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Configurations of the Human: Population, Patriarchy, and Medical Power in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic (1720-1800)

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Configurations of the Human: Population, Patriarchy, and Medical Power in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic (1720-1800)

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements  
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

History (Science Studies)

by

Patrícia Martins Marcos

Committee in charge:

Professor Cathy Gere, Chair  
Professor Pedro Cardim  
Professor Claire Edington  
Professor Dana Velasco Murillo  
Professor Sal Nicolazzo  
Professor Robert S. Westman

2022

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University of California San Diego

2022

## DEDICATION

In memory of my father, in longing of his kindness and laughter

For Trischa Tschopp, in admiration of her fierce pursuit of hard endeavors

To the memory of my grandmother, in honor of her indomitable spirit

“We have to constantly critique imperialist white supremacist patriarchal culture because it is normalized by mass media and rendered unproblematic”

—  
bell hooks

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
AHU	Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino
AFBP	Arquivo Federal de Belém do Pará
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
BPNA	Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda
BE	Biblioteca de Évora
BMP	Biblioteca Municipal do Porto
BNB	Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil
PBA	Coleção Pombalina (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal)
BIS	Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the final product of many conversations shared in community. I owe a great deal to the time, conversations, and the support shown to me over the years. I would have not reached this stage of my career (or, indeed, survived this year) without the unrelenting support and camaraderie of Cassie Osei, Sarah Qidwai, Inês Beleza Barreiros, Theo Dryer, and Sara Ray. I thank them for believing in me when I did not. For assuring me of the value and import of my ideas, for reading my sometimes messy writing, and for assuring me of the contributions that my work could offer their respective fields. In addition, I hold the deepest friendship and admiration also for Pablo Hernández Sau. Our long conversations about the Iberian and Latin American eighteenth century over coffee breaks at the Biblioteca Nacional were such a source of enthusiasm and generative energy for me over the years.

Throughout the lengthy road that encompassed the construction of this project, my community also grew with the presence and support of Jack Hughes. As my village extended, it encompassed Pedro Schact Pereira, Rui Gomes Coelho, Jesús Rodríguez Velasco, John Marquez, Taylor Moore, Rosanna Dent, Amie Campos, Wendy Matsumura, Catarina Madruga, Iris Clever, Ana Lucia Araujo, Lexie Cook, Kevan António Aguilar, Scottie Buehler, Ahmed Ragab, Hannah Murphy, Lucia Dacome, and Greta LaFleur. These were people who shared their work, welcomed me in their circles, and who received my writing with constructive and insightful critiques.

At the John Carter Brown, I was fortunate to cross paths with the generous and luminous presence of Malena Palmero, René Lommez Gomes, Enrique Moral de Eusebio, and Valeria Mantilla. Over the next years, I look forward to deepening our ties of friendship, collaboration, and intellectual debate with all of them.



I am also deeply thankful to all of my committee members, for their role as mentors and generous readers. To my advisor, Cathy Gere, to Claire Edington, Robert S. Westman, Dana Velasco Murillo, and Sal Nicolazzo I owe for more than these pages can recount. To Pedro Cardim, who was a wonderful professor of the wide-eyed undergraduate version of me, I also think for his trust and confidence in my work and its potential

Lastly, the road towards this degree was marked by far more loss and hardship than I care to recount. I learned about my admission to the program as I found myself recovering from the sudden and traumatic loss of my father, Diamantino Marcos. Its cycle was completed as I lost my maternal grandmother, Senhorinha de Jesus, who taught me how to always lead with one's own willpower. Reaching this state of my life and career, I realize I am the revolution that neither of my grandmothers could about to be. As women born from a poor and peasant background, their destiny was service. Both were maids and confined to the violence of never learning how to read or write their own names. I dedicate this dissertation to them as well, realizing how the conclusion of this project is itself a revolution for them.

To my mother, Maria da Luz, I dedicate special words for her unwavering support and belief in me. At every turn, she modeled courage and the capacity to endure. More importantly, perhaps, she her words and deeds always stood firm as an emblem of the deepest and most sincere model of love. To my brother Paulo, my niece Laura, and nephew Miguel I owe support, laughter, and hugs in the hardest of times. It has been a delight to see all of them grow. Lastly, this work would not have been possible without the support provided by my tia Lita, my cousin Susana, and especially her sister Carolina. I have stayed in their homes, drank their coffee, taken breaks to the beach with them, and enjoyed many joyful moments and meals.

Finally, I wish to never forget my friend and colleague Trisha Topp. In our last conversation before Trisha's devastating and tragic death, we discussed the power of joy in academic work. Trisha relayed to me how she battled for her right to be joyful and to produce work she wanted to produce. Tragically, these were the last words we exchanged. I keep returning to them because, as Trisha rightly pointed, the process of transforming a curious and passionate mind like hers into a scholar capable of modeling disciplinary knowledge, is often marked by the taming of one's spirit. In the process, students become anxious, riddled with self-doubt, and exhausted by the opacity that marks all expectations about who they should become. Trisha revealed to me that being in the hospital had finally freed her from this morass of unmet expectations. I return to this conversation over and over again because I lament what this version of academic training does to us. I mourn that it ever had to be this way. And above all, I am deeply saddened that someone with Trisha's background and drive had to be in a hospital in order to feel free enough to produce the sort of work she always ambioned. We must lead with joy and fight for it. I can only wish that we can do without hospital beds in order to honor and learn these lessons.

## VITA

- 2006 Licenciatura, History, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Portugal)
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## PUBLICATIONS

“Blackness Out of Place: Refusing Ethnography and Black Countervisuality *In Portugal and its Former Empire*.” In *Historicizing the Images of the Afropolitan*, Rosa Carrasquillo, Melina Pappademos, and Lorelle Semley, Eds., *Radical History Review*, Issue 144, Durham: Duke University Press.

“Refusing the Fictions of Unmarked Whiteness: Challenging Human Rank, Race, and History,” *Refusing Eighteenth-Century Fictions*. Manu Chander & Eugenia Zuroski, (Eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

“Praxis is no Metaphor: Diasporic, Maroon Epistemes and Relational Knowledge Production,” Roundtable Discussion Decolonizing the ASECS, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, Volume 52. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Configurations of the Human: Population, Patriarchy, and Medical Power in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic (1720-1800)

by

Patrícia Martins Marcos

Doctor of Philosophy History (Science Studies)

University of California San Diego, 2022

Professor Cathy Gere, Chair

The eighteenth century in the Afro-Luso-Brazilian world was a time of depopulation anxiety and pressure towards epistemic, political, and imperial reform. *Configurations of the Human* tracks how the struggle to produce a new and more vigorous people dovetailed in clashes about social power and epistemic preeminence inflected in distinct worldviews about the status of the human. From object of divine creation to a species, this dissertation tracks a shift from the dominance of religion to medicine as the dominant languages of knowledge about the natural world. The struggle for modern reform, a term used in the eighteenth century by several of the protagonists recovered here, hinged on an effort to replace Church power and Scholastic methods

for modern medical approaches. Despite the enforcement of modern epistemic transformations, the modern medical method continued to recapitulate patriarchal models of power while simultaneously seeking to intercede with the patriarch, thus rendering him into the first agent of modern reform. Throughout five chapters, I reveal how projects of population multiplication in Lisbon travelled to the Amazon to build better population futures. I do this by theorizing the household (*casa*) as a patriarchal technology of medical power, race, reproduction, and political economy. Tracing the origins of state sponsored racial whitening in Portugal and Brazil, I offer the first study of relational racial production in the Afro-Luso-Brazilian Atlantic. This work historicizes the medicalization of race, “sex,” education, and patriarchal power. Conditions of possibility for whitening, I argue, stemmed from theories of generation positing “male seed” as the active seat of logos and female “wombs” as passive matter. Under the rule of white patriarchs, subalterns in Portugal and Amerindians in the Amazon would metamorph into “white vassals.” However, the population’s procreative imperative also inflicted exclusions. Namely, female same-sex desire became a cognitive impossibility for its refusal of reproductive futurity. Similarly, Blackness also became incommensurate with Portuguese civilization. Showing how abolitionism hinged on Portugal’s whitening—the “blackest” European capital—I analyze how the pathologization of Black women was critical to preserve South Atlantic slavery at a time of rising abolitionist pressures

## INTRODUCTION

### **Depopulated Nation, Degenerated Empire**

In 1790, the Luso-Brazilian physician, Francisco de Mello Franco (1757-1822) published the first book of his long and prolific life: *Treatise of Physical Education of Boys for the use of the Portuguese Nation*.<sup>1</sup> A member of the “Committee to improve National Medicine,” Franco outlined a meticulous scientific system destined to combat Portugal’s “depopulation and degeneration” (*despovoamento e degeneração*). Franco’s intervention in the domain of scientific childrearing was motivated by his own position as a “Physician and paterfamilias.”<sup>2</sup> Depopulation, he posited, was a problem of incorrect household management. Franco blamed the many “abuses and folly in the way of treating children” to a “distancing of the human species [away from] the natural ways of raising one’s progeny.”<sup>3</sup> By utilizing the language of nature, Franco marked himself as a partisan of the “modern” medical method, someone liberated from the confessional framework of supernatural creation.<sup>4</sup> Humankind, he noted repeatedly, was a natural “species.” Raising the future of the nation demanded rendering Nature’s mandates into an actionable and scientific framework for childrearing. In other words, what Portugal and every progenitor needed was a “system.”

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<sup>1</sup> Luso-Brazilian is used throughout the dissertation to mark protagonists who were born in Brazil during the colonial period. Francisco de Mello Franco, *Tratado da educação física dos meninos: para uso da nação portuguesa* (Lisboa: Na Officina da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1790).

<sup>2</sup> “Como Medico, e como pai de familias.” Mello Franco, v.

<sup>3</sup> “em Portugal há abusos, e desvarios no modo de tratar as crianças [...]. He de admirarm quanto se tem afastado a espécie humana dos caminhos da natureza no modo de crear a sua descendência.” Mello Franco, v.

<sup>4</sup> Mello Franco was arrested and jailed by the Inquisition between 1778 and 1782, for a seditious poem where he critiqued the insufficiency of the reforms in medical education at Coimbra University. Szz

Mello Franco's work brings together several of this dissertation's dominant themes. His scientific ambitions to medicalize conception, birthing, and childrearing were emblematic of the new kind of empire and population futures which the Pombaline period (1750-1777) sought to will into being. An empire, in short, which would break with the tradition of methodological scholasticism and legal pluralism that allowed ad hoc, localized governance. This new method instead aimed to create a single and unified Portuguese people.

The same ambition was also expressed in 1797 by the minister, diplomat, and political economist Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho (1755-1812), both protégée and successor to the hegemonic minister of the mid-eighteenth century, the Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782). In a letter proposing a new system of government and imperial financial management, Coutinho wished that "a Portuguese born in the four Parts of the World may only think of himself as only Portuguese and shall retain no other memory than that of the Glory and Grandeur of this Monarchy."<sup>5</sup> In short, Coutinho expressed his desire for a single and unified Portuguese imperial body politic.

In order to historicize the creation of a self-consciously modern, scientific state in both Portugal and Brazil, this dissertation investigates the roots of the Pombaline project of legal status and racial identity in the Portuguese empire. These initiatives, articulated in Mello Franco's pursuit of a medicalized household hygiene and Coutinho's unified imperial identity, sought to concretize the medico-racial Pombaline project of the population: the forging of a body

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<sup>5</sup> "he este inviolavel, e sacrosanto principio da Unidade, primeira baze da Monarquia, que se deve conservar com o maior ciuime a sim que o Portuguez nascido nas quatro Partes do Mundo se julge somente Portuguez, e não se lembre, se não da Gloria, e Grandeza da Monarquia, á que tem a fortuna de pertencer, reconhecendo, e sentindo os felizes effeitos da reunião de hum só todo composto de paetes tão differentes, que separadas, jamais poderão ser igualmente felizes." Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Casa de Linhares, N<sup>o</sup> 21, cx. 36, fl. 2.

politic committed to the mechanical creation of more and better salaried laborers, a status defined by whiteness.

