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RECOVERED VOICES, NEWFOUND QUESTIONS

FAMILY ARCHIVES AND
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

MARIA DE LURDES ROSA
RITA SAMPAIO DA NÓVOA
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(COORDS.)

O objectivo da obra é o de apresentar arquivos muito pouco conhecidos, ou mesmo desconhecidos, interrogá-los e analisá-los à luz de novas perspectivas históricas e arquivísticas, descobrir as “vozes” de quem os produziu - e formular, assim, novas questões de investigação. Divide-se em três partes: “Recovering, reconstructing and (re)discovering family and personal archives”; “From a social, political and cultural history of the families to a social history of the archives”; “Public preservation and promotion of family and personal archives”.



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ANA CANAS DELGADO MARTINS

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino/DGLAB

Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa/FL UL

FOREWORD

At the core of this book are private archives, specifically family archives. Although it centers mainly around Portugal and its sphere, it provides insights also on the archives of France and of the Canary Islands. The book ends with a theoretical essay that intersects with other kinds of archives. Covering a long time span (from the later Middle Ages until today), these studies have a strong focus on the ancien régime family archives, understood as living archives, with changing purposes, dimension, the type of documents and information, location, ownership, custody, arrangement, classification, finding aids, uses, and value.

The work results from the unrelenting research work, led by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, of a team of historians that have taken the archive as an object of study. Starting with the identification and assessment of a corpus of Portuguese family archives, the team widened the scope of research to questions that concern archives throughout western societies, enabling comparison and more rounded conclusions. The team combined with the protagonists in the life of these archives today: the owners and the archivists, some of whom with management responsibilities in public institutions holding family and personal archives.

All these connections are fruitful, even when some of the issues analyzed elude immediate answers and definite solutions. I am thinking, for instance, of the non-existence of an open and volunteer register of private family archives which would widen knowledge about the archival heritage of Portugal. I am thinking too, at a different level, of the interdisciplinary exchanges that enrich the methods of arranging and mainly of describing family archives, stressing the fact – often known but poorly publicized – that many times they

comprised more than one family and archive (as it happens with other kind of archives). This book is also successful in that it strikes a balance between, on the one hand, the changeable meaning and value of the archive and, on the other, the upkeeping costs especially when an archive's original purpose has been lost. Among those costs, the ones regarding storage, conservation, processing and access to records, as well as those that require indispensable human resources, though if not always permanently. The forest fires of 2017, which destroyed built heritage and family archives in Portugal, are a dramatic illustration of the existing menaces to this archival heritage. We must question ourselves, as specialists but also as citizens and collectively as a society, on the criteria of evaluation of family archives and on the strategies necessary to maintain the most valuable among those, as they are a means to continuously rebuild our cultural identity; an identity that will differ but that remains imperative for social survival.

This book is clearly addressed to historians. It can be understood why this is, as it points out to the scientific methods of research that, in the case of History, stand at the crossing of verifiable information from different sources, duly contextualized and checked. Family archives often contain information not so easily found in the archives and records created by public offices. Private correspondence and journals, drawings and photographs, may portray people and events in a different light from official records, and (as the book title puts it so well) recover less noticeable voices. In parallel, they complement each other. Albeit methodologically sustainable and sometimes mandatory to do History, when approaching specific aspects of people's lives over others (public activity versus personal and family life, for example) it becomes evident that linking them helps explain events and behaviors better. This is precisely one of the main reasons why the essays gathered here will be of value also to archivists and, I dare say, to any one fond of cultural heritage. Recognizing and studying our archival heritage, including family archives, is a step towards gaining a deeper knowledge of ourselves and towards informing decision-making processes.

Lisbon, May 2019

MARIA DE LURDES ROSA
RITA SAMPAIO DA NÓVOA
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MARIA JOÃO DA CÂMARA ANDRADE E SOUSA

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MARIA DE LURDES ROSA

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INTRODUCTION

This book is born out of the realization of silences. Of protagonists of History, of voices of the past, of documents. It is also born of the conviction that these silences are not always (are rarely?) due to incidents or catastrophe. Therefore, its central task is to reflect on them, professing that it is necessary to understand the reason for absences before attempting to satisfy them, and understanding absence as integral to the process of the historiographical construction. To that end, the book proposes to “return” to a starting point which, more than a “fixed point”, is a process: the production of social information, its fixation on durable media — the documents — and the uses that these are subjected to from then on — uses that include their conservation in historical archives, their study and classification by archivists, and their historical analysis by historians. The understanding of historical sources as a social process to be explained through historiographical inquiry, the incorporation of “silences” in the analysis, and the partnership between historians and other social scientists, namely the archivists, in this: these are the pillars of this book.

In compliance, simplistic views must first be avoided. The imbalance between the voices and the silences in the archives bears upon different elements. It largely results from a historical process, conscious or unconscious, that reflects the evolution of societies and their activity in information production and conservation. However, historians and archivists also play an active role in this dialectics, whether they recognize it or not. When historiography favours certain types of sources to the detriment of others, voices are heard and others are silenced. When archival acquisition policies favour the integra-

tion of certain types of documentary sets over others, there are voices heard and others silenced.

Then, it is necessary to accept the worth of scientific reflection. If it is true that the participation of historians and archivists in the process of giving voice or silencing is not always intentional and conscious and does not always depend on their will, the opposite is however possible and desirable. As the book *Recovered voices, newfound questions. Family archives and historical research* demonstrates, when both historians and archivists strive to identify the silences in the archives and retrieve something of their lost voices, results can be very positive.

In fact, family archives are an example of archives that, due to vicissitudes of many sorts, tend to have been little explored in works of a historiographic or archival nature. The reasons for this partly relate to a problem of accessibility. Many of these documentary sets are, or have for a long time been, in the custody of private owners, usually the descendants of the families that created the archives. Thus, access to documents depends on the will and availability of these owners and does not abide by the rules followed in the public archives.

Secondly, family archives constitute an archival heritage at risk. Several survive in a precarious state of conservation, sometimes intensified by neglect or lack of interest from their owners. Even in cases where investment in preservation is clear, it is not always possible to properly accommodate large documentary masses and to ensure the special care that such accommodation demands. Finally, as private property, family archives are part of an inheritance dividable among several heirs, and dividing them means destroying their organic unity. Hence, in many cases only fragments of a whole — meanwhile dispersed across several private or public repositories — are known.

Additionally, the historiography dedicated to family history has tended to privilege documentation originating in, and preserved by, public or state institutions, resulting in a writing of family history based mainly or only on documents produced about the family groups, rather than on documents created and preserved by the family groups. This was not only the result of the preferences of historians, but also derives from the fact that the public and

state archives are usually the finest in archival institutions, both in terms of numbers and the quality of archival treatment.

In spite of these difficulties, in recent years studies related to family archives and their promotion within society in general have increased, driven by universities, public archives and also by the owners of archives. The initiatives dedicated to these archives specifically are multiple and diverse: master's and doctoral dissertations; international research projects; publications; exhibitions; scientific meetings; and visits to the archives at the invitation of their owners.

As brief examples, mention should be made of 1) the collective work *Arquivos de Família, séculos XIII–XX: que presente, que futuro?*, published in 2012¹; 2) the project “ARCHIFAM — Arquivos de família na Península Ibérica (finais do século XIII–início do século XVII)”, under the aegis of the École des hautes études hispaniques et ibériques (Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, Spain) between 2013 and 2015²; 3) The book *Arquivos de família: Memórias habitadas. Guia para salvaguarda e estudo de um património em risco*, published in 2014³; 4) the project “INVENT.ARQ — Inventários de arquivos de família, sécs. XV–XIX: de gestão e prova a memórias perdidas. Repensando o arquivo pré-moderno”, funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology between 2014 and 2015⁴, which resulted in the publication of *Rethinking the Archive in Pre-Modern Europe: Family Archives and their Inventories from the 15th to the 19th Century*⁵; 5) the project “Censo de Archivos Familiares y Personales de Canarias”, developed at La Laguna University between 2016 and 2017⁶; and 6) VINCULUM, “Entailing Perpetuity. Family, Power, Identity. The Social Agency of a Corporate Body (Southern Europe, 14th-17th Centuries)”,

¹ ROSA (dir.), 2012.

² Project coordinated by Véronique Lamazou-Duplan. More information at: <https://www.casadevelazquez.org/pt/investigacao/programas-cientificos-ehehi/anciens-programmes/archifam/archifam/apresentacao-geral/>.

³ ROSA; NÓVOA (coord.), 2014. Available at: <http://fcsh.unl.pt/arqfam/?portfolio=arquivos-de-familia-memorias-habitadas>.

⁴ Projecto coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa. More information at: http://fcsh.unl.pt/arqfam/?page_id=2269.

⁵ ROSA; HEAD, 2015.

⁶ Project coordinated by Juan Ramón Núñez Pestano. See the author's paper in this book.

funded by the European Research Council through a Consolidator Grant starting in June 2019⁷.

The book at hand was born within the scope of these initiatives and, not excluding other readers, had the historians as its precise target audience. Ten years after the program about family archives began — which endeavoured especially to summon historians, archivists and archival owners to research and debate on an equal footing — it was considered opportune to offer historians a synthesis of the findings, presented in a way that is convenient to historiographical research, but without losing the richness of their birth in a multidisciplinary and pluriprofessional on set that even stretches beyond academic borders.

In essence, the contributions in this book reveal the great wealth of family archives in the context of historical research as well as that of the conservation, accessibility and promotion of cultural heritage. They also reveal the problems that these archives raise and demand addressing in the construction of historical knowledge which, as Terry Cook has written, begins “not when the historian opens the box, but when the archivist fills the box”⁸. Finally, they reveal the potential of these documentary sets for the creation of bridges between the archives and the communities that surround them and seek representation in them.

Overall, the analysis of the texts compiled in this book should take into account three central ideas linked to the role played by family archives in the writing of history and in building a community memory at local, regional and national levels.

The first of these ideas is that the history of family archives is divided into two major periods. The initial period corresponds essentially to the so-called *ancien régime*, which extends from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The fifteenth century witnessed archives consistently being created by family groups, although there are cases dating back to the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, as shown in the essays by Mário Farelo and José Augusto

⁷ Project coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa. More information at: http://fcsh.unl.pt/arqfam/?page_id=2269.

⁸ COOK, 2010: 4.

Sottomayor-Pizarro. At the far chronological end, the political and social changes that declared the end of the *ancien régime* came to undermine the functions that the archives had carried out until then, rendering many of them obsolete or endowing them with new meanings manifestly different from before.

One enters, then, the second period in the history of the family archives in which the documentary sets created during the *ancien régime* are kept as historical archives and as “places of memory”⁹. There is also the emergence of what Cristina Moscatel designates in this book “new family archives”, which assume different characteristics than their earlier counterparts’. Finally, many personal archives were created in the threshold between the two periods, some of which smaller family archives, as Zélia Pereira notes in her contribution. Hence the justification for including in this work examples related to personal archives, which essentially share several identifying traits with their family counterparts.

The second idea to which attention should be drawn relates precisely to the meanings now attributed to family archives and to the awareness — or lack thereof — of their importance for building a shared memory. This perception relates to the notion of what a particular society or group considers worthwhile preserving, according to the values associated with the archives and with the institutions whose function is to protect the archival heritage. It is therefore particularly useful to think of family archives as community archives, reinforcing with this concept the role they have played, and in some cases still play, in forming and consolidating a community identity. It is from this identity role that new forms of valuing archives can be extracted, as well as new ways of spreading knowledge of them and guaranteeing their safeguard.

The third and final idea is not specific to the study of family archives but it becomes particularly clear in the analysis of this type of documentary sets. Olivier Poncet, quoting François Rabelais, writes in his essay that “science without conscience is but the ruin of the soul”. In the same sense, building historical knowledge without taking into account the history of the archives

⁹ NORA, 1989.

as sources for this knowledge amounts to producing science with a ruined soul. It is therefore crucial to understand why and how the archives were created, why and how they have come down to the present time, to know what is missing, what has not survived, and to evaluate how the understanding of the archives affects understanding the past.

The solutions to these problems are manifold, as evidenced by the studies published in this book. Such solutions range from a social history of archives to organic archival treatments, including the study of documentary and archival practices of groups and institutions and, finally, the partnership between archives and communities in reconstituting the custodial history of the documentary sets. Family archives are therefore fertile grounds for the emergence of newfound questions that elevate them to the category of objects of study themselves.

This book is organized in three parts that intentionally avoid the canonical chronological division adopted by historians, that is, the “medieval”, the “modern” and the “contemporary” periods. If this may cause difficulties to historians seeking more immediately to identify what is “useful”, the truth is that an alternative approach would betray the analyses presented. Without losing sight of the contextual specificities, these “think” of the archives as products of a conservation path which, in some cases, went through all of those chronological divisions. Thus, it proved difficult to fit the history of these archives into one period out of three. In fact, that would have been hardly useful, even reductive. It is not possible to fully understand, for example, the medieval documentation preserved in a family archive without relating it to the documents produced in later periods and without taking into account the transformations that the documentation suffered before reaching the present day. As such, a thematic organization was preferred, emphasizing the main subjects transversal to each group of texts.

Thus, the first part of this book — “Recovering, reconstructing and (re) discovering family and personal archives” — gathers examples of recovery, reconstruction or (re)discovery of family or personal archives that no longer exist or whose whereabouts were unknown or had fallen into oblivion. These examples are divided into three categories. The first concerns the clues that can be followed to (re)discover family documentation that, from a certain

point in time, was no longer preserved by families, as José Augusto de Sotomayor-Pizarro found in the case of family documents preserved in monastic institutions and Olivier Poncet for the case of the papers of the French Monarchy “ministers”; the testimonies in the second category exemplify how it is possible to reconstruct archives that no longer exist through other documents, especially archival inventories, as shown by Margarida Leme, by Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa *et al.*, and by Maria de Lurdes Rosa. The final section is composed of the censuses, with Tiago Sousa Mendes *et al.*, Juan Ramón Núñez Pestano, and Zélia Pereira demonstrating the interesting results yielded by the efforts to identify all of the family and personal archives existing within certain geographical limits.

The second part — “From a social, political and cultural history of the families to the social history of the archives” — is composed of case studies that privilege specific family archives or themes that can be explored from the documentation produced and preserved by the families. The first set integrates the works of Mário Farelo on the Nogueiras of Lisbon; of Filipa Lopes on the archives of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira and marqueses de Ponte de Lima; of Alice Borges Gago on the Almada and Lencastre Bastos archive; of Maria João da Câmara Andrade e Sousa on the archive of the House of Belmonte; and Vilma Cardoso on the Casa das Mouras archive. The second set comprises the contributions of Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa on the archival practices of the nobility and on the social logic of documentary conservation; of Judit Gutiérrez de Armas on the importance of archives for the social and political affirmation of the families who settled in the Canary Islands; of Nuno Pousinho on the relevance of the documentation produced and conserved by the families for the study of *caciquismo* and the local political elites; and of Pedro Urbano on the role played by family archives in the analysis of the history of women from their own discourse.

Finally, the third part — “Public preservation and promotion of family and personal archives” — reflects on the experience of public archives in the preservation and promotion of family and personal archives. In this part the problems and solutions found at this level are presented, as well as the bridges sought to be built with the owners of this type of archives and with the communities whose history is reflected in this documentary heritage. The

essay by Maria João Pires de Lima reveals the reality of the Arquivo Distrital do Porto; those by Cristina Moscatel and Fátima Barros introduce the Arquivos Regionais of the Azores and Madeira, respectively; and Gracinda Guedes and Sónia Pacheco report examples of archives preserved by universities, namely the University of Coimbra and the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, where the Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese–American Archives, linked to the Portuguese–American community based in the United States of America, are kept.

The contribution of Francis X. Blouin Jr. is central as an epilogue to the book. The author, in collaboration with William Rosenberg, labels the *archival divide*, that is, the ever-deeper separation between the conceptual spheres of History and Archival Science. A long history of convergence has recently evolved into a movement of divergence in which each field, armed with its own conceptual tools and imbued with its own understanding of historical documentation, develops independently and unconnectedly. As Blouin writes in the conclusion to his contribution, “to visit the archive now is to engage an institution with its own well developed set of intellectual, cultural, political, and/or technical constructs largely removed from the conceptions and language of academic historical discourse”.

This book represents a belief that the study of family archives can be a channel of convergence. Convergence between historians and archivists and convergence between these and the communities whose past the former interpret and safeguard. The unpublished or unexplored character of many of these archives is attractive to historians and ultimately allows them to rethink or rewrite a comprehensive set of versions of History, in its many facets. The tools of Archival Science play a crucial role here in helping to decipher complex archival structures, as are family archives. These, having been created and maintained for centuries outside institutional, state or public archival systems, do not follow standardized models and often resist traditional archival norms. Finally, archive owners and community organizations force historians and archivists out of their academic and technical domes. They also remind them that many family archives continue to be active instruments in the construction and maintenance of a family or community identity. They are not, after all, historical archives, they still have a voice.

RECOVERING, RECONSTRUCTING
AND (RE)DISCOVERING FAMILY
AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES

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**“E MOSTRAROM DUAS ARCAS HUA VAÇIA E NA
OUTRA ANDAVAM CARTAS”. MONASTIC FUNDS
AS FAMILY ARCHIVES IN THE MIDDLE AGES**

ABSTRACT: For the Middle Ages, before the constitution of private archives of manor houses — which occurs, for the most important part, during the fifteenth century — researchers of family history have to resort, in addition to the royal funds, mainly to monastic funds. It was in these that the diplomas concerning the members of the founding or protective families of the different monasteries were kept. I intend, therefore, through the analysis of a few examples, to highlight the importance of some document types, such as wills or letters of partition, not only to collect information about the individuals concerned, but also to record the transmission of several assets throughout the generations.

Keywords: Middle Ages; monastic archives; document types; family assets transmission

RESUMO: Para a Idade Média, e antes da constituição dos arquivos privados das casas senhoriais, o que ocorre, para as mais importantes, no decurso do século XV, os investigadores da história familiar, para além dos fundos régios, têm que recorrer sobretudo aos fundos monásticos, pois era nestes que se recolhiam os diplomas que respeitavam aos membros das famílias fundadoras ou protectoras dos diferentes cenóbios. Pretende-se, assim, através de alguns exemplos, chamar a atenção para a importância de algumas tipologias documentais, como testamentos ou cartas de partilhas, não só para se recolher informação para os indivíduos em causa, mas também para poder historiar a transmissão de vários bens ao longo das gerações.

Palavras-chave: Idade Média; arquivos monásticos; tipologias documentais; transmissão de bens familiares

Ever since he had crossed the Douro in the barge of the Poor Clares from the Torrão convent, the knight had been complaining to Afonso Peres, his squire and servant, of a strong pain in his chest, strong to the point of stunting one of his arms: “It is this humidity that the river takes, my Lord, once we get to the monastery a good fire will make you feel better”. But the January chilling air, blowing stronger and stronger from the Freita, would only worsen the pain and the cough that had been afflicting him for the last few months, to the point that Rui Martins had asked various times to stop the horses in order to have some rest. Leaning against a gigantic oak, at the gates of Espadanedo, he asked for some water, which a good woman leading a few goats promptly offered him. But as the knight of the Casal gotten worse, another servant, Gomes, was sent for help at the monastery, already close by, bringing a stretcher mounted on two mules of the abbess, *Dona Aldonça Martins de Resende*, who in distress welcomed the retinue at the gate of Santa Maria de Tarouquela.

Later on, she would say that the knight Rui Martins of the Casal “arrived here diseased, and it was God’s will that he left this world”, by early 1312. At the delivery of the movable assets that took place on following March by the abbess, whom Rui Martins had designated as executor — which is understandable, since they had two daughters together, both legitimated by the king D. Dinis, by whom the knight is several times referred as vassal and witness in a couple of royal acts — in the presence of the two servants mentioned; and, in between the knight’s many other belongings, “duas arcas hũa vaçia e na outra andavam cartas” and some morabitanos¹ are referred.

Of these, unfortunately, I did not find the trail, but I believe that I read all his letters, ten of which are kept in the Tarouquela registry office, as between 1989 and 1992 I swept all the monastic funds at the Torre do Tombo, coming across this remarkable documentary piece, concerning the delivery of the deceased knight’s property to one brother of his, transcribed at the end.

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¹ See Appendix.

This is not the first time I have intervened at these archives meetings, especially the ones concerning family archives, thanks in large part to the generous condescension of my good friend and colleague, Dr Maria de Lurdes Rosa, to whom I am thankful for this new invitation. In June 2012, framed by the sumptuous palace of the Sousa-Botelho in Mateus, I had the opportunity to draw attention to the importance that the lists of *naturais* from churches and monasteries may have had for the elaboration and updating of the medieval nobiliary, and in July 2015, in a meeting in Ponte de Lima, I was able to emphasize the great importance of royal documentation, in particular the general inquiries, which allow to securely date the possession of certain patrimonial assets, appearing one or two hundred years later referenced in documentary pieces of the family assets.

At the end of my intervention in Ponte de Lima, I called attention upon the importance of the ecclesiastical documentation, especially the monastic, as a good working hypothesis for the reconstitution of family archives. At the time, however, I limited myself to value the concept of “duplicate” and to propose its use by all of those who intend to reconstitute private archives prior to the fifteenth century. But also the royal archives. Indeed, I then offered the example of the royal documentation, emphasizing the great difference in publishing a chancellery book, as it has been done with the monarchs posterior to D. Sancho II, and making its reconstitution by collection of all royal diplomas which are scattered by the different registry offices, either public or private, national or foreign, as it has been done for the *Condes Portucalenses* and for D. Afonso Henriques and D. Sancho I.

And so I finished: “In other words, the monastic funds preserve, amidst thousands of other diplomas, the documents that throughout the time have witnessed the relations of patronage, collaboration or conflict, between a given monastery and the members of a certain family. Acts of either purchase and sale, donations, pledges or pious legacies, sentences and judiciary processes or wills, all those pieces nowadays stored in those monastic funds surely had a copy — since they were issued in duplicate such as the royal diplomas — in family archives that did not live up to our days, simply vanished or were lost throughout centuries of patrimonial neglect, were destroyed in wars, fires, family partitions, or just because someone, even a distant descendant, like

the monarchs of the 1400s and 1500s, in relation to their predecessors, found them useless².

*

The case I used for the opening of this intervention is no doubt very rare, even exceptional — a documental core of a very reasonable dimension, witnessing several moments in the life of an individual of the average regional nobility, documented from the early last quarter of the thirteenth century until the end of the first decade of the following century, revealing a part of his patrimony and of his relations with his closest relatives, and which can then be crossed with data either from the royal chancellery or other monastic registry offices. In all, and for the aforementioned dates, the knight Rui Martins do Casal appears in 22 documents, half of which had been kept in the Tarouquela registry office.

But I was only able to find them under also exceptional circumstances, not to say impossible to achieve in our days, that is, during the preparation of my doctoral dissertation, which at that time could take ten years or even longer, its ambit being of national-wide analysis which, taking into account the current rules, one could hardly repeat. At the time, I went through all archives and libraries, national, district and municipal, as well as private funds, and only that systematic character made it possible to gather a rather interesting collection of data about individuals or families, totalling almost 40,000 pieces of information for a chronology of about one hundred years — from c.1250 to c.1350 (the inquiries of 1258 were not signed) — having used about a quarter of it for the foundation of that doctoral thesis.

How to deal, therefore, with this immense mass of monastic funds? Only by a big stroke of luck one could arrive in Arouca or Lorvão, for instance, and immediately come across an important document for one's investigation. Even

² As is known, the successive reforms of the royal archives throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries led to the destruction of documentation then considered without practical effects, which makes most of the books of chancellery prior to D. Afonso V (r. 1438-1481) to be copies made in the fifteenth century; or that the *Leitura Nova* of the reign of D. Manuel I (r. 1495-1521) led to the elimination of the oldest documents there transcribed (ALBUQUERQUE, 1990).

nowadays, with a large part of the funds duly organized, the investigator is very far from being able to entirely rely on the summaries that are offered, elaborated in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and that do not identify in a safe way the intervenients of each diploma, except in very few cases.

Given the circumstances enunciated, I can only offer some methodological suggestions, divided between two issues: on the one hand, the documental typologies and, on the other hand, the nature of the institutions.

Let us start with the first. There are two types of documents that can be essential to understand not only an isolated individual but an entire family group: wills and partition letters. These exist in a much larger amount than one might think of. For the period I worked with, I registered about seven hundreds of wills and more than one hundred partition letters. Each and every one of them can be essential to understand how the patrimonies were constituted and dispersed, providing fundamental clues to follow the trajectory of the most important elements, such as honors or *quintās*, or to date with some accuracy the construction of a palace or a tower. So, when in the late Middle Ages most of the family archives begin to take shape, some of the above-mentioned elements can be determinant in explaining the existence of several groups of documents in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries.

Nothing better than some concrete examples. Firstly, however, I would like to make it very clear that I do not intend to demonstrate the importance of wills, partition letters or any other kind of documentation, but to draw attention to some details that may open up clues and/or guidelines for further investigations leading to the virtual reconstitution of a particular individual or family archive.

1) In 1379, Martim Afonso Botelho, a king's vassal knight, his judge in Riba Côa and mayor of the Sabugal's castle made a will, kept in the registry office of Santa Maria de Aguiar, ordering to be entombed in the monastery of São Salvador da Torre, "no moimento que ali tinha feito e que deitassem Joana Rodrigues sua mulher no dela, a par do seu e que os filhos varões fossem enterrados no seu e as filhas no dela" (in the monument he had built there and that Joana Rodrigues, his wife, would be lain in hers, next to his, and that the sons would be entombed in his and the daughters

in hers)³. The rest of the will, which I must emphasize is extremely rich on information about Martim Afonso's patrimony, both movable assets and estate, is of utmost interest to us for the following reason: if such a strong connection between the knight and that Benedictine monastery in Minho existed, the possibility of finding in the fonds of its registry office diplomas concerning his private life is high, such as it happens with Rui Martins do Casal, as we shall later see.

2) One can say the same of the will of Sancha Pais de Paredes, widow of the knight Martins de Freitas, dated 1299, ordering to be entombed in the monastery of Freixo, near Amarante, leaving twenty pounds for his "work"⁴.

But wills can also be of use to understand the way patrimony, or at least a significant part of it, temporarily passed onto the possession of ecclesiastic institutions, and therefore, as far as their documental fonds is concerned, one could have, in the very least, the expectation of finding elements for the archival reconstitutions.

3) This is the case, at all levels remarkable, of Lopo Afonso de Melo's will (1325), lord of the honor of Melo, making his daughter Dona Teresa Afonso his universal heiress. The latter, by professing in Santa Clara de Coimbra, donated all her belongings to the monastery, the above-mentioned honor of Melo included, several diplomas concerning the management of that patrimony having been kept in the Poor Clares' registry office in Coimbra, patrimony which, by barter, would later return to the family's possession. Thus, when studying a given patrimony in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, one should keep in mind that earlier information can be found in documental fonds that, on a first glance, could be of no interest. From that piece, allow me to quote a short passage — I recall that its finding, at the time, paid up for the tiredness of that week's work, in the old and wistfully missed Torre do Tombo, at São Bento:

³ ANTT, "Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Aguiar da Beira", C. 25/E. 45, mç. 5, nr. 8.

⁴ ANTT, "Mosteiro de São Pedro de Cête", C. 25, cx. 2, mç. 4, nr. 1,204.

Item, rogo Tareija Affonso mha filha que eu leyxo per mha herel e por mha testamenteyra e de sa madre e de sa avoo e daqueles onde ela vem, que faça come booa filha, e rogo-lhi per mha beençam e pola de Deus pera se comprir todo bem esto que eu mando, que se detenha de casamento quatro anos ca lhi nom minguara muitos boos casamentos cada que lhi comprirem, e meta a renda esto que amamos mim e ela pera se comprir soo melhor e per sacar ela despois mays eyzenta ela se o fezer comme booa filha, e de-lhi poreu Deus a sa beençam e a de sa madre e a de seus avoos e a minha ca seja certa *que diz o proverio ca filha es e padre seras e qual fezeres tal receberas* (Item, I beg my daughter Teresa Afonso, whom I nominate my heiress and my executor and of her mother's and grandmother's and of those who will come of her, to act as good daughter, and I beg of her by my blessing and of God's to well carry out all this I hereby command, to stop herself from marriage for four years since good marriage proposals won't lack her after that, and that she rents this that we both love in order to take the best of it until she becomes a full woman and able to take the best profit of it if she acts as a good daughter, and with the blessing of God and her mother's and grandparents' and mine that the proverb that says that *you are a daughter, a father [mother] you shall be, and what you do, you will win back* applies to her), my italics ⁵.

4) Wills, by their very nature, contemplate many references to debts to be paid by the testamentary executors, which report to the patrimonial management of the testator and that can be of the greatest relevance. To that, I shall come back on account of the knight of the Casal. A note, however, about the surprises that these texts reserve for us. Gil Martins de Coreixas, a knight buried in the monastery of Cête, made his will in 1326, leaving a huge amount for the payment of debts, 1,200 old *morabitanos*, 500 of which for the souls of those whom “eu matey e mandey matar e fiz matar e conselhey a matar e ajudey a matar” (I killed and ordered to be killed and made be killed and advised to kill and helped to kill), remembering perhaps his participation in the wars of end of the reign of D. Dinis⁶.

⁵ SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 1999, vol. 1: 571-572.

⁶ ANTT, “Mosteiro de São Pedro de Cête”, C. 25, cx. 2, mç. 5, nr. 1,199.

5) As for the partition letters, information is all the more important as it reveals the dispersion to which the family patrimonies were subject due to the hereditary partition system, dominant before the implementing of the *morgadio* system already in the 1400s. I here recall, for instance, the decisive importance that the partitions made by the offspring of D. Gil Martins de Riba de Vizela and of *Dona* Maria Anes da Maia had in my PhD thesis: a single document enabled me to reconstitute a vast patrimony, widely dispersed geographically, as well as two generations of members from that important courtly lineage⁷.

This point allows me to emphasize the importance of the monastic funds, the female ones in particular⁸, in order to understand the economic management of the family patrimony. When I elaborated my thesis, more than half of the information that I collected on patrimony was found in diplomas that concerned the ladies of each family who had embraced religion but that, contrary to what was thought, were not excluded from inheriting the family assets. Moreover, the partition letter that I mentioned above is in the registry office of Arouca, since there had professed three daughters of D. Gil Martins. This situation was repeated in all monasteries, enabling me to reconstitute not only patrimonies but sometimes entire generations of succession lines that otherwise would have escaped me, since they were not recorded in any other type of documental funds.

From that point of view, Arouca and Lorvão are a real mine for the families of the high and middle court nobility, at least until the end of the thirteenth century, giving then way to the more fashionable monasteries of the fourteenth century, such as the Poor Clares of Coimbra or the Dominicans of Santarém.

⁷ SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 1999, vol. 1: 547-552.

⁸ The absence of a system of exclusion of the second sons, as was long thought, until the appearance of the *morgadio* regime, as [I had] the opportunity to demonstrate, was not directly involved in the increase of monastic communities from the end of the thirteenth century, due to lack of own assets. The prime factor for that increase was the limitation of marriages, leading to the growth of the monastic world of women, but not of the male world, where the number of members of the aristocracy (as was also the case in the military orders) was much smaller (SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 1999, vol. 2: 565-592).

In short, the secret for the archaeologist of the family archives lies in understanding which monastery counted on protection from the lineage that precedes the house to study and invest in the study of its most ancient fonds — as an example, one should refer the monastery of Almoester for Paiva Gosende or S. Simão da Junqueira for Cunha. Always keeping in mind, of course, the lists of the *naturais* from monasteries or churches, that already indicate connections between several families and each of the institutions in question.

Before moving on to the second point for comment, one last reference to our well-known Rui Martins do Casal, who ended up serving as a guiding thread for a series of questions that seem to me important to emphasize in the context of this meeting. By the beginning of the 1290s, this knight began to contract small debts, in the house a few tens of pounds, which later forced him to sell some assets, such as half of a tent in the Rua dos Estieiros, in Santarém. The turning of the century seems to have brought him some financial improvements, since he had the necessary liquidity, 340 pounds, to buy an important estate in Sanfins. The truth, however, is that the debts he left led D. Afonso IV to pawn that estate, at the time in the possession of one of his daughters and of abbess of Tarouquela, whom in order to pay for her father's debt bought it from the king. How do we know all this? Because all notes of debt, purchases and loans were kept in a monastic registry office.

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To conclude, a short note on the nature of institutions. I must emphasize that the following observations are derived from the chronology in which I usually work and know best, this is to say the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and once again result from the experience of researching my thesis.

Imprimis, the Collegiate, in other words, the urban world. It took me months to look through all the fonds of the *colegiadas* of Coimbra, Santarém and Lisboa, just to mention the most representative, only to obtain very scarce information, concerning mainly knights of urban lineages still in a structuring phase. I confess, therefore, that those funds disappointed me, for I approached them with high expectations, more the fruit of personal

ignorance than out of information from others. But I believe that those same fonds, for later chronologies, can prove to be far more important than those of an old Benedictine rural monastery.

Secondly, the registry offices of the military orders. They were also disappointing, for the absence of a system of family partitions exclusive to the second sons, as I initially thought existed, revealed that those institutions — just like the male monasteries and convents — were structured on a much less aristocratic social fabric, as Luís Filipe Oliveira demonstrated later⁹. Once again, concerning those funds, it was the ladies who saved me, if I am allowed to express myself in this way. As a matter of fact, for the friar-knights, with the exception of the Hospitallers, I only obtained very scarce information; the registry office of the monastery of Santos, on the contrary, revealed itself as a real mine to reconstitute the patrimony of the families connected to the order of Santiago, beginning by the Correia lineage and its collaterals, through the daughters or widows of *santiaguista* knights who had professed there.

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There is not much else to say, nor so much substance for great conclusions, as I merely developed an idea aired out at an earlier meeting, but which could be of interest for either younger investigators or those who do not have the time to explore a documental fond in an exhaustive way.

Be that as it may, I hope you have come to understand that well-known and well-worked sources, such as wills, when viewed from another angle, can serve as guidelines for those trying to understand how the earliest family archives were formed.

I believe that, from this point of view, the knight Rui Martins do Casal, and even more the unfortunate outcome of another visit to Tarouquela, proved to be of the greatest utility.

⁹ OLIVEIRA, 2009.

Appendix

14th March 1312, Tarouquela: The abbess of the monastery of Tarouquela, *Dona Aldonça Martins* [de Resende], before the notary public and the judge of Sanfins, makes delivery of the goods that the knight Rui Martins do Casal took with him when he died in the said monastery.

ANTT — “Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Tarouquela”, C. 25, cx. 2, mç. 13, n/nr.

Conhoscam quantos este estormento virem e leer ouvirem que en presença de mym Lopo Dominguiuz publico tabaliom d’el Rey en terra de Bem Viver e de Sam Fiiz e das testemunhas que adeante som escritas e per ante Martim Viçente juiz de Sam Fiiz, Dona Aldonça Martiiz Abadesa do Moasteiro de Tarouquela frontou e disse – «juiz e tabaliom, Roy Martiiz do Casal chegou aqui doente e vontade foi de Deus que se saiu deste mundo, e dizem-my que ele que nos leixa por sa testamenteira, e eu nom consento no dicto testamento nem filho en mym offiço da testamentaria. E s’eu alga fiz pola sa alma fição polho aver do moasteiro de Tarouquela porque ende ele era muy natural e por muita ajuda que senpre fez ao dicto moasteiro e por algo que ha-de hy leixar a sa morte». Item a dicta abadessa dise e frontou e fez chamar per dante nos dicto juiz e tabaliom Afonso Perez he Gomez criados de Roy Martiiz que lhy mostrassem as cousas que hy leixavam das cousas que hy trouverom con’o dicto Roy Martiiz ca nom querya ende despois ficar en enpeço nem en demanda de lhy soer despois demandado mais que o que hy leixavam. E eles disserom – «Roy Martiiz nom tragia aqui se nom esta cama», a qual logo foy mostrada per dante nos huum almadrache e ha almuçada e duas colchas e uum cabeçal e quatro façeiroos e V lanços e huum almafreixe. Item uum pesponto e hum cambais e huum manto e huum tabardo viado empenado e outro tabardo velho e huum pelote de viado e outro de bifa e ha capelina e dous mantees e dous par de çilhas e dous barriis e has luvas de solhas e huum Livro dos Dereitos e has redeas e duas peças de çendal ialle e ha espada. Item outros disserom e mostrarom duas arcas ha vaçia e na outra andavam cartas e andavam hy treçe maravedis e XX soldos e que forom ende os oito maravedis e treçe soldos de trigo que venderom en Val de Froles. Item disserom os dictos Afonso Perez he Gomez que nom tragia o dicto Roy Martiiz al, salvo

huum cavalo e duas mas com sas selas e com seus freios e livros de fintas e huum açor e quatro podengos. E este cavalo e mas e açor e podengos e livros leixavam logo os dictos Afonso Perez he Gomez a Garçia Martiiz do Casal e de mais disserom que ha açemola que hy tragia o dicto Roy Martiiz con'as outras cousas de suso dictas que as leixavam aa dicta Abadesa e de mais deu logo a dicta abadessa per dante nos ao dicto Afonso Perez X livras e XV soldos dos dictos maravedis que dele reçebera e de mais disserom os dictos Afonso Perez e Gomez que eles eram os que soiam a despender o de Roy Martiiz que o trariam en poder e que nom ficava al no dicto moasteiro salvando as cousas que per dante nos mostravam asy en como aqui son divisadas das quaes cousas a dicta donna Abadesa pidiu ende a my tabaliom de suso dicto huum estromento. Feito foy no dicto moasteiro XIII dias andados de Março da Era de Mil e Treçentos e Çinquenta anos. Testemunhas que forom presentes Domyngos Martiiz e Estevam Dominguiz e Lourenço Perez e Joham Rodriguiz clerigos e Giral Viçente e Martim Viçente e Martim Anes escudeiros e outros muitos. E eu Lopo Dominguiz tabaliom de suso dicto a estas cousas presente fuy e estes estromentos com mha mão propria escrevy e ende meu sinal pugi en testemunho da verdade que tal he [*notarial sign*].

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**ENTRE PATRIMOINE PRIVÉ, ÉRUDITION ET ÉTAT:
LES VICISSITUDES DES PAPIERS DES MINISTRES DE
LA MONARCHIE FRANÇAISE (XIV^E-XVII^E SIÈCLE)**

ABSTRACT: The emergence and rise of the new government policy-makers of the French monarchy from the fourteenth century was not accompanied by the establishment of clear, public and consistent archival procedures. The bulk of the documentary production, letters, memories, and composite documentary dossiers did not receive the archival attention that surrounded the acts recorded in traditional judicial, administrative or accounting procedures. Until the seventeenth century, these papers remained in the hands of their owners and their heirs. The patrimonialization of these archives could serve governmental actions when the responsibilities remained within the same family. This especially attracted seventeenth-century collectors, seduced by their informational power or their heavy historical load. Their partial recovery by the monarchy was not the result of a thoughtful plan, but Louis XIV seized the slightest opportunity to bring into the state secret archives that should not have come out.

Keywords: France; Middle Ages; Early Modern period; archives; erudition; ministers/secretaries

RÉSUMÉ: L'apparition et la montée en puissance des nouveaux responsables de la politique gouvernementale de la monarchie française à partir du XIV^e siècle ne s'est pas accompagné par la mise en place de procédures d'archivage claires, publiques et régulières. L'essentiel des documents produits, lettres missives, mémoires, dossiers documentaires composites, n'a pas reçu l'attention archivistique qui entourait les actes inscrits dans des procédures judiciaires, administratives ou comptables traditionnelles. Ces papiers sont demeurés jusqu'au XVII^e siècle entre les mains de leurs titulaires et des héritiers de ceux-ci. La patrimonialisation de ces archives a pu servir l'action gouvernementale lorsque les charges restaient au sein d'une même famille. Elle a surtout attiré les collectionneurs du XVII^e siècle, séduits par leur puissance informationnelle ou par leur forte charge historique. Leur récupération partielle par la monarchie n'a pas résulté d'un plan réfléchi, mais Louis XIV saisit la moindre occasion qui se présenta à lui pour faire rentrer dans le secret de l'État des archives qui n'auraient pas dû en sortir.

Mots-clefs: France; époques médiévale et moderne; archives; érudition; ministres/secrétaires

RESUMO: O surgimento e a ascensão de novos responsáveis pelas políticas governamentais da monarquia francesa a partir do século XIV não se fez acompanhar pelo estabelecimento de procedimentos arquivísticos claros, públicos e regulares. A maior parte dos documentos produzidos, cartas, memórias, ou dossiers documentais compósitos, não recebeu a atenção arquivística que rodeava os actos inscritos nos tradicionais processos judiciais, administrativos ou contabilísticos. Estes documentos permaneceram até ao século XVII nas mãos dos seus titulares e dos respectivos herdeiros. A patrimonialização destes arquivos poderia servir a ação governamental quando as funções exercidas permaneciam dentro da mesma família. Essa patrimonialização atraiu especialmente os colecionadores do século XVII, seduzidos pelo seu poder informacional ou pela sua forte carga histórica. A sua recuperação parcial pela monarquia não resultou de um plano refletido, mas Luís XIV aproveitou todas as oportunidades à sua disposição para trazer de volta ao segredo de Estado os arquivos que nunca de lá deveriam ter saído.

Palavras-chave: França; épocas medieval e moderna; arquivos; erudição; ministros/secretários

Longtemps apanage des archivistes eux-mêmes, soucieux de comprendre le processus de construction des fonds dont ils classaient les éléments, l'archivistique a été ainsi classée parmi les sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire non par un quelconque mépris, mais parce qu'elle permettait d'expliquer les aléas de la documentation et de s'y orienter. Ceux qui sont chargés de l'enseigner dans sa version «historique» peuvent privilégier des points de vue variables. À une date récente (1977), l'École nationale des chartes a fait le choix d'un projet intégré en réunissant dans des chaires spécialisées chronologiquement (Moyen Âge, Temps modernes, époque contemporaine), l'enseignement et la recherche de trois matières jusque-là séparées, histoire des institutions, archivistique et diplomatique. La conjonction de ces approches particulières des écrits documentaires procède d'une conviction profonde: il est essentiel d'adopter un triple point de vue pour apprécier correctement la nature, les motivations et la transmission du matériel écrit que nous ont livré hommes et institutions du passé. En paraphrasant le médecin humaniste François Rabelais qui soutenait au XVI^e siècle que «science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'âme», on peut dire qu'une archivistique sans une histoire des institutions

et sans une histoire des formes (diplomatique) n'a pas beaucoup de sens et pourrait même conduire à quelques contresens par ignorance ou par exagération. L'histoire des archives n'est ainsi pas plus culturelle qu'elle n'est politique. Elle est le reflet de la définition la plus large de ce que sont les institutions, telle que l'entendait déjà l'historien Numa-Denys Fustel de Coulanges au XIX^e siècle:

[Les institutions sont] conformes à la nature humaine, car elles sont d'accord avec les moeurs, avec les lois civiles, avec les intérêts matériels, avec la manière de penser et le tour d'esprit des hommes qu'elles régissent¹.

Depuis une période relativement récente, l'archivistique est sortie des cénacles étroits, confidentiels et professionnels, où elle était confinée pour devenir un sujet d'études universitaires et de recherche à part entière. De la Californie aux plages australiennes, en passant par le Portugal, l'Allemagne et les Îles britanniques, l'*archival turn* a renouvelé profondément le regard porté sur les archives dans toutes leurs dimensions, dilatées parfois à des confins que n'imaginaient sous doute même pas certains archivistes². Par cet approfondissement des connaissances, sans lien direct avec une quelconque opération de classement, avec la volonté de comprendre le fonctionnement des organes producteurs (hommes, familles ou institutions) ni même avec l'analyse du contenu et de la forme des documents ainsi transmis, les chercheurs ont appelé l'attention sur des phénomènes sociaux, mentaux et matériels qui enrichissent les aspects juridiques, institutionnels et politiques qui dominaient jusqu'alors³. Sur le plan plus étroit de la stricte archivistique historique, cette approche nouvelle a mécaniquement inversé le jugement porté par les historiens sur ce legs de documentation que sont les archives. Là où se lisait souvent l'ultime témoignage d'une vie passée, qu'elle soit individuelle ou collective, comme on peut ramasser des dépouilles échouées sur une plage après un naufrage, on y a plus volontiers vu à l'inverse un arsenal organisé,

1 FUSTEL DE COULANGES, 1875: 2.

2 Pour un panorama de cette dilatation, KETELAAR, 2017.

3 HEAD, 2010B; DE VIVO, GUIDI, SILVESTRI, 2015.

pensé pour servir, pour être réutilisé. On a beaucoup insisté, à juste titre parfois, sur les archives comme un instrument de domination, comme une mise en scène du pouvoir ou des ambitions sociales⁴. Ces préoccupations ont réellement existé, ce fait n'est pas niable et l'une des vertus de l'historiographie récente a effectivement été d'insister sur la normativité des dépôts d'archives, sur l'histoire sociale des archivistes ou sur la théorie des archives. Ce faisant, les processus d'abandon, de distraction et d'absence d'archivage ont été moins vivement scrutés. Or, en matière d'archives, la question philosophique posée par Leibniz dans le septième article de ses *Principes de la nature et de la grâce* (1714) reste parfaitement stimulante: «Pourquoi y a-t-il quelque chose plutôt que rien?».

Les archives des ministres de la monarchie française, entre la fin du Moyen Âge et le règne de Louis XIV, constituent l'exemple même d'archives qui n'ont pas été comprises et qui n'ont pas suscité d'intérêt immédiat, à la fois parce que l'institution qui les a produites n'était pas encore advenue au sens plein du terme et ensuite parce que la nouveauté des typologies produites était incompatible avec l'archivage traditionnel. Travailler sur une absence, un oubli, un paradoxe institutionnel apparent n'est donc pas une perte de temps: le constat que l'on peut alors faire en dit plus par ses lacunes, ses désordres et ses incertitudes qu'un dépôt d'archives organisé, régulièrement alimenté et doté des instruments de travail les plus efficaces. Plutôt que de se demander à quoi pouvait bien servir un dépôt d'archives et comment il a été constitué, la question ici posée sera donc plutôt de savoir pourquoi ce dépôt n'a pas existé, pourquoi les documents qu'il aurait pu et dû accueillir n'ont pas été conservés ou pourquoi ils l'ont été ailleurs et par d'autres qui n'auraient pas dû y avoir accès.

Les papiers de ministres

Qu'entend-on par ministre? Le terme ne correspond à rien de connu dans les appellations officielles des agents de la monarchie avant la Révolution

⁴ CLANCHY, 1993 (1979); SOLL, 2009; DE VIVO, 2013.

française. Il n'entre que tardivement dans le vocabulaire français courant (XVII^e et surtout XVIII^e siècle). On entendra ici commodément les personnages de l'entourage proche du roi qui le conseillent et surtout détiennent, à des titres divers, officieux ou officiels, une responsabilité politico-administrative sur une partie de l'action publique, qu'il s'agisse de finances, des relations avec un secteur géographique ou de l'administration d'une thématique comme la guerre ou le domaine. Longtemps, ce personnel a été exclusivement ecclésiastique ou aristocratique. Un changement intervint, on le sait, avec la fin du XIII^e siècle et particulièrement durant le règne de Philippe le Bel où l'on assiste à la montée en puissance de ceux que l'on appelle les légistes, des hommes formés dans les universités et aptes à diriger des pans importants du gouvernement royal⁵. Par ailleurs, au cours de ce règne, un certain nombre de clercs de la chancellerie royale furent affectés au service direct du roi pour faciliter la rédaction de documents financiers pour l'essentiel, les clercs du secret⁶. Pouvoir politique uniquement fondé sur la capacité à servir le souverain, typologies écrites indépendantes de l'organe traditionnel et presque exclusif des actes royaux (la chancellerie): tout est alors réuni pour donner lieu à des archives gouvernementales d'un genre nouveau. Plusieurs facteurs concourent à leurs succès: le développement de l'usage du papier, un support pratique et de bon marché vite diffusé — la première mention d'un moulin à papier au nord de la Loire date de 1348 —, l'agrandissement territorial du royaume, qui double en deux siècles⁷, le développement de la diplomatie moderne⁸ et enfin l'accroissement considérable des prérogatives juridiques et administratives du roi au détriment des autres pouvoirs, qu'ils soient d'Église ou des principautés⁹.

Deux siècles plus tard, l'évolution est pratiquement achevée: en France, à la Renaissance, au milieu du XVI^e siècle, les détenteurs des écritures royales non soumises au scellement de la chancellerie se sont alors confondus avec

⁵ FAVIER, 1969.

⁶ TESSIER, 1962: 161-162.

⁷ DAUPHANT, 2012.

⁸ FUBINI, 1998.

⁹ KRYNEN, 1993.

les responsables d'importantes portions de la politique gouvernementale. Depuis 1558, ils portaient le titre de secrétaire d'État et avaient en charge la correspondance officielle du souverain, en matière diplomatique mais aussi dans ses rapports avec les provinces du royaume¹⁰. La répartition de leur travail s'effectuait alors sur une base géographique. La dernière étape qui restait à franchir était la définition de périmètres thématiques qui leur attribuaient clairement un champ de compétence administrative et politique. Cette lente émergence de départements ministériels intervint à la faveur des Guerres de religion: à la fin du XVI^e siècle, les secteurs de la Guerre, de la Maison du roi et des Affaires étrangères étaient isolés auxquels s'ajouta la Marine dans les décennies 1620-1640¹¹. Un demi-siècle de maturation et de renforcement bureaucratique fut encore nécessaire pour consolider un système de gouvernement ministériel qui fonctionnait déjà parfaitement bien lorsque Louis XIV prit personnellement le pouvoir en 1661¹².

On l'aura compris: parler de papiers de ministres au cours de cette longue période de plus de trois siècles revient à traiter de réalités institutionnelles très différentes. Ces individus passèrent alors du statut d'exécutants de haut niveau à celui de responsables décisionnaires entourés d'une équipe d'agents de plus en plus spécialisés et de plus en plus nombreux. Pourtant la documentation qu'ils produisaient fut sensiblement la même d'un bout à l'autre de la période. Elle s'incarne dans la correspondance épistolaire, à la fois instrument et but de leur activité administrative, et elle se nourrit de l'accumulation de typologies très diverses, notes, brouillons, minutes, copies, actes originaux, qui tranchent avec les archives relativement redondantes des chancelleries, des tribunaux ou des chambres des comptes. Ce qui fonde l'action administrative des ministres, quelle que soit leur importance au cours des siècles, c'est le raisonnement par dossier et non le respect de procédures judiciaires, de règles comptables ou de processus de fabrication matérielle et intellectuelle d'un acte original. Ensuite, le résultat documentaire de leur action ne se mesure pas à l'enregistrement des actes expédiés (chancelleries), à l'archi-

¹⁰ MICHAUD, 1967: 134.

¹¹ HAEHL, 2006.

¹² SARMANT-STOLL, 2010.

vage de pièces comptables contrôlées et approuvées (chambres des comptes) ou à l'enfermement dans des coffres de titres originaux de propriété. Pièces éparses et non reliées, sans valeur juridique apparente, susceptibles d'être extraites, prêtées, empruntées, les papiers des ministres sont des entités fragiles en dépit de leur haute teneur informative et politique.

Tant et si bien que leurs archives, abondantes, n'existent pas pour ainsi dire. Elles n'étaient pas nommées comme des archives, elles n'étaient pas comprises comme des archives, elles n'étaient pas respectées comme des archives. Et pourtant c'étaient bien des archives. L'intérêt variable dont elles furent l'objet au fil du temps est particulièrement révélateur d'une lente construction de l'État moderne, de l'historiographie critique et érudite naissante et plus largement de la théorie politique en France et en Europe.

Globalement, jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle, la monarchie française a ignoré ces archives. Tout avait pourtant bien commencé lorsque les papiers de Guillaume Nogaret (c. 1260-1313), le principal conseiller de Philippe le Bel en matière de politique étrangère, furent captés au profit du Trésor des chartes, dépôt d'archives principal de la royauté que Saint Louis avait installé à la Sainte-Chapelle au milieu du XIII^e siècle. Cette collecte, qui ne peut être qualifiée de versement organisé, rigoureux et obligatoire, ne constituait pas une reconnaissance du caractère spécifique des documents d'affaires d'un conseiller du prince. Elle correspondait à un «moment d'effervescence maximale de la production documentaire royale conservée»¹³ au Trésor. Les documents de Nogaret étaient intégrés comme beaucoup d'autres de provenance très diverse, mais dans son cas le fait qu'il fût garde du sceau du roi avait certainement joué pour distinguer en lui le détenteur d'archives utiles au gouvernement. Le fait que l'on ait dressé séance tenante un inventaire en bonne et due forme¹⁴ marquait moins l'application d'une procédure archivistique réglée (l'équivalent de nos actuels bordereaux de versement) que le caractère exceptionnel de cette saisie de papiers à la nature indéterminée mais dont on sentait confusément qu'ils intéressaient le gouvernement du roi.

¹³ GUYOTJEANNIN-POTIN, 2006: 27.

¹⁴ LANGLOIS, 1908.

Toutefois dès les années 1320 cette frénésie de recherche d'archives retomba pour se concentrer sur les actes majeurs (traités, testaments, etc.) et sur les registres de chancellerie¹⁵. Les archives des ministres royaux et des secrétaires de toute nature n'entraient plus au Trésor des chartes alors même que leur statut et leur production archivistique connaissaient un développement considérable. L'historien ignorerait tout de ce qu'a pu être la richesse de cette documentation perdue aujourd'hui si des collectionneurs de la fin de l'époque moderne n'avaient pris soin de piller des archives privées pour constituer des recueils de pièces d'une incroyable richesse.

C'est ainsi que nous possédons les papiers du secrétaire des finances Jean Bourré (1424-1506) qui a servi au plus haut niveau plusieurs rois de France dans le dernier tiers du XV^e siècle¹⁶. Lorsqu'il se retira de la vie publique en 1498, après un demi-siècle de service, personne ne vint lui demander de restituer les papiers qu'il détenait. Que contenaient-ils? Quelques actes originaux, mais surtout des lettres, des brouillons, des minutes préparatoires, bref un exceptionnel témoignage écrit d'une action politique en construction¹⁷. Matériel inabouti, abandonné, repris, corrigé et dépourvu de valeur juridique ces pièces ne méritaient pas de rejoindre le Trésor des chartes du roi. La distinction entre les *Urkunden* et les *Akten*, si sensible chez les diplomatistes allemands¹⁸, jouait déjà à plein en matière d'archivage de l'action publique des rois de France.

Quelques décennies plus tard, la monarchie française sembla vouloir mettre sous bonne garde les papiers de certains de ses ministres. François I^{er} décida de faire saisir, inventorier et verser au Trésor des chartes, les papiers de plusieurs d'entre eux. De nombreuses correspondances, mémoires, suppliques, etc. constituèrent ainsi ce qu'on appela plus tard les «coffres des chanceliers». Pour la première fois, des typologies telles que les lettres missives entraient en masse (des milliers de documents) dans l'immense réservoir de titres de la monarchie française. Des inventaires étaient dressés pour prendre connais-

¹⁵ GUYOTJEANNIN-POTIN, 2006: 27-30.

¹⁶ VAESSEN, 1882-1885.

¹⁷ Bibl. nat. Fr. (Bibliothèque nationale de France), fr. 20483 à fr. 20499.

¹⁸ HOCHEDLINGER, 2010: 24-46.

sance sans tarder des documents récupérés au décès d'un secrétaire, comme Florimond Robertet en 1533 après plus de quarante années de service¹⁹.

Ces archives échappées à la destruction et à la dispersion sont à la limite infiniment plus importantes pour l'historien que toutes les archives institutionnelles ordinaires. Prises dans leur globalité, des archives de chancellerie, de notaire ou de tribunal ressemblent à des archives de chancellerie, de notaire ou de tribunal. Les papiers des ministres, en revanche, nous enseignent qu'il faut aller au-delà des apparences et nous disent où est réellement le pouvoir. Tous ces personnages portaient des titres divers — garde du sceau, trésorier, président des comptes, chancelier, secrétaire des finances — qui étaient loin de résumer leurs immenses responsabilités, qui allaient bien plus loin que ces titulatures: le garde du sceau de Philippe le Bel était ainsi le principal responsable de la mise au pas des puissances ecclésiastiques²⁰, un simple secrétaire de Louis XI était son relais favori dans ses relations avec les villes de son royaume et le secondait dans l'éducation du dauphin, tandis que les chanceliers de François I^{er} étaient aussi les principaux responsables institutionnels des finances royales²¹. Derrière le paravent immuable des institutions médiévales, la monarchie se transformait profondément: les archives des ministres en sont le plus éclatant témoignage.

Certains observateurs de l'époque étaient toutefois conscients et irrités de cette évasion archivistique qui s'effectuait au détriment de la puissance publique. Au milieu du XVI^e siècle, l'un des premiers à dénoncer la perte de cette mémoire administrative fut Jean Du Tillet († 1570)²², greffier civil du parlement de Paris et à ce titre garde du Trésor des chartes:

Les instructions, missives et autres lettres concernant les affaires communément se perdent sans être conservées pour le service des princes comme il appartient. Mais les héritiers, amis ou serviteurs de ceux qui en ont charge, s'emparent

¹⁹ Arch. nat., J 964, pièce n° 32, inventaire des papiers de Florimond Robertet, 31 mars 1534 (n.st.).

²⁰ NADIRAS, 2012.

²¹ HAMON, 1994: 376-381.

²² KELLEY, 1966 ; BROWN, 1997b.

après le décès de qu'ils peuvent, combien que la moindre pièce en leur temps serviroit²³.

La plainte de Du Tillet était commandée sans doute par l'intérêt direct de celui qui était chargé de la conservation du Trésor des chartes dont il se servait pour produire des œuvres théoriques au service du roi de France. Mais elle était toutefois affaiblie par le fait que lui-même ne se privait pas de distraire des archives royales pour son propre compte²⁴...

Cette absence d'archivage des papiers ministériels en France tranche avec les expériences mises en place dans d'autres monarchies voisines. Qu'il s'agisse de l'Espagne, de l'Angleterre ou du pape, chacun de ces souverains a éprouvé le besoin de collecter pour son profit les archives de leurs serviteurs les plus haut placés. Cette prise de conscience a débouché, on le sait, sur les expériences nouvelles de Simancas, du State Papers Office et de l'Archivio segreto Vaticano²⁵. La guerre civile qui déchirait alors le royaume de France ne pouvait à elle seule expliquer ce décalage de la France avec les meilleures pratiques européennes. L'Angleterre d'Elizabeth I^{re}, par exemple, où l'avènement de l'archivage des secrétariats est avéré²⁶, n'était guère plus tranquille que la France de Charles IX ou de Henri III où de nombreuses réformes administratives furent mises en œuvre durant les décennies 1560-1580, beaucoup plus en tout cas qu'on ne l'a dit²⁷.

La vraie raison de l'évaporation de ce matériel documentaire réside dans une explication structurelle. D'abord, il faut souligner le caractère léger et presque domestique des proto-administrations qui existaient autour des personnages qui avaient rang de ministres: un, deux ou trois individus, dans les habitations personnelles des secrétaires et tout était dit²⁸. Ensuite, la constitution de dynasties ministérielles — de véritables clans familiaux qui monopolisaient les charges de secrétaires d'Etat — favorisait la mise à l'écart des

²³ MICHEL DE BOISLISLE, 1874: I, note 1.

²⁴ BROWN, 1997a ;

²⁵ RODRÍGUEZ DE DIEGO, 1998; PONCET, 2007.

²⁶ HUNT, 2018.

²⁷ GREENGRASS, 2007.

²⁸ MICHAUD, 1967: 192sq.

archives de la diplomatie royale et de manière générale de tout ce qui avait trait au gouvernement par la négociation²⁹. Chaque membre de la famille récupérait au décès de son parent les documents susceptibles de l'aider dans son travail quotidien. Dans une ambiance favorable au développement de la patrimonialisation des charges publiques grâce à la vénalité, officielle ou officieuse³⁰, les responsables ministériels se conduisaient comme tout serviteur de la monarchie autorisé de facto à conserver par-devers lui leurs papiers de fonction pour eux et pour leurs enfants qui leur succédaient. Ce qui valait pour la France, valait aussi pour l'Angleterre³¹.

La préservation d'une bonne partie de la mémoire politique, diplomatique et administrative de la monarchie médiévale et du XVI^e siècle n'a donc pas été contemporaine de sa production. Ce qui nous en reste n'est dû qu'à une prise de conscience tardive: elle a eu lieu au XVII^e siècle, à la faveur d'une nouvelle conception de l'histoire et d'une divulgation inédite des documents dans un large public. Dans un second temps et par contre-coup, la réflexion sur la notion de secret d'État a accéléré la formation des dépôts ministériels publics qui s'imposent en France à la fin du XVII^e siècle.

Les archives des ministres, entre érudition et gouvernementalité moderne

Au XVI^e siècle, il s'opéra une mutation importante dans l'écriture de l'histoire³². Plusieurs auteurs, en général des magistrats et des juristes humanistes, appelaient à utiliser des sources documentaires qui ne fussent pas des chroniques ou des récits mémoriels³³. Ce mouvement en faveur d'une histoire fondée archivistiquement rejoignait les ambitions des juristes philologues partisans d'une histoire du droit antique³⁴. Les sources d'archives n'étaient

²⁹ SUTHERLAND, 1962; FONTVIEILLE, 2016; FERRER-BARTOMEU, 2017.

³⁰ MOUSNIER, 1971.

³¹ HUNT, 2018: 128-129.

³² DUBOIS, 1977; COUZINET, 1996.

³³ HUPPERT, 1968; KELLEY, 1970 ;

³⁴ THIREAU, 2003.

pas accessibles à tous mais à quelques *happy few* à qui l'on faisait parvenir des originaux ou, le plus souvent, des copies et qui en publiaient des éditions analytiques ou in-extenso. Par leur action et par leur curiosité, les archives sortirent des dépôts³⁵.

Au même moment, ou presque, la période médiévale que la Renaissance avait volontairement ou non rejeté dans l'obscurité, fut réhabilitée et historicisée³⁶. Elle fut pleinement acclimatée parmi les travaux historiques et philologiques que provoquait, en France particulièrement, la compétition introduite dans la société par les attentes et les décisions de l'État moderne³⁷. Le récit généalogique s'empara de la société tout entière, des familles régnantes aux grands nobles en passant par les familles bourgeoises soucieuses d'ascension sociale³⁸. Au souci de caler correctement individus et faits sur la longue suite du temps s'ajoutait un intérêt marqué pour la continuité des familles, des droits, des traditions et des croyances³⁹. Dans une Europe politique et religieuse divisée et bouleversée où la recherche de légitimité prouvée devint une obsession⁴⁰, ces efforts n'étaient pas exempts d'une certaine mauvaise foi, de manipulations qui appelaient en retour à un tri entre les bonnes et les mauvaises pratiques.

Enfin, le premier XVII^e siècle correspondit à un moment singulier d'échanges publics de sources diplomatiques et politiques entre les acteurs eux-mêmes, soit limités par le caractère manuscrit des pièces mises en circulation (copies des instructions aux ambassadeurs dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle), soit diffusés dans la société sans distinction d'appartenance à la sphère politique, via la publication de correspondances quelquefois très contemporaines puis bientôt plus anciennes⁴¹. C'est ainsi qu'en 1666 un offi-

³⁵ PONCET, 2010a; PONCET, 2014: 130.

³⁶ FUMAROLI, 1977.

³⁷ PONCET, 2014 ;

³⁸ BURGUIÈRE, 1991; MAUREL, 1991; PONCET, 2014: 104-107

³⁹ PONCET, 2010b.

⁴⁰ QUANTIN, 2004.

⁴¹ Cette diffusion s'inscrit dans le mouvement étroitement lié de censure et de communication politique qui caractérise la mise en œuvre des principes de la raison d'État au cours de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, singulièrement en France durant le ministériat de Richelieu (1624-1642): CATTEUW, 2013, PONCET, 2019.

cier de la région de Blois, Guillaume Ribier, publia des *Lettres et mémoires d'Etat des roys, princes, ambassadeurs et autres ministres sous les règnes de François I^{er}, Henry II et François II*⁴². Ribier était le lointain descendant d'un secrétaire d'État, Jean Duthier, mort sans enfants en 1560. Ses papiers, au lieu d'être remis à son successeur dans la charge (Florimond Robertet, sieur d'Alluye), restèrent probablement dans le château familial de Beauregard où Ribier les déterra littéralement:

J'ay amassé ce petit trésor politique en plusieurs années et non sans travail, car il a fallu le chercher et trier les lettres en de gros monceaux de papiers de famille où elles estoient ensevelies, de sorte que je me pourrois venter de les avoir tirées du tombeau⁴³.

La publication de Ribier n'était toutefois qu'une anthologie des meilleurs documents en sa possession. Pour financer son édition, il vendit la partie des papiers qu'il considérait comme «inutiles», c'est-à-dire indignes d'une publication. Cette portion du fonds fut d'autant plus rapidement achetée que les collectionneurs de la place de Paris (le chancelier Séguier, la famille de Béthune) possédaient un inventaire de sa très célèbre bibliothèque⁴⁴. À cette époque, en effet, les papiers politiques et diplomatiques anciens ou moins anciens devenaient des biens désirables pour des personnages qui étaient certes des acteurs politiques, mais qui étaient aussi des amateurs d'antiquités et d'objets d'art (sculptures et tableaux). C'est ainsi que le diplomate Philippe de Béthune, ancien ambassadeur à Rome, rassembla la plus formidable collection de manuscrits médiévaux de son temps auxquels il joignit de multiples recueils de correspondances du Moyen Âge et du XVI^e siècle qu'il réussit à récupérer auprès des descendants des ministres qui n'étaient eux-mêmes plus aux responsabilités. Rien que pour la période du Moyen Âge jusqu'à la

⁴² DESCIMON, 2005: 39-40, 40-48.

⁴³ Bibl. nat., Fr., fr. 17358, «Inventaire de lettres et mémoires d'Etat depuis 1538 jusques en l'année 1560», non paginé ni folioté, cité par MALOV, 2000.

⁴⁴ PONCET, 2018a: 339.

mort de Henri IV, on dénombre 794 volumes, représentant peut-être plus de 100,000 lettres missives⁴⁵.

Les nouvelles lignées ministérielles qui émergèrent à la faveur du changement de dynastie, lorsque les Bourbons succèdent aux Valois à partir de 1589, ressentirent cruellement le besoin de disposer d'une documentation administrative qui leur faisait défaut au quotidien, en particulier dans le domaine diplomatique où la force du précédent imprimait sa marque dans toute négociation. Par ailleurs, émergea l'idée que celui qui détenait la mémoire politique était en mesure de s'imposer plus efficacement dans le jeu compliqué de la faveur royale. Posséder des originaux ou des copies de la correspondance politique des grands serviteurs passés de la monarchie française était aussi vécu comme une forme de garantie contre les aléas de la vie politique présente. La famille de Loménie, qui accéda aux charges ministérielles à partir de 1606 rassembla une collection de plusieurs centaines de manuscrits qui devint bientôt renommée dans le royaume⁴⁶. Elle fut si célèbre que le pouvoir finit, enfin, par réagir. Richelieu, premier ministre de Louis XIII, força les Loménie à lui vendre leurs manuscrits pour les faire entrer dans ses propres collections. À la mort de Richelieu, Mazarin fit de même et les confisqua pour ses besoins personnels. Si la fameuse collection de Brienne suscitait les appétits les plus hauts, elle n'était pas encore perçue comme un bien de la Couronne.

Parallèlement, au cours des décennies 1630-1650, on vit apparaître de nouvelles théories sur l'action publique. La notion de raison d'État avait été lentement acclimatée en France dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle et la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, entre autres à partir des œuvres italiennes de Machiavel et de Botero⁴⁷. Par ailleurs, certains penseurs prônaient le secret comme vertu et instrument essentiel du gouvernement des hommes. L'un des partisans français de cette dernière théorie n'était autre que Gabriel Naudé, le bibliothécaire de Mazarin qui publia en 1639 ses *Considérations sur les coups d'État*⁴⁸. La conjonction de ces deux mouvements de pensée au sommet du

⁴⁵ PONCET, 2018a: 343.

⁴⁶ FIGLIUZZI, 2012; PONCET, 2018a: 342-343.

⁴⁷ DESCENDRE, 2009; CATTEEUW, 2013.

⁴⁸ CAVAILLÉ, 2006.

pouvoir français déboucha assez naturellement sur le souci de remettre la main sur des archives, dont certaines avaient été acquises par ses propres ministres. Au décès de Mazarin, en 1661, le roi saisit la collection de Brienne. L'année suivante, en 1662, il acheta la gigantesque collection Béthune. Ces correspondances entrèrent à la bibliothèque du roi qui devint le véritable dépôt d'archives épistolaires gouvernementales de la France de la première modernité⁴⁹. En 1664, le procureur du roi à la Chambre des comptes relevait l'importance extrême de cet ensemble:

Ce présent est [...] d'autant plus digne d'un grand monarque qu'il peut y trouver de quoy satisfaire son esprit et sa curiosité dans la connoissance générale et particulière des affaires de son royaume, puisqu'il contient, en plus de deux mil volumes originaux, tous les secrets de l'État et de la politique depuis quatre cents tant d'années⁵⁰.

Ainsi, par des filtres divers, la monarchie de Louis XIV était parvenue à lancer en quelques années la plus formidable opération de récupération archivistique de l'âge moderne. Il ne restait plus qu'à imposer aux ministres en exercice de céder leurs papiers à leur successeurs, quels qu'ils fussent. Le décès du secrétaire d'État Hugues de Lionne en 1671 fut l'occasion pour le roi de faire prévaloir une nouvelle politique: ses papiers de ministre furent saisis sur ordre du roi qui les enlevèrent à sa famille et les remirent au nouveau titulaire, Colbert de Croissy⁵¹. Le Roi-Soleil déclarait ainsi hautement et symboliquement que la sphère privée était incompatible avec le service du monarque. L'impossible patrimonialisation des archives gouvernementales devenait un principe fondateur de l'État moderne. Il avait fallu quatre siècles pour l'imposer aux esprits.

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⁴⁹ Ces recueils forment aujourd'hui les manuscrits français 2889 à 3653 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Sur les archives en bibliothèque, voir CHAPRON, 2015.

⁵⁰ DELISLE, 1868-1881: I, 268.

⁵¹ Ministère des affaires étrangères, 1984-1985: I, 67.

Quelques décennies (1700-1760) furent encore nécessaires pour que le mouvement de constitution des dépôts de papiers ministériels se terminât⁵². Mais l'évolution arrivait à son terme. Le principe d'une transmission des archives ministérielles était acquis, en dépit d'incessantes entorses qui n'ont cessé de se poursuivre, y compris jusqu'à notre époque. L'intégration des papiers ministériels aux archives de l'État est un long combat dont l'histoire initiale nous apporte quelques enseignements.

Cette destinée pose d'abord la question de l'attention portée aux documents par ceux qui les produisent comme par la tutelle exercée sur ces mêmes producteurs. À partir de quand une documentation mérite-t-elle d'être archivée et à quel niveau, sous quelle responsabilité? Nous mesurons à quel point le matériau épistolaire, les correspondances, est resté si longtemps un genre impur dans la conception ancienne des archives, comme le montrent du reste les définitions qui nous en sont données à la veille de la Révolution française⁵³ et même encore aujourd'hui la distinction établie par les diplomates entre *Urkunden* et *Akten*. Il n'est pas vrai que l'Ancien Régime ne connaissait pas ou peu le tri et l'on n'a pas attendu que cette pratique ait été exacerbée par les archivistes eux-mêmes au XX^e siècle sous la pression des masses énormes des archives contemporaines. On le voit ici, les tris sont tout aussi sévères dans les périodes anciennes. Nous possédons des indices de tout ce que l'on a perdu et du peu que l'on a enregistré, y compris dans les typologies classiques, comme le montre par exemple l'enregistrement des actes par la chancellerie de France qui n'a jamais dépassé un tiers des actes solennels et aucun des actes ordinaires⁵⁴. Il est donc essentiel d'appeler à l'écriture d'une archivistique des manques.

Cette histoire invite ensuite à repenser et à préciser les chronologies en archivistique. Dans son étude classique Robert-Henri Bautier soulignait l'unité de la période qui allait du XVI^e au XIX^e siècle qu'il qualifiait de «phase cruciale»⁵⁵. Pour ne s'en tenir qu'à ce niveau de lecture, il apparaît clairement que

⁵² BAUTIER, 1968; BRUNTERC'H-PONCET, 2008: 26-27.

⁵³ OUTREY, 1953.

⁵⁴ MICHAUD, 1967: 360-367; PONCET, 2018b.

⁵⁵ BAUTIER, 1968.

la période qui court du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle peut être analysée doublement, soit comme un «long Moyen Âge»⁵⁶ des archives de l'État, soit plutôt comme une forme de modernité contrariée de l'archivistique monarchique. Cette ambivalence réside dans le décalage qui existe entre l'avènement triomphant d'une fonction ministérielle dans les institutions françaises et sa très faible capacité à peser sur les traditions archivistiques. Il est clair que l'on passe plus rapidement du domestique au ministre⁵⁷ que de la monarchie féodale à l'État⁵⁸. Ce régime temporel distinct explique en grande partie les vicissitudes et le traitement réservé aux archives de ces serviteurs de l'État d'un nouveau type.

⁵⁶ LE GOFF, 2014.

⁵⁷ BOURDIEU, 1997.

⁵⁸ DESCIMON, 1991.

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RECONSTRUCTING LOST ARCHIVES. THE CASE OF THE COSTA FAMILY

ABSTRACT: Since the family archives of the various branches of the so-called “Costas com Dom” family no longer exist in full, the aim of this work is to reconstruct them, using previously identified archival fonds beginning at the end of the fifteenth century, through the sixteenth century, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The aim of this investigation was, therefore, of an historical and archival scope, in a mutual relationship of knowledge. The intention was to study and explain how the “family”, as an organization, produced written documents, organized them in archives, preserved and passed them on to the following generations — understanding the archive as a central and structuring nucleus of the power of the ancien régime’s nobility.

Keywords: family archives; Costa family; reconstruction of lost archives

RESUMO: Como os arquivos familiares dos diversos ramos da família dita “Costas com Dom” não existem actualmente na sua integridade, o objetivo de nosso trabalho foi reconstruí-los, utilizando os fundos arquivísticos disponíveis previamente identificados, começando no final do século XV e continuando, ao longo do século XVI, até os primeiros anos do século XVII. O objetivo da nossa investigação foi, portanto, de âmbito histórico e arquivístico, numa relação mútua de conhecimento. A nossa intenção foi a de estudar e explicar como a organização “família”, para alcançar e reproduzir o seu poder, produz documentos escritos, os organiza em arquivos, os preserva e os passa às gerações seguintes — entendendo o arquivo como núcleo central e estruturante do poder nobre no Antigo Regime.

Palavras-chave: arquivos de família; família Costa; reconstrução de arquivos

The lost archives

The family known as “Costas com Dom”, or “Costas do Armeiro-mor”¹, as they are identified in some nobiliaries (a variation deriving from the heredi-

¹ “Armador-mor” and “Armeiro-mor” indicate the same function and can be translated as “chief armorer” of the king, being the person that, in addition to other functions, “dresses”

tary office that was passed down in one branch of the family), had as patriarch D. Álvaro da Costa (c.1470-1540), royal courtier and *valido* of king Manuel I (1495-1521). From this trunk sprouted two distinct houses by male lineage which, as far as we know, kept their family archives intact until the end of the nineteenth century.

