrasting cultures, it is a Januslike ecumene having two culturally different aspects" (Cheng, 1999, p. 4).

²² Bordalo [signed F. M. B.] writes in 'Parte não Oficial': "This war that rages near us but does not affect us, this question of dynasty that is debated in Kuang Si is very far from being one of those struggles that convulse Europe and America, after half a century, humanity will not advance a single step on the path of civilisation, whether or not Ming's descendant is defeated, because the hour of movement has not yet sounded for China (...) We are outside this circle of activity, I repeat, but this does not mean that we, humble workers, should cease to contribute our stone to the great social edifice; let us look after this land that is ours, let us join forces to pull Macau out of the doldrums that are consuming it" (Bordalo, 1852, p. 4).

no doubt linked to this drive. Bordalo must have informed him of the need to pacify the territory (Aresta, 2016, p. 302).

To return to the poem, 'O Anno Bom dos Romanos' is referenced as an unpublished translation of Ovid's *Fasti*²³. The latter was published later in 1862 in a clear example of the notion of collective authorship via participation in the construction of a common body of knowledge, which Castilho had already tested in his volumes of notes to the *Camões* drama. This time, he takes a more organised, systematic approach, issuing invitations to friends and authors to annotate the work of the Latin poet, or in other words, to write on scholarly topics relating to the translation, such as 'Venus', 'Saudades da Pátria' and 'Parvos, sua festa', which appear in the book many times in the form of correspondence. There is an initial index containing names and biobibliographical notes for all contributors. Transcending literature and erudition, *Fastos* is an impressive collective, generational project that also touches upon knowledge of the Orient²⁴ from an Orientalist perspective and once again explores the idea of creating a local and trans-local literary community. According to Cruz, "A broad analysis of the production of this book would present an extensive view of the Luso-Brazilian literary system in the period" (Cruz, 2017, p. 142, my trans.). Castilho certainly has a centralising effect, but his activity in the Azores and Macau also has a decentralising effect, bringing authors from both territories into the centre of the Portuguese-language literary institution.

In *Camões*, which was written and published in the Azores, Castilho transcribes two texts about Camões's cave by his friends in the notes, in relation to the epic poet's purported stay on the territory: a letter describing the cave from Frederico Leão Cabreira (1800-1880)²⁵, dated 1849 and sent from Ponta Delgada, and an article by Carlos José Caldeira (1811-1882), taken from the *Arquivo Pitoresco* (I, pp. 18-26)²⁶. This very close connection of the letter to the newspaper and the polemical pamphlet in Castilho has much to do with what happened to these genres in the eighteenth-century French republic of letters and with the blurring between private and public spaces this process implicates²⁷, according to Goodman's view:

²³ It is published almost unaltered in Castilho (1862, I, p. 9).

²⁴ Volume II refers to Confucius (1862, II, p. 463).

²⁵ He was a soldier who served his career in Asia, first in the state of India, where he held positions including reader in Mathematics, director of the Military Academy in Goa and commander-general of Artillery. He worked with *Revista dos Açores*. He held public and military roles in the Azores, Goa and Timor. One of his works was published in Goa: *Notícia histórica e notas de introdução à Instrução dada pelo Vice-rei, Marquez de Alorna, ao seu sucessor Marquez de Távora* (1836). Others were published in a variety of journals. Some of his works have been digitalised in *BNP digital*.

²⁶ The text is held in the reserves at the National Library of Portugal in manuscript format, with some differences.

²⁷ It has in deed much to do with Castilho, who exposes the private in the public through the letter and the newspaper chronicle, being the origin of the latter no more than an articulate series of semi-private correspondences by letter (Goodman, 1994, p. 142): "The Republic of Letters rose with the modern political state (...) out of the articulation of public and private spheres, citizen and state, agent and critic". (Goodman, 1994, p. 2).