Creating the white salaried laborer constituted the central scientific goal of the eighteenth-century medico-political epistemologies analyzed in this dissertation. Both Pombaline reformers and their late eighteenth century successors rested their ambitions of Portuguese imperial prosperity, commerce, and productive labor on the creation of more subjects capable of engaging in and of sustaining manufacturing work. This standard, I argue, was both explicitly and tacitly premised on an equation of virtuous subjecthood with whiteness as ideal. In this manner, this project ruptures previous interpretative frameworks in intellectual history and the history of political ideas that attempt to fit Portugal and the Lusophone Afro-Brazilian Atlantic into the grand narrative of Enlightenment. Instead, I historicize the elevation of whiteness as the key goal of eighteenth-century Portuguese imperialism and demonstrate the medico-scientific roots both undergirding and informing this project. In other words, *Configurations of the Human* explores how the the authority of white patriarchs within their households was medicalized, to pursue a mandate of prosperity and better population futures. This analysis moves away from intellectual scaffolds of enlightened reason to instead look closely at the structure of everyday power and the specific hierarchies mediating its apportioning.

The empire of white patriarchs, emblemized by Mello Franco's concerns with combatting the "degeneration" (*degeneração*) of Portuguese population through paternal rule and household hygiene, remains the most under-analyzed dimension of eighteenth-century Portuguese historiography. Thus far, emphasis on reformism in Portuguese imperialism has largely omitted both the problem of the population as well as the ambition to devise a whiter and more virtuous body politic. Indeed, Paulo Teodoro de Matos, who studied eighteenth-century



demography and census technologies in the Luso-Brazilian Atlantic, neither examined the population as a medico-scientific object nor attended to problems of racial composition.<sup>6</sup> My intervention in debates on population politics of the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic inserts the problem of race, thereby revealing how the figure of the white patriarch, progenitor, and paterfamilias became the crux of medico-political power in the period.

Through an analysis of the naturalized preeminence of the progenitor, paterfamilias, and patriarch, this dissertation reveals how reason and epistemic authority were socially anchored to its fatherly surrogate figures: the monarch, the priest (or colonial missionary), the physician, the director, and planter (*senhor de engenho*). This necessitates an understanding of the historical construction of eighteenth-century sex and gender. The preeminence of paternal figures, I argue, cannot be understood without considering the foundational role which Aristotelian theories of generation played in attributing positive, natural qualities to “male seed.” Since men embodied the qualities of movement, *logos*, and agency in nature, “male seed” also transmitted these qualities onto future generations *in potentia*. Because, as the formal cause of creation, male seminal fluid contained both the definition and essence of the new life entity, women were confined to the passive condition of affording the material cause for generation—i.e., providing the stuff the new being is made of. Thus, as women were limited to being acted upon by the man as “mover,” they were also by nature deprived of agency, personal sovereignty, and barred from partaking in defining the essence of being.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Paulo Teodoro de Matos, “Counting Portuguese Colonial Populations, 1776–1875: A Research Note,” *The History of the Family* 21, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 267–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2016.1147371>; Paulo Teodoro de Matos, “Colonos para o Império: Os Açores e a emigração para o Maranhão,” 2019; Ana Scott and Paulo Teodoro de Matos, “Demografia Do Brasil Colonial: Fontes, Métodos e Resultados, 1750-1822,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 34 (September 1, 2017): 433–38, <https://doi.org/10.20947/s0102-3098a0037>.

<sup>7</sup> For more detailed accounts of the role of movement in the process of generation and its repercussions onto the political role of men and women in the polis, see Ignacio De Ribera-Martin, “Movement (Kinêsis) as Efficient Cause in Aristotle’s Generation of Animals,” *HOPOS: The Journal of the International Society for the History of Philosophy of Science* 9, no. 2 (September 2019): 296–326; Judith M. Green, “Aristotle on Necessary Verticality,

This naturalistic scaffold is critical to address the racial politics mobilized in the Americas to both transform Amerindian populations into white vassals and rationalize Black exclusion from the civilizational project of the Portuguese population. In this sense, I argue that theories of generation scaled up into a political system used to naturalize male subjective political preeminence as natural. The population's central nexus between the procreative, the political, and the medical was negotiated in the household (*casa*). Critically, the *casa*, which must be simultaneously understood as a social and physical structure, was responsible for the organization of ties of labor, lineage, property, care, and kin.<sup>8</sup>

In the context of the eighteenth century in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic, I propose that the move to medicalize the *casa* was the fundamental cog of Pombal's "political mechanism." Idealized to augment the population and deliver the salaried laborer as the standard of the subject, the Pombaline political mechanism was a key technology of population-making and race. Specifically, the political mechanism utilized the patriarchal *casa* and the family as the key stabilizer to the production of white subjects.

People under the rule of the father or any of his patriarchal surrogates, lived lives fixed to land through labor, manufacture, trade and heteronormative reproductive order and kinship ties.

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Body Heat, and Gendered Proper Places in the Polis: A Feminist Critique," *Hypatia* 7, no. 1 (ed 1992): 70–99; Devin Henry, "Aristotle on the Mechanism of Inheritance," *Journal of the History of Biology* 39, no. 3 (2006): 425–55; Joseph Karbowski, "Slaves, Women, and Aristotle's Natural Teleology," *Ancient Philosophy* 32, no. 2 (October 1, 2012): 323–50; Thornton C. Lockwood, "Justice in Aristotle's Household and City," *Polis: The Journal for Ancient Greek and Roman Political Thought* 20, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2003): 1–21; Richard Mulgan, "Aristotle and the Political Role of Women," *History of Political Thought* 15, no. 2 (1994): 179–202; D. Brendan Nagle, *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Anthony Preus, "Science and Philosophy in Aristotle's 'Generation of Animals,'" *Journal of the History of Biology* 3, no. 1 (1970): 1–52; Dana Jalbert Stauffer, "Aristotle's Account of the Subjection of Women," *The Journal of Politics* 70, no. 4 (October 2008): 929–41; Adriel M. Trott, *Aristotle on the Nature of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Cendejas Bueno and Jose Luis, "Economics, Chrematistics, Oikos and Polis in Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas," *The Journal of Philosophical Economics: Reflections on Economic and Social Issues* X, no. 2 (May 19, 2017): 5–46.

<sup>8</sup> Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2021); Lamonte Aidoo, *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

The default centering of patriarchal and planter subjectivity, was analyzed by Lamonte Aidoo's in his critique of heteropatriarchal power in early modern and modern Brazil and Daniel Nemser's study of the Spanish spatial politics of population displacement and concentration as a race-making technology—or, as the terms it, an “infrastructure of race.”<sup>9</sup> According to Aidoo, the narrative hypervisibility lent to planters and patriarchs as emblems of political agency and authority ultimately elided slavery and sexual violence from the Brazilian past. Nemser also notes how colonial domination hinged on the expropriation of land and the displacement of native peoples to novel spaces. Laura Gowing, in addition, has carefully historicized the role of the early modern “holy household” in both Catholic and Protestant environments. The growing attention paid to illegitimacy brought, Gowing argued, the “potency of men and the fertility and fidelity” of women to the center of the political.<sup>10</sup>

I situate my historicization of race, reproductive politics, and patriarchal domination in conversation with this scholarship and an attempt to weave these disparate strands into a cohesive whole. Drawing on the actor's category “political medicine,” I excavate how the *casa* was the first site where modern medical reform took place in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic. I identify this novel medicalized and salubrious domestic space as not just an infrastructure of race, to borrow from Nemser's analytic, but as a technology of whiteness. The project of political medicine hinged on reforming the *casa* via the medicalization of the role of the patriarch. From the Aristotelian version of *oekonomia*—the science or art of the household—the modern *casa* demanded the father to perform the functions of progenitor, physician, and pedagogue. It was in this transformation from the Aristotelian to the modern household that the *casa* became the key

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<sup>9</sup> Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race: Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); Aidoo, *Slavery Unseen*, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Laura Gowing, “Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 37, no. 4 (June 2012): 814.

axis of political economy—a new, modern science introduced to promote the dual ends of a mercantilist empire and population growth. These new epistememes of natural and social government were manifested as technologies of race and population after the 1755 Lisbon, with the affirmation of political medicine, and in the mid-1700s Amazon, with the Pombaline political mechanism and its indigenist policies. Respectively through the role of the father and director, the masculine ideal of reason laid out in theories of generation continued to offer the fundamental scaffold for the most complete (i.e., perfect) ideal of the human: the white patriarch.

My approach to the role of patriarchy in Portuguese colonial domination and Brazilian colonization contends with enduring, even if unquestioned, frameworks posited by the classic Brazilianist canon of social science. Indeed, the identification of patriarchal power as the base unit of social and political order has deserved much emphasis since the early 1900s. This is especially visible in the two most noteworthy social science classics of the Brazilian canon: Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande & Senzala* (1933) and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda *Raízes do Brasil* (1936). With regards to the former, Freyre's theory of "miscegenation" expressed in *Casa Grande*, offered a thesis of harmonious cohabitation between "masters and slaves"—which became the title of its English translation. Portuguese colonial bonhomie was, as Freyre later posited, the conduit of Brazilian "racial democracy." Both the existence of sexual congress between "masters and slaves" and its visible consequence, i.e., figure of the "*mulato*," were mobilized by Freyre to make the case that neither Portuguese colonialism nor Brazilian settler colonial society possessed any racial prejudice. Along the way, Freyre also identified "the family" and the patriarch (*qua* planter i.e., *senhor de engenho*) as the de facto epicenter of Brazil and Portugal's economic structure. Concretely, Freyre tethered the sugar economy to the political, social, and reproductive order via the "patriarchal economy." In the English translation

of *Casa Grande*, this system of racial slavery through the expropriation of productive and reproductive labor was equated with “Brazilian Civilization” itself.<sup>11</sup>

Freyre’s placement of the patriarch and the family at the epicenter of “Brazilian civilization,” served the purpose of erasing the legacies of violence perpetuated by racial slavery and the project of extinction that was “miscegenation.”<sup>12</sup> My intervention in this scholarly space comes through a critical reading on Freyre’s thesis and the production of an analysis that subverts the aim of *Casa Grande* as a panegyric lauding the patriarch. Instead, I offer a study of patriarchal political power and reproductive control that was inseparable from the project of the population. The dissertation locates the construction of whiteness as a state-sponsored activity in the eighteenth century. In so doing, it squarely locates the world of the planter’s household—which Freyre tracks to the Iberian *casa*—as a space of racial production, violence, and extermination.

This criticism dovetails with the second key piece of Brazilianist scholarship centering role of the patriarch: Buarque de Holanda’s *Roots of Brazil*.<sup>13</sup> In his theorization of the key features of Portuguese and Brazilian culture and social structure, de Holanda coins the figure of the “cordial man” (*homem cordial*). The cordial man, he argued, was the key social, political, economic, and cultural agent of everyday life. Just as Brazilian sociality was marked by cordial

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<sup>11</sup> English translation as *The Masters and Slaves*, Freyre locates the homunculus of Portugal and Brazil’s interlinked civilizations in what he terms the “patriarchal economy.” Based on a theorization of life on the plantations—one separating the patriarchal, planter household (i.e., *Casa Grande*) from the slave quarters (*senzala*)—Freyre argues that planter’s willingness to engage in sexual congress with enslaved women, was evidence of the absence of racial prejudice. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regimen de economia patriarcal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933); Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2022).

<sup>12</sup> Patricia Martins Marcos, “Blackness out of Place: Black Countervisuality in Portugal and Its Former Empire,” *Radical History Review* 2022, no. 144 (October 1, 2022): 106–30; Lamonte Aidoo, *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018); Yuko Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship: A Black and Indigenous History of Postcolonial Brazil, Afro-Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>13</sup> Sergio Buarque de Holanda, *Raizes do Brasil* (Brasil: J. Olympio, 1936).

interpersonal rapports between individual paterfamilias, everyday affairs were also informally ruled by “gentlemanly agreements.” When relations reached a point of tension, “the cordial man” was also entitled to exercise righteous violence. The principal justification for the legitimate engagement in violent retaliation was the safeguarding of the paterfamilias’s honor, as well as that of his family.<sup>14</sup>

Both Freyre’s and de Holanda’s centering of the paterfamilias reveal much about a structure of power that was tacitly accepted as natural: white patriarchy. In this sense, their works emphasize how the role of paternal authority was central to modern scientific efforts to define Brazilian culture. Yet, this social structure with deep, colonial roots still lacks any historical treatment on an Atlantic scale for the early modern period. I fill these lacunae by centering the structure both Freyre and de Holanda identified as essential but failed to critically engage. Specifically, I locate the origins of state-sponsored whitening policies to the medicalization of the household (political medicine) and the production of a whiter population (political mechanism).