The first of these, the house of the counts of Mesquitela, also known as the house of the *armadores-mores*, descended from two sons of D. Álvaro da Costa, respectively, the firstborn D. Gil Eanes da Costa (1502-1568) and second born D. Duarte da Costa (1504-1579), both branches becoming united through the inter-marriage of their respective heirs in the mid-seventeenth century.

The second distinct house was that of the counts of Soure, the noble title having been granted in 1652 by king João IV to D. Gil Eanes da Costa's great-grandson, D. João de Costa. This house was eventually to become integrated into the house of the marquises of Borba/counts of Redondo at the end of the nineteenth century.

Finally, we shall consider the integration of D. Gil Eanes da Costa's own archive into the archival system of the house of the counts of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal, following the marriage of his granddaughter, D. Maria da Costa, to D. João de Mascarenhas, lord of Palma, in 1586².

It was following the extinction of entailed estates (*morgadios*), in 1863, that the fate of these archives, as well as that of the archives of the majority of the great noble houses in Portugal, was marked by their more or less rapid disintegration during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As far as we know, the archive of the house of the counts of Mesquitela, following the death of the second count of Mesquitela/duke of Albuquerque, was

the king in his armor, and takes care of the king's weapons (as opposed to a craftsman that makes armor).

² D. João de Mascarenhas and D. Maria da Costa were the parents of D. Nuno de Mascarenhas, first count of Palma. On his death, without progeny, he was succeeded by his nephew, D. João de Mascarenhas, who was made second count of Palma (son, in turn, of the third countess of the Sabugal, D. Beatriz de Meneses). Finally, by the marriage in 1669, of D. Beatriz de Mascarenhas Castelo Branco da Costa, third countess of Palma and fourth countess of Sabugal, to the second count of Óbidos, D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas, the “trilogy” was completed, explaining why the archive is, in fact, an “archive of archives”. See ANTT (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo) — “Casa de Santa Iria”, available at <<http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt?ID=4164750>>.

divided by his heirs, and largely vanished. Probably the archive of the counts of Soure, incorporated into the archive of the house of Borba/Redondo suffered a similar fate. No longer in the possession of their respective descendants, and with some of their contents now in the hands of public entities, one of my first objectives was to locate these archives³.

Accordingly, this article traces the three abovementioned family lines in an attempt to discover the whereabouts of their respective archives, namely:

- the archive of D. Gil Eanes da Costa, integrated in the house of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal
- the archive of the house of Soure and
- the archive of the house of the *armadores-mores*

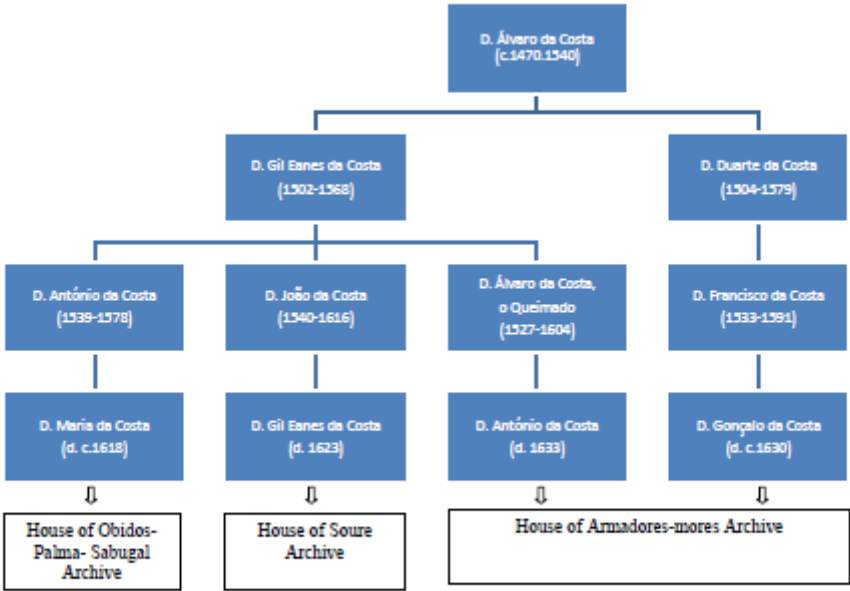


Fig. 1. Genealogical scheme of the Houses descendant D. Álvaro da Costa, producers of Archives

³ This is the case of the documentation integrated in the Adília Mendes collection in the ANTT, and the so-called “Arquivo dos Condes de Redondo”, at the BNP (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal). See MARTINS, 1993: 319.

Archive of the house of the *armadores-mores*

The house of the *armadores-mores* descends, simultaneously, from D. Duarte da Costa, second son of D. Álvaro da Costa, who succeeded his father in the office of *armador-mor*, and from D. Álvaro's firstborn, D. Gil Eanes da Costa, through the marriage, in the mid-seventeenth century, of D. Maria de Noronha (d. 1672), great great-granddaughter of D. Duarte da Costa, to D. Luís da Costa (1626-1681), great-grandson of D. Gil Eanes da Costa.

When, in 1743, the family palace of Porta da Oura was sold to the king by the *armador-mor* D. José da Costa e Sousa (1694-1766), the latter explained that the absence of title deeds was “por cauza de hum insendio que antigamente houve, no tempo dos seus antecessores nas mesmas cazas do Arco do Oiro em que se queymarão muytos titulos e papeis de importancia” (because of a fire that was once, in the time of his predecessors, in the rooms of Porta da Oura, where many titles and papers of importance were burned)⁴. It would appear then that the family archive was stored in the palace of Porta da Oura, built by D. Álvaro da Costa in 1516, until the archive was damaged by fire, probably in 1664⁵. Fire would strike again in 1755, this time in the wake of the great earthquake, once more destroying documents from the archive of the house of the *armadores-mores*. Accordingly, placed in the margin of a register, we find a note concerning a certificate of annuity (for 250,000 *reais*) dated January 1758, which adds: “porquanto o proprio Padrão assima incorporado se lhe consumira no insendio que se seguio ao Terremoto do primeiro de Novembro de 1755” (seeing that the original certificate included above was consumed in the fire which followed the earthquake of the 1st November 1755)⁶.

⁴ ANTT — “Chancelaria de D. João V”, lv. 18, ff. 333v-336v. Arco do Oiro was the name given in the eighteenth century to the sixteenth-century Porta da Oura.

⁵ Frei Apolinário da Conceição, in the course of his discussion of a certain image of Christ kept in the Porta do Ouro, considered to have miraculous properties, refers to the year 1664 and mentions a fire in the palace: “pois neste anno consta, que pegando o fogo nas casas que ficão por cima, que forão dos Armeiros Móres” (because in this year it is said that, fire breaking out in the rooms that are above, belonging to the chief-armorers...). See CONCEIÇÃO, 1750: 440.

⁶ ANTT — “Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João V”, lv. 9, f. 404v.

But despite these vicissitudes, the archive of this branch of the family survived until about the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, with the oldest documentation being that which was produced mainly by the descendants of D. Gil Eanes da Costa's firstborn, D. Álvaro da Costa, the so-called *Queimado* (1527-1604). This archive, through the marriage, in 1669, of the *Queimado's* grandson D. Luís da Costa, to D. Maria de Noronha, great great-granddaughter of D. Duarte da Costa, became part of the archival system of the house of the *armadores-mores*, and was later added to the archive of the Sousa de Macedo family, which became allied to the Costas *armadores-mores* through the marriage of D. José Francisco da Costa (1740-1802) to the viscountess of Mesquitela, D. Maria José de Sousa de Macedo (1755-1816), in 1772.

The only known "inventory" of this archive dates from the end of the eighteenth century, probably from 1773⁷. It is entitled *Lista do que se entrega pelo Armador-Mor de Sua M.^{de} D. Jozé Francisco da Costa e Souza dos papeis que existem no seu Cartorio pertencentes aos quatro Morgados de sua caza, ao S.^{or} Marçal dos Santos, que lhe faz o favor de ser seu Procurador* (List of what is delivered by the chief-armorers of His Majesty, D. José Francisco da Costa e Sousa, of the papers that exist in his archive pertaining to the four entailed estates of his house, to Mr. Marçal dos Santos who does him the favor of being his attorney)⁸ and describes what is in essence the archive of the house of the *armadores-mores* as it was at the end of the eighteenth century: a total of eleven bundles, mostly organized by each entailed estate (*morgadio*) as the title suggests.

During the nineteenth century, the archive grew organically at least until the death, in 1890, of the third count of Mesquitela, and duke of Albuquerque, when the properties of the *morgados*, a system of land-holding by then extinct (since 1863), were distributed among his heirs. One of his brothers, D. António da Costa (1824-1892), retained much of this archive, which he then bequeathed to one of his nieces, as above mentioned⁹.

⁷ In 1773, D. José Francisco da Costa was appointed governor and captain-general of the kingdom of the Algarve, where he was relocated to and remained until 1780.

⁸ APVF — Arquivo Pedro Villa Franca.

⁹ Presently, what remains of the archive of the *armadores-mores*, counts of Mesquitela, is in the possession of two descendants of the family: Pedro Villa Franca, and Luís Sousa de

The house of Soure archive

The archive of the counts of Soure, descendants by male lineage from D. João da Costa (1540-1616), the third son of D. Gil Eanes da Costa, was still intact in the palace of the counts of Redondo, Marquises of Borba, in Santa Marta (Lisbon) in the early twentieth century, where the writer Júlio de Castilho was able to consult it. Sadly, it is now dispersed¹⁰.

This archive, progressively enlarged by marriages and testamentary acquisitions, quite possibly travelled with the family as it occupied a succession of residences (namely the palace of the counts of Soure, in Bairro Alto, and the palace of Monte Agudo, in Penha de França), to finally come to settle in the palace of the counts of Redondo, in Santa Marta, when, due to the extinction of the male line of the house of Soure, on the death, of the seventh count, D. Henrique José da Costa Carvalho Patalim Sousa Lafetá (1798-1838) without legitimate descendants, his house passed on to his sister, D. Maria Luísa (1800-1874), married to the fifteenth count of Redondo, D. José Luís de Gonzaga de Sousa Coutinho Castelo Branco e Meneses (1797-1863).

An inventory of the archive, Índice do cartório das Excelentíssimas Casas de Soure (Index of the archive of the illustrious house of Soure), undertaken perhaps in 1862, now in the library of the Banco de Portugal¹¹, describes the archive immediately prior to the extinction of the *morgadios*. It was organized in fifteen plus two bundles, with a total of 657 documents. In the case of the Costa branch of the family, the first and second bundles (“Lisboa”), the sixth bundle (“Morgado da Ilha de São Miguel”), the eighth bundle (“Coleginho”) and the fourteenth and fifteenth bundles (parchments and public-forms of

Macedo, to whom I am very grateful for information provided and for documents loaned. It is in the archive of Luís SPusa de Macedo that the original *Regimento do Armador-mor* is to be found.

¹⁰ Júlio de Castilho, regarding the genealogy of the Costa family, writes: “That which appeared to me to be of most worth was extracted from the *cartapácios genealógicos* (large books of genealogy) and from the very rich *cartório* (register) of the house of Soure, today in charge of the marquis of Borba, who full of good will to be useful to me, unconditionally placed his papers at my disposal” (my translations). See CASTILHO, 1962: 79.

¹¹ This inventory (BBP — FF/M52), was acquired by a collector, Fausto de Figueiredo (1911-1971), and sold to the Banco de Portugal by his heirs in 1972. See LOPES, 2015: 170.

parchments), are those in which I was able to find the description of numerous documents relating to the first four generations of *Costas com Dom*.

The precise fate of the archive remains unclear. As mentioned, Júlio de Castilho was able to consult it in the palace of the counts of Redondo, in Santa Marta, which now belongs to the Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, that acquired it from the family in 1985. Some documents may have been sold, possibly at auction, during the last century, and today a substantial number of documents¹² survive in the Adília Mendes collection in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo¹³, including a list of documents contained in the archive of the house of Soure which was drawn up in about 1802¹⁴. Other lists, such as the inventory already cited, dating from 1862¹⁵, and two more — *Relação dos documentos existentes na Casa de Soure* (List of the documents existing in the house of Soure) and *Livro de toda a fazenda que tem o Exmo. Sr. Conde de Soure* (Book of all the estate belonging to the count of Soure)¹⁶, are now in the library of the Banco de Portugal. It is uncertain if part of the archive may still be in the possession of the family.

The house of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal archive

This family archive, acquired by the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in 1995¹⁷, exemplifies the destiny of this type of fonds following the political,

¹² At least 75 documents from the archive of Soure-Redondo/Borba.

¹³ ANTT — *Adília Mendes: Catálogo*. Lisboa, 2014 (ID — L710), available at <<http://antt.dglab.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/sites/17/2008/09/Adilia-Mendes-Catalogo-final.pdf>>.

¹⁴ ANTT— *Adília Mendes*, mç. 4, n° 1, available at <<https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4746839>>.

¹⁵ A copy of this inventory belongs now to the archive of the Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, in Évora.

¹⁶ BBP — FF/M61 and BBP — FF/M51.

¹⁷ According to information from the ANTT collections register, the archive was purchased in 1995 at an auction of the firm Palácio do Correio Velho, S.A., available at <<http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/default.aspx?page=regShow&ID=4164750&searchMode=as>>. Lot 300 is thus referred to in the auction catalogue of 8th May: “A remarkable collection of manuscripts, consisting of about 1,570 documents, covering from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is divided in chronologically dated bundles, comprising dues, inventories of goods, petitions, decrees, pecuniary, estate and

economic, and social changes which took place from the beginning of the nineteenth century and which culminated in the extinction of the *morgadios* in 1863. Thereafter, these archives were no longer able to provide proof of property and privileges, the very function which had been their *raison d'être* and which, for some five centuries, had guaranteed their survival. On the death of the last count of Óbidos, in the mid-twentieth century¹⁸, the archive, which had ceased to be active in the late nineteenth century, came into the possession of his relative, the marquis of Santa Iria, whose heirs, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, began to sell it off (although apparently not all at once, since there are records of sales at different times¹⁹). Nevertheless, most of the fonds (mainly single documents in bundles) entered the Torre do Tombo in the abovementioned purchase.

Although Torre do Tombo holds no previous inventories of this archive, we know of at least two, in the hands of private owners, who have consented to their consultation and digital reproduction²⁰. One is an exhaustive inventory (“catalogue”, in modern parlance) of the documentation preserved in the archive of the house of the counts of Óbidos in 1836. The other is an inventory of the estate of the count of Sabugal, first drawn up in 1588, but kept up to date until 1609, containing a description of the count’s income along with corresponding supporting documentation²¹. These inventories, espe-

property certificates, royal and apostolic certificates, confirmations of titles and properties, donations, etc., both on paper and on parchment, preserving mostly the original seals, in impeccable state of conservation and referring to numerous cities, towns and settlements of the Portuguese mainland and overseas (Azores, Madeira, Brazil and India), territories where the properties of this noble and influential Portuguese family extended, witnessing the important role played throughout our political and social history. It should also be noted that a large part of the documentation presents an attached sheet explaining its content, which greatly enhances it and makes it easier to read”. It ends by noting that “this set consists of twelve (12) bundles of writings chronologically divided”, and summarily describes each bundle.

¹⁸ The last count of Óbidos, D. Miguel Pedro de Melo Assis Mascarenhas, died without descent in Vigeois, France, in 1945.

¹⁹ At least two different auctions conducted by Palácio do Correio Velho, SA, in 1995 (auction of 8th May) and in 2004 (Auction nr 167, of 25th September).

²⁰ I am most grateful to the owners, Tiago Henriques and Jorge Brito e Abreu, for generously facilitating consultation and reproduction.

²¹ Already referred in *Summario* of 1836, f. 207v, under the rubric “Livros” (books), as *Livro das fazendas do Conde D. Duarte de Castello Branco, Meirinho Mor*, with the following note: “Este livro he hum indece dos papeis que continha o cartorio naquelle tempo, e se

cially the former, clearly demonstrate how this type of archive was effectively an “archive of archives”, shaped over generations by marriages, alliances, and related aggregations of property and identity, since nobiliary archives always functioned as reservoirs of genealogical credit and familial historical legitimation²².

The *Summario alfabetico dos documentos existentes no Cartorio da Illma. e Exma. Casa dos Senhores Condes de Palma, Óbidos e Sabugal* (Alphabetic summary of the documents existing in the archive of the illustrious house of the counts of Palma, Óbidos and Sabugal) contains 3,143 entries briefly describing the documents comprising the archive of the house in 1836. The frontispiece informs us that the work was “Principiado pelo P. João Fillipe da Cruz²³ redigio e concluiu Joze Joaquim Mattoso Gago da Camara²⁴ Perito Paleografico no anno de 1836. Com hum Supplemento” (Initiated by Father João Fillipe da Cruz, was written and concluded by Joze Joaquim Mattoso Gago da Câmara, expert in palaeography, in the year 1836. With a supplement). The frontispiece further informs us that the *Summario* was compiled by order of D. Manuel d’Assis Mascarenhas (1778-1839), fifth count of Óbidos, Palma and Sabugal²⁵. The then recent laws of confiscation (*desamortização*) devised by legislator Mouzinho da Silveira (1780-1849) may have contributed to the creation of the *Summario*, although the precise reason for its compilation remains unknown. The documents are described according to 123 different typologies, alphabetically arranged, the entries within each typology

não extrata por estar extratado por miudo o dito cartorio neste Indece”. It was then kept in bundle 79 as book A.

²² See IRANZO MUÑO, 2009: 88.

²³ Father João Filipe da Cruz was an expert palaeographer and author of one of the first manuals of Portuguese diplomacy, *Elementos de Diplomática Portuguesa* (1805), unpublished. See ANTT — “Manuscritos da Livraria”, nr 2193-A; GOMES, 1988; NÓVOA; LEME, 2015: 77-82.

²⁴ In 1823 he was a “diplomats officer” in the Arquivo da Torre do Tombo.

²⁵ In 1806, on the death of his father, D. José de Mascarenhas, fourth Count of Óbidos, Palma and Sabugal, he inherited his house. Born in 1778, he died in 1839, leaving as heir to the house his daughter D. Eugénia Maria d’Assis Mascarenhas, sixth Countess of Óbidos, Palma and Sabugal, who, in 1839, married Pedro Maria Bruno de Sousa Coutinho Monteiro Paim, son of the first marquis of Santa Iria, Luís Roque de Sousa Coutinho Monteiro Paim. It was through this marriage that later, in the middle of the twentieth century, the archive of the house of Óbidos would become property of the marquises of Santa Iria.

being chronologically ordered²⁶. Besides the date and typological classification, the work summarizes the documentation more or less exhaustively, indicating the bundle number and the number of the document inside the bundle.

The documents pertaining to the *morgadio* instituted by D. Gil Eanes da Costa were incorporated in the house of Palma by the marriage, at the end of the sixteenth century, of his granddaughter, D. Maria da Costa, to D. João Mascarenhas, the parents of the first count of Palma and grandparents of the second count (nephew of the first count). Comprising about 200 documents, chronologically spanning the period from the beginning of the fifteenth century up to the end of the sixteenth century, this sub-fonds is particularly important for the study of land ownership in the Santarém region and the early colonization of the Azores.

Methodology: reconstruction of institutional relationship circles. The corpus achieved

One lineage, two branches, three archives with different fates. Each of the three archives survived up to the end of the nineteenth century, one deprived of a substantial amount of its contents by fire, in the mid-seventeenth century and following the 1755 earthquake, but the other two perfectly intact.

As far as the first generations of Costas are concerned, only the sub-fonds integrated in the fonds of the house of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal has survived until today. The other fonds, the house of *armadores-mores* and the house of Soure, as we have seen, were dispersed and are today identified only through a scant number of documents, presently scattered in various locations.

It was therefore necessary to reconstruct, from documents produced and/or preserved in other archives, what would have been the missing archives, in a chronological framework not extending beyond the first quarter of the seventeenth century, covering the first four generations of the family *Costa com Dom*.

²⁶ See ROSA; HEAD (eds.), 2016: 164-165.

Indeed, much of the documentation that belonged to a family archive could, in theory, be recuperated from the institutions with which, for a variety of reasons, family members interacted. This is clear from a simple analysis of the documentation preserved in surviving archives. With the obvious exception of private correspondence, notes, personal-jottings, memoirs and related documentation produced by family members but not otherwise reproduced or recorded, all other documentation should be recoverable from these institutions. The problem is that, for various reasons, more through neglect than catastrophe, today there is very little left in some of these institutional archives and often what remains is inaccessible either on account of its poor state of conservation (e.g., the notarial registers stored in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo), or frequently because of deficient or non-existent finding aids, preventing the location of documents in a reasonably time-efficient way.

Analysis of surviving family archives shows that much of the documentation preserved in families of the ancien régime is of a notarial nature (legal documents of all types), with the documentation produced by the Crown, although substantial, being in a lesser quantity than that produced by religious institutions.

I therefore assumed that, once the spheres of operation of family-members were identified, civil or religious, official or private, it would be possible to find in its archives part of the documentation produced by this mutual relationship.

So, I began by tracing the profiles of the various family members selected for study from the available genealogies, all relatively late²⁷, and from contemporary chronicles²⁸. These sources were virtually unanimous in showing that, in the public sphere, Álvaro da Costa was the king's *guarda-roupa* (gentleman of the bed chamber), also his *camareiro* (chamberlain), and his *armador-mor* (chief armorer), and was further ambassador to Rome and to the Spanish Court as well as being the *provedor* (principal) of Lisbon's *Misericórdia*. His son Duarte, in addition to being *armador-mor*, like his father, was an

²⁷ ARRAIS, 1934; GAIO, 1992; GÓIS, 2014; LIMA, 1925-1931; FARIA, 1957; MORAIS, 1997-1998; PEDROSA, Manuel Álvares de — *Famílias Genealógicas*, vol 4. Ms. (BA — Cod. Ms. 49-XIII-11); SOUSA, 1735-1749; *TÍTULO da família e apelidos dos Costa*. Ms. (APVF).

²⁸ ANDRADE, 1613; CORREIA, 1992; FRUTUOSO, 1998; GÓIS, 1749; SOUSA, 1844.

alderman and president of the municipality of Lisbon as well as the second governor-general of Brazil. Again, like his father, he was also *provedor* of Lisbon's *Misericórdia*. As for his brother, Gil Eanes, he was ambassador to the court of Carlos V (1516-1558) and *vedor da Fazenda* (minister of finances) to king Sebastião (1557-1578). In the private sphere, all three were linked to various convents/monasteries, in which they established chapels and to which they gave daughters as oblates to the monastic life. They received royal favors, *comendas* (commanderships) and one *alcaidaria-mor* (governorship) and also acquired urban or rural estates in addition to *tenças de juro* (annuities). All three were members of the privy council.

In the ensuing generation, spheres of operation did not change significantly, with the sons of Duarte and Gil Eanes continuing to circulate within the Court, the office of the *vedoria da fazenda* and Lisbon's city council, and also continuing to patronize the same convents/monasteries as their parents.

Thus, in order to attempt the reconstruction of the universe of production and accumulation of information of the first generations of the Costa family, I turned to the institutions that had contact with them, beginning with the institution Crown and its dependents — *Chancelaria régia* (royal chancery), *Casa dos Contos* (house of audits), *Vedoria da Fazenda* (the exchequer), *almoxarifados* (fiscal administrative divisions), *Casa da Suplicação* (supreme court of the kingdom of Portugal), various *juízos*, *provedorias* and *correições* (court judgments and related documents), *Tribunal do Santo Ofício* (inquisition), *Provedoria das Capelas* (register of chapel properties of Lisbon and its administrative area), etc.

For the royal chancery, the task was facilitated by the existence of indexes compiled during the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the same was not true for documents which can be considered as “relating to function”, concerning the positions of *armador-mor* (chief armorer), *guarda-roupa* (gentleman of the bed chamber), *camareiro* (chamberlain), and the diplomatic missions, which are either non-existent or are now spread over different collections, most of them formed after the earthquake of 1755 which, whilst not completely destroying the Crown archives, substantially disarranged its fonds²⁹.

²⁹ On the Crown archive, see RIBEIRO, 2003, and RIBEIRO, 1998.

Mainly, the collections here concerned are the *Corpo Cronológico*, *Fragmentos*, *Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, *Colecção de Cartas* and even the *Manuscritos da Livraria*, *Colecção São Vicente*, among others.

Most of the numerous *tenças* (annuities) obtained by members of the family, both through purchase and royal favor, were registered in the books of the chancery, where further reference is found to other annuities, the records for which are unknown on account of the loss of the relevant books, this being especially evident for the reign of king Manuel I. Further, in the chancery records we can find references to various deeds for which we know the dates but not the contents due to the loss of the relevant books from the registry offices. Even so, considering that this documentation would have been part of the archive at that time, I considered the information pertinent, as well as some royal *alvarás de lembrança* (certificates of memorandum of royal favor) and acquisitions of property, etc., which can also be found in the records of the chancery.

Since the relationships of family members were not confined to the Crown, I also identified the religious institutions sponsored by them. These religious institutions were, for the first two generations, the Order of Saint Jerome (monastery of São Jerónimo da Penha Longa, Sintra), the Dominicans (convents of Nossa Senhora do Paraíso in Évora, Nossa Senhora da Saudação in Montemor-o-Novo, and Anunciada in Lisbon) and the Cistercians (monasteries of Santa Maria de Almoester, near Santarém, and São Dinis de Odivelas, near Lisbon). Later the Jesuits were also sponsored by family members, three grandchildren of D. Álvaro da Costa having professed in the order. Unfortunately, the monastic/conventual fonds, generally very rich in familial information, lacked adequate finding aids, which made searching very difficult, often leading to disappointing results.

A group of fonds that could provide important information for the reconstruction of the archives of these first generations would be that of the public notaries of Lisbon (a total of eighteen having survived the earthquake of 1755), but unfortunately I was able to access only a tiny portion of these registries for the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century that had not been destroyed either by the great earthquake or through negligence, since only about 20% of the respective notebooks could be consulted

in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, the remaining 80% being “in a poor state of conservation” and without prospect of recovery. Even so, in the few books falling within our chronological range that I was able to consult, I managed to identify a dozen entries concerning various members of the third generation of the family.

Other archival fonds explored were those of the *Misericórdias*, however results were achieved only in the case of the *Misericórdia* of Évora, to which D. Álvaro da Costa had bequeathed a large annuity to be used for charitable works (especially on the marriage of orphans) and nothing in the case of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon, the archive of which is well known to retain very little documentation dating prior to the eighteenth century.

The Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa also yielded some documentation, not only regarding the duties as alderman and as president of D. Duarte da Costa and his nephew D. Gil Eanes da Costa (1543-1612), but also concerning the palace built by Álvaro da Costa in Porta da Oura, which, being inherited by his son Duarte, remained in this branch of the family until the mid-eighteenth century.

In addition to these Portuguese archival fonds, documentation surviving in Brazil was also examined, principally that concerning D. Duarte da Costa's duties as governor-general. Much of the material pertaining to matters of government was published in the series *Documentos Históricos da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, in which I was able to identify a set of documents produced while D. Duarte was in Brazil, including some letters addressed to him by king João III (1521-1557)³⁰.

Finally, the above mentioned inventories of the archive of the house of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal, dated 1836, and of the house of Soure, dated 1862, were essential elements in the reconstruction of the documentary production, not only of D. Gil Eanes da Costa and his sons, D. João and D. Gil Eanes, but also of D. Álvaro da Costa himself. These inventories give an overview of the family archives in the mid-nineteenth century, allowing us, through comparison with documentation identified in other fonds, to appreciate the

³⁰ See *Documentos históricos* (1937): 195-404, available at <<http://bndigital.bn.br/acervo-digital/documentos-historicos/094536>>.

fragmentary nature of our vision of these archives which, over the years, were augmented and diminished according to the interests and objectives of each moment.

Conclusion

The study of inventories, combined with the analysis of other records produced and preserved by institutions other than the families, allowed us the reconstruction of archives that no longer exist.

From the described cluster of archival fonds, for the first two generations I was able to gather a total of 407 items, including originals, registrations, transcripts, and simple references. For the four generations under scrutiny, the total number of documents identified was 645.

The greatest contribution to the reconstruction of the documentary production of these four generations came from the “Costa sub-fonds” in the family archive of the house of Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal, presently kept in the Torre do Tombo under the name *Casa de Santa Iria* (house of Santa Iria)³¹. This contribution comprised preserved originals or transcripts and references to documents since disappeared as listed in the inventory of the archive made in 1836, the *Summario alfabetico*. Other family fonds, such as that of *Casa Palmela* and that of *Casa de Abrantes*, provided some items, but above all it was another inventory, that of the archive of the house of Soure, probably written in 1862, that contributed a further 233 documents to the family archives which, together with the 412 from the other fonds mentioned, gave the total of 645 documents produced by the first generations of *Costas com Dom*, that at one point formed the contents of their archives³². The “virtual

³¹ The name of the last owner of the archive bought in 1995 by the Torre do Tombo. In fact, this archive should not be called Casa de Santa Iria but Casa de Óbidos–Palma–Sabugal.

³² I have not included in this total the “accumulated” documentation which is preserved in the “Costa sub-fonds” of the *Casa de Santa Iria* archive that accompanied the properties inherited or acquired by D. Gil Eanes da Costa and his descendants.

archives” thus created enabled the study of the family group’s social history as well as the history of its documentary production³³.

³³ My PhD thesis, discussed in January 2019 and entitled *Costas com Dom: família e arquivo. Séculos XV-XVII*, represents the result of this investigation at: <<https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/65519>>.

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² Undergraduate History students at FCSH-UNL (2014/2015 to 2017/2018). The authors would like to thank Maria de Lurdes Rosa for the organization of the project and for the continuous mentorship and guidance. They would also like to thank Luís da Costa de Sousa de Macedo, owner of the *Index Geral*, for allowing access to the documents, thus making this project possible, and for the fruitful suggestions and corrections.

**THE MEMORY OF THE HOUSE OF LAPA:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE *INDEX GERAL* AND
OF AN INVENTORIED ARCHIVE**

ABSTRACT: This text originated from a research project aimed at offering History undergraduates in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa a first experience of archival work at the documentary description level, focusing on what is known as the *Index Geral (IG)* of the archive of the house of Lapa, an archive inventory dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this paper we intend to examine three different aspects related to the *Index Geral*: the contexts and objectives of the inventory's production; its organization and internal structure; and, finally, an attempt to recover part of the house of Lapa archive, which disappeared in the nineteenth century, from the inventoried version that calcified as the *Index Geral*.

Keywords: Portugal; ancien régime; family archives; inventories; nobility

RESUMO: Este texto nasceu de um projecto pedagógico que visou oferecer aos alunos da Licenciatura em História da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa uma primeira experiência de trabalho arquivístico ao nível da descrição documental, focada no designado *Index Geral (IG)* do arquivo da Casa da Lapa, um inventário de arquivo datado de finais do século XVIII e início do século XIX. Neste texto pretendemos pensar este documento sob três perspectivas distintas: a primeira debruça-se sucintamente sobre os contextos e objectivos de produção do inventário, focando sobretudo as notas que a este respeito foram deixadas pelo seu produtor; a segunda analisa o modo como se organizou e estruturou internamente o *Index Geral*, sublinhando as conclusões preliminares de uma análise geral da descrição arquivística dos cerca de 2.384 documentos registados no *Index* e as características particulares que distinguem este inventário de outros congéneres; e, por fim, a terceira perspectiva avança do *Index Geral* para o arquivo da Casa da Lapa, avaliando a forma como é possível conhecer o arquivo real, entretanto desaparecido, a partir do arquivo inventariado.

Palavras-chave: Portugal; Antigo Regime; arquivos de família; inventários; nobreza

This text results from a research project coordinated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa and Rita Sampaio da Nóvoa aimed at offering History undergraduate students at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa a first experience of archival work and document description. After volunteering to participate in the project, a group of students, over the course of approximately one year, produced the descriptions of all the

entries of the so-called *Index Geral* of the house of Lapa, an inventory created between the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, that still remains in possession of descendants of the counts of Lapa¹. With the support of the current owner of the inventory, Luís da Costa de Sousa de Macedo, who not only carried out the digitization of the document but offered important contributions for its understanding, it was possible to make the images available online and to conduct archival descriptions. These resulted in the construction of a database², in two public presentations of the work completed so far³ and, finally, in this article.

Along this brief reflection, which is anchored in already-published works about the *Index Geral* by Luís Henriques and Maria de Lurdes Rosa⁴, and Miguel Metelo de Seixas⁵, we intend to analyze the document from three different perspectives: the first briefly deals with the contexts and objectives of production of the inventory, focusing mainly on the notes that were left on this matter by its producer, Friar José de Almeida e Vasconcelos; the second examines the internal organization and structure of the *Index Geral*; and, finally, the third perspective deals with the house of Lapa archive, which disappeared in the nineteenth century, attempting its recovery from the inventoried version that crystalized as the *Index Geral*.

When considering all three perspectives, the wealth and scientific interest of the *Index Geral* of the house of Lapa archive are remarkable, insofar as they invite in-depth and comparative studies at the intersection of History and Archival Science. Furthermore, we should also highlight the success of a research experience cultivated in the dialogue between professors, students, researchers, and owners of family archives, all of whom contributors to the

¹ The complete title of the *Index Geral* varies across the different volumes. See HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016:120-121.

² The database is available at <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/>.

³ The first presentation took place in the seminar “Arquivos de família & Investigação em História” (October 2017) and the second in an academic session organized by the Instituto Português de Heráldica (December 2017).

⁴ HENRIQUES; ROSA; HEAD, 2015a; HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016; HENRIQUES; ROSA; collab. MACEDO, 2015.

⁵ SEIXAS, 2015.

diffusion and promotion of this valuable but somewhat forgotten documentary heritage.

Contexts and purposes of the production of the *Index Geral*

The production of the *Index Geral* of the house of Lapa archive took place in a political, social, and economic context that motivated several noble families to know, organize, and control the archival information they had at their disposal. In addition to the *morgadios* (entails) reforms, there was a climate of political and economic instability that forced noble groups to defend the rights and privileges that were soon to be extinguished by the end of the ancien régime. Archives were the guarantors of these rights and privileges, but the accumulation of large documentary masses over the centuries, coupled with the increasing complexity of managing significant land assets and entails, made access and use of this information increasingly more difficult⁶.

As such, many family archives were reorganized at this time; these efforts were often associated with the production of archival inventories that facilitated the retrieval of information⁷. In this scenario, and while José de Almeida e Vasconcelos Soveral de Carvalho da Maia Soares de Albergaria (c. 1740-1812), first baron of Mossâmedes and first viscount of Lapa, was still alive, the house of Lapa began the first of several archival reorganizations and inventory processes with the *Index Geral*. These lasted until the death of Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos (1784-1822), third baron of Mossâmedes, second viscount of Lapa, and first count of Lapa⁸. As Luís Henriques and Maria de Lurdes Rosa have stated, only a thorough analysis of the family history of this period could properly contextualize and explain the specific needs that prompted the first viscount to order the production of the *Index Geral*. However, it is clear

⁶ ROSA, 2012c; ROSA; HEAD, 2015b: 11 and 16.

⁷ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 112-115.

⁸ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016.

that it was a time-consuming and expensive investment directed towards the future and survival of the house of Lapa⁹.

As such, the *Index Geral*, completed between 1804 and 1805, is composed of two series or editions: the first — *série armoriada* — is ornamented with coats of arms and contains meticulous calligraphy and binding, being noteworthy for the metal device on the front and back covers of the three known volumes (second, third and fourth volumes), out of four that are thought to have been produced; the second — *série sem armas* — features a simpler binding and less careful calligraphy, and is divided into three volumes, appearing to constitute a complete copy of the first series; the difference in the number of volumes is explained by the pages that were left blank. To each of these sets a *mostrador* (table of contents) was added, arranged in alphabetical order and intended to facilitate the use of the *Index* and to shorten document search times, so as to satisfy the needs or the “curiosity” of the *Index*’s future users¹⁰. According to Luís Henriques and Maria de Lurdes Rosa, the existence of two series or editions is likely due to the need to use the document in different locations, with the ornamented series remaining in the main family household and the copy in another of the family’s homes¹¹.

The task of producing the inventory was entrusted to Friar José de Almeida e Vasconcelos, the illegitimate brother of the first viscount of Lapa. Little is known about Friar José, except that he was a “monk of St. Bernard”, that is, a Cistercian¹². Like the producers of other inventories, the duties he carried out as a friar probably contributed to the acquisition of the technical skills necessary for the construction of the *Index Geral*. Likewise, such duties would have probably also reinforced his awareness of the importance of an organized archive and of quick and efficient information retrieval for the proper functioning of institutions, including his own house¹³.

⁹ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 94.

¹⁰ Arquivo da Casa dos Condes da Lapa, *Index Geral*, “série armoriada”, vol. 4, fl.1v. The “Arquivo da Casa dos Condes da Lapa” will be henceforth referenced as ACCL and the *Index Geral* as *IG*.

¹¹ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 97.

¹² HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 95.

¹³ NÓVOA; LEME, 2015.

However, while Friar José's technical profile is comparable to that of other producers of contemporary inventories, what distinguishes him from his peers, and consequently the *Index Geral* itself, is his profound knowledge of the history of his family and its land assets. The fact that the *Index* producer was also a member of the family, with extensive genealogical and patrimonial knowledge, gives the inventory special traits that exceed the mere goal of organizing and describing documents. This much is evident from the opening sentences of the first volume's prologue, in which Friar José classifies the inventory as a "tistemunho autentico" (true testimony) of his love and as the product of a "sencera vontade" (sincere wish) to be useful to the successors of his house¹⁴. The latter is, therefore, the first objective of the *Index Geral's* production, that is, to serve descendants through documents that were to "ensure the survival of the house" (our translations), thus guaranteeing the continuity of the family¹⁵.

This objective was achieved on one hand by the detailed description of about 2,384 documents of the house of Lapa archive; as we shall later see, it was also reached through the physical organization of the documents in at least 40 bundles; last, but not least, it was attained with the transmission of Friar José's knowledge of the history of the house and its assets, which was affixed to long genealogical notes that preceded the document descriptions. The producer of the inventory explains why he included a genealogical component in the *Index Geral* by evoking practical reasons related to the origin of the assets — and, consequently, to the origin of the documents connected to those assets — as well as moral reasons related to ancestral examples, which he believed should be followed¹⁶.

This "obra de famillia" (family work)¹⁷, which, through history and genealogy, communicated to the house's successors a code of moral conduct, is fully expressed through its own materiality, more so than in the content of its

¹⁴ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 14.

¹⁵ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 14.

¹⁶ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 15.

¹⁷ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 14.

pages¹⁸. By this we mean the coats of arms affixed to the front and back covers of the ornamented series, whose heraldry was constructed using the arms of the families or houses from which the assets originated, always in association with the arms of the main Almeidas e Vasconcelos house¹⁹. Thus, as Miguel Metelo de Seixas has stated, the ornamented series of the *Index Geral* simultaneously faces outward, ostentatiously exhibiting itself to the observer; and inward, visually transmitting the memory of the family and reinforcing its pedagogical component²⁰.

This emphasis on the idea of continuity — which, in essence, makes the *Index Geral* a project invested in the moral and administrative future of the house — is also evident from the fact that the inventory was designed to be completed and corrected as needs dictated. This is visible, first and foremost, in the considerable amount of pages left blank in the three volumes of the ornamented series, an aspect that is specifically mentioned by Friar José²¹. The same is true of the instructions, left in the “advertências” (admonitions) section of the inventory, for adding the descriptions of documents that the producer might have overlooked, and for using the margins for updating any information on a given asset whose current state arose doubts or which lacked more detailed examination at the time of writing²². We know that Friar José’s successors did indeed follow these instructions. In fact, several descriptions of documents and marginal notes were added until at least shortly before the death of Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, since the most recent record described in the inventory dates from 1830. Finally, as Frei José specifically states, the organization of the bundles themselves was designed to allow increases over time²³. We verified that documents have been added to several bundles, namely nrs 38, 39, and 40, the latter consisting exclusively of documents produced after the completion of the inventory.

¹⁸ ROSA; HEAD, 2015b: 16; HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 100.

¹⁹ SEIXAS, 2015: 72-73; HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 100.

²⁰ SEIXAS, 2015: 74-75.

²¹ ACCL, *IG*, “série armoriada”, vol. 4, fl. 1.

²² ACCL, *IG*, “série sem armas”, vol. 1, fl. 20.

²³ ACCL, *IG*, “série armoriada”, vol. 4, fl. 1r/v.

Organization and internal structure of the *Index Geral*

All these topics related to the contexts and objectives of the production of inventories, to their producers, and to the history of the family are essential for understanding how the documents were organized and structured. This importance is evident in the case of the *Index Geral*, notably because its organization and structure were based on the organization and the structure of the house of Lapa itself, transversely reflecting organic, administrative, and juridical characteristics²⁴. Therefore, this type of inventory process could only have been the work of someone with an extensive knowledge of the history of the house besides the assets it comprised, and also of its organic traits and mode of functioning.

These organizational and structural choices resulted in the construction of the inventory based on the set of houses, families, lines, and entails that preceded the house of Lapa, which was understood as a sum of different parts. The divisions are as follows, in the order in which they are presented by the producer: Mossâmedes, Sernancelhe (surname of Soveral), Vieiro, Ladário, Tojal, São Pedro do Sul, Viseu, Alvarenga, Ferronha, Sernancelhe (house of Conceição), Quinta da Cavalaria, and the *albergaria* and *morgado* of São Paulo do Cris. Within each of these divisions there are geographical subdivisions listing the various locations where assets could be found, and, within each of those, additional typological sections. It is important to note, as Luís Henriques and Maria de Lurdes Rosa remind us, that this geographical referencing should not be read anachronistically since it is not “technical (and, therefore, more modern)”, but rather is bound by the “administrative and legal nature of the assets and their origin”²⁵.

As such, we can summarize the overall structure of the *Index Geral* as follows²⁶: coat of arms (in the ornamented series); foreword; admonitions; explanations and genealogies of the different houses/families/lines/entails,

²⁴ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 100.

²⁵ HENRIQUES, ROSA, 2016: 100.

²⁶ For a detailed description of the structure of each volume see HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016: 122-32, Table II.

sometimes followed by descriptions of some documents (thoroughly in the first volume and more sparingly in the remaining volumes); geographical sections pertaining to each house/family/line/entail; typological sections pertaining to each geographical section.

At the finer level of document description found within each typological section, it was not possible to identify any organizational criteria, either chronological or thematic. However, the quality and detail of the description of the documents must be mentioned. It is complete with the date of production (day/month/year), reference (bundle and document numbers) and, in many cases, the records where the documents could be found, for example, chancellery books or notaries' notes (for the latter, the name of the notary is given, as well as his place of work).

These elements are sometimes accompanied by Friar José's notes on the content of the documents, which clearly demonstrate his expertise on the administrative, legal, and patrimonial matters related to his house, as well as on the archive itself. References to other documents described in the inventory are common, as well as notes that specify whether a record was kept for memorial purposes, to clarify doubts, out of simple curiosity, or even for "segurança e susego" (safety and peace of mind)²⁷. Additionally, Friar José also left several indications about the need to examine certain documents, a task which, according to him, should be carried out by "quem tiver tempo para isso sem arguir a quem o não tem para mais" (someone who affords the time and won't reproach who does not)²⁸.

From the *Index Geral* to the house of Lapa archive

The inventoried archive shown to us by Friar José in the *Index Geral* is probably very different from the physical archive, although it is difficult to accurately establish the extent of the difference, especially since the house of

²⁷ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 310v/311.

²⁸ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 310v.

Lapa archive disappeared almost completely in the late nineteenth century²⁹. In fact, as several authors have underlined, inventories cannot be regarded as faithful, complete, and impartial mirrors of the archives they describe. Rather, they should be understood as selections of sets of information available in the archives that, depending on the different contexts and needs, were considered a priority in terms of control, recovery, or conservation, to the detriment of other³⁰.

The first difference between the two archives — inventoried and physical — lies in the sequence of bundles and documents, given that the order in which the 40 bundles and their documents are presented in the inventory does not match the order in which they were physically organized, as the producer of the inventory himself acknowledges³¹. This means that the criteria that oversaw the physical organization of the bundles were not the same as those used in the inventory's virtual organization, although this was apparently not Friar José's initial plan.

In fact, it is likely that the original objective of the producer was to physically rearrange the archive and then inventory it, a task that he seems to have begun. However, the intervention of a "third hand" led to the documents becoming disorganized, returning them to the "initial chaos", and it was not possible to reconstruct the previous order³². This unforeseen setback may help to explain the difficulty in accurately determining the criteria underlying the physical organization of the documents in bundles, a topic which requires further study. A preliminary analysis suggests, however, that a combination of typological, thematic, and geographical criteria was used, although with regards to the latter the geographical distribution does not correspond to the one established in the *Index Geral*.

The second difference between the inventoried archive and the physical archive is the quantity of documents. By looking at the number range attributed to bundles and documents mentioned in the *Index Geral* we find that

²⁹ Henriques; ROSA, 2016: 90.

³⁰ GUYOTJEANNIN, 2010: 40; HEAD, 2007: 320; ROSA, 2012c: 580-581.

³¹ ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fl. 14.

³² ACCL, *IG*, "série sem armas", vol. 1, fls. 14v/15.

at least 92 documents in the house of Lapa archive were not described in the inventory. Table 1 illustrates this discrepancy, indicating for each bundle the range of production dates of documents (year of production); the distribution of the documents in the volumes of the *Index Geral* in which they are described; the documents' number range (which is reset in each bundle); the total amount of documents described in the inventory (which may exceed the number range, given that in some cases the same number was assigned to more than one document); the total amount of missing documents in the inventory (which includes documents that were numbered but not described in the *Index Geral*); and the total amount of documents that would have existed in the archive (estimated from the number range and assuming that each missing number corresponds to one document):

Table 1 – Characterization of the bundles described in the *Index Geral*

Bundle	Vol. distribution	Date range (year)	Doc. number range	Total docs described	Total missing docs	Total docs
1	1/2	1392-1803	1-56	58	2	60
2	1/3/4	1431-1821	1-73	30	44	74
3	1	1526-1778	1-21	27	0	27
4	1/2/4	1533-1761	1-27	25	3	28
5	1/4	1483-1706	1-40	40	0	40
6	1	1565-1779	1-43	38	5	43
7	1	1589-1738	1-17	16	1	17
8	1/2	1447-1830	1-23	24	2	26
9	2	1514-1792	1-9	9	0	9
10	2/4	1331-1829	1-57	60	1	61
11	2	1477-1815	1-24	24	0	24
12	2/3/4	1522-1806	1-77	80	0	80
13	1/2	1524-1759	1-39	38	1	39
14	1	1578-1792	1-82	108	2	110
15	1/3	1446-1785	1-86	85	1	86
16	1	1656-1775	1-12	9	3	12
17	1	1625-1765	1-17	17	0	17
18	2	1458-1804	1-48	51	0	51
19	2/4	1565-1829	1-33	35	1	36

Bundle	Vol. distribution	Date range (year)	Doc. number range	Total docs described	Total missing docs	Total docs
20	2	1580-1798	1-29	29	0	29
21	1	1523-1781	1-75	80	0	80
22	1/2	1612-1829	1-58	49	11	60
23	1	1529-1738	1-135	135	6	141
24	1	1507-1772	1-88	91	0	91
25	1	1504-1797	1-127	131	2	133
26	1/2/4	1481-1825	1-125	127	1	128
27	1/2/4	1533-1802	1-96	97	1	98
28	2/3/4	1481-1830	1-92	99	1	100
29	2/3/4	1531-1826	1-97	98	0	98
30	3	1540-1803	1-46	46	0	46
31	2/3/4	1489-1826	1-106	109	1	110
32	3	1487-1827	1-52	55	0	55
33	3	1400-1800	1-96	96	1	97
34	3	1525-1798	1-98	100	0	100
35	3	1539-1791	1-45	45	0	45
36	4	1569-1788	1-53	55	0	55
37	4	1655-1830	1-63	64	2	66
38	4	1693-1827	1-24	24	0	24
39	4	1741-1829	1-22	61	0	61
40	4	1790-1824	1-17	19	0	19
TOTAL	-	-	-	2,384	92	2,476

The total number of missing documents may vary slightly due to possible errors in the database construction but it is likely that the volume of documentation in the archive at the beginning of the inventory process exceeded that number. As several authors have pointed out, the physical reorganization of archives that was conducted during the inventory process almost always included a selection of documents³³. This appraisal effort determined the relevance of the inventories' document descriptions, and included or excluded records depending on a plethora of criteria. Also under scrutiny was the jus-

³³ MORSEL, 2015; NÓVOA; LEME, 2015; ROSA; HEAD, 2015a.

tification for the continued preservation of some documents, often resulting in the destruction of records which, for various reasons, no longer met the criteria that warranted their archival preservation³⁴. Friar José specifically refers to this process of appraisal, mentioning the existence of documents that he considered “useless”, which were “perhaps as many [...] as those that are described”³⁵. It is possible that some of these documents were not numbered (remaining in the archive unnumbered or eventually being destroyed), thus joining those that were, in turn, numbered but not described in the *Index Geral*.

The number of missing documents in most bundles is very low (between one and six documents), the most outstanding exception being bundle nr 2, with 44 documents missing. As with the other bundles, it is difficult to accurately determine the typology and content of these missing documents since, as we have seen, the criteria overlooking the documents’ physical organization into bundles are unclear. However, we are able to arrive at some conclusions about bundle nr 2, which included documentation for Mossâmedes and Lisbon. The 30 documents described in the *Index Geral* as belonging to this bundle are distributed throughout the first, third, and fourth volumes, and their number range is between one and 73, skipping the numbers 8, 22-27, 29, 30, 32-43, 45-65, 67, and 68. The documentation contained in this bundle was produced between 1431 and 1821, and no obvious global chronological order could be found. Most of the records described in the inventory refer to royal letters, letters of the Inquisition, and papal documents, but dowries, wills, and sentences were also added. Finally, a part of the documents in this bundle was organized in the inventory as being connected to the Almeida family, namely the descendants of Gonçalo Pires de Almeida; therefore, a genealogical organization criterion may have been partially followed.

Despite these differences between the inventoried and the physical archives, the *Index Geral* allows us to infer some of the components that would have characterized part of the house of Lapa archive in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As regards the size, to the 2,384

³⁴ ESCH, 2002.

³⁵ ACCL, *IG*, “série sem armas”, vol. 1, fl. 4v.

documents described in the inventory would have been added, as we have seen, at least another 92. This documentary amplitude is explained mainly by the amount and size of the houses which, by marriage or succession, merged into the house of Lapa, bringing with them several significant entails and their corresponding documents.

The chronological boundary for documentary production is between 1392 and 1830, with a breakdown of 1 document dating from the fourteenth century, 36 from the fifteenth century, 447 from the sixteenth century, 887 from the seventeenth century, 718 from the eighteenth century, 89 from the nineteenth century, and 206 with no date. The range of production dates and their chronological distribution are in line with what has been found in other ancien régime Portuguese family archives, that is, a very small number of preserved documents from the fourteenth century followed by a minor increase in volume during the fifteenth century and by exponential growth between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. As far as the nineteenth century is concerned, the small number of recorded documents can be explained by the fact that the *Index Geral* only describes documentation produced up to 1830.

The house of Lapa archive is also in tune with surviving family archives with regard to the most significant documentary typologies — roughly half of the documentation is related to land (47%), including 725 purchase deeds, 285 *prazos* and 111 *escrituras de empraçamento*. In second place we find legal documentation (10%), albeit at a considerable distance from the first, with 236 sentences. Using Esch's terminology, these two types of documentary production were the ones with the "highest probability"³⁶ of being preserved in noble family archives given their owners' land-based economy, the extensive use of *morgadios*, and the litigant nature of the need to defend and claim rights and privileges³⁷.

³⁶ ESCH, 2002.

³⁷ VON KAENEL, 2003: 36-38; ÚRIEN, 2000: 16-18.

Conclusions

Although fragmented, this glimpse of what would have been the archive of the house of Lapa illustrates one of the advantages of the study of family archive inventories: the recovery of a version of an archive that no longer exists. Those advantages are even greater if we look beyond the content and reflect on the form, the materiality, the contexts and objectives of production, the organization criteria and internal structures, the technical expertise of the producers, the history of the family. That is why the process of studying inventories and of reconstituting inventoried archives benefits greatly from an approach that combines History and Archival Science in the analysis of a socially constructed archival trace.

By following this methodology, this paper, paired with the database of archival descriptions of the *Index Geral's* entries, will hopefully contribute to the development of further studies dedicated to exploring the full richness and potential of the *Index Geral* and of the remaining traces of the archive of the house of Lapa. Likewise, it will expectantly showcase the rewards of a cooperative project that can bring together professors, students, researchers, and private owners of family archives for the study, diffusion, and protection of a shared archival heritage.

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USING ANCIENT ARCHIVAL INVENTORIES FOR THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL FAMILY DOCUMENTARY PRODUCTION: PROBLEMS AND METHODS

ABSTRACT: The article is based on the significant results of INVENT.ARQ project, benefiting also from the subsequent research, which has resulted in the discovery and (still progressing) study of some more ten inventories. The text opens with a description of the documentary material, followed by the discussion the questions and problems posed by its scientific use, and finally suggest some avenues of historical and archival research coming from and using ancient inventories of family archives. The essay is most of all of a methodological and pedagogical character, thinking in particular of the growing interest from young researchers. It offers a reflection on the difficulties encountered during an extended period of work on this type of source.

Keywords: historical archivistics; family archives; inventories; theory and methodology

RESUMO: O artigo parte dos resultados do projecto INVENT.ARQ, dedicado aos inventários de arquivos de família século XV ao XIX (2014-2015), e da continuação da investigação desde inícios de 2016, que permitiu a localização e estudo de mais cerca de uma dezena de inventários. Começa-se pela descrição do material documental reunido, para de seguida discutir as questões e problemas colocados por uma sua utilização científica e, por fim, sugerir alguns temas de investigação histórica e de arquivística histórica, a partir de, e com, os documentos em estudo. O texto tem essencialmente um carácter metodológico e pedagógico, reflectindo sobre as dificuldades encontradas nos anos de trabalho com esta fonte.

Palavras-chave: arquivística histórica; arquivos de família; inventários; teoria e metodologia

The use of ancient archival inventories in Portuguese historiography has been relatively rare, including among medievalists. Most often, their research

has focused on a few ecclesiastical archives, a couple of noble family archives, and the Crown archives at the Torre do Tombo¹. A few honorable exceptions confirming the rule, this scarcity of interest calls for a broadening and deepening of the field, in particular by drawing up new perspectives. This will be the case with this article, by using the significant results and the (numerous) methodological questions arising from INVENT.ARQ, a project dedicated to the study of archival inventories from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, notably to the sub-group of family archives; and also by the research that followed that project and which has resulted in the discovery and (still progressing) study of more than a dozen inventories. What follows describes the documentary material, discusses the questions and problems posed by its scientific use, and suggests some avenues of historical research and of historical archivistics coming from and using ancient inventories of family archives. It should be stressed that this essay will be essentially of a methodological and pedagogical character, thinking in particular of the growing interest from young researchers. It offers a reflection on the difficulties encountered during an extended period of work on this type of source.

Ancient inventories of family archives in Portugal: the corpus so far assembled

It is now possible to identify about 50 inventories of family archives for the Kingdom of Portugal, reflecting inventorial procedures from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the documents indexed in these inventories go back to the thirteenth century². This is enough to show that, as far as knowledge of the organization of archives goes, information mainly belongs to the late Middle Ages, reaching further back in terms of the production and preservation of documents. In the scope of the INVENT.ARQ project, 36 ancient archival inventories coming from eleven archival

¹ On the ancient inventories of a wide variety of institutions, see RIBEIRO, 2003, vol. 1, chapter 1. Meanwhile, other inventories have been located and studied especially for ecclesiastical archives, for example GOMES, [2003]; ROLDÃO, 2017; FARRICA, 2017. For an overview, SANTOS, 1996.

² About 50, since some of them are quite hybrid as books (see below).

institutions or owners (five of them public and six private) were located, described and studied. The chronological distribution of the inventories is quite unequal, with a vast majority belonging in the nineteenth century, ironically in a context of restriction and then of extinction of the institutions which had produced those documents for centuries. There are two inventories from the fifteenth century, five from the sixteenth century, five from the seventeenth century, seven from the eighteenth century, and fifteen inventories for the nineteenth century³.

Subsequent research into family archives has either improved knowledge of those that were previously known⁴ or allowed the discovery of several others. A detailed analysis of the latter is under way but can be summarized even introductorily (see Table 2). The chronological information already ascertained confirms the sample already mentioned, in that eight inventories belong in the nineteenth century, three in the eighteenth century, one in the seventeenth century; while two earlier books may be called “hybrids” (since, formally speaking, they stand between copybooks of letters and books of scriptures), not by incident belonging to the transition period corresponding to the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Among the objectives of the current research program⁵ is to locate the inventories produced before the fifteenth century. They probably correspond to plain lists of documents, reflecting simpler ways of preserving and identifying documentation.

The scientific use of a neglected documentary typology.

Questions and problems

Historical research has had an ambivalent — even naive, unreflective — relationship with ancient archival inventories. At one extreme, documentary summaries are seen as unreliable, and their accuracy impossible to ascertain

³ See Table 1, the INVENT.ARQ database (<http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/>) and the studies and catalogue in ROSA, HEAD (eds.), 2015 (<http://iem.fcsh.unl.pt/ebooks/estudios13/>). The catalogue will be referred to as CATALOGUE hereafter.

⁴ In the PhD theses in History/Historical Archivistcs submitted to FCSH NOVA — Lisbon (SOUSA, 2017) or in preparation (in relation to nr 31 of the CATALOGUE – GAGO, 2018).

⁵ See presentation, outputs, and other information at <http://fcsh.unl.pt/arqfam/>.

given that the documents have disappeared. In contrast, there is optimism in characterizing inventories as a “mirror of the archive”, therefore as a unique, even comfortable opportunity to access institutions’ documentary production. One must try to overcome either attitude and to build a correct working relationship with the documents.

It is true that in many cases the documentary summaries are too short, although the most common problem seems to be a large fluctuation between summaries, depending on the importance the documents held with the family, on the interest they had for the person elaborating the document, or even on that person’s ability to read ancient writing. Certainly the greatest obstacle is dating, namely through absence, variation (sometimes the original is the dated document itself, other times it is the public-form), and error — all this complicating a document’s use for the historian. There are further issues, including compound references to documents (such as “a pack”, “letters”), or variations on the summaries of identical documents, found in different inventories. On the other hand, concerning their “specular nature”, almost always inventories mirror the documents only partially, more often than not reflecting concrete circumstances (that can be imposed externally), or are even incomplete due to prosaic circumstances (the work was too much, etc). In addition, inventories’ later histories further complicate their direct use and technical expertise becomes necessary to date, locate, and even relate them to producers. In general, they were working documents, what we would call “technical documents”: they were handled very often, as shown in several documents in the INVENT.ARQ sample which are truncated in the initial pages, worn out or reduced to some parts; commonly, when the inventory was the fruit of the work of a house servant, authorship was not indicated; besides, authorship began to appear more frequently only from the end of the eighteenth century onwards; finally, there can be several inventories for the same archives, with often conflicting descriptions of the documents.

It should be emphasized, however, that most of these questions, even if difficult, are technical and can usually be solved by using traditional source criticism. The most troublesome issue of this kind has been that the dating of documents in inventories, in which the result can sometimes be too broad

margins. This causes problems in setting an order for the inventorial work, for example.

The main question is actually another and is found at a more complex level: the need to carry out more in-depth, contextualized and even theoretical analyses of this type of source, before attempting to use the contents. Of course, partly, contextualizing is once again the historian's work: who commissioned the inventory, when, and for what purpose. But it is important to move further on, given the nature of these materials. If not a mirror, they are a representation. Replacing one term for the other is relevant, because it substitutes a metaphor for a concept; and because «mirror» would actually be erroneous as a metaphor in this case, since it leaves social agency aside. A mirror is a preexisting device that changes nothing, only reflects, while representation indicates conscious action from the subject.

The problem remains unsolved, of course: most of the time, the author of the representation does not give much detail about it; on the other hand, he will follow what can be called — anachronistically — canons, techniques, established procedures, even fashions, all of which must be identified in order to determine their effects. Finally, the social functions of the kind of work that result in the inventories have a complex history: it is not only a matter of knowing where the documents were (and still less of their historical interest), but of *using* the information. In all, in addition to the traditional «context», any attempt to use «content» must equally take «form» into account. These three spheres must be clearly interconnected, and therefore constructed by the historian and explained to the reader. In particular, «form» cannot be ignored, or at best referred back to a description of the archivist's responsibility. Besides abandoning this ideological view of the status of archival work, the historian cannot partake in this separation of concepts. Form conditions content. Or, using a fundamental idea of the linguistic turn that was very important for the renewal of medieval history, we must be attentive to the «content of form» (Gabrielle Spiegel). Besides, as we shall see next, there are recent developments in historiographical and archival science that can greatly assist in this task by renewing and enriching the use of old archival inventories.

Heuristics and the epistemology of History materials. An in-depth historical contextualization

Elio Lodolini, the great Italian archivist and a well-known exponent of the *metodo storico*, always insisted that the archivist's main task is to characterize the producing institution, as well as the documents produced — definitely not to simply organize holdings in contemporary archives. Or, to put it more simply, to organize any set of documents according to a “matrix study” of institutional, administrative and archival history⁶. In many respects, these ideas find parallel in recent writings in the epistemology of History, which claim a different, more complex and informed relationship between the historian and his sources (it can be recalled that Lodolini often complained about the simplistic and even ignorant terms of historians' approach to the complex objects that archival *fonds* are⁷). Other currents, such as Anthropology, Archival Science and the recent field of «History of archives and information» have drawn attention to the need to conceive the archive not as a repository of materials for the historian, more or less neutral and rarely questioned, but as an object of study in itself; and, in any case, as an object to «study before use»⁸.

Three basic aspects can be highlighted on recalling the main benefits of these various perspectives. All connect with the subject under consideration directly. In the first place, the historian should question the metaphorical status of «sources» of his materials, a task which first of all leads to the refusal of sources as being at the origins of investigation, to realize that they are a «point of arrival» rather than a starting point. Consequently, the historian must integrate in research the entire trail of social information, from production to the archive. In the case of inventories, this means to understand why sources were made, by whom, to which purpose/constraints; then, to understand how sources were used and reused, at different stages in their «life», including entrance into archival institutions (or custody by private owners), and their

⁶ LODOLINI, 1991.

⁷ LODOLINI, 1989.

⁸ For more elements and an appreciation of the various contributions mentioned in this and the following paragraph, ROSA, 2017.

use by researchers. Secondly, extending the previous point, the historian will have to study the information producer and the ways leading to producing/documentalizing/conserving/using information; that is, what type of producing/recipient institutions there were and how they functioned: a noble house, or *morgado*, for example, had far less «technical» resources than a religious congregation. As such, the way that documentation was organized, or at least represented, in noble inventories seems to have depended heavily on the demands of the more structured external bodies with the power to demand «evidence», that is the Crown and the Church; also, the difficulties of archiving and providing evidence of the legal nature of the different components of the heritage (entailed assets, Crown property (“bens da Coroa”), free assets, etc.), were not always taken care of, causing various problems when documentary mobilization was required. Finally, the historian should be concerned with constructing a clear manner of relating to the working materials and with presenting them to the reader, so that an understanding exists of the extent to which the information being received reflects a complete conceptualization of the object and subject of study: for example, how far the analysis of the production context of the inventory went, and what set of questions was applied.

It is not possible to sketch out but briefly the context of the informational and documentary production leading up to the inventories, and much less of their custodial history. Some of the most important steps can nevertheless be indicated.

The foremost measure is to analyze these documents as archival documents, taking away from them their character as library documents, which the vicissitudes of time and disciplinary variations often confer them. Within the set studied in the INVENT.ARQ project, several inventories are deposited in libraries or classified as «book collections» in archives. This happens because they were originally stored in the «libraries» of the houses, or in the offices, rooms, and so forth, and because they were often deemed worth keeping, even when the documents themselves were delivered to the new properties' owners, or simply were no longer useful⁹. Another interconnected reason is

⁹ What actually happened to most of the documentation in terms of «non-accidental loss» is analyzed in detail in NÓVOA, 2016.

that archival inventories were among the few documents to remain in the families after the extinction of entails, and from the end of the nineteenth century onwards were sold to heritage institutions. Libraries, at the time, had much more of the status of heritage institutions than the still incipient «national archive». But in fact inventories are not at all library documents. If we want to use a paradigm that places the emphasis on the information conserved instead of contemporary custodial institutions, we have to consider them to be organizational information.

Following this through, it is necessary to assign an inventory back to its commissioner/producer, to the intentionality of production, to the organizational context. A first step would be to characterize the nature of the producing institution, using due care for the institutions/organizations of pre-modern society. Was this institution a «house»? a “family”? What kind of family? The INVENT.ARQ project has tried to explore all of these questions as deeply as possible, because they are historically relevant, of course, but also because archival descriptions and records of authority compel decisions in this regard, much more (and regrettably) so than in historiographical reflection. For example, in the successive incorporation of given «families» into «other families», or in the transition from *morgados* and other kinds of properties to the more encompassing but institutionally more fluid «house» structure, old inventories were redone, manipulated, interpolated. In such cases, whom is the document to be assigned to? More broadly, given the plasticity of this institution, including in terms of female successions, when is one to consider that «one family» ends and another begins, even in cases of *morgado* succession? Indecisions in this respect and the provisional nature of some of the solutions followed were all registered — voluntarily — in the authority records of the project’s inventories¹⁰. However, it should be said that resolving the issues involved requires research to be done in extended collaboration, namely in what concerns the legal and institutional frameworks of “familial organizations”.

It is further necessary with ancient archival inventories to keep an open mind when beginning to read, and trying to define or find logic, in them.

¹⁰ At <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/actor/browse>.

The «history of the lists», in its more playful¹¹ as well as «serious» side¹², has fully proven this. In terms of disciplinary perspectives, whilst trying to overcome the anachronistic *grand partage disciplinaire* of the nineteenth century, which unfortunately still influences academic research greatly, the solution may lay in analysis from historical anthropological perspectives. The inventories were often (very) hybrid documents, only gradually becoming more “organized”, or at least patterned, lists. But even the most «rationalized» of the eighteenth-century inventories did not escape observations, comments, or less clear options. Finally, these documents do not in any way condense all of the information of the producing institutions: not all documentary information (in a strict sense), let alone all probative information. The concept of proof and the variety of related information were far broader than those defined by “modern State” legal codes. In fact, the point is that the «family archives» of premodern societies were much more than archives. In this sense, even the very idea of archiving should be replaced by that of «archival practices». Moreover, the historian can profit a lot from using, when characterizing those set of practices, the conceptualization of «new archives» (and/or new “evidentiary documents”, “new forms of evidence”) that has been put forward in the last few decades, by groundbreaking archival science which is also anthropology and anthropological history of archives and information¹³.

A final issue, equally important to archivistics, is how the informational act resulting in an inventory should be situated; and how to place the inventory in the organization and classification of the archival fonds, if that is the case (or, if this is not possible, so as to improve the study of the inventory’s context). After all, although it speaks to us about documents, this still is a document like any other. In the case of family archives classified according to the institution’s structure (and not according to themes or functions), it will be necessary to place the inventory in the section that produced it. When adopting the model that considers generations as being the constituent element

¹¹ ECO, 2009.

¹² POUR FAIRE, 2014; Project POLIMA — <http://www.dypac.uvsq.fr/polima-le-pouvoir-des-listes-au-moyen-age-351370.kjsp>.

¹³ EL-LEITHY, 2011; CLANCHY, 1980-1981; LESLIE, 2002; HUBNER, 2007.

of the «archival section», the inventory should be placed in the generation of the person who commissioned it, even if it is later possible to «distribute» the documents inventoried across the generations of their producers/recipients¹⁴. In models that adopt other institutional structures, such as — hypothetically, given their scarcity — the notary office, the «house administration», or the «house lord», the inventory will be placed where it was produced, or with whom it was produced by¹⁵. To follow a functional model implies assigning these documents to «inventorial functions», which seems somewhat reductive since not only does it risk anachronism (by absolutizing the function, which in premodern family organizations was very diffuse) but, above all, it hollows out the relationship with the organization “head” («lord of the house», “chief of the lineage”), which is almost always a direct one, ascribing documents a status of a bureaucratic routine product that is anachronistic.

Historical research themes from, and with, ancient family archives’ inventories

Ancient inventories open a large set of possibilities for research in medieval history. What follows aims to offer some insights on the research avenues concerning them. A first question is the way in which the use of ancient inventories enriches historical thought transversally, especially in what regards the historian’s relation with the working materials; secondly, there is the docu-

¹⁴ This was the model followed for the classification of the archive of the *casa* of Mateus, Vila Real, Portugal (SILVA, 2005; RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012). In the case of inventories that contain only the summaries, the task implies redirecting documents in a virtually double way (as done in SOUSA, 2017).

¹⁵ However crucial, the question of the internal structures of institutions such as «houses» (be these «simple», entailed, or titled) is still insufficiently known both to historians and archivists in what most interests us here — the intersecting of knowledge in elaborating organic classification tables and subsequently the classification of fonds (in which «house» eventually overlaps with «family», the basic element of categorization as proposed in SILVA, 1997; SILVA, 2004; RODRIGUES, 2013). In BELTRAN CORBALAN, 2018 there are further indications, based on the in-depth study BELTRAN CORBALAN, 2014. Some studies on the patrimonial bases and management of the houses give elements for their bureaucratic and administrative organization, although there is still a lot to be determined (see, for example, BECERRICA SANZ; SALVADO, 2009).

ment itself and the informational act that it translates; thirdly, contextualization in the field of the “social history of the archive”; lastly, the use of the contents summarized for the most diverse research subjects (these remarks being left to the end on purpose, to get around the historian’s traditional leaning to collect «concrete data» before anything else). Recent bibliography shall be provided in all four instances, aiming to assist future investigations.

By allowing access to a documentary reality that once existed but itself disappeared, remaining only as representation, the inventories open interesting questions about documentary transmission in History; on the information that was produced, documented and preserved, but also on the information that was eliminated and therefore disappeared. Using them to reconstruct the history, in the *longue durée*, of the archives from which they proceed (whenever possible adding documents that exist in their «actual» form), increases these possibilities exponentially. By representing «lost information» — information that does not exist in the archives — they allow us to start from «what there was», not from «what is left». One can thus think of a «map of the informational production” (and subsequent phases in its life) of family organizations (as of any other institution). In a certain sense, this operation liberates the historian, at least partially, from «remaining» documentary sets (which moreover are not even looked at as such)¹⁶. In addition to the much greater analytical depth that this enables, there is another important gain: greater acuity in measuring the degree of veracity, accuracy, plausibility, and so on, of historiographical conclusions. Rarely do medievalist historians (not only medievalists, but they are particularly affected by documentary «losses») explain to their readers that only a fraction of what was produced remains in the archives. The practice of situating, in terms of information networks and meanings, these “remaining sources” is even less common.

Secondly, inventories may serve, of course, for the history of inventorying practices, the act of inventorying. Far beyond technical interest, studying these aspects can lead us to very up-to-date historiographical subjects, such as technologies of knowledge organization, historical writing, the development of the «profession» of archivist, bureaucratic power, the importance of political

¹⁶ ROSA, 2017, with examples of research on this subject.

information (and other), the relationship between information organization and archiving and the development of the «modern State». All these fields have seen a strong historiographical interest in the last decade, particularly in Germany, England and the United States¹⁷.

A third field of study sits in what has been called the «Social history of the archive»¹⁸, in this case applying to the specific field of archives produced by “institutional configurations of the noble family”. The inventories and knowledge of the contexts of their production, in particular, allow for more knowledge of the informational and documentary production of the families, of the way the documents were managed, used and manipulated. This will allow us to better understand the activity facets of the family as an institution, which the preferential (and sometimes exclusive) scholarly use of the archives of the Crown and the Church has left in the dark, even propitiating false research assertions and hypotheses, such as postulating that subjects like these cannot be studied for Portugal due to a lack of sources — or, more radically — that in premodern Portugal family organizations did not follow these practices at all, due to institutional weakness, a peripheral character, scarcity of means, etc. The use of inventories, on the contrary, is testimony to practices of management and administration of assets, acquaintance with writing and other practices of literacy/numeracy, strategies of transmission and division of property, intricate management of marriage alliances¹⁹, relations with local and central

¹⁷ BRENDENCKE *et al.*, 2008; FRIEDRICH, 2013 [2018]; VIVO, *et al.* (eds.), 2015, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c; CORENS *et al.* (eds.), 2018; HEAD, [2019]. Portuguese medievalists have studied this type of practice mainly from diplomatic and Archival Studies perspectives, making important contributions (GOMES, 2007; RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012, and some of the essays in ROSA;HEAD, 2015). Yet, in recent years perspectives have broadened (n. 1 above). On the inventorization and the inventories of house/family archives, see the bibliography in ROSA, 2012c and, among others, PÉREZ LATRE, 2004; GUIJARRO SALVADOR, 2007; BERLTRAN CORBALAN, 2014; HÉLARY *et al.* (dir.), 2016; ADOT, 2017. For Portugal, see recently NÓVOA, 2016; SOUSA, 2017; LEME, 2018. The forthcoming book resulting from the ARCHI.FAM research program, based in the Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, will be an important contribution in what concerns the Iberian Peninsula and southern France.

¹⁸ For the state of the art see: VIVO *et al.*, 2016 and 2016a; CORENS *et al.* (eds.), 2016.

¹⁹ This is has been proven in the theses already submitted in the remit of the FCSH-NOVA PhD program on History/Historical Archivistics, concerning family archives in Portugal, in the medieval and modern periods (see NÓVOA, 2016; SOUSA, 2017; LEME 2018).

powers²⁰, domestic relations, religious practices and (more or less) «private» devotion²¹. Some of the inventories even allow going a little further, giving information about sets of books²², personal letters²³, and even rarely found documents such as «duel challenges» or documents on heraldic practices²⁴. Taken globally, all this information enables a much more complete and complex view of premodern family organizations. No less importantly, they allow historical research to reach the “persons’ own voices», something quite absent in the historiography on the medieval elites in particular.

Finally, let us see what inventories can bring us at the level of «objective information», that is, the information in the documents themselves. A concrete example will open the door for presenting the results of the work in progress more broadly: Table 3 of this article refers to the AtoM instance of the INVENT.ARQ project, on which several documents are being uploaded, either transcriptions of the “summaries” found in the inventories, or the very images in case of inventories easy to read or for which permission was obtained²⁵; this is a first attempt to systematically identify the producers (families/ persons) of the documents summarized in the different inventories.

In conclusion, the fascinating example of the inventory of the documents pertaining to four *morgados* belonging to the *casa* of the Brito/Brito Nogueira family can be given — in its version, re-copied and reorganized somewhere

²⁰ For example in the case of the inventory of the *casa* of the counts of Castelo Melhor, relative to Madeira Island (ROSA *et al.*, 2019).

²¹ There is always a considerable amount of information concerning chapels, funerals, suffrages, chaplains, charitable and pious institutions, etc., largely because these aspects intersected with the Church, which always dealt with business in writing and with archives. (An interesting example of monographic studies using in part the information from inventories 5 and 7 of the CATALOGUE in SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2016; SILVA, 2017).

²² SILVA, 2017.

²³ For instance, CATALOGUE nr. 32, regarding familial and business correspondence since the seventeenth century; CATALOGUE nrs. 16 and 22; the 1767 inventory of the Almada Lencastre Basto archive (see Table 2).