(...) the letter [is] the dominant form of writing in the eighteenth century. The philosophes increasingly and creatively used letters to bridge the gap between the private circles in which they gathered and the public arena that they sought to shape and conquer. (...) they transformed letters and correspondences into a variety of public media, which, because they were extensions of epistolary commerce, retained the crucial reciprocity that made their readers members of a community. (...) As letters and correspondences became the bases and models for print media of broader circulation, this network expanded to become fully public. The letter was transformed into the newsletter and then into the journal. The pamphlet wars of the eighteenth century were letter exchanges, correspondences, often initiated by men of letters but continued by the public itself. The epistolary genre became the dominant medium for creating an active and interactive reading public. (Goodman, 1994, p. 137)

The first of the authors, the Viscount of Faro, also belonged to Castilho's circle of friends and was an important figure in the history of Timor, where he served as governor from 1839 to 1844 (including Solor). Upon his return to mainland Portugal, he was the Duke of Saldanha's military secretary. He was appointed military commander of the island of São Miguel, where he wrote the letter to Castilho, already included in *Camões'* first edition. He also wrote a note entitled 'Pertinácia dos assédios antigos', which Castilho included in his translation of the Roman poet. The cave is a commonplace in writing on Macau, and Bordalo also glosses it. In the third volume of notes to *Camões*, Castilho says of Cabreira:

Quite naturally, the Cave in Macau influenced these considerations of mine. Wishing to visit it with my readers, even if only in spirit, I asked a friend of the poet, a poet himself and a friend of mine too, Mr Frederico Leão Cabreira, for a written description of this sacrarium of inspirations, venerated even by foreigners, which he certainly found delicious. (...) a Portuguese man of good times even today, so devoted to such relics that he even bought the ruins of the house where Saint Francis Xavier lived in the glorious East, he answered my request with alacrity, and, as readers will see, with excellence too. Of his entire response, I omit only the delightful passage in verse, which he addressed to me with almost fanatical friendliness (Castilho, 1863, III, p. 206).

Here, the narrative tricks used in romantic fiction (appealing directly to the reader) are applied to common themes in Portuguese Orientalist literature (the notion of the East, Saint Francis Xavier) and employed to laud authors (Cabreira is a poet) and their relationships with important sites in Portuguese culture. Yet in this case, the idea of revisiting the landmarks of Portuguese identity in Asia plays a more important role than the construction of a literary and cultural identity unique to Macau. What stands out in this correspondence transcribed by Castilho, as well as in the *Boletim*, is the construction of a self-image of the Portuguese overseas intellectual and artistic community in Asia.

The literary dimension of the journals – which are central to the construction of national images, as Anderson (2008, pp. 51-70) highlights – may, however, have played a part in the

construction of the self-image of other kinds of literary communities, as appears to be the case here. It remains a national community, albeit operating in the diaspora, which includes other Europeans and a large Eurasian component. It is not, therefore, the emergence of an autonomist dynamic or the appeal of nativeness that sets these authors apart, unlike in the Azorean movement. The idea of an autonomous literature in Macau did not begin to emerge until much later, in the mid-20th century. Even then, it was not the idea of 'Macau literature' found in 19th and early 20th century journals, but rather the reproduction and popularisation of mainland Portuguese and European writers for the territory's inhabitants, in the spirit of an expatriate community requiring cultural alignment with the motherland. As a commercial enclave and a way station for colonial officials, this small colonial territory does not yet fulfil the conditions for being considered a culturally autonomous territory, but may more accurately be viewed as the dwelling place of a plural community, which does not entirely coincide with the Portuguese community as an emigrant group in China.

4. Conclusions

As this article has shown, political and civic intervention by Castilho and his circle made a significant contribution to what Rui Ramos (2019) refers to as the establishment of a public sphere, on the mainland, in the Azores and in Macau. Castilho's circle differed fundamentally from the subsequent Generation of '70 as it maintained closer ties to the political authorities, as we can see in the case of his contacts in Macau, Cabreira and Bordalo. Eça de Queirós's parody of the politician who wrote Ultra-Romantic verses, Councillor Acácio from *O Primo Basílio* (1878), is not innocent, as it reflects traits of some of the figures from this generation. Rui Ramos notes that "when studying the intellectuals, it is helpful to identify (...) the development of groups that used their intellectual activity to claim special authority in public life" (2019, p. 40) but it is also useful to do the opposite in a dialectical manner, seeking to understand how that special authority encouraged them to delve more deeply into their intellectual activity, as I have tried to do in this article.

The study of Castilho's group allows the structure of literary networks to be understood by reconstructing the circles, associations, institutes and academies in which its members participated. For this reason, criticism of Castilho's centralising nature is partially inaccurate as many of his efforts had the opposite purpose: to decentralise the authorial self, with parallels in the multi-territorialisation of writing. In both *Camões* and the *Fastos*, the relationship with textuality is rather curious. The notes to *Camões*, for example, bear little relation to the topic of the drama and could have been published entirely separately. It is also strange that the notes extend into two

contiguous volumes besides the play itself, but many of them actually serve as a repository for the writing of a group and a generation in what we have described in this article as an archival frenzy. In other words, Castilho is not only the name of an author, but of a group of authors. At a time when specialisations of knowledge were still under construction in Portugal, Castilho and these intellectuals from the first and second Romantic generations are a prime example of polygraphs, just like the Generation of '70 who succeeded them. However, this alone is insufficient to explain the phenomenon in relation to the author of *Felicidade pela Agricultura* and his group.