Political medicine in eighteenth century Portugal and its empire offered a deliberate break with the grip of scholasticism in medicine, imperial management, and political power. It represented a world without inquisitorial zealotry, where Catholic rule was restrained to the religious domain and barred from any social or political role. The affirmation of political medicine and the political mechanism was made urgent by fears over depopulation—fears that only worsened in the 1740s, when the health of the monarch, the symbol of national vitality, began to deteriorate in public view. Remedies were sought via a focus on the *casa*, as the site of patriarchal privilege and authority. It was in this space of medicalized politics that the

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<sup>14</sup> Buarque de Holanda.

elaboration of new techniques of hygiene, designed to improve the health of the population, would be conjured. In short, the *casa* was a laboratory of health and civilization.

This orientation to my study of debates about depopulation draws on scholarship examining this problem in eighteenth-century France and England.<sup>15</sup> Fears of an insufficient populace were tied to mercantilist concerns linking population to prosperity.<sup>16</sup> Initial efforts to reform Portuguese society, which this dissertation locates in the 1720s and 1730s, offered the main entryway a solution by promoting the epistemic transition from scholastic medicine to a modern, anatomical, and empirically-oriented method. This relocation of the chronology of the modern method and reform to the 1720s and 1730s, addresses a lacuna long identified but as yet unaddressed. Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Gabriel Paquette, to name but two scholars, noted how the problem of reform existed well before the rise of Pombal to the role of minister in 1750.<sup>17</sup> By moving the traditional chronology of the eighteenth century to the reign of King João V (1707-1750), I relocate the debates about reformist opportunity to a period whose momentum that was lost in 1742, with the monarch's incapacitating illness. This move allows me to reveal in

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<sup>15</sup> Sean M. Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France c.1750–1850* (London: Routledge, 2016); Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Karen Offen, "Depopulation, Nationalism, and Feminism in Fin-de-Siècle France," *The American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1, 1984): 648–76, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/89.3.648>; W. George Lovell, "'Heavy Shadows and Black Night': Disease and Depopulation in Colonial Spanish America," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (September 1, 1992): 426–43, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8306.1992.tb01968.x>; Ted McCormick, *Human Empire: Mobility and Demographic Thought in the British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

<sup>16</sup> McCormick, *Human Empire*; Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*; Blum, *Strength in Numbers*; Andrea Rusnock, "Biopolitics and the Invention of Population," in *Reproduction*, ed. Nick Hopwood, Rebecca Flemming, and Lauren Kassell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 333–46; Andrea A. Rusnock, *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>17</sup> Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *D. José: Na Sombra de Pombal* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2008); Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, "Pombal's Government: Between Seventeenth-Century Valido and Enlightened Models," in *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and Its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830*, ed. Gabriel B. Paquette (Farnham: Routledge, 2009), 321–38; Gabriel B. Paquette, ed., *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and Its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830* (Farnham: Routledge, 2009); Gabriel B. Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

this dissertation the antecedents and intellectual roots of Pombalism, an effort frequently glossed over or taken for granted in biographical treatments of Pombal.<sup>18</sup> Significantly, through a deeper understanding of this background it is possible to better contextualize the wide ranging and sweeping program of reforms that Pombal undertook in the 1750s.

## **Whiteness and Empire**

Throughout these five chapters that span this dissertation, I redirect my concern for ideas and their worldly implications, to historicize not just the role of race but of the intersection between whiteness and patriarchal power. My intervention in this debate aims to fill two other fundamental historiographical gaps. On the one hand, *Configurations of the Human* provides the first attempt at situating the production of whiteness and its attending relational formations of race in the Afro-Luso Brazilian Atlantic. In this sense, it offers the first study to locate the racial underpinnings of reformism and Pombaline political action via an excavation of the role of naturalistic epistemologies in the context of population-making. On the other hand, by drawing from a wide archive of official correspondence, missionary works, medical treatises, and interpersonal dialogues, I offer the first approach encompassing the Luso-Afro-Brazilian world which balances the study of whiteness with the treatment of indigenous peoples and blackness.

The pursuit of an integrated Afro-Luso-Brazilian approach seeks to circumvent the traditional historiographical separation between metropolitan and peripheral political concerns,

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<sup>18</sup> Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *A Amazônia na Era Pombalina. Correspondência inédita do governador e capitão-general do Estado do Grão Pará e Maranhão Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 1751-1759* (São Paulo: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 1963); Alexandre Shigunov Neto, Dulce Maria Strieder, and André Coelho da Silva, “A reforma pombalina e suas implicações para a educação brasileira em meados do século XVIII,” *Tendências Pedagógicas* 33 (January 2, 2019): 117–26; Thais Nivia Fonseca, *As Reformas Pombalinas no Brasil* (Belo Horizonte, MG: Mazza Edições, 2017); Monteiro, *D. José*; Kenneth Maxwell, *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kenneth Maxwell, “The Spark: Pombal, the Amazon and the Jesuits,” *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2001): 168–83.



dominant in Portuguese scholarship. As a consequence of this tendency, the problem of race in Portugal tends to be externalized to the colonies, while its metropolitan matrix is ignored altogether. Problematically, by enforcing discrete analytical separations that were neither operable nor contemporaneous to the modes of thought familiar to eighteenth century historical actors, the problem of race, blackness, and slavery in Portugal is externalized to the colonies. As a consequence, Portugal, the seat of an empire which started the transatlantic slave trade in the 1400s and which traded the most enslaved people for the longest time, appears suddenly as a geography immune to either race-making or racial prejudice. This analytical scaffold, I offer, is responsible for the perpetuation of narratives of Portuguese imperial exceptionalism.<sup>19</sup>

*Configurations of the Human* confronts these silences not only by locating problems of race in Portugal but also by situating efforts to produce a white population both in the Pombaline period and across the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic. These efforts are entirely novel to the historiography of race in Portugal as well as the history of whiteness in Brazil. In this sense, my contribution to these scholarly fields emerges via the effort of historicizing whiteness in Portugal and Brazil beyond its usual inclusion in the history of eugenics and the history of the modern Brazilian nation state. Instead, I demonstrate how whiteness—or white supremacy—provided a colonial framework that was subsequently recapitulated both in the case of the Brazilian empire (1822-1889), as explored by Yuko Miki’s work on the nineteenth century, as well as the modern nation state, as Barbara Weinstein and Jerry Dávila have shown.<sup>20</sup>

The argument for Atlantic integration of the Luso-Afro-Brazilian world is deepened by my reading of a wide variety of primary sources and archival materials. Through the analysis of

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<sup>19</sup> I explore this topic in greater detail in the following article: Martins Marcos, “Blackness out of Place.”

<sup>20</sup> Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship*; Jerry Dávila, *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*, Illustrated edition (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2003); Barbara Weinstein, *The Color of Modernity: Sao Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

fragments, loose notes, and diplomatic, imperial, and administrative correspondence, I acquired a sense that integrating metropolitan concerns with colonial ones was not only analytically imperative, but also the most rigorous approach from a conceptual and chronological point of view. After all, the eighteenth-century actors recovered in this dissertation did not confine their categories of analysis to the borders of the then in-existent modern nation state. Rather, their spaces of action were both more capacious and diffuse. Therefore, methodologically, my approach confronts the problem of utilizing the modern nation state as the vessel for history. Quite unlike the modern space of the nation, eighteenth century administrators and men of science projected vistas to far wider geographies. Any considerations about financial management and ongoing population projects in metropolitan Portugal cannot be considered in isolation from the colonial world. Despite their inclusion within a strict political hierarchy, colony and metropole were symbiotic parts of the same whole—a reality made only more apparent as the eighteenth century progressed and Portugal's dependence on the colonies became increasingly more apparent.<sup>21</sup>

The purpose of an Atlanticist and integrated methodology becomes all the more important as we consider Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho's unificatory project as a replay of the Pombaline reformism and its efforts of willing a standardized body politic into being. In this sense, my work intervenes in scholarship on late eighteenth century political economy and reformism by revealing that the project of the population possessed both quantitative and qualitative contours. That is to say that population thinkers balanced concerns about size with considerations about quality and the most desirable characteristics of a given populace. As I argue, the main quality was whiteness. But as my analysis will also show, whiteness often

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<sup>21</sup> A specific example of this type of integration is analyzed in Kirsten Schultz, "The Crisis of Empire and the Problem of Slavery: Portugal and Brazil, c. 1700-c. 1820," *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (2005): 264–82.

transcended epiderma, being indexed by features such as Catholicism, agricultural labor, commerce, and belonging to a household (*casa*).

Thus far, historians of reform who explored both the Pombaline period in Portugal have largely ignored its racial dimensions.<sup>22</sup> Their Brazilian counterparts, on the other hand, while aware of the problem of race, have nonetheless circumscribed it almost exclusively to the study of indigenous and Black, enslaved subjects.<sup>23</sup> As a consequence, whiteness continues to appear as unmarked, while neither field of scholarship has yet to contend with it as the key racial project of the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup> My work intervenes at this juncture both by centering whiteness and the naturalization of patriarchal power as a medico-political and racial project on an Atlantic scale.

Understanding how the goal of a white imperial body became a figure of thought that informed concrete policies demands engaging with theories of generation. Over the generations, Portuguese paterfamilias would impart their “white blood” to their progeny, thereby transforming the population’s racial composition. In addition, through political medicine and efforts to medicalize the household, patriarchs would also learn to become ideal pedagogues and imprint the best and most desirable qualities of whiteness onto their mixed-race progeny through education and rational child-rearing techniques.

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<sup>22</sup> Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, “Aristocracia, poder e família em Portugal, séculos XV-XVIII,” in *Sociedade, Família e Poder na Península Ibérica*, ed. Juan Hernández Franco and Mafalda Soares da Cunha (Publicações do Cidehus, 2010), 47–75; Monteiro, *D. José*; Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald Raminelli, *Nobrezas Do Novo Mundo: Brasil e Ultramar Hispânico, Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2015); Ronald Raminelli, “Impedimentos da cor: mulatos no Brasil e em Portugal c. 1640-1750,” *Varia Historia* 28 (December 2012): 699–723; Ronald Raminelli, “Constuir Colônias: Reformas nas Américas c. 1760-90,” *Anos 90* 28, no. 28 (2021): 1-.

<sup>24</sup> Ruth Frankenberg, “The Mirage of an Unmarked Whiteness,” in *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, ed. Birgit Brander Rasmussen et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 72–96.

Given these unquestioned biases towards paternal rule and deference to the reason of patriarchal figures, modern reform failed to reinvent the epistemic shape of Jesuitical knowledge. That is, modern reformism—be it medical, political, or imperial—failed to deliver its promises of deep-seated transformation because it ultimately recapitulated the same structures and agents of power, albeit under a new epistemic veneer. Hence, reform represented not a program of wide-ranging transformation but advanced the ambitions of social ascent of agents who had none as long as scholasticism reigned supreme.