²⁴ ROSA, 2012e and “Appendix”, below.

²⁵ See Table 3. The long-term objective is the transcription of the summaries of the inventories described, provided they are dated or datable, as well as those of inventories that will be incorporated in the database, as is the case with the eleven volumes of the *casa* of Castelo Melhor archives inventory. In some cases, the inventories were digitized and, given their easy reading, inserted directly (nrs. 17, 18 and 19).

between c. 1570 and 1646²⁶. The inventory reproduces, in terms of inventoried documentation, a previous book dating from 1542²⁷, the date of the last document summarized and also of the event which, as I have proposed in a previous study, led to its elaboration: the lord of the house's coming of age. He was Lourenço de Brito (c. 1526-c.1592)²⁸, who since 1537 (the probable date of his father's death)²⁹ had been under guardianship from his mother, Isabel da Costa³⁰. The summaries of this inventory are almost always of great quality, and standardized in form and content, namely: the type of action documented, the family member who performed it, adding further details about the subject, date, place and notary. In some cases, they provide detailed descriptions of the properties traded or the terms of wills, for example. Moreover, taken as a whole they cover a wide range of documentary typologies, in general absent from public archives. In addition to some examples that published in the Appendix at the end of this article, the study by Mário Farelo in the book at hand, as well as others carried out on the viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira's archive, fully prove this information³¹.

From the quantitative perspective, we have made a verification centered on one of the most influential figures in the family, widely referred to in the inventory under consideration: Luís de Brito (died c. 1523)³². In the actual archive, there remain 91 documents with him as the main producer; in the inventory of c. 1570-1646, in the same category there are an additional 178. This contrast is already interesting in itself, highlighting the importance of

²⁶ CATALOGUE, nr 7. The insertion of all documentary references into a table was carried out for this document because it was the only one available when the work was completed in 2009 (in digitized format only). The older inventory was restored, scanned and made available online on DIGITARQ only later. The older inventory contains more documents, namely the ones relating to the *morgado* of Santo Estêvão de Beja, whose summaries in the later inventory were in pages that were cut and handed over to the future owner of the lands, the husband of one of the heiresses of the house of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira (for details, ROSA, 2012c).

²⁷ CATALOGUE, nr. 5.

²⁸ Authority record at <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/brito-lourenco-de>.

²⁹ The date of the first reference to Isabel da Costa as a widow (authority record at <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/costa-isabel-da>).

³⁰ ROSA, 2012c: 591-92.

³¹ FARELO, 2012a; SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2016; SILVA, 2017.

³² On him see ROSA, 2012c: 514 ff.; 774; SILVA, 2012: 119-123.

inventory information. Besides, the information from the family archives in numbers makes up an impressive 269 documents, in stark contrast to the ten documents contained in the numerous royal chancery books that relate to the period in which Luís de Brito lived (the reigns of Afonso V, João II and Manuel).

Table 1. Inventories studied in the INVENT.ARQ project and the subsequently processed data

Inventory³³	Date	Availability of images/processed information
1	1458-c.1496	---
2	1497-1498	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 13”
3	1515	Edited in: GREGÓRIO 2002
4	1536-1541	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
5	c. 1542	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343895
6	c. 1565	Edited in: OLIVEIRA 2001
7	c.1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
8	16 th -17 th cents (after 1583)	---
9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
10	17 th cent.	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4344502
11	1609	---
12	1675-1677	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343897
13	c.1694-1755	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343885
14	18 th cent.	Microfilm available at: ANTT, MF 5500
15	1709	
16	1722	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
17	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
19	18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
20	1784	---

³³ The numbers refer to CATALOGUE.

21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
22	1807	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
23	1815	Partially edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
25	1819	CD-ROM available at ANTT – Reading room
26	1821	---
27	1825	---
28	1825	----
29	1825	----
30	1817	---
31	1836	---
32	1836	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4628121
33	1846	---
34	1855-1862 (?)	---
35	1862 (?)	---
36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/

Table 2. Inventories located/studied after conclusion of the INVENT.ARQ project³⁴

Date	Name	Holder
1570	<i>Tombo do morgado instituído por D. Gil Eanes da Costa, vedor da Fazenda, e por sua mulher D. Joana da Silva</i>	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , Il. 196; ANTT, <i>Núcleo Antigo, Instituições de morgados e capelas</i> , nr 190
c. 1607-1606	[Escrituras do morgado de Rui Teles de Meneses]	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , <i>Cód.</i> 11084

³⁴ The presentation of this table was possible thanks to the teamwork of the ARQFAM group and the generosity of other researchers who have been very helpful ever since the beginning of the program. I would like to thank Alice Gago (whose GAGO 2018 study should be consulted for more information on the inventories listed here from ALB), Fábio Duarte (MA in Modern History student, at FCSH NOVA, preparing a thesis on the inventory of Gregorio de Castelo Branco), Margarida Leme (see LEME, 2018: 140, for the first document), Pedro Pinto, Miguel Aguiar.

c. 1627-1662	<i>Tombo do Cartório da Casa de Villa Nova feito no tempo do Conde D. Gregório de Castelo branco filho do Conde D. Manoel de Castelo Branco</i>	Centro de Documentação e Arquivo Histórico do Museu de Portimão, Grupo de Fundos Arquivos Históricos, <i>Colecção de Documentos</i> , Caixa 1, Cotelha 1.1
1767	<i>Inventário dos papéis que acho no cartório do sr. Diogo Pereira Forjaz Coutinho Barreto de Sá e Resende</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 17, cx. 17A, cap. 2
1799	<i>Livro da Fazenda da Casa do Il.mo e Ex.mo Senhor D. Miguel Pereira Conde da Feira</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 32, cx. 32, cap. 1,
18 th cent.	<i>Livro indicativo das ex.mas Casas de Meneses e Pereiras e mais bens, e direitos que pertencem à casa</i>	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , cx. 39A, liv. 14
1819 (?)	Índices do cartório da Senhora Condessa [Joana Eulália Freire de Andrade, condessa do Vimieiro]	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 27, cx. 27II, i)
1825	[Inventário do cartório de Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho Barreto]	BN, <i>ALB, Enc.</i> , pac. 27, cx. 27I, liv. h) vol. 1 e liv. b) vol. 2
1825	[Index do Cartório da Casa da Tapada – S. João de Reis]	<i>Biblioteca de Estudos Humanísticos</i> ³⁵ , NB/ AEH/ A-0001-0038
c. 1831-1871	[Inventários de documentos relativos a diversas propriedades e bens da Casa Castelo Melhor – 8 vols]	Private archive; see ROSA <i>et al.</i> 2019
19 th cent.	Índice do Cartório da Exma. Casa de Redondo	Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, Arquivo Histórico, lv 14
19 th cent.	<i>Catálogo dos bens do Morgado de Nicolau Ribeiro Soares e sua mulher D. Violante Rebelo em Torres Novas, Lamego e Casas à Mouraria</i>	BN, <i>Reserv.</i> , Cód. 8634 (MF 749)
19 th cent.	[Documentos relativos ao morgado de Argemil]	BN, <i>ALB, ANTT</i> , cx. 6, doc. 594a.
19 th cent.	<i>Rellação dos títulos pertencentes ao Morgado d'Argemil e Fajozes. Títulos antigos desde 1373 até mil setecentos e tantos</i>	BN, <i>ALB, ANTT</i> , cx. 6, doc. 594b

³⁵ Bibliographic and archival collection that belonged to late professor Prof. José V. de Pina Martins, currently (2018) kept in the precinct of Novo Banco, Tagus Park, Oeiras, Portugal (consultation upon demand).

Table 3. Families/houses/persons (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) for whom documents can be found in the inventories of the INVENT.ARQ project³⁶

Producer	Dates (by century)	Inventories ³⁷	Inventory's date	Availability of images/processed information
Abreu/ Pereira	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Alarcões	15 th -16 th	17 ³⁸	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Almeidas	15 th -16 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Almeidas	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, "anexo 6"
Barreto, Costa	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Barretos	15 th -16 th	26	1821	---
Britos, Évora	14 th -15 th	5 ³⁹ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]

³⁶ The table presents a first attempt to systematize data on documentation producers in the context of the «organization- family» until the end of the sixteenth century. The aim is first of all to offer the research data on family and personal documentation hitherto unknown (in this sense, alphabetical ordering has been chosen because it allows easier location). The inventories mentioned are those already treated in the INVENT.ARQ project; data on new inventories will be made available in the project database as it is completed. It is important to take into account some of the options taken regarding the presentation of data: 1) institutional contours: encompasses *morgados*, houses, and simple lines of descent referred to by family name. Only detailed researches on the immense documentary mass present in the inventories will allow to better discern the institutional circumscriptions of each producer's group, in each epoch of its effectiveness (and taking into account the great fluidity of this type of organization); 2) producers' completeness: in the inventories already studied, and in particular in those which relate to a single family/person, or to more stable and perennial institutional structures, it is possible to discern and group at least the main producers; such work is only possible through in-depth genealogical studies. It should be noted that inventories may refer dozens of producers, not always being clear the reason for their inclusion of the archive to which the inventory belongs; 3) some isolated characters were indicated, for inventories that did not contain any other mentions to documents in the period considered; 4) the groups and persons here assembled do not dispense and can be greatly improved by querying the information, namely the processed in tables/databases, or digitizations available in the INVENT.ARQ website, for which information is given in the last column on the right.

³⁷ The numbers refer to CATALOGUE.

³⁸ Transcribed (with organization errors that compromise the use of contents) in LÁZARO, 2009.

³⁹ The same documents that in CATALOGUE, 7. Many of these documents are summarized (usually with less information) in subsequent inventories of the same archive (CATALOGUE, 13, 25), which are not yet studied in detail as to the content of the summaries and therefore were not indicated in the table (for a first analysis of those inventories, ROSA 2012).

Britos-Nogueiras, Lisboa	15 th -16 th	5 ⁴⁰ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Camões	16 th	31 ⁴¹	1836	---
Carvalho	15 th -16 th	31 ⁴²	1836	---
Carvalho Patalim	16 th	35	1862 (?)	---
Carvalhos	15 th -16 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castelo-Branco	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castelo-Branco (meirinhos-mores, counts of Sabugal)	16 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castro	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Castros (Évora, Viana)	15 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Catarina Gonçalves/ Guiomar Afonso	15 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Catarina Lopes (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th	31 ⁴³	1836	---
Cogominhos	14 th -15 th	20	1784	---
Correias	15 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Costas	15 th -16 th	35	1862(?)	---
Costas (from Gil Eanes da Costa)	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: LEME 2018
Costas/Barretos, Algarve	15 th -16 th	14	18 th cent.	Microfilm available at: ANTT, MF 5500
Coutada (Santa Maria da Feira)	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Coutinhos-Condes de Marialva	14 th -16 th	6	c. 1565	Edited in: OLIVEIRA 2001

⁴⁰ See n. 7.

⁴¹ The families producing the documentation summarized in this inventory are studied exhaustively for the period under review in the PhD thesis prepared by Alice Gago (see GAGO, 2018).

⁴² See n. 9.

⁴³ See n. 9.

Dinis/Vasques, Gaia	15 th	1 ⁴⁴	1458-c.1496	---
Eças (Moura)	15 th	9	1588-1609	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Estêvão Eanes (chancellor)	13 th	20	1784	---
Falcão	16 th	34	1855-1862(?)	---
Figueiredos, Figueiredos Correia	15 th -16 th	16 22	1722 1807	Table available in: SOUSA 2017
Fonsecas e Vasconcelos, <i>morgados</i> of Esporão	15 th -16 th	4	1536-1541	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Fragoso	16 th	34	1855-1862(?)	---
Geraldo Martins	14 th	20	1784	---
Góis	13 th -15 th	11	1609	---
Góis/Silva	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Homem	15 th	21	1804-1805	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Lafetá	16 th	35	1862(?)	---
Leis	14 th -15 th	5 ⁴⁵ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Leis	14 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Leitões	16 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Lemos	15 th	11	1609	---
Lima Brito Nogueira (viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira)	16 th	5 ⁴⁶ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]

⁴⁴ Some of these documents are summarized in a later inventory of the same archive, which has not yet been studied in detail as to the content of the summaries (indicated in Table 1; for a first analysis see GAGO, 2018); it was therefore not indicated in the table (CATALOGUE, 31).

⁴⁵ See n. 7.

⁴⁶ See n. 7.

Limas (viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira)	16 th 15 th -16 th	10 12 ⁴⁷	17 th cent. 1675-1677	Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4344502 Digitization available at: https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343897
Lobo	16 th	27	1825	---
Lobo (Alvito)	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Lobos	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Luis Álvares, mestre-sala de D. João I	15 th	27	1825	---
Mascarenhas	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Mascarenhas	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Melo	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Melo	16 th	31 ⁴⁸	1836	---
Melos (Fernão de Melo)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁴⁹	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Mirandas, <i>morgados</i> of S. Cristóvão e Patameira	15 th -16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]
Mirandas/ Miranda-Henriques	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Moreira	16 th	27	1825	---
Nogueiras, Lisboa	14 th -15 th	5 ⁵⁰ /7	c. 1542/c. 1694-1755	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [7]
Oliveiras, <i>morgados</i> of Oliveira	14 th -16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]

⁴⁷ It is possible that some of these documents were summarized (usually with less information) in subsequent inventories of the same archive (CATALOGUE, 13, 25), which have not been studied in detail yet as to the content of the summaries and therefore were not indicated in the table (for a first analysis of those inventories, ROSA, 2012c).

⁴⁸ See n. 9.

⁴⁹ See n. 6.

⁵⁰ See n. 7.

Palhavã	14 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pereira	16 th	24	1817	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pero Eanes do Canto	15 th -16 th	3	1515	Edited in: GREGÓRIO 2002
Pero Vaz da Praça (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th -16 th	31 ⁵¹	1836	
Pimentéis	14 th -15 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Pinas (Rui de Pina)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁵²	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Queimado de Vilalobos	15 th -16 th	2/23	1497-1498/1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6” and “anexo 13”
Ravasco	16 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Ribeiro, Gaia/Porto	15 th	1 ⁵³	1458-c.1496	
Salemas	15 th -16 th	23	1815	Edited in: NÓVOA 2016, “anexo 6”
Salemas	15 th -16 th	32	1836	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sás (Porto)	15 th -16 th	18	1782	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sequeira	15 th	36	1854-1864	Table available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Silveiras	15 th -16 th	11	1609	---
Silveiras	15 th -16 th	20	1784	---
Soares (Torres Vedras)	15 th -16 th	17 ⁵⁴	c.1725-1753	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/
Sousas	15 th -16 th	20	1784	
Sousas, baron Alvito	15 th -16 th	14	18 th cent.	

⁵¹ See n. 7.

⁵² See n. 6.

⁵³ See n. 12

⁵⁴ See n. 6.

Távoras, <i>morgados</i> of Caparica	16 th	15 19	1709 18 th cent.	Digitization available at: http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/ [19]
Teles	15 th -16 th	8	16 th -17 th cents (after 1583)	---
Vasco Lourenço (<i>morgado</i> of)	15 th -16 th	31 ⁵⁵	1836	---

APPENDIX

Sample of the summaries contained in the *Tombo em que se contem todas as propriedades, rendas, foros, privilégios, bulas e alvarás dos morgados de Santa Ana e de São Lourenço de Lisboa, Gaião e Santo Estêvão de Beja* (CATALOGUE, 7)

I

“Lisboa na ponte de Lousa.

Aforamento entre vidas a Pedro Alvares lavrador morador na ponte de Lousa de dois casais que estão além da ponte de Lousa, scilicet um que se chama casal das Oliveirinhas que tem uma courela de mato, que parte de ambas as partes com mata debaixo, uma courela que se chama a Cabeça de mato, um serrado de mato em cima da quinta, outra courela que se chama a peça, outra courela dos mortórios, outra courela a serradinha das figueiras, um serradinho que parte com vinha da Sé. Paga deste sete quarteiros de pão meado, e uma dúzia de bolos, e uma dúzia de queijadas, e um par de galinhas e um carneiro de dois anos . E outro casal que se chama da boa cal que tem estas courelas – a courela da talaya, a da carvalha, a da galega, a do barro, a do arneiro, outra do arneiro que parte com rossio e com a serra, deste paga cinco quarteiros de pão meado por Nossa Senhora de Agosto e um carneiro de dois anos, e uma dúzia de bolos, e uma dúzia de queijadas por Páscoa, com condição que neste casal de boa cal faça casas da feitura deste a um ano e não as fazendo pague três mil

⁵⁵ See n. 9.

reis mouros, e não pagando a pensão dentro de oito dias perca a propriedade; feito por João Martins tabelião geral em Lisboa a 25 de Fevereiro de 1502.

Por Luís de Brito.”

Fl. 5v

II

“Lisboa. Testamento de mestre Pedro I fundador deste morgado.

Traslado em latim do testamento de mestre Pedro físico del Rei cónego da Guarda, e do Porto, Prior de Santiago de Óbidos, e primeiro instituidor deste morgado; no qual testamento faz de toda sua fazenda morgado, e a deixa a seu irmão Lourenço Pires que por dezasseis anos o possua, e passados seja de seu filho mais velho, e morto o dito filho, vá a outro mais velho lídimo, e dali vá sempre de barão em barão filho mais velho lídimo, e nunca fêmeas, declarou que possa vir a colaterais em defeito dos direitos, e que se o que tiver este morgado for clérigo, o possa comtudo ter, mas se for criado em Bispo ou Arcebispo, logo perca este morgado, e passe ao parente mais chegado.

Deixou de encarregos que haja um capelão em São Lourenço de Lisboa na sua capela, docto, e de bom viver que cada dia diga missa de requiem pela alma dele mestre Pedro, del Rei seu senhor, e de seu pai e mãe, e bemfeitores. E aos dias, em que por constituição da igreja se não puder dizer missa de réquiem, scilicet dias de Nosso Senhor e de Nossa Senhora então em tais se diga missa da festa com comemoração destes finados, e seja sobre a cova no fim de cada missa com responso.

Item que este capelão reze todos os dias as horas dos finados, e por este trabalho lhe manda dar setenta libras cada ano, e se pelos tempos não achar capelão por este preço, lhe dêem mais pelos frutos desta capela, pelos quais se reparará a mesma de cálices, e vestimentas, e lâmpadas acesas, e do al.

Item que a custa destas rendas se criem na dita capela três moços ao menos de sete anos cada um, e o dito capelão os ensinará o salterio e cantar. Ele levará por este trabalho cinco libras cada ano, e como isto souberem os passarão à gramática, e o [...] [?] que os ensinar, levará outras cinco libras por ano e serão mantidos de todo o necessário por oito anos, e acabados os despedirão e tomarão outros etc.

Item deixa por seus testamenteiros o vigário que pelo tempo for deste Arcebispo, e o prior de São Lourenço, e seu irmão Lourenço Peres, os quais vigários vis-

item por Natal a dita capela, e capelão e o administrador dela, e tirarão o capelão se não for tal, e porão outro capelão, e isso mesmo para ao administrador, se dissipar os bens da capela ou os alienar, ou danificar ou não cumprir o que aqui lhe é mandado. E o tal vigário por fazer esta visitação levará cada ano cem soldos, e levará quando for visitar o traslado deste testamento, e se não o levar, não haverá os ditos cem soldos.

Feito em Lisboa a 21 de Fevereiro 1334. Mestre Pedro

Por estar em latim, e por ser este a raiz e fundamento deste morgado, o sumei [*sic*] tão largo. O n° é o próprio testamento que está às folhas 95 verso.”

Fls. 87v-88

III

“Lisboa. Partilhas por morte de Alvaro Nogueira.

Partilhas que se fizeram por morte de Alvaro Nogueira filho de Afonso Eanes Nogueira entre ele, seu pai e Caterina Gonçalves mulher do dito finado nas quais couberam a metade de toda a fazenda que houve Afonso Eanes Nogueira por morte do dito seu filho as peças seguintes. Item o casal de Peralonga = o casal de Segurão = o casal do outeiro = o casal do Castanheiro = o casal da Chicolla = a torre do pato, e de casais aforados para sempre os seguintes = o casal da ribeira = o casal do seu mieo = o casal de Orraca chicola = oito alqueires de pão meado dos quinze que fazem as courelas da cenha, e dos casais de quatro os seguintes = o casal da choutaria = o casal ventoso. E de vinhas aforadas as seguintes = duas courelas que trás João Delgado = a courela de vinha que trás Gil Marinheiro = a courela de vinha que trás João Estevez pipo = duas courelas de vinhas que trás Afonso Velho = uma courela de vinha que trás João Lourenço carpenicas = outra que trás picamilho da carregueira = outra que trás João Anes, que foi do Jurgo = outra vinha que trás João Afonso = a metade do vimial da cenha, que trás João Lourenço bativelhas, scilicet, a metade da metade = a metade do pomar da parte do poente com a servidão pelo curral dos merceeiros, e quem levar o pé da árvore apanhe o fruto onde cair = a adega, e lagar em Belas, a casa um tem a metade, e ficou místico não lhe achei confrontações, e isto tudo diz que em anexo à quinta e lugar de Belas, que aqui foi partida por meio, e dá esta escritura no principio a entender que os juizes do lugar de Belas eram postos por estes senhorios. Tabelião de Lisboa Gomes Martins 4 de Junho de 1458 Afonso Eanes Nogueira.”

Fls. 49v-50

IV

“Instrumento publico do aparato, com que Luiz de Brito hia a dar sua resposta da sé de Lixboa ao desafio que Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho lhe mandou fazer, E de quanto se sobre isto então passou, e de como jndo já por caminho com suas trompetas, com bandeiras de suas armas, E com seu arauto vestido na cotta de suas Armas acompanhado de muitos fidalgos foi impedido pello Conde Pedro de Mello Conde de Atalaya, o qual lhe mostrou hum Alvará feito E assinado por mão del Rey que non fosse sob pena de morte e perdimento de Bens, e os escritos, E autos que sobre isso erão feitos se rompessem, Pello que se tornou a caminho da Sé. Tabeliam de Lisboa André Afonso. 27 de Junho de 1468. A horas de terça.”

Fl. 213

[...]

“Carta del rey de Grada para ver de como ha por desobrigado a Luiz de Brito do desafio que Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho lhe tinha feito perante o dito Rey de Grada, vista a prohibição que fez a Luís de Brito El Rey de Portugal. Escrita em Alfambra, a 6 de Outubro, era de Mafamede 873”

Fl. 216v

[...]

“Segurança Real que El Rey Dom Afonso deu a Luiz de Brito de Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho, por virtude de hum Alvará do ditto Gonçalo Vaz que está inserto na mesma carta cujo treslado he o seguinte: Senhor Satisfazendo ao que tenho prometido a V.A. no feito de Luiz de Brito digo por este meu assinado que Eu prometto a Vos, como a meu Rey e senhor, de nunqa errar ao dito Luiz de Britto em estes Reynos por mim nem per outrem, E isto Emquanto he pellos feitos e erros que antre nos sam passados so pena de corpo E de perder per esse mesmo Cazo todos meus bens patrimoniais E da Coroa do Reino, Escritto em Lisboa a 10 de Julho de 1469. E ttambem prometo de lhe nõ errar por nenhum outro cazo sem lho primeiro fazer saber por mym nem por outrem so as mesmas penas. Feito no dito dia Mez e Era. E o alvara del Rey foi/ feito 28 de Julho de 1469. Rey»

Fls. 216v-217

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PUBLIC OR PERISH: THE FAMILY ARCHIVES OF BEIRA ALTA (PORTUGAL)

ABSTRACT: Building on the recent historiographical interest on family archives, the authors present a type of family archive prevalent in the Beira Alta region still in private hands. The authors describe two family archives to provide an overview of the typical documentation that comprise a Beira Alta family archive in a noble house. Finally, they produce an estimate of family archives that existed around 1850. The authors conclude by highlighting the historiographical relevance of this type of archives and by drawing attention to the risks such archives face today.

Keywords: family archives; nobility; Beira Alta

RESUMO: Alicerçados no recente interesse historiográfico sobre arquivos familiares, os autores analisam os arquivos de família na região da Beira Alta. Para isso, os autores descrevem dois arquivos familiares existentes de forma a fornecer um panorama da documentação típica existente numa Casa Nobre da Beira Alta. Em seguida, os autores ensaiam uma estimativa do número de arquivos privados existentes nestas casas por volta de 1850. Concluem, por fim, sublinhando a importância deste tipo de arquivos para a historiogra-

fia portuguesa, ao mesmo tempo que sublinham os riscos que ameaça este património arquivístico.

Palavras-chave: arquivos de família; nobreza; Beira Alta

Introduction

In the recent years Portuguese historians showed a keen interest in the country's family archives¹. It remains to be seen whether this newly-found interest will supersede long decades of historiographical neglect and create some momentum in the study of this important source. The practical problems are legion. First, the scope and size of the family archives is poorly known. More ominously, their survival is threatened by the social and environmental problems of the Portuguese rural areas: public and private indifference towards heritage, the economic and legal burdens of inheriting historical property and also forest fires, of which those in 2017 stand out. In this dramatic event, at least five noble houses destroyed out and dozens more were threatened. In this study, we hope to contribute to this renewed interest by providing a short analysis of the scope and numbers of the family archives of the country aristocracy within a well-defined territory.

This paper focuses on the archives of the country aristocracy. By “country aristocracy” we mean the families that, by 1700, enjoyed a noble status (*foro de fidalgo*) and often exhibited coats of arms in their homes, but lived in the countryside, not in the court. This was largely because their income derived from their role as tenants of noble and ecclesiastical estates and jurisdictions as well as from economic assets like interest-paying loans, rather than from the redistributive payments from the king (like *tenças* or *moradias*), which were the mainstay of the courtly noble households². Their houses sometimes assumed the form of a grand building traditionally called *solar*³. A few also went by the name of *paço* or as a *torre* (tower), denoting their origins as the

¹ HENRIQUES; ROSA, 2016; SOUSA, 2012 and 2018; LEME, 2012; ROSA, 2012b and 2012c.

² MONTEIRO, 1998.

³ BORGES, 2010; ROSA, [forthcoming].

seat of a seignorial jurisdiction (*bonra*). Nonetheless, more commonly these buildings went by the more modest, and older, term *casa* (house). This detail is important: in northern and central rural Portugal, a *casa* was essentially a hereditary set of property and communal rights that were tied to a specific building⁴. As we shall see, archives were integral to these *casas* or *solares* and were passively bequeathed to the descendants and heirs together with them.

The structure of this paper is as follows: First, we briefly describe two country aristocracy archives, discussing what types of documents can researchers get from them. Then, we estimate of the number of this type of archives for the region of Beira Alta, a largely rural area in the center of Portugal. Finally, we conclude by highlighting the importance and risks that loom over this documental heritage while providing some suggestions for future research on this topic.

1. Two archives in Beira Alta. Different families, similar practices

The origins of rural aristocracy families from Beira Alta have been recently assessed in separate works by the authors of this paper⁵. The coinage devaluation and the high cost of labor that dominated the fifteenth century lent some uppity farmers and the local office-holding families bargaining power vis-à-vis the great landowning monasteries and dioceses. As these major farmers were the tenants of agricultural lands and other sources of revenue, they ascended to the local elites⁶. Such economic context created a particular, fertile environment for the ascent of a local gentry, coupled with older families whose origins may be found in more remote times.

The two cases we consider here have somewhat different trajectories. In the first, the origins are to be found in merchants and tenant farmers who had acquired noble status by the turn of the seventeenth century⁷, following

⁴ GONÇALVES, 1981; CASTANHEIRA, 1998; HENRIQUES, 2003.

⁵ FERROS; FERROS; LEITÃO, 2017; HENRIQUES; MENDES, 2016.

⁶ HENRIQUES; MENDES, 2016.

⁷ HENRIQUES, 2012.

their local preponderance as merchants and rentiers. In the second case, the *paço* of Molelos, there are reasons to believe that its origins go back to the thirteenth century⁸, although the exact generational sequence was already forgotten in the fifteenth century.

Given the space and time constraints, these two cases were selected because they are well-known to the authors, although the resulting tradeoff is a lack of randomization in the selection criteria. Despite this obvious hindrance, we believe both archives illustrate the ideal-type of a rural aristocratic family archive, and also allow us to highlight some differences which reflect the possible range of these collections.

1.1. Archive of the viscounts of Midões

The archive of the viscounts of Midões is known in detail by one of the authors, since he was involved in its rescue and subsequent donation to the Arquivo Distrital de Viseu (the public archive of Viseu)⁹ and was also the object of a study regarding the management of loans and debt by the different generations of the families of each *casa*¹⁰. This large archive was formed possibly at the time of Roque Ribeiro de Abranches Castelo-Branco, first viscount of Midões (1770-1844), a nineteenth-century politician involved in the political and military struggles that affected Portugal in the 1820s and 1830s¹¹. As a staunch, early supporter of the liberals, he was a member of the revolutionary government formed in 1826. Following his side's victory in the civil war (1828-34) he became a member of parliament, a peer of the realm and was eventually granted the title of viscount of Midões¹².

⁸ FERROS, FERROS; LEITAO, 2017; DUARTE; FERROS; COIMBRA, 2018.

⁹ The link for the archive, with a description of part of the documentation, can be found here: <https://digitarq.advis.arquivos.pt/details?id=1047819>. The archive is currently undergoing a detailed description, which will allow for more complete studies of its documentation.

¹⁰ HENRIQUES, 2012.

¹¹ CASTRO, 2002.

¹² For an overview of his political career see his biography in CASTRO, 2002: 464-465. For an overview of his genealogy see CALDEIRA, 2014 and COSTA, 2017.

The viscount inherited seven *casas* from his father and cousins, all located in neighboring municipalities. Some of these houses were non-descript buildings which lay unimposing among other homes in the rural landscape, betraying their modest origins. Other *casas* were nonetheless far more impressive and were rebuilt in the eighteenth-century in an ostentatious baroque style¹³.

The archive has approximately 7,500 documents¹⁴, starting from as early as 1528, the date of the oldest extant document¹⁵. During the lifetime of the viscount, most of the documents received either a cover or were tied together in bundles (*maços*) which also had a cover in front. Furthermore, a small summary of the content of each document was added at the back, as was common in such reorganization efforts. What remains is probably just a small part of what would have been a very complete archive, since it was already in dire conditions at the time of its rescue¹⁶. We shall focus on some key aspects regarding this archive to illustrate how this hon archive contributes to our understanding of the mechanisms of social ascension.

The *casa* as the key organizing principle

The key fundamental organizing principle seems to be that of the *casa* (house) in the sense explained above and in some historical anthropology literature¹⁷ and empirical work¹⁸. Even in the case where properties were bought by non-members of the family, the nineteenth-century archive reformer assigned the document to one of the houses according to the locations involved. Thus, the reformer left in the back of the document the name of the house it referred to. Only in the few cases where no visible connection was found, there was a small written annotation stating something like “I

¹³ One of this *casas* was the *casa do Ribeirinho*, an impressive eighteenth-century noble home where the family archive laid in a room in disrepair, possibly where the viscount had his office. The house and chapel completely burned in the 2017 fires (COSTA, 2017), and the archive survived only because it was safely held in the Public Archive of Viseu.

¹⁴ This is only an estimate of the available documentation. We need to wait for the completion of the inventory process to reach a final number.

¹⁵ CALDEIRA, 2014. This is a notarial transcription of a late fourteenth-century document. It is the only known reference in the archive to the existence of a medieval parchment.

¹⁶ COSTA, 2017.

¹⁷ CASTANHEIRA, 1998.

¹⁸ HENRIQUES, 2003; HENRIQUES, 2007.

don't know what this has to do with this house". Papers relating to property management, the election of local militia officers, judicial disputes or even personal letters all seem to fall within the overarching *casa*, even though at least three of such houses were formed by three brothers of the Abranches family. Thus, for the nineteenth-century archivist the identification of the *casa* was preferred over the family or family name. In some cases, this organization was inspired by the practices typical of entailed property like *capelas* and *morgados*¹⁹, whose importance in the structure of noble archives has already been demonstrated by Maria de Lurdes Rosa²⁰. Nonetheless, in this case at least three of the *casas* were not part of an entailed property, and even the establishment of an entailment (*morgadio*) was the end-result of a process started several generations beforehand. This is the case of the *morgadio de Travanca de São Tomé*, established in 1693 by the priest António de Abranches for his sister²¹, even though the records of acquisitions and other documentation comprised in the *casa* of Travanca de São Tomé start with his great-grandfather Miguel Gomes²², or with the *casa de Várzea de Cavalos*²³, whose chapel still bears the date "169[...]"(the last digit was erased by time) which was built and was entailed by Luís de Abranches Henriques (1650-1708), but whose records start at least two generations before. In the case of another entailed property, the *capela de Nossa Senhora da Piedade* seems to have been subdued to the importance of the *casa* to which it fell²⁴.

¹⁹ See ROSA, 1995 and 2005 for a description of the concepts.

²⁰ ROSA, [forthcoming].

²¹ FERROS; FERRO; LEITÃO, 2017.

²² The document that establishes the entailment cannot be found in the archive, but its entailment is recorded in the still imposing tomb of António de Abranches, archpriest of Besteiros, in the church of Travanca de São Tomé. We will address Miguel Gomes in more detail further ahead.

²³ FERROS; FERROS; LEITÃO, 2017; OSÓRIO GONÇALVES, 2006.

²⁴ The *capela de Nossa Senhora da Paz* was entailed by the last will of Dionísio de Figueiredo in 1597, who died in Goa, and sent large sums of money for his sisters to build a chapel which would remain in their descendancy (the original document will is part of the archive of the viscounts of Midões deposited in the public archive of Viseu). This led to a series of land acquisitions, one of which was of the *casa do Aido*, in the township of Cabanas de Viriato, roughly five miles distant from where the original chapel was built. Nonetheless, the subsequent documentation is organized in the archive as belonging to *casa do Aido*, rather than to the *Capela de Nossa Senhora da Paz*.

As such, at least in this case, the overarching structure for the documentation seems to be that of *casa*. Such organization seems to reflect how the *casa* was understood as an impersonal owner of property and communal rights, in the rural tradition still found by twentieth-century historical anthropology²⁵. Nonetheless, further research is required to understand the interconnections between entailment, *casa* and the specific archival practices in place in rural central Portugal. It must be noted that these *casas* originate from a slow and organic growth process starting in small acquisitions, and the establishment of entailments seems to be the end-result of a process started several generations before.

Small transactions in large volumes

One of the uncommon record types we find in the Midões archive is the *assinado*. That is, a transaction record signed by the intervening sellers and buyers only without the intervention of a public notary (*tabelião*). These were used commonly for the acquisition of plots, sometimes as small as just one olive tree (without enclosing land) or the sale of animals (including dogs). Such records are ever present throughout all the different houses comprising the archive.

Written in small pieces of paper and invariably occupying just one page, these records were kept by all different houses. Regardless of the different family or house they refer to, they all seem to obey the same structure: “I [name of seller] residing in [name of town] that it is true that from this day onwards I sell to [name of buyer] and his wife [name of buyer] resident in [name of town], in the council of [name of town], the [name of the property]”. After describing the lands’ boundaries, the document ends typically with the seller describing how he requested someone to make the *assinado*, who witnessed it and the date.

As the archive is still being organized, it is hard to estimate the total numbers of these documents and their overall weight in the archive. Our rough estimates suggest that there are a few thousand *assinados* and they may represent up to half of the total documentation present in the archive. While the

²⁵ LE ROY LADURIE, 1982; CASTANHEIRA, 1998.

assinados are sometimes bound together, as in the case of more than 100 small transactions made by António de Abranches (1576-1643) in the early seventeenth century, at other times they were merely bundled together with an overarching description of the *casa* they belong to.

This legal instrument allowed the buyer to avoid paying *ad valorem* sales taxes (the *sisá*). The record of larger transactions, on account of higher risks and costs, was written down and registered by a notary public. These smaller transactions seemed also to have been advantageous to the buyers who were literate, while most of the sellers were illiterate and, judging by their names, seem to be small farmers. These documents are practically absent from the public archives, where the registers of the notaries public are kept. This absence creates a strong bias when studying the land market. Indeed, when one looks at the notary registers, one finds only ten to fifteen land sales per year. Yet, as the *assinados* from the archives of the viscount of Midões show, a few scores of sales took place every year. Also, the notarial registers only encompass the top of the markets, ignoring a plethora of farmers that were very active in the local lands markets. Access to these private archives sheds light upon a more granular level, that falls out of the scope of most public records.

Links with a courtly family archive

A third unusual perspective that this archive provides is the articulation between the local tenants and merchants that founded these houses and the large landowners such as the house of the marquis of Abrantes, who ruled over the municipalities of Oliveira do Conde and Góis by concession of the Crown. In the Abrantes archive, which is held by the Portuguese national archive²⁶, we can see how the ancestors of the house of Abrantes usually tax-farmed their revenues in bulk, either yearly or biyearly, by auctioning them to the highest bidder. In the Abrantes archive we can find the records of the tax-farming contract and know the identity of the tax-farmers. The names found in the Abrantes archive gain life in the archive of the viscount

²⁶ A description of the archive can be seen here: <https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3908153>.

of Midões. By 1580, the main tax-farmer of the Beira revenues that belonged to the ancestors of the marquises of Abrantes (the counts of Vila Nova de Portimão), the old line of the marquis of Abrantes, was a merchant called Manuel Fernandes²⁷ together with his elder son Manuel Fernandes de Figueiredo²⁸. They are ancestors of the viscount of Midões through a male line. Likewise, the already mentioned António de Abranches (1576-1643)²⁹ and his brother and sons, who were also ancestors of the viscount through a female line, tax-farmed the revenues of the same counts³⁰. The two archives thus become complementary, since these tax-farming documentation is absent from the Midões archive and without the Abrantes archive the role of tax-farming as a form of social ascent would remain obscure.

The articulation between both archives helps to understand the origins of some *casas*, namely that of Travanca de São Tomé. This *casa* belonged to Miguel Gomes who bought ten small plots of land in the mid-sixteenth century, records of which subsist in the archive. Gomes's origins are obscure, although these records suggest that he was a middling farmer. He married a woman with an equally unimposing last name: Antónia Gomes. Nonetheless, the archive records the increasing volume of the transactions made by their descendants until his granddaughter married the aforementioned António de Abranches (1576-1643). Their lands were endowed to the *casa* of Travanca de São Tomé. However, whilst the family archive of the viscounts of Midões leaves the social origins of Miguel Gomes unclear, if we resort to the archive of Abrantes we find that Miguel was the son of Diogo Gomes and Maria Álvares, local farmers who acted as tenants to the ancestors of the marquis for their property in Travanca.³¹ The descendants of this otherwise obscure couple would later give rise to three houses that spread throughout Beira Alta.

²⁷ ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, mç. 53, doc. 976.

²⁸ ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, mç. 53, doc. 978.

²⁹ ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, mç. 53, doc. 968.

³⁰ ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, mç. 53, doc. 977, 982.

³¹ ANTT, Arquivo da Casa de Abrantes, mç. 54, doc. 999.

1.2. The archive of *paço de Molelos*

The *Paço de Molelos* is a manor house whose origins go back to the thirteenth century, although the lineage can only be traced with certainty from the fifteenth. The term *paço* denotes the existence of a jurisdiction held by a family of aristocratic rank. The knight Henrique Esteves who inherited the jurisdiction (*bonra*) of Molelos decided to entail it, together with his other (and his wife's) properties and create a *morgadio* in 1520³². The *paço* is to this day still the property of its descendants, including one of the authors. The archive that we will address is still in the possession of the family and is kept in the *paço*, where it is undergoing a process of reorganization by its proprietors.

The documentation spans from *c.* 1500 to the twentieth century. Although the *paço* has remained in the possession of the same family, an unquantifiable amount of documents was distributed to other branches, which eventually died out. It is hard to estimate the impact of this dispersion. Also, between the death of the last administrator (or *morgado*) in 1920, and the transmission of ownership to the present owner, in 1970, the house was uninhabited and suffered disrepair. Most of the archive was kept in chests and drawers, where it was damaged by rats and insects. Several volumes with documentation that were bound together were removed and stored at another location for safe-keeping, as the condition of the *paço* deteriorated. Some documents older than 1520 subsist which shows that preserving the records that documented the material foundations of the *morgadios* was an important concern for their administrators³³.

The need for a *tombo* (land inventory)

The *tombo* or land inventory of the *morgadio* of Molelos consists of a bound volume dated between 1651 and 1659. It was compiled at a time when the heiress, D. Ana de Tovar, was only eight years old and under tutorship appointed by the crown. As suggested by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, the threat of

³² FERROS; FERROS; LEITÃO, 2017.

³³ ROSA, 1995 and [forthcoming].

losing properties and rights appears to be at the forefront of the need to make a detailed inventory of the properties owned by the descendants of Henrique Esteves³⁴. Although this document did not prevent continuous usurpation of land, similar inventories were being compiled at the time by monasteries, convents and large land-owning families. The beautifully-drawn frontpage, adorning a massive volume, was carefully preserved and remains in good condition. Further, this volume details the properties and other assets as it contains transcriptions of the original documents relating to each of these sources of revenue. As Maria de Lurdes Rosa states:

From the end of the fifteenth century, *tombos* were made obligatory by the Crown, and so they are very common in these archives. Frequently there were also documents relating to the fulfilment of pious charges, or at least notes on them³⁵.

It must be noted that the importance of such inventories for entailments has been highlighted in historiography, and many other examples abound. The *tombo* may have influenced the creation of other volumes in 1920 when the second count of Felgueiras married the heiress of *paço de Molelos*³⁶ and collected the documents he deemed relevant in bound volumes, possibly influenced by the existence of the previous inventory.

Enforcing property rights

Unlike the archive of the viscounts of Midões, we detect an early attempt by the administrators of the *morgadio* of *Molelos* to create a written inventory, which served as an instrument for enforcing property rights³⁷. According to nineteenth-century experts, this practice was actually mandatory for entailed property³⁸. None of the many houses which united under the viscount of

³⁴ ROSA, [forthcoming].

³⁵ ROSA, [forthcoming].

³⁶ FERROS; FERROS; LEITÃO, 2017.

³⁷ ROSA, [forthcoming].

³⁸ MENEZES, 1819.

Midões did the same, or at least the corresponding evidence did not survive³⁹, leaving their petty *assinados* intact but not transcribed. The need to enforce property rights directly translates in the archive organization. In fact, even though the Molelos archive is still undergoing a major inventory effort, we can infer that a third of the documentation concerns nineteenth-century judicial processes against farmers refusing to pay rent, as a consequence of the “liberal” legislation of the nineteenth century. Thus, enforcing property rights and proving such rights resorting to a well-organized house archive was paramount. This need for effective and extensive legal action in the nineteenth century is well apparent within the archive.

The *casa* as the overarching archive structure

Family tradition, rightly or not, tells that there was an old archive kept in a family property that was lost in a fire during the sixteenth century. This may explain the lack of fifteenth-century documentation. The subsequent archival production was nonetheless organized alongs houses or entailments⁴⁰. There are six main houses that comprise the Molelos archive, denoting different inheritances. The first is the documentation regarding the *Paço de Molelos*, which comprises not only documents regarding properties and the payment of the *foros*, but also correspondence and documentation regarding the entailed property. The second group concerns the properties entailed by the bishop of Coimbra Gil Alma († 1415) to fund a chapel he created in the local Dominican convent. Another house was centered around a sixteenth-century entailment (*morgadio*) with lands in Batalha, of which there is an eighteenth-century land inventory (*tombo*). Finally, three other sets of documents concerning different properties inherited by the administrators of the *morgadio* de Molelos: the *casa* in Folhadosa, the properties in Douro, and finally the documentation of the counts of Felgueiras and the Ferros Ponce de Leão who married with

³⁹ It must be noted that parchments and bounded volumes are absent from the archive and may have been stored in a different part of the *casa do Ribeirinho* or taken for safe keeping by a family member. As such, it should be noted that the authors are working with an incomplete archive.

⁴⁰ See ROSA, [forthcoming] for a more complete description on the links between family archives and entailed property.

the heiresses. The organization of the documents according to the house, as in Midões, highlights how archival practices reflect the prevalence of the *casa* and its administrative and judicial matters over the private and personal documentation.

The country aristocracy archives

Given these two cases, we cannot claim that the country aristocracy archives in Beira Alta are uniform. Furthermore, the families from which these archives originated are not uniform. While some are considered members of the aristocracy for generations, many other houses seem to have their origins in local merchants or enriched individuals which rented large pieces of land in exchange for a lump yearly fee from the larger property holders, such as the courtly aristocracy, large monasteries or the Church. Nevertheless, some common traits are clear. We will not fall far from the truth by stating that overall they preserve documents relating with property rights and their management (deeds, rent contracts, loan transactions, wills and foundational documents, but no accounts of any sort), appointments to offices or functions (such as charters granting an office as public notary) and genealogical and personal information such as letters. These features do not set these archives apart from their equivalents belonging to the courtly aristocracy. However, we find two distinctive traits. The first is that the *casa*, not the family, acts as the organizing principle, reflecting the importance of property rights. The second is the viewpoint that they offer on the agents active in the lower levels of economic life.

2. An estimation of the number of Beira Alta archives

As the previous pages explain, record-keeping practices were essential to any aristocratic *casa*. In fact, these *casas* were impersonal owners of goods and rights whose management and safeguard required the preservation of the sales and tenancy contracts, wills and sometimes genealogical information. Hence, archives are intrinsic to the very concept of *casa*. Thus, we assume that by 1850 to each *casa* corresponded one archive.

In order to gauge the original dimension of this type of archives, we present an estimate of the number of archives that existed in Beira Alta c. 1850. This “historical province” was defined in the 1930s as comprising two districts (Viseu and Guarda) and the two easternmost municipalities of the district of Coimbra (Tábua and Oliveira do Hospital).

Within the entire Beira Alta, five municipalities (Tábua, Santa Comba Dão, Tondela, Nelas and Carregal do Sal) have adequate, if slightly different, instruments for reliable estimates of the number of country aristocracy houses. Together with the research by Inês Borges⁴¹ on the local *solares*, the recent inventory of coats of arms of the municipality of Tondela allows for a very complete approximation to all the *casas* that have been built there⁴². Similar inventories have been recently conducted in the neighboring municipality of Carregal do Sal⁴³, while for the municipalities of Santa Comba Dão, Nelas and Tábua we resorted to the inventory of the national monument protection institute, complemented by our own field research⁴⁴ and available bibliography⁴⁵.

The results are shown on Table 1.

Table 1. Casas

	Number of <i>casas</i>, c. 1850	Pop of municipality (in 1864)	Archives per population
Tondela	33	27791	842
Tábua	20	12347	617
Carregal do Sal	19	17207	906
Santa Comba Dão	14	11908	851
Nelas	14	9712	694
Median	-	-	842

These five municipalities provide a benchmark for which we can extrapolate the overall number of archives. In order to extrapolate we calculated how

⁴¹ BORGES, 2012.

⁴² FERROS *et al.*, 2017.

⁴³ RIBEIRO, 2012.

⁴⁴ Also check the blog “solares e brasões” at solaresebrasoes.blogspot.com.

⁴⁵ DUARTE, 2009; GONÇALVES, 2006.

many *casas* existed per population by 1850 (using the 1864 census data). We chose the census for this year rather than contemporary figures, given the great contrast between the dense numbers of these rural municipalities in the nineteenth century and the low population of today. In order to infer the total number of *casas* in Beira Alta from our benchmark, we extrapolate the median archive density to the total population of this province in 1864 (Table 2)⁴⁶.

Table 2. Estimated number of *casas* in Beira Alta, c. 1850

Area	Population (in 1864)	Estimate
Viseu	353,543	385
Guarda	210,414	229
Oliveira do Hospital and Tábua	41,344	45
Total	605,301	719

Notes: The estimated figure results from multiplying the median of *casas* per capita found in Table 1 with the contemporary population of Beira Alta.

The estimate indicates that Beira Alta was home to more than 700 noble houses by 1850. Assuming that all houses had their archives, which can be confirmed in all cases for which we had access, this corresponds to a commensurate number of archives. Fires and other hazards also took their share of these collections. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many other were destroyed by the sheer indifference of owners.

Conclusion

The present paper overviewed two private family archives from the rural aristocracy of Beira Alta. It served the purpose of shedding light on the private lives not only of the rural aristocracy, but also of its relationship with

⁴⁶ Population density, an alternative we considered, proves a far worse predictor of the number of archives. As seen in Table 1, the rank of population is very close to the rank in number of archives, unlike population density. This warrants some robustness to this method.

other major institutions that shaped Portuguese society. We hopefully showed that these source collections have a vast potential, as they tend to be complementary to the typical collections held in the public archives. They also provide a different perspective on some, otherwise inaccessible, aspects of the rural economy while highlighting the mechanisms behind the local primacy of the gentry families. Their sales instruments provide a fresh viewpoint on the economic life of middling farmers, whose modest sales, sometimes involving goods like one olive tree or one dog, dispensed with the formalities of the notaries, that provide the bulk of the local sources.

Given the importance of these archives, we attempted to calculate the total number of family archives in the region of Beira Alta by the middle of the nineteenth century. According to our own conservative, assumption-light estimate there were about 719 family archives in this region. This is an impressive number, especially if compared with the small number of family archives currently deposited on the two district-level archives of this region (only twelve collections in the public archives of Viseu and Guarda). At any rate, the number of surviving archives is likely a modest share of what once existed. Also, these archives are currently at risk of dispersion, destruction or being devoured by pests. In the four municipalities studied, at least seven known archives were lost in the last hundred years for various reasons, ranging from indifference to inheritance disputes. In the same period, only five were recovered, most of them already in dire conditions. Further losses are expected to be uncovered as local historians continue with their important fieldwork. Partnerships with public institutions are essential for the preservation of this patrimony, hence our title: public or perish.

In many cases, these important source collections clarify how men and women of mostly mercantile and farming stock were able to move in far more important circles, including ecclesiastical institutions, courtly nobility and the Crown and build the *casas* and *solares* that still shape the Beira Alta of today.

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THE CENSUS OF PERSONAL AND FAMILY ARCHIVES OF THE CANARY ISLANDS: ADVANCE OF RESULTS

ABSTRACT: The *Censo de Archivos Familiares y Personales de Canarias* (census of personal and family archives of the Canary Islands) was a project carried out by the ARCHICAN research group during the years 2016 and 2017. The general aim of the members of the research team was to promote historical research from this kind of archives. In addition, we are also interested in study the formation of these fonds, which does not seem to follow, at least in the Canary Islands, the principle of “original order” argued by classical archival theory to explain the origin of institutional archives. Through bibliographic research and the direct localization of the fonds deposited in the libraries and archive centers of the archipelago, we have detected 226 documentary collections, family fonds and personal fonds. Although, we could appreciate that an important part of these are fractions of documentary collections or fonds, that has been broken as a consequence of the hereditary partitions, before its cession or deposit to the institution where we have located it.

Keywords: family archives; personal archives; documentary collections; archival history; Canary Islands

RESUMO: O *Censo de Archivos Familiares y Personales de Canarias* foi um projeto desenvolvido pelo grupo de investigação ARCHICAN durante os anos 2016 e 2017. O objetivo geral dos membros do grupo de investigação foi impulsionar a investigação histórica sobre este tipo de arquivos. Interessou-nos também estudar a formação destes fundos, os quais parecem não seguir, pelo menos nas Ilhas Canárias, o princípio de “ordem original” aprovado pela teoria arquivística clássica para explicar a origem dos arquivos institucionais. Através da pesquisa bibliográfica e da localização direta destes fundos depositados em bibliotecas e centros de arquivo do arquipélago, identificámos 226 coleções documentais, arquivos de família e arquivos pessoais. Contudo, estimamos que uma parte importante corresponda a arquivos e coleções fragmentadas, como consequência de divisões por herança prévias à sua cedência ou depósito na instituição onde foram localizados.

Palavras-chave: arquivos de família; arquivos pessoais; coleções documentais; arquivística histórica; Ilhas Canárias

Introduction

The *Censo de Archivos Familiares y Personales de Canarias* (census of personal and family archives of the Canary Islands) was a project carried out by the ARCHICAN research group during the years 2016 and 2017, financed by the University of La Laguna Research Plan 2016. The background of the research group comprises a varied array of interests that ended up shaping this project. Besides previous works on the history of the Archival Science and the genesis of the municipal archives from the old island Councils¹, we must add those researches made by other members of the team on the archival field², as well as those researches related to cultural studies and family collection of letters³. Recent research from members of the ARCHICAN group in the family archives area focused on the Lercaro-Justiniano fond. This relevant archive corresponds to a Genoese family that settled in the Canary Islands since the middle of the sixteenth century. Furthermore and above all, these recent researches aim to open an investigation line on “family archives and documentary sources in the Atlantic World”, through the seminar taught in the *Islas Atlánticas* doctoral programme since 2014⁴. One of the most promising results is the doctoral thesis of Judit Gutiérrez de Armas, entitled *El fondo conde de Siete Fuentes: la construcción de la memoria de linaje y la identidad aristocrática en el mundo atlántico a través de un archivo de familia (siglos XVI-XX)*, currently being conducted under joint supervision at the Universidad de La Laguna and the Universidade Nova de Lisboa⁵.

¹ NÚÑEZ PESTANO *et al.*, 1999; NÚÑEZ PESTANO *et al.*, 2009.

² BELLO JIMÉNEZ, 2015.

³ ARBELO GARCÍA, 2013: 81–132; ARBELO GARCÍA, 2016: 30-56.

⁴ NÚÑEZ PESTANO; VIÑA BRITO, 2014. “Archivos de familia y fuentes documentales en el mundo atlántico. Un acercamiento multidisciplinar desde la historia social y la ciencia archivística”. Seminary in the PhD program “Atlantic Islands: History, Heritage and Legal and Institutional Framework”. https://www.ull.es/view/doctorandos/islasatlanticas/Informacion_general/es.

⁵ GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2014; GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2016a; GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2016b.

The objectives of the ARCHICAN project

Such background impelled us to unify our researching experience around three main objectives: 1) To give new impetus to the Canary Islands historiography encouraging the knowledge and use of the family archives as a documentary repertoire. This resource could help to overcome the overuse of the studies focused on the institutional archives of Church and State and offer a methodological and thematic renewal of regional historiography. 2) To propel reflection on the heuristics of History, which is particularly focused on the notion of “objectivity” inherited from the positivist historiography, based on the external nature of the archive document. (3) To assume the postmodern criticism on the archival concept of “original order”, in order to integrate it into the heuristics of contemporary historians as we consider that the historian must as well take into account the conservation context without detracting from the context of creation of documents. In other words, the role played by the archivist in the creation of implicit meanings is derived from the operations of conservation and documentary organization⁶. In essence, our set of research objectives is a continuation of the research line opened by professor Maria de Lurdes Rosa and her “historical archival group” regarding the social history of the family archives, analyzed from two angles: archival production and social meaning⁷.

These general objectives were summed up in a series of much more specific objectives, as we always knew that drawing up the *Censo de Archivos Familiares y Personales de Canarias* was the initial stage of this project, which would provide an overview on this topic but it would not allow us to make much progress in achieving the general objectives. The reasons were as

⁶ HORSMAN, 1999: 42-53. Regarding the criticism of the origin principle and other fundamental concepts of the objectivist paradigm in Archival Science, Christine Nougaret, responsible for the private archives section of the Centre Historique des Archives Nationales, asked in 2001 if we could continue accepting the “organic production of the background “or instead we should admit that this was an invention of the archivist, to end up wondering if we did not need to invent an archeology of the archives (in fourarian terms of archeology of knowledge) that allows us to understand the process of construction of the archive by the archivist. NOUGARET, 2004: 331-339. NESMITH, 2005: 35.

⁷ ROSA, 2009: 9-24; ROSA, 2012a; ROSA, 2017: 547-586.

follows: 1) The elaboration of this census as a project will always be incomplete and in progress, as there will always be new documentary collections that need to be included. 2) The structure of a census of archives is based on a description sheet that is too simple to analyze the complex relationship between the producer of documents, the organization and selection stages, the expurgation of documents from each collection, and the use of documents at any time during the existence of the archives.

In the particular case of Spain, taking census of archives is a task generally carried out by regional governments in terms of cultural heritage management plans. This is done in coordination with the Ministry of Culture, which maintains on its web portal PARES the *Censo-Guía de Archivos de España e Iberoamérica*⁸. In the Canary Islands, nevertheless, the only entry included in the category *fondos personales y familiares* of the *Censo-Guía* is the *archivo personal Juan Negrín*, corresponding to the last president of the council of ministers of the second Spanish Republic, which was retrieved and inventoried by the Fundación Juan Negrín from Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and the Centro para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica. This delay is attributed to the lack of a true archival system in the Canary Islands, a circumstance that has led to a great delay in the inventory and document management of the documentary heritage of the Canary Islands⁹. For this reason, the ARCHICAN group started its joint work creating the *censo de fondos familiares y personales*, a task that, despite being commonly carried out by the archival systems of each autonomous region, has been assumed by university research teams¹⁰.

Project scope and methodology: family fonds, personal archives and collections

Once the main goal of our joint project was set, our first task was to determine the scope and extent of our work. The classification established

⁸ FITO MANTECA, 2006: 177-198.

⁹ NÚÑEZ PESTANO, 2008: 135-170.

¹⁰ GONZÁLEZ ALCAIDE; TOLOSA ROBLEDO, 2010: 169-181.

by the Standard Archival Authority ISAAR sets three categories in order to determine the different types of archival fonds by producer: entities, individuals, and families. Although our initial interest was oriented towards family archives, the delimitation between these last two categories has always been a complex issue. In fact, both categories are grouped as “personal and family archives” by the Ministry of Culture on its classification by type of document. The reason is simple: if the delimitation of both personal and family fond is based just on a numerical criteria (one or more persons connected by family ties) it raises several problems, as the categorization of fonds as personal or family depends as well on other characteristics. Any researcher approaching this issue will encounter genuine personal archives that have been collected and preserved in family archives. On the contrary, there are archives gathered by different individuals connected by family ties that are genuine personal fonds¹¹. In these cases, family ties were attributed as the probable cause of the common vocation of the descendants. But even when the artistic, literary and political activities of their creators are similar, the individual documentary production of each of them was not determined by collective interests of a family nature. On the contrary, a family fond is clearly oriented to accumulate documents that symbolize the trajectory of the family, as well as justify their wealth. Its heritage, social prestige, merits and services must benefit family members over time, including future and past members of the family (reformulating the symbolic value of their historical significance to the present time through adaptations)¹².

Family archives allude to the specific relationship between a certain type of multigenerational documentary producer (family) and the records accumulated by its members over time (family archive). This relationship between the family and its archive was built and remodeled during the different contexts of the archive’s custodial history. At the same time, the repository of records

¹¹ Galiana Chacón noted in 2006 the difficulty of delimiting both types of file (family and personal) because while in personal fonds it is common to find series and even sub-fonds created by other members of the family, different from the producer of the personal archive, in the family fonds is common to find the reverse situation, where the personal documentation of one of the family members is integrated in the background: GALIANA CHACÓN, 2006: 19.

¹² GALLEGO DOMÍNGUEZ, 1993. AGUINAGALDE, 1991. AGUINAGALDE, 2013.

that formed the family archive was rearranged, appraised or recreated to give new meanings to the narrative of the family history. However, the family archive was created by a specific type of family (the family of the Early Modern period) in a specific geographical context (it is an exclusively European product).

In recent times, research trends such as the archival turn, the documentary turn, the social history of archives or archival history have exposed the need to study archives as historical objects themselves. Family archives were not an accidental product or the result of the combination of document production and a natural accumulation over time, but organizational repositories whose value and meaning changes and modifies as time goes by, depending on the interests and strategies of each generation¹³.

In the meantime, the social history of the family has been developing in the last four decades a successful investigation about the changes in family structures and relationships since the appearance of the modern family from the late Middle Ages until the formation of the liberal society. The study of social genealogy has gone beyond the analysis of kinship relationships and has unraveled the social reproduction strategies implemented by families to maintain, or achieve, their economic and social status. Together with the formation and transmission of family fortune, family strategies had to confront the construction and projection of family memory, the foundation of a shared identity among its members. The creation and recreation of the symbolic capital that underpins their social status and their own internal cohesion are essential aspects for the social reproduction of the powerful families and contribute to fix that narrative in the social memory.

In the Iberian context, the social history of the family has revealed that its historiographic treatment is inseparable from the study of power, because family strategies of promotion and social reproduction are exclusive to powerful families¹⁴.

¹³ ROSA, 2017.

¹⁴ CHACÓN JIMÉNEZ (ed.), 1990; HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO, 1998; CHACÓN JIMÉNEZ; HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO (eds.), 2007; CUNHA; HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO (dirs.), 2010.

For this reason, our research team decided that the *censo de archivos personales y familiares de Canarias* would also include documentary collections, which are very common in our archival centres. These collections generally arose from the accumulation of original documents from a variety of origins and were compiled by scholars and historians from the nineteenth and twentieth century for their research works. Interestingly enough, many of these collections belonged to historians with an extensive printed work in articles and journals, although their fonds do usually not contain personal documents of the collector (notes, working drafts, copies of their publications) and are limited to their archives, as in the case of the Rodríguez-Moure or the Emilio Hardisson Pizarroso collections¹⁵.

After setting the scope of the census, the ARCHICAN group established the methodology for gathering archival data based in two principles: 1) data gathering would strictly follow the model description of the international archival standard; and 2) tracking of fonds and collections would be done through an “indirect” observational method, searching for bibliographical references, press releases, searches in the websites of archival centres, congresses or journals, where archivists detailed the fonds available at their centres. Once the fonds and collections were identified and it was doubtless decided that they should be added to the census, we started to create the descriptive sheet via visits to the archives made by members of the research team, or asking the staff of the centre to fill them in.

Data collection was recorded in two types of descriptive sheets: the first one, referring to the archives or archives centres, and the second one, aimed at registering the information corresponding to each one of the fonds and collections included. The elements of each type of descriptive sheet are listed in the table below:

¹⁵ RODRÍGUEZ MESA; MACÍAS MARTÍN, 2000. Although the owners who delivered this collection to the parish archive of La Concepción in Santa Cruz, called this set of documents “background”, it is a true factitious collection of documents of the most varied origin. Emilio Hardisson Pizarroso collection, reference: ES.38038-APNSC-FEHP.

Table 1

Selected elements for the description of archive centers (ISDIAH)	Selected elements for the description of fonds-collections (ISAD G – ISAAR)
<p>IDENTITY AREA</p> <p>1.1 Identifier</p> <p>1.2 Authorized form of name</p> <p>1.3 Parallel form(s) of name</p> <p>1.5 Type of institution with archival holdings</p> <p>CONTACT AREA</p> <p>2.1 Location and address</p> <p>2.2 Telephone, fax, email</p> <p>2.3 Contact persons</p> <p>ACCESS AREA</p> <p>4.1 Opening times</p> <p>CONTROL AREA</p> <p>6.3 Dates of relationship</p>	<p>IDENTITY STATEMENT AREA</p> <p>1.1 Reference code</p> <p>1.3 Title (name of the fond or collection/parallel form of the name)</p> <p>Type of archive (personal archive, family archive, collection)</p> <p>1.4 Date (extreme dates/predominant dates)</p> <p>1.5 Extent and medium of the unit of description</p> <p>CONTEXT AREA</p> <p>2.1 Name of creator</p> <p>2.2 Administrative/Biographical history</p> <p>2.3 Archival history</p> <p>2.4 Immediate source of acquisition or transfer</p> <p>CONTENT AND STRUCTURE AREA</p> <p>3.1 Scope and content</p> <p>3.4 System of arrangement</p> <p>CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE AREA</p> <p>4.1 Conditions governing Access</p> <p>4.3 Language/scripts of material</p> <p>4.5 Finding aids</p> <p>ALLIED MATERIALS AREA</p> <p>5.3 Related units of description</p> <p>5.4 Publication note</p> <p>DESCRIPTION CONTROL AREA</p> <p>7.1 Archivist's note</p> <p>7.2 Rules or conventions</p>

Personal and family archives in the Canary Islands: computation of cases and detected archivistic problems

The gathering of archival data was done within seven months, although we are still waiting for the submission of some descriptive sheets of fonds and collections requested to the people in charge of some of the centres. The results of the data gathering are summarized below, regardless of various incidents detected during the data-gathering stage. In total, we identified 47 archival centres storing personal and family fonds and factitious collections, including ten private owners that still kept their documentary family fonds. Of all these centres, we contacted 36 archives centres, all belonging to public

institutions, cultural and scientific entities or parishes, convents and diocesan archives of the Catholic Church. In general, the research team chose to make a descriptive sheet of those family fonds belonging to private owners without trying to access these archives, being aware that the project of carrying out this census would require the initiative of the cultural administration in archival policy in order to facilitate the accessibility for the research team in making this census. This means that the census made by the ARCHICAN group has left aside some of the oldest and most important family archives of the Canary Islands. Therefore, this work shall be completed in the future.

Table 2. Census of family and personal archives of the Canary Islands

Type	Censed	Contacted	Identified	TOTAL	%
Family archives	21	17	15	53	23.45
Personal archives	70	54	11	135	59.73
Documentary collections	18	17	3	38	16.81
TOTAL	109	88	29	226	100.00
%	48.23	38.94	12.83	100.00	

Results about the 226 identified fonds and collections have been classified in three different categories. The fonds and collections *registered* in the census are those that have their descriptive sheet completely filled out with the compulsory elements dictated by the ISAD G standard, as well as with the rest of fields of which we found reliable information in the archive. The fonds *contacted* are those where we have maintained contact with the responsables for the centres, we have included some mandatory elements and we are waiting for some cataloguing works in order to finish the census sheets. The fonds *identified* are those we are aware of their existence and its nature as collections or fonds, either personal or family, from bibliographical citations or contact with the institutions, but the ARCHICAN group has not had access to them.

In general, it can be noted that both the visibility and accessibility to the cultural heritage is a quite recent phenomenon. Studying the census records,

we are able to verify that during the last decades this documentary heritage has been made publicly available in municipal, island and provincial archives, or in private centres as in the case of the Catholic Church. In the case of fonds that have been donated or deposited in the archives centres on oldest dates it is unknown the way and year of acquisition, but looking at the 107 cases where we have been able to confirm the record of acquisition, we can observe an accelerating trend, especially since the 1990s.

Table 3. New entries of family fonds, personal archives and collections in archival centers of the Canary Islands

Decades	New entries
1880-1889	1
1890-1899	0
1900-1909	1
1910-1919	0
1930-1929	0
1930-1939	5
1940-1949	1
1950-1959	4
1960-1969	1
1970-1979	6
1980-1989	10
1990-1999	18
2000-2009	35
2010-2017	25
TOTAL	107

The inclusion of this type of fonds and collections on the archives centres of the Canary Islands cannot be explained without including the history of the cultural institutions from the Canaries. The creation of the first libraries and scientific and cultural societies in the main towns of the island during the last third of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries favored the inclusion of documentary and bibliographical legacies on their fonds, which were delivered by their promoters or by distinguished figures of politics and local culture. That was particularly the case for the Municipal Library of Santa Cruz

and the Francisco María de León Guardia personal fond¹⁶, for the Millares fond of the Canarian Museum¹⁷, the Cosmeli y Sotomayor fond of the Sociedad Cosmológica de La Palma¹⁸, or the Rodríguez Moure collection of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Tenerife. Integrated together with their bibliographical collections, these personal fonds were inventoried as manuscript collections using the system of bibliographical cataloguing. This fact has hindered the reconstruction of the original fond in accordance with the archival standard.

It was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the inclusion of the first family archives took place, as in the case of the archive of the Canarian Museum Archive or the Provincial Historical Archives of Las Palmas and Tenerife. Since 1990, the practice of ceding and depositing personal and family archives at archive centres became widespread, coinciding with the opening of numerous new centres: diocesan, municipal and eventually island archives¹⁹.

We find additional evidence of this recent process of massive incorporation of personal and family archives into the archival centres by comparing the figures produced by the ARCHICAN project with the results of the count made by Dr. A. Viera three decades ago. After a thorough review of the research resources in the Macaronesian Islands, A. Viera identified twenty personal and family archives in the Canarian archives, whereas twenty years later the ARCHICAN group identified on the census of archives a volume of fonds and collections ten times larger²⁰. However, analysis of the causes of this avalanche of new donations and deposits does not present a positive explanation as it might seem at first sight. The data supplied by many centres about the origin of the fonds show that their arrival to these centres was the last step of a lengthy process of abandonment, to a point where much documentation has been delivered to the archives after appearing during demolitions or the

¹⁶ GUIMERÁ PERAZA, 1963: 493-634 (Appendix:165-233). CIORANESCU, 1979: vol. 4, 231.

¹⁷ BETANCOR PÉREZ, 2012; GONZÁLEZ CACHAFEIRO, 2012: 117-124.

¹⁸ LÓPEZ MEDEROS, 2004: 433-445.

¹⁹ An overview of the process of creating these local and island archives in recent times can be seen in: BELLO JIMÉNEZ, 2005.

²⁰ VIEIRA, 1995.

rehabilitation of old buildings, inside which sets of papers are found and they either did not have any value for their owners, or they were just not aware of their existence, since they came from a shared inheritance and were offered for sale by distant relatives. The abandonment of the old family house, which sometimes remains empty for many years due to the costly rehabilitation and maintenance, has also involved the abandonment of the archive, or at least some part of it. A parallel phenomenon to the abandonment of family and personal archives is the fragmentation of fonds, that arrive to the archives centres gradually, as their owners take the decision of getting rid of them. This is reason why many family and personal fonds we have taken census of are spread over different archive centres divided in two or three parts.

It is clear that this phenomenon has its origin in the disintegration of the traditional family model that prevailed among the Canarian elites up until a few decades ago. The family or personal archive bequeathed by ancestors had, until then, a cultural and emotional value for their owners and inheritors, but as these social identities have been vanishing and the archive need constant care, cleaning and installation, the archive ends up becoming a bother, especially when the new generations lose their ties of identity with the “house”. These ties of identity were the reason that upheld the value of the family heritage.

Even with all that, this would not be that negative from an archival point of view, if it were not for the fact that the abandonment and fragmentation of fonds implies “breaking the chain of custody”. Traditionally, administration archivists have appreciated more this principle, inasmuch as the “unbroken chain of custody in archives” serves to prove the “reliability” of the information contained within the documents. In other words, it determines its value as documentary evidence²¹. But despite the family and personal fonds tend not to be analyzed from the perspective of the informative reliability of the documents, the ability of the archivist to appropriately associate the document producer, the archival history of the fond and its documents, remains an essential resource in the heuristics of the historian, who uses these documents as a source of research.

²¹ ANDRÉS DÍAZ, 2015: 81-100.

In the case of the Canary Islands, we not only appreciate among the elites the effect of dissolution of the old family model in the preservation of family and personal archives, but we suffer from the lack of an archives regional system that guides and supervises the management of fonds, coordinating the tasks of the numerous archive centres created over the last years²². The Canaries is the only autonomous community in Spain that lacks a regional archival system, reason why there is not a minimally structured protocol for the receipt of fonds. Furthermore, all different centres incorporate donations and deposits of new fonds without creating any registration sheet that records its archival history. Under these circumstances, we have even detected the delivery of documents under reservation, which is a total aberration that should be eradicated.

²² SANTANA JUBELLS, 2006: 269-306. NÚÑEZ PESTANO, 2008: 135-170.

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**PERSONAL ARCHIVES AND THE SHAPING
OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN PORTUGAL:
RESULTS OF A NATIONAL CENSUS**

ABSTRACT: In recent decades, several institutions have played a significant role in the preservation of personal archives, founded on their relevance to history, culture, and collective memory. Based on the results of a census carried out to identify memory institutions in Portugal and the personal archives they preserve, this article reflects on some aspects related to the role of these archival institutions in the construction of collective memory. Considerations are made on some archival practices that concern the appraisal and selection of records produced by individuals, and on the underlying policies for their safeguard for posterity that consider hierarchies of applied value, emphasizing the importance of certain documents, personalities, and social areas. Taking a closer look at the specific universe of personal archives that were preserved, the limits and implications of the processes of archival treatment are also questioned, namely their arrangement and description, exploring some levels of under-representation and how conscious decisions and historical influences have affected the final representation of individuals and of their archives. The global impact of the acts and decisions of memory institutions, individuals, families and other communities on archives is examined, along with its consequences for the correct understanding of what are personal archives and the definition of the underlying information systems, as well as the interpretation of the accumulation of information production contexts and its subsequent communication.

Keywords: personal archives; memory institutions; collective memory; appraisal; archival census

RESUMO: Nas últimas décadas, várias instituições têm desempenhado um papel significativo na preservação de arquivos pessoais, fundamentando-se na sua relevância para a história, cultura e memória coletiva. Com base nos resultados de um recenseamento que visou identificar, em Portugal, que instituições preservam arquivos pessoais, este artigo reflete sobre alguns aspetos relacionados com o seu papel na construção da memória coletiva. São tecidas considerações sobre algumas práticas arquivísticas relacionadas com a aval-

iação e seleção de documentos produzidos por indivíduos, e sobre as políticas subjacentes à sua salvaguarda para a posteridade, que levam em conta hierarquias de valor, enfatizando a importância de determinados documentos, personalidades e áreas sociais. Examinando mais de perto o universo específico dos arquivos pessoais que foram preservados, também se questionam os limites e implicações dos processos de tratamento arquivístico, nomeadamente a sua organização e descrição, explorando-se alguns níveis de subrepresentação e a forma como decisões conscientes e influências históricas afetaram a representação final dos indivíduos e dos seus arquivos. Aborda-se o impacto global dos atos e decisões de instituições de memória, indivíduos, famílias e outras comunidades na formação dos arquivos, e as consequências daí decorrentes para a correta compreensão do que é um arquivo pessoal e dos sistemas de informação inerentes, bem como para a interpretação dos contextos de produção e acumulação de informação e sua posterior comunicação.

Palavras-chave: arquivos pessoais; instituições de memória; memória coletiva; avaliação.

Introduction

The definition of what constitutes “personal archives”, particularly in relation to other forms of aggregation of documents such as “family archives”, remains shrouded in a tangle of conceptual and terminological issues under the influence of diverse archival theories¹. We can, however, consider it a “set of documents that were produced, or received, and maintained by an individual throughout his life and as a result of his activities and social function”².

Some authors have defended the need to view personal archives as the result of a social construction, considering different decisions in the selection

¹ In Portugal, classical archival theories have considered personal and family archives from a generic understanding of the concept of archives as the “organic set of documents, regardless of date, form and material support, produced or received by a legal entity, singular or collective, or by a public or private body, in the exercise of its activity and preserved as evidence or information” (ALVES *et al.*, 1993; NP 4041, 2005). However, over the last two decades, in the epistemological framework of Information Science developed by researchers of the University of Porto (SILVA, *et al.*, 1999; SILVA; RIBEIRO, 2002), archives were the subject of a new theoretical approach based on their characterization as “information systems”, a perspective founded on the general theory of systems. Malheiro da Silva, in particular, proposed that personal and family archives be considered as information systems (SILVA, 2000; SILVA, 2004). According to this author, personal information systems are a residual form of archives, resulting from family information systems that have become fragmented over time, owing to different vicissitudes, some fortuitous and others deliberate, in that the disaggregation they cause follows interventions by families, third parties and memory institutions themselves.

² OLIVEIRA, 2012: 33.

and retention of documents, multiple processes and agents that influence the shape of archives over time. Memorial and sentimental reasons, historical concerns, and even fortuitous events can be present in the process of this construction or can lead to fragmentation or dispersion of archival aggregations. In the course of time, personal archives are subject to the decisions of their producers, but also to the intervention of other interested parties like family, friends, curators, archivists and others, both at the production stage and after the death of their producers³.