Castilho's writing has a rather vague authorial status, which can be attributed largely to his blindness. This is likely to be the main reason why his writing is always collective, although it is unclear precisely to what extent this is true. In the case of a blind author, there is certainly a greater distance between devising and producing a text, as intervention from others is required; Castilho appears to extend these mechanisms to his circle, attributing authorship to others besides himself in his texts. Castilho is a name that conceals other names, in the sense of establishing a collective author rather than the pontifical relationship highlighted by critics.

As a member of a generation that fought for literary property to be established (a campaign in which Alexandre Herculano and Almeida Garrett played a particularly significant role), Castilho's relationship with it is quite unusual as he allows numerous other names to feature beneath his own name, relinquishing sole ownership of his texts. His written production thus points to an impersonal, palimpsestic space, diverging radically from Romantic subjectivity. In his own books, he explicitly, systematically employs mechanisms that have since been identified as features of modern literary intertextuality, such as "discursive alter-junction" (Kristeva, 1968, p. 46)²⁸, which Castilho appears to practise palimpsestically. A process is revealed that wholly undermines the idea of a conservative author, despite the heavy yoke of erudition and more socially and politically moralistic propositions.

Yet, as well as being a name encompassing many others, Castilho is also a self that is deterritorialised around the world and seeks to embody all Portuguese-speaking territories. In the title of this article, I ironically refer to Castilho as the first Lusophone author as he appears to be one of the first modern Portuguese authors – following Brazil's independence – to write directly for a transnational Portuguese-language audience and to participate in the creation of Portuguese-language literature programmes adapted to each of these spaces.

²⁸ Referring to Modernist poetry in particular, Kristeva writes: "Pour les textes poétiques de la modernité c'est, pourrions-nous dire sans exagérer, une loi fondamentale: ils se font en absorbant et en détruisant en même temps les autres textes de l'espace intertextuel; ils sont pour ainsi dire des alter-jonctions discursives" (1969, p. 196).

Castilho and his group established other networks and channels for circulating information in the 19th century, which were partially interrupted with the Generation of '70. In the latter generation's provincial Europeanism, empire is a purely ideological matter (Oliveira Martins is the standard case, while Eça here is the exception), unlike Castilho's generation, for whom empire is essentially a practice in political, administrative, social and cultural terms. As for the different spaces that he seeks to embrace in his writing, his links to diverse local realities are undoubtedly based on informants or intermediaries (Goodman, 1994), with Cabreira explicitly described as such in the case of Macau. The way in which he reveals the processes that he uses to incorporate this information into his writing is rather curious, for example, by transcribing private correspondence whenever he can. However, he himself is sensitive to all spaces and his collaboration functions differently in each of them.

Castilho appears to adapt to Portuguese-language literature according to the form that it takes in each of the different territories. Even when this literature is not produced by authors native to each place, something that was not possible in the same way in all spaces, he and his circle aim to construct a Portuguese-language textual space, often drawing on the most tangible dimension of the term (press, journalism), which contributed to expanding the colonial space to encompass an intellectual space, which, of course, is also colonial. Beyond or before the question of national literatures – with the exception of Brazil, and caution must be exercised even then, everything at that time was considered Portuguese literature by critics and the public – there is a decentralisation that allows production from these spaces to be interpreted as the creation of public spheres and networks of small republics of letters, not in the sense of prehistory or of formative moments of national literatures (invalidated by the Azores and Macau), but from a different perspective.