Pombaline reform has perhaps been the most widely debated and written about topic in the historiography of the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic.<sup>25</sup> After the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, the

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<sup>25</sup> Cláudia Rodrigues and Francisco José Calazans Falcon, eds., *A “época Pombalina” no Mundo Luso-brasileiro*, 1ª edição (Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil: Editora FGV, 2015); Mendonça, *Amazônia Pombalina*; Alberto Damasceno, Emina Santos, and Daniel Palheta, “A educação jesuítica na Amazônia Setecentista e os confrontos com o Pombalismo,” *Revista Linhas* 19, no. 41 (September 14, 2018): 259–91; José Augusto França, *A reconstrução de Lisboa e a arquitectura pombalina* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1989); Neto, Strieder, and Silva, “A reforma pombalina e suas implicações para a educação brasileira em meados do século XVIII”; Yara Felicidade DE SOUZA Reis, “Antonio Landi: um arquiteto italiano na Amazônia pombalina,” *AMMENTU - Bollettino Storico e Archivistico del Mediterraneo e delle Americhe* 1, no. 5 (December 31, 2014): 56–69; Fonseca, *As Reformas Pombalinas no Brasil*; Manuel Teles da Silva and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Marquês de Pombal), “Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal,” in *Anais Da Academia Portuguesa de História*, vol. VI, II (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1955), 377–422; Monteiro, *D. José*; Ana Cristina Araújo, “Dirigismo Cultural e Formação das Elites no Pombalismo,” in *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade* (O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2000), 3; 9–5; 40, <https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/handle/10316/47583>; Jerdivan Nóbrega de Araújo, *Escravidados e Escravizadores da Vila de Pombal da Parahyba do Norte: Batistérios, Óbitos, Inventários e Alforrias*, ed. Mondrongo, 1ª edição (Mondrongo, 2021); Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Marquês de Pombal), *Escritos Económicos de Londres (1741-1742)*, ed. José Barreto (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1986); Carlos A. Moreira Azevedo, *Faculdade de Teologia em Coimbra - De Pombal à República* (Afrontamento, 1905); *Guerra aos Jesuítas A propaganda antijesuítica do Marquês de Pombal em Portugal e na Europa* (Lisboa, 2017); Francisco Jorge dos Santos and Laima Mesgravis, “Guerras e rebeliões indígenas na Amazônia na época do diretório pombalino (1757-1798),” 1995, <https://repositorio.usp.br/item/002162731>; José Augusto França, *La Lisbonne de Pombal: une ville des lumières* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1965); José Augusto França, “Les six plans de la Lisbonne Pombaline,” *Colóquio*, no. 8 (1972): 30–34; J. J. Carvalhão Santos, *Literatura e política: Pombalismo e antipombalismo* (Coimbra: Livraria Minerva, 1991); Fabiano Vilaça dos Santos, “Mediações Entre a Fidalguia Portuguesa e o Marquês de Pombal: O Exemplo Da Casa de Lavradio,” *Revista Brasileira de História* 24, no. 48 (2004): 301–29, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-01882004000200013>; Antonio Cesar de Almeida Santos, “O ‘Mecanismo Político’ Pombalino e o Povoamento da América Portuguesa na Segunda Metade do Século XVIII,” *Revista de História Regional* 15, no. 1 (2010): 78–107; Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *O Marques de Pombal e a unidade brasileira*. (Rio de Janeiro (RJ): Editorial Andes, 1954); Ana Cristina Araújo, *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade, 2ª Edição* (Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra / Coimbra University Press, 2014); Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *O Marquês de Pombal e o Brasil*. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1960); Hélio Abranches Viotti, “O pombalino império da Amazônia na regência de Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado,” *Revista de História* 50, no. 100 (December 18, 1974): 315–34; Francisco Malta Romeiras, *Os Jesuítas em Portugal*

influence of the first secular minister has been framed as “modernist,” “despotic,” or “enlightened”—indeed, perhaps as an entre-deux between the latter two, Pombal was often described as an “enlightened despot.” However, in their effort to insert Portugal and Pombal into grand narratives of Western modernity—Enlightened reason, modern reform, scientific progress, etc.—these efforts failed to acknowledge how ambitions to expand the population were inflected with an overt racial dynamic. The eighteenth-century dream of bigger and better population futures for Portuguese civilization were, I reveal, ambitions of a whiteness embodied by the new ideal of the desirable subject: the white patriarch and salaried laborer.

## Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 opens with the sudden indisposition of King João V in 1742, arguing that this moment of instability—a literal illness afflicting the head of the body politic—affords a clear window onto the debates about political medicine in pre-Pombaline Portugal. It offers Luís da Cunha’s *Testamento Político (Letter of Advice)*, written in response to the crisis, as the first example of the genre of literature whose aim was to intercede with paternal authority through counsel informed by the modern method.<sup>26</sup> Cunha’s *Letter* was written in 1742 and draws a parallel between the sterility and moral decay caused by the Church and fears that the King’s long and incapacitating illness (r. 1707-1750) could be perceived as a weakness of the whole

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*Depois de Pombal História ilustrada* (Parede, Portugal: Lucerna, 2018); Antonio Cesar de Almeida Santos, “Para viverem juntos em povoações bem estabelecidas : um estudo sobre a politica urbanistica pombalina,” 1999, <https://acervodigital.ufpr.br/handle/1884/27166>; Manuel Nunes Dias, “Política pombalina na colonização da Amazônia: (1755-1778),” *Stvdia*, no. 23 (1968): 7–32; Miguel Dantas da Cruz, “Pombal and the Atlantic Empire: Political Impacts of the Foundation of the Royal Treasury,” *Tempo* v20 (2014); Kenneth R. Maxwell, “Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian Economy,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (1968): 608–31; Miguel Dantas da Cruz, “Pombal e o Império Atlântico: impactos políticos da criação do Erário Régio,” *Tempo* 20 (January 13, 2015): 01–24, <https://doi.org/10.1590/TEM-1980-542X-2014203621eng>; Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*.

<sup>26</sup> Portugal’s ambassador in Paris and the crown’s longest serving administrator.

Portuguese Empire.<sup>27</sup> This intervention quickly turned to questions of population. As God's chosen sovereign, the king had a "responsibility for national fertility."<sup>28</sup> The mystical union between God, sovereign, and father rendered the monarch into a synecdoche and ideal of the state, an ideal of race, fecundity, and procreative strength as the apex of civilization.

Beyond the ailing body of the king, chapter 2 challenges and explores the subversion of the patriarchal ideal by considering the role of women and same-sex desire. At the center of this chapter is the Inquisitorial trial of Maria Duran, a woman whose behavior confounded the norms and ideals of the patriarchal household. If a crisis of demographic decline pushed modern physicians to the forefront of social reform, it also entailed recourse to anatomy to fix "sex." Efforts of fixing "sex" to the body, however, proved elusive in the context of an Inquisition trial. The absence of a patriarch—father or husband—and Maria Duran's refusal of reproductive sex, rendered sexually agential women illegible to the state. Despite deeming her body "perfect and without defect" Duran was expelled and punished because same-sex desire refused the state's mandate of reproductive futurity. This chapter further explores how theories of generation played a role in the naturalization of masculine superiority in reproduction, the household, and the polis.

The problem of depopulation emerges in chapter 3 through the desiderata of the "multiplication of the people" in the Pombaline period (1750-1777). This chapter presents the moment of the modern medicalization of the household through the technology of the popular medical manual after the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake. In this period, under the guise of political medicine (*medicina politica*), the *casa* became a scientific site of salubrity and pedagogy. This meant both an ontological and epistemic transformation of the social and physical structure of

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<sup>27</sup> As Carol Blum notes, "the fertility of men, of cattle, and of the crops is believed to depend sympathetically on the generative power of the King." Blum, *Strength in Numbers*, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Blum, 5.

the household (*casa*). By delegating authority in the paterfamilias, modern physicians rendered the figure of the father into the delegate of medical reason. The *casa* ceased to be a space of Aristotelian *oeconomia* becoming a site of natural and human fecundity.

The technology of the *casa* and patrilineal power is followed to the Amazon in chapter 4. Set between the 1750s and the 1780s, this chapter explores the effort to settle and populate the Amazon through a policy of inter-racial marriage and procreation known as the Directorate of the Indians (1757-1798). The Pombaline policy of “many marriages and no useless wombs” instantiated a new model of colonial government in Brazil.<sup>29</sup> This model was responding to the expansion of Portuguese borders in the Americas in 1750, and the crown’s subsequent imperative of to “populate in order to possess.” Following the expulsion of the Jesuit order from the empire in 1759, this preoccupation with technologies of population also represented a shift in Portugal’s imperial mission from sterile conversion and catechism and towards commerce. The metamorphosis of “Indians into vassals” implied the expansion of the population through marriage, procreation, commerce, labor, and childrearing, assimilating Amerindians into whiteness.

The last chapter discusses the exclusion of the enslaved from the eighteenth-century project of the population. It will reveal how the crisis of patriarchal power was embodied in the figure of the “mulato” as the symbol of inter-racial sexual congress. Given the confluence between “civilization” and whiteness, Pombal and subsequent reformers sought to whiten Portugal’s metropolitan population by passing two laws: the 1761 “free soil” law and the 1773

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<sup>29</sup> Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Primeira carta secretíssima de Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, para Gomes Freire de Andrada, para servir de suplemento às instruções que lhe foram enviadas sobre a forma da execução do tratado preliminar de limites, assinado em Madrid a 13 de Janeiro de 1750. Lisboa, 21 de Setembro de 1751,” in *O Marquês de Pombal e o Brasil*. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1960), 179–96.

“free womb” law. The former decreed that enslaved people arriving in Portugal after 1761 would be free, the 1773 law decreed the fourth-generation offspring of enslaved people born in Portugal, free. Tied to the Pombaline effort of concentrating the slave trade in the South Atlantic, the goal of metropolitan abolition was to whiten the metropole and concentrate the ever-scarcer access to slaves in Brazil.<sup>30</sup> Black exclusion from the issue of population, I submit, stemmed from the fact that enslaved status was transmitted through a system of matrilineal tainted heredity. While patrilineal lineage ensured rights to the transmission of land and property, matrilineal descent marked children as something to be possessed in perpetuity.

The core of this dissertation historicizes and locates the ambition to produce a white population and unified body politic as the key medico-political project of the eighteenth century in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic. This project achieved its apex in post-earthquake Lisbon and in the Pombaline Amazon but was not confined to these moments. Drawing on anxieties of national fragility, which were rendered public by the monarch’s incapacitation, partisans of the modern method framed Catholic rule as a disease. This pathology was mirrored in the sovereign’s disease and his weakened figure. As father of the entire nation, the king’s sudden inability to govern struck the symbolic heart of early modern symbology of power. While presenting their empiricist and medical episteme of a modern, mercantilist, and secular empire as the solution to the ailments of the population, moderns also continued to rely on patriarchal rule to imagine new population futures. This deference towards patriarchal primacy was owed to how theories of generation—Aristotelian and modern—located the site of agency and logos in nature

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<sup>30</sup> Schultz describes a similar phenomenon in Brazil after the transfer of the crown in 1808. Slaves are presented as a diseased threat to the collective and their removal from sight is pursued after the transfer of the crown to Brazil. She designates this phenomenon as “metropolitanization,” Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Kirsten Schultz, “The Crisis of Empire and the Problem of Slavery Portugal and Brazil, c. 1700-c. 1820,” *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (abril 2005): 264–82.



in semen or “male seed.” When confronted with the same-sex case of Maria Duran, these patriarchal frameworks reveal a cognitive incapacity to position women as autonomous, agential, and sexually sovereign. This case was all the more ludicrous to inquisitors as female same-sex desire violated the mandate of reproductive futurity. In 1755, the immense loss of life caused by the Lisbon earthquake further impressed a new sense of urgency on the problem of the population. Such a need to expeditiously augment the people was also observed in 1750, following the signature of the Madrid Treaty between Portugal and Spain. While expansion of Portuguese frontiers of possession in the Americas, was informed by a policy of “many marriages and no useless wombs” that rendered Amerindians into potential white subjects, Black and enslaved people were ever more excluded from the project of the population.

The projects, ambitions, and instantiations of exclusionary violence tracked over five chapters tell a story of an Luso-Afro-Brazilian Atlantic space integrated under the common goal of creating bigger and better populations. The move to center whiteness offers a departure from early modern studies of race traditionally focused on Black, enslaved, and indigenous actors. Instead, *Configurations of the Human* aims to historically delineate an ideology of power and the mechanisms undergirding its naturalization. In its midst, the rule of white patriarchs, and the definition of Pombaline reform as a political project to craft a white body politic, emerge as some of the most significant and original interventions. This work dovetails with existing Brazilianist scholarship focused on the modern period while adding chronological depth, linking the colonial with the postcolonial, as well as Portugal with Brazil, and Angola.