In the absence of guidelines for the appraisal of personal and family archives by archival institutions, libraries and museums, among other memory institutions, the tendency is for the decisions of which manuscripts and personal should be selected and preserved and which should be discarded to be influenced by the sensitivity of archivists and curators, by the interests of governments and ideologies, or by deciding what is more appropriate to certain users and to the goals of the institutions themselves. The inevitable risk is to only guarantee the preservation of the archives of great personalities and to solely select groups of documents that are, at a given moment, considered as culturally, socially, and historically relevant.

A more detailed analysis of how acquisition policies determine and shape the way in which society is represented through personal and family archives has been neglected. Based on the suggestions of Richard J. Cox that there are “no innocent deposits”⁴, it seems imperative that archival theories and archivists take a closer look at the issues related to appraisal and selection practices, rethinking what information should be preserved and how to manage archives for the future, understanding more profoundly the original contexts of production, accumulation and use of documents, and also taking into account the role of curators and of archival institutions in the shaping of collective memory.

The selection of what to preserve requires the establishment of some kind of judgment of what is worth remembering of the memory of individuals, for the benefit of society. Consequently, to understand archives it is essential

³ MACNEIL, 2008; YEO, 2009; YEO, 2012; DOUGLAS, 2013.

⁴ COX, 2004.

to recognize what memory was intended to be preserved, who determined it, and for what purpose. To evaluate and select what to keep, and to decide what to exclude, is one of the most complex issues in any theoretical or methodological approach taken by archivists, and should be the first responsibility of archival activity⁵.

Preserving personal archives in memory institutions

During my PhD research⁶ I sought to understand the processes and value frames underlying the selection and decision processes for preserving personal archives by Portuguese memory institutions, and to learn the extent to which these archives represent society and collective memory. I also wanted to determine whether the description practices and decisions taken by archivists, when representing the archives and its contents, affect the understanding of the archive's formation contexts, and how they influence a theoretical concept of what are personal archives.

The research took as a universe of analysis the institutions that, in Portugal, hold, organize, and make available archival fonds and collections concerning individuals, as well as the archives they preserve. This universe was identified by means of a census that was conducted between 2015 and 2017⁷.

Regarding institutions, the decision was made to identify as broadly as possible archives, libraries, museums, associations, foundations, universities and others that, to a greater or lesser degree, hold, treat and disseminate personal archives, limiting the survey only to those with formal legal existence. It was also necessary to restrict the universe of fonds and collections to be identified and analyzed, and to exclude from the census those that are placed

⁵ COOK, 2011b.

⁶ PEREIRA, 2018.

⁷ PEREIRA, 2018: 33. The main methods used were documentary analysis, a survey based on the design of a data collection model, and a number of unstructured interviews, using this survey as the basic guide. For more detail on the methodology used see PEREIRA, 2018: 25-33.

by memory institutions in the category of family archives⁸, despite the natural difficulties in drawing clear boundaries between “personal” and “family”.

As a result of the census, 376 entities and a total of 3,850 archives were identified and considered adequate for inclusion in the universe of personal archives⁹. About 80% of the identified institutions belong to the public sector. This is also evident in the number of archives under public responsibility, which exceed 87% of the registered total¹⁰. This fact derives both from acquisition policies of the different institutions and from a general understanding that the public sector offers better guarantees and conditions for the conservation and technical treatment of archives. Regardless, this does not mean that there are no success stories and potential in the private sphere.

More than 60% of the public archival repositories belong to the local administration, usually corresponding to services aimed at preserving the documentary and cultural heritage of the respective municipalities. However, in relation to the number of personal archives, these institutions hold only about 30% of total collections.

The main institutions responsible for the custody of personal archives are dependent on the central government, either under the direct administration of the state, namely those included in services and departments that are organically integrated in the government, or indirectly connected to state administration, such as institutions with financial and administrative autonomy, acting independently in the pursuit of certain functions and purposes, like many found within universities¹¹. For example, of all the institutions

⁸ For family archives, a research project is being developed at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, under the coordination of Maria de Lurdes Rosa, which includes an inventory mostly directed at the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, leaving out modern family archives. See <URL: <http://fcsh.unl.pt/arfam/>> and <URL: <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/>> (last accessed on the 10th May 2017).

⁹ The terms used by archival repositories to designate groups of personal papers are varied. Although the most common is the designation of fonds or collections, some institutions in Portugal also refer to them as private holdings or call upon other terms which are difficult to translate to other languages, such as “espólio”. About the conceptual and terminological discussion in the specific case of personal archives see PEREIRA, 2018: 37-76.

¹⁰ PEREIRA, 2018: 240-241.

¹¹ Universities that hold personal and family archives are mostly public and integrated in the indirect administration of the State. Some include important archives (such as the Archives of the University of Coimbra), specialized departments and libraries of different

belonging to the public sector, those that work under the dependency of the Ministry of Culture are responsible for about 25% of the total number of personal archives identified at the national level, despite constituting an overall small portion (only 34 institutions out of 376)¹². In the private sector, most of the institutions are foundations, associations and cooperatives. Although less numerous¹³ some have taken on an important role in the preservation of several personal archives¹⁴.

The fact that some archival repositories hold many of personal archives does not mean that they are especially invested in their preservation and may have other main or equivalent activities. Conversely, the fact that an institution holds only a single or few archives does not imply that those fonds are not

scopes, documentation or research centers, museums and other information services in their institutional organization. In the course of the census, a total of 46 repositories were registered as belonging to universities, containing 15,6% of the total number of archives identified (PEREIRA, 2018: 244, Table 2).

¹² In the case of the ministry of culture, we find different institutions that are under its dependency in various ways: directly, through the secretary of state for culture, as with the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; through public institutes, such as the Cinemateca Portuguesa; and with some degree of independence, as with public companies such as the national theater D. Maria II. Also included in the current composition of the ministry of culture are institutions under the guidance of directorates such as the Direção-Geral do Livro, dos Livros e das Bibliotecas, which supervises almost all regional public archives (called “arquivos distritais”), the Centro Português de Fotografia, located in Porto, and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The same applies to numerous institutions under the responsibility of the Direção-Geral do Património Cultural, including several museums, some libraries, and specialized archival institutions such as SIPA (Sistema de Informação para o Património Arquitetónico).

¹³ In the private sector, 74 institutions that hold personal archives were identified. Together, they were responsible for 479 fonds and collections at the end of the census, in May 2017.

¹⁴ These include, among others: the Fundação Mário Soares, responsible for more than a hundred archives, which began its activities in 1996 with its patron's archives, and then went on collecting other archives, until the present day; the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, which holds several collections in the field of photography and also fonds in the area of arts and architecture; and a number of Universidade Católica Portuguesa departments, such as the João Paulo II University Library and the Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, both of which hold several personal archives. Associative institutions include, for example, the Associação de Jardins-Escola João de Deus (Lisbon), with its museum and library, the Sociedade Martins Sarmento (Guimarães), the Associação Património Histórico (Caldas da Rainha), or the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (PEREIRA, 2018).

essential for the pursuit of the purposes of the institution or considered to be an asset of undeniable value¹⁵.

The degree of involvement of all the institutions identified in acquiring and preserving personal archives is thus quite different: 46% of them hold only one archive; 27% between two and five; and, at the opposite end, 4% of the total number of repositories hold more than four dozen archives. This small group — 16 institutions in a universe of 376 — accounts for about half of the total number of personal archives identified¹⁶. Between the extremes lies a great diversity of situations.

The acquisition of personal archives by these various types of institutions implies that they carry out some kind of appraisal of information as an act of memory. In fact, by analyzing the incorporation processes I have found that acquisitions depend on different decisions and acts of information selection: they can stem from the initiative of specific individuals or communities; arise from a deliberate effort and incentive to receive donations or other legal forms of custody, taken on by the institutions themselves; occur as goals for the achievement of missions and institutional objectives; or, in some situations, these incorporations might happen by chance. Also, even if many institutions acquire archives as a whole, they are also receptive to incorporate only parts of a personal archives, depending on choices of specific subjects or types of documents which are considered somehow valuable.

At the same time, operations linked to appraisal and subsequent options concerning the organization and description of the archives also have reper-

¹⁵ Among the many repositories that hold only one personal archive we find several museums, namely historical house museums sometimes named after a person they intend to pay homage to, or whose memory was perpetuated by that means. In a similar situation are some documentation or research centers, libraries and associations and foundations. In most situations, the ownership of archives may be a necessity to support the institutions' activities and an asset that ensures and justifies their continuity. Some examples can be found in PEREIRA, 2018.

¹⁶ PEREIRA, 2018: 260-261. In this group, I have included some institutions where, from the outset of the census, one would expect to find personal archives, based on the role they have long played in the area of archival preservation, as is the case of the Torre do Tombo and the Biblioteca Nacional (namely in its Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea — Archives of Contemporary Portuguese Culture — section, but also in the music and the *reservados* departments). These are joined by others that in the past decades have given special importance to this type of archives, such as the Fundação Mário Soares and the Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril (Coimbra University).

cussions on the “construction” of collective memory, through the different conceptions of institutions, individuals, and communities of what personal archives are, or what they should be, and what their value is for the public, which impacts directly on archival theories and concepts.

Throughout the census I have found that the processes of incorporation of personal archives are not always sufficiently documented and justified, and in many situations it was not possible to ascertain any information about the circumstances and contexts in which they occurred.

The lack of detailed records on the acquiring processes, the absence of archival descriptions that provide that information, the type of cataloguing applied¹⁷, the subjection to different degrees of confidentiality, and even the lack of response to requests for information addressed during the census determined the impossibility of establishing the mode of acquisition for 24% of the total universe of the 3,850 archives.

Considering that in the great majority of situations these archives are held by public repositories, it becomes necessary to implement best practices in this field that take into account the limits, implications and obligations of communicating to the public the processes of acquisition of archival assets coming from the private sector, that can be used and enjoyed by the community in general, although they may be subject to legal reserves of communicability¹⁸.

¹⁷ Although it is increasingly common in Portuguese archives to use the international descriptive standards of the International Council on Archives, there are numerous institutions that do not yet use ISAD(G) for the description of their fonds. On the other hand, in many cases the archival collections do not have an instrument of access to the information, or are catalogued in bibliographic databases, too often focusing on isolated documents, making it difficult to retrieve information about the whole archives, or, at the opposite end, with the whole of the archives being described in a single, very summary bibliographical record. In the case of museums, the situation is very similar to that of most Portuguese libraries, since the description of archival assets tends to privilege isolated documents or objects and not the archives.

¹⁸ The most recent recommendations of the International Council on Archives in this area point to the importance that archival institutions, and all others responsible for the management of archives, aim towards transparency in the field of information, namely by making known the existence of archival assets, even when subjected to partial or total access restrictions, which should be clearly indicated (ICA, 2014: 4, 8). For the Portuguese case, in addition to laws concerning copyright, there is also a legal framework on the right of individuals to defend their good name and reputation, image, and privacy, as found in the *Constitution of the Portuguese Republic* (Article 26), and the constraints imposed on confidentiality of private correspondence and the use of image established by the *Portuguese Civil Code* (in particular articles 75 to 80). On the other hand, the law concerning archives

It is also important to establish guidelines and procedures that prevent the loss of this type of information, which is relevant for understanding and interpreting the changes in record-keeping contexts that have occurred over time.

For those archives in which it was possible to obtain information on the incorporation process, several modalities were found, with donation being the most frequent, but also including cases of purchase (directly from the producers or heirs, or, for example, at auction), inheritance by wills, and others. A recent phenomenon I have found is the increasing frequency of the use of the legal form of deposit, in which the producers or their heirs entrust a personal archives (sometimes only part of the papers) to a certain institution, under conditions defined between both parties, without the effective transfer of property rights. A similar increase can be found in cases of collaboration among institutions and between institutions and private owners of archives aiming technical intervention concerning conservation, description, and dissemination to the public.

Many archives analyzed were subjected to incorporations at different times, and had different provenances. In fact, the acquisition processes did not always involve only the original producers of the documentation or their direct heirs, who may have been only one of the intervening parties or altogether absent, demonstrating the presence of various forms of constitution and aggregation of documents. An analysis of the archival history of the fonds and collections revealed complex processes that undoubtedly shape the very constitution of the personal archives that memory institutions present to their users. It is common to find documentation presented as personal archives, but that aggregates documents from various sources, with different provenances, not necessarily corresponding solely to documents produced and accumulated by the individual that lends his or her name to the archives.

With all this complexity, many of the archives considered to be personal by memory institutions are not only the result of the activities of a given individual, but rather “archival constructions” with different actors involved,

and archival heritage in Portugal (Decree-Law nr 16/93, of 23rd January 1993) specifically determines that it is the competence of private archives owners to propose the rules and modalities of their public communication (article 17 (4)). More detailed information can be found in ROSA [2009].

resulting from intricate and deliberate memory construction processes. On the one hand, it is the individuals themselves and their families that weave this web, entrusting the institutions only with what they consider to have value to be preserved and passed on to the future. On the other hand, it is these same institutions that also play an active role in capturing and selecting information, fueling the “creation” of forms of memory fixation, shaped by the way they acquire documentation and aggregate information from multiple sources¹⁹.

Changes in guardianship, developments in the archival treatment by the holding institutions, changes in the adoption of the most appropriate term or concept to designate a particular documentary reality, separations or aggregations of documents in accordance with many different arguments, various record-keeping practices over time, omission or lack of sufficient information about how archival holdings came into the possession of repositories, or even the deliberate concealment of information, all of these result in limitations and difficulties when striving for a correct and complete identification of personal archives, as well as to clearly distinguish them from other types of archives.

There were several situations in which archives were named after a single individual, supposedly indicating the presence of a personal archives, but often a more detailed analysis revealed the presence of a family archives, and sometimes the name did not necessarily correspond to the person who was its most significant producer. In other situations, the chosen name may even be simply that of the donor, or final custodian, while its content remains related to documents produced by others.

The disaggregation and dispersal of archives by various entities, the way information is processed by their professionals, and often the incipient or non-existent technical treatment and archival description, and the absence or insufficiency of finding aids make it difficult to establish clear boundaries between personal and family archives.

¹⁹ Some authors have pinpointed the ways through which custodians and archival institutions have impacted on the shape of archives, an aspect which has to be considered when one is focusing on the context of “creation” (YEO, 2009; NESMITH, 2006; DOUGLAS, 2013).

The mere analysis of the archive's legal formulas of acquisition revealed the presence of greatly diverse and heterogeneous aggregations with regard to origin, authorship, possession, and even the contexts of production and accumulation, in some cases resulting from materials collected on several occasions over time. Such situations result in consequences for understanding the original contexts of the production of information, questioning the correct use of the concept of archives, even on the part of the archivists and other professionals involved, and limiting the perception of the underlying information system.

In several situations, the supposed personal archives are in fact collections artificially assembled around a common characteristic — documents relating to a particular person, for example — that do not take into account the provenance and contexts of production and accumulation of the documents themselves. Even so, these aggregations can contain sets of records where we can find relationships between the information registered and the individuals who produced or gathered the documents in the course of their activities.

Memory institutions play a fundamental role in the preservation of personal and family archives for the benefit of collective memory, but problems like those mentioned before reveal the difficulty facing professionals involved in incorporating and applying some of the basic concepts of archival theories to their daily practices.

With regard to the specific problem of appraisal of personal archives, most institutions do not clearly state the criteria applied or their guidelines for attributing value, although empirically it is possible to discern choices that reveal the predominance of certain subjects in the field of politics, social movements, arts, politics, science and culture, among others.

The appraisal is almost always based on subjective criteria, based on a non-scientific consideration of the importance of archives by itself, of the documents and information contained therein, and the comparison and relation to other archives already belonging to the institution's archival holdings. The analysis of the authenticity of the information and the integrity of the archives is less frequent, and it's more common to find criteria related to the rarity of the documents, the danger of disappearance, the type of media, the importance of the titular personality, or to the testimony "of a person, of an

activity of creation, or of an event, where meaning enters into identity and collective memory”²⁰.

Individual and social representativity: trends and dynamics

Although it was not possible to establish exactly the dates of incorporation for a large number of the archives that were identified²¹, which confirms once again the need to develop best practices with regard to information transparency, the official date provided by the institutions for the first documents acquired for each fonds or collection was taken as an indicator of analysis²², in order to identify a set of trends over time.

I found that during the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century it was the need to constitute or enrich the collections of some institutions that justified the incorporation of a number of personal archives²³. A strong appreciation of statesmanship and its functions led to the need to accommodate documents that testify to the activity of the men who served the country, from a political, diplomatic, or cultural point of view, reinforcing the affirmation of national identity. During the Estado Novo period

²⁰ RAMALHO, 2011: 16.

²¹ Of the total 3,850 archives identified when the census was completed, it was not possible to establish the date of first acquisition for 34% of them (PEREIRA, 2018: 307).

²² It should be noted that the date provided by the institutions may not correspond to the actual physical entry of the documents, which may have taken place earlier and subsequently formalized through some type of contract. On other hand, if a fonds has been the object of several acquisitions the initial date does not necessarily mean that the first one corresponds to the largest volume of documentation, something that frequently occurs in situations of deposits and donations (in these cases the first entry may correspond only to a small set of documents, which served to establish links of trust between institutions and donors or depositors, and that only after this relationship has solidified the remainder of the archives were delivered). Likewise, in purchase situations that gave rise to archives formed by the acquisition of different sets of documents, it was not possible to evaluate the size of each one.

²³ This is the case of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, whose origin dates back to 1796, when the royal public library of the court (Real Biblioteca Pública da Corte) was created, later transformed in 1836 into the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (BARATA, 2003), and some fonds that are held by the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, the Torre do Tombo, and the Biblioteca Geral of the University of Coimbra. The same can be said, concerning the first decades of the twentieth century, of some regional archives, such as the Arquivo Distrital de Braga, and municipal libraries, such as Porto's (PEREIRA, 2018: 309-316).

in Portugal (1933-1974), libraries, museums and archives continued to be the natural repositories for documents of some men of government, duly sanctioned by the dominant political ideology, and of others known for their intervention in areas mostly linked to culture.

Political persecution during a considerable part of the twentieth century, especially between 1926 and 1974²⁴, condemned many archives to a state of destruction, dispersion or confiscation, and imposed deliberate non-registration of clandestine actions. The overthrow of the Estado Novo, on the 25th April 1974, and the progressive stabilization of the democratic regime in the following years led many people to seek a recovery of the memory of those who were persecuted and silenced.

An increase in the number of incorporations took place during the 70s of the twentieth century, and even more so during the following decade, also due to the greater support and even investment that the new democratic regime directed toward the enrichment of the collections of some institutions, namely by acquiring the archives of figures that had been politically active during the final days of monarchy, up until 1910, and during the subsequent republican regime, or that were a part of largely forgotten socio-cultural currents. The awareness that private archives were important for understanding historical, cultural, social, and political phenomena generated a renewed interest in their preservation.

This process developed both on the side of the people who were in possession of documentation and within groups and communities of interests who specifically focused on the collection and preservation of private archives, and also through the action of some existing archival repositories, while simultaneously new spaces and institutions emerged, created specifically for the preservation of civil society archives, including personal archives.

In the 1980s, a number of initiatives were organized by specific groups with the aim of recovering and safeguarding the memories of the political

²⁴ On the 28th May 1926, a military coup was carried out, installing a dictatorship (1926-1930) that lasted until the government was handed over to civilians, followed by a national dictatorship (1930-1932), gradually transformed into another type of regime, the *Estado Novo* (1933-1974), with characteristics similar to Italian fascism.

militancy of those who had been removed from public activity, and marginalized, imprisoned, forced into exile, or simply forced to act in secrecy.

Political activism, and the specific drive to recover and (re)build the memory of groups that shared ideals of militancy, were at the basis of the gathering of important personal archives. This was the case of the Arquivo Histórico-Social²⁵ that collected documentation on anarchist militancy of the first half of the twentieth century. Likewise, 1984 saw the creation of the Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, at the University of Coimbra, that very quickly came to host a large number of collections donated by several individuals, with acquisitions specifically aimed at recording the political memories of resistance to the dictatorship and the process of democratic transition. The awareness of the individual's role in history and the importance of transmitting one's own testimony originated the creation of the Fundação Mário Soares, which, in addition to the personal archive of its founder (1924-2017), also mobilized friends, party colleagues, and other individuals to entrust the treatment of numerous archives to the institution.

This dynamism in the incorporation of personal archives, ever growing in Portugal since the 1980s, involved individuals and institutions in memory-building processes, and resulted in the recognition of the role of certain personalities in numerous aspects of society. Sometimes the incorporation of documents was limited to aggregations/collections of individual memories and not to "true" archives, resulting from the information produce by single individuals within the course of their life. But those collections were, nevertheless, collected, accumulated and preserved, and empirically considered valuable as a testimony of historical events or common ideals.

From the analysis of the universe of 3,850 archives identified during the census, it was possible to connect the information provided with a total of 3,520 individuals²⁶. However, it was found that in many situations few bio-

²⁵ The materials collected were integrated in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal during the 1980s.

²⁶ I have considered both archives that were effectively produced and accumulated by the individuals who lend their name to the fonds and also other documentary aggregations that may correspond only to documents gathered by third parties around a specific individual. However, in the current state of identification of personal archives, and in view of the many fonds that are not sufficiently studied, treated, and described according to

graphical studies and content descriptions exist that allow the contextualization and precise identification of how information was produced, collected, accumulated and used over time, which were the individual roles, who were the family and social relations, among others essential contexts for understanding the archives themselves²⁷. Thus, the indicated number does not necessarily correspond to the complete identification of all the individuals represented in the personal archives preserved in Portuguese memory institutions, due to the absence of archival treatment, in many cases, or due to the options taken in the description and classification operations that may have led to the absence of reference to other persons which can be also considered producers, but are not clearly identified as such.

The identified individuals allows us to recognize some tendencies in appraisal: some related to the history of political power and social movements; others to cultural and artistic aspects; others aimed at the preservation of the memory of certain activities of human society in scientific or professional areas; and others still built on the efforts to set up awareness of certain communities' identity and memories.

Most of the individuals identified were born in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries²⁸. In some cases, some of these individuals might have shared similar interests and, in others, different ones. One cannot suppose *a priori* that the preserved personal archives faithfully represent most social contexts of contemporary history, its cultural and political transformations, or the developments of philosophical and scientific thought. However, the substantial increase in the number of incorporations since the 1980s leads us to question

uniform standards, this is an aspect that needs to be further looked into, since each of the identified archives has to be considered alongside the analysis of the effective information contained within.

²⁷ In many circumstances I found a lack of even the dates of birth and/or death in biographical data. Also the names of the individuals provided by the institutions differ, both in detail and in the way they are presented, causing difficulties in their correct identification and in the construction of standard archival authority records.

²⁸ Until the eighteenth century, most private life archives were held by aristocratic families, or those which, while not being part of the titled nobility, possessed property and certain privileges, or were outstanding businessmen. The majority of personal archives identified in the Early Modern period are related to Church figures, prominent personalities in politics and diplomacy, or individuals who were recognized for their contribution in cultural areas like literature.

the limits of the scope of the selective memory processes that prevailed, considering what was decided to preserve as reliable evidence of certain periods, moments and events.

The fall of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 also paved the way for greater democratization in memory institutions, through progressive access to information for citizens in general, giving rise, in the consolidation years of the new regime, to a sort of “race” of incorporations of personal papers in archival institutions, libraries, museums and others. Still, the process was not neutral or objective, and possibly not even aimed at representing society in its fullness, although this hypothesis requires development in future studies.

A purely empirical glance at the personalities linked to the area of politics, from the universe of archives identified in Portugal, especially considering the incorporations after the 1980s, indicates that this was done preferably following a tendency on the preservation of the memory of those who were silenced of the collective memory during the *Estado Novo*, and that previously found no place in memory institutions.

In this sense, some of the archives that were the object of interest for preservation were those of former personalities linked to the development of republicanism at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first years of the Republic, in the early twentieth century, both in the field of ideological and cultural thought and with regard to political intervention.

The need to document the memory of those “silenced” by the dictatorship, and the new democratic regime’s necessity to strengthen its identity, may have also had the less desirable consequence of the withdrawal of donations to public and private institutions of personal archives of individuals who, during the dictatorship, played a decisive role in conducting the country’s politics. This assumption, however, also needs to be verified by a detailed study of the archives preserved until today and of their producers²⁹.

²⁹ There are undoubtedly some personal archives of prominent *Estado Novo* men, absolutely essential for researchers and to national history, that are available to the public; some paradigmatic examples are those of Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) or Marcelo Caetano (1906-1980), both preserved in the Torre do Tombo, as well as other archives of former ministers or figures of the regime (PEREIRA, 2018: 354).

In the universe of the 3,520 individuals identified, women were found to remain underrepresented *vis-à-vis* men. Despite the increasing fortification of the role of women in different areas of society, the gap is still substantial — of the total number of individuals, only about 14% are women.

For much of the twentieth century, the incorporation into Portuguese institutions of personal archives belonging exclusively to women was almost always exceptional, and often their documents were acquired together with those of other members of the family, namely the husbands. In some situations, one should not overlook the fact that the reason these women have their own archival fonds today may be related to options taken by the custodian entities concerning archival interventions, organization, and description of the documents, which occurred after the incorporation³⁰.

On the other hand, the incorporations of women's archives reveal "preferences" and decisions regarding the materials to be preserved. Always in scarce numbers, until the end of the 1970s the choice fell almost without exception on writers, poets or women linked to culture and music.

Only after the 1980s and '90s do we find a more decisive increase in the number of women's archives, with emphasis on those with some relevance in areas such as literature, culture, and, to a lesser extent, science. However, a gradual extension to other areas of social intervention, such as the performing arts, could also be detected, something which also made it possible to allow for the preservation of the memory of people from popular strata³¹. With the emergence of projects and institutions related to the preservation of the

³⁰ The case of Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcelos (1851-1925) may be exemplary from this point of view. It is one of the first archives of a woman with an important role in the academic and cultural circles to be incorporated in an institution in Portugal, having taken place in the 1940s at the University of Coimbra. However, both her personal library and archives were acquired simultaneously with those of her husband Joaquim António da Fonseca de Vasconcelos (1849-1936), a musicologist and art historian. The archives lacked archival treatment for decades and subjected only to partial inventories. Just recently, in 2009, the cataloguing of personal letters began (FILIPE, 2015: 93, 141-145), and it is not clear how the separation of documents took place, so that that each spouse now has an autonomous fonds, and why it was not considered as family archives.

³¹ For example, reference should be made to the collections of the Museu Nacional do Teatro e da Dança and the Museu do Fado, both located in Lisbon.

political memory of the opposition to the Estado Novo³², several women also joined the movement to recover and preserve memories of their own political activism³³.

In the course of the analysis, I found several situations in which the documents of members of the same couple were presented in separate archival fonds, and others in which they were kept together, as well as examples of dispersion throughout various institutions, with significant consequences for the understanding of the person as a single individual, and also of the spouses in their relations with each other, and with their circle of friends and other relatives³⁴.

Examples were also found of archives that having documentation from both elements of a couple should more appropriately be considered family archives, even though both were not always represented in the name chosen for the respective fonds by the custodian entities. A number of cases were detected in which women, particularly the wives, were not included in the names chosen for the archival fonds, and only the analysis of contents enabled the identification of their presence, which indicates some devaluation of the role of women as producers of information.

There are also situations in which the name of a single individual is given to an archive, overshadowing other people present in acts of production and accumulation of documents, whether they are family relatives or friends, and it is still also possible to detect cases in which documents of third persons were added, for various reasons such as inheritances or deliberate acquisitions.

³² Like the previously mentioned Arquivo Histórico-Social, held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, the Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, at Coimbra University, or the Fundação Mário Soares.

³³ In this regard, the importance of the preservation of the archives of Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (1930-2004), one of the largest archives of a woman with a significant role in Portuguese political life as well as in the defense of civic causes in the post-25th of April period, should also be mentioned. Its safeguard motivated the desire to create conditions to treat and host the archives, first in a private foundation — the Fundação Cuidar o Futuro — and, more recently, under the responsibility of the Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, at Coimbra University.

³⁴ Some examples are the archives of Susan Lowndes and her husband Luís Marques, and Natália Correia and Dórdio Guimarães (PEREIRA, 2018: 342-343).

The correct representation of these individuals must therefore be the object of more adequate and careful reflection in the scope of the appraisal and subsequent organization and description of the archives themselves. These archival functions are of the utmost importance because access to the information and the identification of the reasons why certain documents have been preserved depends on them. Selecting specific individuals, emphasizing certain activities, or even choosing to highlight particular documentary typologies may have a pernicious effect on understanding the process of archival creatorship.

The analysis of the identified archives indicates that there are social, cultural, professional, and other areas that are preferentially valued. Among these, politics, literature, music, teaching and scientific research, architecture, and the arts (visual, plastic, performance) stand out. However, even within these areas there are levels of overvaluation of individuals and undervaluation of others, which means that social representation is not entirely comprehensive.

Acquisition policies and the specialization of institutions often arise from the choice of thematic areas, so it is common to use a thematic-typological approach or classification of personal archives with labels such as “political”, “literary”, “artistic”, “scientific”, “photographic”, among others, even without the necessary theoretical support. Some receive these labels at the time of acquisition, to justify their compliance with the repositories’ missions and objectives. Also, sometimes, these denominations intend to reflect and highlight certain facets of individuals, or to emphasize certain documentary typologies, to the detriment of others.

However, even if there is no theoretical and conceptual framework for labeling personal archives based on specific areas of activity, or on function of typologies of documents, it is common for them to be valued based on specific or similar characteristics. The very operations of organization, description, and classification of the fonds may prove to be a favorable ground for giving preference to certain facets of individuals. There is thus a risk of underestimating some contexts less identified with policies defined by the archival institutions.

Conclusions

Appraising archives and making decisions about the destination of documents considered important for collective memory is likely to be one of the biggest challenges in the future for individuals, families, memory institutions, and particularly for archivists and other curators. With regard to personal archives, it is necessary to study, on one hand, the ways in which people produce, accumulate, and use information over the course of their life and over time, and, on the other, to understand the archival practices of memory institutions themselves regarding appraisal, selection and communication of information. Archivists have been slow to act in line with new challenges in the field of personal archives posed by the information society, as they have neglected to analyze their own strategies for approaching individual memory, for the benefit of collective memory, with safeguard operations being subjected to uncoordinated actions and lacking in common guidelines and global assessments, a situation that ultimately undermines the comprehension of archives as information systems.

The decision of what to preserve remains anchored to the influence of different archival, historical and memorialist desiderata. The appraisal and selection operations remain based on the perceived patrimonial or cultural value of some of the personal archives, denoting little or no reflection on the extent of the information they contain.

Over time, there have always been different influences on the processes that led to the incorporation into memory institutions of personal archives, resulting in absences and presences tending to distort the representation of individuals and society. There is even a place for the fortuitous; cases in which, unexpectedly or inexplicably, a person's documentation was incorporated without knowing how or why. But above all, we find choices of individuals and groups, of institutions, influence of ideologies and frameworks of thought, symptomatic of collective attitudes concerning who should be represented in the archives.

Some behaviors and archival practices compromise the integrity of the archives and the correct interpretation of underlying information: the intervention of third parties in the configuration of personal papers; the individuals'

own options in making their documents available; the add-on of documents produced after the death of the producers; individual or collective initiatives to gather documentation on particular individuals; the fragmentation and dispersion of archives throughout various institutions, under different justifications; the absence of information caused by loss.

Problems arising from the complexity of the processes of incorporation of the archives add to the issues relating to restrictions on public availability, and are aggravated by the lack of sufficient information about producers and the contexts of production and accumulation. Some less well-conducted practices in the field of archival processing, particularly in operations of organization and representation of information, and the lack of communication of the memory institutions themselves with regard to the archives they hold (including the ones that derive from difficulties in correctly identifying what constitutes a personal archive, the scarce investment on biographical studies, and the lesser attention given to intrinsic organic contexts), are decisive for many archives, which are designated as personal, as archival constructions, devoid of consideration for the organic-functional contexts of the record-keeping acts of individuals.

As a result, many of the identified personal archives, after being subjected to a more in-depth analysis, actually revealed themselves to be “family” archives, because they have documents linked to several elements of the same family, or are the result of fragmentation and dispersion of family archives over time and for various circumstances. In other situations, archives designated as “personal” (or that have been named after a certain figure) are in fact “hybrid” aggregations, the result of information selection by different actors, dependent on specific interests.

In the current state of archival knowledge and treatment of the collections of memory institutions, it was not possible to clearly identify personal and family information systems and to distinguish them unequivocally from one another. Their preservation and treatment are still perpetuated by focusing on fragments of information systems and other pernicious practices, focusing on historicist and patrimonial concerns, without effective scientific support. The widespread ignorance of the universe of personal and family archives in Portugal has contributed to this situation, due to the absence of a coordinat-

ing entity or a central register for these archives, which could promote their adequate appraisal, preservation and study.

Thus, it was only possible to glimpse “archives” or “aggregations of documents”, often fragments of information systems that were disintegrated, dispersed and partly lost over time. Only a future in-depth analysis of the nature of each case may allow the necessary clarification.

It is urgent to fill the gap in studies that analyze the frameworks and policies underlying the acquisition decisions made by memory institutions, and the inherent consequences in the representation of society in view of the possibility of building common guidelines for the preservation of personal archives benefitting the collective memory, regardless of who is entrusted with their treatment and preservation — institutional repositories, informal communities or individuals.

FROM A SOCIAL, POLITICAL
AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE
FAMILIES TO A SOCIAL HISTORY
OF THE ARCHIVES

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

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**WHEN THE FAMILY ARCHIVE MADE ALL THE
DIFFERENCE: THE CASE OF THE NOGUEIRA
ARCHIVE IN LISBON (1281-1433)**

ABSTRACT: Drawing from a set of documents concerning the Nogueira family, kept in the private archive of the Casa dos Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira / Marqueses de Ponte de Lima (dating from between 1280 and 1433), this essay highlights the importance of the documentation found in this type of archive to research about family members and their social promotion in a local, regional and even national sphere.

Keywords: private archive; medieval Lisbon; royal bureaucracy; Nogueiras; episcopate

RESUMO: Através da análise sumária de um núcleo documental referente à família dos Nogueiras, conservado no Arquivo da Casa dos Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e dos Marqueses de Ponte de Lima e datado cronologicamente entre 1280 e 1433, este texto pretende refletir sobre o impacto da documentação contida neste tipo de arquivo sobre o conhecimento biográfico dos seus membros e sobre os processos de promoção social, num espaço que pode ser de âmbito local, regional ou mesmo nacional.

Palavras-chave: arquivo particular; Lisboa medieval; burocracia régia; Nogueiras; Episcopado

The Nogueira family (as it is known today) was one of the most preeminent non-noble family groups in fourteenth-century Lisbon. Until the late 1990s, the Nogueiras were known mostly because of their two-pronged social promotion. On one hand, they became members of the monarchy's bureaucracy (as Armando Luís de Carvalho Homem and Rita Costa Gomes have shown); on the other, some of its members entered the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Lisbon

and indeed of the realm¹. Both routes were paramount to the ennoblement of the Nogueiras in the fifteenth century, as the family became more deeply involved in Lisbon's most important institutions, namely by holding the royal office in the city (*alcaide*) until the 1430s and, some decades later (in the 1460s), one of its members attaining the position of archbishop of Lisbon².

In 2006 a private collection of documents with information about the Nogueira family group came to my knowledge. It was kept at the Torre to Tombo, where it remained until 2011. Following permission from one of the owners, Mr. Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa, I perused in detail all the documents dating to 1433 (the *ad quem* chronological limits of my doctoral thesis, then underway)³. Surprisingly enough, the research resulted in 179 documents being identified, as well as several inventories that allowed me to determine which documents had vanished before our time⁴.

This mass of documents mostly concerns the Nogueiras, a family whose origins lay with a royal officer and his brother, one of King Denis's physicians (r. 1279-1325), respectively Lourenço Peres I and Master Pedro⁵. The documentation has survived mostly due to the fact that the family controlled several entails (*morgadios*), which were created in the fourteenth century⁶. Some of these documents are unique, showing the family group's connection to lesser known matters, such as the cultural and educational aspects related to the loan receipts of books recently studied by Gonçalo Silva⁷. Some documents can be found in the family archive relating to the Brito family, since Violante Nogueira, the daughter of Afonso Eanes Nogueira, *alcaide* of Lisbon in the early fifteenth century (and the first person to use the surname

¹ HOMEM, 1990a: 627-628; GOMES, 1995: 135; FARELO, 2003, vol. 2: 149-153, 313-317 and 465.

² GOMES, 1995: 135; SILVA, 2012: 84-125; SILVA: 166-168.

³ FARELO, 2009.

⁴ Namely Torre do Tombo, *Arquivo dos Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marqueses de Ponte de Lima* (henceforth VNC), box 1, nr 7 (1542). See <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt/index.php/catalogo-do-cartorio-da-casa-2/>.

⁵ FARELO, 2007: 147-148; FARELO, 2008: 486; FARELO, 2012a: 186-187. For their family tree, see FARELO, 2007: 155, and above all SILVA, 2012: 179-180 and SILVA, 2016: 202.

⁶ About these, see FARELO, 2012a: 185-203; SILVA, 2016: 165-166; SILVA, 2017b: 348-350.

⁷ SILVA, 2017a: 367-382.

Nogueira), married João Afonso de Brito, a Lisbon oligarch and the father of Mem de Brito. The latter eventually became responsible for administering the Nogueira entails⁸ in the mid fifteenth century. These entails later came to integrate the *Casa do Viscondado* (viscounty) of Vila Nova de Cerveira⁹. In addition, the collection contains rare medieval documents (donations) relating to the inception in 1476 of the house of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira, by King Afonso V (r. 1438-1481) on behalf of Leonel de Lima (the son of the mayor of Ponte de Lima, Fernão Eanes of Lima), whom Humberto Baquero Moreno has studied in depth¹⁰.

In the years following, these documents have been widely explored, given my research (in the meanwhile completed), the work carried out by Gonçalo Silva on the later family generations, and the doctoral project currently being developed by Filipa Lopes¹¹.

This is a good opportunity to reflect upon the importance of these documents, on how they differ or not from the documentation preserved in other types of archives; on how they can alter our understanding of this particular family group; and on their importance to the knowledge of medieval Portugal's social history.

The characteristics of the documentation

The chronology of these 179 documents echoes the characteristic of Lisbon archives belonging to medieval ecclesiastical institutions of having only a small amount of documentation predating the late thirteenth century, but

⁸ FARELO, 2012a, 192; ROSA, 2012c: 571-596; SILVA, 2016: 165-166; SILVA, 2017b: 346-365.

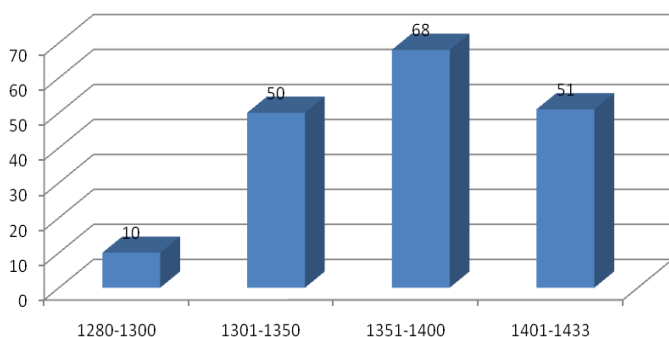
⁹ On the custodial history and morphology of the archives of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira, where the documents relating to the Nogueiras are included, see ROSA, 2009: 40-42.

¹⁰ MORENO, 1981: 259-274.

¹¹ SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2016: 161-202; SILVA, 2017a: 367-382; 2017b: 341-373; SILVA, 2018: 531-541. Filipa Lopes's project is entitled *História(s) de uma Casa e de um arquivo: os Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira, da ascensão à consolidação institucional (séculos XIV-XVII)*, a PhD with an international joint supervision between the NOVA Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas and the École nationale des chartes.

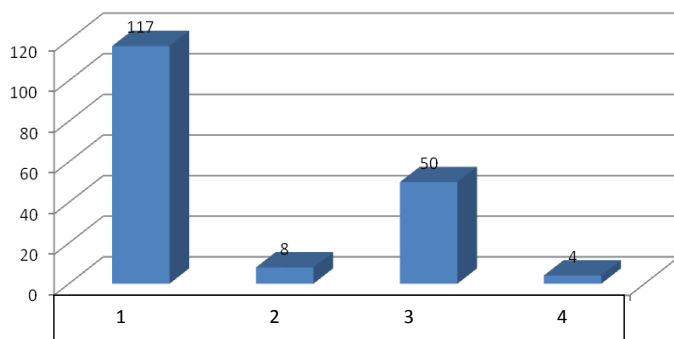
nonetheless witnessing a “documentary explosion” in the two centuries following.

Graph 1: Chronological distribution of the documents in the archive of the Casa dos Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira (1280-1433)



In the same way (in accordance with the vast majority of Portuguese archives with medieval holdings), written sources relating to the acquisition and management of heritage are predominant. This documentary landscape largely took its structure from the family entails¹².

Graph 2: Documentary typologies in the archive of the Casa dos Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira (1280-1433)



1 – Acquisition/asset management; 2 – Ecclesiastical benefices; 3 – Legal business (notarial and royal documentation); 4 – Pontifical matters

¹² Another view on the medieval archival material concerning the Nogueiras is provided in FARELO, 2012a: 192-197.

Regarding the documents' typology, the most common are registers of purchases and sales (numbering 30), leases for a lifetime (*emprazamentos*) (42), some donations and auctions (*arrematações*), which is a type of deed very often found in archives with medieval documentation. Undoubtedly, there was a utilitarian logic behind conservation, with the documents proving ownership of given assets being kept. But this documentary mass also contains less usual typologies, namely three charters of asset-sharing. Although frequent in modern private archives, they are thought to be rare for the medieval period. One inventory of the family archive indicates the existence of seven other similar documents¹³. Such disappearance obviously is not innocuous and should probably be attributed to moments of conflict during which its destruction would have been welcomed by one or both parties.

Equally important is the number of legal business deeds issued by the royal notaries and by the royal chancellery, namely proxies (documents of acquisition and patrimonial management) and copies (*traslados*) of previous documents. Adding to this, the six wills that have survived to this day provide an insight into the last wishes and the sociability networks of several members of the family group, even if the number of documents up to the sixteenth century held in the archives was originally higher¹⁴. In fact, the wills of two of the most important elements of the family, Master Pedro, the physicist to King Denis, and Master João das Leis, a bureaucrat at the service of King Afonso IV (r. 1325-1357), are now lost¹⁵. This speaks volumes about the intentionality behind the choice of keeping or discarding documents. Finally, since several family members were clergymen and the Nogueiras eventually became the patrons of the parochial church of Saint Lawrence in Lisbon from the mid fourteenth century onwards, a few documents concerning the parish have survived. However, almost nothing remains of the documentation produced

¹³ VNC, box 1, nr 7, fl. 10 (1394?), fl. 95-95v (1393), fl. 102-102v (fifteenth century), fl. 115v-116 (1337), fl. 118 (1327), fl. 119-119v (1388), fl. 121v (1437).

¹⁴ A list of both existing and lost wills can be found in FARELO, 2012a: 195, notes 39-40.

¹⁵ The archive had one original and a copy in Latin of Master Pedro's will and the original of Master John's. VNC, box 1, nr 7, fl. 40v, 175v-176, 189. The testament of Master Pedro and its translation were recovered from a modern transcription and published in FARELO, 2009: 26-35. On the biography of Master João das Leis: HOMEM, 1990a: 267-269; FARELO, 2007: 151; FARELO, 2012a: 189-190, 195, note 41.

within the institution itself¹⁶. In other words, the parish church and the entails (held mostly within that same *colegiada*) were considered to be distinct institutions by the family, something mirrored by the differentiated management of the documentation.

In view of this, what is the ecclesiastical dimension of the family archive?

Firstly, it evidences the management of ecclesiastical benefits, such as the presentation of clergy to the church of Saint Lawrence and their confirmation by the Ordinary. These documents were in fact in the possession of the holders of the patronage rights, the family archives still holding at least one dating from the fourteenth century¹⁷. Secondly, the concession of grants (*préstamos*), an original feature of the financial organization of this church that was introduced in the second third of the fourteenth century. Drawing from the church revenues, it was designed to reinforce the income of students attending higher studies in Portugal or abroad. Thirdly, the scarcity of papal documents must be acknowledged. This comes in line with the rest of Portuguese family archives with medieval holdings, but here it is restricted to a single case, that of the succession in the administration of Master Pedro's entail during the pontificate of Clement VI¹⁸. Also worth highlighting is a wedding dispensation, dating from 1393, a very rare finding among the existing documentation of this period kept in Portugal (the charters preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards being the obvious exception)¹⁹.

The main characteristics of these deeds already having been identified, let us now assess their impact on research on the family group.

¹⁶ On the relations between the family and the Church, see SILVA, 2012; SILVA, 2017b: 347-365.

¹⁷ VNC, box 5, nr 29; FARELO, 2009: 18

¹⁸ VNC, box 1, nr 15; FARELO, 2009: 14, 18-20; FARELO, 2012a: 190; SILVA, 2017a: 369-371.

¹⁹ VNC, box 1, nr 26 (1393). It concerns the dispensation for Gonçalo Viegas de Ataíde and Beatriz Nunes de Góis, in fourth-degree blood relatives, who had already married and copulated.

Allowing a better knowledge of the family group

All these documents provide additional data on the organization and promotion of the family group. In fact, the family archive makes all the difference in this sense since it becomes possible to deepen the study of the family group, to determine the origins of the patrimony, and the patrimony's links with the collegiate of Saint Lawrence. For instance, Lourenço Peres I and Master Pedro's parents have been identified as the links of Master João das Leis firstly to an important family in Lisbon and secondly to another group tied to royal bureaucracy. Moreover, it connected the Vivas and the Fafes to the Nogueiras, thus explaining why Rui Fafes and Miguel Vivas were the target of invectives from the royal *privado* Estêvão da Guarda²⁰. One must not forget that the two men not only shared with Master João das Leis the favor of King Afonso IV but also heraldic elements such as the ribbon²¹. The ribbon was used both by Miguel Vivas and the descendants of Lourenço Peres I, one of them Master João precisely²².

This being said, the availability of a family archive allows for much more than in-depth genealogical investigation. Although each case is a case, and every researcher is different, I believe there are at least two major areas in which this type of archive proves important for historical research.

The importance of family archives for medieval history

As one would expect, the first of these areas is family or family group history – the latter understood (maybe in too simple and unscientific a way) as the various families that are linked together by blood or marriage. Although

²⁰ LAPA, 1988: 86-87, 92-93; HOMEM, 1990a: 380; OLIVEIRA, 1994: 274; MARTINS, 1999: 26; MARTINS, 2007: 27; FARELO, 2007: 161-162, notes 60 and 72; FARELO, 2008: 533, 734; OLIVEIRA, 2009: 495-500; FARELO, 2012: 200.

²¹ BARROCA, 2000: 2/1, 1677-1682; BARROCA, 2003: vol. 2/2, 1162-1165; LIMA, 2006: 208-211; HENRIQUES; MENDES, 2007: 406-412; FARELO, 2007: 162, note 72; FARELO, 2008: 533; SEIXAS; GALVÃO-TELLES, 2008: 53-95.

²² FARELO, 2007: 162, note 72; FARELO, 2008: 533; FARELO, 2012a: 200; FARELO, 2012b: 363, 368-369.

knowledge always depends upon the volume and quality of the documents, as well as the research questions being asked, the use of deeds preserved in family archives allows for greater insights into family genealogy. In the case of the Nogueiras, thanks to the documents they can be linked to individuals otherwise “scattered” in references from royal and notarial documentation.

In addition, the preservation of family archive documents is full of significance. The deeds exist for a reason concerning the family in one way or another. This is different from a royal chancellery standpoint, in which the aggregation of documents is justified by their handling in the royal chancellery, by whomever produced the documents, and by their importance (current and future) as attributed by the Crown. In a family archive, all documents count. It therefore becomes essential for the historian to ascertain what they mean (or meant) to their holders.

These documents normally meant to provide details about how family members were inserted in institutions. Even if in the Nogueira archive there are virtually no documents about “public service” from its members, the fact that they acted in a “private” capacity does not preclude them from being identified by their public functions, for example: “bishop of”; “vassal of”; or “judge of”. In these, as with many other private archives, the use of such “familiar” documents clarifies the foundational and management contexts of chapels and entails founded by the families. By drawing up a list of the names of the administrators of these institutions, as taken from the deeds – once the form of succession determined in the founding instruments is established and known – one can figure out the sequence of individual birth dates and deepen the knowledge of the family structure.

A less perceptible area of inquiry (owing to the one just mentioned) is the contribution of these deeds beyond the family history as a more general history. This can be that of a city, a region, or even the history of a country itself. The Nogueira archive exemplifies the latter, since the family members interacted and participated in the governing structures of the Portuguese crown and church. Two examples help to illustrate this.

The titles held by Master João das Leis in the deeds of purchase and lease where he intervened help to grasp the fluctuations in his service to the Portuguese crown. During the reign of Afonso IV, the documents describe Master

João as “royal counsellor”, “ambassador”, “royal vassal”, “resident in Lisbon” and a “neighbour (*vizinbo*) in Lisbon”²³. These titles are clear, since they detail João’s links to his hometown but mostly his proximity to the king. The change of monarch affected João’s “public” projection. During King Pedro I’s reign (r. 1357-1367) the documents in the family archive name him only as a resident and *vizinbo* of Lisbon²⁴. Away from the court, from that moment onwards he becomes known for establishing himself in Lisbon. This “crossing of the desert” was to be expected: a document in the Vatican Archives proves the arrest of Master João at the beginning of Pedro’s reign, a sign that the king’s revenge for the murder of Inês de Castro was not limited to the executors but reached some of the officers closest to the former king, Afonso IV²⁵. Fortunately enough, João would return to the spotlight with King Fernando I (r. 1367-1383), as revealed from the functions held: royal counsellor, royal vassal and royal courtier holding a wage from the king (*aquantiado*)²⁶.

The second example shows how this documentation can better our knowledge of the Portuguese episcopate in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. During that time there were three bishops within the family: Miguel Vivas was elected bishop of Viseu (1329-1336)²⁷, Afonso Dinis was the prelate of Guarda (1346-1347) and of Évora (1347-1352)²⁸, while João Afonso succeeded the latter in Évora (1352-1356)²⁹. The biographies of these clergymen were already quite well known before the research into the family archive, but the new information provided insights. In the case of Miguel Vivas, his genealogy became clearer – we now know that he was a grand-son of Domingos Pais, son of Domingos Domingues and brother of João Vivas and Vicente Vivas) – as the family link to the Nogueiras (he was the cousin of Master João

²³ FARELO, 2014: 128-129.

²⁴ FARELO, 2007: 164, note 104; FARELO, 2014: 129-132.

²⁵ FARELO, 2007: 164, note 103.

²⁶ FARELO, 2014: 132-136.

²⁷ HOMEM, 1990a: 369-370; HOMEM, 1990b: 57-62; FARELO, 2007: 162, notes 65-70; FARELO, 2014: 124-125, FARELO, 2016: 209-217.

²⁸ COSTA, 1957: 370-417, 510-607; MATOS, 1998: 450-452; FARELO, 1999: 222-223; FARELO, 2003: vol. 2, 149-153; MEIRINHOS, 2007a: 47-64; MEIRINHOS, 2007b: 251-256; FARELO, 2007: 150-151; FARELO, 2009: 13-14; SILVA, 2012a: 95; FARELO, 2014: 128.

²⁹ FARELO, 2007: 152, 165-166, notes 114 and 118; FARELO, 2008: 414; FARELO, 2014: 128.

and the first patron of the church of Saint Lawrence)³⁰. As to the better-known Afonso Dinis, the only new piece of information is significant: there is proof that Afonso was a half-brother of Master João, meaning there was another family member in the private circle of Afonso IV. The case of João Afonso is the more astonishing, the documents helping identify him as the brother-in-law of Master João and as the same “João Afonso” who was already known to be a royal clerk and ambassador, doctor and a professor of Law, and the prior of the church of Saint Mary in Guimarães³¹.

In summary, these examples show the added information of a biographical nature available for each individual, mainly in terms of their familiar ties. Most importantly, all three cases attest the importance of family solidarity as one of the criteria for episcopal recruitment, especially at a time when the episcopal appointments in Western Christianity were to great extent in the hands of the Avignon popes³².

Some may argue against the generalizations I have made about a family archive that is unique from a Portuguese archival standpoint. Its uniqueness comes from the number of medieval deeds it holds, from the rare documentary typologies it contains, and from the importance of the family group at hand.

Like many other examples, the unity of the collection provided by the family links between individuals make these documents relevant for social and prosopographical approaches, enabling working hypotheses about the processes and means of affirmation both inside and outside the group. Indeed, such archives supply a view of the individuals under study that is much more “familiar” than the one provided by the royal and ecclesiastical documentation generally used by medievalists. It is well known that the latter implies a mediation that refracts and often subordinates our knowledge of the actions of these men to their public dimension.

³⁰ FARELO, 2008: 531-533.

³¹ FARELO, 2007: 152, 165-166, notes 114 and 118; FARELO, 2008: 414; FARELO, 2014: 128.

³² FARELO, 2014: 127.

The Nogueira case illustrates how a family archive can contribute to the understanding of the promotion processes of given power groups in local, regional, and even central political societies. In a case like this, the information is useful for the bigger history of the crown and the kingdom. In this sense, preserving an archive like this represents not only the good intent of owners but also a necessity for all those who, more or less professionally, are committed to advancing knowledge of our common history.

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**FAMILY ARCHIVES, THE ARCHIVAL PRACTICES
OF NOBLE FAMILIES, AND THE SOCIAL LOGIC
OF ARCHIVAL PRESERVATION (PORTUGAL,
FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES)**

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the social logic of archival preservation by studying the evolution of the main archival practices developed by noble families in Portugal between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This analysis is divided into two parts: in general terms, the first part focuses on the meanings and functions assigned to the archives by families, highlighting in particular the problems that must be taken into account so as to avoid fragmented and incomplete interpretations of the social role of archives and archival preservation; the second part examines some of the main archival practices carried out by noble groups, and attempts to clarify the organic relationship between the social evolution of families and the evolution of the archives themselves.

Keywords: nobility; ancien régime; family archives; Portugal

RESUMO: Neste texto pretende-se pensar a lógica social da conservação documental a partir dos arquivos de família, avaliando a evolução das principais práticas arquivísticas de grupos familiares da média nobreza não titulada em Portugal entre os séculos XV e XIX. A análise divide-se em duas partes. Na primeira focam-se, em termos gerais, os significados e funções atribuídos aos arquivos pelas famílias e sublinham-se, em particular, os problemas que devem ser tidos em conta quando se avaliam esses significados e funções de forma a evitar leituras fragmentadas e incompletas sobre o papel social dos arquivos e da conservação documental. Na segunda parte examinam-se algumas das principais práticas arquivísticas dos grupos nobres, procurando tornar clara a relação orgânica que se estabeleceu entre a evolução social das famílias e a evolução dos próprios arquivos.

Palavras-chave: nobreza; Antigo Regime; arquivos de família; Portugal

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In the wake of the archival turn that took place in the late twentieth century, recent research has focused on the study of family archives as objects of study², taking them as complex social, cultural, and political constructs rather than natural and predictable products of human activity³. By addressing such diverse topics as the social history of archives, the uses of archived records, or the study of inventory processes, these academic works highlight three central conclusions.

Firstly, they have underlined the advantages of Historical Archivistics, a discipline born of the alliance between History and Archival Science, for the contextual study of the production and conservation of social information. According to Maria de Lurdes Rosa, Historical Archivistics offers the possibility of reflecting on how and why social groups produced, archived, and used archived information, thus conferring social importance to their documentary and archival practices⁴. Secondly, this research has also drawn attention to the “authority”⁵ problems of family histories written primarily or exclusively from written records produced and preserved by other entities. By disregarding the families’ documentary production and conservation practices, as well as the organic relationships they established with their archives, those studies are inevitably limited and partial. Lastly, they showed that archives played a “sociogenetic” role in the formation and consolidation of family groups⁶. In this sense, archives were key elements for the operation, stability, and evolution of families in many different ways throughout the centuries, from the management of estates to the construction and celebration of shared identities and memories.

By bringing these premises to the history of ancien régime nobility and applying them to the study of family archives, this article intends to analyze

² Examples of this can be found in ROSA, 2012a, a collective work that presents studies from various European countries; and in the results of the ARCHIFAM international project, hosted by the École des Hautes Études Hispaniques et Ibériques: <https://www.casadevelazquez.org/pt/investigacao/programas-cientificos-ehehi/anciens-programmes/archifam/archifam/apresentacao-geral/>.

³ COOK, 2010.

⁴ ROSA, 2017: 550-551.

⁵ BLOUIN JR, 2004: 297.

⁶ MORSEL, 2010: 17.

the social logic of archival preservation, following the evolution of the main archival practices of noble family groups in Portugal between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. It is anchored in a previous study, completed in 2016, about the Gama Lobo Salema archive and the creation, management and uses of noble family archives⁷.

The chosen chronological boundaries correspond to the period when most archives of the Portuguese nobility were active, that is, when they played out a central social role in the survival of the noble families. Although in some cases the accumulation of records and the consequent creation of archives began before the fifteenth century, the majority of the initial and most consistent documentary sets dates from that century. The bureaucratization process of the Portuguese Crown also intensified during this time, resulting in an increasingly frequent use of writing in day-to-day activities of the various institutions associated with it, which helps to explain the rise in the amount of contemporary documents that were produced and preserved⁸.

At the other chronological end, we find that most of the family archives in the second half of the nineteenth century no longer performed the functions that noble groups had previously attributed to them. The political and social transformations that led to the end of the *ancien régime* called for the adaptation of the nobility, which in turn resulted in a mutation of the archives' social role. Despite this, many archives retained value as historical archives and as "lieux de mémoire", justifying their survival into the twenty-first century⁹.

As to the object of analysis, we will focus on untitled middle-nobility families belonging to the new lineages that began a process of social ascension in the fifteenth century. These families were generally characterized by an upward social mobility within the noble hierarchies, mostly driven by service offered to the royal family or to titled nobles (military service, administrative or bureaucratic service in the kingdom and overseas, and mercantile service between the metropolis and the overseas territories); by the acquisition of land assets, at the local level, that were later linked to the family group by means

⁷ NÓVOA, 2016.

⁸ MAGALHÃES; SUBTIL, 1997; COELHO, 2015.

⁹ NORA, 1989.

of *morgadios* or chapels (entails)¹⁰; by the celebration of marriages that, as a rule, did not afford an immediate rise in the social hierarchy but provided an important addition to the family estate; and, lastly, by their reinforcement of local power through membership of the military orders, the acceptance of positions in municipal structures, and the patronage of religious buildings where the founders' coats of arms could be displayed¹¹.

As such, the following text is divided into two parts. In general terms, the first focuses on the meanings and functions assigned to archives by the families. I particularly intend to highlight the problems that must be considered when assessing these meanings and functions, so as to avoid fragmented and incomplete interpretations of the social role of archival preservation. The second part examines some of the main archival practices of noble groups throughout various phases of their social progress, and attempts to clarify the organic relationship that existed between them and the archives' own evolution.

It should be noted that the analysis presented below is not meant to be exhaustive and, therefore, does not deplete the possibilities of studying the meanings and functions attributed to archives by the noble families, nor does it encompass the comprehensive universe of noble families included in the broad chronology proposed. On the contrary, it explores only a part of this potential and universe, and seeks to exemplify the virtues of using an approach that is capable of promoting the study of these social groups' history in close association with the documents they produced, received, and chose to archive. This choice creates social meaning and, as such, reveals some of the groups' specific features that would be difficult to identify through the use of written records produced and preserved by institutions other than the families.

Noble family archives: meanings and functions

While today we see many family archives as part of a historical and cultural heritage, one that is both static and fossilized, during the *ancien régime*

¹⁰ About the *morgadios* and chapels, see below.

¹¹ CUNHA; MONTEIRO, 2010a; MAGALHÃES, 1997.

these documentary sets were “living organisms”, in constant mutation¹². The successive transformations that occurred along their conservation course implied not only physical changes but also mutations in the meanings that were attributed to them and to the different documents they contained¹³. In fact, these archives have accumulated layers of meanings over the centuries, superimposed on the original justifications for the production of the documents and their archival preservation. These layers of meanings could maintain or update the relevance of the archives and of the different records that constituted them, thus enhancing the continuity of their preservation. On the other hand, they could also reverse that relevance and render the records or the archives obsolete.

In the case of the ancien régime noble families, this accumulation of meanings, linked as it was to the evaluation of the relevance of archival preservation and to the archives’ physical transformations, could occur at different times. Generational shifts occasionally brought changes to the archives’ structure, especially in cases where one heir did not stand to gain any advantages over the others. With the distribution of patrimonial assets among the successors, some corresponding documents, previously kept in the family archives, were also dispersed among the new owners. Likewise, even when the bulk of the documentation was passed on to a single heir, generational shifts could also lead the new generation to question the conservation relevance of some documents. This would often coincide, as we shall later see, with the partial or full inventory and appraisal of the documentary set that had been bequeathed to the family’s new representative.

Marriages also involved the circulation of records between archives, since all written records relating to assets negotiated in the marriage contract were, like the assets themselves, exchanged between the spouses’ families. As a rule, most records accompanied the dowry of the wife’s family archive, and were integrated into the husband’s family archive. Documentary circulation at the time of marriages was particularly significant when the wife held representation duties for her family, in the absence of male heirs. In these cases, the

¹² BOURQUIN, 2010: 211.

¹³ MORSEL, 2008.

entire archive — or, at least, a considerable part of it — could be incorporated into a new repository, which explains why family archives are actually archives within archives. When groups of documents from other archives were incorporated into new repositories, an assessment of the relevance of archival preservation, similar to the one triggered by generational shifts, sometimes followed. The documents that a given family considered relevant enough to preserve could lose their status upon integration into the archives of other family groups.

Lastly, archives suffered physical mutations — perhaps less substantial but more frequent than others previously described — when assets were bought and sold. In addition to the records produced to prove the transaction, a number of other related records could also be integrated into the purchasers' archives, and consequently removed from the vendors' archival holdings. The latter, produced on dates prior to the transaction, provided information deemed relevant to buyers, such as how the sellers had come to possess the goods or whether they were rented by other individuals or institutions. Many of the earliest written records kept in family archives followed this process of incorporation. This meant, for example, that the purchase of a property concluded in the seventeenth century could lead to the integration in the archive of fourteenth-century documents. This idea is important to avoid dating the creation of archives exclusively according to the production date of the oldest contained document, since its incorporation might have occurred centuries later.

Underlying all these processes of transformation of ancien régime noble family archives are two central ideas for analyzing their functions as social instruments. The first of these, noted by Joseph Morsel, is that not all documents were produced with the intention of being preserved¹⁴; hence the notion that documentary destruction is an integral part of the archival conservation course and should not be attributed solely to accidental or unconscious factors. On the contrary, the destruction of documents also corresponded to rational choices and specific social reasons that are reflected in the archival practices of families.

¹⁴ MORSEL, 2008: 8.

The second central idea, formulated by Arnold Esch, highlights the problems of representativeness and distortion of historical transmission¹⁵. According to this author, the images constructed by historians about a given study object (a society, a period, a city, a social group) are necessarily conditioned and deformed by the representativeness of extant sources. Resulting from a combination of accidental factors and rational choices, the information that survived and that was transmitted does not necessarily represent the entirety of what was produced, but rather, according to Esch, a part of the whole that was more likely to be preserved. Therefore, it becomes necessary to reflect on what is missing, on absences, on what was produced but, for various reasons, was not preserved until today, and on the representativeness of whatever has reached us¹⁶.

When we consider the functions of family archives during the ancien régime, the large percentage of records related to land assets (i.e., purchase, rent, or lease deeds) — which in many cases outnumbers other types of records in the archives — suggests family archives were mainly used as instruments of patrimonial management. Entails such as *morgadios* and chapels contributed greatly to this. They acted as legal mechanisms which, in keeping with their founders' wishes, perpetually entailed certain patrimonial assets to the family and regulated their transmission, preventing them from leaving the possession of family members¹⁷.

While patrimonial management was one of the most important functions of archives, we should remember that this type of documentation, especially when linked to entails, had a higher probability of being preserved than others, using Arnold Esch's terminology. On one hand, land assets were the most important source of income and wealth for the families and, therefore, their management, supported by written records, should be impeccable. On the other, as we shall see, since entails were considered perpetually bound to the family, so too should the corresponding records enjoy perpetual preservation.

¹⁵ ESCH, 2002.

¹⁶ ROSA, 2013: 20-21.

¹⁷ ROSA, 1995; ROSA, 2012d.

Family archives were also important tools for claiming and defending rights and privileges, safeguarding evidence that could be put to use as needed. As the probative value of writing surpassed the authority of individual memory, to possess written records became essential to ensure the continuity of ownership and even the acquisition of new rights and privileges. It was records such as these that legally protected families from threats made by other family groups or institutions and could sustain court claims on rights and privileges. That is why we can still find an abundance of judicial proceedings in archives, dating mainly from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which clearly demonstrate how they were manipulated for protection or aggression, according to the families' social or political context¹⁸.

In addition to these functions, that dealt with matters that were transmitted through the centuries and over successive generations, archives also served other purposes which, given their ephemeral or temporary nature, left few documentary traces, such as documentation that, for different reasons, was less likely to be preserved and which is often known to us only through other documents. This is the case, for example, of what Patricia Guyard calls “day-to-day management”, that is, administration activities of current affairs related to the family or the professional life of family members¹⁹. Once these mundane issues were resolved, the pertinence of the conservation of the records related to them would be appraised and the probability of their preservation would dwindle. Because of this, it is very difficult to accurately determine not only the percentage of documents in this category that were produced and temporarily archived, but also the reasons why some of them survived until today, against all odds.

On the whole, family archives functioned as repositories of family memory, connecting members of the family group over time and providing physical testimony of ancestral achievements, intended as examples for future generations. In this sense, like heraldry or family names, archives were an integral

¹⁸ Filippo De Vivo found the same archival manipulation in early modern Venice. During this period, archives were organized according to whether the Republic was at war or peace: DE VIVO, 2010.

¹⁹ GUYARD, 1999:524.

part of the symbolic capital of families and participated in the construction, sharing, and celebration of a common identity.

Archival practices of noble families

As we will see, the archival practices of family groups developed alongside the social evolution of families, progressively responding to whatever needs arose. Thus, between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries we find four general distinct phases for the social courses of the untitled and local middle-nobility families that we have described above, which are reflected in their corresponding archives: the first phase, between the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, is characterized by the construction of lineages; the second, that takes place during the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, is one of consolidation; the third, spanning the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, constitutes an attempt at further social development; and, finally, the fourth phase, one of complexification and later decline, extends between the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries²⁰.

In the first phase, from the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, we find that the original generations served in the houses of titled nobility, the royal family, or the king himself as squires or knights and, in some cases, accepted early charges of other military or administrative functions. Simultaneously, they also invested their income in the acquisition of land assets and negotiated marriages with families of the same geographical provenance and similar social status. The firstborn sons were not yet neces-

²⁰ Before analyzing each of these phases, two remarks must be made. The first is that this general description, mostly based on the case studies examined through the Gama Lobo Salema archive, does not exhaust other possible social courses also reflected on family archives, such as failure to consolidate the families' social status or the extinction of the family groups due to the lack of heirs. Secondly, some authors use the concept of "house" (*casa, maison*) to define the social and institutional organization that was created during the phases mentioned above (see, for example, MONTEIRO, 1993 and 1998; OLIVEIRA, 1999; CUNHA, 2000; CUNHA; MONTEIRO, 2010b). However, I have chosen not to use this concept due to the recent questioning of its adequacy, the difficulties in defining it precisely, and the fact that not all families that went through a similar social process of ascension necessarily intended or were able to constitute "houses" (HADDAD, 2009 and 2014).

sarily benefited over their siblings, and every individual was responsible for maintaining and, if possible, increasing their family's social status and wealth. In this way, each family member's particular effort could be directed towards a shared family project which would be continued by following generations.

The first consistent documentary sets are formed during this phase, coinciding with the consolidation of the centralization and bureaucratization process of the Portuguese Crown and its associated institutions. This process entailed an increased appreciation of writing as an instrument of daily management and as a preferential, though not exclusive, source of authority. Consequently, the demands exerted on families by the Crown and other institutions to produce records capable of proving property ownership, rights, or privileges became more frequent.

However, in this initial period of archival constitution, families were not always able to produce written evidence. This was the case with Diogo Gonçalves Salema, squire and servant of the house of the *Infante* D. Fernando, during a visit to Alcácer do Sal by the *comendadores* (commanders) of the order of Santiago in 1480²¹. Eleven years earlier, in 1469, Diogo Gonçalves Salema had bought from the order the right of use of a number of properties in Alcácer do Sal that had been, at an uncertain date prior to the sale, perpetually rented to the family of the seller's husband²². At the time of the visit, the *comendadores* asked Diogo Salema to submit written proof not only of the purchase he had made in 1469 but also of the rental agreement between the order and the seller's predecessors. The *comendadores* justified the need to produce both records by claiming that renting proprieties in perpetuity went against the order's regiment and canonical law. As such, without the necessary evidence the agreement's perpetual status would be lost and become valid only for the duration of three individuals' lifespans; after that, the right of use

²¹ ANTT, Arquivo Gama Lobo Salema, cx. 9, pt. 58; ANTT, Arquivo Gama Lobo Salema, cx. 35, pt. 182; ANTT, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Feitos Findos, liv. 246, "Inventário geral dos papéis...", fls. 17, 75v and 102. From now on the Gama Lobo Salema archive will be referred to as "AGLS".

²² "Carta de venda" (1469): ANTT, AGLS cx. 35, pt. 182.

would return to the order, which could then renegotiate its terms with new owners, to the detriment of Diogo Gonçalves Salema and his successors²³.

Diogo Gonçalves Salema presented the 1469 deed of purchase but was unable to prove the rental agreement since he did not have the corresponding document in his possession. Accusing the *comendadores* of unjustly treating him, he recalls that the proprieties had been rented to the seller's family for "cento e duzentos anos que a memória dos homens não em contrário" (a hundred and two hundred years, undisputed by the memory of men). The *comendadores* were unmoved and replied that the memory of men could not replace written evidence, later revoking the right of use in perpetuity²⁴.

Examples such as this — in which the lack of written records or the failure to preserve them might hinder the use of certain assets or even jeopardize their ownership — made families aware of the importance of preserving documents. In addition to the pressures exerted by the Crown and other powerful institutions, this awareness was often reinforced by the professional experience of some family members. In fact, while in some cases family groups sought social ascension through military or commercial service, in others they focused on central or local administrative service, allowing them to come into contact with the experience of the institutions they served regarding written document management and preservation.

This exposure influenced the archival practices of family groups, particularly those related to the organization, control, and retrieval of information. Still in the fifteen-hundreds — particularly in the final years of the century — we see the first rudimentary attempts to organize documents accumulated until then and to facilitate the identification of information contained therein.

One of these efforts was to organize written records according to what Pierre Chastang has called "patrimonial genealogy", that is, according to the genealogical succession that explained the transmission of patrimonial assets between its several owners²⁵. Documents related to the same asset or property

²³ "Carta testemunhável de requerimento" (1480): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 35, pt. 182.

²⁴ *Idem*.

²⁵ CHASTANG, 2001: 424. The same practice was common, for example, in monastic institutions: OLIVEIRA, 2001: 223-225.

were thus assembled within a single installation unit (a bundle, for example), forming, in Kristen Neuschel's words, "topically-organized clusters" within the archives²⁶. In the Gama Lobo Salema archive we find some examples of these "clusters", such as the documentation pertaining to the *berdade do Gradil*, which was produced between 1433 and about 1485²⁷. On the back of the oldest document of this collection we find a note, probably written in the fifteenth century, which confirms collective documentary conservation practices by indicating that "estas escrituras todas são do Gradil" (these records all belong to Gradil)²⁸.

Notes on the back of documents represent another example of early rudimentary efforts made by families to control and retrieve the information available in archives. These notes could summarize the written record's general content or highlight specific aspects that were considered relevant by the note's producer²⁹.

Three notable examples were produced in the first decade of the sixteenth century by Gabriel Lopes de Bulhão, who began his career as a clerk for the orphans, Jews, and Moors of Lisbon and as a squire of the king's household, later becoming a knight and *provedor* (ombudsman) of Lisbon municipality³⁰. In the early sixteenth century, Gabriel Lopes took possession of some houses in Lisbon after exchanging them for others in the same city. With the deal he received three documents³¹. On the back of these records he then included notes which, in addition to describing the content of the document, as was common, provided supplementary, more specific information, such as: the reason why he received one of the records — "para resguardo de meu direito" (to safeguard my rights)³²; the name of the person to whom the documents

²⁶ NEUSCHEL, 2001: 208.

²⁷ ANTT, AGLS, cx. 35, pt. 184.

²⁸ "Carta de partilhas" (1433): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 35, pt. 184.

²⁹ This practice was also common in monastic and royal archives: OLIVEIRA, 2001: 223-224.

³⁰ ANTT, AGLS, cx. 32, pt. 170; ANTT, AGLS, cx. 34, pt. 180; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 33, fl. 40v.

³¹ "Carta de permuta" (1505): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 32, pt. 170; "Carta de confirmação de emprazamento" (1506): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 32, pt. 170; "Carta de confirmação de emprazamento" (1506): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 32, pt. 170.

³² "Carta de permuta" (1505): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 32, pt. 170.

were originally delivered; and the date when the documents were handed to him. Gabriel Lopes de Bulhão's experience as clerk and *provedor* was not circumstantial to the degree of detail in these notes which, in essence, relate the course and justification of the documents' preservation.

We find another example of notes on the back of documents, albeit with a different purpose, in an annotation produced by Cosme Rodrigues, knight and nobleman of the king's household, knight of the order of Christ, *provedor-mor* (main ombudsman) of the kingdom's *Casa dos Contos*³³, and *vedor* (supervisor) of the treasury of the Indies³⁴. In 1535 Cosme Rodrigues bought some houses in Lisbon and, in addition to the deed of purchase, he received four other documents that belonged to the "patrimonial genealogy" of the property³⁵. On the back of the oldest document of this set, dated 1464, Cosme Rodrigues wrote a note indicating that those four documents had been delivered to a certain Francisco Martins, followed by their description. At the end of the note he later added that the records had already been returned to him³⁶. Simple in form, this note represents an effort to control the exit and entry of documents from the archive, most likely influenced by Cosme Rodrigues's professional experience at the *Casa dos Contos* or the treasury of the Indies. Given the importance of document ownership, monitoring tasks such as these gradually became more relevant as archived records increased.

The last example of the oldest archival practices of noble groups can be found in a list of documents written in 1498 after the death of Vasco Queimado de Vilalobos, a nobleman of the household of the duke of Beja³⁷. Following a common procedure in cases where the heirs became orphans, the nobleman's death prompted an inventory of all his assets, including deeds³⁸.

³³ An institution that supervised the public income and expenditure of the kingdom.

³⁴ ANTT, AGLS, cx.11, pt. 83; ANTT, AGLS, cx. 11, pt. 84; ANTT, AGLS, cx. 36, pt. 185; ANTT, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Feitos Findos, liv. 246, 'Inventário geral dos papéis...', fls. 17v, 43v, 49v, 52v, 68v, 70, 70v, 71, 71v, 73, 73v, 74v, 75, 76v, 92v, 93, and 93v.

³⁵ "Carta de venda" (1535): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 36, pt.185.