The periodical press emerged almost simultaneously in the two regions – Macau in 1822 and the Azores in 1829 – and the different pace at which the official and private press spread across the empire demonstrates the diversity of local circumstances, including different relationships with written culture and forms of governance. In the Azores and Macau, the literature published in the journals we refer to here is by authors who were present in these places at the time, rather than by native authors exclusively. This understanding and practice of literature can be seen in other Portuguese overseas territories, such as Goa: writers and collaborators are the community rooted there at the time, as well as being cultivators of letters, understood as written production, including legal, historical and ecclesiastical literature. The absence of Azorean or Macanese/Chinese themes is to be expected in this context: constructing a continuous discourse (I am drawing here on Antonio Candido's theory) in time and space dispensing with the need for 'local colour', which would come later, was of greater interest at that time. The drive to thematise local spaces in literary texts

corresponds to a second phase: when turn of the century poets Osório Goulart and Manuel Augusto de Amaral were particularly relevant in the Azores. A similar process took place in Goa during the same period. In the case of Macau, this phenomenon did not occur until the mid-20th century, when the press once again played a central role in the form of the magazines *Renascimento* (1943-1945) and *Mosaico* (1950-1957).

The articulation of a voice that embodies the literary institution as a particular form of the liberal Enlightenment institutions was sufficient at that time, and in this regard, with reference to the national level, the institution is also perceived as an articulation of the universal: literature, school, the press. In this respect, we follow Goodman's reading that the Enlightenment is a defining moment of the Republic of Letters and not vice versa: "The transformative impulse, the desire to change the world to conform to the Republic of Letters, its values and practices, is (...) the project of Enlightenment" (Goodman, 1994, p. 2).

Therefore, the construction of a set of literary voices in this place is both cause and effect of a series of other liberal institutions that link these two levels, the national and the universal – school, the press, journalism – with which literature is co-emergent. These forms of regional and colonial literature are also a praxis of localised citizenship, deepening the liberal model of political and cultural participation and evening out the classism typical of liberal society to some degree. In the colonial world, especially in such a unique colony as Macau, the latter takes a different form with the issue of the Chinese community's participation (or lack thereof). This occurs against a backdrop of tension deriving from attempts by institutions such as the press and literature to balance liberalism and colonialism. In the case of the Azores, the islands had a very marginal, materially incipient pre-autonomous status during this period. Had this not been the case, the 'lights' borne by Castilho, one of the great advocates of the liberal cultural project in Portugal, would not have taken so many forms at the same time: literature, library, school, press, etc.

Associations and journals are some of the instruments employed in these provincial literatures to connect with the tropes inherited from the Enlightenment project, which contributed occasional utopian components, as we can see clearly in Castilho's work (1987). These languages hindered the authors themselves from escaping national rhetoric, referring constantly to the Portuguese motherland as a benchmark for the Azores and Macau, but we are free to interpret them differently in our critical practice. These forms of liberal Enlightenment thought allow us to take a critical leap, whereby the 'overseas' (regional/insular/colonial) is not inevitably viewed as a microcosm of the national but rather as a series of unique communities. Although we accept Antonio Candido's materialist vision of the construction of foundations for literary activity (press, circulation, libraries) and the confirmation of a continuity over time, which is certainly useful in

understanding the Azores and Macau during this period, we reject the idea of a literary system and the literary nationalism that comes with it.

Despite their links to the colonial or regional authorities and status as representatives of central power, these are the literary voices of cultured elites with relative independence from the colonial/central government. By comparing Macau and the Azores, which, as we have seen, experienced similar phenomena, we are able to adopt a comparative, community focus on peripheral spaces and break away from the nationalist structuring of literary traditions in Portuguese. In this way, since their emergence in the 19th century, literatures in Portuguese should be seen not as a group of national literatures, but as an archipelago of local literary communities, possessing their own literary practices and constituting, as a whole, a possible network of exchange, as well as other kinds of claims to citizenship and literary sociabilities.

The comparison is the main methodological procedure that has allowed us to genealogise the production of national/regional as categories arising in specific historical and material conditions, reading against the policy of nationalist knowledge that ideologically structures it, with the goal of writing a literary history that is provincial and low key. The strength of the structure of local literary networks through the reconstitution of circles, associations, institutes and academies can provide a material foundation for a new comparative literary history throughout the 19th century, not in search of a common origin, but from a discontinuity that has been present from the beginning: in space, much like the famous verse by Camões (translated by Burton) "Shattered pieces o'er the world". We must create new conditions of possibility for non-national literary histories.

In the specific case explored in this article, we have seen how Castilho and his circle of writers played a role in this process. The failure to take Castilho seriously as a writer and public figure only serves to demonstrate the still incipient nature of the study of nineteenth-century Portuguese literature. An intellectual biography of Castilho and a thorough reevaluation of his literary production will be essential in allowing us to understand the Portuguese language in the 19th century in greater depth.

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