## CHAPTER 1

### **Surgeons of the Body Politic**

### **Scholastic Medicine, Medical Reform, and the Modern Method**

#### **Diagnosing the Mortal Body of the Monarchy**

On May 10, 1742, when a convulsing fit toppled King João V (r. 1707-1750), far more than the monarch's body collapsed. As the church bell tower announced the 4 p.m. hour, the sovereign's sudden physical debility forced several decades of battles for imperial renewal and medical reform into a freezing halt.<sup>31</sup> News of the event echoed through several European capitals. In Paris, Rome, and London, Portugal's advocates of change received the news with apprehension. Luís da Cunha (1662-1749), ambassador in Paris, the crown's longest serving diplomat, and the most senior partisan of reform, also became the most vociferous agent of pro-reformist anxieties.<sup>32</sup> Cunha's concerns were shared with his personal physician, António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783), a New Christian émigré (i.e., a convert from Judaism) who left Portugal in the 1720s, after a rundown with the Inquisition. Cunha met Sanches in the 1730s, and the two men collaborated on a plan for reform of medical education according to the methods of modern medicine and natural philosophy.<sup>33</sup> The third key member of this group was the future Marquis

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<sup>31</sup> ANTT, MSLIV, 2327, N° 25, Fl. 699-703v. Relatório Médico do Doutor Thomé Guerreiro Camacho de Aboym, Físico mor do Reino de Angola.

<sup>32</sup> Luís da Cunha negotiated peace with Spain (Utrecht Treaty 1715) and expanded borders (Madrid Treaty 1750).

<sup>33</sup> David Willemse, "António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave - et son importance pour la Russie.," *Janus. Revue internationale de l'histoire des sciences, de la médecine, de la pharmacie et de la technique. Suppléments*, v.6 (Leiden, E.J.Brill, 1966).

of Pombal, Portugal's most famed political reformer of the eighteenth century, who in 1742 was Portugal's ambassador in London and an ally of Cunha.<sup>34</sup>

To these actors, reform was equal to the “true” and “modern” method.<sup>35</sup> Being a modern, therefore, was not a categorical imposition but a self-claimed identity. Moreover, in early eighteenth-century Portugal, this self-identification was a political and epistemic statement replete with consequences for medical practice and the government of empire. One key point about the “modern” identity is its oppositional nature. Across King João V's reign (1707-1750)—including the time of his “descent into infancy,” between 1742 and 1750—the modern method became a rallying cause.<sup>36</sup> The protagonists treated here were united in the rejection of scholastic medicine, inquisitorial zealotry, and Catholic rule.

While modern protagonists were not powerless, in 1742 they were underdogs, sidelined by institutional configurations introduced with the counter-reformation (1530s), when the Company of Jesus and the Inquisition first emerged. By the eighteenth century both institutions had acquired a global reach. Within Catholic Europe, Jesuit scholastic pedagogy prevailed in schools and universities;<sup>37</sup> and across the Portuguese empire—especially in Brazil—their network of settled missions and dedication to catechizing the “heathens” was unparalleled. Thus, by the 1700s, Jesuits were paragons of Portuguese imperial ideologies of crusade synonymous

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<sup>34</sup> Other voices included Luís António Verney (1713-1792) author of the *True Method of Study* (1746) from Rome (*O Verdadeiro Método de Estudar*) and the New Christian Physician Jacob Castro Sarmento, an émigré in London, who was a Newtonian and author of *Materia Medica*, written in 1735 in the context of medical reform.

<sup>35</sup> Luís António Verney, *Verdadeiro método de estudar: para ser útil à Republica, e à Igreja proporcionado ao estilo, e necessidade de Portugal* (Valença: na oficina de Antonio Balle [Genaro e Vicenzo Muzio], 1746).

<sup>36</sup> “Le Roy [...] est depuis longtemps tombé en enfance” Letter by Duverney to the minister Puyzieulx, Lisbon 7 August 1748. AMAEP, Corr. Pol. Portugal, vol. 84, fl. 67.

<sup>37</sup> Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003); Mark Waddell, *Jesuit Science and the End of Nature's Secrets* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015); Bartomeu Meliá et al., *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires, 2021).

with “conquest” of the Americas, Asia, and Africa.<sup>38</sup> Alongside them, the Inquisition policed the boundaries of belief and dogma, and worked to preserve the epistemic order against protestants, materialists, and the partisans of profit and utility.

The second key factor explaining Luís da Cunha’s, Ribeiro Sanches’, and Pombal’s second-tier influence in domestic affairs—despite their preeminent position abroad—was their everyday distance from the monarch. This was not because, as the Romantic and early twentieth century Portuguese historiography often claimed, João V was a profligate and despotic ruler. António Manuel Hespanha revealed how depictions of the Portuguese monarchy as an all-mighty, centralized unit of power were but an ideal.<sup>39</sup> For, despite the Crown’s very real ambitions of absolute centralized rule, the institutional capacity to enforce it did not exist. In this context, the court became the conduit for the execution of a concentric politics of royal power.<sup>40</sup> As Pedro Cardim has argued “the [role of the] court was premised on a network of strongly personalized rapports between the *senhor*—in this case, the monarch—and those who served him, that is, the best part of the community.”<sup>41</sup> Tethered to the domestic values of solidarity and mutuality, the court was confounded with the *casa*, or household. Thus, as courtiers assumed the status of the King's children and stand-ins for the entire national community, so too did the

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<sup>38</sup> Giuseppe Marcocci, *A Consciência de Um Império: Portugal e o Seu Mundo (Séc. XV-XV)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012); C. R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Carlos Alberto de Moura Ribeiro Zeron, “La Compagnie de Jesus et l’institution de l’esclavage Au Bresil : Les Justifications d’ordre Historique, Theologique et Juridique, et Leur Integration Par Une Memoire Historique Xvie-Xviie Siecles” (These de doctorat, Paris, EHESS, 1998); Autori Vari, *Compel People to Come In: Violence and Catholic Conversions in the Non-European World* (Viella Libreria Editrice, 2020).

<sup>39</sup> António Manuel Hespanha, *As vésperas do leviathan: instituições e poder político Portugal - séc. XVII* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1994).

<sup>40</sup> Ricardo de Oliveira, “As metamorfoses do império e os problemas da monarquia portuguesa na primeira metade do século XVIII,” *Varia Historia* 26 (June 2010): 109–29; Pedro Cardim, “Amor e amizade na cultura política dos séculos XVI e XVII,” *Lusitania Sacra*, 1999, 21–57; Pedro Almeida Cardim, “O poder dos afectos: ordem amorosa e dinâmica política no Portugal do Antigo Regime” (Doctoral Dissertation, Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2000).

<sup>41</sup> Cardim, “O poder dos afectos,” 557. Translation my own.

monarch mediate divine will through his paternal duties of care and reciprocity. In the case of John V, specifically, the decision to never summon the *Cortes*, a consulting body of the three estates—nobility, church, and the people—further elevated courtiers' everyday proximity to the monarch. This was, in sum, the chief advantage that members of the clergy, blood nobility, Inquisition, and the university had over the moderns in 1742: a direct rapport with the sovereign. It was also the reason why, when the monarch suddenly lost both his health and conscience, the king's minister, Cardinal da Mota, stepped in as regent.

Officially, of course, the regency belonged to the queen. However, judging from the letters sent by Mariana Victoria, wife to the prince and future queen, to her family in Spain, Mota had taken up the reins of the monarchy.<sup>42</sup> These reports only confirmed Luís da Cunha's worst fears. As soon as the news of the king's illness reached him in Paris, Cunha began composing a *Political Letter of Advice* to the future king José I. The *Letter* fits neatly in the early modern genre of advice literature from counselors to sovereigns. In it, Cunha relayed far more than mere guidelines; he offered a medico-political diagnosis of monarchy and empire, as well as the therapeutic solutions to re-elevate the monarchy. Sovereignty and "liberty" he noted in a reformist letter titled "on the means through which Portugal may flourish," lay on the "head of a sovereign."<sup>43</sup> But the head, according to Mariana Victória's letters, was precisely where the

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<sup>42</sup> The letters mention "une attaque d'apoplexie" and "il lui prit um accident d'épilepsie cant (sic.) il lui prit on crut qu'il mouroit" (p. 190). Caetano Beirão, *Cartas da Rainha D. Mariana Victoria para a sua familia de Espanha que se encontram nos Arquivos Histórico de Madrid e Geral de Simancas apresentadas e anotadas por Caetano Beirão. I. 1721-1748* (Lisboa, 1936).

<sup>43</sup> "A cabeça do Monarca, e a felicidade com que sempre as nossas armas sahirão victoriosas contra a mesma Hespanha em nossa natural defesa, he o único modo, porque nos conservamos em liberdade sem embargo de grande vantagem nos seus Dominios." ANTT, MSLIV, N° 30 *Padre António Vieira – Parecer sobre a conservação do Maranhão e Restauração de Pernambuco. Carta de D. Luís da Cunha Sobre os Modos Porque Portugal Pode Florescer*, fl. 100v.

problem lay. The monarch, she reported from within the palace, suffered from “apoplectic attacks” and “epilepsy.”<sup>44</sup>

Although this diagnosis was never made public, it must have been known within palace circles. The absence of a ruler to execute the duties of government evoked in Cunha echoes of the period of the Hispanic Monarchy (1580-1640), when Portugal came under the rule of the Spanish Hapsburgs. The sovereign’s sudden illness left his imperial family and national household in disarray. After all, as physician Brás Luís de Abreu noted in his *Portugal Médico ou Monarchia medico-lusitana* (1726), the sovereign was not only the “Father to the Fatherland [*Patria*]” but “the true physician [...] similar to God himself, in the affairs pertaining to the Microcosm.”<sup>45</sup> In Abreu’s vision, the microcosm was Portugal and the empire that was embodied by the sovereign King Dom João V.

Brás Luís de Abreu’s *Portugal Médico* captured a vision of the symbolic role of the sovereign that was in flux throughout the eighteenth century. This dissertation explores the struggle to redefine the position of the sovereign as a metaphorical physician and father to his people through the ongoing conflict between scholasticism and the modern method. Above all, it argues that medicine in eighteenth-century Portugal was a science of the state. The modern method was fought for via the adoption of discursive strategies that treated the state as an ill patient in need of reform for its rehabilitation.

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<sup>44</sup> Beirão, *Cartas da Rainha*.

<sup>45</sup> “El-Rey N.S. que Deos guarde, está actualmente sendo, não sô como o Romano Cesar, Pay da Patria; mas como elle só o único soberano Medico de todo o Portugal [...] elle ultimamente, à maneira de Deos, sâra todas as enfermidades, & fraquezas do seo Povo Lusitano. [...] O mesmo Portugal, & a mesma Patria esperão agora, (à imitação do que actualmente logrão) ella, que V.A. venha a ser seo Pay; elle, que V.A. Venha a ser o seo Medico. São os Principes huns Vice.Deozes nos domínios, que lhes confessa o Mundo grande [i.e., Macrocosmo]; & he o verdadeiro Medico, (no modo com que se pode afirmar) semelhante ao mesmo Deos, nas sogeçoens com que o respeita o pequeno Mundo [i.e., Microcosmo].” Brás Luís de Abreu, *Portugal Medico Ou Monarchia Medico-Lusitana, Historica, Practica, Symbolica, Ethica, e Politica* ... (Coimbra: Na Officina de Joam Antunes, 1726), ii-iii.

At the center of the analysis is the question of the depopulation (*despovoamento*) of Portugal. Depopulation was the principal indicator used to advance this modern rhetorical strategy of social, political, and epistemic self-promotion. As the moderns advanced their cause, they did not abandon the system of microcosm-macrocosm correspondences. Instead, their diagnosis of a “depopulated” state with a sterile countryside mapped onto the image of a father, husband, and sovereign incapable of embodying virility, strength, and the prototypical masculine qualities of the “active” and “efficient cause” of generation.<sup>46</sup> Ideally, the king’s physical body incarnated the ideals of vigor that, in turn, were further substantiated through a fruitful people and a productive nation.

However, eight years of continuous decline evoked an imaginary of sterility. As Carol Blum argues for eighteenth-century France, accounts of depopulation did not need to be factually correct to elicit powerful responses.<sup>47</sup> Chiefly, the view that an abandoned countryside reflected the nation’s decline played an instrumental role against the two most powerful institutions of ancien régime France: the Church and the monarchy. Portuguese depopulation anxieties, conversely, safeguarded the monarchy, equating the influence of the clergy with a malignant, contagious tumor. For Cunha, this ecclesiastical pathology was the cause of Portugal’s depopulation. The Church was responsible for its infertile fields, abandoned homes, insufficient tax revenues, and defenseless borders. By coupling the irrationality of celibacy with the forgoing

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<sup>46</sup> The ascription of active and efficient cause to male seed in the process of generation comes from Aristotle’s *De Generatione*. While male semen was seen as “the efficient cause” i.e., the “mover” of generation and the element who causes the new being to exist. Female menstrual blood, on the other hand, did not have the status of seed but only of “material cause” inseminated by semen. Semen, in other words, was the seat of logos and of the “active principle” in the generation. Semen was also the start and guide to the process of procreation.