³⁶ "Carta de venda" (1464): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 36, pt.185.

³⁷ ANTT, AGLS, cx. 12, pt. 88; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 33, fl. 97v.; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 29, fl. 91v.; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João II, liv. 8, fl. 216; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 29, fl. 91v.

³⁸ Traslado (1716) do "Instrumento ao teor de um inventário..." (1498): ANTT, Casa de Santa Iria, cx. 15, doc. 20.

It is unusual to find lists of documents or even brief mentions to archives in these post-mortem inventories. In this case, a possibility exists that the list was made under the influence of Nuno Fernandes da Mina, Vasco Queimado's son-in-law, who would be aware of the importance of describing the archives due to his experience as *vedor* (supervisor) for the master of the order of Santiago, and *alcaide-mor* (captain-general) and *comendador* (commander) of the same order³⁹.

This account, which can be considered a proto-inventory, individually and collectively lists and summarily describes more than 43 records, with no indication of date or call number system. The sequence in which the documents are mentioned does not seem to suggest any sort of chronological, geographical, or typological order. This is in line with what Kristen Neuschel found in the study of archive inventories of the same period. Neuschel states that documents were catalogued in the same way as other movable assets, that is, as they were located and identified by the producers of the inventories and without any intentional abstract order. That is why retrieval of information during this period depended largely on familiarity with the documents and also on human memory⁴⁰.

The list of Vasco Queimado de Vilalobos' records allows us to note one last aspect. By confronting it with other documents, we are able to determine that out of the approximately 43 listed records, the whereabouts of only seven are known today, that is, close to 11% of the total⁴¹. In other words, from the fifteenth century to the present day the erosion rate of Vasco Queimado de Vilalobos' archive was around 89%, reminding us of the problems of representativeness and deformation postulated by Arnold Esch⁴².

Like this proto-inventory, many of the archival practices analyzed up until now were continued and improved over the following centuries, starting with the second phase of these families' social course, which spanned the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. At this stage, the investments of the first

³⁹ NÓVOA, 2016: 229.

⁴⁰ NEUSCHEL, 2001: 210.

⁴¹ NÓVOA, 2016: 223-248.

⁴² ESCH, 2002.

generations were rewarded with titles in the king's household, which were later transmitted to heirs. This period also saw the consolidation of military order affiliations, often accompanied by the acceptance of formal posts in these institutions. Finally, *morgadios* and chapels were consistently instituted, which entailed the patrimony hitherto accumulated and cemented the social and economic position of the families. Although not all entails benefited the oldest male heir, the prevailing tendency was to choose the firstborn son over any siblings, and to entrust him with the representation of the family.

By functioning as social, economic, and legal hubs for the families, entails played a similar twofold role for archives. On one hand, they created documentary sets, composed of written records related to the *morgadios* or chapels and, thus, organically linked to each other, within the archives; in fact, many archives were later reorganized according to the different *morgadios* and chapels administered by the families. On the other hand, entails bolstered the idea of perpetual conservation, given their intended perennial nature; the documentation related to them should also be preserved “até ao fim do mundo” (until the world ends).

This last expression is used in the testament that Maria Rebela wrote herself in 1596, where she instituted a chapel that should be perpetually administered by her second-born nephew and, thereafter, by all his second-born successors⁴³. As a condition for the entail's administration and under penalty of being denied the chapel's income, the testator determined that the administrators should always keep a copy of her will — “the primary legal source” of the entail⁴⁴ — and pass it on among them “until the world ends”.

In fact, it is precisely the existence and longevity of entails, which were only extinguished in 1863, that largely explains the cohesion of many surviving family archives. As we have seen, documents related to entails were the ones most likely to be preserved, even if other documents shared a similar probability of preservation, such as proofs of patronage or burial rights in religious institutions. Overall, this category of records secured in writing perpetual rights and privileges that could be transmitted from generation to gen-

⁴³ “Traslado (1828) de testamento e livro de codicilo (1599)”: ANTT, AGLS, cx. 16, pt. 133.

⁴⁴ ROSA, 1995:65.

eration, which justifies the higher probability of archival preservation. Family projects depended on these rights and privileges and, consequently, relied on the capacity to prove their ownership whenever necessary.

It is interesting to note that many of the references to “daily management” records are found in testaments — the documents commonly used for instituting entails and entirely different in terms of documentary conservation⁴⁵. The testament written in 1562 by Brás Salema, a nobleman of the king’s household, *língua* (translator) and *apostentador-mor*⁴⁶ of Hormuz, and merchant, is a good example of this⁴⁷. Along with his last wishes and the institution of a *morgadio*, Brás Salema mentions several pending matters that should be addressed by the testament’s executors using various written records⁴⁸. He explains that his successors could find information on payments due to a servant on a “papel de minhas lembranças” (record of my recollections); he later mentions a “escritura” (deed), held by a ship’s pilot, concerning eighteen barrels of wine that belonged to him and that were stored aboard the vessel; he then refers to “um assinado em forma” (a signed formal record) that he had given to his mother to certify a debt of his to her (recalling that he also owed money to his mother-in-law but had not provided her with a signed receipt); and finally states that he was granted a “provisão d’el Rei” (provision from the king) authorizing him to import bread from Brazil. Once the servant had received his belongings, the wine business completed, the money owed to the mother repaid, and the bread brought from Brazil, the probability of the documents’ preservation decreased considerably.

The same is valid in the third phase of the families’ social course, which extends from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. New entails continued to be instituted and existing ones augmented with the annexation of new assets. The family groups already enjoyed a consolidated social position and wealth, reinforced by prestigious positions connected to the Crown and

⁴⁵ GUYARD, 1999:524.

⁴⁶ Officer in charge of providing for the king and the court while on travel.

⁴⁷ ANTT, AGLS, cx.10, pts. 69 and 70; ANTT, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Feitos Findos, liv. 246, “Inventário geral dos papéis...”, fls. 32v, 44, 48v, 52 75 and 75v.

⁴⁸ “Carta testemunhável com traslado (1563) de testamento (1562)”: ANTT, AGLS, cx. 10, pt. 69.

the military orders and all accompanying benefits, such as *comendas* (commendations). The family project would then concentrate on acquiring new privileges, among which a title of nobility — the most desired and hardest to achieve. For this purpose, the families, on one hand, sought to obtain advantageous marriages (preferably among the titled nobility, which was not always possible) and, on the other, persistently incurred in judicial disputes as an alternative way of accumulating prerogatives and rights.

The path of João Salema, nobleman of the king's household, clearly demonstrates the importance of archival preservation for the incorporation of new privileges⁴⁹. Since at least the late sixteenth century, his endeavors had focused on obtaining a *comenda*, which appears to have been requested of Filipe II for the first time in the 1580s. However, the king demanded three conditions for accepting the request: that João Salema rendered military service in Africa for at least a year; that he join the order of Christ; and that he not receive another *comenda*⁵⁰. Consequently, João Salema served at his own expense in Ceuta between 1591 and 1592, after which he received a service certificate of proof from the city's captain and governor⁵¹. Also in 1592, he requested and received royal permission to join the order of Christ by means of a royal charter⁵². Finally, in the same year, he was issued a certificate proving that he had not received any previous *comenda*⁵³.

With these three documents — the certificate by the captain and governor of Ceuta, the royal charter, and the certificate that he had not received a *comenda* — João Salema once again wrote to the king. In the letter, of which two drafts have survived, he mentions his services, duly proven by the three documents, as well as the services of his older brother, Diogo Salema, who had served the Crown in the *comenda* of Tangier and died in the battle of *Alcácer Quibir*. Finally in 1600, after almost 20 years of efforts, we learn that

⁴⁹ ANTT, AGLS, cx.10, pt. 71; ANTT, AGLS, cx. 16, pt. 129; ANTT, AGLS, cx. 41, pt. 200; ANTT, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Feitos Findos, liv. 246, “Inventário geral dos papéis...”, fls. 1v, 4v, 7v, 9v, 11, 11v, 12, 12v, 13, 13v, 14, 17, 34, 42, 60v, 75, 75v, 90, 101v, 103, and 104.

⁵⁰ “Minuta de petição” (s/d): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 10, pt. 71.

⁵¹ “Carta de certidão” (1592): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 10, pt. 71.

⁵² “Alvará régio” (1592) described in “Inventário geral dos papéis...” (ANTT, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Feitos Findos, liv. 246, fl. 75v).

⁵³ “Carta de certidão” (1592): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 10, pt. 71.

João Salema received the *comenda* of S. Gião de Lobão, in the bishopric of Viseu⁵⁴, supported by duly archived written records and the memory of his family's feats.

The descendants of João Salema represent another striking example of the efforts made by families to incorporate new privileges and of the central role of archives in this process, just before the nineteenth century. In 1790, Fernando Xavier de Miranda Henriques, second count of Sandomil, renounced his title and family representation in favor of his eldest son and successor, Luís Xavier de Miranda Henriques, third count of Sandomil. However, Luís de Miranda Henriques died two years later, raising a serious succession problem. Fernando Xavier, who died in 1794, only had two other male sons, both of whom were unable to succeed in the administration of the entails since one was an illegitimate son and the other a priest. Thus, following the death of the second count, an impressive court battle took place, involving all potential successors of the Miranda Henriques entails, including the Salema, who rushed to gather the necessary evidence for supporting their legal claims⁵⁵.

The Gama Lobo Salema archive reflects this episode not only because it holds several hefty books produced during the dispute⁵⁶ but also because it shows that the archive itself was manipulated and reorganized following the judicial conflict⁵⁷. A significant part of the written evidence presented in court, some of which dated back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries — in other words, that had been produced 300 or 400 years previously — was provided by the archive. Given the volume of documents accumulated over that period, those responsible for presenting evidence in court were forced to search the information inside the archive and to organize it so that its retrieval was as effective as possible, considering the complexity of the litigation.

The Salema family's efforts were rewarded in the early nineteenth century when they were considered legitimate successors of some of the entails administered by the counts of Sandomil. As a consequence, their archive

⁵⁴ “Carta régia de mercê de comenda” (1600): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 10, pt. 71.

⁵⁵ NÓVOA, 2016: 37-39.

⁵⁶ ANTT, AGLS, cx. 20, pts. 142; cx. 21, pts. 143-144; cx. 22, pt. 145.

⁵⁷ NÓVOA, 2016: 71-73.

incorporated about 750 documents originally from the archive of the Miranda Henriques family⁵⁸. This incorporation exponentially increased the volume of the Salema archive and prompted a reorganization that took place in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, one of the moments in which the pertinence of archival preservation was evaluated.

Victory in court and the succession of some entails encouraged José Maria Salema Lobo de Saldanha e Sousa Cabral e Paiva, the then current representative of the family, to request the title of Count of Sandomil from the king⁵⁹. In the draft of the letter addressed to the monarch, José Maria Salema presents several arguments of justification, including services to the Crown of three of his ancestors in the sixteenth century. The letter also contained several documents attesting to these services and reinforcing the legitimacy and authority of the request. In the end, the king did not grant the request to Salema's representative but the use of documentation that had been produced about 300 years earlier clearly shows the importance of archival preservation and the constant renewal of the uses and meanings attributed to archives over time.

This brings us to the fourth and last phase of the families' social course, which took place between the end of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth century. This is the most complex period in terms of wealth management, given the accumulation of numerous entailed and free assets, whose income and obligations had to be administered and controlled. Despite this, the social status, prestige, and wealth accrued over five centuries did not withstand the political and social changes that marked the end of the Ancien Régime. Napoleon's invasions, the exile of the court in Brazil, the liberal revolutions, and the end of the absolute monarchy heralded profound transformations; the nobility's attempts to adapt and respond to them were ultimately unsuccessful.

The most critical threats arrived in 1860 when new legislation that regulated entails and required their registration (the so-called "lei do registo vincular") was introduced; three years later, this led to the extinction of the entail model. The definitive elimination of entails marked a turning point, since it

⁵⁸ NÓVOA, 2016: 37-39.

⁵⁹ "Minuta de carta" (s/d): ANTT, AGLS, cx. 13, pt. 113.

implied the transformation of all the patrimonial assets hitherto bound to the family, determining their equal distribution among all of the heirs⁶⁰. As such, the nobility was stripped of its main mechanism of aggregation, maintenance, and transmission of wealth, endangering their subsistence as a social group.

The archival practices of families mirrored all these transformations and the most notable examples can be found in inventories of archives. As we have seen, the practice of creating inventories dates to at least the fifteenth century, and progressively evolved with the increase and diversification of archived documents⁶¹. However, the most complex and complete inventories were produced in the nineteenth century by specialized professionals working within specific political and legal contexts⁶².

Three illustrative examples can be offered. The first concerns the inventory commissioned by the first count of Belmonte in 1807, immediately before his family left for exile in Brazil⁶³. The second is the inventory created by the expert paleographer Friar João Filipe da Cruz for the aforementioned judicial dispute that followed the extinction of the family of the counts of Sandomil. In 1815, the specialist completed the inventory of the archive that was held by the counts, describing approximately 1,735 documents. However, the total number of records in the archive would have been higher since the documents that João Filipe da Cruz considered “insignificantes” (insignificant) were not described, together with the “inteiramente inúteis” (entirely useless), which were destroyed⁶⁴. Lastly, the third inventory, created between 1854 and 1864, was produced during the reorganization of the Castro family archive to collect the necessary documentation to comply with the entail registration law and, consequently, to protect patrimonial assets that belonged to the family⁶⁵.

These inventories and the remaining practices associated with them represented the last archival efforts to maintain the social cohesion of families. With the extinction of entails and the equal distribution of assets, families and

⁶⁰ COELHO, 1980; ESTEVES, 2008.

⁶¹ ROSA; HEAD, 2015a.

⁶² ROSA; HEAD, 2015b: 19-21.

⁶³ SOUSA, 2015; SOUSA, 2017: 258-277.

⁶⁴ NÓVOA, 2015; NÓVOA, 2016: 56-64.

⁶⁵ MARQUES, 2015; MARQUES, 2013: 41-49.

archives lost the aggregating functions they had had throughout the Ancien Régime. Many documents were dispersed to different heirs. Some document collections survived more or less cohesively and continued to be preserved for their historical and sentimental value. Others fell into oblivion; some eventually disappeared, and a few were ultimately rediscovered and revalued.

In any case, it is worth noting that family archives, as we know them today, are the result of this long journey of preservation, both in terms of document type and quantity and mode of organization, and that it has considerably affected the perception we now have of this type of documentary heritage. The constant transformations that occurred between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries gradually introduced changes in the meanings and physical structure of archives. On the eve of the nineteenth century, profound political and social changes echoed in archives, which were extensively manipulated and reorganized as a response to the upheavals. The conservation premises of previous centuries were then recast into new ones, until archives finally lost the role they had played for so many centuries in the management and survival of family groups.

Conclusions

To summarize the ideas presented in this article we sustain, first of all, that there are multiple benefits in constructing a historiography centered on archives and in paying due attention to the historical course of archives and their producing entities. A social history of archives and archival practices of social groups can flourish at this intersection, and is made manifestly richer by building not on documents produced and preserved by third parties but on records created and received by the groups themselves, who later opted to transform them into archives. It is this choice that gives archives their socio-genetic character, providing social meaning to archival preservation and to the functions performed by archived documents. Therefore, historians never start off with the totality of what was produced, but rather with the result of an equation that combines intent and randomness, the rational choice to conserve or destroy, and the action of time, nature, and the neglect of human-

kind. Consequently, in order to write the history of social groups one must also contemplate the representativeness problems of sources, which directly distort the intelligibility of these groups' past, to greater or lesser degrees.

One way to mitigate these problems is to follow the different stages of these groups' social courses, asking how and why they produced and received documents, what uses and meanings they assigned to them, and in what contexts and how they were transformed into archives. In this fashion, we are able to understand, at least partially, why and how archives have survived to the present day, which, in epistemological terms, enhances the work of historians when, on the shoulders of giants, they transform archives into sources.

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**RESEARCHING THE ARCHIVE, STUDYING FAMILY
HISTORY: A DOCTORAL RESEARCH PROJECT ON
THE *VISCONDES DE VILA NOVA DE CERVEIRA*
E *MARQUESES DE PONTE DE LIMA* ARCHIVE**

ABSTRACT: This article briefly presents and discusses some problems, theoretical questions and methodologies relating to the author's PhD research, currently being developed at the FCSH/NOVA and at the École nationale des chartes. The main objective of this research is to study the archive of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira and marquises of Ponte de Lima, analyzing the social and the institutional history of the families that produced it between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century (when their house became consolidated). The aim is to determine the "sociogenetic" role of the archive for these family groups and for this house. With this in mind, an in-depth analysis of this archive is being carried out firstly as an attempt to reconstruct the informational production of the families that were both at the origin of the house of the viscounts and that later came to integrate it, and secondly to determine how that information was transformed into documents and into archive(s) throughout this period. This approach assesses new ways of archive research as influenced by the *tournant documentaire*, the archival turn, and the documentary history of institutions. Consequently, it tests the recent confluence of theories and methodologies in History and Archival Science/Information Science for the analysis of archives, which have become known collectively as the social history of archives and information, and, in Portugal, as Historical Archivistics.

Keywords: Viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira and marquises of Ponte de Lima; history of nobility; fourteenth to seventeenth centuries; family archives; history of archives

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RESUMO: Neste texto apresentam-se e discutem-se, sucintamente, alguns problemas, questões teóricas e metodologias relacionados com a nossa investigação de doutoramento, que está a ser desenvolvida na FCSH/NOVA e na École nationale des chartes. Esta tem como principal objetivo o estudo do arquivo “Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marqueses de Ponte de Lima”, e a análise da história social e institucional das famílias que o produziram desde o século XIV até à consolidação da Casa titular no século XVII, de modo a determinar o papel *sociogenético* que o arquivo assumiu no percurso destes grupos familiares e desta Casa. Estamos a realizar um estudo aprofundado deste arquivo tendo em vista a reconstrução da produção informacional das famílias que estiveram na origem ou se uniram à Casa dos Viscondes e da transformação dessa informação em documentos e em arquivo(s) ao longo deste período. Desta maneira, procuramos testar novas formas de perspetivar o arquivo influenciadas pelo *tournant documentaire*, pelo *archival turn*, pela história documental das instituições e, conseqüentemente, pela recente confluência de teorias e metodologias da História e da Arquivística no estudo de arquivos, que tem sido designada como história social dos arquivos e da informação ou, em Portugal, como Arquivística Histórica.

Palavras-chave: Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marqueses de Ponte de Lima; história da nobreza; séculos XIV-XVII; arquivos de família; história dos arquivos

“history is not simply given, but rather is first produced through
the medium of the archive”

(Wolfgang Ernst, 2009, cited in FRIEDRICH, 2018: 10)

Introduction

The study of archives has met with renewed interest over the past decades. Several authors have pointed out that archives are not plain storehouses of objective information about the past², nor are they “natural and organic residues of human activity” left intact over the centuries³. Archives have begun to be addressed as the complex social, cultural and political constructions they are, constantly recreated from the time they were produced to their organization by archivists and to their use as “sources” by historians⁴. For these

² FARGE, 1989 and DAVIS, 1987 *apud* FRIEDRICH, 2018: 10.

³ COOK, 2010.

⁴ BLOUIN, 2004: 298.

reasons, they render the past less visible and they pose serious challenges to the construction of historical narratives⁵.

Over the last two decades, Portuguese historians, namely in the field of family archives, have started to address the archive as an object of study in itself, rather than a mere depository of documents. Several studies have emphasized the potential of family archives and their contributions to investigation in History⁶. Nevertheless, the problems of studying these heterogeneous — and sometimes very scattered and (apparently) disorganized — collections are also taken into consideration, especially in the case of family archives produced during the *ancien régime*. The historical archives of today were once organizational archives, where information and documents were managed according to the needs and interests of families or family members who knew how to take advantage of them⁷.

More information about who produced and transformed these organizational archives will be found in the process of reconstructing them. This can be especially helpful in the analysis of family archives of the *ancien régime*. There are some central questions at stake: how can analysis centered on a family archive contribute to a better knowledge of the history of the families that produced and/or used it? How can the study of an “unofficial” archive contribute to reformulating knowledge about the Portuguese nobility and important figures in Portuguese and/or Iberian history during the *ancien régime*?

These two questions lay beneath my research on a family archive, the *Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marqueses de Ponte de Lima* archive (AVNC), one of the largest and richest Portuguese family archives known. At its origin is the Lima family (among other families), an important lineage of Galician descent who held lands, lordships and offices in Minho. Family members started to attend the Portuguese royal court, especially during the rule of the Avis royal dynasty, Leonel de Lima achieving the title of viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira in 1476⁸. The union between the families of Brito

⁵ BLOUIN; ROSENBERG, 2011; MORSEL, 2010; ANHEIM; PONCET, 2004.

⁶ ROSA; NÓVOA, 2018; ROSA, 2009: 36-38.

⁷ ROSA, 2017: 573.

⁸ SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 2015: 25-32, 40-53.

Nogueira and Lima occurred later, in the sixteenth century. After the loss of the male heir to the Lima family, it was Lourenço de Lima e Brito Nogueira (Inês de Lima's son) who ensured the continuity of the title, property and symbolic capital of the Lima. At the dawn of the eighteenth century, the house had fully consolidated as one of the "Great Houses" of the kingdom. The characteristics and trajectories of the Portuguese great houses at the end of the *ancien régime* are well known⁹, but it is fundamental to understand the period before their consolidation. Nothing better than a long-term examination, covering the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, to consider continuities, ruptures, metamorphoses and adaptations within a broad framework. My own case study analyzes each family that contributed to the constitution and the consolidation of the archive and the house of the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira.

Thanks to the current owner of the archive, Luís Vasconcellos e Souza, it has been possible to access it for a case study. The documentation it contains covers the period between the late thirteenth century and the nineteenth century. Considering these families' history from the perspective of Historical Archivistics presupposes a strong institutional history component, and it means to think about such issues as: the moment when the house became of central importance to the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira; the way in which juridical-institutional configurations and the social history of the Brito Nogueira family and other families contributed to its constitution and/or consolidation; the role *morgadios*¹⁰ and other entailed assets played in consolidation; the internal organization of the viscounts' house; and, finally, the limitations to the house from a juridical standpoint.

The main objective of the research being developed is to analyze the archive and the social and institutional history of the families that produced it between the fourteenth century and the seventeenth century when the house became consolidated. The role played by documental information is essential to determine the "sociogenetic"¹¹ role of the archive to these family groups.

⁹ MONTEIRO, 2003.

¹⁰ Portuguese entailed estates have specific characteristics: ROSA, 1995: 19-22, 262-263.

¹¹ Concept as used by J. Morsel (2010: 17).

This requires an in-depth analysis of the archive as an attempt to recreate the informational production by the original families as well as by the families that later joined the house. This also involved transforming that information into documents and archive(s) throughout this period. The analysis of the information and of the archives produced by the main family (and by the branches that came to integrate it) will allow for a better understanding of the organic structure of this social body, its social ascension and the constitution and consolidation of the house. At the end, it should be possible to answer the double question: how did the trajectories of the family groups influence their documentary production and the constitution of their archives (and, ultimately, the Viscounts' archive); and, conversely, how did their archival practices and archives contribute to firming up their status and ultimately that of the viscounts' house.

In the following pages, rather than a set of results from finished research I will present and discuss some of the theoretical questions, problems and the methodologies adopted, as well as some of the results expected.

Theoretical interrogations and historiographical framework

My research is an excellent laboratory in which to test a new way of looking at archives, as influenced by the *tournant documentaire*, the archival turn, the documentary history of institutions and, consequently, the recent confluence of theories and methodologies of History and Archival Science/Information Science in the study of archives — something which has been designated as social history of archives and information, and, in Portugal, Historical Archivistics.

The *tournant documentaire* is a trend that emerged in French medieval historiography in the early 1990s. It began with a set of reflections and investigations about complex archival instruments, such as cartularies, and with an interest in the history of writing habits, moving on to interrogating the status and nature of historical “sources”, as well as the archive and the practices of documentary conservation and organization. This “turn” has led historians to return to “sources” so as to question the processes of their production, selec-

tion, (re)organization and conservation. This constituted an attempt to overcome the *fétichisme du texte*¹² which had made past scholars concentrate on the textual contents of documents, forgetting the materiality of documentation and that written records have suffered numerous metamorphoses due to an accumulation of uses, functions, values and meanings that are different from those that existed when those records were produced. Among the advocates of these perspectives — particularly expressive in Franco-Belgian historiography — are P. Chastang and J. Morsel¹³, with followers in Portugal and Spain, namely in the field of diplomatics.

In Anglo-Saxon historiography, particularly in the USA and Canada, another turn has contributed to the empowerment of archivists and to the renewal of Archival Science as an autonomous discipline¹⁴. Until the second half of the twentieth century archives were seen as static depositories and archivists as “passive guardians”¹⁵ of documentation at the service of historians. The gradual questioning of this view has contributed to some of the historiographical tendencies of positivist tradition being revised, rendering possible a social history of procedures of registration, of classification and conservation of archives, which is crucial to understanding them as spaces of power over the past and over memory¹⁶. Terry Cook points out that when a historian selects his/her subject and sources, this process is just as subjective as the archivist’s organization of the archive — which is always a construction, from the moment he/she defines the classification criteria to the choice of which documents to be preserved or destroyed¹⁷.

Due to these turns, in the last three decades archives and archival instruments such as cartularies and inventories have become an object of study. In sequence, the dialogue between History and Archival Science has also been encouraged. It has contributed, we have seen, to developing new approaches

¹² MORSEL, 2008; MORSEL, 2010: 11-12.

¹³ For example: CHASTANG, 2006; MORSEL, 2008; and MORSEL, 2010.

¹⁴ COOK, 2001; COOK, 2013.

¹⁵ COOK, 2011a: 631.

¹⁶ COOK, 2013: 107-109.

¹⁷ COOK, 2012: 35-36.

and more complex questionnaires in the historiography¹⁸. This is the case with the social and cultural history of archives, mainly in England, Germany, and the USA, where research has been carried out in topics such as knowledge, information, scholarly uses of archives in historiography, and the archivist's profession¹⁹.

Another very interesting perspective with regard to my research is the documental history of institutions: that is, the study of the history of an institution based on the analysis of its documentary production and on the archive created and used by that institution, in order to understand its structure, activity and political strategies. This perspective has been especially meaningful for Italy, France and Belgium, and is found in authors such as P. Cammarosano, I. Lazzarini, F. de Vivo, O. Poncet and J.-F. Nieuws²⁰. In Portugal it has gained some expression only in recent years, mainly through FCSH/NOVA doctoral theses in the field of Historical Archivistics.

It is at the confluence of these and other perspectives that, in Portugal, the so-called Historical Archivistics has developed. The theoretical bases were recently presented by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, who defines it as follows:

[A] perspective that aims to bring these two aspects together: the study of the informational production of institutions and their transformation into documents and into archives, in history, taking into account the production of social information in context, its “documentalisation”, the multiple faces that “archives” could have (using, for example, the concept of “archival practices”); not only with the existing archives, but complementing them with information gathered in other sources; historically characterizing the institutions and preparing organic models for the treatment of the existing documentation; analyzing how they archived and how they used the archived information, giving social importance to it; contextualizing these practices and interpreting their meaning; following the whole course of informa-

¹⁸ ROSA, 2009: 547-586.

¹⁹ As in FRIEDRICH, 2018, CORENS *et al.*, 2018, CORENS *et al.*, 2016, DE VIVO; DONATO, 2015, DE VIVO *et al.*, 2016, HEAD, 2010a.

²⁰ CAMMAROSANO, 1991; LAZZARINI, 2001; DE VIVO, 2013; PONCET, 2005; NIEUS, 2016.

tion and understanding the mutations to which it was subjected throughout time; finally, answering broader historiographical questions²¹.

The theoretical introduction is complemented with a research itinerary to be applied to Early Modern historical sources²². Even though it has come to light only recently, this research field has grown in Portuguese historiography since 2008, mainly thanks to researchers from the Instituto de Estudos Medievais and the Centro de Humanidades (CHAM) at the FCSH/NOVA, already bearing significant results in the study of pre-modern family archives²³. The appreciation and study of these archives has taken place in several European countries especially since the 1990s. In Portugal, they started gaining expression within archival research with the pioneering work of Pedro Peixoto²⁴ followed — within the scope of Information Science — by A.M. da Silva²⁵ and his followers²⁶. They made way for the development of research about family archives in Portugal, namely at the intersection of History and Archival Science/Information Science, already mentioned.

Therefore, my research results from applying Historical Archivalistics perspectives to a case study: the AVNC and the entities that produced and/or conserved it. The information produced by these families/house and its subsequent transformation into documents and archives, throughout the period mentioned, is my object of study. Analysis will be based on the following ideas:

- 1) The archives are complex social, cultural and political constructs, so historians must problematize their “sources” and try to understand the logics behind both documentary production as well as the conserva-

²¹ ROSA, 2017: 550-551.

²² ROSA, 2017: 572-580.

²³ ROSA, 2012a; ROSA; HEAD, 2015a; NÓVOA, 2016; SOUSA, 2017; LEME, 2018; see GAGO and GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS in this volume.

²⁴ PEIXOTO, 1991.

²⁵ SILVA, 1997; SILVA, 2004.

²⁶ Such as RODRIGUES, 2007.

tion or the destruction of documents — which means that the historian must take into account the creation of “new intertextualities”²⁷.

- 2) The documents transformed into archives (“new intertextualities”) are essential to the survival, functioning and solidification of family groups, and for the construction of a shared memory and social identity²⁸.
- 3) The study of documentary production, as well as the information systems/archives of institutions, allows for a deeper understanding of the said institutions, of their structures, their activities and their political and social strategies²⁹.
- 4) The documentation in family archives may reveal lesser known or ignored realities, leading to the questioning of “official” historical narratives, only constructed — or above all based — on archives generated by public and official entities³⁰.

In fact, new perspectives and the renewed interest in family archives can significantly complement and even question the existing models of social and institutional history of the *ancien régime* nobility. The field is especially strong in the Portuguese historiography. Since the pioneering works of J. Mattoso in the 1980s, focusing on the social history of the medieval nobility, researchers have followed a similar social approach and concentrated mainly on case studies for the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries. Thus, knowledge about this social group is much deeper for the period between the eleventh and the early fourteenth centuries than for the later Middle Ages³¹. Besides, among the sources consulted it is very rare to find documentation produced, received and preserved by the noble families themselves and transformed into archives transmitted over several generations. In fact, these family groups are not usually studied taking into account their own informational production and their strategies for document management. Although the research

²⁷ MORSEL, 2010: 20-23.

²⁸ MORSEL, 2010: 23.

²⁹ DE VIVO, 2013; DE VIVO, 2010.

³⁰ ROSA, 2009: 36-37.

³¹ The state of the art is found in: MATTOSO, 2011; SOUSA, 2007: 882-889.

developed over almost last two decades namely in the area of Historical Archivististics³² is changing this, there is still much left to do to characterize the evolution of noble groups in the transition to modernity and to explore the potential of family archives for their study.

For the Early Modern period, knowledge of noble social groups has also progressed significantly, along with the study of other elites of the Portuguese kingdom and empire. These studies concern mainly the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and in the last decades have dealt with issues such as social mobility, dependency networks, the relationship between the elites and the central and the local powers, the economy of mercy, and the relationship with the military orders. Prosopography is often used, which enables identifying the common characteristics in a social or socio-professional group, as well as grasping their internal dynamics and the relationships held with other groups or individuals³³. The studies by Nuno G. Monteiro — using sources also present in family archives — on the Portuguese aristocracy at court, especially towards the end of the ancien régime, have made this group especially well known³⁴.

Yet, in Portuguese historiography, very few monographic studies have been dedicated to the Portuguese noble houses³⁵ that make use of the archives which they produced and preserved. The concept of house adopted in most of these works reflects the definition presented by Nuno G. Monteiro on his studies on the Portuguese aristocratic groups of the seventeenth to the nine-

³² ROSA; NÓVOA, 2018.

³³ Some of the authors working in this field include Nuno G. Monteiro, Mafalda Soares da Cunha, Fernanda Olival, Ângela Barreto Xavier, José Damião Rodrigues, José Subtil, Pedro Cardim and Alexandra Pelúcia, among others. For a detailed state of the art, see: CUNHA; TERRASA LOZANO, 2014; CUNHA; MONTEIRO, 2010a; CUNHA; MONTEIRO; CARDIM, 2005.

³⁴ MONTEIRO, 2003.

³⁵ Examples include the following theses: M.T. Sena about the *Casa de Oeiras e Pombal* (SENA, 1987); Mafalda Soares da Cunha about the *Casa de Bragança* (CUNHA, 1990 and 2000); J.S. Sousa about the *Casa Senhorial do Infante D. Henrique* (SOUSA, 1991); M.M. Lourenço about the *Casa do Infantado* (LOURENÇO, 1995); J.P. Salvado about the *Casa dos almotacês-mores do Reino* (SALVADO, 2009); O. Martins about the duchess of Beja (MARTINS, 2011); C. Moura about the *Casa dos condes e marquês de Vila Real* (MOURA, 2016); and M.B. Dávila about the *Casa de Viseu* (DÁVILA, 2017). Essays worth mentioning are C. Mata about the *Casa de Aveiro* (MATA, 2013), and H. Carvalhal about the *Casa do Infante D. Luís* (CARVALHAL, 2014).

teenth century. This does not simply express the place of residence, it implies possession of a certain amount of wealth (namely landed property), the high social status of its members (important offices, titles or any other exclusive rights), the administration of *morgadios*, the existence of a shared identity. Whoever was born of, or depended on, the house was therefore obliged to ensure that this material and symbolic capital was preserved and continued³⁶. According to the same author, a new reproductive model, based on the idea of “house”, began to spread among most of the main lineages, especially from the sixteenth century onwards, becoming predominant during the following centuries in the *ancien régime*³⁷. In what ways did the institutional structure of noble families change at the end of the fifteenth century, leading to the adoption of this new model of organizing the family? What role did archives play in this reconfiguration? In terms of the internal organization and the juridical framework, what we call a “house” in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century was the same thing as a house in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Was it the same for the high aristocracy and the local elites? What role did the archives play in house formation and consolidation?

In fact, the profile, nature and social behavior of families conditioned the type of documentation that was produced and preserved. Consequently, their archives provide clues as to how families self-regulated and saw themselves. Monographic, long-term studies based on family archives and on the new perspectives mentioned above, besides contributing to social history can help clarify legal and institutional components of families/houses and the social history of their archives between the medieval period and the end of the *ancien régime*; some gaps in the Portuguese historiography notwithstanding³⁸. We should bear in mind that their context is that of a corporative society, erected on the basis of law and where various jurisdictions coexisted³⁹. This said, a lot remains to be uncovered about families as formal institutions

³⁶ MONTEIRO, 2003: 83-101; MONTEIRO, 2011: 137.

³⁷ MONTEIRO, 2001: 28, 33-35.

³⁸ NÓVOA; ROSA, 2018: 82.

³⁹ HESPANHA, 2015: 5-7 and 24-28.

having their own norms and jurisdictions, as recognized by their members and by other institutions⁴⁰ (as was the case of the *morgadios*⁴¹).

Work has recently been done on some of the families represented in the AVNC, namely from the twelfth to the fifteenth century⁴², and essays beginning to explore their documentary production and the inventories for the AVNC⁴³, but the abovementioned still requires research. Based on the reconstructed viscounts' archive, we can understand the reconfiguring of the Lima and Brito Nogueira families, before and after their union, and how the concentration of a considerable number of *morgadios* and the control over information and documents was essential to this process.

An approach to the archive of the *Viscondes de Vila Nova de Cerveira e Marqueses de Ponte de Lima*: some problems and methodologies

As mentioned, the long-term analysis that is being undertaken challenges the traditional barriers between the medieval and the early modern periods and this methodological option will contribute to a better understanding of the evolution of the archive(s) and of the house. It would not be possible to analyze all the documents produced until the nineteenth century in the remit of a single PhD research. For this reason, the seventeenth century has been set as the *terminus ad quem*, following the hypothesis that the viscounty of Diogo de Lima — who died around 1685⁴⁴ — was a pivotal moment in the history of the house after internal divisions and inheritance problems that took place in the context of the *Restauração* (in 1640).

⁴⁰ NÓVOA; ROSA, 2018: 82.

⁴¹ About the “lei do morgadio” (the *morgadio* law), see: ROSA, 1995: 249-259.

⁴² Such as SOTTOMAYOR-PIZARRO, 2015; SILVA, 2012: 85-125; FARELO, 2012a: 185-204; FARELO, 2008: Appendix 1; FARELO, 2007: 145-168; GOMES, 1995: 135-136.

⁴³ FARELO, 2012a; ROSA, 2012c; and n. 63, below.

⁴⁴ GAYO, 1989: 364, FREIRE, 1930: 92.

The approach to this matter is being developed along four major phases, whose conception has been partly inspired by M.L. Rosa⁴⁵ and two PhD theses in the field, already completed⁴⁶. These phases can be described as follows.

Reconstructing the recent history of the archive

The family archive as it presents itself in our day is now under examination. For centuries an organizational archive, it has now been turned into a historical one. It is, therefore, fundamental to realize how the “links” — to a pre-modern world — “were disconnected”, to use the words of M.L. Rosa⁴⁷. My point of departure are the most recent developments: it is necessary to reconstitute the custodial history from the moment of the archive’s deactivation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century⁴⁸ to the present day. The archive (or part of it) remained in the family home in Lisbon, the Palácio da Rosa, until around 1970, when the building was sold to city authorities. The documents disappeared at that time, but were “recovered” in the late 1990s by the current owner. He first acquired a batch of documents at an auction, finding out that a second set about to be offered for sale also belonged in the same archive. This he also bought⁴⁹. The “recovered” archive was then deposited in the National Archive (Torre do Tombo) and remained there between 2000 and 2011.

Given the archive’s fragmented state and its complex custodial history, it should be determined what is currently in existence and what relationship with the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira’s organizational archive there is. It is fundamental to identify what documents were not recovered by the family

⁴⁵ ROSA, 2017.

⁴⁶ SOUSA, 2017; NÓVOA, 2016.

⁴⁷ ROSA, 2017: 574.

⁴⁸ The most recent dated document in the archive is from 1877, the year the last male descendant of the marquises of Ponte de Lima and viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira, whose name was José Maria Xavier de Lima Vasconcelos e Brito Nogueira Teles da Silva, died (FREIRE, 1927:112).

⁴⁹ Information provided by the owner of the AVNC in an interview held on 29th March 2017.

and deposited in the national archive (ANTT), namely those probably held in the family palace at Ponte de Lima⁵⁰ when it was sold in 1876⁵¹. Part of them were lost to destruction or robbery⁵², probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but we do not know whether the remaining documents were kept in that palace or transferred to Lisbon (which seems highly unlikely) before the palace was sold. Finding out what happened to those papers thus needs to be established. Studying these vicissitudes, losses, reconstitutions, and trying to map out documents that were scattered around other archival fonds and libraries is crucial to understanding what family archive we have at hand, as well as to validating any conclusions.

So as to reconstitute the trajectories followed by the documentation since the nineteenth century, two types of sources are being used: written documents from the AVNC and other archives, plus oral sources. Regarding the written documents, the inventories will be employed as a means of comparing which documentation has remained and which has disappeared. All documentation associated with the sale of the estate and the auction of part of the archive will also be collected. As for the oral sources, I will be interviewing the current owner, other family members, and possibly other actors in the custodial history. About private archives, Claude-Isabelle BreLOT refers to the “usefulness” of individual and family memories to retrieve information that was not recorded in written form and which is often part of the family’s oral tradition. However, she alerts to the fact that memories can be fragile and biased⁵³. So it will be important to question and cross-reference all these sources in order to detect inconsistencies and to validate information.

To better understand the archive as it currently stands, it is essential to ponder about the organization and the classification proposed at the Torre

⁵⁰ Some of the AVNC documents refer to the existence of an archive in the family palace in Ponte de Lima (VNC, cx. 14, nr. 9).

⁵¹ PAIVA, 2011: 580.

⁵² Information from a letter from João Jerónimo do Couto de Castro e Sousa to Maria Joana Monte Forjaz, viscountess of Vila Nova de Souto del Rei, on 29th November 1827 (see GAGO, 2015: 85).

⁵³ BRELOT, 2006: 83-87.

do Tombo⁵⁴: what image do the options taken give of the archive and of the family(ies) organization? What problems do they raise for its study? As pointed out about the archival turn, the act of organizing and representing documentation/information in an archive is an intentional and complex process of mediation⁵⁵. So, the archivist's classification is always subjective and a construction. In the AVNC's case, a hybrid classification exists, combining sections assigned by the archivist and sections based on an "original" order given by three archival tools present in the archive. But how can one speak of an "original" order when the archivist is in fact mixing categories provided by instruments with different natures and which were produced in different contexts?⁵⁶ The result is a mixture of organic(?), organic-geographical, functional, and thematic sections. From my point of view, this organization does not allow us to understand that, in fact, we are in the presence of "an archive of archives"⁵⁷, containing documentation of other families that joined, at different moments, with their own documents or archives, the Lima family and, after that, the Lima Brito Nogueira family. In-depth research about the organization(s) that produced and preserved the archive(s) is lacking, and so is research on the relationship they established with documents and archive(s).

Grasping the "organization" producing the archive

The archive reflects the vicissitudes of the family groups that created it. As it has been said, the archive is not the sum total of the historical existence

⁵⁴ Available online: <http://digitalq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343878> (accessed 26th July 2018).

⁵⁵ ROSA, 2009: 14-17.

⁵⁶ The instruments used are identified in the AVNC's archival description (see "system of arrangement") available online at <http://digitalq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4343878> (accessed 26th July 2018).

⁵⁷ As Lafuente Úrien (2000: 17) stresses, family archives are made of archives inside archives, normally as a result (but not only) of marriage unions between social groups and the integration of the documentation or the archive of one of them into the other's.

of these groups but a constantly changing, “living organism”⁵⁸. It is essential to study the “organization” that produced it — the members of the families, the lineages, the house — and the dynamics dictating the creation, deletion, dispersal and keeping of the information and the documentation in question, as a succession of generations, marital alliances, social mobility, economic foundations (with the *morgadio* and, most of the times, male primogeniture shaping heritage transmission), and cultural and symbolic values.

My focus is on the individual trajectories and actions of information-producing members, with emphasis being given to the lineage/family/house leaders and/or heirs that stood out. Archival practices respond to particular needs and the families’ circumstances as regards social status, making the assessment of individual paths important. When combined with the analysis of the documentary production, the archival practices and the uses of archives, this methodology can help characterize the nature of the “organization” to which these people belonged and its evolution. It can also help to use some concepts (such as family, lineage and house) more accurately in this context, and to define when a family “ends” and another “begins”, especially in cases of female succession (something that will be very important for the authority records, mentioned further ahead).

Biographical information sheets are being prepared for each producer with genealogical, sociological and patrimonial data, as well as with information about their *morgadios* and chapels, hoping, as research progresses, to understand the importance of these “institutions” in the production, “documentalization” and archiving of information. These biographical sheets will be converted into authority records on a database (the AtoM, referred below) to be associated to each one of the documents, as well as with other authority records taking into account family (or other) relations between producers. The objective is to identify as many producers as possible, the family they belonged to and their documentary production. Then, I will focus on the main producers and the families responsible for developing and using the viscounts’ archive. Some have been identified already: Limas; Nogueiras; Britos

⁵⁸ BOURQUIN, 2010: 211.

Nogueira; Limas Brito Nogueira; and Vasconcelos e Meneses, the counts of Penela, and their descendants.

At this stage, my aim is not to put forward a “new history” of these families as based on this archive alone. I intend to use documentation from the AVNC (in documents that still exist and coming from references found in inventories) and from other archives and libraries (that were once part of the family archive), adding to the information found in specialized bibliography on some of the families represented in the AVNC (as mentioned above), including edited sources with historical and genealogical information. Not being a priority, research into the royal chancellery and other institutions’ archives is still a possibility, in order to sharpen biographical information and the documentary production and conservation numbers – for example, in comparing how many documents emitted from the royal chancellery were preserved in the family archive and the chancellery itself.

Identifying the archives within the archive and preparing archival reclassification

A large part of the documentation in the AVNC having been analyzed and its producers identified, it will be possible to pinpoint the archives within the archive — the various sub-information subsystems/sub-fonds — and to understand, based on the information compiled in the previous stage, the reasons leading them to become part of this information system/archive between the fourteenth and the nineteenth century. This step is fundamental to reorganizing the AVNC’s documents and to improve the description of some that were produced before the seventeenth century which will be analyzed in my thesis. Because the *Torre do Tombo* classification of the AVNC is inconsistent, I intend to propose reclassification based upon the “organicity” of producers — the families/the house — and on an in-depth historical study. An organic and functional classification scheme will be elaborated in view of restoring the information to the context where it was originally produced, associating it with the generation and/or the individual(s) that produced/received them or

with the house. In this context, the model proposed by A.M. da Silva⁵⁹ for the classification of family archives will be taken into account. However, a critical stance is important and will be ensured through analyzing the archive's documentation so as to determine which classification scheme best suits the organic of the producers and users of the archive.

The new classification and description will be made available through AtoM, an open-source software for multi-level description of definitive archives, in accordance with the International Council on Archives standards. The archival reorganization and the filling in of the authority records will be carried out systematically by employing the information (previously compiled) on the history of the family and its members. This will enable a new way of accessing the AVNC's information in support of the analysis to be offered in the next phase of the investigation, while it may also contribute to future research.

The social history of the archive and its “sociogenetic” role

We have to consider at what point in the social trajectory of these families it was necessary to create archives: whether after the foundation of the first *morgadios* for the Nogueira and Brito; in the case of Lima, if that happened after they established themselves definitively in Portugal and at the Portuguese royal court, securing important possessions, rents and jurisdictional rights in the Minho region. How did the use of their archives help their social ascension? Can we speak of a “house” of Lima or the viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira, and of a “house” of Brito Nogueira before their union? How did their union contribute reconfiguring their familial organization? How did the Lima Brito Nogueira family use the information and the documents coming from the Limas, Britos Nogueira and, later, from the Vasconcelos e Meneses? How did such usages contribute to defend and increase the material and symbolic capital of the house?

It is time to understand the social history of information and of the archive as part of the history of the family(ies): how the information and the archive

⁵⁹ SILVA, 1997; SILVA, 2004.

were used and managed by the organizations already identified and what such uses reveal about the nature and the workings of the said organizations.

First of all, an analysis of the information production, of “documentalization” and of the uses, functions and meanings attributed to documents by the generations/families/lineages/house will be done. The sources for this study will be essentially the documents of the AVNC. However, documents that may have belonged to this/these archive(s), but which disappeared or otherwise were dispersed will be brought together with the respective producers. They are known because they are described in the inventories or in other instruments present in the AVNC or because they were found in other archival fonds or libraries⁶⁰. On the other hand, as far as information production is concerned, it should be borne in mind that not all of it is in written form. Therefore it may be relevant to the process of reconstructing these families’ information systems to collect and treat images, as well as symbolic, memorialist and ceremonial information. This may be found, for example, inscribed in blazons and in buildings⁶¹.

We should bear in mind that two aspects are associated with the construction and preservation of archives, as well as their successive (re)organizations and the production of instruments of description and retrieval of information. The first is the administration and management of noble households and heritage, relating to the need to prove ownership, rights and privileges; which might be called “management uses”. The second is the constitution, consolidation and survival of a shared memory and social identity — leading to the conception of the archive as “cultural patrimony”⁶². Within this arrangement, it is necessary to determine the reasons that activated a given archival organization and what purposes it fulfilled. What implications did it bring to the internal structure of the archive? Were documents destroyed? The analysis of some instruments of description, retrieval and mediation, such as inventories, can help understand what criteria were followed, how the organization

⁶⁰ In this context, it is necessary to analyze the documentation contained, for example, in the Arquivo Distrital de Braga or in the Arquivo Municipal de Ponte de Lima which concerns the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira.

⁶¹ ROSA, 2017: 573.

⁶² KETELAAR, 2007.

was structured, which documents were described or not, who ordered (and who made) the descriptions, and how long these instruments were in use for until they were replaced by new ones. For this reason, particular attention will be paid to analyzing the AVNC's inventories, which have already started being studied⁶³, as well as other archival tools or archival marks that testify to different uses and archival organizations over time. Although the focus will be on the period between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, I believe that in this case extending these limits in some respects, for example to include inventories produced after the eighteenth century, will be essential to better understanding how the subsequent archival metamorphoses affected the documentation produced and preserved before the end of the seventeenth century.

The archives are generally the result of a complex process of construction with a set of individual and family interests and/or aspirations behind it. Besides, we must also take into account the role played by incidents as well as inertia to explain the disappearance of documents and the transformation of archives. It is equally important to understand influences external to the families, like the impact of central power and legislation, in the transformation of the family archive.

Finally, the research will offer reflections about the “sociogenetic” role — using the concept of J. Morsel⁶⁴ — of the archives, in how they might have been essential to the survival, functioning, and solidification of the lineages and of the house, as well as for the construction of memory and their familiar and social identity.

A few hypotheses can be explored. For example, important ruptures and continuities occurred in second half of the sixteenth century. With the extinction of the Lima male line, the material and symbolic capital of the family, including the name and title of viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira, continued on through the son of Inês de Lima with Luís de Brito Nogueira. Through this marriage, a considerable number of *morgadios*, concentrated under the Brito

⁶³ See ROSA, 2012c: 580-596; and the results of project INVENT.ARQ in ROSA; HEAD, 2015a: 108-109, 112-113, 118-119, 122-125 and 148-149, as well as on the database available online at: <http://www.inventarq.fcsh.unl.pt>.

⁶⁴ MORSEL, 2010: 17.

and Nogueira lineages, came under this material and symbolic capital: the *morgadio* of Santo Estêvão in Beja, the *morgadio*/chapel of Santa Ana in the church of São Lourenço in Lisbon, as well as other entailed assets established by the paternal ancestors of Violante Nogueira (who married João Afonso de Brito)⁶⁵. The corresponding documents, dating from before the coming of age of Lourenço Brito Nogueira (Luís de Brito Nogueira's father), were listed with fairly complete summaries in the so-called "Catálogo do Cartório da Casa"⁶⁶. Meant as an inventory or a list of documents that ought to be delivered to him, it was probably prepared once his mother, Isabel da Costa, ceased to be his tutor around 1542⁶⁷. This archival work was reused for a new inventory that was prepared after the union with the Lima family, and that marked the beginning of a new information system, that of the Limas Brito Nogueira, viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira, since it contained the summaries of documents related to the *morgadio* of Gaião, which had been integrated into the Lima heritage through marriage of João de Lima with Catarina de Ataíde⁶⁸. This was the "Tombo em que se contém todas as propriedades, rendas, foros, privilégios, bulas e alvarás dos morgados de Santa Ana e de São Lourenço de Lisboa, Gaião e Santo Estêvão de Beja", probably elaborated sometime between the 1570s and 1646⁶⁹. The reorganization of the archives took place precisely in times of internal reorganization, namely to harness the succession and the properties of the family⁷⁰. The integration of new properties and the gradual complexity of different systems of ownership brought new challenges to its administrators. There were different obligations: to control payment of the respective fees and to fulfill the duties established in the foundational documents of each *morgadio* and chapel (like some kind of "eternal law" that had to be fulfilled⁷¹), and we have to consider that their possessions had different

⁶⁵ FARELO, 2012a: 186-192; SILVA, 2012: 112.

⁶⁶ VNC, cx. 7, nr. 1.

⁶⁷ See ROSA, 2012c: 591-593, and ROSA, 2015a: 108-109.

⁶⁸ FREIRE, 1930: 86-87; ROSA, 1995: 90.

⁶⁹ It was between the Inês de Lima and Luís de Brito Nogueira's marriage and the moment the *morgadio* of Santo Estêvão in Beja left the house's patrimony, through Madalena de Bourbon's dowry, in 1646. See ROSA, 2012c: 593, and ROSA, 2015b: 112.

⁷⁰ ROSA, 2012c: 596.

⁷¹ ROSA, 2012d: 572-586.

natures⁷². There was the entailed property already referred to (*morgadios* and chapels), free assets, Crown and Military Order's properties, Crown offices and rents, a title, and jurisdictional rights. Each was administered according to specific rules for its usufruct and transmission. It was essential to know these possessions (and the associated documents) well enough to better manage them. New uses and functions were attributed to these documents, transforming them into instruments of power⁷³, to serve the administration of the house, to prove rights and privileges, to reveal norms of conduct, but also to manipulate testamentary dispositions and the transmission of patrimony. More than mirroring the archive, inventories served as instruments of control over information⁷⁴. It is interesting to point out an error in this last inventory, detected by M. L. Rosa⁷⁵, where properties that were not bound in entail were associated to the *morgadio* of Gaião, like a property in Aveiras de Fundo⁷⁶ — which, in fact, belonged to the Crown⁷⁷. These undue associations were hardly by mistake.

This need to inventory and the changing ways in how information was reused and represented indicate changes in the organization of the viscount's information system, as brought about by the integration of the patrimony and the symbolic capital of the Britos Nogueira. Besides an important material basis for the family survival, patrimonial integration also represented changes in the internal organization of the family group. We know that until the fifteenth century the Portuguese nobility depended on royal favor to survive. This was due to material insufficiency, since the family property was divided among all the heirs — a depletion of patrimony that the *morgadio* tried to solve as an institution⁷⁸. The Lima family, and then the Lima Brito Nogueira family, came to integrate a considerable number of *morgadios* and chapels, funded by different families, that became important not only as material base

⁷² MONTEIRO, 2001: 25-26.

⁷³ HEAD, 2007: 318.

⁷⁴ ROSA; HEAD, 2015b: 12.

⁷⁵ ROSA, 2012c: 595-596.

⁷⁶ VNC, nr. 2, fol. 231.

⁷⁷ MORENO, 1973: 812-813.

⁷⁸ CALDÉRON MEDINA *et al.*, 2014: 179; SOUSA, 2007: 890-891.

of the house, but also to ensure that a certain code of conduct was followed and the ancestors' memory perpetuated. It is necessary to analyze the foundational documents, how they were used and how the will of the institutors was fulfilled in practice and transmitted across the Lima Brito Nogueira family: what role the administrator played, which internal management structures were adopted (composed of members of the family or not) and how relations with the external structures were. In terms of symbolic capital, the relationship with the "pantheon-church" of the Nogueiras (the collegiate church of São Lourenço in Lisbon)⁷⁹ should be taken into account. The Palácio da Rosa was built next to it, a symbolic place that came to be associated to the viscounts' house until the end of the ancien régime, even after the union with other families of importance.

It is also essential to take into account the strategy of succession adopted and how the archive was used in the reconfiguration of these families. After the death of the fifth viscount (Inês de Lima's father) at the battle of Alcácer Quibir, the representation of the lineage fell on a woman. This time, however, her lineage did not dissolve into her husband's, and the identifying surname of the family (Lima) was kept next to the surname Brito Nogueira, with the son ensuring the continuity of the material and symbolic capital of both of the families. In this context we see some of the characteristics associated with the familial organization model that we call "house", as defined by N.G. Monteiro and others⁸⁰. Although there was a growing tendency to honor male primogeniture, there were also other strategies to ensure the reproduction of the material and symbolic capital of these families and to recreate their identities.

It is not possible in this article to detail all the hypotheses to be explored, but we should note that there were also important reconfigurations of the house and of the archive to consider from the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The troubled *Restauração* period (1640) was one of them, with a new succession problem looming over the house after the death of Lourenço de Lima Brito Nogueira's eldest son, with Lourenço's second son supporting the Spanish monarch against João IV of Portugal. The continuity

⁷⁹ SILVA, 2012: 85-116; ROSA, 2012c: 578.

⁸⁰ MONTEIRO: 2003: 83-101; MONTEIRO, 2011; SOUSA, 2013b: 49-54.

of the house was ensured by one of the youngest children, Diogo de Lima, who left a foreseeable ecclesiastical career⁸¹. This was a difficult moment in the history of the house, and several agreements were made between brothers, in particular regarding sharing the inheritance⁸². The archive played an important part in attempting to ensure the legitimacy of the younger son in succeeding to the household assets. Only after a period of consolidation and stabilization, with Diogo de Lima and João Fernandes de Lima, and after the information system of the counts of Penela and their descendants was integrated, did a new archival inventory (and a historical-genealogical narrative that accompanies it) start being elaborated at the end of the seventeenth century by Tomás de Lima⁸³. It shows the need to organize the archive, to register the house memory and (probably) to legitimize succession through a female member of the house, Maria de Lima.

Conclusion

To conclude, a theoretical and a methodological stance that privileges the dialogue between History and Archival Science/Information Science, informs a research that takes the archive as a starting point rather than the point of arrival: its aim being to reconstruct how the information was produced and the processes of “documentalization”, conservation and documentary use were carried out by the families/house represented in the AVNC. In turn, this will enhance knowledge about the institutional nature of the families/house and the evolution/transformation of their models and practices throughout the period under analysis. In so doing, other dimensions different to those already known may be revealed, namely on the activity of these families as institutions, considering their juridical-institutional configurations — often left in the dark in the archives of the Crown and Church. As explored in some of the hypothesis and ideas, I hope to grasp how this social body regulated,

⁸¹ FREIRE, 1930: 91-92.

⁸² VNC, cx. 22, nr. 1.

⁸³ ROSA, 2012c: 586-587.

organized, identified, reproduced and sustained itself, and how documentary management influenced its structuring⁸⁴.

⁸⁴ ROSA, 2009: 36.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ALMADA E LENCASTRE BASTOS ARCHIVE FOR THE STUDY OF PORTUGUESE MEDIEVAL HISTORY

ABSTRACT: The Almada e Lencastre Bastos archive, deposited in the National Library of Portugal since 1974, contains thousands of documents produced, received, and preserved by a few local, middle-rank, late medieval and modern elite families, between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. The study of this archive allows us to trace their social paths and to understand their attitudes towards the creation and management of family archives. It also intends to reflect on how these families were themselves projected in their archives and on the relevance and the contributions that the study of similar archives can offer to historiography dedicated to late medieval and modern Portuguese elites.

Keywords: archives; families; elites; Porto

RESUMO: O Arquivo Almada e Lencastre Bastos, que se encontra depositado na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal desde 1974, é composto por milhares documentos produzidos, recebidos e preservados por algumas famílias das elites tardo-medievais e modernas entre os séculos XIV e XX. O estudo deste arquivo permite-nos, por um lado, traçar os seus percursos sociais e, por outro, tentar compreender as suas atitudes face à constituição e gestão dos arquivos familiares. Pretende-se ainda refletir sobre como estas famílias se projectam nos seus arquivos e no interesse e contributo que o estudo deste tipo de arquivos pode trazer para a escrita da história das elites tardo medieval e modernas portuguesas.

Palavras-chave: arquivos; famílias; elites; Porto

Introduction

Among the thousands of documents contained in the Almada e Lencastre Bastos archive (ALB), produced and preserved by several family groups

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between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries and lately deposited in the National Library of Portugal, we chose to focus on those belonging to a group of late medieval families. This allowed me, on one hand, to trace their social pathways and, on the other, to try to understand their attitudes regarding the establishment and operation of family archives, the meanings and uses assigned to their role within the house(s), and the construction of their memory and identity. My final goal is to reflect on the relevance and contributions that the study of this type of archives can provide for the history of Portuguese pre-modern elites.

The Almada e Lencastre Bastos archive — custodial history

The Almada e Lencastre Bastos archive, deposited in the National Library of Portugal since 1974, spans the period between the fourteenth and the twentieth centuries. It is named after its last owner, João de Almada e Lencastre Bastos, who sold it to the Portuguese state. This fonds includes the registries of two nineteenth-century noble houses: the viscounts of Vila Nova de Souto d'el Rei, a title first held by Francisco de Almada e Mendonça² and later passed on to his nephew, Antonio José de Almada e Melo, and his descendants, until the fourth viscount³; and the renewed second title of count of Feira⁴. In 1827, Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho⁵, who had received the title of count of Feira in 1820⁶, passed on to his sister, Maria Joana da Câmara Forjaz Coutinho, the entirety of the family estate and archive. The latter was

² Cousin of Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, marquis of Pombal. SILVA, 1917: 146-152; PINTO, 2012: 309.

³ ZÚQUETE, 1989: 516-517.

⁴ Miguel Pereira Forjaz Coutinho was appointed count of Feira on 13th May 1820 by João VI. PINTO, 2012: 310.

⁵ FUENTE, 2011.

⁶ The first representation of the title of count of Feira ended with the death, in 1700, of Fernando Forjaz Pereira Pimentel de Meneses e Silva, with no descendants. His relatives eventually tried to recover the title, which led to a long process that included, among other events, the forging of several documents that attempted to justify the claim to the title. PINTO, 2012: 310-311; CONCEIÇÃO, 1720.

collected in the registry of Souto del Rei, due to the lady's marriage with the third viscount, João José Francisco de Almada Velho e Lencastre.

The ALB remained with the Almada e Lencastre family until 1957, when Luís Silveira, the Supervisor of Portuguese Libraries and Archives, learned that João Almada de Lencastre Bastos intended to sell his family archive⁷. By order of the Director of Education and Fine Arts, a commission was created to appraise and to purchase the collection. Due to the owner's illness and subsequent death, the evaluation process was interrupted in September 1958⁸ and resumed some months later, by request of the widow. With the death of João Almada e Lencastre Bastos, his cousin, Maria José de Almada e Lencastre Sousa Teles, inherited a part of the archive.

In July 1959, the commission presented the Directorate of Libraries and Archives with a recommendation for the acquisition of the ALB, and reported that it was disorganized and split over three locations: Avenida de Roma⁹, Encarnação¹⁰, and the Palacete de Santo Amaro¹¹. Two years later, Maria José de Almada e Lencastre de Sousa Teles asked the Torre do Tombo for permission to deposit her share of the documentation, explaining that she was frequently away from Lisbon and feared for its preservation.

I am not aware of any further developments until 1974. In January that year, the National Library was authorized to purchase the ALB and to initiate preparatory work for the archive's reception¹². The documents belonging to Maria José de Almada Teles were transferred from the Torre do Tombo to the National Library, along with those in the other owners' homes¹³.

⁷ ANTT, Instituto Superior das Bibliotecas e Arquivos, cx. 329, proc. 274.

⁸ ANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, nr 331, cx. 146, proc. 91 — "Aquisição do Arquivo Lencastre Bastos".

⁹ The home of João de Almada e Lencastre Bastos. From now on, this series, named "Avenida de Roma", will be referred to as "Roma".

¹⁰ Recolhimento da Encarnação, the home of Maria José de Almada e Lencastre de Sousa Teles, João de Almada e Lencastre Bastos' cousin. This series will be referred to as "ANTT".

¹¹ The home of Isabel Teresa de Jesus e Melo, João de Almada e Lencastre Bastos' aunt. From now on, this series, named "Encarnação", will be referred to as "Enc.".

¹² Verification of bundles, packaging, and transportation.

¹³ BNP, "Processo compra Almada Lencastre Basto", doc. n. n.. The part belonging to Isabel Teresa de Jesus, deceased in 1970, was collected from the Recolhimento da Encarnação and not from Santo Amaro. I believe that after the death of Isabel Teresa de Jesus, who left no direct descendants, the documents were inherited by her niece Maria José de

The archive was recently organized by librarians at the National Library, so as to allow researchers to access it. However, due to resource scarcity¹⁴, the only tasks completed were unpacking the bundles, putting them in new file folders (individually, only in boxes with the ANTT references) and boxes, and assigning new references to bundles that are summarily described in the consignment notes.

The ALB's finding aids include the (very generic) listing of bundles belonging to Maria José de Almada Teles, Isabel de Melo¹⁵, and João Almada e Lencastre Bastos; a preliminary catalogue, prepared and published by Pedro Pinto¹⁶, which only covered the first six boxes of the ANTT series and which I completed during 2016, in the context of an ongoing doctoral thesis; and, finally, four mid-nineteenth century inventories — two of which were written by the fourth viscount of Vila Nova de Souto del Rei, António José de Almada Melo Velho de Lencastre, between 1835¹⁷ and 1836¹⁸, and two others (“original”¹⁹ and reformed²⁰), dated from around 1825, belonging to the count of Feira registry²¹. When analyzing the documents it is plain that these two registries, even though they were kept by the same family since 1827, used different reference numbers and different storage systems. The production of inventories was a result of the organization and reorganization of numerous noble family registries, especially since the mid-eighteenth century and

Almada e Lencastre Teles, who died in 1992 and possibly sold it together with her own share. This hypothesis needs confirmation.

¹⁴ MARTINS; SILVA; FERREIRA, 2012: 526. The authors mention the lack of investment in the documental description of family archives.

¹⁵ ANTT, Arquivo do Arquivo, nr 331, cx. 146, proc. 91 — “Aquisição do Arquivo Lencastre Bastos”.

¹⁶ PINTO, 2012: 307-341.

¹⁷ BNP, ALB, Roma, pac. 116, cx. 116, liv. 192.

¹⁸ BNP, ALB, Enc., pac. 40, cx. 40, liv. 21.

¹⁹ BNP, ALB, Enc., pac. 27, cx. 27I, liv. h (vol. 1) and liv. b (vol. 2), the third volume was not found.

²⁰ BNP, ALB, Roma, pac. 111, cx. 111A, nr 178, “Índice antigo da casa dos Condes da Feira”, c. 1822.

²¹ The inventories of 1835 and 1836, as well as the one relating to the 1821 Freiriz and Penegate *morgadio*, were studied and presented at the exhibition of the “Rethinking the archive the in pre-modern Europe: family archives and their inventories from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century” research project (ref. EXPL/EPH-HIS/0178/2013), whose catalogue was published in 2015. GAGO, 2015: 83-88, 150, 162-163.

until the late nineteenth century. As Abel Rodrigues and Armando Malheiro da Silva²² stated, this was largely due to the process of restructuring noble families which had begun in the middle of the sixteenth century with the creation of entailed property and in the social and political context brought by the Portuguese *Restauração*²³. This reorganization of registries reached its final stage with the profound political, economic, and social changes experienced by the holding families after the abolition of the entails; the documents became useless, neglected, and many were sold²⁴.

The importance of the ALB for the study of Portuguese medieval history

As part of doctoral research work, I conducted a documental survey up until the year 1600, which allowed me to identify several producer/accumulator families, their elements and relationships, to establish family trees, and to determine their geographical implementation. The information was partly collected in the inventory, on the simple document level, and later completed with the first bibliographical survey. At this stage, one of the initial tasks was to determine and record the name of each family and then proceed to the selection and distribution of documents in the ALB pertaining to these families and individuals. As such, and up until 1600, we identified the following producer/accumulator families:

²² Among others, the house of Bragança, the counts of Povolide, the house of Melo, and the viscounts of Vila Nova de Cerveira. RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012: 614-617; ROSA, 2009: 41-42; ROSA, 2016: 89-132.

²³ RODRIGUES; SILVA, 2012: 614. In 1580-1581, Felipe II of Spain, claiming the throne after the death of the Portuguese king Sebastião in 1578 at the Alcácer Quibir battle, conquered Portugal and acquired its empire. In December 1640 a palace coup in support of the duke of Bragança and his acclamation as king João IV restored the Portuguese monarchy, ending 60 years of rule by the Spanish kings. From 1641 to 1668 the two nations were at war, with Spain seeking to isolate Portugal militarily and diplomatically and Portugal hoping to find the resources to maintain its independence through political alliances and colonial income.

²⁴ The promulgation of the 19th May 1863 law gave the final blow on the entail system, by extinguishing the entails, considered as promoters of social inequality and an obstacle to the economic development of the country. ESTEVES, 2008: 60-97.

Family	Entail and foundation date	Location
Ferraz Barreto	Isabel Ferraz, <i>morgadio</i> , c. 1532; Catarina Ferraz, chapel, 1573	Freiriz, Porto
Magalhães	Manuel de Magalhães, <i>morgadio</i> , 1560	Barca, Nóbrega, Ponte de Lima
Carvalho	Vasco Lourenço, <i>morgadio</i> , 1454; Diogo Lopes de Carvalho, <i>morgadio</i> , 1532	Guimarães
Valadares	Álvaro Valadares, <i>morgadio</i> , 1592; Maria Vieira, chapel, 1538; Ana de Azeredo, entail, 1575	Porto
Carneiro	Maria Carneiro, <i>morgadio</i> , 1542; Ana Carneiro, <i>morgadio</i> , 1592	Porto
Cunha ²⁵	Pero Vaz da Praça, chapel, 1500	Monção
Ribeiro	Inês Vasques, <i>morgadio</i> , 1458	Canidelo, Porto
Machucho	António Machucho, chapel, 1538	Porto
Dantas	n/a	Galiza
Pacheco	n/a	Lisboa
Ferreira	Estevão Ferreira and Mor Martins, chapel at S. Simão da Junqueira, 1431	Fajozes, Porto
Almada	Catarina Lopes, chapel, 1438; Luís de Almada, <i>morgadio</i> , 1512?; Brites de Melo, <i>morgadio</i> , 1565	Lisboa
Delgado	n/a	Açores, Porto
Resende	n/a	Coimbra
Pereira	n/a	Aveiro, Lisboa, other
Lobo	Afonso Domingues and Maria Domingues, <i>morgadio</i> , 1378	Montemor-o-Novo
Faria	n/a	Palmela
Albuquerque	n/a	Lamego, Souto del Rei
Camões	Simão Vaz de Camões, chapel, c. 1550	Coimbra

After listing the families, I tried to find common features among them, so as to allow the reconstitution, analysis, and description of family information

²⁵ I have chosen to call this information system Cunha, after the family responsible for the *morgadio* created by Pero Vaz da Praça, or Pero Vaz, in May 1500. Pedro da Cunha married the daughter (Constança Soares) of the *morgadio*'s first administrator, Paio Rodrigues de Araújo, who was the founder's nephew. The surname Cunha was passed on to descendants until Maria Josefa de Lima da Cunha Velho married António José de Almada e Melo, in the mid-seventeenth century. These were the parents of the first Viscount of Vila Nova de Souto del Rei, Francisco de Almada e Mendonça.

systems (as many as the families represented by them). I also noticed that there were a number of families with identical traits: established entails no later than the first half of the sixteenth century; geographically located in the Entre-Douro-e-Minho province; belonged to the urban²⁶ or landed elites of the same region; and showed clear histories of social ascension. In fact, the trajectory of these families during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was characterized, in general terms, by upwards social mobility within social hierarchies, mostly supported by services rendered to the royal family (king, queen, and princes), by military service, and by administrative or bureaucratic service, both within the kingdom and in the overseas territories. More commonly, we find the first generations, from approximately 1450 to around 1550, serving the king (Pero Vaz da Praça, the Carvalho, or the Magalhães) or major noble houses, such as the dukes of Bragança, as squires or knights, in some cases taking on the responsibility for other military or administrative tasks. Concurrently, we see the progressive rise of the urban elites, composed of merchants and councilors from the city of Porto (Valadares, Carneiro, Machucho, and Ferraz Barreto). At the same time, these families invested their income in the acquisition of properties, almost always near the location of their homes or entails, and, finally, they married with other families of the same geographical area and similar social and economic status; this, with few exceptions, did not provide an immediate rise in the noble hierarchy, but nonetheless offered important increases to familial properties and wealth.

The documents of these families (Machucho, Valadares, Carneiro, Magalhães, Barreto, Carvalho, Cunha, Ribeiro) are the richest, most diverse, and most numerous in the ALB, and allow us to study the production, management, and uses of the archives belonging to elite families; in other words, they provide a window into the social practices of writing²⁷ and, consequently, the role of archives in the formation and consolidation of pre-modern families.

²⁶ From Porto, Monção, and Guimarães.

²⁷ See CHASTANG, 2006: 21-31, and GAMBERINI, 2008: 4 for a comprehensive view.

New and old actors

Carvalho, Ribeiro, Magalhães, Cunha, Valadares, Carneiro, Machucho. Who were they and what roles did they play?

The Carvalho family, originally from Guimarães, was started by Lopo Sanches de Sotomaior, a merchant, and continued by his son Diogo Lopes de Carvalho, a royal judge during the reigns of Manuel and João III, and daughter Brites Lopes de Carvalho, and her descendants — Gaspar de Carvalho and Luís Lopes de Carvalho. Diogo Lopes de Carvalho became the administrator of the chapel founded by Vasco Lourenço, a merchant in Guimarães and his great-uncle²⁸, later associated with the *morgadio* established by his nephew, which remained in the family until the extinction of the entails, half-way through the nineteenth century.

The Cunha family, on their part, took on the administration of the chapel created in 1500 by Pero Vaz da Praça, squire of the king, in Monção. He passed the responsibility to his nephew Paio Rodrigues de Araújo who then, later, handed it down to his daughter Constança Soares and her husband Pedro da Cunha, both members of the Cunha family, lords of Tábua.

Other families originated in Porto, such as the Valadares and the Carneiro, who served as town councilors (Fernão de Valadares, Diogo Carneiro); the Machucho (João Geraldês, accountant of king João I); the Ferraz and the Barreto (Fernão Nunes Barreto, *provedor (ombudsman)* for the Porto *Misericórdia* and husband of a granddaughter of Afonso Ferraz, town councilor); the Ribeiro (João Álvares Ribeiro, a nobleman from the house of king Afonso V and administrator of the chapel of Inês Vaz, his aunt), all of whom created entails before the second half of the sixteenth century.

Most of these elite families adopted the entail reproductive model, as Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro called it when he described their trajectories as paradigmatic, because they endowed the marrying daughters and maintained the expectations of inheritance for second-born sons, at least during the first half of the sixteenth century, a scenario that later changed²⁹. It should also be

²⁸ He was the uncle of his mother, Leonor Afonso.

²⁹ MONTEIRO, 2001: 19, 33; CUNHA; MONTEIRO, 2010a: 47-75.

pointed out that every one of these Porto families held important posts in the municipal government. They thus constituted an oligarchy whose members alternated while consolidating positions of power, a situation reinforced by the matrimonial alliances they established among them³⁰. This behavior has also been studied for Évora by Joaquim Serra³¹ and for Lisbon by Mário Farelo³², during the same time frame.

Another family, the Magalhães, came from a slightly different social background — they were lords of da Barca, where they had jurisdictional power and, in 1561, created a *morgadio*. The previously mentioned families from Porto started to converge on the Magalhães in the seventeenth century, a process that continued into the 1800s.

We can also highlight the Delgado (merchants from Porto and the Azores); the Pacheco (descendants of Duarte Pacheco Pereira³³); the Almada from Lisboa (also known as Almada from Olivais, administrators of the chapel of Catarina Lopes, created in 1498 and later annexed to a *morgadio* founded by Luís de Almada, in 1512); the Resende, related to the Inquisitor of Coimbra João de Resende; the Pereira from Lisboa, an illegitimate branch of the Pereira family, the counts of Feira, with whom they competed for the succession of the title, going so far as to forge documents in an attempt to justify the claim³⁴. We also find other small documental series related to the Faria, *alcaides* of Palmela; the Lobo, administrators of the Afonso and Maria Domingues chapel in Montemor-o-Novo; and the Camões, also from Coimbra. These last three families, however, have little documental expression.

The study of the production, record management, and social writing practices of these families³⁵, together with the reflection on the role of archives in their formation and consolidation, allows us to conclude that the production of written records and recordkeeping³⁶ were common practices; given that

³⁰ Some of them endogamous. See BRITO, 1997: 417-418; COSTA, 1993: 99-100.

³¹ SERRA, 2015: 1-37, 360-364.

³² FARELO, 2008.

³³ CARVALHO; PINTO, 2012.

³⁴ CONCEIÇÃO, 1720; FREIRE, 1917-1918: 754-760.

³⁵ CHASTANG, 2006: 21-31; GAMBERINI, 2008: 4.

³⁶ ROSA, 2017: 547-586.

most of these families were connected with municipal or royal administrations, they were well aware of the probative, administrative, and memorial value³⁷ of records. In my view, this constitutes a sign of family identity, in the sense that these are common characteristics, identifiers, and constructors of the elite's memory, in a similar fashion to onomastics, heraldry³⁸, or funerary art³⁹. The documental typology points us not only to the creation and definition of entails (the possession, preservation, and transmission of the titles being generally the responsibility of the creator and his successors/administrators appointed by testament, and they were transmitted down the generations) but also to the patrimonial management of the family (property contracts), memoranda (notes on tax collections or the transmission of properties), genealogical records or documents with probative value, such as letters of privilege, patents, or even *tombos*, like the one from the Ribeiro family, dated 1498. Written by Fernão Ribeiro, the administrator of the *morgadio* of Canidelo, this *tombo* was intended to be presented to the judge of *resíduos* of Entre-Douro-e-Minho by his wife, Filipa de Sousa, for proof and copy. It is mentioned as a bound book that compiles several documents, such as the founder's will and testament and the list of the chapel's estates. It constitutes an important account of the owner's manuscript record, in that he updates his father's earlier notes and uses the document for management purposes, and

³⁷ Several authors emphasize the importance of the organized conservation of documents in the formation and sociological affirmation of social groups. MORSEL, 2010: 17-18; MORSEL, 2012: 83-106; NAVARRO BONILLA, 2003: 62-64; COELHO, 2015: 27.

³⁸ SOUSA, 2013a: 27-33; MORSEL, 2010: 22. Miguel Metelo de Seixas states that heraldic expressions, such as archives, served "each in their own way, as instruments of construction, renewal, confirmation and maintenance of identity and personal and family memory", SEIXAS, 2012: 456.

³⁹ Examples of this are the various elements of the Carneiro family that were buried in the Misericórdia, in the church of S. Francisco, and in Porto cathedral. In 1684, João de Valadares asked the Porto town hall for permission to engrave his coat of arms on the tomb of his father, Luís de Valadares Carneiro (a chessboard with two sheep and a sign: "Here lies Luís de Valadares Carneiro, nobleman of the house of His Majesty, knight-commander of the Order of Christ, year 1681"). The same document states that a letter of burial had been written for Luís Valadares, but that his heir only found the one belonging to Luís Delgado de Abreu, of whom he was also a successor. In another document we find that Álvaro de Valadares and Antónia Carneiro were buried in one of the four graves inside the rails between the two altars under the chapel of D. Lopo (de Almeida) at the Porto Misericórdia., 22th February 1592. The grave only had a signboard. BNP, ALB, Enc., mç. 59, cx. 1, cap. 6, doc. n. n. See also: ROSAS, 2013: 464-465; FREITAS, 2006: 169-179.

serves as testimony of the archival practices of Portuguese late medieval families. Andrea Gamberi considers this type of document an embryonic system of cartulary, with a double function: on one hand, practical and archival; on the other, “memorialist and ideological”⁴⁰, representing a “cartulary-inventory”, a concept also used by Concepción Mendo Cardona, Robert-Henri Bautier, and Maria de Lurdes Rosa⁴¹.

Conclusion

Because of its long custodial history, the Almada and Lencastre Bastos archive constitutes an interesting documental source for the study of Portuguese pre-modern elites. Scholars conducting research on Portuguese medieval and modern history will have access to new sources beyond those of the national, district, and municipal archives, which have already been used by several generations of historians. These family archives reveal new historical research data and allow for a more in-depth understanding of ancien régime social history, by increasing knowledge about the local elites, their social context, and their relation with documents. Elites of various origins and provenances, who have been connected by marriages or other relationships (kinship, friends, clientele and economic relations). The latter allowed them to administer their own goods, free or entailed, as well as those left by other individuals connected to each other by family ties.

Since the fifteenth century, the creation of numerous *morgadios*, such as the Canidelo *morgadio*, enabled the documentation — with utilitarian but also affirmative and probative purposes — to maintain its cohesion, and, therefore, to avoid dispersion among multiple family elements.

Finally, these archives allow us to study not only the social written practices of those families and, consequently, of archives in the formation and consolidation of pre-modern families, but also the forms of organization of archives, their constructions and reconstructions, and their preservation throughout the centuries.

⁴⁰ About cartularies-inventories see GAMBERINI, 2008: 4-8.

⁴¹ MENDO CARMONA, 2005: 122, 134; BAUTIER, 1993: 376; ROSA; HEAD, 2015b: 17.

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**COLONIZING LAND, CREATING SOCIETIES,
MAKING AND REMAKING ARCHIVAL MEMORIES:
FAMILY ARCHIVES AND SOCIAL POWER IN THE
CANARY ISLANDS FROM THE SIXTEENTH
TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES**

ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the evolution of family archive practices in the Canary Islands during the Early Modern Age. Since the colonization of the islands to the implementation of liberalism, most of elite families needed the archive for several purposes in each context: to manage the social reproduction of the family, to support the social promotion, to manage the family property or to create a noble family narrative. Through empirical examples this paper examines some events that involved new models of archival practices by the insular elites.

Keywords: family archive; colonization; Early Modern Spain; Canary Islands

RESUMO: Este trabalho analisa a evolução das práticas arquivísticas familiares nas Ilhas Canárias durante a Idade Moderna. Desde a colonização das ilhas até à implementação do liberalismo, a maioria das elites familiares utilizou o arquivo para suprir diferentes necessidades consoante o contexto: para gerir a reprodução social da família, para apoiar a promoção social, gerir o património familiar ou criar uma narrativa nobiliárquica familiar. Através de exemplos empíricos, este trabalho foca alguns dos aspetos que abrangem novos modelos de práticas arquivísticas desenvolvidas pelas elites insulares.

Palavras-chave: arquivo de família, colonização, Espanha Moderna, Ilhas Canárias.

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Introduction

In recent years, one of the historiographic fields with more innovations within European Early Modern History has been the study of the family elites in the Iberian empires and their ultramarine territories in a comparative perspective². This approach has been developing at the same time as medievalists and modernists are carrying out a deep revision of the studies of the nobility in Europe. They are questioning the agnatic lineage model proposed by G. Duby³ as the main form of family organization and the uncritical incorporation by historians of the conceptual terminology imported from Anthropology of kinship, house, lineage, etc.⁴. The studies carried out by N. Monteiro⁵ and M. Soares da Cunha⁶ have demonstrated the fundamental role of the house in the family organization of the modern nobility in Portugal (verified by J. D. Rodrigues in the case of São Miguel). Researchers from the University of Murcia have reached similar conclusions for Early Modern Castile⁷.

Although there are very interesting studies on family elites in the Atlantic archipelagos, such as those of J. D. Rodrigues for the case of the island of São Miguel (Azores)⁸, N. Veríssimo⁹ and M. Jasmins Rodrigues¹⁰ for Madeira, and the doctoral thesis of L. Fernández Rodríguez about the council oligarchy of Tenerife (Canary Islands)¹¹, we still know very little about the configuration of the social identity of the noble families in the Atlantic Islands.

At the same time, research carried out under the framework of the so-called “archival turn” has demonstrated that archives are not just created in a natural

² MONTEIRO; CARDIM; CUNHA, 2005; CUNHA; HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO, 2010.

³ DUBY, 1967.

⁴ MORSEL, 2004 and 2008; DACOSTA, 2016a and 2016b.

⁵ MONTEIRO, 1993.

⁶ MONTEIRO; CUNHA, 2010.

⁷ HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO; MOLINA PUCHE, 2007 and 2010; HERNÁNDEZ FRANCO; RODRÍGUEZ PÉREZ, 2014a, 2014b and 2015.

⁸ RODRIGUES, 2003.

⁹ VERISSIMO, 2000.

¹⁰ RODRIGUES, 1996.

¹¹ FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, 2013.

process but are historical and social constructs and sources of power¹². This is especially true of family archives¹³. Moreover, some archives, like most Canary Island archives, are not just the result of a natural process of record production and keeping, but were also made and remade retrospectively by families choosing certain records from their ancestors and giving preference to certain kinship above others.

Following M. L. Rosa and the Historical Archivist methods¹⁴, the archive and its organization should be analyzed over time, understanding it in each historical context, taking into account the nature and evolution of its producer, and the production, documentation, conservation and use processes of organizational information.

From this approach, the aim of this paper is continue to deepen the study of the evolution of insular nobilities from their own family archives. To this end, this paper examines, through several examples, how family archives evolved, over almost four centuries, in the geographical context of the Canary Islands. Located in the NW of Africa, at a crossroads of the main maritime routes that crossed the Mid-Atlantic, these islands are an example of the creation of a new society in a place that originally had an aboriginal population and whose conquest began almost a century before that of America. Indeed, the islands are an ideal “micro-laboratory” for the analysis of the reproduction of the Castilian social value system in a non-European location. In this new society, families needed to produce and keep documents that proved their social status, purity of blood and the services they had rendered to the Crown if they wanted to be part of the processes of social ascent. For this purpose, repositories of records were vital.

Conquest, colonization and family archives

From a European point of view, during the fifteenth century the Canary Islands became the boundary of the *occupied world* and an important stop-

¹² SCHWARTZ; COOK, 2002.

¹³ ROSA, 2009.

¹⁴ ROSA, 2017.

ping off point on sea voyages¹⁵. The Canary Islands were not a European medieval society, but a location, given privileges by the Spanish Crown, where a new society was built in a particular context, characterized by the existence of an aboriginal population and its specific geographical, economic and geopolitical features several years before the conquest of America. This is the reason why the Canary Islands are a “micro-laboratory” for an analysis of the reproduction of the Castilian social system and set of values in a new space, which was a precursor and stopping off point for Spanish conquistadors, traders and missionaries on their way to the New World.

On the islands, the property of the Castilian Crown, a variety of people settled from different geographical, social and religious origins (aborigines, Castilian, Portuguese, French, Flemish, Genovese, Jewish and Muslim converts, conquerors, farmers, merchants, slaves...). During the first generations, social hierarchies were scarcely visible (or, at least, much less perceptible than in mainland Spain), family prosopography did not exist, and colonial families did not bring their family records with them to the islands.

During the sixteenth century, the elites represented by the Islands’ governing Councils refused to create nobility brotherhoods and instead decided to apply the “State Division” (*división de estados*), which implied that privileged classes were virtually exempt from taxation. According to Núñez Pestano, the reason why Councils refused to fund the brotherhoods was the need to prove families’ noble origins and blood purity to access to such privileges, which were incompatible with the Jewish origins of some of the councilmen, and the commoner ascendance of most of them¹⁶.

Due to the above, the history of family archives in the Canary Islands differed from mainland Spanish ones. Among other aspects, and coming now to the central subject of this paper, we have to consider that in the Canary Islands, elite families did not have medieval archives, and it seems that only a few powerful families kept records during the first generations of colonizers on the islands. There are two reasons for this: the first is because few noble colonizers brought family records with them. For example, this was the case

¹⁵ AZNAR VALLEJO; GONZÁLEZ ZALACAIN, 2018.

¹⁶ NÚÑEZ PESTANO, 1991: 288-289.

of the conquistador Hernando del Hoyo, Knight of the Golden Spur of King Ferdinand the Catholic, who was required to prepare an inventory of his personal documents in 1518 in Medina del Campo (Castile), just a few months before dying¹⁷. The second reason was the progressive influence of the Court by the oldest members of the nobility in order to arrange hypergamy. This was the case of the *Adelantados de Canarias* (the most relevant family during most of the sixteenth century), who left their family archives on the islands in 1559¹⁸ or the Marquises of Lanzarote (after the death in 1661 of the Marchioness *Doña Luisa Bravo de Guzmán* in Madrid).

The importance of family archives in the Canary Islands: an evolving process of social hierarchization

The current state of research only allows us to present the broad outlines of the evolution of family archives in the Canary Islands during the Early Modern Age. The first obstacle in such an analysis is the shortage of inventories until the second half of the eighteenth century, in line with the scarcity of original documents from these dates. As the project INVENT.ARQ demonstrated, inventories operate as “mirrors” of an archive, in the sense that they reflect the contextual conditions of an archive at a specific moment, which is why they are the best way to examine archives’ evolution¹⁹. Probably, the causes of the shortage of inventories were related to the extreme weather conditions on the islands back then (characterized by high humidity and high temperatures) and the lack of family archival practices. For example, the “Book of the Mayrazgo Benítez”, written in 1680 by Don Francisco Bautista Lugo de Castillo, talks about ancient family archives being destroyed through damp and lack of care by their keepers and following the parents’ deaths²⁰.

¹⁷ Archivo Histórico Diocesano de San Cristóbal de La Laguna, repository of the “Conde de Siete Fuentes”, Protocol 31, fols. 48r-50r.

¹⁸ GONZÁLEZ ZALACAIN; RODRÍGUEZ MORALES, 2015.

¹⁹ ROSA; HEAD (eds.), 2015.

²⁰ Biblioteca Municipal de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, “Fondo Antiguo”, Ms. 246, prologue.

Despite the lack of inventories, we can, however, make certain conjectures over the course of the Early Modern Age about the central role family archives played in the social and political processes of the islands.

Family archives and the fight for status

The first landmark in this process was at the end of the sixteenth century, when the Canary Island society experienced a significant process of enlargement and stabilization of the social elites during the reigns of Felipe II (1556-98) and Felipe III (1598-1621), with the possibility for local elites to gain access to offices in the Holy Inquisition, the cathedral chapter and the royal service²¹. Certainly, this process should be framed within the conflict between those who already held these honorable offices and those who aspired to occupy them. In this context, having records to prove rights to a certain status was vital, so if families did not own them, they had to acquire them. *Don* Hernando del Hoyo was an eloquent example of this. He was the grandson of Hernando del Hoyo, conqueror of Granada, La Palma and Tenerife and Knight of the Golden Spur of King Ferdinand the Catholic, which for the society of the Canary Islands meant belonging to one of the few noble families of the islands. In 1578, he requested that the Council of Tenerife appoint him as warden of the fortress of Santa Cruz “porque yo e mis padres e agüelos e antepassados somos e an sido cavalleros hijosdalgo nottorios e de solar conosido según fuero de España”²². To demonstrate his preferential rights over other candidates, he relied on common opinion and the family documents he possessed: “porque es público y nottorio e consta ser así por los recaudos que de ello tengo que siendo necesario los presentaré ante vuestras señorías”²³.

²¹ FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, 2013.

²² “Because I and my parents and grandparents or ancestors have been knights of noble descent and proven lineage according to the jurisdiction of Spain” (Archivo Histórico Diocesano de San Cristóbal de La Laguna (AHDSLL). “Fondo Conde de Siete Fuentes”, Protocolo 31, fol. 319r-390v). Translations are mine.

²³ “Because it is public and notarized and confirmed that this is so and for the proof that I will present to your lordships”.

However, most family elites in the Canary Island did not have records to prove the purity of their blood and their noble origins, which implied the need to investigate their ancestors' social and religious status in Europe. In order to gain access to these offices and justify their right to a high social position, elite families were forced to gather records and prove blood purity origins. To do this, only the wealthiest families could pay for expensive proof from the mainland and obtain the records that would prove the noble status of their ancestors. These documents became the first "lineage documents" in most Canary Island family archives²⁴.

This was also the time when noble families realized the vital importance of having, sharing and ensuring the transmission of those "lineage" records to future generations. The creation of a well-documented family archive strengthened the power of all of them. The eldest son's house became the main name of the family, in other words, it became the highest part of a family network, connected by blood, collaboration and fidelity to other households. We can observe this aim in certain decisions made by some noble houses. The common way was to protocolize the original records and diplomas in public notary offices in order to obtain all the authenticated copies that may be required; another way was to include "lineage records" as part of the entailed estate, guaranteeing the right of the descendants to access the main family archives and to obtain copies of their ancestor's diplomas and titles. This was the case of the Hoyo's household. In 1598, García del Hoyo and *Doña* Beatriz Calderón founded a *mayorazgo* (entailed estate) that included the obligation to preserve the oldest family records in the family archives and the right of all family members to access these records²⁵.

²⁴ GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2016a.

²⁵ Archivo Histórico Provincial Santa Cruz de Tenerife. "Sección Histórica de Protocolos Notariales". *Protocolo notarial de Álvaro de Quiñones*, 1598, fol. 220r (1598/07/12).

Family archives in times of mayorazgos (entailed estates) and ennoblement

The second significant moment was at the end of the seventeenth century, matching with a great frequency of foundations of entailed states, local elites were able to buy military insignias and titles of nobility. The peculiar juncture of the reign of Carlos II (1665-1700) was characterized by the monarch's financial needs and the age old debate about the essence of nobility. This debate was between those who defended merit as an entry point for ennoblement, and others who proclaimed blood as the only proof of nobility (meaning the rejection of the latecomers)²⁶. This had important effects on family archives, since any individual or family who wished to become noble needed to collect and present family documents in order to prove their right to such status. Thus, first it was necessary to pay for a pecuniary service to obtain a title, and then to provide documents about their services and those of their ancestors to the Crown. Furthermore, they also had to demonstrate the noble blood of the family. During these times, families would spend great sums of money paying professional genealogists²⁷ for the elaboration of genealogies (with remarkable inventions and mythical ancestors) and petitions (*memoriales*) to the Crown. It is also significant that many of these petitions were signed by the islands' councils, which meant that the candidate's peers in local institutions had previously acknowledged their higher status at the time, and they in turn acknowledged the local institution (which the majority of the candidates belonged to) as being a competent institution capable of certifying nobility²⁸.

However, professional genealogists were also involved in archival organization. In 1681, *Doña* Marina González de Castillo Interián, after her husband's death, took the responsibility of completing the archive that her husband had started. She explained that her husband and she were helped in their work by *Don* Juan Núñez de la Peña. He was a *rey de armas* (king of arms), that is, an agent of the Crown, whose role was required in peace agreements and other

²⁶ GUILLÉN BERRENDERO, 2007.

²⁷ SORIA MESA, 2004.

²⁸ GUILLÉN BERRENDERO, 2014.

ceremonies related to royal power, and who attested the heraldic shields that belonged correctly and reliably to certain lineages. Some of them, like *Don* Juan Núñez de la Peña, were at the same time kings of arms, chroniclers and archivists. That is, as chroniclers, their chorographies justified the privileged position of the urban oligarchies, while their certificates of coats of arms justified that the house and the family archives contained the records that proved the family's superior status.

This relationship between genealogy and archive is also interesting because it influenced the family archive model in the Canary Islands. *Doña* Marina González de Castillo Interián also declared that “no se hallará por la misericordia de Dios, hacienda de maiorasgo también titulada en esta isla desde que se conquistó hasta del día de hoy con tan antiguos instrumentos como esta por lo que se a visto y experimentado”²⁹. That is, the family archive the Castillo family created was used as a model for other families. *Don* Francisco Bautista Lugo de Castillo and his wife *Doña* Marina González de Castillo, helped by the king of arms, made two *protocolos-libros de hacienda* (cartulary-property books): the first one with the records about entailed estate, and the second with the free properties that both owned.³⁰ This set of *protocolo-libros de hacienda* was also imitated by other families, like the Salazar de Frías, who made a cartulary of their entailed estate and a property book in 1740-1741.

The chance to improve one's social status was also important to non-Castilian families, who invested time and money in their ennoblement. An example was the house of Lercaro, who spent a fortune to prove their preferential right to manage the Lercaro's *albergo* (corporation of noble families) at the Bank of Saint George in the Republic of Genoa. According to Núñez Pestano and González Zalacain, the Lercaro's demonstration involved a rediscovery of the family's origin and identity, which they supported with a chaotic gathering of evidence, such as complex genealogical research in the Canary Islands and in Genoa, certification of a coat of arms, and the registration of Canarian family

²⁹ “as it will not be found by the mercy of God, this estate also titled in this island since it was conquered until today with such old instruments as this one because of what has been seen and experienced.” Biblioteca Municipal de Santa Cruz de Tenerife (BMSCT). “Fondo Antiguo”, Ms 246, fol. 163.

³⁰ BMSCT. “Fondo Antiguo”, Ms. 241-246.

members in the *Libro d'oro* (Golden Book) of Genoa³¹. This act of searching, producing and archiving records had, for the first time for Ler caro, a memory function that involved past, present and future generations.

Not all the Genoese families could demonstrate noble origins, and were often underrated because of this. For example, this was the case of the house of Franchi, who always claimed their nobility but could only afford a genealogical reconstruction and political support to obtain the certification of nobility from the *dux* of Genoa in the late seventeenth century, more than a century after the Ler caro family³².

Family archives following the disaster. Remaking the archival memory in the eighteenth century

The beginning of the eighteenth century in Tenerife was characterized by two different events of great importance for the future of family archives. The first one was the destruction of the town and port of Garachico, the main port on the island, in 1706 by a volcanic eruption, which destroyed several key buildings and family archives, such as the archive of the count of Siete Fuentes. This situation meant the need to rebuild archives, looking for copies of records in public archives and among other families' archives. This involved a process of localization, selection, copying, organizing and accumulating records with the possibility of failure, since these records could also have been destroyed in other archives. The second was the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), with which came the ostracism of Habsburg's supporters and a chance for the Bourbon's adherents to improve their status. Unfortunately, there is no in-depth research about this period in the Canary Islands. However, an analysis of the count of Valle de Salazar's archives, a Habsburg defender, reveals that they had to deal with social ostracism, the confiscation of their property (including entailed property) and its subsequent devolution after the treaty of Vienna (1725), with the resulting need to reorganize family

³¹ NÚÑEZ PESTANO; GONZÁLEZ ZALACAIN, 2017.

³² GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2016a: 33-34.

archives. Families needed to prove the possession and delimitation of confiscated properties and their previous status in order to request their return³³. In addition, they had to demonstrate that the house was loyal to the new dynasty, re-writing the family history, hiding any acts of treason in order to adapt the house discourse to the new circumstances.

Nevertheless, the main event in the reconstruction of the family archives was the establishment of the *contadurías de hipotecas* (mortgage accounting offices) in 1768. The law approved in that year established the obligation for landowners to register in these offices all the rents that they collected, many of them from old leasehold contracts. This law forced a race to find and copy all the documents that proved the right to collect such rents, many of them signed several generations before. The owners needed to find these contracts, testaments, recognitions of income, sales, etc., to copy and register them, and in most cases, they did not have all those records in their family archives. Consequently, the quick and easy way to obtain them was by paying public notaries to research, locate and copy all the records related to their household. The most widely used organizational method was, again, to adapt notaries public offices' organization to family cartularies (called *protocolos de la casa*) regarding properties, genealogy, services, supplemented by property books of the house, citation books and bundles of records from the administration of the time.

In addition, towards the end of the eighteenth century, an emergence of genealogical research took place in the Canary Islands. The widening of the nobility implied the need for being part of an older and much nobler house than other houses and, of course, the need for publishing the house's antiquity to society. This was the great time for family trees, stories about nobility and social reputation, books of genealogy and family memories. Records had multiplied in the family archives and they needed to be organized or reorganized. Thus, family archives were reorganized from a genealogical perspective³⁴, confirming the family's identity and giving the archive a specific

³³ AHDSCLL. "Fondo Conde de Siete Fuentes", Protocolo 15.

³⁴ KETELAAR, 2009.

narrative(s), from its owner's point of view³⁵. Of course, these family narratives were adapted to the changing needs of the family's identity. For example, in the sixteenth century aboriginal ancestors were not considered noble, but they were considered so from the seventeenth century onwards. From that time, aboriginal "royal families" were included in families' genealogies. This was the case of the Castillo family who said they were descendants of the mythical aboriginal princess Dácilor of the Bencomo family, who claimed to be descendants of the *mencey* (aboriginal king) Bencomo.

This identity approach is probably the best way to understand the family archives not only as the result of the activities of simple organization, but as discursive constructs, with a narrative reflected in the system(s) of preservation, organization and inventory. This concern and regard for remembrance and identities also reflect an attitude geared more to the future than the past.

Other families; other ways of professional archival organization

Nevertheless, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, we can observe other organizational systems for family archives in the Canary Islands developed by non-noble families. In these archives, records were reorganized in bundles and ordered by issues (military, judicial...), properties, towns, chapels, and so on. The influence of genealogy in this archival organization is not as decisive as in the archives of titled families. In the non-noble family archives, the presence of documents with a strong symbolic component (such as heraldic emblems, genealogies and proofs of nobility) is considerably scarcer. This does not mean that these families did not want to be noble, just that they did not have the status or identity to be so.

An example of this archival organization is the Nieves Ravelo family archives, reorganized in the 1790s by the primogeniture *Don* Juan Laureano de las Nieves Ravelo, member of a local landowner and trader family³⁶. The

³⁵ NÓVOA; LEME, 2015.

³⁶ AHDSCLL. "Fondo Conde de Siete Fuentes", Rama familiar Nieves Ravelo.

archive was reorganized according to several criteria. Property management was organized according to the geographical location of the lands included in the entailed estate and the free properties. The military and religious issues were reorganized by subject or matter. Finally, the numerous lawsuits were another criterion for organizing the documentation. Within this archive, we do not observe large volumes of genealogical documentation, which was not a factor highlighted in the organization of the archive, as mentioned.

The end of the family archives era. The abolition of entailed property and the dismemberment of the archives

Finally, a last period worth noting in family archive organization in the Early Modern age was the abolition of entailed property in 1820 (revoked by King Ferdinand VII in 1823) and definitively suppressed in 1836. This involved the need to reorganize the archive in order to determine the current state of family properties, estimate their economic value and be able to divide them among all the heirs.

In these years, many inventories were produced, in several cases by professional archivists, in a process similar to the one developed in Portugal³⁷. With the end of entailed property and the establishment of the land registration system, the family archive lost its practical sense as an instrument to defend property. Thus, with the abolition of the old procedures of transfer of entailed property, it was no longer necessary to locate, copy and manage this documentation in the family archive in order to be able to litigate constantly to demonstrate a preferential right to benefit from an entailed property.

In other cases, in which a situation of family conflict predominated, the fragmentation of family properties often implied a breakup of the archive. An illustrative example is the house of the marquises of Fuente de Las Palmas. The death in 1840 of the seventh marquis, the primogeniture of the house, triggered the disintegration of the family patrimony. The marquis had named his servant as heiress, who had to sustain several lawsuits from the marquis's

³⁷ ROSA; HEAD (eds.), 2015.

sisters. As a consequence of the division of the entailed estate and the rest of family properties, together with the death without heirs of the eighth marchioness, *Doña* Josefa Chirino del Hoyo and the departure to Cuba of her sister and successor, *Doña* Beatriz Chirino del Hoyo, ninth marchioness of Fuente of Las Palmas, the family's archive was divided among numerous owners. At present, I have been able to locate two parts in the Diocesan historical archive of San Cristóbal de La Laguna: the first is made up of three nineteenth-century documentation boxes that were donated by the Gutiérrez de Salamanca repository. These archives present some documentary gaps, with at least four documents shown in the indexes which, according to several notes left inside the archive, were extracted and delivered to *Doña* Dominga Chirino. I have located this documentation in the count of Siete Fuentes's repository. However, it has been noted that seventeen other documents that are shown in the protocol index have been removed and lack references regarding their possible whereabouts³⁸.

Conclusions

Family archives were essential in the historical evolution of the Canary Islands. The transition from a frontier society to an entirely modern society, imbued with the Castilian value system, led families to create an archive to manage their heritage and build their social identity and social status. This process, which began to be clearly defined at the end of the sixteenth century, accelerated during the seventeenth century, coinciding with a period of insular economic upswing that resulted in the establishment of numerous entailed estates. Meanwhile, at the state level, the Habsburg dynasty was going through a deep economic, social and dynastic crisis, a situation that was an opportunity to buy honorific positions, military insignia and noble titles for many families. The social ascent and the formation of entailed estates led to an unprecedented accumulation of documents and the need to order them.

³⁸ GUTIÉRREZ DE ARMAS, 2014.

These first archives followed the model of the *protocolo-libro de hacienda*, a model that was extended to other family archives in the following decades.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the creation of an obligation to register rents in mortgage accounting offices (*contaduría de hipotecas*), which greatly modified family records. Thus, in addition to the documentation that families owned, there was the need to locate, copy, register and keep any documents that proved families' patrimonial rights. In parallel, the widening of the nobility also led families to a search for their genealogical origins, which resulted in the production of large quantities of genealogical documentation and in the reorganization of family archives with clear genealogical criteria.

Finally, family archives fell into disuse with the end of the family model that had generated them and managed them for generations. The end of entailed estates and property in the nineteenth century and the implementation of a political, economic and socially liberal system meant that archives lost their main function as guarantors of economic and social interests in a context in which the forms of family organization associated to the elites (house, lineage, etc.) evolved to new models.

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THE HOUSE OF BELMONTE ARCHIVES: DOCUMENT PRODUCTION, CONSERVATION, AND RETRIEVAL (FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES)

ABSTRACT: Documents in family archives were primarily produced and kept so they might be presented as evidence. Additionally, they met the need to attach/memories and transfer patrimonial and symbolic estates among early modern families. Document preservation and retrieval are part of a production *continuum*, which requires archival practices involving, among others, the creation of retrieval tools such as inventories. In fact, inventories created for a specific need — the retrieval of documents within an archive — in this case connected with the need to preserve the estate and the memory within socially rising families, such as the Figueiredo family. The archive of the house of Belmonte (ACBL), nowadays perceived as a historical collection, resulted from practical concerns in its origins, which led to the amassing of documents since the late fifteenth century. This article aims to briefly introduce the production, conservation and retrieval of documents by the Figueiredos' lineage. The process was build up gradually after the family's social status evolution inside the nobility itself.

Keywords: family archives; documents production; inventories

RESUMO: Os documentos conservados em arquivos de família foram primeiramente produzidos e mantidos, com o intuito de servirem de provas de actos jurídicos, religiosos ou outros. A necessidade de transferir propriedades, vínculos e património simbólico dentro da família levou a que estes documentos se conservassem por várias gerações. Portanto a acumulação, preservação e recuperação de documentos fazem parte de um *continuum* de produção documental, que requer práticas arquivísticas envolvendo, entre outras coisas, a criação de inventários, ferramentas de recuperação de informação imprescindíveis. Os inventários, criados devido a uma necessidade específica — a recuperação de informação — neste caso estão também relacionados com a necessidade de preservar a propriedade e a memória dentro de famílias socialmente ascendentes, como a família Figueiredo. O Arquivo da Casa de Belmonte (ACBL), hoje entendido como uma coleção histórica, resultou de preocupações muito práticas na sua origem, que levaram à acumulação de documentos desde o final do século XV. Este artigo tem como objetivo apresentar brevemente a produção,

conservação e recuperação de documentos pela linhagem de Figueiredos, com especial enfoque na produção de dois inventários produzidos com um intervalo de cerca de 100 anos. O processo foi gradual e como que acompanhou a mobilidade social ascendente da família.

Palavras-chave: arquivos familiares; produção documental; inventários

Documents preserved in family archives resulted mostly from an awareness of the need to attach/memorize and transmit the patrimonial and symbolic estate. Especially after the *morgadio* institution was abolished, they became sites for identity and memory, bridging the past and future within each family. The aristocratic family, as a building space for identity and memory, produced, preserved, inventoried and, hopefully, transferred its archive to future generations. Each heir assimilated the archive, obtaining a genealogical perspective on the family's past, as bequeathed by the ancestors. Therefore, the heir was infused with nobility's material, symbolic and spiritual values¹.

But who was the Figueiredo family? We have notices of this family in royal chancelleries at least since the thirteenth century and there are evidences that their members produced and kept documents at least since 1460². But who were these Figueiredos? Beginning in the fifteenth century, we highlight Henrique de Figueiredo, treasury clerk of kings Afonso V and João II. The eldest son of Henrique of Figueiredo, born in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, Rui de Figueiredo, was “founder” of an autonomous lineage branch. He bought, in 1499, Quinta de Ota, an important estate near Lisbon, and he was married to Maria Correia, daughter of Brás Afonso Correia, one of the king's counsellors. In 1517 this couple, Rui de Figueiredo and Maria Correia, made a testament through which the first *morgado (entail)* was founded (Morgado da Lobagueira). During the sixteenth century the family got benefits from Brazil — obtaining a *Capitania* — and participate in a major event, the Alcácer-Quibir battle, in 1578, where Rui de Figueiredo Correia, Rui de Figueiredo and Maria Correia's grandson died. In the second half of the seventeenth century, his grandson, Rui de Figueiredo de Alarcão — one of the plotters of

¹ KETELAAR, 2009: 14; GUILLÉN BERRENDERO, 2009: 109; ROSA, 1995.

² SOUSA, 2007: 36; SOUSA, 2017: 13.

the Portuguese Restoration in 1640 — married to D. Margarida of Meneses Cabral, daughter of Pedro Álvares Cabral, *alcaide mor*³ of Belmonte. This marriage brought the name and the title — count of Belmonte — to the family in the beginning of the nineteenth century⁴. The eldest surviving son of Rui de Figueiredo de Alarcão, Pedro de Figueiredo de Alarcão, on his death in 1722, left his estate in will to his own son, Rodrigo António de Figueiredo. Rodrigo António was the first member of this lineage to feel the need to know both the origin of the properties and their incomes, as well as the existing documents in the archive and in 1722 first inventory of the archive was produced. On his death without offspring, in 1762, Rodrigo António willed his house to his sister, Madalena Luísa de Lencastre, married to Vasco da Câmara. A few years later, Madalena Luísa would see the incorporation in her patrimony of the so-called house of Belmonte, from the want of legitimate heirs to the Cabral family. The firstborn son of Madalena Luísa and Vasco da Câmara, Pedro da Câmara de Figueiredo Cabral, secretary of king Pedro III, inherits the house of his parents and his eldest son, Vasco Manuel de Figueiredo Cabral da Câmara, grew up in the palace — his mother was maid of honor of queen Maria I — and he was a childhood friend of prince João, future king João VI. Vasco Manuel de Figueiredo Cabral da Câmara benefits from this proximity relation. He was appointed *porteiro mor* (king's porter), belonged to the king's council, he was gentleman of his chamber, chairman of the *Junta do Tabaco*, and he was deputy of the *Junta dos três Estados*. In 1805, he received the title of count of Belmonte. He accompanied the prince to Brazil in 1807, in the context of Napoleon's Wars. It is interesting from an archival point of view that, before his departure to Brazil, Vasco Manuel ordered an inventory of the archive (as we will see): through the organization of his archive and the production of an inventory, his assets were easily identified and would be perfectly recognized, even in the other side of the Atlantic⁵ (see Table 1).

³ Captain-general, commander, governor of a city/village with a castle, who had military and judicial functions.

⁴ SOUSA, 2012: 491

⁵ SOUSA, 2017: 259.

Generations	Social level of the consort	Post/Functions	Estate inheritances
15th century	Daughter of a wealthy man from Santarém	Treasury clerk; ambassador	<i>Morgadio</i> enforced; Primogeniture not enforced;
15th -16th centuries	Married to illegitimate daughter of appeltine judge	Treasury clerk	Distribution of the <i>morgados</i> /royal lands/donations among secondborns
16th century	Queen's lady and close friend; collateral lines connect families	Treasury clerk; donatary captain of Ilhéus, in Bahia, Brasil	
16th century	Manuel de Sousa de Vasconcelos and Filipa de Castro	Treasury clerk; soldier in Alcaêr-Qulbir	
16th -17th centuries	Daughter of a treasury judge	Commander of the order of Santiago Patron	<i>Morgadio</i> ; Primogeniture enforced;
17th century	Daughter of Pedro Alvares Cabral	Member of the <i>Forty Conspirators</i> ; soldier; governor of the Trás-os-Montes province;	Full enforcement of the <i>morgadio</i> and primogeniture; estate acquisition; inheritances from collateral lines; female inheritance upon death of male heir;
17th -18th centuries	Daughter of the count of Valadares	Special envoy; soldier; governor of Portalegre	
18th century	Daughter of the count of Ribeira Grande	Chambermaid of the prince; queen's lady	The lord of the House, while still living, entrusts management to his eldest son.
18th century	Daughter of José de Meneses Silveira e Castro and Luísa Gonzaga de Rappach	Gentleman of King Pedro's chamber	
18th -19th centuries	Daughter of José de Noronha and Mariana Castilho.	King's porter; count of Belmonte; king's advisor	

Table 1. Legenda: Socioeconomic evolution of the Figueiredo lineage (fifteenth-nineteenth centuries)

The informative wealth of the archive is owed to a complex production/amassing process, as well as to document conservation/transmission strategies. Document conservation is not incidental: it is, indeed, a crucial act, based on a specific social reasoning⁶. The archive of the house of Belmonte holds about ten linear feet of documents, the oldest of which dating from 1499 and it was recently the subject of a profound study⁷. We have started by analyzing the family and its genealogy between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, after which the main document producers within each generation can be identified. We also applied the *modelo sistémico*, or systemic model, which implies an in-depth historical knowledge on every document producer in the family, since the information flow does not always coincide with the *linear* succession of generations⁸. In this study, document production has been rebuilt in an organic way and arranged according to each “family system” and generation.

An analytical corpus was created so as to contemplate the entire documentary output, regardless of its presence in the collection. The process was based on the descriptions inserted in three essential documents: a list of every currently existing documents and two *tombos* (inventories) dated from 1722 and 1807, which will be mentioned shortly. This resulted in a table⁹ that indicates each description source (the two inventories from 1722 and 1807; the current list of documents supplemented with data from public archives, with particular focus on the documents coming from the royal chancelleries) the producer name, document’s date, type, scope and contents, as well its context. The corpus features 1,975 items. This table revealed each person/generation’s output, as well as which documents were preserved in the archive and the losses it suffered. Moreover, it was possible to conclude that several documents disappeared between 1722 and 1807 and that many others were lost only after 1807¹⁰.

⁶ MORSEL, 2008: 8.

⁷ SOUSA, 2017.

⁸ SILVA, 2007.

⁹ Available online at: <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/26855>.

¹⁰ SOUSA, 2017.

The analysis of this *corpus* demonstrates how estate management was at the heart of document production. Conservation, too, has always arisen out of a need to provide evidence of possession of properties and entails, defense against judicial actions or illicit appropriation, proof of payments done or due, support for the claiming of assets and inheritance — including the right to certain *morgado* or chapel assets — and, closely connected to the latter, the establishment and perpetuation of family identity and memory¹¹. Although the Figueiredo family produced documents beyond the ones we know — namely in the first generations — only a minimal percentage of those have been preserved. Some of the first king's clerks generations' records can be found in the chancelleries but not in the private collection and some of those documents were mentioned only in the first inventory and preserved until 1722. Unfortunately, some of these were no longer part of the collection by 1807, the date of the second inventory's production. We also know that most of the early documents focused mainly on assets which were lost by the family at a later date. Content obsolescence may have led to the relinquishing or destruction of some documents. This could explain their scarcity, since the family no longer needed to hold on to those documents. It is also possible that the absence — as far as is known — of a stable household for the family until the first twenty years of the sixteenth century will have contributed to disperse these first producers' documents. Conversely, the family's subsequent settling in a permanent home (near São Jorge Castle, in Lisbon), from that period onwards, may have helped establish conservation practices. It is particularly interesting to verify that several document sets belonged to second born sons and were inscribed in the archive only when the firstborn descendants of the Figueiredo family inherited the assets associated with the documents. As an example, the documents related to the *morgado do Seixal* — whose origins lay in the sixteenth century — were only incorporated in the second half of the eighteenth century. This explains why they were not included in the archive's first inventory, only to be referenced later, in the *Tombo de 1807*. It was also possible to ascertain the generation/producer

¹¹ ROSA, 2012d; ROSA, 1995; CALLEJA PUERTA, 2010: 123; FIGUEIRÔA-RÊGO, 2015: 49-54; GUILLÉN BERRENDERO, 2015.

responsible for document sets from other archives (subsystems). As far as the ACBL is concerned, these were mostly associated to inheritances.

The first generations of this lineage (in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries) produced but slightly diverse document types, most of them relating to property. As time went by, as the family produced and preserved more documents its typologies tended to become more diverse¹².

Initially, documents were arranged in bundles and retrieved using short synopses on the back of each document, with annotations regarding type and geographical location. There are also indications in the first inventory on the existence of different lists of documents. The documents might have been stored in a single container — a safe, a chest or a trunk. Eventually, as document preservation and management grew in complexity, during the early eighteenth century a specific retrieval tool (the inventory) became necessary. This tool allowed the family to better handle a significant amount of information. Still, it is possible to claim with no reservations that the Figueiredo family's documents were not set together as an archive prior to 1722. In fact, the inventory, the *Tombo de 1722*¹³ commissioned by Rodrigo António de Figueiredo, is a representation of the archive's first known structure and signaled the awakening of an *archival* consciousness within the Figueiredo lineage¹⁴. Unfortunately, the *tombo's* author remains unknown.

The *Tombo de 1722* features four individual sections, specified in the titles given to each of them¹⁵. The first section describes the properties, mentioning their status — either *arrendadas* (rented) or *emprazadas* (an emphyteutic lease) — and identifying the tenants and rent value. The second section of this inventory indicates the values of collected rents and the tenants to whom they corresponded. The third section of the *tombo* records the liabilities attached to each asset. The fourth and last section features the actual inventory of the archive's documents. The inventory was produced after originally collecting *todos os papeis que se acharão* (“all the papers found”). Exhaustiveness was

¹² SOUSA, 2017: 142.

¹³ ACBL, cx. 47, nr. 1.

¹⁴ MARCUS, 2016.

¹⁵ SOUSA, 2015: 130-131.

essential for the description and numbering of each document. These tasks, in turn, were instrumental in making the inventory an effective document retrieval tool¹⁶. This retrieval instrument allowed the addition of new descriptions, as documents were produced, providing some blank space between descriptions. It featured several supplementary summaries, with additional information and more recent data than in the original summary, as well as different handwriting. As a particularly interesting example, the first bundle description¹⁷ originally featured nothing but the word “Maço 1º” (first bundle). The rest was left blank, for subsequent inscription (Table 2). This folio had been reserved for a specific document type: five *padrões de juro* (a type of sovereign bonds) and *cartas de comenda* (charters of commandery) belonging to Rodrigo António de Figueiredo. The first bundle of the collection featured some of the most important documents of the archive and, as they reported to important sources of revenue, their preservation was critical¹⁸.

Furthermore the text in this folio is informative as far as the inventory’s construction is concerned. The later insertion of a description for these *padrões* is also related to the fact that the family was attempting to claim those documents from the royal archive. This explains why the folio was left blank. It also evidences the desire to keep these *padrões* available — by placing them in the first bundle — and to preserve the “right” order between the document number and the documents’ storage site.

As we previously mentioned, documents were first separated and arranged into bundles. Meanwhile, one more step was taken in order to (re)organize the collection; the placing of the bundles inside sixteen drawers of two cabinets. The transferring of the documents to drawers is quite relevant, since it was prompted, on one hand, by the need to optimize storage space, and, on the other, by the need to keep the documents separate, relying on a more sophisticated classification scheme¹⁹. However, we cannot be sure if the docu-

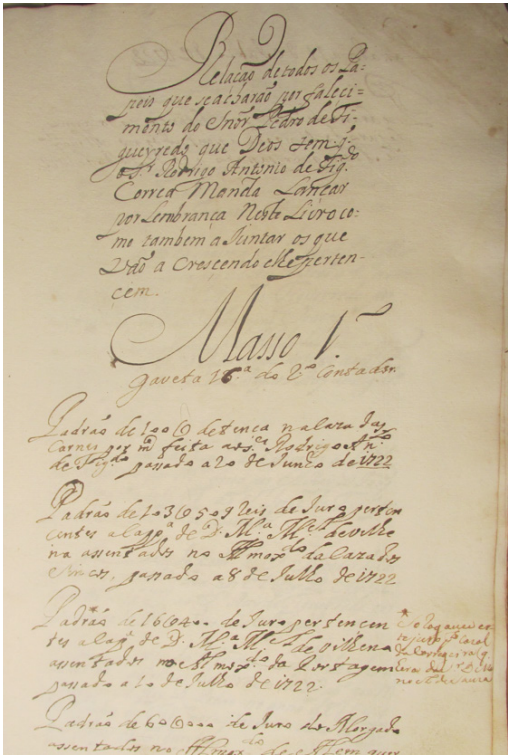
¹⁶ SOUSA, 2015: 53,130.

¹⁷ Corresponding to folios 31 and 31 *verso* of the *Tombo de 1722*.

¹⁸ FERREIRA, 1981: 512-513; MONTEIRO, 1992.

¹⁹ SILVA; RODRIGUES, 2012: 614-615.

ments were stored in the two cabinets prior to the inventory's production and, on the other hand, we cannot set the date of the drawers' numbering.



Initial page of the document inventory in the *Tombo de 1722*

Use, preservation and retrieval of documents is also well evidenced in a document, probably produced in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, entitled “Notes and admonitions on what *Senhor* Rodrigo Antonio de Figueiredo ought to do and upkeep regarding the particulars of his household and homesteads”²⁰. The document claims that “proper” preservation and guardianship are crucial for household management. It points out the necessary “housekeeping” tasks, as well as the information control process carried out through the archive’s documents and all sorts of copies/certificates. In

²⁰ “Apontamentos e advertencias do que he necessario ao Senhor Rodrigo Antonio de Figueyredo fazer e por corrente sobre os particulares de sua caza e fazendas” (ACBL, cx. 20, nr. 6 (4th)).

this process, notaries, with their authentication capacity duly acknowledged by political authorities, were crucial for the production of copies and certificates which compensated for any documentary losses or shortcomings of the archive²¹. This document corroborates the importance of producing and preserving certificates: it is an example, most certainly not by accident, of the most prevalent document type in the collection at the time of Rodrigo António de Figueiredo.

Another example of document usage by the family in the eighteenth century can be found in a document named “Account of the homesteads owned by the late *Senhor* Pedro de Figueiredo, which were in his possession at the time of his passing, both free and held in bond, the types of allowances paid, and titles, and papers related to them”²². Items in this document follow a standard structure. They begin by identifying the property and its origin, either through purchase or inheritance. The property is then classified according to type: *morgado*, *vínculo* (bond) or *prazo* (emphyteutic lease). Then follows a list of documents kept in the ACBL concerning each property, making reference to their typology and the producers. Finally, whenever documents important for proof of ownership were missing from the archive, such absence is noted.

This *Account of the homesteads* includes marginalia. Just like the *Tombo de 1722*, it appears that this document was supplemented with additional information obtained later. Since the annotations were penned in a different hand, the authors are different from the main text’s. Part of the notes were inserted on the left side of the main text for better/quicker visibility and contain the name and yield — rent paid in money or payment in kind — of each property. The annotations, placed on the right side of the text, mention the liabilities associated to the property. Each note references the item described, highlighting, clarifying or adding information to it, including the worth of assets and liabilities, the type of asset, the tenants of each asset, and sometimes the information that the corresponding deed was (not) available at a given moment.

²¹ CAMMAROSANO, 1991: 267.

²² Original title: “Memoria das fazendas que pessuya o Sr. Pedro de Figueiredo que Deos tem, e de que se achava de posse athé seu falecimento assim Livres como de Morgado qualidade dellas penssoens que pagão e Titollos , e papéis que se acharão a ellas pertencentes” (ACBL, cx. 20, nr 6 (2nd)).

At the end of the text, the author clarifies that the information provided “is as much as could be found in the papers and accounts, such as commissioned by Rodrigo António de Figueiredo.”²³ That is, Rodrigo António de Figueiredo had ordered the compiling of all available data on his house, resorting to the documents in the collection. The *Account of the homesteads* was a result of the search for such data, presenting it in a way that was relatively simple and easy to read, as if it to summarize it. Although it is not a retrieval tool, but rather an informative file on properties, income, liabilities, it gives essential information over the documents, either available or missing and it still is a good example of the use of documents in this family archive.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the family left to Brazil and found it fitting to carry out a new inventory, the *Tombo de 1807* requested by Vasco Manuel de Figueiredo Cabral da Câmara, whose author is still unidentified²⁴. The *Tombo* consists of two volumes bound in fabric in an unassuming fashion, since they were most likely destined for “everyday” usage, providing for frequent consultation. A third volume might have been produced at the time, yet was left unbound. The first volume features a description of each *morgado* and chapel, identifying its origin and founder, the process through which it was assimilated into the house’s estate, its income and corresponding liabilities. Additionally, it describes all other properties, the *alcaidaria mor* (castle governorship) of Sertã and Pedrógão, five commanderies, crown assets and *tenças* (stipends) belonging to the house. Moreover, the author of the *Tombo de 1807* indicated the importance of each *morgado* within the set, resorting to a “scale”. Some *morgados* were deemed more important in view of their antiquity and size, thus earning the “*Solar desta caza*”²⁵ (family manor) classification. These were two *morgados* (in Lisbon and in Mafra), as well as the Quinta de Ota, which were all part of the Figueiredo family’s estate since early sixteenth century. Genealogy is an innovation introduced in the *Tombo de*

²³ Translation from the original: “He o que se pode saber pelos papéis e memorias que se tem achado pela deligencia que o Senhor Rodrigo António de Figueiredo tem mandado fazer” (ACBL, cx. 1, nr. 15, fl.10-10v).

²⁴ SOUSA, 2015: 142-143.

²⁵ ACBL, Liv. 51, p.1 (*morgado* of Castelo); p.11 (*morgado* of Lobagueira); p.157 (Quinta de Ota).

1807. It is presented via family trees, which supplement the textual information. Each family tree clarifies the documentation, since it comes associated with the corresponding *morgado(s)*. In fact, genealogy was crucial since the correct kinship's knowledge provided the families information about the right to inherit an ancestor's entail estate. Besides that, each family tree establishes an important connection between the heirs and their ancestors and each one with family memory.

The second volume of the *Tombo de 1807*, the "Index of Every Paper in the House's Archive" ("*Index de Todos os Papéis do Arquivo da Casa*"), contains the actual inventory of the collection. It begins with an index, mostly with typologies of documents. Analysis of other inventories from that period has revealed that such a structure was quite common²⁶. Most of the actual document descriptions identify the producer, beneficiaries, notaries, magistrates and other parties involved in the act recorded. Each description also indicates where and when the document was produced. They also state whether it was a copy, a transcript or a certificate. At the end of each description, the number of the bundle in which the document was filed, the type or name of the corresponding property, and the number ascribed to the document within the bundle (where items were filed in chronological order) are all mentioned. The bundle's physical organization did not match the order of the documents in the inventory. Hence, the physical placement of some bundles associated to properties was left untouched, yet their description was fitted into some category. As an example, documents related to the Quinta de Ota were physically preserved in bundles number 7 and 8, yet they might be described in different sections. At this time, the method for storing documents also underwent considerable changes. In the *Tombo de 1722*, as mentioned before, documents were folded and tied together into bundles. In 1807, they were unfolded, levelled out and inserted in appropriate sleeves, which, in turn, were arranged in bundles²⁷. The sleeves were produced by the author of the *Tombo de 1807*, since the handwriting on them is identical to that of the *Tombo* and they feature each document's description, matching the one in the inventory. Each

²⁶ ROSA; HEAD (eds.), 2015.

²⁷ SILVA; RODRIGUES, 2012: 601.

sleeve includes the following data: the bundle's number, at the upper-left corner; the name of the *morgado* or property, should the document correspond to one, at the top; and the document type, at the upper-right corner. The document number appears a little below these items, at the center. The summary is located immediately below the number. The sleeve served a number of crucial purposes: providing a summary of the document, for easy identification; gathering documents under the same case/subject in a file; simplifying storage; offering the possibility of (re)arranging the document within the corresponding bundle. By highlighting the document type, the bundle and document numbers, it was provided an immediate visibility, which simplified the process of restoring the document to its original location, after consultation.

The *Tombo de 1807* presents another interesting feature in the description of the documents, which is also applicable to the text in the first volume. The parents of Vasco Manuel de Figueiredo Cabral da Câmara — the inventory's requester — were identified by their names and by the titles of “*Senhor*” or “*Senhor D.*” and the closest relatives were usually named after their kin relation to the requester, which resulted in a very personal tone, like “my father” or “my mother”. This sort of appellation occurred more frequently while describing documents produced by Vasco's closest relatives up to the third generation, such as “*Ofícios de meu avô*” (my grandfather's deeds) or “*Testamento de minha avó*” (my grandmother's last will). It was also employed for more distant ancestors, who were identified by the number of generations separating them from the requester: “*meu 6º Avô*” (“my sixth grandfather”)²⁸ or “*meu 7º Avô*” (“my seventh grandfather”)²⁹.

This habit raises the issue of the inventory's authorship, introducing the possibility of collaboration. Even though it is not possible to verify how the documents' descriptions were written, two hypotheses should be considered: either Vasco Manuel participated in their production — by presenting written notes or dictating summaries, for instance — or he gave the cartulary precise instructions for his parents to be described as presented above.

²⁸ ACBL, Liv. 51, p.1.

²⁹ ACBL, Liv. 51, p.11.

As previously stated, a third volume was planned for this *tombo* in addition to the two bound volumes. Although finished, this third volume was left unbound³⁰. It is likely that it would have consisted of a set of quires of a similar format, dimensions, paper type and handwriting. As far as the contents are concerned, in the quires documents are no longer arranged by type, but rather according to the numbering in their bundle. This would allow immediately to identify the documents collected in each bundle.

Production of the *Tombo de 1807*'s three volumes required deeper insight on the archiving method, presenting new avenues for document search and retrieval — by type or by bundle, in addition to all the information gathered and made available on each property.

It seems clear that the Figueiredo family's document production was connected to property and the entail model, which reflects the increasing complexity and financial burden associated to property systems. The need to provide evidence before the Crown's institutions and the courtrooms, as well as the latter's growing role in settling property issues, rendered document preservation increasingly common and essential. Document preservation was associated to the storing of the collection in a house and inside a chest, cabinet or cupboard. The various document storage techniques were also exemplified. In the Figueiredo family, transmission within the house usually involved the transference of the lord's archive to his heirs. With each generation, inheriting the house meant that the heirs were responsible for its maintenance and improvement — both economic and social — which demanded a profound knowledge of its assets. The need to control information and, consequently, property and income, prompted the need for inventories. By the early nineteenth century, these were no longer mere document retrieval tools, with informative contexts and a practical approach. They encompassed and materialized genealogy and family memory. Finally, as the nineteenth-century law which disentailed the *morgados* and chapels rendered document contents obsolete, this collection became a haven for family memory, effectively materializing it.

³⁰ ACBL, cx. 117, nr. 819-1.

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**STRATEGIES OF SOCIAL ASCENSION
AND MEMORY PERPETUATION: THE ARCHIVE
OF CASA DAS MOURAS**

ABSTRACT: With a growing interest demonstrated in the last years, family archives are a wealth of information not only to History, but also to other scientific areas such as Anthropology, Sociology and Geography, becoming as well an object of countless works in Archival Science. The contribution that a documentary collection of one or more families can give goes beyond the questions of its organization as well as the reconstitution of the genealogical ties, in that it deepens questions about the sociabilities and roles that these individuals represented in their own time. The present work comes in the continuity of the study of these archives through organic research on the archive of Casa das Mouras, deposited in the Arquivo Municipal de Penafiel since 2004. Constituted from a marriage, this archive covers the documentation of the paternal family of Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira, brought into the dwelling home of his wife, Efigénia Amália Moura Torres de Castro, whose maternal family had already produced documentation and demonstrated reading practices. The reconstitution of the genealogy of Columbano and Efigénia was followed by the organization of the respective archive, based on the systemic model as a form of preservation of the organics of the family.

Keywords: archives; history; genealogy; family; Penafiel

RESUMO: Com o crescente interesse que tem sido demonstrado ao longo dos últimos anos, os Arquivos de Família constituem um manancial de informação que se liga não só à História como também a outras áreas disciplinares, tais como a Antropologia, a Sociologia e a Geografia, tornando-se ainda alvo de inúmeros trabalhos de Arquivística. A riqueza polissémica que um acervo documental de uma ou mais famílias pode dar ultrapassa não só as questões da sua organização como a reconstituição dos laços genealógicos, aprofundando questões acerca das sociabilidades e papéis que estes indivíduos representaram no seu tempo. O presente trabalho resulta da continuidade do estudo destes acervos, através do estudo orgânico do Arquivo da Casa das Mouras, depositado no Arquivo Municipal de Penafiel desde 2004. A partir de um casamento, este arquivo alberga documentação da família paterna de Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira, trazida para a casa

de morada de sua esposa, D. Efigénia Amália Moura Torres de Castro, cuja família materna já demonstrava alguma produção de documentação e práticas de leitura. À reconstrução da genealogia de Columbano e Efigénia seguiu-se a organização do respetivo arquivo, baseado no modelo sistémico como forma de preservar a orgânica da família.

Palavras-chave: arquivos; história; genealogia; família; Penafiel

Introduction

The work presented here was developed within the scope of the Master's dissertation in History and Heritage – Major in Historical Archives at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in the University of Porto. In order to study the process of “memorializing” a family, translated into the production of information, the family archive of Casa das Mouras, deposited in the Municipal Archive of Penafiel, was chosen and the historical and genealogical study made of the family that produced this quite peculiar archive.

With the reconstruction of the genealogical lines that united these individuals from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, it was possible to identify the main producers of information, organizing this archive through the construction of the organic-functional structure through the systemic model, following the description of the documents for the preparation of the catalog.

The respective study and organization allowed us to answer questions about what a family archive contains: Who were these families? Which roles did they play over the centuries and what influence did they have over the local panorama at the social, economic and political levels of society? What is the importance of the documentation they saved and organized over more than 250 years?

Historical context

As in other archives already studied, the case presented here is an example of a family that knew how to use the strategies necessary for the social ascension they aspired to at the time. Marriage unions with the intention of becoming part of the nobility, the acquisition of assets and their protection

through the institution of *morgadios*, and the notion of the importance of the family identity linked to a “house”, were practices that have existed since the sixteenth century.

Since early, for many times the term “house” was given more importance than the individuals that belonged to it, being a term closely linked to titles of nobility and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries marked by competition between noble houses in search of status, heritage and power¹. In this specific case, the Casa das Mouras never reached a title of nobility through the members of the original family for the actual house’s name owes to an oral tradition that nicknamed it with the surname of the women of the family. It was the marital unions with members of the nobility and especially the connection to a *morgadio* that led the house to the wealth of documentation that came to us.

As a model of family organization, the *morgadio* intended with its first objective to combat the dispersion of land by keeping it in the family, with the main source of wealth associated with the ownership of land and buildings that allowed for other sources of income through lease contracts². In addition to their economic role, *morgadios* were linked to the funerary perpetuation of their founders through legacies and masses. One of the main intentions of the founders of *morgadios* was to preserve and enhance the name and memory of their houses, often imposing on the descendants codes of conduct that would transmit models of behavior, rules of social conduct, and forms of relationship onto them³. The family branch involved in the creation of the archive of Casa das Mouras was also related to the previous social ascension strategies, with Belchior Ribeiro, a merchant from Porto, establishing an entail of his assets that was subsequently increased through purchases and foreclosures. Later, his great-grandson, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro, consecrated the same *morgadio* to Nossa Senhora da Vela, taking a coat of arms charter and then ascending to the nobility.

¹ MONTEIRO, 1998: 35.

² ROSA, 2012a: 185.

³ ROSA, 1995: 20.

The involvement of the family, the individual who exercised power over all members of the family, the importance of the "House" as aggregator of the latter, and the role that the *morgadios* had in maintaining wealth and strengthening incomes, all contributed to the creation of private archives. Just like several families at the time, the group presented here was also confronted with the need to create a private archive. The necessity to document and prove the ownership of land led to the creation of spaces where the documentation that the noble houses or the upper bourgeoisie produced could be kept, although it is impossible to say that all noble houses in Portugal had organized accounts⁴. Apart from the houses that the author Nuno Monteiro names as the *Grandeza*, there would not be a corps of administrative officials or organized accounts which would have given rise to a well-constructed archive. Additionally, in the large rural houses there would not exist specific places or certain kinds of furniture for storing books and other documentation⁵.

The archive of Casa das Mouras presented itself in the convergence of these examples, with an organization at the level of the documents about the *morgadio*, previous to the moving of Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira to this house, but coming to us only as an archive accommodated in a multipurpose room in a rural house. But not only documentation related to the economic life of these houses exists in these archives. They also offer us the testimony of past experiences, personal documents of those who produced them, memories that not only allow us to reconstruct family lines often lost in time, but also give us a picture of a past society. It is such testimonies and examples related to the archive of the house studied here that what follows will focus on.

Historical-Administrative Space

Administratively, the house currently known as Casa das Mouras is located in the civil parish of Rio de Moinhos, in the municipality of Penafiel. Being

⁴ MONTEIRO, 1998: 409.

⁵ MAGALHÃES, 1994: 156.

part of the district of Porto, in the north of Portugal, Penafiel was already mentioned in medieval documents, ascending to a village named Arrifana de Sousa in 1741⁶. In 1770, Penafiel became a city and its administrative background reveals us a municipality with multiple jurisdictions and landlords throughout History, which justifies the considerable number of *solares* (manor houses) in the entire territory. In the limits of the parish it is possible to point out the manor of Quinta da Aveleda, while in the rest of the municipality more manors can be found: the Honra de Barbosa, the Casa de Mesão Frio, the Quinta do Bovieiro, the Casa da Companhia, the Casa de Cabanelas, among others.

Located in the municipality of Penafiel, on the right bank of the river Tâmega, stands the parish of Rio de Moinhos, where the Casa das Mouras is situated. Casa das Mouras is a country house which has an internal oratory and although there was never a coat of arms, the house preserved its archive until 2004⁷.

The majority of the documentation in the archive of Casa das Mouras pertains to Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro da Silveira, nobleman and the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela. After completing my master's thesis I searched for the family's manor house, as Columbano, even though he resided in the Casa das Mouras, never made this house – which belonged to his wife's family – the noble house of the *morgadio*. Based on the documentation studied, I ended up identifying the Quinta de Leiria, located in the civil parish of Alpendurada e Matos, in the municipality of Marco de Canaveses, as the noble home of Columbano's father family. Today it is a complete ruin, although it still keeps the coat of arms of Pinto Ribeiro de Castro.

⁶ The first reference to the expression “land of Penafiel” and not to the ancient term “Anégia” dates from 1064, the expression “term of Penafiel” appearing in 1220 (FUNDO, 2010: 18).

⁷ Populated since 4th millennium B.C., the first document related to Rio de Moinhos dates from the year 1056, being throughout the Middle Ages a pioneer in milling and fishing — a fact mentioned in the Inquiries of 1258 (CARDOSO, 2013: 20).

The family/families of the Casa das Mouras

As the most discussed issue in the “3.º Ciclo de Conferências de História Contemporânea: Arquivos de Família & Investigação em História”, the organic study of the Casa das Mouras archive allowed us to identify the family ties and relationships established, responding to some issues raised at the beginning of this project. Based on the documents, two families were identified: the Pinto Ribeiro de Castro family (larger volume and older documentation), and the Moura e Castro family (owners of Casa das Mouras). The date 2nd February 1835 marks the union of these two families with the marriage of Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira to Efigénia Amália de Moura Torres, in the parish of Rio de Moinhos. The archive as we know it takes shape here, with the incorporation of Columbano’s family documentation, making him the main figure of this archive.

Born on 26th November 1804 in the city of Porto, little is known about Columbano’s childhood. Son of Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro and Genoveva Rita Portugal da Silveira, he would inherit from his father — dead at the time of his birth — the administration of the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela, traveling to Brazil with his mother and his stepfather, Isidoro de Almada e Castro — who would become guardian of his property during his nonage — at the time of the French invasions. A *fidalg*o da Casa Real⁸, he was not limited to the role of property owner, following a career just like his father and grandfather. He graduated in Humanities, having also a military career as a lieutenant colonel of the artillery in the Brazilian army, for which he was decorated with a gold star by heroic acts.

Married to Efigénia Amália de Moura Torres in 1835, when he was 30 years old, Columbano started to live in Casa das Mouras and had with his wife nine children between 1836 and 1849. From here Columbano was actively involved with the politics of the municipality of Penafiel, as councillor of the city council of Penafiel twice in 1840 and 1849. Between 1846 and 1847 he became a member of the same city council and between 1868 and 1873 he held the

⁸ A title of nobility.

chair of administrator of the Municipality of Penafiel. Shortly before his death he was still the president of the civil board of the parish of Rio de Moinhos.

However, the main source of wealth of his family came from the income of the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela, of which Columbano was the fifth and last administrator. This entail was established in 1673 by his fourth paternal grandfather, Belchior Ribeiro⁹, who was a merchant and owner of several houses in the city of Porto, and married to Ana da Silva, mother of his only son, Manuel Ribeiro da Silva. By will, he instituted an entail with the obligation of masses, declaring his son as administrator and heir of his assets. Manuel Ribeiro da Silva, known as a merchant and resident in Rua das Flores, was the first administrator of the entail. Having reunited many assets through purchases and leases, he was succeeded by his son, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro Libório, a businessman like his father. However, it would be his firstborn son, named Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro, paternal grandfather of Columbano, to give this *morgadio* a new lease of life and greater importance.

Born in 1714 in the city of Porto, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro became the third administrator of the entail established by his great-grandfather, also inheriting the terms belonging to his mother in her inheritance, like the assets of his brother Francisco, a novice in Funchal. He married in 1746 to Ana Perpétua Saldanha, who also inherited the entire fortune of her parents as their only daughter, and the couple had a large offspring of seven children. In 1775, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro was able to reduce the quantity of masses of the legate and, wanting to attach the inheritance of his brothers and another amount, obtained royal provision for a second institution. His heir was then obliged to pay for fifteen annual masses for the souls of the founder and the administrators, in honor and praise of Nossa Senhora da Vela, and this *morgadio* came to be known by this name from 1780. Gathering considerable wealth linked to the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro took a coat of arms charter in 1741, which was granted to him after his noble lineage was proved, acquiring the title of *fidalgo da Casa Real*. He

⁹ Belchior Ribeiro is the oldest producer of the Casa das Mouras archive, his production being considered a transaction between houses with Francisco Pereira, in the year 1672 (CARDOSO, 2013: 177).

claimed that his lineage originated from D. Pedro I and D. Inês de Castro, descending from their son, D. João Infante de Portugal, duke of Valencia de Campos (1349-1397).

Not only the entry into nobility and the second institution of the *morgadio* marked the administration of Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro. If, until this point, we witnessed the experiences and legacies of a typical bourgeois family of Porto merchants, from here on we see the importance of political and academic careers as a factor of social ascension, which extended far beyond the role of property owner played by the firstborn, and of clergymen played by the younger brothers. A member of the Holy Office since 1750, Manuel Pinto Ribeiro de Castro held the positions of judge in Vila da Feira and *ouvidor* in Vila Real. A graduate in Law, he was also *corregedor* of the district of Porto¹⁰.

His firstborn son, Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro, held several political positions. As the 4th administrator of the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela, Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro reveals himself as the best known individual in this family. Born in 1749, he obtained a bachelor's degree in law from the University of Coimbra, holding positions of judge and *provedor* in many villages in the north of Portugal. In 1793, he was designated *juiz demarcante* in the province of Trás-os-Montes, where he developed the work he became known for: the *Mappa da Provincia de Trás-os-Montes*, completed in 1796. He would still serve as a *corregedor* in the district of Feira, describing the location in 1801. In 1802, Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro was *desembargador* of the *relação* court in Porto. For his career he would receive the *beca honorária* in 1793 and entered the Order of Christ in 1799.

However, his action as fourth administrator of the *morgado* of Nossa Senhora da Vela was fleeting. Since the death of his father, he continued to purchase assets, enriching the entail. However, he died in 1804, less than two years after his marriage with Genoveva Rita Portugal da Silveira. He left her pregnant with his only son, Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira, who would inherit a *morgadio* which, in 1813, extended from the

¹⁰ *Ouvidor* was the designation given to the magistrates who supervised the justice of the noble lands in Portugal. *Corregedor* was the designation given to the administrative and judicial magistrate who represented the Crown in each one of the districts of Portugal.

possession of houses in the city of Porto to properties and leases in several municipalities¹¹.

We cannot, nevertheless, disregard the family that originally owned Casa das Mouras. Unlike Columbano's family, there were no noble assignments to the family of Efigenia Amália de Moura Torres, although her father's family held important judicial positions. Born on 21st September 1810 in the parish of Rio de Moinhos, Efigenia was the second child of the marriage between Rodrigo Bravo Cardoso Torres and Maria Máxima de Moura Torres. Her maternal grandfather, João José de Moura e Castro, can be surely identified as the owner of the house, proving through lease contracts that he was resident in the said place of the Cans, being also the oldest information producer in Efigénia's family. He married Leonor Maria Joaquina Vieira Borges in 1770, and the couple had eight children. He died in 1809 and in the inventory he left behind the house passed to his eldest son, Francisco de Moura e Castro, the most "prominent" figure among Efigénia's uncles at the municipal level. He was knight of the Order of Christ and brother of the Misericórdia de Penafiel in the year of 1801, performing functions of *mesário* and substitute of the *provedor*. In 1839 he died single and childless, bequeathing all his property, including the house, to his sister Maria Máxima, the only of eight siblings to marry, and through it acquired a connection to the nobility.

We can see here the development of the oral tradition for the name Casa das Mouras. In fact, it was a house that always had a large number of women. Maria Máxima also lived in Casa das Mouras, together with her daughters, until her death in 1863. Two of the daughters got married and left the house, one died young and Efigénia would remain in the house even after being married, also living with her sister, Henriqueta Augusta. We can not dwell on the individual analysis of each member of the family nor can we speak specifically about each child by Efigénia and Columbano. Their eldest son, also named Columbano, born in 1836, had a career in law, marrying Ana Adelaide Monteiro Guedes Nobre Mourão from the Casa de Abragão. From

¹¹ The *morgado* de Nossa Senhora da Vela extended across the municipalities of Barcelos, Castelo de Paiva, Espinho, Gondomar, Maia, Marco de Canaveses, Penafiel, Póvoa de Varzim, Santa Maria da Feira, Vila do Conde, and Vila Nova de Gaia (CARDOSO, 2013: 27).

this union only one son is known, born in 1869 and also called Columbano. It is known that he did not reside in the Casa das Mouras and that when he married his father gave him the Quinta de Leiria, so that he could administer it independently.

As for the Casa das Mouras itself, it did not belong to Columbano, but to his sister-in-law, Henriqueta Augusta de Moura Torres, who had inherited it from their mother. When, on 24th November 1877, Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira died, his inheritance was distributed between his nine children and his wife, Efigénia becoming responsible for the archive and library deposited in the Casa das Mouras. She died on 26th May 1885, and in 1890 her sister Henriqueta also died, leaving the Casa das Mouras for her niece and goddaughter, Maria Henriqueta Torres de Castro, countess of Bovieiro. In 1917, only the countess of Bovieiro and two single sisters were alive. That same year, the countess passed away, determining in her will the desire that her sisters continue to live in Casa das Mouras, but leaving it to her “faithful” administrator of Quinta de Bovieiro, Fr. José Joaquim Pereira, along with other assets. With his death in the mid 1960s, the house passed on to José Pereira da Rocha, whose family has kept the archive until today.

The archive today

Columbano not only sought to maintain the land heritage, but also contributed to a strategy of perpetuating the family’s memory. During his life he was concerned to preserve not only the documentation that attested the possession of his assets, the institution of *morgadio* and nobilitation, but also the memory of the genealogical events of his ancestors and descendants. The best example is the book entitled *Livro de notas necessarias e emdespençaves à Casa*. In it, Columbano wrote down data about his ancestors and, above all, information about his marriage and the birth of his nine children. He also detailed the career paths of his children and the marriages of his daughters, as well as the birth of his grandchildren. Such documentation not only enabled me to reconstruct the genealogy of this family, but also to extract information that was subsequently compared with other sources and parish registers.

The archive that came down to us was preserved in this house even after the death of Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira and his last children, in the 1920s, kept by the new owners. In 2001, the archive and library were placed together in a room on the right side of the main entrance of the house, a room that was not created for depositing the documentation but was used by the family for this purpose. For reasons of restoration of the building, in 2004 the collection was transferred to the Municipal Archive of Penafiel, where it was deposited under a protocol and where the documentation was subjected to disinfestation.

As a result of my Master's dissertation, this archive is currently studied and organized according to the systemic model, which defends an organic structure based on the generations and members/persons united by kinship ties, as a form of organization. It is available for consultation in the catalog and also on the GEAD-OPAC digital platform, used by the Municipal Archive of Penafiel.

Conclusion

Through the study of this family archive we could take a look at and understand the strategies of social ascension that the families used, from matrimonial ties to property acquisition and establishment of *morgadios*, and to nobilitation and political and juridical careers. The genealogical and historical study of this family led us to an archive in which a previous genealogical study already existed, made to prove the family noble lineage in 1741. This study was also tied to Columbano Pinto Ribeiro de Castro Portugal da Silveira's concern to perpetuate the family memory, writing down not only all the details about his descendants but also about his ascendants, and bringing together important documents like family wills.

The archival treatment of this archive, both in its organization through a systemic model and in the description of its documents, has proved that even though it was a house outside of what Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro called the *Grandeza*, it included families who cared about the organization of the documents by bringing together the history of the Morgado de Nossa Senhora

da Vela in *tombos*, making indexes, summaries and transcripts of the older documents. This concern was extended by Columbano to receipts and correspondence. The presence of a large library reveals a culture of specialized reading and writing, concerning both the juridical and ecclesiastical careers and a literary affection.

We should consider that studying a family archive means studying places of memories, personal and social paths, which constitutes an important contribute to History and to the understanding of the organic nature of the families and of the social roles played by their members throughout their lives. A parallel contribution that allows us to observe these experiences through the analysis of the family documents, which often serve as a complement to the information found in other institucional archives, making it accessible to researchers.

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RESEARCH ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY *CACIQUISMO* AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FAMILY ARCHIVES

ABSTRACT: Family archives, either privately owned or preserved by public institutions, are a vital source of material for researchers working on topics such as contemporary social and political relations, elections, the power exerted by certain political agents and their clienteles. This short article aims at presenting the remarkable value of such documentation for these topics, as well as addressing their sporadic use in Portugal — unlike Spain, for instance — when conducting research on political elites. Firstly, a comparison will be drawn between research work carried out in Spain and Portugal based on such sources. Secondly, the difficulties faced will be highlighted, as well as the methodological issues at stake and the types of information available.

Keywords: private archives; family archives; *caciquismo*; boss rule; notables; political influence

RESUMO: Os arquivos de família, depositados em arquivos públicos ou em posse de privados, são uma das fontes fundamentais para o investigador que estuda as relações sociais, políticas, as eleições, o poder de determinados atores políticos e as suas redes clientelares, para o período contemporâneo. Este pequeno artigo procura mostrar como o uso desta valiosa documentação é preciosa para estudar os aspetos já referidos e que em Portugal tem sido pouco usada nos estudos já efetuados sobre as elites políticas, ao contrário do que sucede em Espanha. Desta forma, em primeiro lugar faremos a comparação entre os trabalhos desenvolvidos em Espanha e em Portugal com este tipo de fontes e, em segundo lugar, tentaremos evidenciar os vários obstáculos que se colocam a quem trabalha com estes espólios, os problemas metodológicos que se apresentam e que tipo de informação a que se pode aceder.

Palavras-chave: arquivos privados; arquivos de família; caciquismo; notáveis; influência política

Over the past few years, my research has focused on *caciquismo* (a concept close to boss rule), partisanship and the electoral system in Portugal.