<sup>47</sup> Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

of agricultural labor, Cunha projected João V's frail physical condition onto the monarchy's increasing political and economic debilities.

Cunha's *Letter* was unambiguous in this regard. In it, Cunha presented himself as a kind of "consulting Physician." In a clear departure from Galenic Humoralism as it had been bequeathed by Arab medicine, Cunha noted his goal was not to emulate "Avicenna's school" but offer "remedies" founded on "observations of similar illnesses."<sup>48</sup> Through this rhetorical move, Cunha proposed a new epistemic approach to governing. He sidestepped the deductive method of the scholastics—with its emphasis on received authority—and stressed first-hand, empirical observation.<sup>49</sup> But this was not all. Cunha's medical approach to healing the state was also premised on other arts that were elevated with the 1720s reforms to medical education in Lisbon: anatomy and surgery.

Surgery was a science promoted in Lisbon with the 1722 hiring of the Catalan (and self-proclaimed modern) António Monrava y Roca, as Royal Anatomist in the Todos os Santos Royal Hospital in Lisbon. Thus, Cunha's approach to reform at the critical juncture of the King's seizure, was modern through and through. He proposed "cutting the living [body], so that the contagious rot [*erpis*] cannot spread [any farther] into those [bodily] parts that can [still] be entirely preserved from corruption."<sup>50</sup> The source of contagion demanded extrication. Cunha

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<sup>48</sup> "Grande sería a minha fortuna se erigindo-me em Medico consultante [,] ainda que não consultado, e só pelo amor que tenho ao doente, indico os remedios que se me oferecem, não aprendidos na escola de Avicena, mas nas observações que tenho feito em similantes enfermidades." Luiz da Cunha, *Testamento politico, ou, Carta escrita pelo grande d. Luiz da Cunha ao senhor rei d. José I antes do seu governo, o qual foi do conselho dos senhores d. Pedro II., e d. João V., e seu embaixador ás côrtes de Vienna, Haya, e de Paris; onde morreo em 1749* (Impressão Regia, 1820), 20.

<sup>49</sup> It was this capacity to combine system building and produce a philosophical system based on universally applicable laws that distinguished the philosopher and "men of letters" from the mere "empiric," who only had practical knowledge and no philosophy.

<sup>50</sup> "A fim de que não se acuse o espirito de Medico, mas a espécie da enfermidade: de que sorte que se também praticar a arte da Cirurgia, cortando pelo vivo, he para que os erpes não ganhem a parte que se póde preservar da inteira corrupção." Cunha, *Testamento*, 21.



argued that the ecclesiastical actors—the Church, Inquisition, and the Jesuits—who carelessly provoked what he called the “four bloodlettings”—clerical celibacy, emigration, persecution of the Jews and Inquisitorial executions—had to be reined in or they would continue to exert their nefarious influence by weakening the vigor and fertility of the state.

Through these themes, this chapter offers an entryway into one of the fundamental through lines of this dissertation: how anxieties about demographic decline in eighteenth century Portugal turned the production and reproduction of the population into the most enduring political project of the century. Anxieties about sterility and moral decay were fought on an epistemic battlefield. The epicenter of this struggle hinged on a modern attempt to redefine the proper approach to the study of Nature, and this chapter focuses on the battle opposing the method of “scholastic philosophy” and the method of “modern philosophy.”

Because of the differences in worldviews, presuppositions, and procedural approaches to knowledge-making the heart of this struggle was the problem of who should govern, how, and to what end. Modern actors like Cunha, Sanches, and Monravá e Roca deployed the vocabulary of medicine and its therapeutic methods to produce a diagnosis of crisis and demographic decline that was singularly caused by the Catholic Church. By identifying the Inquisition, the Jesuits, and other ecclesiastical agents as the source of the disease, modern agents produced a powerful new vision for empire and the state.

This climate of antagonism and crisis was only deepened in 1742 with the sovereign’s disease, and the sudden paralysis of the reformist momentum of the 1720s and 1730s. Here, I propose that debates about imperial “decadence” naturalized by nineteenth historiography, must be reassessed through the lens of royal illness. In other words, I submit that “decadence” is a category alluding to momentum lost in the 1740s. Disease eclipsed Joanine antecedents of

Pombaline reform and helped paint the reign of João V under a broad and simplistic brush. Coevally, I recover how “decay” was a modern concern, too. The modern obsession with depopulation became a strategic anti-scholastic banner because by the prioritization of fertility turned the clergy into an easy target. It was also an important entryway for the elevation of modern medicine, as the science that could return empire to its former glory and reestablish royal virility. Concerns with procreation pathologized scholasticism and the clergy while offering medicine as a science of the state.

This chapter historicizes the incipient stages of medicalizing the body politic. This process, I argue, was rendered especially visible in the 1740s, because the monarch’s incapacitation exposed the shortcomings of a vision of power that necessitated the monarch for the regular discharge of government. Brás Luís de Abreu, and other scholastic authors, posited the monarch as a direct mediator of divine will in the microcosm. This vision was encapsulated by the French ambassador, Mr. de Chavigny. In 1748, in a letter to Paris, he summarized how the prolonged “deplorable health of the king” had plunged the state into a “nearly insurmountable” state of “irresolution” and “indolence.”<sup>51</sup> and arrested the “Court [into] lethargy.”<sup>52</sup> In “few words,” he added, “this country can be defined [as]: a Monarchy without Monarch, a Government without ministers, and mediation without a mediator.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> “Après tout, dans quelque disposition que l’on puisse être ici, il n’y a rien à en attendre. L’irrésolution et l’indolence, sont des obstacles presque insurmontables.” AMAEP, Corr. Pol. Portugal vol. 83, Of<sup>o</sup> de Chavigny to *the minister Puyzieulx*, Lisbon 11 June, 1748, fl. 131v. Cf. Luís da Cunha and Abílio Diniz Silva, *Testamento político: ou Carta de conselhos ao Senhor D. José sendo Príncipe* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2013), 24. Translation my own.

<sup>52</sup> “La léthargie dans laquelle cette Cour est plongée, vraisemblablement ne finira pas sitôt.” AMAEP, Corr. Pol. Portugal vol. 83, Of<sup>o</sup> de Chavigny to *the minister Puyzieulx*, Lisbon 10 September 1748, fl. 200. Cf. Cunha and Silva, 24. Translation my own.

<sup>53</sup> “La Cour de Lisbonne. Les intentions sont droites et honnêtes, mais sans aucune sorte d’efficacité, ce qui n+es pas difficile à croire, vu l’état déplorable dy Roy de Portugal. Por definir ce Pays-ci em peu de mots – c’est une Monarchie sans Monarque, um Gouvernement sans ministres, et une médiation sans médiateur.” AMAEP, Corr. Pol. Portugal vol. 83, fl. 10, *Of<sup>o</sup> de Chavigny to the minister Puyzieulx, Lisbon, 16 January 1748*. Cf. Cunha and Silva, 24. Translation my own.

Here, I zoom in on this neglected moment of royal illness to recast João V's reign as the first moment of reform in the eighteenth century Lusophone Atlantic. Historians of the Romantic period, in particular, were responsible for casting João V as a profligate monarch who squandered Portugal's imperial wealth in churches and sumptuous buildings rather than industry and commerce. I submit that this assessment fails to contextualize a first wave of reform, which I locate in the 1720s and 1730s, and which was only halted by the sovereign's sudden illness.

As a reflection of the monarch's own physical condition, the monarchy was sent into a state of paralysis over the eight years of convulsions and flagging health. Mariana Victória describes life at court as arrested over the inevitable death of the sovereign. Things would remain in an impasse, with several reported occasions of near death, until João V's definitive expiration in 1750.<sup>54</sup> Collective memory of this moment, I posit, lingered in subsequent periods, being responsible for the location of Portugal's nineteenth century imperial crisis in the period of João V's rule. In the later period, following the loss of Brazil in 1822, a wave of Romantic and post-Romantic intellectuals such as Antero de Quental decried the evident "decadence" of Iberian nations, thus internalizing "the Black Legend."<sup>55</sup> I argue that "decadence" was *a posteriori* judgment that hinged on the impasse caused by this moment.

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<sup>54</sup> On these reports see Cunha and Silva, 24–25.

<sup>55</sup> The "Black Legend" was a historiographical category formed about Iberia, especially Spain, which posited all geographies governed by Catholic Iberian empires as "backward" and reigned by inquisitorial superstition. This phenomenon can be first dated to the *Encyclopédie's* entry on Spain. However, in the nineteenth century, it became a ubiquitous idea that was tacitly accepted by Iberian intellectuals. As Víctor Navarro Brotóns argued, this idea was deepened by the sense the reification of the historiographical category "the Scientific Revolution," at a time when both Iberian countries were isolated due to the dictatorial rule of Salazar in Portugal and Franco in Spain. Víctor Navarro Brotóns and William Eamon, *Más allá de la Leyenda Negra: España y la revolución científica* (Universitat de València, 2007). Antero de Quental's essay *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos Últimos Três Séculos*, was presented in the second *Conferência do Casino*, which took place in 1871, between May and June. Members of the Geração de 70, composed of novelists, poets, and other poets rebelled against the intellectual status quo in Portugal, specifically the power held by members of the Romantic generation that anticipated them. They called for reform, progress, and a new vision of Portugal.

The long legacy of João V's disease largely overshadowed the strides towards medical and administrative reform of previous decades. Although Timothy Walker, Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro and Gabriel Paquette have noted how both in thought and action, concrete strides towards reform were taken prior to Pombal's ascent in the 1750s,<sup>56</sup> these antecedents have not been adequately explored or explained.<sup>57</sup> Before the Marquis of Pombal acquired that title, he was a member of the lower aristocracy whose political ascent was marked by a career as ambassador. It was only in 1749, as Portugal's ambassador to Vienna, that Pombal returned to Portugal before João V's death, and began working in the internal administration. By linking Pombal to Cunha and Sanches, I engage with the antecedents of reform with the goal of both providing historical granularity to this earlier period and to contextualize why, when Pombal became minister to King José I (1750-1777), he was ready to develop such a wide ranging plan of reform and governmental transformation. Put differently, this chapter draws out the intellectual roots of Pombaline reform by illuminating how the social ascent of moderns was tied to their programmatic vision for Portugal's "great empire encompassing all the universe."<sup>58</sup> 1742, and the ensuing years of paralysis, taught the minister whose power became all but hegemonic in the 1750s and 1770s, that compromise was not possible. The Church, the Inquisition, and Jesuit pedagogies had to be set entirely under control, if not outright expelled from the body of the monarchy.

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<sup>56</sup> Gabriel Paquette and Gabriel B. Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, C.1770-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, "Pombal's Government: Between Seventeenth-Century Valido and Enlightened Models," in *Enlightened Reform in Southern Europe and Its Atlantic Colonies, c. 1750-1830*, ed. Gabriel B. Paquette (Farnham: Routledge, 2009), 321–38.

<sup>57</sup> For an example, see Ricardo de Oliveira, "As metamorfoses do império e os problemas da monarquia portuguesa na primeira metade do século XVIII," *Varia Historia* 26 (June 2010): 109–29.

<sup>58</sup> "Grande império de todo o universo." ANTT, MSLIV, N° 30, fl. 87.

## Depopulation and the Four Bloodlettings of the State

The moderns argued that the debilities of the sovereign's mortal body brought into relief a crisis of procreation and idleness caused over centuries by churchmen, missionaries, and inquisitors. These agents, in short, were the *erpes* (contagious rot) who were weakening the state by depopulating it. Cunha's use of *erpes* was strategic. The metaphor evoked how a single malignant element could spread to the entire living body, rendering the once healthy person into the agent of an infectious, communicable disease. In other words, religious power over political rule had the capacity to metastasize, rendering the one ill body into an agent of epidemic spread over the entire community. The equation of scholastic, church forces with pathological agents discursively presented proponents of the modern method of medicine and statecraft as surgeons of the body politic. Furthermore, this language also drew on early modern theories of epidemic illness. Namely, the contagionist ideas purporting that disease spread through direct contact with the sick person as well as through interaction with the objects and belongings that person had touched. Given this diagnosis, surgery appeared as the only viable solution: either inquisitors, "friars," and Jesuits were extricated from the nation, or the entire body politic would be hopelessly consumed with disease.