This work culminated in my PhD thesis, *Pretos e Brancos. Liberalismo e Caciquismo no distrito de Castelo Branco (1852-1910)* (Blacks and Whites. Liberalism and *Caciquismo* in the District of Castelo Branco), defended on the 16th December 2016 at the NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Such studies depend on the cross-referencing of information from several sources, both manuscript and printed: various types of official documents, such as election data, prefectorial reports and parliamentary debates; contemporary books and brochures; and local and national newspapers. Private correspondence is of special importance for research of this kind. Although letters are easily accessible in public archives, the same cannot be said for private collections. Portuguese families do not usually authorise access to private letters, and many collections have been destroyed. In Spain, however, letter collections have been employed extensively for several research projects.

Some exceptions notwithstanding, *caciquismo* has been little studied in Portugal. Research on local political elites has been restricted to municipalities, mainly on the social background of councillors. Almost nothing is known of these elites' extended role in the construction of the liberal state and the development of the political/party system in Portugal during the nineteenth century. This is partly due to insufficient research on the private correspondence, which would provide evidence of the acts of the *caciques*, their intense political negotiations and the power relationships between groups and individuals.

The word *cacique* (meaning a local boss) was widely used in Spain, having been imported from the Spanish colonies in America where it was employed to describe the indigenous chiefs. In nineteenth-century politics, it became a synonym for a local political leader. It became widespread during the Spanish Restoration. In Portugal, words used to describe local leaders included: *influentes* (influential), *mandões* (bosses), *sobas* (African tribal leaders), *régulos* (small kings) or *capitães-mores* (captains-general). The last three terms have their origins in Portuguese history.

Local *caciques* or *influentes* were, by definition, notables who occupied a position of power in a given community. Their political influence functioned as a natural extension of their acquired social status, which in turn might

be based on economic power, family traditions, or personal prestige. They exerted effective control over municipal government, appointing regional prefects, manipulating elections, selecting members of parliament, and restricting the government's activities in the areas under their influence. They would often assemble into political factions within parliament. Their actions sometimes led to the downfall of governments.

Caciquismo is tied to the liberal regimes of southern Europe, and it was quite unlike for notables in northern Europe. Throughout the nineteenth century, electoral fabrication and corruption, fraud, the preponderance of local notables in mobilising the electorate and controlling voting were widespread throughout all of liberal Europe. Still, in some countries these activities gradually became less conspicuous. In England, for instance, before the 1880s electoral fraud was very common. France and the German Empire were no different¹. This started to change in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, mostly due to the growth of the middle class.

The situation in northern Europe contrasted deeply with that of the South. In the North, industrialisation, urbanisation and increasing literacy rates all contributed to the rise of a strong middle class and vast numbers of labourers, giving rise to social divide and the rejection of any form of dependence from the local notables. In fact, notable politics (the so-called *política dos notáveis*) would originate mass politics. This change first took place in France in the 1870s, then in England and the German Empire by the end of the century. From a political system led by local elites — including the nobility, businessmen, clergymen and school teachers — these countries evolved to a model where political parties mobilised a large number of voters: “The old ad hoc electoral committees suitable to notable politics were replaced by permanent local party organizations”². Alan Kahan described the 1880s as a turning point. As the aristocracy lost prominence, the values of an industrial, urban society took hold, and a renewed middle class began to surface, its values and attitudes influencing the sphere of politics.

¹ ALMEIDA, 1991: 23-25.

² KAHAN, 2003: 175.

As for southern Europe, the politics and practice of *caciquismo* remained in place beyond the nineteenth century, since the region did not see the same developments we find in northern Europe. In the South, industrialisation, city growth and literacy were slower to happen, remaining the norm for decades and delaying development of mass parties, which needed an informed community behind them.

This topic has been the object of much research in Spain, where some have considered it an academic “industry”³. The focus of scholarship has been mostly on the Bourbon Restoration before the Primo de Rivera (1874-1923) coup, since it was during this political cycle that rotativism came to be established in Spain. Much historical work has been developed around this political context, including several studies of a regional scope. Such projects share common subjects such as the political elites, parties, partisan clientele and general political behaviour. These have been synthesised in José Varela Ortega’s book *El poder de la influencia. Geografía del caciquismo en España (1875-1923)*, published in 2001.

The existing studies on Spanish *caciquismo* provide a very clear picture of this phenomenon and important conclusions, among which the following five. Firstly, the local notables’ power could be grounded on family, estate, occupation, and links to political parties and public office. Secondly, the State accepted and endorsed the local elites’ power, on which it relied for the routine functioning of institutions. Thirdly, the widespread establishment of clientele networks — horizontal and vertical — to handle local institutions and control voters more effectively. Fourthly, the struggle between parties in peripheral centres, which (rather than polarising liberals against conservatives) was grounded on individual strategies, personal trust, family traditions and even private feuds. Finally, fraud and manipulation in electoral contexts was widespread. Newer scholarship, however, claims that reactions against traditional *caciquismo* existed.

Family archives play a major role in much of this research, since they contain information that neither the press nor official sources can provide, such as negotiations held privately among individuals. Examples include research

³ MORENO LÚZON, 2006.

by Maria Sierra, María Antonia Peña Guerrero, Sonsoles Gómez Cabornero and Javier Moreno Luzón⁴. They demonstrate how crucial private archives in Spain are for research on the period and the topics at hand. The sources in question are widely preserved and safeguarded in national and provincial archives, foundations and private collections available to the researcher.

Research for Portugal has concentrated on the biographies of individuals with a national standing as well as on local notables as actors in the municipal structures. However, little attention has been paid to the latter's political intervention and their role as *caciques* (in handling local clientele and manipulating elections), to their contribution to the development of the liberal State, to the relationship between centre and periphery, and to their activities in face of the existent political parties. Indeed, studies on *caciquismo* have been almost inexistent, with approaches focusing on the electoral system, the importance of the *caciques* at a general level, and the publishing of primary sources, namely correspondence exchanged between notables (however not as widely and intensely used as in Spain).

As already mentioned, private or family archives and published sources prove essential to researching nineteenth-century *caciquismo*. Access to these sources is difficult, however, and researchers will face obstacles during the process. Therefore, it is important to provide an insight on some of the archives, as well as on the problems raised on consulting them, including the methodological challenges.

Several nationally prominent nineteenth-century politicians bequeathed documents to national archives. Due to their roles in an intense political network, correspondence was exchanged among political agents all over the country. This resulted in a phenomenal wealth of information of the utmost interest for those studying elections, the relationships between parties and factions, political schemes, personal relationships, negotiations, bargaining, disillusionment — in essence, the features of national, regional and local political life. Such collections include those of Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães, Ávila e Bolama, José Luciano de Castro, Rio Maior and Afonso Costa. All are kept in public archives, the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (the National Library of

⁴ SIERRA, 1996; PEÑA GUERRERO, 1998; GÓMEZ CABORNERO, 1999; MORENO LÚZON, 1998.

Portugal) and the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (the National Archive of Torre do Tombo). Sections have already been published. Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães' archive, preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, features letters from several individuals, which help understand the agency of several political players from the 1840s. This was an eventful era in Portugal, as it was then that many notable and influential characters would rise to prominence in regional and national politics. The following years are covered by the Ávila e Bolama collection in the Torre do Tombo, including correspondence from the 1860s and the following decades. The documentation of Luciano de Castro, in the same archive, has partially been published and proves essential to understanding the later century⁵. It features letters exchanged between several individuals and has resulted in publications on specific topics, such as the 1881 and 1901 elections⁶.

Gleaning information from any of these archives is not always straightforward. First of all, collections are generally not fully charted, making it necessary to request the archivist's assistance. Information is also frequently scattered within the archive itself. As an example, José Luciano de Castro's archive, organised in folders named after the sender, has several entries for a single individual, whenever alternative name spellings exist. No uniform rule is in place. A particular search for letters by Manuel Vaz Preto Geraldes⁷, throws up four different entries: Vaz, Vaz Preto, Preto and Geraldes. The two most frequent entries correspond to the most usual variations of the name: Preto and Vaz Preto. As for published archives, it is the editor's prerogative to decide on structure. Archives may be sorted in chronological order, according to the historical period or according to topic. The choice of letters to be published is also a personal decision, which does not always cater for the needs

⁵ MOREIRA, 1998.

⁶ ALMEIDA, 2001.

⁷ Manuel Vaz Preto Geraldes (1828-1902). Member of parliament and peer of the realm, he exerted considerable influence on electoral processes within the Castelo Branco district. His contemporaries perceived him as the typical *cacique*. He was one of the most regular and vocal members of parliament in the chamber of peers. Indeed, the group of notables he led was known as "the blacks" ("preto" being Portuguese for "black") or "friends of Vaz Preto". It was also dubbed the "black party".

of the researcher, who is then left with no choice but to delve into the original collection for added information.

Vast amounts of correspondence were originally published in regional and national newspapers, and are thus also available to the researcher. These sources, however, have been somewhat neglected. Still, my own studies have covered countless such published letters between political agents. They were originally published with various purposes in mind: to establish a political stance on various issues; to justify opinions; to announce a change in political ideology; or to engage in a public offensive against an opponent who would usually reply in the same paper or another closer to his political ideology. Such research is slow and demanding at times, hampered by the archives themselves. Yet, it is arresting in what it says about the practices of the time and the need for public affirmation. Newspapers functioned as the nineteenth-century equivalent of Facebook or Twitter.

In addition to all these sources, family archives are the crown jewel, enriching research immensely. In my case, this was the Tavares Proença archive, a family archive whose contents have been largely published since the 1960s over several issues of the *Revista de Estudos de Castelo Branco*, under José Lopes Dias. We are before an archive of unfathomable value for nineteenth-century politics, one which has been used by several scholars. It is well arranged and organised, with several letters, among these are included individuals of national importance (José Luciano de Castro, Hintze Ribeiro, Mariano de Carvalho and several ministers); local *caciques*, election manipulators ranging from the most renowned to the petty; relations with local authorities (civil governments and municipalities); relations with the local and the national press; and even a number of letters featuring other characters (João Franco, for instance), which provide an outline of the personal and political relationships with individuals outside the Tavares Proença family.

To conclude, given the importance of private archives, they should be preserved and even bequeathed for safeguarding in public institutions. This would allow cataloguing and providing researchers with the documents. This documentation is invaluable, as it feeds several research avenues: election studies; local party structure analysis; studies on the organisation of national

parties; in-depth research on the political relationships between notables; otherwise indiscernible personal feuds grounded on political influence; the relationship between the State and peripheral areas; the relationship between the *caciques* and local authorities; and the negotiations conducted on planned infrastructures, such as railways, roads, bridges, schools, as well as employment-related personal favours. After all, they are the country's fabric.

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WOMEN WRITING AND FAMILY ARCHIVES: THE MISSING STORY

ABSTRACT: The history of womankind can only be properly explored by looking at the writings of women themselves. Because of this, family archives are essential to reconstruct women's biographies historically, which frequently are unknown. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how family archives, and especially biographical writing, make it possible to learn more about the universe of women, in particular in nineteenth-century Portugal. Since most of the examples available concern the aristocracy of the time, some characteristics can be detected that define this writing and the social group it belongs to.

Keywords: women's writing; family archives; aristocracy; history of women; history of nineteenth-century Portugal

Since the feminist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which started with universal suffrage and led up to the feminist liberation movement in the 1960s and '70s, womankind came a long way. Since then, international historiography has sought new perspectives, highlighting the contribution of women in different societies throughout time. This allowed the expansion of historical knowledge, not only on this particular theme but also in other areas, through the use of shared methodological perspectives and analysis. This is the case with subjects such as masculinity and (increasingly) sexuality and gender, which had already begun by the 1980s and '90s.

As demonstrated in an article by Irene Vaquinhas — “Estudos sobre a História das Mulheres em Portugal: as grandes linhas de força no início do século XXI” — in Portugal the history of women has mainly evolved after the reinstatement of democracy following the April 1974 revolution, finding

motivation in the *École des Annales*. As is widely known, the *Annales* school prioritized long-term processes and broadened the study of human actions that, until then, had rarely been studied in history. It also favored interdisciplinarity. Although the movement had first developed in the second quarter of the twentieth century, it became truly significant in Portugal only after the revolution, despite the efforts of Joel Serrão, Oliveira Marques and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho during the *Estado Novo* dictatorship.

Likewise, nineteenth-century history was also marginalized by the *Estado Novo*, and it was only after later that interest in the previous century was renewed. It is in times of revolution, according to Eric Hobsbawm, that notions of liberalism, socialism and democracy arise, concepts that the dictatorship despised.

According to Irene Vaquinhas, women's history initially focused mostly on heroines — queens, suffragettes, journalists — who questioned the status quo and male power specifically. Subsequent historians turned their interest towards anonymous women, about whom very little was known.

However, this research has always depended on a small number of available sources, many of them indirect: legal sources, norms, literature, periodical press, travelogues, sermons and pastoral letters¹.

This naturally raises two questions, both of which are fundamental to the problem of sources and historical knowledge. Firstly, the absence of direct sources, in particular documentation produced by women themselves. The nineteenth century witnessed the development of the periodical press and its specialization, with the result that periodical press for women increased, as well as press written by women. Alongside, some women asserted themselves in literature, however slowly and not without difficulty.

Secondly, the indirect sources are mostly produced by men, regarding both literary and legal and normative texts. Therefore, a male view of women, above all, is the norm and shapes discussion.

How does one go about composing a history of women through women directly, written by and about themselves? The sources are found where women have been confined to for centuries: the domestic space. The excep-

¹ VAQUINHAS, 2009: 241-253.

tions to this rule are women who played different roles than traditional ones: queens, whether in their own right or not; regents; heiresses of noble houses; widows, and members of religious orders.

This is where the importance of family archives comes in, to which Irene Vaquinhas drew attention, since it is where some pleasant surprises may be found to help us write our history of women.

However, caution must be exercised when analyzing the social origin of the producers of these archives. The norm, which certainly applies to Portugal, tends to be that family archives are about aristocratic (or at least noble) families. This means that they refer only to a small part of the Portuguese population throughout the nineteenth century, although they may of course indirectly contain data about other social groups.

The social origin of these families is an important factor in the production of documentation tied to the economic and financial management of aristocratic houses, as well as in the production of official documentation concerning rewards given for service rendered to the crown. Although this continued throughout nineteenth-century Portugal, we can see epistolary pockets forming and, every now and then, autobiographical manuscripts, especially journals, making an appearance. This somewhat contradicts the idea that Portugal lacked tradition in letter-writing and that no other egodocuments were produced, especially when compared to other European countries. It is true that Portugal is a small country, and that its elites were known to have low literacy rates, again compared to those of other European countries. In the eighteenth century, to a great extent these elites were composed of aristocrats, joined in the following century by other social groups, such as the diplomatic corps, businessmen, and financial agents. Despite all this, not only does correspondence exist in large numbers, it has also been preserved.

Since the conservation of archival documents results from construction (once you choose what you want to save) it is easy to understand that documentation relating to land and financial administration survives to a larger extent, as it provided proof of ownership of land, the main guarantor of wealth and heritage. The reasons why correspondence was kept are not as clear. Along with a wish to maintain memory and the emotional connections inherent to this type of text — due to their authors and/or recipients

belonging to the family — historians have developed another theory: that correspondence is a distinctive feature of a cultured, especially aristocratic, elite, characterized by the keeping of libraries, the attendance of artistic performances (theatre, opera, dance), and the taking part in *salons*². These distinctive features, sooner or later, and especially since the nineteenth century, would have been mimicked by other social groups, in particular the bourgeoisie, helped by growing literacy rates and higher education within the aristocratic group itself. In addition, correspondence permitted the strengthening of social ties, the establishing of alliances and the exercise of economic, intellectual and political power³.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, along with the trivialization of correspondence, the writing of diaries and journals also developed, as intimacy, emotions, personal recollections and biographical writing became highly valued by the Romantics⁴. All of these traits were characteristic of the social elite⁵. Correspondence can be roughly characterized as free, self-designed writing, without aesthetic concerns or stylistic features, and usually is closely related to factual events, since it was written at the end of each day⁶.

This type of documentation naturally relates to an increasing and evident differentiation between the concepts of public and private in the nineteenth century. However, these may not be the best concepts with which to characterize this type of documentation. Although self-writing favors discourse about the private life of its authors and the players in it, the division between private and public remains rather tenuous and difficult to define, because among this documentation information about public and official functions can be found just as well. It is therefore necessary to consider the notion of confidentiality, which Vanda Anastácio has considered a feature of correspondence in the eighteenth century⁷, which continued into the following century. This can be seen, for example, in the discussion of matters understood only by

² DAUPHIN *et al.*, 1991: 70.

³ BELLO VASQUEZ, 2005: 76.

⁴ CORRADO, 2000: 11; DUFIEF, 2001: 18-19.

⁵ CÂMARA, 1829: 7.

⁶ CORRADO, 2000: 256; DUFIEF, 2001: 107.

⁷ ANASTÁCIO, 2005: 46.

the two parties involved, the sender and the receiver⁸, in keeping the identity of some of the people discussed hiding by using their initials, nicknames or *petit-noms*, often indecipherable to the twenty-first century reader⁹.

The confidentiality of communication is what adds value to this type of documentation: it is what allows us to complete, to reconstruct, even to contest the story told by official sources, allowing for the construction of a richer, broader, more complete historical truth.

It is in this universe of egodocuments, whether correspondence or diaries, that we find female authorship. Although male authorship is more abundant, the female equivalent is still expressive. It is important to draw attention to the fact that correspondence is based on the duality between author and sender, and between reader and recipient, as well as to the dangers of focusing exclusively on female authorship, as this could result in the loss of information. This duplicity must be taken into account and correspondence, as a whole, must be considered. Even when the correspondence is exclusively male on both sides (sender and recipient), references to the female universe can still be found.

Throughout my research, I have found in family archives several significant examples of documents written by women, which could be detected only by reading the catalogues very carefully, since there is no possibility of defining research regarding the gender of the author of any document. Women's writing can be found in public archives, such as in the Portuguese National Archives (in the Portuguese royal house fond), and others such as the house of Palmela and the house of Fronteira and Alorna; in the Portuguese National Library, in the count of Arnoso's estate; in the House of Braganza Foundation, in the fond of the marquis of Soveral; in the Sabugosa and São Lourenço Cultural Association, that holds the fonds of these two houses plus the house of Murça, in the custody of their descendants. This is also the case with the correspondence exchanged between the eighth counts of Ponte¹⁰ and their

⁸ VENTURA, 2006: 171.

⁹ GAMA, 1905: 402; COUTINHO, 1838: 399.

¹⁰ João de Saldanha da Gama Melo Torres Guedes de Brito (1816-1874), the eighth count of Ponte, and his wife Maria Teresa de Sousa Botelho Mourão e Vasconcelos (1814-1900),

daughters¹¹, a part of which was published between 1834 and 1880, and another between 1890 and 1910. These archival nuclei add to others already published: the correspondence between the countess of Alva and her sister Teresa, wife of the *morgado* of Mateus (1814-1819)¹² and the letters between the countess of Rio Maior and her children (1852-1865)¹³. Of course, as more family archives become available and are studied, these examples may also increase; and with them research on the writing of women.

Self-writing allows for the reconstruction of the biographies of its authors, their daily life, their power and social networks, as well as their experiences and feelings¹⁴. In fact, reconstructing the biographies of female figures is one of the most valuable benefits of analyzing this type of documentation. If we consult a biographical dictionary or encyclopedia, and we are lucky enough to find some of these women, we find them portrayed as daughters, wives or mothers of distinguished men. At best, we will obtain information about the graces and rewards they received and information about whether they stood out in a particular field, whether it was in care, charity or art.

However, we can go further, depending, of course, on the contents of the documentation. This type contains, for example, recurring themes of correspondence that were noticeable already in the late eighteenth century; the health status of the various members of the family, illnesses, deaths¹⁵, the petty incidents of everyday life, confiding in one another, and sharing impressions about the correspondents' friendship and memories of the past¹⁶.

However, their social status is reflected in other themes, namely in the exchanging of material and symbolic goods. Teresa Saldanha da Gama sent

daughter of the first count of Vila Real, José Luís de Sousa Botelho Mourão e Vasconcelos (1785-1855), and Teresa Frederica de Sousa Holstein, (1786-1741).

¹¹ The counts of Ponte had nine children: Manuel (1840-1892), Teresa, José, João, Maria Joaquina, Isabel, Alexandre, Rita and Constança, but this correspondence is specifically between Teresa, Maria Joaquina and Isabel.

¹² VENTURA, 2006.

¹³ António José, first marquis of Rio Maior (1836-1891); Teresa Rosa (1837-1916); José (1839-1912).

¹⁴ CASTILLO GÓMEZ, 2014: 25-53.

¹⁵ The countess of Alva's correspondence is the best example of descriptions of the health of her friends and relatives. VENTURA, 2006.

¹⁶ ANASTÁCIO, 2005: 49.

music scores from Paris to her sister Isabel¹⁷; their sister Maria Joaquina sent Teresa books lately published in Portugal¹⁸; the countess of Alva sent shoe molds to her sister and asked her for silks and embroidery designs from Paris¹⁹. The countess of Palmela asked her son for an inexpensive microscope from London, where he lived, which she could use to examine the rubbish²⁰. The countess of Sabugosa sent the duchess of Bragança, Amélia of Orleans, typically Portuguese meals, which the cook of the royal house did not prepare, since only French specialties were served at the royal table²¹. Princess Antónia of Bragança requested portraits of family²² and friends²³ from Sigmaringen, as well as different species of plants²⁴ and animals²⁵.

Not only goods were exchanged. We also bear witness to the exchange of artistic knowledge, such as different painting techniques using varying materials²⁶, about medical treatments, and even about medication itself²⁷. This allowed knowledge to spread across borders and the sharing of a common cultural landscape independent of nationality or place of residence. In the case of journals, the exchanges are not so obvious. Still, the culture of the time was always very present: what was fashionable to read or to watch in dramatic and operatic theatres, but specially the personal taste of authors, in literature and music, but also in painting and sculpture²⁸.

The sharing of knowledge within correspondence went much further. Most of these ladies sent gazettes to their families and friends, as well as

¹⁷ CASTELO BRANCO, 2013: 218.

¹⁸ CASTELO BRANCO, 2013: 224.

¹⁹ VENTURA, 2006: 68, 64.

²⁰ GAMA, 1829: 559.

²¹ MELO, s.d.; s.p.

²² BRAGANÇA, 1871: 16/310/36; BRAGANÇA, 1887a: 16/310/56.

²³ CASTELO BRANCO, 2013: 170.

²⁴ BRAGANÇA, 1887b 16/310/57; CASTELO BRANCO, 2013: 159.

²⁵ BRAGANÇA, 1879: 16/310/40; BRAGANÇA, 1885b: 16/310/46.

²⁶ BRAGANÇA, 1869: 16/310/34; BRAGANÇA, 1878: 16/310/34; BRAGANÇA, 1885A, 16/310/45.

²⁷ BRAGANÇA, 1886a: 16/310/51.

²⁸ CÂMARA, 1826-1842.

newspapers that contained ministerial and parliamentary decrees²⁹, offering their own thoughts on national and international political events, exchanging ideas about them, but also trying to influence the minds of recipients. When Teresa Saldanha da Gama wrote to her son in 1906, saying that the countess of Figueiró was evil because of the damage she had done to the monarchy, it was implicit that this idea was to be spread through his social connections, although in most courtly circles the notion already had become common³⁰. During the civil war, political statements became even more evident, since the events had a clear impact on the lives of the writers, their relatives being directly involved in the civil war. This was the case of Maria Constança da Câmara, marchioness of Fronteira, who, after learning of the defeat of *Dom Miguel* in battle, wrote in her journal “é de tal a nossa desgraça que nem com as boas notícias nos podemos alegrar, pois os vencidos também são portugueses”³¹. This political consciousness was shared by contemporaries. The future marchioness of Sousa Coutinho, Maria das Dores de Sousa Coutinho (1813-1883), made a real political statement in a letter to her aunt, the first duchess of Palmela, after the victory of the defenders of the constitutional charter, by choosing to remain in Paris:

Ainda lhe não escrevi depois da entrada em Lisboa, por isso peço-lhe que aceite hoje os meus parabéns, parece-me ainda impossível que Lisboa seja com efeito nossa, já podemos dizer que não somos emigradas, que estamos cá porque muito queremos³².

One cannot openly speak of exchanges of influence in the correspondence, but requests for help on behalf of third parties were quite common. In fact, women aristocrats, especially those closest to the sovereigns, who attended the royal house and, more specifically, were ladies-in-waiting, were

²⁹ VENTURA, 2006: 77; CASTELO BRANCO, 2013: 43.

³⁰ GAMA, 1906: 423.

³¹ “Our misfortune is so great that even with the good news we cannot rejoice, because the defeated are also Portuguese”: CÂMARA, 1829: 309.

³² “I did not write you after Lisbon was taken, so I ask you to accept my congratulations today; it is hard to believe that Lisbon is actually ours, we can say that we are no longer emigrants, that we are here because we want to”: COUTINHO, 1833: 1435.

able to obtain royal favors for third parties. In most cases, these requests consisted of financial aid³³, making these women mediators between the most disadvantaged and the queen.

This ability, due to the importance of a stratified society in which symbolic power was as important as any other, relates to another subject which has been given little importance, often dismissed as mere gossip; namely, the recurring attention given by authors to the appointments of new titles and offices³⁴. In my opinion, more than making the new title known, spreading news of the event was a question of identifying the restricted group of aristocrats to which the awardee belonged, with whom they could and should maintain close relations. This knowledge in itself was a distinguishing factor among the group, but it could also be an additional power tool for anyone who wanted to use it, extending their network of influence.

A network of influence is very visible in the case of Princess Antónia (1845-1913). From the very beginning of her brother's marriage until at least 1870 she fiercely criticized her sister-in-law, Queen Maria Pia, in correspondence with her childhood friend, Lady Teresa Saldanha da Gama (1842-1929). However, from the mid-1880s there was a change in her attitude. In fact, she attempted to get closer to her sister-in-law through her brother, because Maria Pia was a key pawn in her plan to rob the second wife of her father, Fernando II, the countess of Edla, of her right to Fernando's inheritance. Maria Pia antagonized her father-in-law's widow. As such, even though she had previously condemned her conduct, Antónia regarded her as a potential ally in this matter³⁵.

From another perspective, self-writing allows us a glimpse into the daily life of the social group to which its authors belonged: masses, visits to charities, shopping, walks, or horseback riding. The end of the nineteenth century was marked by the introduction of many innovations such as the bicycle, the game of tennis and the presence of the phonograph in soirées, whereas previously the only entertainment had been the recital of opera arias and duets or

³³ GAMA, 1903: s.p..

³⁴ For example, GAMA, 1901: 382, or GAMA, 1907: 455.

³⁵ BRAGANÇA, 1883: 16/310/92; BRAGANÇA, 1886b: 16/310/48.

games of cards. In addition to forms of sociability related to cultural consumption, such as going to the theatre or the opera, there were also visits to spas and sea bathing. Taking part in monarchical ceremonies and joining the royal family in its various activities proved especially important. The closer these women were to the royal family — through their position in the royal household — the more their daily life was marked and dependent on the rhythm and experiences of the monarchy.

More than providing mere descriptions of these events, these women showed a clear concern in observing how everything happened and who was present and in what form, as can be seen in the diary of the countess of Sabugosa and Murça. The care and attention given to the royal family in particular, and to the elegant society of the time, are demonstrative of the importance of royalty and high society, but also of the mindset of its authors. In fact, this can be assumed to be a main theme of interest, if not the central theme. It is in this sense that the words of the marchioness of Fronteira can be understood:

O meu diário tem tido uma interrupção tão grande, mas hoje que tive a honra de jantar com S[ua] Majestade, é um acontecimento que não pode ficar no esquecimento e por isso tornei a abrir o meu jornal para marcar este dia que não direi que foi dos mais divertidos³⁶.

One of the main motivations for writing was to record moments considered extraordinary, that broke the monotony of everyday life³⁷. The importance of these events to authors is clear.

The journals also favor descriptions of the intimate dimensions of the authors' lives. However, sentiments, which are to be expected in an intimate nineteenth-century diary³⁸, seem to be dismissed in these cases, even though

³⁶ “My diary has been left untouched for so long, but today I had the honor of having dinner with Her Majesty. It is an event that cannot be forgotten and for that reason I have reopened my diary to mark this day, although it was not the most enjoyable of days”. CÂMARA, 1836: 36a-37.

³⁷ CORRADO, 2001: 108.

³⁸ DUFIEF, 2001: 9.

moods, feelings and impressions are noted spontaneously³⁹. There is also a certain distance from intimate themes, beyond forbidden matters and taboos, such as topics relating to the body (unless talking about health) and sexuality. Emotions are not talked about explicitly in the narration of daily events. However, they do make an appearance every now and then in reasoning associations. Special dates, such as birthdays and death anniversaries and New Year's Eve, are the right times for this, since rites of passage also come in the realm of affections. Small episodes of everyday life also serve as a pretext to demonstrate thoughts and feelings. In fact, the descriptions of the narrator's day-to-day life is what allows us access to their intimate life, their way of thinking and feeling, and specifically their relationships with their immediate family members — their origin family (parents or siblings) and the family they make for themselves (their husband and children). There will be the occasional, outburst, but modestly rooted in modesty and decency, as socially expected of women. Regardless of authorship, descriptions of parties and social engagements usually incorporate comments like “*Não me diverti nada, mas a festa foi bonita*”⁴⁰.

In conclusion, analysis of self-writing — in whatever form, whether in correspondence or a diary — gives us important clues about the daily life of authors, as well as their families and social environment. Although the narrative lacks an emotional dimension, this sometimes can be found implicitly, allowing for a sense of the emotionality of its author and more in-depth intimacy. What is most evident with the particular case of correspondence is the existence of a symbolic power, often shared or used for the author's own benefit. It allows us to reconstruct the authors' sociability and influence networks. This aspect is what characterizes nineteenth-century women in a more authentic and realistic way.

³⁹ DUFIEF, 2001: 109.

⁴⁰ “I wasn't amused, but the party was beautiful” MELO, 1896: 10/07.

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**PUBLIC PRESERVATION AND PROMOTION
OF FAMILY AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES**

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PERSONAL AND FAMILY FONDS AT THE ARCHIVE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA

ABSTRACT: This article aims at disseminating the existing personal and family fonds at the Archive of the University of Coimbra (AUC), unveiling some of their characteristics and trying to understand the reason why they are there, while seeking to demonstrate the importance of these fonds as sources of information for research to the knowledge of producers and the institutions related to them, in order to enable the construction of the cultural, social and economic memory of the places they belonged to (i.e., the construction of the production context of the fond).

Keywords: personal and family fonds; Archive of the University of Coimbra

RESUMO: Este artigo pretende dar a conhecer os fundos pessoais e familiares existentes no Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra (AUC), revelar algumas das suas características, tentar entender as razões para aí se encontrarem, enquanto procuramos evidenciar a importância destes fundos como fontes de informação para a investigação, para o conhecimento dos produtores e das instituições por onde passaram, para permitir a construção da memória cultural, social e económica dos locais a que pertenceram, isto é, do contexto de produção do fundo.

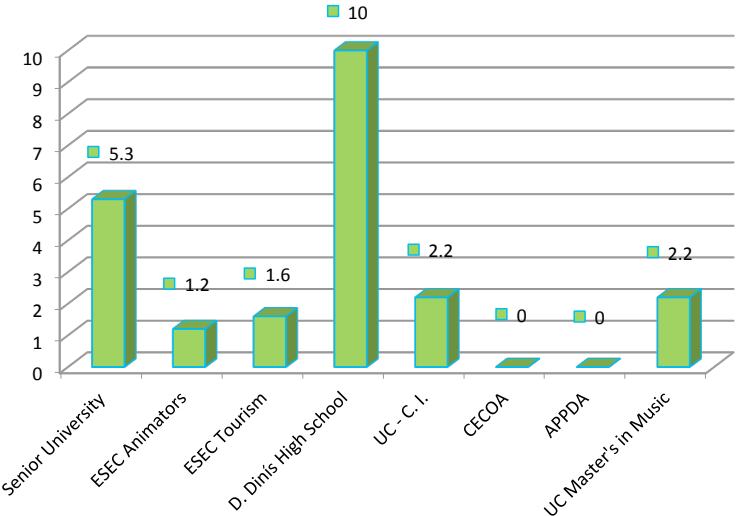
Palavras-chave: fundos pessoais e familiares; Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra

Introduction

Let us begin by clarifying the concept of personal or family fond. According to the Guidelines for Archival Description (ODA, Portugal. DGARQ, 2007: 302), it consists of a group of archival documents, regardless of their shape or format, organically produced and/or accrued and used by a person, family [...], in the course of their activities and duties". It is also convenient to ascertain

the degree of importance that the so-called common citizens assign to these archives, how they rank in their priorities, and what is their need to have them organized and bequeathed for posterity. When lacking systematic and more reliable data, at the Archive of the University of Coimbra (hereafter AUC) we usually conduct a small, unassuming poll whenever we welcome organized visits to our facilities. Therefore, regardless of whether they are comprised of students from high schools (10th, 11th, 12th grades, mostly within the scope of the discipline of History), vocational training courses, graduate degrees, Master’s degrees, post-graduate degrees, and even universities for the elderly, we put forward a simple and direct “tease”: “Who of you has a personal archive?” The data obtained from the latest visits is compiled in the following graph.

Percentage of visitors with a personal archive



Graph 1. Percentage of visitors who state having a personal archive.

As shown, the results are just short of disheartening for an archivist, with an expressive mean of only 2,1%. This rule does not seem to be influenced by the level of schooling, only slightly by age (reflected in the answers of the students from the universities for the elderly). Those who displayed more awareness of the role of these archives were the History students, in the

Humanities, who confirmed the need to constantly resort to documentation for their studies. Most of the respondents — a mean percentage over 97% — did not display to grasp the importance of the personal archive, both for them and for future generations. This generalized “neglect” in preserving and conveying personal and family life documents probably is one of the causes which contributes to a reduced number of archives of this type entrusted to the AUC, proving that few, and generally only tardily, awake to the existence and the importance of preserving their personal archive. Only some — although extremely rare — are aware that the documents in their archive attest to their life’s journey, namely their roots, genesis, experiences, academic and professional background, hobbies, existence and functioning of the institutions which were part of their lives, preferences, relationships, etc., all materialized in the documents produced and received throughout someone’s existence. This late awareness is made worse by inadequate selection criteria, more or less explicitly, as demonstrated both by the limited documentation we get and the description instruments created (although very scarcely) by fond producers.

Personal and family fonds at the Archive of the University of Coimbra

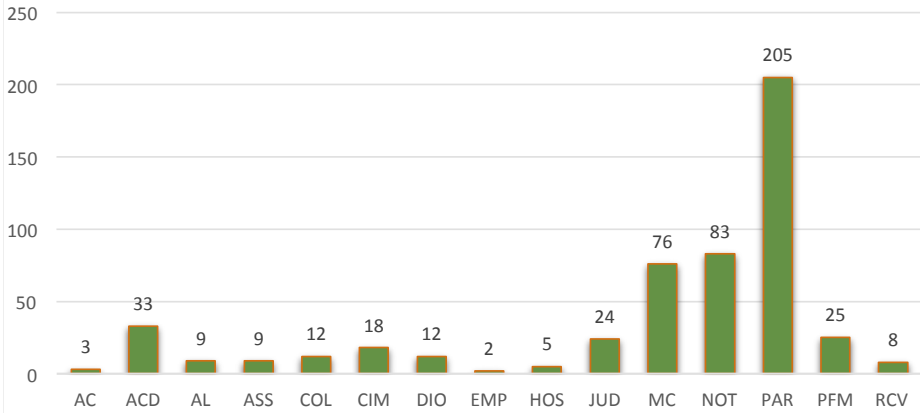
The personal and family fonds at the AUC reflect the aforementioned scarcity, being quite inexpressive when compared to those of other groups (Graph 2), representing a sparse 4,8% of the fonds (525) at the AUC.

To a great extent, they are also scarce in terms of the number of installation units, as shown in Graph 3.

As shown above, only the Jardim de Vilhena (JV) fond consists of more than fifty installation units (i.u.) — an expressive 481 i.u.; the remaining fonds are comprised of a scarce number of units, 9,9 on average. Of the 25 fonds¹

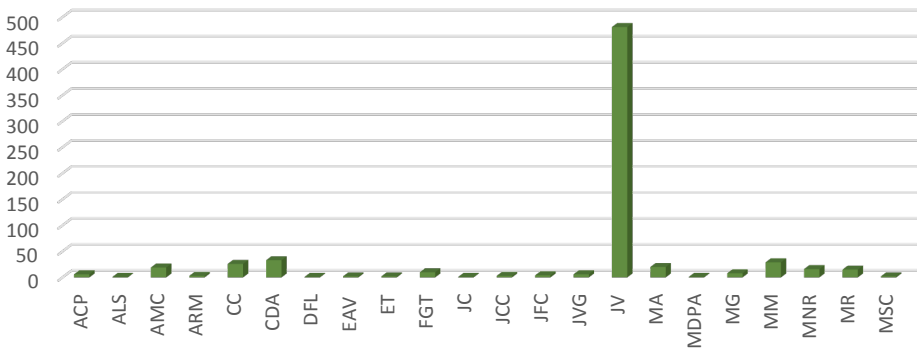
¹ In the fonds guide of the AUC, only 24 fonds belonging to this group are described, since the 25th was recently identified and its study published in *BAUC* vol. 30 (newsletter of the AUC).

Distribution of AUC funds per group



Graph 2. Distribution of AUC funds per group².

Installation units per fund



Graph 3. Number of installation units per fund³.

The guide is published as PAIVA (2015) and is also available digitally at: http://www.uc.pt/auc/fundos/2015_GuiaFundos.

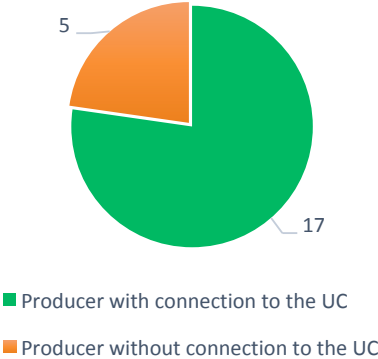
The description of each fund may also be accessed through the Archeevo front-office archival app, on the AUC website at <http://pesquisa.auc.uc.pt/>.

² Codes of fond groups at the AUC: AC — Central Administration; ACD — Decentralised Central Administration; AL — Local Administration; ASS — Associations; COL — Collections; CIM — Brotherhoods and Charities; DIO — Diocesan; EMP — Companies; ELU — Schools, High Schools and Universities; HOS — Hospitals; JUD — Judicial; MC — Monastic; NOT — Notary; PAR — Parochial; PFM — Personal and Family; RCV — Civil Registry.

³ Codes for personal and family funds at the AUC which share the reference PT/AUC/ PFM/: ACP — Alberto Cupertino Pessoa; ALS — António Luís de Seabra; AMC — Albino

comprised in the group of personal and family funds, with reference code PT/AUC/PFM, there are 22 funds which include contemporary documentation — regarding which we express our opinion — that is distributed throughout 689 installation units. Despite the aforementioned scarcity of funds, in light of what was produced and received by the producer, most of them are of great informative relevance, given the uniqueness of each fund and, often enough, given the unprecedented nature of the information it holds. Unaware of the reason which determined the inclusion of most of these funds into the AUC — given the heterogeneity of the information we find here — I decided to start by investigating a possible connection between the producer and the University of Coimbra (UC), since it could establish a hypothetical motivation.

Connection between the fund producer and the UC



Graph 4. Distribution of personal and family funds at the AUC, according to the connection between the producers and the University of Coimbra (UC).

Maria Cordeiro; ARM — António da Rocha Madahil; CC — Counts of Cunha; CDA — House and Duchy of Aveiro; DFL — D. Francisco de Lemos; EAV — Elisa Augusta Vilarés; ET — Eusébio Tamagnini; FGT — Francisco Gomes Teixeira; JC — Joaquim de Carvalho; JCC — Júlio da Costa Cabral; JFC — José Feliciano de Castilho; JVG — José Martins Vicente Gonçalves; JV — Jardim de Vilhena; MA — Marquis of Angeja; MDPA — Miguel Dias Pessoa Amorim; MG — Majorat of Garridos; MM — Mário Monteiro; MNR — Mário Nogueira Ramos; MR — Mário Ramos; MSC — Margarida Santos Coelho.

Unsurprisingly, we observe that over 77% of these funds were produced by people who, at a certain point in their personal story, were connected to the UC, regardless of being students, professors, non-teaching staff, heads of organizational units or scientific departments, or chancellors⁴. Within the group of funds whose producer shows seemingly no relationship with the UC (corresponding to 23% of the total), there is a fund which stands out, belonging to the owner of a teaching institution in Coimbra — Colégio Alexandre Herculano — which was certainly created with the desire to preserve the memory of the institution she founded⁵; and another fund belonging to a private individual⁶, whose motivation is yet to be determined. The three remaining funds belong to people or families who were deprived of their noble titles and respective assets, as a result of confiscation laws, and their archives were integrated into the *Arquivos dos Próprios Nacionais*, having as the immediate transfer source the Treasury Departments of the district they belonged to. We do not discard the possible connection between a member of these noble families and the UC; however, that was certainly not the reason that motivated the inclusion of the fund in the AUC. These last funds are essentially comprised of documentation pertaining to the creation of assets, and property and financial management of movable and immovable assets. Therefore, most volumes pertain to measurements and delimitations, generally speaking, classified by toponymic criteria, and are a source of privileged information for studies on local memory, property transactions, social and economic activities, cultures and land use, as well as on regional and local history and respective institutions.

⁴ There are several funds belonging to chancellors of the University of Coimbra, but also of the University of Porto, as is the case with the following fund: Francisco Gomes Teixeira (1886-1924), reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/FGT, book number: VI-3^aE-5-4-1 to 10.

⁵ Fond: Margarida Santos Coelho (1924-1979), reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/MSC. Given the scope and content, we assume that an archival study of the documentation may reveal the actual fund producer, while the current holder will become the donor. If this hypothesis is confirmed, the title must be changed, in order to foster the recovery of information.

⁶ Fond: Miguel Dias Pessoa Amorim (1907-1923), reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/MDPA, book number: VI-3^aD-1-4-2.

The fonds of renowned figures connected to the academic life of the UC, largely present, are excellent indirect, but pertinent, sources of in-depth knowledge on this institution which, in March 2018, completed 727 years of existence. Among these fonds abound essays, scientific notes, dissertations, monographs, caricatures, notebooks, photographs, textbooks, bibliography lists, student identification cards, records of problems in several scientific areas, transcribed documents, diplomas and certificates, separate prints, correspondence, among many other series. Besides personal information pertaining to each individual, these series contain relevant information regarding course syllabi, introductions to scientific contents, new courses and chairs, and endless information which, all together, recreates the development of knowledge in the UC and the country, as well as the life journey of the producers and of the people involved in the actions recorded. Written correspondence, so characteristic of these fonds, takes on particular relevance given the wealth of information it contains, uncovering personal and professional relationships which frequently reveal as much about people as their actions. Furthermore, correspondence, when occurring between great figures of science and culture, or of different nationalities, greatly unveils the cooperation between peers, and the respective exchange of knowledge and references to research sources, as well as the influences felt in the academic community, where new research lines, innovative techniques, and methodologies emerged and inspired the development of academic and scientific careers. These aspects are overtly noticeable in the fonds of university professors, such as the mathematician and politician Francisco Gomes Teixeira⁷,

⁷ Fond title: Francisco Gomes Teixeira (1886-1924); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/FGT; book number: VI-3^aE-5-4-1 to 10. He completed his academic education at the University of Coimbra, where he also began his career as a professor. He continued his professional career at the University of Porto, where he would become chancellor. Throughout his life he received several awards from the Royal Academy of Exact, Physical and Natural Sciences of Madrid, and the Binoux Award from the Academy of Sciences of France. He was distinguished with Honorary Doctorates from the Universities of Central Madrid, Toulouse and Santiago do Chile.

the distinguished astronomer Manuel dos Reis⁸, or the philosopher Joaquim de Carvalho⁹, to cite just three examples.

Regarding personal relationships, the correspondence genuinely unveils the individual, stripped of social constraints. Produced without vice, without any intention of being disclosed except to its recipients, the correspondence expresses convictions, affections, ideologies, desires, tastes, wills, ways of being, problem-solving strategies, concerns, motivations, beliefs and many other sides which often are hidden even from those closest. It is precisely this which the personal correspondence in the fond of António da Rocha Madahil uncovers¹⁰, a distinguished scholar who was the first curator of the AUC, between 1932 and 1953.

Other fonds reveal important family relationships, as is the case with the fond of *Dom* Francisco de Melo¹¹, whose correspondence shows the close relationship with his brother, while unveiling unknown and highly relevant facets of the Marquis of Pombal, with whom both maintained a professional relationship and friendship. Furthermore, it uncovers aspects pertaining to

⁸ Fond title: Manuel dos Reis (1919-1983); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/MR; book number: VI-3^a Section-11-1. At the UC, he had a prominent academic and professional career, holding leadership positions at the Astronomic Observatory and the Mathematics Section of the FCTUC (Faculty of Sciences and Technology of the UC), and directing several scientific publications in the field. He was also a distinguished member of various cultural, national and international, institutions connected to the study of astronomy.

⁹ Fond title: Joaquim de Carvalho (1921-1955); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/JC; book number: VI-1^a-D-4B-2-25. He was a prominent professor of the history of philosophy, pedagogy and ideas. He was distinguished with Honorary Doctorates from the Universities of Salamanca, Montpellier, and Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁰ Fond title: António da Rocha Madahil; (production dates: 1906-1989; accrual dates: 1893-1969); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/ARM; book number: VI-3^aE-4B-2-22 to 24. He completed his studies at the University of Coimbra and held positions in several city institutions, namely: the José Falcão High School, the General Library of the University of Coimbra, the Archive and the Art Museum of the University of Coimbra, and the Machado de Castro Museum. He was the director of the Public Library and of the District Archive of Braga, and of the Municipal Museum of Ílhavo (maritime ethnography), which he also founded. He participated in several reference publications and was a member of prominent cultural and humanitarian institutions.

¹¹ Fond title: D. Francisco de Lemos (1775-1819); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/DFL. He took office as chancellor of the UC in 1770, bearing witness to the reform implemented by the Marquis of Pombal. Authored by Ana Maria Leitão Bandeira, senior official of the AUC, the study of this fond and the transcription of most of the letters from his brother, João Pereira Ramos de Azeredo Coutinho, will be published in AUC's Newsletter no. XXX, in 2017.

the functioning of several institutions, at the time the fond producer was chancellor.

The documentation of these archives reveals curious sides of academic life; such is the case of the fond of Mário Nogueira Ramos¹², where we find documents pertaining to the trips of the *Orfeão* and the *Tuna Académica* (choirs) of the UC; or the testimony of the academic strike of 1907 (March to April), organized by students who became known as the “Intransigentes”¹³, through a group photograph found in the fond of Mário Monteiro¹⁴.

Diplomatic correspondence between countries is also an added value of these fonds. A particularly prominent example is the fond of the counts of Cunha¹⁵; the positions they held determining the production of memories, drafts of treaties and conventions which provide us with documents to study the diplomatic relationships between Portugal and European nations at the time of kings João V and José I, as well as the history of the former Portuguese territories overseas in the eighteenth century.

The archive of Doctor António Luís de Seabra¹⁶ comprises the original manuscript of the Portuguese Civil Code, which was approved by Charter Law on the 1st July 1867 and remained in force for over a century, and demonstrates the performance of the duties he was charged with, but also the early days of

¹² Fond title: Mário Nogueira Ramos (1729-1958); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/MNR, book number: VI-3^a-1-5-2 to VI-3^a-1-5-17. He held, among others, the position of royal deputy prosecutor, in Tábua, and the position of mayor of Góis.

¹³ This academic movement fought for the pedagogical, cultural, intellectual and political reform of the University of Coimbra, and became a nation-wide fight against the country's governance.

¹⁴ Fond title: Mário Monteiro (1800-1900); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/MM, book number: VI-3^aD-5-5-1 to VI-3^aD-5-5-29. He graduated in 1908 from the Faculty of Law of the University of Coimbra. He practiced law and devoted his spare time to writing poetry, novels and plays. His advocacy of certain political ideals led to his exile in Brazil.

¹⁵ Fond title: Condes da Cunha (1648-1906); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/CC, book number: VI-1^a-D-4B-2-25. The counts held distinguished positions, namely as magistrates, diplomats, the govern of Portuguese colonies, as well as military positions. The fond was purchased in 1952, with funds granted by the Ministry of National Education.

¹⁶ Fond title: António Luís de Seabra (1855-1856); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/ALS, book number: V-3.^a-safe no. 12. He graduated in Law from the University of Coimbra, and held many prominent positions, namely chancellor of the University of Coimbra (1866-1868), magistrate at the court of appeal in Porto and at the supreme court, deputy of the courts, minister of justice and ecclesiastic affairs, chairman of the chamber of deputies, among others.

the laws which regulated private affairs, and the evolution of Law in Portugal, a subject of the utmost relevance.

There are fonds which, probably due to lack of archival treatment, consist of documents belonging to its producer, but also of documents seemingly belonging to institutions where the producer held management positions. A striking example is the fond of Albino Maria Cordeiro¹⁷, which comprises documents pertaining to his personal and family life, with several series regarding property and financial management, the creation of assets, academic education, duties and positions held, among others. Nevertheless, it also comprises an expressive number of documents pertaining to the foundation, management and administration of the Charity of Penela, of which he was ombudsman. Undoubtedly, this fond encompasses documents which unveil the existence of said charity institution, namely through the provision of Queen Maria in favor of the Charity of Penela (Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Penela), dated 1780. The significant time gap between the date of the royal provision and the period of time during which Doctor Albino Maria Cordeiro was in charge of the institution (1901-1915) plainly exclude the possibility of the document being connected to any act associated to the producer of this fond.

Conclusion

The brief analysis of the existing personal and family fonds at the AUC shows, quite expressively, that the main factor which determined the inclusion of the fonds in the AUC was the connection of the producer to the UC, regardless of whether the relationship was that of student, professor, chancellor, or any of the aforementioned. Said evidence results from the fact that the producers

¹⁷ Fond title: Albino Maria Cordeiro (1554-1986); reference code: PT/AUC/PFM/AMC, book number: current III-1^a D-7-2-1 to 19. He attended the Faculty of Law of the University of Coimbra, where he completed a Bachelor's Degree, proceeding then to practice law where he lived.

were connected to the *alma mater Conimbricensis*¹⁸, although not all fonds comprise documents which prove the presence at the university.

Therefore, these fonds are first and foremost an indirect source of information on the UC, as well as on the duties and activities of the teaching and student bodies throughout its existence. In other cases, they mirror, if indirectly, the influence of the UC on the education of renowned figures of Portuguese society and their distribution throughout different territories, namely, the former Portuguese colonies.

Moreover, these fonds are an invaluable source of information on some families of high economic and social standing, thus unveiling a significant part of local memories, as well as the economic and social history of the time.

Although sparse and regrettably fragmented, these fonds — far from being devoid of any interest beyond the aforementioned — shed new light on other existing information as far as the related documentation in the fonds goes, adding information capable of inspiring new approaches and new knowledge.

We conclude as we started — with a brief reference to those who visit us. Upon ending the presentation which introduces the visit to our facilities, over 97% of visitors, who in the beginning were unaware that they possessed heritage unknown to them — their own personal archive — feel richer and better acquainted with its potential value. And we do not let our visitors leave without calling upon them to keep said heritage properly identified, organized and structured, in order to expedite the recovery of information and preserve the relationships between the document and the action which determined it, for the purpose of unveiling the context in which the document was produced.

¹⁸ An expression used profusely among scholars, since time immemorial, to designate the University of Coimbra.

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**FAMILY AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES
IN THE PORTO DISTRICT ARCHIVE:
SAFEGUARD AND PROMOTION STRATEGIES**

ABSTRACT: The paper aims at describing the Arquivo Distrital do Porto (Porto district archive) as a service provider, introducing new practices of accessibility to private archives and the projects it has developed and implemented in this area, highlighting the need for an interactive interface with its users. It focuses on the requirements and specifications for accessing and enhancing private archives that are not in its possession and addresses the problem of promoting the acquisition of private archives, particularly family archives, as a process that requires the development of strategies for safeguarding the archival heritage and promoting access to information sources.

Keywords: Porto District Archive; family archives; safeguard; heritage; acquisition of archives

RESUMO: Equaciona o Arquivo Distrital do Porto como entidade prestadora de serviços, introduzindo novas práticas de acessibilidade aos arquivos privados. Apresenta os projectos que concebeu, desenvolveu e implementou na área, evidenciando a necessidade de relação interactiva com os cidadãos. Foca os requisitos e as especificações para o acesso e a valorização de arquivos privados de que não é detentor. Aborda a problemática da promoção da aquisição de arquivos privados, nomeadamente de arquivos de família, como um processo que requer o desenvolvimento de estratégias para a salvaguarda do património arquivístico e acesso às fontes de informação.

Palavras-chave: Arquivo Distrital do Porto; arquivos de família; salvaguarda; património; aquisições de arquivos

The Porto District Archive (ADP) mission is to contribute for the promotion, safeguarding, valuation, and dissemination of the archival heritage, thus guaranteeing the rights of the State, citizens, and the collective memory in its

district. The policies developed and the strategic goals defined promote the implementation of the national archival policy in the Porto district, contributing to the development of the information society and presenting innovative aspects that reflect concerns with improving the accessibility to administrative and cultural contents, increasing the quality of archival files as an information resource. As a service provider that manages information systems, the ADP has sought to introduce an organizational change that aims at enhancing ways to achieve better results, namely in accessing the sources of stored information and its dissemination through the establishment of partnerships, using sources of funding and networking.

The ADP makes acquisitions of archives, invests on the diversification of the documentation funds to be submitted to organization and description, defining policies for technical treatment contemplating not only the most consulted groups of files, but also promoting the dissemination of new collections, thus creating new needs and new users. These policies are reflected on the production of research tools that allow the users to reference what they are looking for and to access the information (DigitArq/CRAV database). The ADP develops conversion projects, implements preservation and conservation plans, promotes cultural and educational extension actions. It also provides technical advice in the design and organization of file systems of public and private organizations that produce documentation and conducts audits of archiving systems.

The ADP is the holder of more than 730 funds/collections, which represent approximately twelve kilometers in length¹:

Central Administration: 1498 to 2013

Instituto de Apoio ao Retorno dos Nacionais (IARN); Governo Civil do Porto (and others)

Administração Central Desconcentrada: 1683 to 1985

Casa da Roda do Porto (and others)

¹ Available at <<http://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/>> (accessed 11/10/2018).

Local Administration: 1803 to 1919

Associations: 1896 to 2004

Confronto – Cooperativa de Promoção Cultural, S.C.R.L.; Liga Portuguesa de Profilaxia Social

Diocesan: 1130 to 1913

Cabido da Sé do Porto; Mitra da Sé do Porto cathedral (and others)

Eclesiastical: 1801 to 1819

Tribunal da Legacia

Companies: 1735 to 2004

Transportes Coletivos do Porto; Fábrica de Tecidos Aliança; Sociedade Manuel Pinto de Azevedo; banks (and others)

Families: 1602 to 1980

Família Pacheco Pereira (and others)

Personal: 1614 to 2010

Visconde de Alcobaça; João Allen; Vítor Ranita (and others)

Judicial: 1637 to 1986

Tribunais Plenários; Tribunais de Comarca; Juízos Ordinários (and others)

Monastic: 1140 to 1919

Convents; colleges; commanderies: Colégio de S. Lourenço da Companhia de Jesus; Convento do Corpus Christi (and others)

Notarial: 1515 to 1996

Cartório Notarial de Amarante – 2.º ofício; 1.º Cartório Notarial do Porto (and others)

Parochial: 1535 to 1911

Paróquia de Varziela; Paróquia de S. Nicolau (and others)

Collections: 1201 to 1994

Collection of fragments of antiphonaries and other liturgical books; Coleção Documentos das Artes Cénicas (and others)

Confraternities: 1629 to 1917

Confraria do Santíssimo Sacramento da Sé – Porto (and others)

In recent years, the ADP has developed and invested in strategies for the safeguarding and promotion of private archives, namely personal and family archives, an area that continues to be lacking and with limited investment, undermining the preservation of an information-rich heritage full of everyday memories. For this reason, the ADP, as a body responsible for the safeguarding and enhancement of archival assets, has sought the recovery of private documentary funds, namely those that are in danger of disappearing, and some of the projects carried out have been a good investment in the design and implementation of policies of proactive patrimonial preservation. One of the strategies for the preservation of these files is therefore the creation of specific projects, of which the Clinic in the Archive and Time of Funds are an example.



ADP, 2018, 1000x834, Clinic in the Archive:
Dissemination of the sessions to be held in the year 2018

The **Clinic in the Archive** project, launched in 2014, aims to raise awareness and help to preserve archival documentation and private memories. Directed to the general public, it is meant as a facilitator channel, friendly and closer to the citizen. It is carried out as a monthly or bi-monthly counseling activity, free of charge. The consultations are held at the ADP premises by prior appointment, in an individualized service lasting between 30 to 60 minutes. In each consultation, the analysis of presented documents or the clarification of specific doubts about archiving or conservation and restoration are carried out by qualified technicians. Users are offered a brochure with technical recommendations and contacts from suppliers of material suitable for the preservation of documents. The participants also have, available for purchase, a basic conservation kit, made up of indispensable materials appropriate for conservation actions. There are also group sessions and thematic sessions to share knowledge and experiences. On an exceptional basis, the ADP team of technicians may move to another institution in the district. The most complex issues to be addressed concern the technical consulting service. The acceptance of this service has been very positive and rewarding, reflected in both the number of participants, the responses to the evaluation survey and the messages of thanks and encouragement sent to the ADP. Echoes in the press have also been very positive. The simplicity and pragmatism of the project proved to be a winning combination.



ADP, 2017, 1000x834, Time of Funds: Family History Session

The project **Time of Funds**, implemented in 2017, is organized in partnership with the ADP Friends Association. It is similar to the “hora do conto” or storytelling hour, so fashionable in public libraries, because it enhances the funds of the archives, promoting access and sharing of information and knowledge of the documentation guarded by ADP. It translates into conversations, at four, with the purpose of stimulating dialogue and the exchange of experiences of users who, in their research, have used documentary sources existing in the Archive. As an example, one of the sessions, “Sources and paths for the knowledge of family history”, focused on the theme of family archives and was attended by two researchers, one of whom shared his experience as the keeper of a family archive.

Another of the strategies that ADP uses is to apply to financing programs. This is a way to leverage technical resources, always focused on the archival treatment of documentary collections.

The access and valuation of private archives of which ADP is not the holder nor custodian provides further support in the treatment and dissemination of archival assets, and is intended to make available the information for online search of archives that are located in the respective entities.

Family and Personal Archives not in the custody of the ADP:

1996 to 1998

Arquivo Pessoal de Eça de Queirós: 1866 to 1902

Família Eça de Queirós (Condes de Resende): 1448 to 1968

Arquivo Pessoal de António Eça de Queirós: 1890 to 1965

2011

Wenceslau de Lima: 1809 to 1947

In 2001, the ADP promoted the archival processing of the documentary collection of the personal archives of Eça de Queirós and of his son António Eça de Queirós, and the family archive of Eça de Queirós/counts of Resende, under the custody of the Eça de Queirós Foundation headquartered in Tormes.

As a result, a CD-ROM “*Arquivo Eça de Queirós*” with the contents of the archival processing carried out was produced, displaying a perspective of Eça’s experiences seen through its archive, that is, through the documentation produced and received in the course of Eça’s activities, whether professional or personal.



Dematos Designers, 2001, 1000x1000,
CD-Rom cover of the Eça de Queirós Archive

Contrary to the commonly used approaches, it is not Eça’s literary work that is the main focus, the preference instead is to reveal facets of the writer’s life that are normally neglected and valued less. With this product the ADP began to create new forms of presenting archival description works, certainly more integrated in the industry of contents and multimedia. The intention was to create new mechanisms that could be appealing to people, attracting them to the Archive, transforming it into a space of creativity and knowledge. At the end of the project, a documentary was shown aimed at disseminating some documents which are representative of the life of the writer.

For the personal archive of Wenceslau de Lima, the ADP accompanied the technical archival treatment, performed by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto. Through the establishment of a protocol with the owner, the description was made available online through the DigitArq appli-

cation, keeping the documentation in the possession of the family and ensuring that the consultation of documents is made by prior appointment. This is another way to make documentary sources available that could certainly allow access to information of family files held by their owners.

For the ADP, the promotion of private archives acquisition through donations or deposits which, because of their cultural significance and relevance to the understanding of social memory, have earned the right to be preserved definitively, has resulted in the development of active intervention strategies, from the year 2002. An example of such efforts is the diversification of acquisitions, the quick, pragmatic, administrative response that the ADP seeks to offer when contacted by owners; the archival processing of files donated/deposited in a timely manner, with the aim of continuously seeking a reunion with civil society. The organization of occasional donation/deposit events, with the participation, whenever possible and pertinent, of the donors/depositors or their representatives, the publicity in social networks and the interaction with the general public, have created a relation of proximity and trust within society and have increased the number of donors.

However, we believe that much work still needs to be done so that a satisfactory response to the preservation of this heritage can be given in a structured way. The creation of national/regional intervention brigades, the promotion of specific awareness-raising campaigns for the donation/deposit of family and personal archives, and patronage campaigns would certainly contribute to implementing this. In addition, we believe that in order to reach more holders of family archives it is important to encourage applications for national/transversal projects to safeguard these archives and to establish partnerships and protocols with training centers, such as universities, which carry out research work based on these documentary sources. The combination of synergies and networking would certainly bring more results.

Family and personal archives integrated into the ADP from 1934 to 2018²:

1934

Casa do Infantado: 1754 to 1833

José Pedro Soares dos Reis e Vasconcelos: 1804 to 1804

Jerónimo Teixeira Cabral: 1614 to 1614

João de Valadares: 1627 to 1627

Francisco Alão de Moraes Pimentel: 1822 to 1822

Francisco Xavier da Cunha Torel: 1787 to 1787

João Allen: 1827 to 1845

Manuel Ferreira da Silva Lima: 1817 to 1817

1968

Visconde de Alcobaça: 1918 to 1907

Família Pacheco Pereira: 1602 to 1837

1987

António Silva Pimenta: 1874 to 1900

2002

Maria Teresa Guimarães Medina: 1974 to 1975

2004

Joaquim do Carmo Leorne: 1923 to 1940

Manuel Francisco Caruncho de Sá: 1979 to 1980

2005

Casa Agrícola Bento Rodrigues de Sousa: 1934 to 1973

Vitor Manuel Rodrigues Ranita: 1897 to 1997

José Afonso Castro Moreira: 1900 to 2000

² Available at <<http://pesquisa.adporto.arquivos.pt/>> (accessed 11/10/2018).

2009

Fernando Pires: 1893 to 1954

Antão Santos da Cunha: 1945 to 1974

2010

Raul de Castro: 1942 to 1976

2014

José Duarte Reis: 1878 to 1896

Arquivo Pessoal de Mário Brochado Coelho: 1966 to 2010

2015

António Augusto Pinto de Magalhães: 1862 to 1862

Casa do Morgado: 1290 to 1980

2018

Casa de Atães: [nineteenth century]

Mário Bastos Rodrigues: 1951 to 2010

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FAMILY ARCHIVES: AN ANALYSIS ON THE REGIONAL ARCHIVE OF THE AZORES'S INTERVENTION

ABSTRACT: The Azores archipelago, an autonomous Portuguese region, is composed of nine islands. Three regional archives, based in three different islands, carry out the Azorean archive policy, supported by a legal framework in constant development. This paper aims to characterize the work of these public archives, especially as family archives are concerned, describing their acquisition policies, including dates and dimensions, but also to think about the way the Azorean archival administration policy is building, or not, a consciousness about archives in general, and family archives in particular, as patrimony.

Keywords: family archives; Azores; patrimony; legislation

RESUMO: O Arquipélago dos Açores, região autónoma portuguesa composta por nove ilhas, executa uma política arquivística regional através de três arquivos regionais, sediados em três das suas ilhas, com coordenação geográfica sobre as restantes no que diz respeito à gestão pública dos arquivos da Região. Essa política arquivística está, atualmente, baseada num corpo legislativo de cariz nacional, mas também regional, sempre em constante atualização e articulação com os normativos técnicos e legais portugueses e europeus. Este artigo propõe-se, dentro dessa realidade arquipelágica, abordar o trabalho dos arquivos regionais açorianos no que diz respeito aos arquivos de família, através da caracterização de políticas de aquisição, datas extremas e dimensão dos arquivos de família à sua guarda, mas igualmente problematizar a política arquivística açoriana no que se refere à construção, ou não, de uma consciência patrimonial inclusiva, que abranja os arquivos na generalidade e os arquivos de família em particular.

Palavras-chave: arquivos de família; Açores; património; legislação

Introduction

This paper is the result of a presentation made in Lisbon in November 2017, during the meeting “Arquivos de Família & Investigação em História”,

organized by Maria de Lurdes Rosa (“Arquivos de Família” project¹). My purpose was to introduce the three Azorean regional archives and their work as far as family archives are regarded and to bring forward a brief consideration about the Azorean archival legal corpus and patrimonial consciousness in the particular case of family archives.

Therefore, this paper begins by presenting the Azorean regional archives reality, its structure and legal framework. It will, then, characterize family archives held by the three regional archives and summarize their work in this particular field, focusing on the acquisition, dimension, inclusive dates and archival description available for each one. The paper finishes with a brief reflection on patrimonial awareness in the Azores as far as family archives are concerned.

The Azorean regional archives and the archival legal framework

The Azores archipelago (Portugal) has three regional archives, based in the islands of São Miguel, Terceira and Faial. They were all created between the 1930s and the 1970s and gained their current legal existence after the political process of autonomization of the Azores after 1976².

The regional archive based in Ponta Delgada, São Miguel island (BPARPD³), is the legal holder of the judicial, notary and civil archival records of the islands of São Miguel and Santa Maria, as well as holder of numerous other personal, business, associative and family archives that are legally deposited, donated or purchased by the BPARPD⁴. The regional archive based in Angra

¹ <http://fcs.h.unl.pt/arqfam/> . Accessed on 2018, June 20th.

² For a brief history of these institutions, mainly Ponta Delgada, consult MEDEIROS, 2001: 743-758.

³ Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada (<http://bibliopdl.viaoceanica.net/>)

⁴ To have further knowledge of all the archives held by the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional de Ponta Delgada you can consult the Archives Guide, published in 2015 and available in: <https://www.dropbox.com/s/axtbyrdtsbfq11d/Guia%20de%20fundos%20-%20pdf%20normal.pdf?dl=0>.

do Heroísmo, Terceira island (BPARLSR⁵), is the legal holder of the same type of documentation regarding the islands of Terceira, Graciosa and São Jorge⁶. Finally, the regional archive based in Horta, Faial island (BPARJJG⁷), has the same public documental characteristics but concerning the records of Faial, Pico, Flores and Corvo islands. All these public document transfers are legally framed by national decree⁸, which continues to prevail and contributes to the tremendous space problems in these archives in present times.

Although all three regional archives are independent from each other institutionally, they all depend on governmental budgets and authorizations, existing as institutions related to the governmental cultural department (DRC⁹). This is why they all share one online database (<http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/>), aggregating all the archival description work and public research in one place and access.

As for the existing legal framework, even though the Azores obey national laws regarding patrimonial definition and safeguard¹⁰ the regional government has the power to enact regional laws within the Azorean autonomic status. Therefore, there are regional laws that define the Azorean archival policies, a process that has evolved quite a lot since 2007, when the general regime for archives and archival heritage in the Azores was legally established¹¹. This decree is an important legal instrument for the management of documentation produced by the regional public administration and establishes the rules for

⁵ Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional Luís da Silva Ribeiro (<http://www.bparah.azores.gov.pt/html/bparlsr-historia+quem+somos.html>).

⁶ The Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional Luís da Silva Ribeiro has also an Archives Guide, edited on 2005, available online in: <http://www.bparah.azores.gov.pt/fundos+arquivo/bparah-guia+de+fundos2005.pdf>.

⁷ Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Regional João José da Graça (<http://bibliotecajoaojose-graca.pai.pt/>)

⁸ Decree n° 47/2004, published on March 3rd.

⁹ Direção Regional da Cultura (<http://www.azores.gov.pt/Portal/pt/entidades/srec-drcultura/>). The Decree that legally frames their activities is the DRL n° 13/2001/A, published on November 7th.

¹⁰ Cultural Patrimony Law (Lei do Património Cultural): Law n° 107/2001, published on September 8th.

¹¹ Decree n° 10/2007/A, published on April 20th.

the management of Azorean archival assets/heritage¹², contemplating the private archives and outlining institutional relations between their owners/holders and the Government. It also created a coordinating archives committee (CCARAA¹³) with powers to define and supervise the regional archival policies.

Family archives in the Azorean regional archives: an analysis

In 2009, during a meeting in Lisbon dedicated to family archives, I presented a first analysis of the private (both family and personal) archives held by public institutions in the Azores, including the municipal archives¹⁴. In 2009, twenty one family archives held by regional archives were accounted for: nine in Angra do Heroísmo, twelve in Ponta Delgada and none in Horta¹⁵. Of these twenty one, only six were totally described according to archival description rules, eleven were not described at all and four were partially described. The inclusive dates analyzed in 2009 pointed out to a majority of archives dated between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the predominant forms of acquisition being legacy (five) and deposit (three)¹⁶.

At present, there is a total of twenty five family archives in the Azores regional archives: eleven in the Ponta Delgada archive (BPARPD), nine in the Angra do Heroísmo archive (BPARLSR) and five in the Horta archive (BPARJJG). Why do the numbers differ from 2009, mainly for Ponta Delgada and Horta? Besides being a consequence of new acquisitions, I believe it to be the result of better accuracy in the definition of these archives (some were regarded as “family archives” while others ceased to be), derived from the effective archival description work.

The following Table (Table 1) will help the reader follow this analysis.

¹² The Decree is currently regulated by another legal document, Decree n°10/2014/A, published on July 15th.

¹³ Comissão Coordenadora para os Arquivos da Região Autónoma dos Açores (<http://www.azores.gov.pt/Portal/pt/entidades/pgra-ccaraa/>)

¹⁴ VIVEIROS, 2012a: 761-772.

¹⁵ VIVEIROS, 2012a: 766.

¹⁶ VIVEIROS, 2012a: 767. The numbers referring to the acquisition forms differ so much due to the lack of information available, at the time, for Angra's Regional Archive.

Table 1

Regional Archive	Family archive	Date span (in centuries)	Acquisition	Size	Public Access
BPARPD	Costa Chaves e Melo	16-19	Legacy (1902/03)	18 arquival units	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1094987&ht=arquivo costa chaves e melo
BPARPD	Dias do Canto e Medeiros	—	Deposit	—	—
BPARPD	Gago da Câmara de Sousa	19-20 (?)	Purchase (2000)	2,6 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1149486&ht=gago da c%C3%A2mara de sousa
BPARPD	Leite Botelho de Teive	16-19	Legacy (1902/03); Deposit (2006)	2,3 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1095458&ht=leite botelho de teive
BPARPD	Vaz Pacheco de Castro	17-19	Donation (?)	49 documents	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1085336&ht=vaz pacheco de castro
BPARPD	Mello Manoel da Câmara	16-19	Deposit (2006)	6,2 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1149485&ht=mello manoel da c%C3%A2mara
BPARPD	Marquises of Praia e Monforte	16-19	Deposit (1980s; 2012)	1,8 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1014753&ht=marquises da praia e monforte
BPARPD	Canto e Castro	15-19	Legacy (1902/03)	51 arquival units	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1354472&ht=canto e castro
BPARPD	Borges Bicudo	16-19	Legacy (1902/03)	7 books	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1354473&ht=borges bicudo
BPARPD	Tavares Carreiro	19-20	Purchase (2014)	14,507 documents, 923 photographs, 49 engravings, 11 drawings	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1347496&ht=tavares carreiro
BPARPD	Counts of Ribeira Grande	15-19	Purchase (2016)	21 boxes	—
BPARLSR	Casa Anahory	20	Donation	0,06 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810790&ht=Casa Anahory

Regional Archive	Family archive	Date span (in centuries)	Acquisition	Size	Public Access
BPARLSR	<i>Casa do morgado</i> Barcelos Coelho Borges	16-20	Donation	2,6 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810747&ht=Casa do Morgado Barcelos Coelho Borges
BPARLSR	Counts of Praia da Vitória	17(?)–19(?)	Donation	—	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=811375&ht=condes da praia vit%C3%B3ria
BPARLSR	Counts Sieuve de Meneses	16-20	Donation	0,04 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810780&ht=condes sieuve de meneses
BPARLSR	<i>Casa da Madre de Deus</i> (Bettencourt de Vasconcelos)	16-20	Donation	1,43 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810749&ht=Madre de Deus
BPARLSR	<i>Morgado</i> Borges Teixeira	16-20	Donation	0,76 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810755&ht=morgado borges teixeira
BPARLSR	Count Rego Botelho	-----	Donation	1,40 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=810795&ht=conde rego botelho
BPARLSR	<i>Casa Merens de Távora</i> (Visconde de Meireles)	16-19	Donation (1954)	3 packs	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1553519&ht=Casa Merens de T%C3%A1vora
BPARLSR	Viscount of Aigualva	-----	Donation	15 meters	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1553518&ht=visconde da agualva
BPARJJG	Leite Perry	19-20	Purchase	1 album, 15 documents	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1217166&ht=leite perry
BPARJJG	Dabney	19-20	Donation	7 albums	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1203947&ht=dabney
BPARJJG	Campos de Medeiros	19-20	Deposit	20 boxes, 4,640 documents	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1347047&ht=campos de medeiros
BPARJJG	Moniz Barreto	17-19	Donation	4 documents	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1218324&ht=moniz barreto
BPARJJG	Furtado	-----	Donation	1 album, 1 sketchbook	http://www.arquivos.azores.gov.pt/details?id=1218164&ht=quaresma furtado

From Table 1 we can verify that seventeen of these 25 family archives were donations or legacies to the three regional archives (five in Ponta Delgada, nine in Angra do Heroísmo and three in Horta), giving the Azorean government total ownership over them. Only four were bought (three in Ponta Delgada and one in Horta), which also gives the local government total ownership in most cases, and four were deposited. In deposit cases, the Azorean government establishes an agreement with the owners to physically maintain and to make these archives available to public access.

We can also verify that, like in 2009, the vast majority of its inclusive dates continues to vary between the sixteenth century and the late nineteenth century, which can be explained by the chronology of the settlement of the Azores¹⁷ (from the mid-fifteenth century onwards) and historical events during the Portuguese 19th century regarding nobility and land concentration¹⁸ or even the implementation of the republican regime in 1910. There is also another important remark to make when analyzing the dates: even though we speak of “family archives” mainly when addressing the *ancien régime* archives, the fact is that archives regarded as “family archives” are increasingly overcoming this timescale and escaping the traditional chronology and characteristics of *ancien régime* family archives. We see this very clearly when analyzing Ponta Delgada and Horta’s archives. Furthermore, these “new family archives” gain priority in archival description and access to public research within the regional archives as we can easily see in Table 1 (column Public Access), varying in document type or content when compared with the traditional *ancien régime* family archives.

In 2009 we had already verified the relationship between the later inclusive dates and the archival description work¹⁹, concluding that nineteenth and twentieth-century archives are a priority. We consider this for four major reasons:

¹⁷ GREGÓRIO, 2006.

¹⁸ VIVEIROS, 2012b; RILEY, 2006; DEUS, 2015

¹⁹ VIVEIROS, 2012a: 768.

- Difficulty of technical treatment of archives with early inclusive dates because of their documental characteristics;
- Legal transfers of public documents (judicial, notary, etc.) restrain technical work, conditioning the work priorities chosen by public archives which are requested on a daily basis by citizens in need of access to such documentation;
- Historiographic tendencies: at present, contemporary history is a privileged area in Portuguese historiography;
- Lack of knowledge and the paleographic skills necessary for the archival description work of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth-century documents. We believe that younger archivists are not being prepared to work with documentation that requires paleographic reading, especially if we remember that the relationship between archivists/Archival Science and historians/History is no longer a mandatory requirement.

Finally, the dimension of these archives varies quite a lot but we have to keep in mind that most of them are still in working process, so the final dimensions are yet to be determined.

Family archives: rising public and private conscience in the Azores

In May 2017, the BPARPD organized in partnership with Maria de Lurdes Rosa's project²⁰, a meeting entitled "Arquivos de Família: desafios atuais". The initiative intended to discuss Azorean family archives, either held by public or private institutions. With this purpose in mind, several private family archive holders were invited to be present and share with archivists, historians, students and other archive holders their point of view, their difficulties and resistances (or not) in interacting with public entities, their objectives as to how to preserve and maintain the archives under their ownership. The goal was partially accomplished, but a lot of work remains undone concerning these

²⁰ <http://iem.fcsh.unl.pt/section.aspx?kind=noticia&id=1225> . Accessed on 2018, June 20th.

owners, for the process of trust between private family archives holders and public institutions, such as regional archives, goes beyond the legal premises.

It is our belief that this awareness towards family archives in particular, but all archives in general, must start with education, treading the path that libraries have for several years. Portuguese archive institutions are somewhat reluctant, for various reasons from lack of technicians to management guidelines, to develop work in patrimonial education based on archival themes. I believe that this patrimonial education, with an emphasis on archives, is essential to make a difference in future, just as the work done by libraries has created a conscious and participatory public, aware of the importance of books, of reading and of the role of libraries. This work is yet to be done in Archival Science and in archival institutions, even though small steps are being taken with the attempt of approaching the public through a clearer, cleaner, simpler, and humbler speech.

There is, therefore, work to be done in what Maria de Lurdes Rosa has called “patrimonialização dos arquivos”, transforming archives in a common and widely recognized heritage; an inheritance with which all citizens identify themselves, that reflects cultural, historical and national traces and identities. This path will bring archives to mainstream cultural language, opening contents to new audiences through exhibitions, workshops, conferences, school activities, etc. This path will shape in owners and citizens the patrimonial importance and cultural potential of archives²¹, for it is certain that the existence of laws or public institutions does not guarantee the safeguard or respect for the patrimonial value of these archives.

This opening to mainstream cultural language, without losing the scientific and technical credibility, is what the Azorean regional archives are trying to do within their annual activity plans, attempting to reach a greater number of citizens, investing in new technologies and social media publicity and promotion.

²¹ A process, incidentally, already referenced in several books published by Maria de Lurdes Rosa, within the family archive’s project. ROSA, 2012a: 17.

Conclusion

Family archives, as all archives, are evidence of activity and existence, but because of their specificities several and particular difficulties presented themselves to archivists and to public archive institutions.

The Azorean regional archives hold several family archives, evidence of our history (social, cultural, economic) that, therefore, must be considered a part of our heritage. However, building patrimonial awareness towards archives, and family archives in particular, is a path that must be shared between owners, public entities and citizens with mutual trust and recognition. If the Azores have made a difference in developing and enacting specific laws that promote regional archival policies, more detailed work is still required as far as family archives are concerned.

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**FAMILY AND PERSONAL ARCHIVES IN THE ARQUIVO
REGIONAL E BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA DA MADEIRA
(ABM): PRIVATE MEMORIES LEAD TO FUTURE
COLLECTIVE MEMORY¹**

ABSTRACT: The main goal of this article is to provide an overview of the current situation of family and personal archives in the Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira (ABM). The main stages of these archives' development process (i.e., entry, documentation treatment, access, and dissemination) are presented from 1934 to 2017. Subsequently, the treatment methodology which private archives currently undergo in the ABM is described. An overall characterization of the several family and personal archives stores in the ABM is also presented.

Keywords: family and personal archives; Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira

RESUMO: Este artigo visa dar a conhecer a situação dos arquivos de família e pessoais no Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira (ABM). Apresentam-se, à laia de resenha histórica, os principais momentos do processo de desenvolvimento — ingresso, tratamento documental, acesso e divulgação — destes arquivos (desde 1934 até 2017). Descreve-se, depois, a metodologia de tratamento seguida atualmente. Por fim, faz-se uma breve caracterização dos vários acervos de família e pessoais do ABM.

Palavras-chave: arquivos de família e pessoais; Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira

Having been asked to contribute to the current situation of the family and personal archives in the Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira

¹ I thank Filipe dos Santos, Paula Gonçalves and Cátia Vieira, colleagues at the ABM, for their help. Translation by Afonso Ferreira.

(ABM), I sought, naturally, to familiarize myself with an overview of similar archives in Portugal; particularly, of those in possession of public institutions, as well as the development and protection policies followed by these institutions regarding private archives.

Maria João da Câmara Andrade e Sousa and Maria de Lurdes Rosa state, in their introduction to *Quintas Jornadas Archivo y Memoria* (Madrid, 2011)², that there has been both an increasing historiographic and scientific interest regarding family archives and a continuous patrimonial and cultural valorization of family archives in private possession. Such advances have already led to the establishment of an association of private archives owners with the goal of working alongside with archivists. The authors also reveal a timid, yet effective, integration of family and personal collections in public archives, namely in the National Archives and in municipal archives. The setting-up of the doctoral programme in Historical Archive Science led by the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa and subsequent initiatives from its investigation centers was of the utmost importance for setting the tone for serious and fruitful investigation. Also mentioned are several activities and meetings that focused on the issue of archives (e.g., the international colloquium *Arquivos de família, séculos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?*). Nevertheless, it is clearly stated that there is still tremendous work to be done in Portugal and that there is a lack of knowledge regarding family archives stored in district archives.

On this basis, I analyzed the presentations delivered at the “*Arquivos de família, séculos XII-XX: que presente, que futuro?*” colloquium, as well as several documents regarding family and personal archives. I came to the unfortunate conclusion that little is known about the current situation of these categories of archives in the archipelago of Madeira, despite the release of description instruments (IDDs). In fact, the communications I personally presented while director of the Arquivo Regional da Madeira in several congresses, or even in the *Cadernos BAD*, lacked a concrete approach to this

² SOUSA; ROSA, 2011.

component of the archival heritage³. I also confirmed that, at this time, the Arquivo Regional da Madeira did not make the existent IDD's available on its institutional web page, nor the archival descriptions database (*Calm*). This situation was only rectified in 2017 with the launch of the "Archeevo" platform, although yet in an embryonic stage.

Thus, I look forward to reversing this current lack of knowledge, assuming the responsibility of giving an overview of the real situation of the existing family and personal archives in the ABM. Moreover, I will also shed light on the methodology and guidelines followed towards the development of this interesting segment of our documental heritage.

Development policies of family and personal archives

Registered in the then Arquivo Distrital do Funchal in 1934, the first admission of a family archive was that of the archive of the Visconde do Porto da Cruz⁴, followed by the important collection of the Casa Torre Bela, donated on the 2nd May 1959.

Nowadays, after more than five decades, the ABM lists a total of ten family archives and 30 personal archives⁵. Several of these archives are described according to the ISAG(G) norms, and in IDD's (published or available online) including an analytic inventory⁶ and catalog levels.

³ Communications mainly targeted public archives and an overall approach to the cultural mission of the Arquivo Regional da Madeira, with a particular emphasis on the educational service's programme. Particularly noteworthy was the paper presented by Maria da Cunha Paredes at the previously mentioned international conference "Arquivos de família, séculos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?", regarding the chapel of Ajuda and estate of Piornais. It should be noted that the work on which this communication was based on awaits publication from the Direção Regional da Cultura.

⁴ Archive of the viscount of Porto da Cruz — Catálogo, 1998: 2. The information on this first entry is not part of the guide. It was, however, registered in the folding case which held the documents offered by the Viscount of Porto da Cruz. This archive, while initially identified as a personal archive, is now thought to be a family archive, with several documents also belonging to the viscount's family.

⁵ A reevaluation of the private archives is occurring at the moment, which may alter the values exhibited here.

⁶ Typically, the descriptive information in the inventory of the archives does not go deeper than the series and respective subdivisions level. However, for specific documents

What changed during this period? Everything. From the ABM's own organic structure to the new and modernized installations and subsequent reinforcement of the human and material resources, including also the presumed position of looking at the documental heritage of the ABM as a basis for a varied and diverse collective heritage. This understanding paved the way for an inclusive, respectful and cooperating strategy with the stakeholders responsible for the preservation of the documental heritage of the Região Autónoma da Madeira (RAM): public and private entities and owners of documents renowned for their cultural–historical value. Recently, there has been greater proximity to the scientific community, which is essential for a multi-disciplinary approach and towards a more fruitful investigation.

The main stages of this path are described in the following sections.

The 1950s and 1960s — the first approach to private archives

It can be affirmed that the interest in truly integrating private archives into the Arquivo Regional da Madeira goes back to the period when Dr. Pereira da Costa (1922-2010) led the institution⁷. Through his hand, the following relevant family archives were introduced: Ornelas Vasconcelos (1959), Torre Bela (1960) and Freitas Lomelino (1964).

Until 1997, when the *Guia do Arquivo Regional da Madeira* was published, another seven archives had been introduced in the Arquivo: one small personal archive (António Feliciano Rodrigues-Castilho), four other personal archives (Fernando Augusto da Silva, Florival de Passos, Josefina Trindade Silva and Fátima Pita Dionísio) and two family archives (Bettencourt Mimoso and Bettencourt Perestrelo). Of these seven collections, only two entries were registered⁸.

or specific series, taking into account the richness of the information and dimension of the archive, the documentation was described up to the item level, allowing for a more detailed description.

⁷ Director of the Arquivo Distrital do Funchal from 1955 to 1966.

⁸ The archives of António Feliciano Rodrigues (Castilho) and Fátima Pito Dionísio.

Thus, a total of six family archives and five personal archives (without access) gave entrance during this period. Amongst the family archives, two had chronologically ordered catalog sheets, while another two archives were under treatment.

1998 — the first standardized descriptive instrument

In 1998, on the 23rd November, the twenty first volume of the journal *Arquivo Histórico da Madeira*, entirely dedicated to the inventory of the Ornelas Vasconcelos family, was published. Following a rigorous study on the context of the formation and evolution of this family and its heritage, as well as the analysis and description of the existing documents, an organic-functional evaluation framework was established and the multi-level description recommended by the ISAD(G) norms (1994) was applied⁹.

This was, to the best of my knowledge, one of the first inventories published in Portugal that follow the ISAD(G) norms¹⁰. There was also a significant effort to lay the foundations of the established organic structure, accompanied by a genealogical study of the Casa Ornelas Vasconcelos and its related families¹¹.

In the introduction to this volume, the authors wished it could serve as an example and a wake-up call to the owners of family and personal archives in the RAM towards the organization, safety, and preservation of their collections, avoiding the dangers of collecting and dispersal. Overall, the authors wanted to raise awareness towards the patrimonial, cultural and social responsibilities of archive owners.

⁹ CONSELHO INTERNACIONAL DE ARQUIVOS, 1995: 87-116.

¹⁰ See, among others, the inventory of the archive of Oliveira Salazar (GARCIA, Maria Madalena Goaria — *Arquivo Salazar: inventário e índices*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa and Biblioteca Nacional, 1992).

¹¹ FERREIRA, 1998. Twenty years after the elaboration of this inventory, the acquired experience and the analyses of other works recommend several changes to the classification structure of an archive. For instance, to avoid the sidelining of several information systems of family members due to their lower documental expression.

2004/2005 — the reinforcement of custodial conditions and the second approach to private archives

In September 2004, the new building of the Arquivo Regional da Madeira e Biblioteca Pública Regional opened. The new and modern facilities encompassed a storehouse and novel conditions for the conservation, treatment, and diffusion of the gathered collections.

Meanwhile, during the years that preceded the relocation, the administration of the ARM, with the support of the Secretaria Regional do Turismo e Cultura in collaboration with several educational entities, promoted an increase in intermediate and advanced technical training. The subsequent hiring of specialized technicians significantly increased the ARM's staff. In the meantime, on June 2003, the institutional standing of the ARM and the Biblioteca Pública da Madeira was reinforced, elevating them to the category of “direções de serviços”, directly under the Direção Regional dos Assuntos Culturais¹².

Thus, an ensemble of conditions favorable to diligent action towards preserving and divulging documental heritage from private origin was achieved.

In December 2004, the ARM received the first part of the personal collection of genealogist Luiz Peter Clode¹³. In November the following year, the inauguration of the ARM was dedicated to divulging this collection. The decision of divulging a private archive as the first public event of the institution in its new building was not a coincidence. It was a way to demonstrate that the ARM had new facilities and new technology resources for treatment and conservation. Moreover, it meant that the ARM sought to raise the awareness of the owners of documents with historical and cultural value towards giving entrance of their collections in the ARM. Ultimately, this would enrich the archival heritage available to the community.

¹² “Decreto Regulamentar Regional n.º 14/2003/M, de 30 de junho, que aprova a orgânica da Secretaria Regional do Turismo e Cultura”.

¹³ BARROS; GOMES; FREITAS, 2005: 5.

2007 — Inventory of the private archives of RAM

Following the inventory of public archives of RAM in 2005¹⁴, in 2007 the ARM made an inquiry with owners of private archives. The inquiry sought to collect data on the owner, the existing documents and also to assess the availability and collaboration methods of the ARM. The inquiry was sent to 139 entities: aid/health or religious organizations, cultural organizations; sports organizations; companies, corporations, commercial establishments; other organizations (schools, foundations, etc.) and individual owners. The response rate was merely 8,46%.

A report, written by archivist Nuno Mota¹⁵, predicted that the continuity of this important cultural project would depend on carrying on the following new measures: i) increasing the human resources directed towards this area; ii) diversifying and making the data collection strategy more flexible (e.g., through interviews and phone calls with the identified entities); and iii) reducing the scope of the inquiry, taking into account the typology of the potential archives.

The decision of the ARM's administration was, unfortunately, the only possible: not giving continuity to the inventory of private archives. At the date, the priority of the ARM was to collect and safeguard all public archives prior to the RAM's autonomy. While this consumed all the technical resources available, an effort was still made to consider the requests of private owners and entities that directly contacted the ARM.

2009 — an exhibition as appreciation and gratitude for the documents donated

In September 2009, the exhibition “Legados para a História: um agradecimento. Doações ao Arquivo Regional da Madeira de 2005 a 2008” took place. From 2005 to 2008, eighteen individuals and five public entities handed over

¹⁴ Sumário do Relatório Final do Inquérito aos Arquivos Públicos na RAM, 1999: 448-499.

¹⁵ MOTA, 2008.

a vast collection of documents to the ARM¹⁶. On this occasion, one of the donors, José de Sainz-Trueva, showed he understood and shared the institution's spirit when stating:

I admit to feeling calmer when I realized that these hundreds of old papers, printed and hand-written, were to stay under the custody of such a prestigious institution, which will ensure their unity, treatment, preservation, disclosure, access and hopefully owners of similar collections can, through a civic and commendable initiative, increase Madeira's archival heritage¹⁷.

2009-2015 — the results of an embraced policy of sensitization and cooperation

Throughout these years, as previously stated, the ARM focused on public archives of the central, regional and local administration in the RAM¹⁸. The pace of additions increased due to the tragic events of 20th February 2011, which resulted in the loss of several archives. This led to an earlier ending of this long cycle of collecting the public archives before the autonomous period of the RAM and, as such, in the number of additions diminishing significantly during 2013–2015¹⁹.

After 2013²⁰, almost all resources were directed towards the necessary treatment of the received documentation, as well as improving existing descriptions, even if focusing on archives from public institutions. Nonethe-

¹⁶ These are the personal archives given entrance between 2005 and 2009: João de Brito Câmara; Rui Carita; Luiz Peter Clode; Aragão Mendes Correia; João de Lemos Gomes; Magister Octávio de Marialva; José de Sainz-Trueva; Luís Marino; Maria Eugénia Rego Pereira; Robert Reid Kalley; father Manuel Joaquim de Paiva. It should be noted that the archives of Rui Carita and José de Sainz-Trueva are mainly composed of diverse collections of documents.

¹⁷ BARROS (coord.), 2009c: 53.

¹⁸ The actions of the Arquivo Regional da Madeira in the different services of the public administration were described in the following paper: BARROS, 2009a.

¹⁹ In 2012, eighteen external interventions were made in public administration archives, resulting in 1388 m incorporated. In 2013, a mere intervention occurred (308 m).

²⁰ Time period between December 2012 and February 2016, when the ARM was under the direction of Dr. Luís Miguel Jardim.

less, the treatment of several family and personal archives was also prioritized (e.g., the literary archives and José and Clara Pereira da Costa's archive).

Notwithstanding this prioritization of public archives, nine new private archives (seven personal and two family archives) were given entrance from 2009 to 2015²¹. Additionally, new addenda were made to four private archives added previously²². Moreover, several private archives from corporations and organizations were donated to the ARM during this period²³.

2016 — the novel Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira (ABM): the integration of documental heritage and the third approach to private archives

Through Portaria n.º 50, of 19th February 2016, the ABM was created as a merger between the extinct ARM and BPR²⁴. This demanding and ambitious process was interpreted by the new administration as an opportunity to unite distinct cultures and to offer simultaneous access to a whole. Furthermore, the merger was seen as an opportunity to potentiate the complementarity

²¹ New archives given entrance between 2009 and 2015: Eduardo Nunes Pereira; José Pereira da Costa and Clara Pereira da Costa; Irineu Teixeira; Pedro Jorge Monteiro; Alice Sousa and Eurico Sousa; Maria do Carmo Rodrigues (personal archives); Bettencourt da Silva (one individual box) and França Dória (documents in microfilm) (family archives). Also added to previously incorporated archives: Luiz Peter Clode; Aragão Mendes Correia; José de Sainz-Trueva and Rui Carita. During this period, in the midst of the documental treatment, the small personal archive belonging to father Jacinto da Conceição Nunes was found.

²² Other private archives from the 2009-2015 period: Cooperativa Agrícola do Funchal; Cooperativa Agrícola Lactícinia dos Lavradores da Madeira; Ateneu Comercial do Funchal; Casa de Bordados M.P. Gouveia; Grupo Musical 10 de Maio; Clube Futebol União (documents in digital format).

²³ Collections donated between 2009 and 2015: collection Francisco Clode (photographic albums on visits of captain João Inocêncio de Freitas to the archipelago of Madeira); collection Anthony Miles; library of Fernando Melim; library of Pontes Leça; library of Cristiano Brazão.

²⁴ "Portaria n.º 50/2016, de 19-02, que aprova a organização interna e a estrutura nuclear da Direção Regional da Cultura". Fátima Barros, the author of this article, was nominated director of the ABM.

between the archival and the bibliographical collections²⁵. Thus, the three private collections deposited in the extinct BPR were inventoried²⁶.

Concurrently, the immense and valuable photographic collection of the Photographia–Museu Vicentes was transferred to the ABM²⁷. This collection encompasses over a million photographic items. One should add that some personal archives (produced by amateur photographers) only contain photographic species; for that reason, we have not included those archives in this study²⁸. The same applies to archives produced by photography studios, even if they may contain other archival typologies related to their professional activity. Thus, the merger between the ARM and the BPR and the integration of the Photographia–Museu Vicentes's collection enriched the current collection of the ABM extraordinarily.

Nevertheless, the new administration of the ABM wanted to take on this opportunity and use its new dynamics to undertake a new approach to private archives. Thus, the administration sought to resume and renegotiate all processes which concerned agreements with private entities and which could result in future document integrations (e.g., the protocols with the companies João de Freitas Martins, S.A., William Hinton & Sons, Lda., and the *Diário de Notícias*). Protocols with the Igreja Inglesa do Funchal, and the Diocese do Funchal were also established.

²⁵ The integration of bibliographic collections is being made through the Prisma platform (a bibliographic database that allows the integrated management of the library of the ABM). The relationship between the archives described in Archeevo (archival database) and their respective libraries will be done through links. At the same time, an integrated search tool is being created, which will dissolve the traditional IT barrier between archives and libraries.

²⁶ Archives from the former Biblioteca Pública Regional: Rogério Correia; Fátima Pita Dionísio; Rebelo Quintal. In addition, correspondence from the viscount of Porto da Cruz.

²⁷ A transfer determined by the dispatch of the Secretário Regional da Economia, Turismo e Cultura, on the 14th March 2016.

²⁸ Previously integrated photographers' archives in the ABM: Alexandre L. Henderson; Aloísio C. de Bettencourt; Francisco João Barreto; João Anacleto Rodrigues. Available at the Archeevo platform: <http://arquivo.abm.madeira.gov.pt/welcome>.

Between 2016 and December 2017 the following archives gave entrance into the ABM: five new personal collections²⁹, two corporate archives, one organization archive, two photographic archives, two photographic collections and one private college archive³⁰.

Treatment methodology of the family and personal archives

The ABM's action in the context of private archive treatment takes into account its primary mission — to safeguard and value the RAM's cultural heritage — and the goal of asserting itself as a stimulator and promoter of Madeiran knowledge, history and culture³¹.

Thus, the ABM has sought to integrate the highest possible diversity in its collections and has subsequently promoted the integration of private archives from organizations, corporations, individuals and families³². It is also important to note that the ABM acts a cultural mediator and, as such, should establish a close relationship with citizens and the community, facilitating and divulging its patrimonial heritage.

The main aspects of the ABM's methodology are described³³:

²⁹ Archives of Nelson Veríssimo; João França; Alfredo Vieira de Freitas; João Faria Pereira; and António da Fonseca.

³⁰ Business archives: João de Freitas Martins, S.A., and William Hinton & Sons, Lda.; Associations: Rotary Club do Funchal; Photography archives: Foto Londres, and Empresa Diário de Notícias; Photography collections: Kassab and Clive Gilbert; Private schools: Externato Lisbonense do Funchal.

³¹ Mission, vision and institutional values approved on the 21st September 2017 and presented to the staff on the 13th October 2017: “Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira — Missão, Visão e Valores institucionais”, available at: <http://abm.madeira.gov.pt/pt/sobre-nos/missao-e-visao/>.

³² In an article published on *Islenha* (45), the author had already quoted Ketelaar: “the archivists become active builders of their memory homes” (BARROS, 2009b: 7). Besides, the archivists António Sousa, Maria João Pires de Lima and Olinda Cardoso also refer the role and strategies delineated by the directors of district archives, noting the “different degree of visibility which each district archive has in their geographic scope and outside of it!” (SOUSA; LIMA; CARDOSO, 2011: 78).

³³ We identify, in general, with the actual trend of development policies regarding private archives. Of particular interest is the article of Pedro Peixoto on the methodology followed at the Arquivo Municipal de Vila Real: PEIXOTO, 2012: 773-776.

Ingress³⁴:

- Free-of-charge acceptance of donations, deposits, heritages, etc. The quality of the collection is taken into account;
- If the ingress of the original documents is not possible and if the family or entity has adequate facilities, consider microfilming or digitization³⁵;
- The ABM is not responsible for financially evaluating the collections;
- The protocol should clarify questions regarding the communicability and utilization of the documents (e.g., authorship or publication and commercial utilization rights).
- To prioritize the integral availability of the documents.

Conservation, treatment, and communication:

- To immediately list the admitted documentation;
- For biographical items, to do mandatory research into the ABM's database to avoid the duplication of copies;
- To take into account the medium-term treatment of the private archives admitted;
- To prioritize an analytical inventory or catalogue type of archival treatment, as best suited to the documents' heterogeneity, informational value and informal features³⁶;
- To prioritize the digitization of the photographic items;
- To consider collaborating with the scientific community treatment-wise and, subsequently, to promote divulgation³⁷.

³⁴ The administration of the ABM, in the context of the reform of its management quality systems during 2016-2017, created the document "Política de desenvolvimento dos fundos e coleções do ABM (Instrução de Trabalho – IT – ABM 03.01)".

³⁵ This is the case of the protocols signed with the França Dória family, the Abrigo Nossa Senhora da Conceição and the Igreja Inglesa da Madeira. Also, the agreement of microfilm/digitalization with the Diocese of Funchal.

³⁶ The author understands and agrees with Prof. Armando Malheiro da Silva in his statement that "there cannot be any facilitation, in the eagerness of wanting to produce a guide rapidly, a repertory or an inventory to the satisfaction of many or few users" (SILVA, 2004: 68). However, the lack of available staff and time are, in truth, relevant obstacles.

³⁷ Consider the fortunate example of collaboration between a researcher and an archivist in the organization and description of literary archives, from which the following publication resulted: TEIXEIRA; BARROS, 2016. The researcher Maria Mónica Teixeira stated that "the description of each archive would bring good fortune to the life and work of every

The ability to treat and make the private archives available to the general public is a crucial aspect of safeguarding the quality of the private archives. An owner will only donate its collection to a public institution if he/she trusts that institution and its work.

Cultural divulgation

The divulgation of the documental heritage from private origins is equally a means of disseminating the knowledge of local history, traditions, and customs. Moreover, they are an excellent opportunity to couple public interest with the private owners' interest, promoting the patrimonial and cultural valuation of private archives. Public sessions of contract executions and exhibitions, publications, educational activities around the integrated archives are just a few examples of initiatives that show the public institution's esteem for these archives.

The act of safeguarding and promoting an archive is also a way of salvaging the memories and work of a particular personality, family or institution. This is a relevant aspect to consider when establishing the grounds of integrating a given private archive into a prestigious public institution.

A brief, final characterization of the family and personal archives of the ARM

Regarding the family archives, the ten family archives stored in the ABM span the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, with just one archive including documents from the sixteenth century (in microfilm). The most extensive collection has over 4,000 documents, and the smallest less than 20. Seven

writer and researcher and [...] the writing of literary history and bibliography possible, according to the described documents. Moreover, it is worth it because telling the story of a life, according to its work, allows the postponement of death itself" (TEIXEIRA, 2017: 163).

integrations were donations, two were deposits and one was an authorized microfilming.

Regarding their treatment: four collections have descriptions according to the ISAD(G) norms — three at the catalogue level, one at the analytical inventory level — with the identification of the custodial and archival history, with a genealogical and biographical study and a rigorous rationale for the organization/classification system used³⁸; three archives have descriptions at the catalog level but are not yet normalized; three other archives are still untreated.

Except for those untreated, all family archives are or will soon be available to the general public.

Regarding the personal archives, the 30 personal archives stored in the ABM span from the eighteenth to the twenty first centuries, adding up to a total of over 3,500 documents. Of the 30 archives, 22 were donated (three not registered), one was inherited, six were transferred from other public institutions (one not registered), and one was an authorized microfilming and communication.

Regarding their treatment: sixteen archives have descriptions according to the ISAD(G) norms — four at catalogue level, twelve at inventory level — with the identification of the custodial and archival history, with a genealogical and biographical studies and a rigorous rationale for the organization/classification system used³⁹; two archives have descriptions at catalogue level but are yet not normalized; twelve other archives are still untreated. We must add that libraries comprised in these archives are almost fully catalogued and retrievable on the Prisma platform.

Of these 30 personal archives, sixteen are fully available to the general public.

³⁸ For 2018, the publication is expected of the catalogues of the archives from the Bettencourt Perestrelo, França Dória and Bettencourt Mimoso families, whose organization and description was done by Maria da Cunha Paredes, Miguel de França Dória (revised by Maria da Cunha Paredes) and Paula Gonçalves.

³⁹ Refer to the following *IDDs*, available at the ABM's Reading Room and its institutional website: BARROS; GONÇALVES, 2012; GOMES, 2005; GUERRA, 2008; BARROS; GOUVEIA, 2011; JARDIM; DANTAS, 2015; GONÇALVES, 2008.

Conclusion

The path of the Arquivo Regional da Madeira, currently the ABM, is defined by the diligent joint action of preserving and divulging the documentary heritage from private owners. This action is highlighted by three pivotal moments throughout the ABM's history. The first occurred during the 1950s and the 1960s, under the leadership of Dr. Pereira da Costa, who spearheaded the ingress of several archives from renowned family houses in Madeira. The second moment came in 2004/2005, with the reinforcement of the conditions of the then Arquivo Regional da Madeira and would result in an exhibition, in 2009, meant to acknowledge and appreciate owners for the documents donated. The final moment took place in 2016, under a profound internal re-organization which merged the documental and bibliographic heritages of the Arquivo Regional and the Biblioteca Pública da Madeira, as well as the photographic archives from the Photographia-Museu Vicentes. An policy of sensitization and cooperation with the private entities resulted in the custody of ten family archives and 30 private archives.

We found that the purpose of safeguarding, enriching, and diversifying of the patrimonial heritage of the ABM and its role as a cultural mediator guided the methodology here presented towards the treatment of the family and private archives mentioned. I also sought to characterize each archives' treatment state, listing the documentary fonds and presenting data on the dimension, chronology, description level, and accessibility.

I would like to finish by stating that the focus of the ARM on the preservation and valuation of private archives comes from recognizing their real patrimonial and cultural importance. Family, personal and other private entities' private archives are also part of History as a whole. Thus, the richer and more complete the available archival assets to researchers and the general public is, the richer our collective heritage will be. That is a cornerstone in strengthening a culture of citizenship.

APPENDIX

Table 1 — Family Archives in the Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira (ABM)

Number	Title	First and final dates	Number of units	Documentary treatment – ISAD(G) norms			Non-normalised documentary treatment		In treatment/delivery notes	Access	Form of entry
				Inventory	Catalogue	<i>Archeiro</i>	Inventory	Catalogue			
1	Bettencourt da Silva (FBS) Family	1931/2001	1 box						X	Closed	Donation
2	Bettencourt Mimoso (FBM)	1544/1948			In treatment	X		X		Closed (Open in 2018 after IDD publication)	Non-documented donation
3	Bettencourt Perestrelo (FBP)	1604/[1925-06-18]	3 boxes (397 cap.); 5 books		X	X				Closed (Open in 2018 after IDD publication)	Non-documented donation
4	Calisto Pinto da Silva (FCPS)	1824/1930	1 box: 95 docs					X		Open	Donation
5	França Dória (FFD)	1484/1966	13 mf.; 591 docs		X	X				Closed (Open in 2018 after IDD publication)	Microfilming autorisation
6	Freitas Lomelino (FFL)	16 th -20 th cts	19 (18 books + 1 box)						X	Closed	Donation
7	Ornelas Vasconcelos (FOV)	1514/1926; 15 th -ct. copies	42 boxes; 3,918 docs	X						Open	Deposit
8	Torre Bela (FTB)	16 th -19 th cts	33 boxes					X		Closed	Donation
9	Freitas Branco (FBB) (includes the personal archive of the Viscount of Porto da Cruz)	1788/2000	16 boxes; 2 mc. + 108 letters						X (partially)	Open (partially)	Donation (partially non-documented)
10	Bento de Gouveia (FBG)	16 th -20 th cts	26 (23 pt + 3 boxes) + library						X	Closed	Deposit

Table 2. Personal Archives in the Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira (ABM)

Number	Title	First and final dates	Number of units (excludes libraries)	Documentary treatment – ISAD(G) norms			Non-normalised documentary treatment		In treatment / delivery notes	Access	Form of entry
				Inventory	Catalogue	Archezero	Inventory	Catalogue			
1	Alfredo Vieira de Freitas (AVF)	20 th ct.	7 boxes + library						X	Closed	Donation
2	Alice Sousa e Eurico Sousa (ASES)	1956/1983	1 box						X	Closed	Donation
3	António Aragão Correia (AMC)	20 th ct.	123 (photos, pt., boxes with documents + library)					X		Closed	Donation
4	António da Fonseca (AFON)	1899/1912	2 cap.		X	X				Open	Donation
5	António Feliciano Rodrigues (Castilho) (AFR)	1892/1927; 1951	1 box		X	X				Open	Transfer from DRAC*
6	Carlos Cristóvão (CCR)**	18 th , 20 th cts	10 boxes						X	Open	Donation to RAM
7	Eduardo Nunes Pereira (ENP)	1841/1976	20 boxes	X		X				Open	Donation
8	Eugénia Rego Pereira (ERP)	1877/1947	1 box		X	X				Open	Transfer from DRAC
9	Fátima Pita Dionísio (FPD)	20 th ct.	14 docs + 1 box + library						X	Closed	Donation to ARM e BPR
10	Fernando Augusto da Silva (FAS)	Build-up: 1869/1949; preparation: 1620; 1869/1949	4 boxes	X		X				Open	Non-documented donation
11	Floralva de Passos (FPS)	Build-up: 1926/1989; preparation: 1872/1989	4 boxes	X		X				Open	Transfer from DRAC

Number	Title	First and final dates	Number of units (excludes libraries)	Documentary treatment – ISAD(G) norms			Non-normalised documentary treatment		In treatment / delivery notes	Access	Form of entry
				Inventory	Catalogue	Archeiro	Inventory	Catalogue			
12	Irineu Teixeira (ITX)	20 th ct.	19 pt.; 1 envelope						X	Closed	Donation
13	Jacinto da Conceição Nunes (JCN)	1889/1978	1 box	X		X					Transfer from DRAC (non-documented)
14	João Brito Câmara (JBC)	1924/1970	6 boxes; 884 docs	X		X				Open	Donation
15	João França (JFR)	20 th ct.	27 pt. + 1 boxes + library						X	Closed	Donation
16	João Lemos Gomes (JLG)	1919-1996	7 boxes	X		X				Open	Donation
17	José de Sainz-Trueba (JST)**	[1500]/2012	676	X						Open	Donation
18	José e Clara Pereira da Costa (JPC)	1926/2011	50 boxes + 1 paper roll	X		X				Open	Donation
19	Josefina Trindade Silva (JTS)	[1854]	10 docs						X	Open	Non-documented donation
20	Luis Marino (LMR)	[1950]/1986]	16 boxes			X				Open	Transfer from EPR
21	Luiz Peter Clode (LPC)	1801/1990	56 boxes + library	X		X				Open	Legacy
22	Manuel Joaquim de Paiva (MJP)	1885/1955	9 docs						X	Closed	Donation
23	Maria do Carmo Rodrigues (MCR)	1919/2014	7 boxes + library	In treatment		X			X	Closed	Donation
24	Nelson Veríssimo (NVR)	1999/2001	2 + library						X	Closed	Donation

Number	Title	First and final dates	Number of units (excludes libraries)	Documentary treatment – ISAD(G) norms			Non-normalised documentary treatment		In treatment / delivery notes	Access	Form of entry
				Inventory	Catalogue	Archeiro	Inventory	Catalogue			
25	Ocívio de Mariálva (OMR)	Build-up: 1919/1992; preparation: 19 th ct./1992	8 boxes	X		X			Open	Donation	
26	Pedro Jorge Monteiro (PJM)	1785/1795	39 docs (digital)					X	Closed	Digitalization authorization	
27	Rebelo Quintal (RQT)	1968/1987	52 docs + library					X	Closed	Donation to BPR	
28	Robert Reid Kalley (RRK)	1841/1851	129 docs	X					Open	Transfer from BPR	
29	Rogério Correia (RGR)	20 th ct.	6 boxes + library					X	Closed	Donation to BPR	
30	Rui Carita (RCR) ^{***}	19 th , 20 th cts	1,155 + library	X				X	Closed	Donation	

* Direção Regional dos Assuntos Culturais, now Direção Regional da Cultura.

** Carlos Cristóvão (CCR) — partially in treatment; I believe it is a family archive.

*** José de Sáinz-Trueva (JST) and Rui Carita (RCR) — mainly composed of collections of documents.

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**THE FERREIRA-MENDES PORTUGUESE-AMERICAN
ARCHIVES: DOCUMENTING A COMMUNITY'S
STORY THROUGH FAMILY ARCHIVES**

ABSTRACT: Despite being largely concentrated in a few urban industrial cities of the Northeast, where they have been the major ethnic group for over a century, until recently Portuguese-Americans have remained largely invisible and powerless in their communities of settlement. There was a history that was undocumented and often brushed aside as being insignificant by the community itself. This paper explores how family/personal archives found at the Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese-American archives at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, can be used to not only study the settlement of Portuguese-Americans, but also allow for the study of the local community. These records have allowed the Archives to establish itself as the only known American institution that actively documents and preserves Portuguese-American heritage, and that uses a community development philosophy to engage with the Portuguese-American community.

Keywords: Portuguese-American; community archives; family archives; personal archives

RESUMO: Apesar de os Luso-Americanos se concentrarem em algumas cidades urbanas e industriais do nordeste dos Estados Unidos, onde têm sido um dos grandes grupos étnicos há mais de um século, eram vistos, até recentemente, como invisíveis e sem poder nas comunidades onde se estabeleceram. A sua história não foi documentada e muitas vezes foi ignorada pela própria comunidade Luso-Americana, que a considerava insignificante. Este ensaio explora a forma como o Arquivo Luso-Americano Ferreira-Mendes da Universidade de Massachusetts Dartmouth pode ser utilizado para estudar não só o estabelecimento de Luso-Americanos no País, mas também as comunidades locais onde se inserem. O espólio que o Arquivo mantém é o único de que tenhamos conhecimento que documenta e conserva activamente a herança Luso-Americana, partindo ao mesmo tempo de uma filosofia baseada no desenvolvimento comunitário como ponte para o diálogo com aquela comunidade.

Palavras-chave: Luso-Americano; arquivo comunitário; arquivo familiar; arquivo pessoal

Establishing the archives

The Portuguese have immigrated to the United States in substantial numbers for approximately one hundred and fifty years. They established settlement patterns in the East and West coasts, with one of the largest concentrations gathering on what is informally known as the South Coast of Massachusetts, specifically in the neighboring cities of Fall River and New Bedford¹. Thus, it is not unforeseen that the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth (UMass Dartmouth), created in 1960, has a long history as a source of post-secondary opportunities for Portuguese-Americans, and that it has been involved with Portuguese culture and language since its inception².

The groundwork for what is now known as the Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese-American archives (FMPAA) was laid in 1975 with the donation to the university's library of an almost-complete collection of the *Diário de Notícias*, a Portuguese-language daily newspaper published in New Bedford from 1919 to 1973. This gift, in conjunction with the reinvigoration of the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture (CPSC) in 1996, and the hiring of a new Archives and Special Collections librarian, saw an increase in the collection of documents associated with the presence of the Portuguese in the United States. As the materials increased, the idea for an archive dedicated specifically to the Portuguese-American experience took hold. However, it was not until 2004 that the idea was presented to the university's administration by the CPSC in collaboration with the Archives and Special Collections department of the Claire T. Carney Library³.

The idea evolved, and an active fundraising campaign aimed at establishing an appropriate space on campus was spearheaded by the director of the CPSC, Frank Sousa. In 2005, Otilia Ferreira made the lead gift to the fundraising campaign, thereby receiving naming rights to the new archive. She chose 'Ferreira-Mendes,' the moniker by which her father, Gil Affonso Mendes Fer-

¹ WILLIAMS, 1982: 48-51.

² GIFUN, 2007: 231.

³ SA; FARRAR; PACHECO, 2011.

reira, a Portuguese-American radio pioneer, was known among his large radio audience for over forty years⁴.

With the physical structure proceeding, the University and Library undertook the second step that was required to have a proficient archive: qualified professionals to staff its operations. In 2007, Professor Glória de Sá, a sociologist who studies the process of integration of the Portuguese into American society, became faculty director, assuming responsibility for the promotion of the FMPAA through publications, the organization of colloquia, fundraising, and community outreach activities. In 2009, Sónia Pacheco, a Portuguese bilingual-bicultural archivist, was hired to implement the plans for the development of the archives, including the organization of existing collections; collection development; and the provision of reference and outreach services. It was also decided that the FMPAA would operate as part of the part of Archives and Special Collection Department, which functions as a unit of the Claire T. Carney Library. With all these pieces in place at the time of its dedication in September of 2009, the FMPAA embarked on its mission to document, preserve and promote Portuguese-American culture and history⁵. Thus, the general purpose of the FMPAA is essentially no different than that of other ethnic archives: “The principle underlying their creation was the preservation of an interrelated, comprehensive body of material which would record all facets of the history of the local community”, with the FMPAAs “community” being spread throughout the United States⁶.

The FMPAA operates under the concept that it is doing “ethnic archiving”, an idea described as “the objectives and processes involved in documenting the immigrant and ethnic experience in the United States”⁷. And to this end, has implemented the following vision statement that guides not only its collecting policy but also its public program and outreach activities:

⁴ SA; FARRAR; PACHECO, 2011.

⁵ SA; FARRAR; PACHECO, 2011.

⁶ GRABOWSKI, 1985: 387.

⁷ DANIEL, 2010: 83.

The Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese American Archives serves as a central repository for collecting, preserving and providing access to manuscript and archival material documenting the history of the Portuguese in the United States. As an intellectual center for the study and exchange of information pertaining to the history of all Portuguese-Americans, the Archives will help promote wide-spread understanding and appreciation of Portuguese history and culture (FMPAA document).

Essentially, the nature of the documents it collects must be specifically related to Portuguese-Americans, or if one is to use the model set forth by Joel Wurl, the archives operates under the guidance of ethnicity as provenance⁸. One may substantiate this statement by looking at the explanations that two of the principal archival theorists gave to provenance. T.R. Schellerberg described provenance as means to enable “an archivist to deal with records collectively, to treat records from a given organic source or a given organic activity as a unit, to deal with groups and series instead of single record items or single record volumes”, the “organic source” for the FMPAA being the ethnicity of the individuals who have created and gathered the materials⁹. Or if one is to use Hilary Jenkinson’s much narrower definition, provenance is stated as being “the place from which Archives come”, whereby the “place” is one’s ethnic background¹⁰. This conceptualization of provenance continues the archival assumption that adherence to the principle allows for the protection, and thus the integrity or truth, of the message that the records transmit, regardless of their format or physical form, a concept that is crucial to the FMPAA for it is “the Portuguese” telling their own story; and allows for an expression of provenance not as singular but as having multiple points of origin¹¹.

⁸ WURL, 2005: 67-69.

⁹ SCHELLENBERG, 1965b: 39.

¹⁰ JENKINSON, 1922: 80.

¹¹ REILLY, 2005.

Family and personal archives as a marker of ethnicity

By exploring the concept of ethnicity as provenance, it is possible to link family and personal archives — what the FMPAA defines as the records created by private individuals during their everyday activities — to one’s concept of ethnicity and one’s place in the history of the ethnic/cultural group that one believes one belongs to. Interestingly, it is rarely the first generation of immigrants that sees or understands the value of their archival activity. Marcus Lee Hansen best described this disconnect as a situation where “the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember.” His thesis predicted that the third generation would become interested in the immigration past of their grandparents and would take steps to record their history¹², and not surprisingly it has been the second and third generations that have donated much of the personal/family collections to the FMPAA.

Unfortunately, the personal papers of everyday individuals have not historically been understood to have intrinsic value as only the records of “notable persons” were thought worthy of being preserved¹³. In addition, much like the early United States-based ethnic historical societies, the Portuguese-American community still believes that the primary concern of the FMPAA should be to tell the Portuguese-American story in a positive light, with emphasis on the immigrant pioneers and the lives of the “great men”¹⁴. The “great men” are thought to be evidence of how much the Portuguese have contributed to the building of the United States as a nation of immigrants, while the “pioneers” are presented as evidence of a long, established and stable community. Sadly, the FMPAA currently faces the problem that while it can successfully get the donor community to understand the power of the historical record in telling the Portuguese-American story, individuals still find it difficult to comprehend that the FMPAA needs to collect, publish and interpret its collections through the lens of a historical narrative that is truthful and does not shy

¹² DANIEL, 2015: 1.

¹³ DANIEL, 2010: 84.

¹⁴ DANIEL, 2015: 9.

away from difficult topics or periods in Portuguese-American history¹⁵. Staff of the FMPAA consistently reinforce to the community the same concepts that were expressed by Antonio Rodrigues: studying an immigrant group not only contributes to the knowledge of the group itself, but also contributes towards the immigration and social studies research. And while his research is focused on the Portuguese in South Africa, the same holds true for Portuguese-Americans, as these studies can include analysis of the group, their arrivals, their adaptation and contribution to the United States, their home life, and their social, economic and political problems that have been and may continue to be faced¹⁶. There is no better source of primary materials to conduct these studies than through family collections.

This is not to say that the FMPAA exclusively collects family papers, however; it is conscious of the fact that “The records of ethnic organizations and leaders represented an important aspect of the immigrant experience, but neglecting anonymous individuals and families exposed archivists to the same accusation elitist bias”¹⁷, therefore, it has identified the following items as priority:

- *Family papers and papers of Portuguese-American individuals and families* including items such as letters, diaries, professional papers, speeches/lectures, photographs, films, videos, audiotapes, memoirs and reminiscences, scrapbooks, photo albums, business records, and legal documents;
- *Records of cultural, religious and civic organizations* such as churches, political organizations, community groups, voluntary associations, special event organizations, professional associations, and economic interest groups;
- *Business records* for businesses that were owned by Portuguese-Americans or specifically targeted services to the Portuguese-American community;

¹⁵ DANIEL, 2015: 9,

¹⁶ RODRIGUES, 2017: 31.

¹⁷ DANIEL, 2010: 87-88.

- *Oral histories*, as the Archives accepts oral history interviews relating to the Portuguese community if legal releases have been secured or a reasonable attempt can be made to secure them;
- *Newspapers and serials* from the Portuguese press in the United States, including original newspapers, microfilmed versions, born-digital versions, and versions which have been digitized;
- *Ephemeral collections* (such as posters, programs, photographs, newspaper articles) *that document an event of historical or cultural value* to the Portuguese-American community.

Family and personal archives in the FMPAA

As of October 2018, the FMPAA holds just over 30 collections that it identifies as being personal and/or family collections. While the content of these collections varies in scope, geographic and date extent, for the most part they include photographs, correspondence, and genealogical records and are generally focused on the mid to late twentieth century. This paper will focus on four of the 30 collections that demonstrate the varied research that can be accomplished beyond that of the traditional “genealogical” research that is usually considered to be the primary focus of family and personal archives.

MC 64 — Furtado family correspondence

This collection was purchased by staff of the FMPAA and is assumed to have been kept by family members of William and Arthur Furtado, brothers who were native to New Bedford, Massachusetts, and who both served in the navy during World War II. The collection consists of 100 letters, postcards, telegrams and other correspondence written and received by the brothers, as well as some other ephemeral items related to Furtado family members. The collection is an excellent resource for those studying WWII and the individuals who served, and surprisingly, although the letters are written in English, they shed significant insight into the feelings and strong affinity that the two

brothers had for their Portuguese-American heritage. Both brothers write of not being surprised that their mother sent them care packages that included *chouriço* and *linguiça* and of finding and connecting with other Portuguese-American individuals whom they were serving with! It is these small bits of information that allow a researcher to piece together what it was like to be a second- or third-generation Portuguese-American during WWII. In addition, the correspondence provides firsthand accounts of everyday life on a navy ship and documents quite well the feelings and difficulties that were faced by family who corresponded with the brothers and worried for their safety.

Additional research beyond the collection tells us that William received the American Theater Medal and World War II Victory Medal; was a musician in the navy orchestra and played at the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He eventually went on to become a teacher and guidance counselor until his retirement. His brother, Arthur, was a firefighter. Both remained in the New Bedford area and, sadly, both passed away in 2002.

MC 148 — Dennis Rezendes Azorean ancestral and personal life collection

Dennis Rezendes was the child of an immigrant father and a first-generation immigrant mother, who was raised in Fall River, Massachusetts, and was a product of local schools. In his autobiography *Looking Back to the Future: A personal journey* (volume 2), he stated that “The greatest gift I received from [my teachers] was learning how to learn, to explore the unknown and to use the knowledge not only for my own betterment but also for others”¹⁸.

One of the largest family and personal collections in the FMPAA, this treasure trove of materials, relates to Mr. Rezendes’ personal life, his career in administration as well as his and his wife Jacqueline Beau Rezendes’ work in hospice care. The collection is composed of materials related to his genealogical research, the various endowments he supported and contains correspondence, photographs, books, certificates (birth, marriage and death), personal items and writings. Within the collection are materials relating to family mem-

¹⁸ REZENDES, 2008: 500.

bers: Michael Rezendes; Cheryl Rezendes Rulewich; Shane and Seth Bohart and their children. Originally donated to the FMPAA due to Mr. Rezendes' keen interest and extensive research on his family's genealogy, the collection was enhanced when the FMPAA archivist was able to explain to Mr. Rezendes that *all* of his personal and professional papers had historical and enduring value, and as such, should be donated. As an example of the positive feedback from Mr. Rezende's, at the request of the archivist he annotated each of the several hundred photographs in the collection with the name of the individuals in them and the location (and when possible) the circumstances in which the photographs were taken.

While the collection provides valuable local history information, specifically related to the city of Fall River, and genealogical information related to the Rezendes family, the hidden research jewel is found in the extensive documentation that was donated related to hospice care in the United States. Mr. Rezendes and his wife were both founding members of the National Hospice Organization (now known as the National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization), and the materials related to this period in their lives includes original meeting notes, memos, photographs, annual reports and conference programs, and notes related to the early and groundbreaking work that the organization was undertaking on a national level. He stated that "The experience also gave me a greater understanding of how precious every life is from birth to death. I have also learned the real meaning and power of love."

MC 154 — Antone Felix papers

Antone Felix's estate donated his personal and professional papers shortly after his death as they believed that his collection not only shed light on his personal accomplishments but also provided invaluable information about the genesis of the teaching of Portuguese at UMass Dartmouth. The collection is comprised of various teaching tools (such as syllabi, tests, worksheets, and lesson plans), Portuguese-language curriculum related books, newspaper articles, slide and artifacts that were used by Felix in the classroom.

Felix was born to parents of Azorean descent and was quite proud of his locally obtained education: a graduate of New Bedford High School, a Bachelor of Science from Boston University, and two master's degrees (a Master of Education from Bridgewater State College and a Master of Arts from New York University). In addition, he completed course work at Harvard University, the Universidade do Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre, Brasil,) and the Universidade de Lisboa. He began his career as a teacher at New Bedford High School, where he taught Portuguese. Then, he went on to become a Professor of Portuguese at what was known at the time as Southeastern Massachusetts University (SMU), where he received the title Professor Emeritus upon his retirement in 1992. While teaching at SMU, he also served as principal of De Valles Evening School for a five-year period.

His professional accomplishments were quite varied and included chairing the sub-committee that drafted the proposal for a 'Portuguese Learning Center' which was accepted in the spring of 1973, resulting in the Center for the Portuguese Speaking World (CPSW), and subsequently served as its director for several years. The CPSW would become one of the precursors to the existing Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth. He was a prolific public speaker to many local Portuguese cultural organizations, as he routinely gave talks and slide presentations on the Portuguese author Luís de Camões and Lusophone Africa. In addition, he coordinated the first *leitior* from the Instituto de Alta Cultura, began the Summer Study in Portugal Program for students, and was a significant force in the creation and growth of the Portuguese-language book collection at what is now known as the Claire T. Carney Library at UMass Dartmouth, with his contacts and donations of books, magazines, and newspapers from Portuguese government agencies.

MC 165 — Frances Sylvia Gracia papers and Portuguese-American collection

Frances Sylvia, while born in Fall River, Massachusetts, was raised in Little Compton, Rhode Island where her family had deep Portuguese-American roots. Her collection is comprised of her life's work and passion: the docu-

mentation of the Portuguese-American community she felt was held in low esteem by the “Yankees” they worked with/for and who were their neighbors. She expressed that the more she learned and grew older, the more she refused to “be cowed or to maintain a respectful silence” (*Portuguese Times*).

In contrast to “traditional” family/personal collections whose emphasis is on the daily lives and accomplishments of the donating family, in the case of the Gracia collection it consists of hundreds of documents that record the history of the Portuguese in the United States, with an emphasis on the Portuguese in New England, specifically the south coast of Massachusetts. Ms. Gracia documented small local organizations and events, and the records related to this aspect of the collection are often the only known documentation about the organizations and events. In addition, she donated her extensive genealogical research tracing the history of her family, as well as a significant number of personal documents such as photographs, ephemera, newspaper clippings, correspondence, and the research that ultimately resulted in her various publications. Her passion and interest in the Portuguese-American community led to her authoring *Early Portuguese Settlers in Little Compton, Rhode Island* (1974) as part of the Little Compton Tercentenary (1675-1975), the establishment of the “Portuguese Room” at the *Little Compton Historical Society*, being a founding member of the Portuguese American Historical Foundation of Fall River and a prolific member of the American Portuguese Genealogical & Historical Society.

The four collections listed in this article, while only a sample of the total holdings of the FMPAA, are but one example that although second- and third-generation Portuguese descendants more often than not do not speak Portuguese and have immersed themselves in American culture and society, they still have an inherent feeling of pride and interest in their ethnic roots and cultural heritage¹⁹.

¹⁹ RODRIGUES, 2017: 35.

Community engagement

Historically few collections have been donated to the FMPAA (or Archives and Special Collections in general) without the existence of a long-term relationship. This relationship occurred either directly between the staff and the donor, or the staff and a community member who then facilitated the gift from the donor. This model of collection growth is not sustainable, nor does it allow for targeted collection development. Specifically, it prevents engagement and places the FMPAA outside the community, thereby distancing itself from being a natural point of contact for primary historical information on Portuguese-Americans.

Thus, the FMPAA functions under a collaborative model with both the cultural and academic Portuguese-American community. This model is loosely framed by the research of the *Working Together Project* (information on which can be found at <http://www.librariesincommunities.ca/>) and the concept of community archives²⁰. Although the *Working Together Project* was centered on research about social inclusion in library services, its “toolkit” is a valuable guide for any information or heritage professional who intends to work closely with communities that have been traditionally excluded and discouraged from active engagement and participation in the preservation and telling of their story. The FMPAA archivist regularly adapts the methodology described in the toolkit to her activities with the community, specifically as they relate to relationship building. The Oregon Multicultural Archives (OMA) investigation team from the Research and Innovative Services Department, in their “Research & Innovative Services Report”, made several similar recommendations to the OMA to further engage internal and external stakeholders²¹. It must be noted as well that these are not revolutionary ideas, as Daniel writes that as early as the 1960s and 1970s Rudolph Vecoli made recommendations on how to garner and gather the fragile and scattered documents that told the story of the turn-of-the century immigrants, a generation that was dying and had gone undocumented. Of primary importance to Vecoli was that archivists

²⁰ GILLILAND; FLINN, 2013.

²¹ CHAU; NICHOLS; NILSEN, 2009: 10.

be in the field in order to interact with ethnic organizations and leaders and involve them in the decision-keeping process²².

For as successful as the relationship building aspect of the collaborative working model may be, it does not suffice as a means of community engagement, and in fact it brings to the forefront the need for the FMPAA to have staff who have “soft skills” such as empathy, interpersonal competence, and open-mindedness”, and to acknowledge that “People want to see themselves represented [...] and to have an opportunity to participate”²³. This want for representation has been seen in the series of talks that the FMPAA has presented each semester for the last nine years. Topics have varied from academic research to programs that the community had shown interest in and subsequently requested, and it is not surprising that community attendance has been significant for those programs and events that showcase “their” history rather than formal presentations of research and literature.

The interest that the community has in these programs is directly translatable to the records that it believes to be “important” and often assumes the FMPAA only collects. This emphasis is on what have become “traditional” records collected by archives as a means of documenting ethnic communities, records that document “political activities, religion, business, labor, and social and cultural organizations”²⁴; or what Schellenberg described as “notable” materials, worthy of being preserved²⁵. It was because of this narrow view on what was believed to be “worthwhile” that the FMPAA proactively engages with its current and future donors, in participatory archiving, it “encourages community involvement during the appraisal, arrangement, and description phases of creating an archival record”²⁶, specifically as it attempts to convey the message that every record is the evidence of an action and that the record has the potential to offer additional information outside of the expected²⁷. The process of participatory archiving is difficult and one that the FMPAA

²² DANIEL, 2010: 86.

²³ *WORKING TOGETHER PROJECT*, 8.

²⁴ GRABOWSKI, 1985: 312.

²⁵ SCHELLENBERG, 1956.

²⁶ SHILTON; SRINIVASAN, 2007: 98.

²⁷ SWEENEY, 2008: 205.

does not always have success with, for every successful instance there has been multiple failures. There are commonly attributed to donors still preferring to do self-appraisal of the materials they intend to donate; and a difficulty in transmitting the message that social and cultural associations are not the only means to telling Portuguese-American history, and that personal archives of the “common” person are key in attempting to tell a more complete history of Portuguese immigration to the United States.

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EPILOGUE: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE ARCHIVAL DIVIDE

ABSTRACT: At a time not long ago, historians and archivists could be said to occupy a common conceptual space. In recent decades, this conceptual partnership began to diverge. On the one hand, the discipline of History has broadened the range of what questions legitimately constitute a systematic examination of the past. The boundaries that defined the province of historical scholarship, once so tightly drawn around states and institutions, were expanding. The search for validation in forming a response to those questions has pushed historians into new constructs of what constitutes a legitimate and an authoritative historical source. At the same time the world of archives and archival administration was changing in response to pressures derived from the complexities of modern life. Among those were 1) the problem of the bulk of records, 2) the challenge of finding resources for archival operations, and 3) the onslaught of new information technologies. These developments moved archival work away from a traditional focus on professional historical work. The convergence in the disciplines of History and of Archival Science once considered in full partnership has resulted in divergent conceptual frameworks for understanding historical documentation; between the evolving conceptual frameworks for historical research and those related to the efficient and practical retention of records.

Keywords: archives administration; information technology; historical source; historiography

RESUMO: Até recentemente, poderíamos afirmar que historiadores e arquivistas ocupavam um espaço conceptual em comum. Nas últimas décadas, essa parceria conceptual começou a divergir. Por um lado, a História, como disciplina, ampliou o leque de questões que considerou legitimamente constituírem um exame sistemático do passado. As fronteiras que definiam a província da História, em tempos tão rigidamente delimitada pelos Estados e pelas instituições, começaram a expandir-se. A busca por validação na formação de uma resposta a essas questões levou os historiadores a novas formulações sobre o que constitui uma fonte histórica legítima e autorizada. Ao mesmo tempo, o mundo dos arquivos e da administração arquivística estava em mutação, em resposta às pressões derivadas da complexidade da vida moderna. Entre elas contam-se 1) o problema da quantidade de documentos, 2) o desafio de encontrar recursos para as operações arquivísticas e 3) a

investida de novas tecnologias da informação. Estes desenvolvimentos afastaram o trabalho arquivístico do foco tradicional, o labor histórico profissional. A convergência entre as disciplinas História e Arquivística, antes pensada enquanto parceria plena, resultou em estruturas conceptuais divergentes para o entendimento da documentação histórica; entre estruturas conceptuais em evolução para a investigação histórica e aquelas relacionadas com uma preservação de documentos eficiente e pragmática.

Palavras-chave: administração de arquivos; tecnologias da informação; fonte histórica; historiografia

Like so many dimensions of modern life, archives and documentation once considered ordered and uncomplicated have been transformed by new uses, new definitions, and new technologies. My particular interest focuses on the institution of the archives itself and limits of the archives in supporting and authenticating the process of generating historical knowledge; that is the accumulation of recorded information generated in the course of activities conducted by those who lived before us. Archives are often viewed as static places, often characterized in the words of Carolyn Steedman as “dust”-ridden accumulations of documents¹. Some years ago William Rosenberg (a historian of Russia and user of complex archival accumulations of the Soviet Era) and I (a historian of the US and a long-time administrator of a substantial historical archive) collaborated on a reflection about the nature of archives and their changing relationship to how History is written and understood². We found extraordinary dynamism in the evolution of what constitutes an archive and how the contents of an archive shape and are shaped by historical discourse. We also found extraordinary dynamism in the evolution of the profession of History and how perspectives on the past are informed by sources in a variety of ways. Archives are certainly anything but dust-ridden, static institutions.

The essential problem we saw was one of convergence and divergence. That is to say that the convergence in the disciplines of History and of Archival Science once considered in full partnership had diverged into separate conceptual spheres each with a view of the other that was a century old. This is what we called the “archival divide”. In this brief paper, I want to explore

¹ STEEDMAN, 2001.

² BLOUIN JR.; ROSENBERG, 2011. See also BLOUIN JR.; ROSENBERG (eds.), 2006.

what we mean by the archival divide. That is, to look at specific questions that inspired our collaboration. What is the archival divide? How has it evolved? How does it manifest both in the historiographical and archival discourse? Has the recent rebirth of archival science as an autonomous discipline seeking to define its own problematics and objects of study contributed to the divide?

In 2002, the New York Public Library mounted an exhibition on the evolution of modern Literature. The exhibit was predicated on the following observation:

The Victorian era encompassed a wide variety of approaches to literary expression characterized by one common feature — the omniscient narrator's imagined world was, in essence, the same world [...] inhabited by the reader. Supporting this assumption was a system of widely held religious and social beliefs. Like all communities of belief, it was dependent on authority. [...] But by the 1920s as the American expatriate T. S. Eliot observed, such a role had become untenable. The gap between high and low culture had grown too great; religious certainties, at least among the cultural elite, had thoroughly corroded; and writers doubted that the world could be described, in any meaningful way, except in terms of their own, or their characters' interior reactions to it³.

This lack of common authorities and increased complexities separated authors and their readers into different realms of discourse and context. A relationship that seemed almost axiomatic, that of an author and the reader, became problematized.

For many decades, at least since the mid-nineteenth century, historians and archivists could also be said to occupy a common conceptual space. This, based on widely held assumptions that the basis of History could be found in institutions and the great men who ran them. These might be state institutions, religious institutions, private institutions and even the institu-

³ GERWITZ, 2002.

tion of the family⁴. Nevertheless there was a shared sense that understanding the history of those institutions and those who ran them would inform society and encourage wise choices based on historical perspective. Archives of those institutions and the papers of individuals who ran those institutions informed this historical work. The work of historical research and the work of administering archives existed in a conceptual harmony formed by similar institutional authorities. However, in recent decades, like the experience in Literature, the common authorities informing the work of the historian and the archivist have been challenged.

Recently, the sense of partnership between historians and archivists in the study of the past has undergone a variety of stresses and strains. Historical scholarship is currently at a point where what constitutes the archive is a question fundamental to how we come to know the past and how that historical knowledge is shaped. History in its broadest sense is informed by a variety of authorities that include, but are not limited to, what is found in archival institutions. History and Archives now occupy very different spaces, a condition that has resulted from activities that are conceptual, technical, and practical. The convergence between History and Archival Science, also once considered axiomatic, born of shared intellectual concerns and methodologies, has become problematized. There has been a breakdown in common referents and shared understandings. This divergence is essentially what William Rosenberg and I have called the archival divide.

The convergence

Certainly in the United States, the intellectual space shared by Archival Science and History a century ago was defined collectively by those who studied the archive as a window to the past and by those whose work formed the archive in terms of content. This unified conceptual space was the result of a shared interest in the importance of institutions, a shared sense of promi-

⁴ Of particular importance regarding family papers is the work edited by Maria de Lurdes Rosa and Randolph C. Head: ROSA; HEAD (eds.), 2015.

ment actors, a shared view of seminal events, and a shared sense of national boundaries and definitions. Once assembled and developed, the content of the archive in many ways defined the boundaries of a historical scholarship that focused on state formation and national self-perception and definition. That is to say that the archives of government informed work in the history of the operations of governmental practices and actors. The interplay of these institutions of authorities, the monarchies, prime ministers, presidents, congress, governmental bureaucracy, the church, as well as the electorate at large, were the focus of historical research. At the heart of this work was a quest for understanding of, and devotion to, what constitutes the nation state.

Those historians who studied these state processes would then inform the formation of the archive itself. That is, the focus on state institutions and their structures formed the content of the archive and the structure of the arrangement and descriptive systems that described the content of the archive. Both historians and archivists were working within a framework of shared authorities, shared institutional focus, and shared purpose. The work of each informed the work of the other and the work of each was within the same boundary of what constituted historical knowledge. This marks a period of convergence in conceptions of what constitutes the archives and what constitutes the past⁵.

Institutional History relied on the existence of the records generated by the institutions themselves as evidence of particular processes and responsibilities. Since ancient times, the archive, constituted in one form or another, has been the location of these records. Refined in the early modern period with development of the principles of diplomatics, archives were increasingly regarded as the location of “authentic” records. The true and verifiable document. With the emergence of bureaucracies in the seventeenth century, the purpose of documentation was less to verify transactions and more to focus on the processes of decision-making. The truth of the contents of a particular document in a bureaucratic process could not always be verified, however

⁵ Classic texts on archives and on historical methodology assume this convergence. On archives see JENKINSON, 1922; SCHELLENBERG, 1965a. On historical methods see BARZUN; GRAFF, 1977; GOTTSCHALK, 1965.

the archivist could determine that a document was authentic to a particular bureaucratic process. For any particular document, its significance and veracity would depend on how it was read and contextualized.

The idea of authority embedded in the notion of an authentic record, however defined, privileged the archives as an authoritative source in understanding the past. Archives were a critical element in Rankean positivism and Collingwood's idea of History⁶. Authority in coming to an understanding of the past rested on an acceptance of the archive and a faith in the authenticity of its holdings. On occasion, that faith could be shaken by a false document, but the fundamental link between the purpose of the archive and the purpose of History stood firm⁷. This confidence was sustained because of a joint focus on the primacy of state-based institutional processes and government-based power in constituting the basis of a verifiable past.

In recent decades, this conceptual and methodological partnership began to diverge. On the one hand, History and those disciplines that increasingly embrace a historical perspective have broadened the range of what questions legitimately constitute a systematic examination of the past. The boundaries that defined the province of historical scholarship, once so tightly drawn around states and institutions, were expanding. The reach of new questions and the search for validation in forming a response to those questions pushed historians into new constructs of what constitutes a legitimate and an authoritative historical source. On the other hand, the work and purpose of archives also evolved in a variety of new directions, embracing new technologies, serving new constituencies, and facing the challenge of the exponential growth in the bulk of records produced.

The divergence in historical inquiry

On the History side of this divergence, historical inquiry as a field has evolved in many new directions. History proper, as a discipline, over recent

⁶ APPLEBY; HUNT; JACOB, 1994: 15-51.

⁷ GRAFTON, 1990.

decades has embraced an increasing variety of questions informed by theoretical perspectives on social behavior, social definition, social interaction, and the dynamics of power relationships. The central focus on institutions of government and the church has moved toward addressing complex questions derived from the nature of society as a whole. Issues of race, gender, sexuality, regionalism, class divides, postcolonial readjustments, subaltern identities, socio-economic policy and process, are just some of the pressing issues that increasingly dominate professional historical discourse. Consequently, historiography has expanded as a result of probing studies on all dimensions of the past. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has said, new understandings of these questions have diminished the central role of the west and its institutions in defining how we understand the past. It has led to what he calls the “provincialization of Europe”⁸. Terrence McDonald has shown other disciplines, including Literature, are increasingly turning to historical methodology to understand the place of texts and experience in time⁹. These are just two examples of the expanding boundaries of what constitutes History and the multiplicity of assumptions about what constitutes the past.

In probing these new questions, traditional archives have fallen short in their capacity to provide adequate sources. On many of these important historical questions, the traditional archive is silent. For example, the work of Lynn Hunt and others in cultural theory and in the varied dimensions of social History have pushed the boundaries of historical understanding to embrace new sources derived from the authority of memory and experience.¹⁰ In other cases, historians like Ann Stoler have proposed that archives be read against their “grain”¹¹. She argues that only by digging under the bureaucratic processes of colonial archives of the governors can we come to some understanding of the complex and diverse populations that were the governed.

What of the authority of memory in shaping historical understanding? What is the authority of one’s own identity formation in structuring the bound-

⁸ CHARKHARBARTY, 2007.

⁹ MCDONALD (ed.), 1996.

¹⁰ SCOTT, 1991; BERKHOFER JR., 1995.

¹¹ STOLER, 2009.

aries of inquiry? These kinds of questions challenge the central place of institutions in historical understanding and challenge the archive of those same institutions as an authority informing historical inquiries, and consequently challenge the authority of archives and documents themselves.

The divergence in archival administration

The purpose of archives generated by institutions is largely focused on documenting the inner dynamics of those same institutions. When historians using those records to study those same institutions, they and the archivists forming the record content of the archive used common referents. But as historical questions broadened to more complex readings of the documents to find underlying social and cultural processes, these commonalities began to diminish. Moreover, in pursuing these new questions, historians coming to the archives find descriptive systems, catalogues, and inventories that were derived and fixed from particular conceptual frameworks, in some cases decades if not centuries old. Moreover, technical considerations coupled with the exponentially increasing amount of records produced, especially those born digital, have forced new approaches to the administration of records in an archive. The result is this increasing divide between the work of historians and that of archivists — two worlds once considered the same.

As the range of historical questions was expanding well beyond a focus on institutions and prominent actors, the production of archival records in modern bureaucratic society mushroomed ushering in what F. Gerald Ham called the “post custodial era”¹². As academic users of archives were pursuing challenging new questions, archival institutions were facing challenges of their own. Archivists as never before were faced with a need to select. What to save? Saving for whom? What to throw away? There were three essential elements in the process of divergence in archives away from professional historical perspectives on the past: 1) the problem of the bulk of records, 2) the

¹² HAM, 1981.

challenge of finding resources for archival operations, and 3) the onslaught of new information technologies.

First, the problem of the bulk of records. It was really in the 1970s with ever expanding institutions, big government, big universities, etc., that archivists found the amount of material generated and slated to come to the archive far exceeded the space available. The National Archives of the United States, for example, reported retaining less than 2% of the records produced by government. How are such choices to be made? At an earlier time when History and the Archive together were concerned with institutions and principal actors, the work of one informed the other. By the 1970s with archives bulging, questions of retention arose. Who would guide the response? What historical categories would inform retention decisions? At the very time selection became an essential practical matter for the archive, the range of historical questions became increasingly wide. History was no longer monarchs and ministers, but, as noted above, moved to address a variety of social, demographic, psychological, cultural, sexual, questions. The result was essentially that no one story or historical question could be privileged over another, therefore every record was of potential value. If all stories were important then all documents were important. No one historian could take responsibility for recommending removal of material that might undermine the work of another. To do so would indeed privilege one story over another. There were no longer common referents that defined any notion of comparative importance.

The consequent limitation in any authoritative value derived from a particular historiographical perspective, coupled with difficulties in anticipating future historiographical trends, marginalized academic historical analysis in the evaluative constructs that were at the root of the "appraisal" or selection processes that formed the Archive. That is, historical analysis was marginalized in the decisions of what to save and what to throw away.

In archival methodology there was a conceptual turn that increasingly defines the archive today. The archive now is more inclined to emphasize the essential relationships embedded in records. That is the link between the record and the activity that generated the record. As Helen Samuels noted in her archival analysis of the records of the functions of higher education that ultimately constitute archives of higher education: " Little can be done [by the

archivist] ... to anticipate future research trends that alter the questions asked or the use of the documentation ... Rather than relying on subjective guesses about potential research, appraisal decisions must be guided by clearer documentary objectives based on a thorough understanding of the phenomenon or institution to be documented”¹³. The emphasis on the intrinsic functional nature of institutions or activities rests on an analysis of the nature of record-keeping that is rooted in historical notions of the archive as record combined with ideas of modern bureaucratic systems and constructs of organizational behavior and structure. These essentialist constructs that form the archive avoid the problem of historiographic relativity. History and Archival Science now no longer rely on, or are defined by, common authorities. While History has expanded its range of questions and concerns, and consequently its idea of what is an authoritative source, Archival Science as a discipline has of necessity retreated to a more narrow sense of the relationship between record and activity that is increasingly independent of historiographical sensitivities.

A second pressure on archives continues to be resources and the push to make archival institutions and collections useful to a broader set of constituencies. This brings into the mix local historians, genealogists, more public notions of the past. These groups and the consequent documentary requirements for their work have introduced new factors into the formation of archival holdings. This opens a whole discussion on administrative policies and priorities that is marginal to our discussion of the central concept of the archival divide. However, these practical issues relating to resources and public purpose must be addressed in the administration of the archival record. What is important here is that archives are now seen as public agencies that do not privilege the uses of scholars over other users.

A third very significant development in recent decades relates to new technologies. Born digital archives present new possibilities for the retention of huge amounts of records retrieved through the mediation of specific devices and systems. Access to these machine and/or cloud stored records depends entirely on access systems. There is no possibility to physically rummage through boxes. New and now not so new information technologies offer the

¹³ SAMUELS, 1992.

possibilities of rapid navigation through these accumulations of records based on descriptive categories preselected and proscribed by the archives itself as it reads its own holdings. Because these categories must be clear, based on structured language, and relatively timeless, there is a tendency in archives in the construction of these systems to avoid historiographical nuance and focus on the essential relationship between the activity and the records produced by that activity.

Also, at a time when archival description is focused on controlled vocabularies and fixed linguistic structures or algorithms, many historians have come to find language itself a culturally based and politically charged instrument. For some historians the role and value of language are themselves evidence of highly contextualized relationships. As Gabrielle Spiegel has proposed, one of the features of the linguistic turn in historical study has been to “undermine our faith in the instrumental capacity of language to convey information about the world”¹⁴. This development occurs at the same time that archivists work to establish fixed and timeless linguistic categories that provide essential content on line access systems.

Conclusion

To visit the archive now is to engage an institution with its own well-developed set of intellectual, cultural, political, and/or technical constructs largely removed from the conceptions and language of academic historical discourse. The distance that has emerged between the historian and archivist is thus much more than a separation of professional interaction and activity. It is instead symptomatic of a much deeper divide: between divergent conceptual frameworks for understanding and using contemporary and historical documentation; between the evolving conceptual frameworks for historical understanding and those related to the efficient and practical retention of records; between the ways archivists and historians now and in the future will process the past.

¹⁴ SPIEGEL, 1997: 264.

This is the essence of the archival divide. The gap between what the descriptive systems tell us is in the archive and what we hope to find there, has created a more complex view by historians of archives as institutions. If society and its internal interactions are indeed culturally based, then is not the archive, too, a product of that same cultural dynamic? What is in the archive? How did it get there? By what political/cultural and or temporal analytic framework were the records assembled and presented? What, then, is the authority of the records in validating a historical understanding? What is not there? What, then, is the authority of the absence in affirming broad cultural realities? Are there alternative sources known through personal identity and experience? In the face of these questions then, the archive moves from being a place of study to becoming the object of study.

In reacting to our work on the archival divide, one reviewer asked: archivists and historians, can they be friends¹⁵? Of course the answer is yes. But the comment I think misses the main point of what we are saying. The divergence represented in the archival divide is not personal, it is not even professional. Rather, it is conceptual. It represents two diverging conceptualizations of how we approach the past. The questions pushing how we understand the past, the cultural issues, social issues, political issues are expanding the boundaries of how we define historical understanding. History is now a vast field where nearly every dimension of life on this planet has legitimacy as an academic question. Archives is also a vast field that deals with the explosion of information resources, the necessity of selection, the impact and the limits or possibilities of technology. This has led to two increasingly separate circles of discourse, two increasingly separate intellectual spheres. It is not a matter that the professions do not intersect, nor that we are friends; rather, it is a matter of two separate conceptual frameworks — the historical and the archival. These are increasingly diverging.

¹⁵ RITCHIE, 2012.

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Série Investigação

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