The rendering of ecclesiastical actors into epidemic agents turned the scholastic method into a public health problem. It stressed how neither religion, nor university-trained physicians who insisted on books over bodies, had any capacity to return the Portuguese empire to its former glory. By implication, the accusation also stood for the nation: if Portugal's sovereignty was threatened, it was because of scholastics and religious zealots.<sup>59</sup> To Cunha, there was no

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<sup>59</sup> Cunha's references to the Hispanic Monarchy are not insignificant. Indeed, King Sebastian's death in Morocco in 1548 was owed to a failed "battle of the faith." The ultimate conclusion was that the abrupt extinction of the Avis dynasty, which brought Portugal into the throws of the Spanish Habsburgs, was the first sign of the dangers that religious influence over the government of the state presented to its very survival.

greater evidence of the failure than the current method of empire-making through catechism rather than commerce. Scholastics, with their emphasis on the soul, theory, and erudition had squandered Portuguese preeminence at sea in the name of a religious crusade. According to Cunha, it was for this reason, too, that Portugal had lost its primacy to the Dutch, British, and French. In this respect, the expulsion of New Christian families was for Cunha a particularly egregious deed. The greed propelling the confiscation of their wealth had both led to the exodus of “many families with their belongings, which they, in turn, [invest] in the public funds of England and Holland.”<sup>60</sup> Appealing to the monarch’s power as the paterfamilias of many, Cunha appealed to the future king’s action.

At the same time, in 1742, given how Cunha and Pombal—whom Cunha recommended in the *Letter*, for a higher position in the administration—were far from the court, the household of the monarch, the only viable solution was to intercede with the future sovereign. Limited to news via correspondence, Cunha knew that Cardinal da Mota’s promotion presented the danger of arresting any reformist development achieved in the 1720s and 1730s. The absence of a mediating ruler who could decide on policy regardless of the opinions of Bishops and canon law university professors was also important. Through the languages of blood, reproduction and lineage, Cunha located in the population the life force and stamina of the body politic—since, in his analogy, “many men are the mines of the state.” After all, it was through blood that lineages were preserved, monarchies endured, children came into being, and property was transmitted across through the patrilineal line. Power and prosperity—indeed, sovereignty—were direct correlates of the size of a population. The squandering of this healthy and vigorous blood at the

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<sup>60</sup> Cunha, *Testamento*, 54.

hands of the church and scholastic physicians weakened and impoverished the state.<sup>61</sup> In fact, for Cunha it was “the blindness” that sustained the clergy which had plunged the nation into a “great misery.”<sup>62</sup> While depopulation was the most visible symptom, Cunha also saw its instantiation in the moral and physical decay of Portugal’s subjects, whom he accused of having a “lazy” (*preguiçosos*) nature and of being enemies of “the cultivation of the fields” and the defense of the state.<sup>63</sup>

In addition, he also emphasized the mercantilist postulate equating a numerous people with vigor, health, and prosperity. Since, he argued, “commerce required the strength of many arms,” Cunha also concluded that “it is certain that many men are the true mines of the State.”<sup>64</sup> The emphasis on “true mines” was deliberate. Cunha was alluding to the gold mining boom of Minas Gerais (Brazil), which led to a population exodus the crown seemed all but unable to stop. Indeed, João V himself tried repeatedly to stop the depopulation of Portugal by placing limits on why and how many people could leave the country in 1709, 1711, 1713, 1720, and 1744.<sup>65</sup>

Against this backdrop, the four wasteful bloodlettings diagnosed by Cunha demanded immediate attention. First, there was the nefarious effects of the celibacy promoted by various religious orders. In addition to wasting procreative potential, those committed to religious vows were also neither useful nor productive. Cunha framed the issue in stark terms. It was important

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<sup>61</sup> “Sendo certo que muitos homens são as minas do Estado” ANTT, MSLIV, N° 30, fl. 121.

<sup>62</sup> “A cegueira que nos tem posto a nossa miséria.” ANTT, MSLIV, N° 30, fl. 97.

<sup>63</sup> “E que se os Portuguezes não fossem tão amantes da sua tranquilidade; e a que por outro modo chamão preguiça, e se applicassem, como fazem as mais Nações, hum nas Fabricas, e outros no commercio, outros na cultura dos campos, e finalmente outros no exercício das armas, e se soubessem aproveitar no mesmo tempo das riquezas, que possuem, vindas dos dilatados, e preciosos dominios do Brasil, e das mais feitorias que ainda pozentemente conservão em todas as partes do mundo...um grande império de todo o universo.” ANTT, MSLIV, N° 30, fl. 97.

<sup>64</sup> “O comércio pela força de muitos braços [...] sendo certo que muitos homens são as verdadeiras minas do Estado.” ANTT, MSLIV, n° 30, fl. 121. Emphasis my own.

<sup>65</sup> José Damião Rodrigues, “Da periferia insular às fronteiras do império: colonos e recrutas dos Açores no povoamento da América,” *Anos 90* 17, no. 32 (2010): 17–43.

to “decrease the number of Friars and Nuns, grow marriages, and by consequence the peoples, even if not to the same degree as in other nations where they don’t have this *casta* of people.” To foster the “utility of the State,” in other words, entailed limiting the size of the ecclesiastical order so that monarchy would not “be deprived of Vassals and instead gift them to the Pope and abandon the cultivation of their father’s land.”<sup>66</sup>

Cunha’s second bloodletting was the population exodus to Brazil in hopes of accruing wealth from gold mining of “weakening the body of the State.”<sup>67</sup> While Brazil’s mines assured the state’s finances and João V’s politics of prestige with the Vatican and other European courts,<sup>68</sup> the gold rush to Minas Gerais (Brazil) in the first half of the 1700s, also meant fewer subjects to work in agriculture, industry, and defend the kingdom. In 1742 and the subsequent years of royal disease, Brazil occupied a substantial part of Cunha’s time.<sup>69</sup> Cunha was involved in the renegotiation of Portuguese borders in the Americas and used his placement in Paris to hire the cartographer, Jean Baptiste Bourguignon D’Anville (1697-1782) to produce the most comprehensive map of South America—*Carte de L’Amérique méridionale* (1748).

Cunha would not live to see the fruits of his labor concretized in the Madrid Treaty (1750) but, as Júnia Ferreira Furtado has documented, D’Anville’s map was the most precise of its time for the entire continent. However, as Furtado shows, the other Portuguese negotiators with Spain dispensed with it after Cunha’s death (1749), favoring instead the *Mapa das Cortes*, which misplaced the Amazon within the region already assigned by the Tordesillas Treaty

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<sup>66</sup> Cunha, *Testamento*, 44.

<sup>67</sup> “Enfraquecer of Corpo do Estado, e a que não acho remedio.” Cunha, 44.

<sup>68</sup> Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira, ed., *Politics and the Arts in Lisbon and Rome: The Roman Dream of John V of Portugal*, Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2019:10 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2019).

<sup>69</sup> Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *O Mapa Que Inventou o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Versal Editores, 2013); André Ferrand de Almeida, *A formação do espaço brasileiro e o projecto do novo atlas da América portuguesa: 1713-1748*, *Outras margens* (Lisboa: Comissão nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos portugueses, 2001).



(1494). The topic of the Madrid Treaty will be addressed in more detail in chapter 4. Yet, it is important to note here how Cunha was, along with Pombal, involved in developing a new model of empire based on commerce rather than catechism. To this end, it was imperative to rein in Jesuit settlement and the brotherhood's power over Portuguese America.

The third and fourth bloodlettings were connected in their condemnation of the role of the Inquisition. Cunha accused that institution of squandering New Christians (Portuguese Jews who had converted), a class he lauded for being educated, industrious, and entrepreneurial. Instead of preserving those talents in Portugal, they were either killed or forced into exile. Here, Cunha spoke from experience. From his time as ambassador in the Netherlands, Cunha became well acquainted with the Portuguese diaspora of Sephardic Jews who thrived in Amsterdam. In addition, France, the Hanseatic cities, and London also became important centers of Sephardic trade. In Paris and the Hague, Cunha also crossed paths with Ribeiro Sanches, who also became his personal physician and the person responsible for the circulation of the *Letter of Advice*. The fourth and final bloodletting was attributed to the Inquisition's religious zeal and the excesses committed in the name of religious dogma, namely the many deaths caused over centuries.

Thus, the idea that only the people were "true mines" called attention to the management of colonial affairs and, following the example of the Dutch and British empires, the need to promote the naturalization of foreigners.<sup>70</sup> In this way, Cunha—who decades earlier had proposed the transfer of the seat of empire to Brazil and the renaming of João V as Emperor of the West—was calling attention to the difficult balance between metropole and colonies.<sup>71</sup> Portugal, he worried, would never find peace in the Iberian Peninsula given the populational

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<sup>70</sup> Cunha, *Testamento*.

<sup>71</sup> Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

disparities separating it from Spain. Spain, he reasoned, “had far greater wealth” because it also possessed a “much larger number of naturals.” For this reason, Portugal would be perennially under threat. Somberly, Cunha concluded that: “I am forced to say that it is to our great convenience that the Kings of Spain, who have dominated us once before even if unjustly, [have] never” again laid eyes on Portugal. If that were the case, Portugal’s fragilities would immediately show, promptly reducing the kingdom “but an ear of the head that belongs to that great body.”<sup>72</sup> In other words, Portugal’s sovereignty depended on the will of others, rather than its own. Given how its population fared vis-à-vis Spain’s, the safety of the state only became a more urgent matter because of the monarch’s long plunge into “indolence.”

Tackling the problem of the “lethargy” of government demanded an adept physician, Cunha argued. Because “an ill person cannot [*enfermo*] cannot be treated without a prudent Physician,” 1742 demanded methods based on natural rather than canon law.<sup>73</sup> In addition, this vision also displaced Brás Luís de Abreu’s notion of the *monarch* as father and physician. Sovereignty demanded approaches to rule capable of outlasting the concentration of decision-making in the sovereign. Or, put differently, the need to continue with the regular business of governing mandated a balance between the king’s discretionary executive power and the knowledge of experts attuned to the laws of nature.

In eighteenth-century Portugal, the modern physician became the most preeminent emblem of that change in orientation. Indeed, Cunha’s *Letter of Advice* to future king José I marked how a judicious administrator performed the same duties as the physician. Much like the

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<sup>72</sup> “Muito maior numero dos seus naturaes....e que tambem por essa causa são muito maiores as suas riquezas; a nossa situação, em que por huma precisa necessidade sem remedio nos achamos; me obriga a dizer, que nos convem muito, que jamais os Reis de Hespanha, e também, de que nos dominiarão, ainda que injustamente, e sem outro motivo, que o de entenderem que Portugal, a quem podemos chamar huma orelha daquelle grande corpo, pertença à cabeça” (99v)” ANTT, MSLIV, nº 30, fl 99v.

<sup>73</sup> Cunha, *Testamento*, 22.

monarch was the paterfamilias of more than one family, as Cunha noted in the *Letter*, the modern administrator was the physician of the entire body politic. This assertion consolidated the status of modern medicine as the science of the government of all bodies, natural and politic. Medicine, in other words, was a science of sovereignty.

As a method, praxis, and heuristic for the recomposition of health and the prevention of disease, medicine was precisely what Cunha purported to offer in the *Letter*. This meant that not only was the monarch's ill health a matter of grave concern, but that Portugal itself could be analyzed as a physical body—this metaphor also included its overseas “dominions.” Cunha therefore claimed the position of physician (*médico*) for himself. As with any methodical diagnostician, his recommendation of Portugal's recomposition through a population imperative started with a careful observation of the “symptoms, the arrangement of the body, and the constitution of its humors, [and] its strength.”<sup>74</sup> From here, Cunha emphasized the need to, to the extent possible, acquire “knowledge of the causes of the disease.” This step has a twofold goal: on the one hand, to “remedy the complaint” (*remediar a queixa*); and on the other hand, to “prevent” future threats.

By adopting this modern method of statecraft and applying it to the Portuguese body politic, Cunha identified “the narrowness of its limits” as the first “ill” (*mal*) of Portugal's constitution. From here, he identified as its consequence another weakness: “the debility of our strength to the proportion of our neighbors.” The only remedy available to this latter source of indisposition was “recourse to Foreign strengths [i.e., armies].” However, Cunha also noted how this measure would also be insufficient *de per se*. If, he warned, “from our part what must and

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<sup>74</sup> “Considerando os symptomas, a conformação do seu corpo, a constituição dos seus humores, as suas forças.” Cunha, 22.

shall be done to protect ourselves, is not taken care of,” then trust in an ally would always be an incomplete and elusive solution.

The *Letter* moved on to address a whole range of challenges: the need for armies, how to re-assimilate New Christians, manage the colonies to balance the economy of the nation, punish criminals, administer Justice fairly, and make Portugal’s factories and imperial commerce flourish. Each disquisition was substantiated with examples from France, Prussia, England, and Holland. His method was eminently medical. After identifying the sources of the disarray, remedies based on his observations of other countries were prescribed. Departing from these analyses, it was clear that only one solution was viable for Portugal: to render the “Kingdom as populated as possible to provide people for its vast and rich Conquests.”<sup>75</sup>

Why was medicine the chosen epistemic domain for statecraft, and why were physicians the professionals most emphasized? The answer lies in the core of the modern method itself. No other university-trained profession spent quite so much time acquiring expertise in the balance between observation and practice of natural law. Indeed, of the four schools that composed the University of Coimbra—Theology, Civil Law, Canon Law, and Medicine—Medicine was the only field that could focus on the government of the human body’s animal economy, which stood in for the body politic.

### **Prayers, Processions, and Panegyrics**

The chasm separating proponents of the scholastic and the modern in early eighteenth-century Portugal was greatly deepened by the crisis of royal illness between 1742 and 1750. For decades, the sovereign’s symbolic position as father, jurist, physician, and mediator of divine

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<sup>75</sup> “Achará o seu Reino tão povoado quanto pudera ser, para prover de gente as suas largas e ricas Conquistas.” Cunha, 21.

designs had afforded king João V discretion to balance between what to preserve and what to alter. Across the 1720s and 1730s, incursions towards modern medical and administrative reform took place at the sovereign's will. The illusion of centralized rule and control over the entire monarchy was preserved by treating Lisbon and the court as the sovereign's household. Personalized relations were preserved through the court and the performance of loyalty and service positions.<sup>76</sup> In this context, Lisbon acquired the role of *caput regni*—the seat of the sovereign's house (*casa*)—as well as the administrative center of the monarchy. Thus, Lisbon's own geography and built environments crystalized the ideal configurations of relationality between the various groups—or corporations—which formed the body politic.<sup>77</sup> The court, therefore, was both a microcosm for the entire “Universal Monarchy” and, as the sovereign's household, the dominium over which he exerted direct rule. The court, as Norbert Elias argued, was the “filter” or domain of action. For, “even the most absolute of monarchs” was limited to exercise direct domain only over the individuals of his court and household.<sup>78</sup>

Thus, as soon as the thump of the king's fallen body was heard on May 10, 1742, the court was also the first domain wherein cures were administered. The manuscript bulletin *Folheto de Lisboa* (1742), deposited today in the Portuguese National Library, details several occasions when the King's more traditional medico-humoral treatments (e.g., bloodlettings) were accompanied by the presence of relics and the performance of public piety through processions.

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<sup>76</sup> Cardim, “Amor e amizade na cultura política dos séculos XVI e XVII”; Cardim, “O poder dos afectos.”

<sup>77</sup> Pedro Cardim, “O Quadro Constitucional: Os Grandes Paradigmas de Organização Política – a Coroa e a Representação Do Reino. As Cortes,” in *História de Portugal: Antigo Regime (1620-1807)*, ed. António Manuel Hespanha, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Estampa, 1992), 145–51; António Camões Gouveia, “Estratégias de Interiorização Da Disciplina,” in *História de Portugal: Antigo Regime (1620-1807)*, ed. António Manuel Hespanha, vol. 4 (Lisboa: Estampa, 1992), 415–47; Oliveira, “As metamorfoses do império e os problemas da monarquia portuguesa na primeira metade do século XVIII,” June 2010.

<sup>78</sup> Norbert Elias, *A sociedade de corte: investigação sobre a sociologia da realeza e da aristocracia de corte*, trans. Pedro Sússekind (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2001), 69. Translation my own.

For example, on May 11, 1742 the monarch was bled, and all the churches, convents, and monasteries were told to perform uninterrupted public prayers for his rehabilitation for three consecutive days.<sup>79</sup>

The following day, the Crown Prince, José I, remained closed for several hours in prayer, while the Queen was taken by boat to the Madre de Deus convent, where she descended with bare feet while praying for hours on end.<sup>80</sup> On May 13, bloodlettings and other incisions (*sarjado*<sup>81</sup>) were applied to the back of the hand and leeches were placed on the sovereign's head, while processions carrying St. Theresa's arm, as well as the relics of Our Lady of the Rosary, St. Anthony, and Senhor do Passos. All the images were placed in the Patriarchal Cathedral and were subject to a vigil by members of the brotherhood dos Passos, day and night.<sup>82</sup>

On May 13th, more people, processions, and religious orders joined in the public rituals of intercession with the divine for the monarch's rehabilitation. Given that few to no improvements were effected, on May 15 the Jesuits from St. Roque joined the Carmelites in the palace, armed with their St. Ignatius relic, while the regular clergy brought their St. Caetano relic to strengthen the remedy. In the following days, more relics, processions, and public prayers continued to occupy both the populace as well as the ever-increasing number of religious orders enrolled to join these public healing efforts. A sort of apex of ritual was reached on May 19, when proximity to relics or prayer were complemented with direct touch. The miraculous image of Our Lady of Atalaia and St. Andrew Avelino's hat, who was the "advocate of the apoplectics," were placed on the sovereign's head.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> BNP, Cod. 8066, *Folheto de Lisboa*, n° 19-20, 1742.

<sup>80</sup> BNP, Cod. 8066, *Folheto de Lisboa*, n° 20, 1742.

<sup>81</sup> Incisions performed to normally extract either blood, pus, or what was perceived to be a tumor.

<sup>82</sup> BNP, Cod. 8066, *Folheto de Lisboa*, n° 20, 1742.

<sup>83</sup> BNP, Cod. 8066, *Folheto de Lisboa*, n° 22, 1742.

Given the public nature of the monarch's role and body, soon the streets of Lisbon were transformed into a theater of religious healing. The King's illness carried all the freight of the project of Christian dominionism, the interconnectedness of sacrality and empire. A unique combination of the sacral fiction of divine rule and the suffering physical flesh, the king's body was, contrary to Kantarowicz's two body model, far more than a mere abstraction or a surface onto which to project meaning. João V's disease was violent in its disabling efficacy. All who understood royal power and perceived the threats to which Portugal was exposed, recognized the gravity of what was at stake. For that reason, too, beyond the solutions advised by learned and scholastic doctors, the monarch's improvement demanded relics, amulets, and public rituals like the celebration of mass or processions.<sup>84</sup>

A few months later, in June 1742, António da Silva Figueiredo wrote in a lengthy panegyric poem about the "sighs on the disease and cheers over the improvement of His Majesty Dom Joam V." Figueiredo was not alone; the production of printed pamphlets with poems, sermons, or other devotional works steadily increased in Lisbon in 1742 and subsequent years. Figueiredo's poem, however, is an exemplar of the ritualistic genre of public and pious healing constitutive of Catholicism. On the one hand, it speaks to the limits of early modern medicine—namely, how despite the robust scholarly apparatus undergirding the scholastic medical corpus, its capacity to heal remained at best modest—and, on the other hand, how the vast majority of the population lived their lives, in sickness and health, without coming in contact with a

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<sup>84</sup> BNP, Cod. 8066, nº19, 20, 22. Lourenço de Anvers Pacheco, José Carlos de Betancurt Berenguer, and Luís José Correia Lemos, *Sentimento inconsolavel, saudade penosa, e contentamento plausivel, que experimentou o povo Portuguez na molestia, na ausencia, e na melhora da Augusta Magestade DelRey D. João V* (Lisboa: na Officina de Luiz Jozé Correa Lemos, 1743); António da Silva Figueiredo, *Suspiros Na Molestia, e Parabens Na Melhoria, Da Augusta Magestade d'Elrei D. Joam V Nosso Senhor Oferecidos Ao Serenissimo Senhor Infante D. António / Escritos Por Antonio Da Siçlva de Figueiredo, Academico Da Academia Dos Escolhidos* (Lisboa: na Ofic. de Jozé da Silva da Natividade, 1742).

university-trained physician. Hence, healing in the early modern Portugal and its Atlantic worlds was both a syncretic and vernacular affair, one that combined popular traditions with Catholic, and non-European spirituality.<sup>85</sup>

Repeatedly speaking of the monarch as “King and loving Father,” Figueiredo’s introduction to the poem details all manner of public rituals the “sons” of the sovereign engaged in.<sup>86</sup> In addition to processions, there was “a multiplication of prayers, the fetching of Relics, and combats against the Heavens with tender clamors [for health] throughout the streets [...] without distinction of sexes, age, of condition, or time.” These extreme devotions showed by the people of Lisbon towards their sovereign in public ritual after public ritual, the author claims, seems to have worked. However, as the correspondence to Cunha in Paris shows, every improvement was always short-lived.

### **Modern and Medical Reform**

To proponents of the modern method, this recourse to relics, prayer, and processions only deepened the sense that any headway made towards reform in the 1720s and 1730s could be easily overturned. As a “vanguard,” they were outnumbered on the periphery. Reform, therefore, was vulnerable to any disruption of the executive function. It was for this reason, too, that Cunha wrote the *Letter of Advice*, trying to intercede with the future monarch ahead of time. All of Cunha’s chief concerns in the *Letter*—the mode of governing with Mota as Cardinal, minister, and regent, insufficient agriculture, depleted industry, abandoned fields, a people who did not

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<sup>85</sup> Kananoja; Walker; Cagle.

<sup>86</sup> Figueiredo, *Suspiros Na Molestia, e Parabens Na Melhoria, Da Augusta Magestade d’Elrei D. Joam V Nosso Senhor Oferecidos Ao Serenissimo Senhor Infante D. António / Escritos Por Antonio Da Siçlva de Figueiredo, Academico Da Academia Dos Escolhidos*.



labor, and an empire where catechism won over commerce—hinged on the problem of depopulation (*despovoamento*).

Depopulation, therefore, was both a symptom and effect of the malignant corruption wrought by the clergy on the body politic. The first solution to defray the “bloodletting” of industrious and healthy subjects was to alter methods of statecraft by rendering Portugal—and its monarch—into the objects of the modern medical method. Better medicine had to be based on surgical intervention, anatomical knowledge, an attention to function and physiological form, and universal natural laws ruling fluid motion. As these laws were universally applicable to the physical body of each subject, they shored up the possibility of addressing the health of the state by promoting natality and plans to augment the population. Cunha’s *Letter*, however, while committed to the vision of a healthy, prosperous, and populous “Universal Monarchy” was principally focused on elaborating a diagnosis of demographic decline. Given the role played by the clergy in his evaluation of Portugal’s “misery,” the *Letter* was designed to convince the future monarch of the need to limit Church power by regulating its size and limiting access to canon law and theological studies.

What Cunha never imagined, however, was that the monarch would in fact outlive him by a year. He died in 1649, after an illness that prevented the wide circulation of his prescriptions for modern, medical statecraft. The fragility of reform, as mentioned earlier, would become a formative lesson in the Pombaline period. Although the preconditions were in place, the momentum was lost when the King’s illness exposed the fragility of the structures of governance.

Before João V’s seizure, the crown resources and the sovereign’s energy had been freed to develop plans of internal consolidation following the negotiation of the 1715 Utrecht Peace

Treaty. In the Americas, the Treaty assured Portuguese rights over Colónia do Sacramento (present day Uruguay) and the Amazon, whereas it assured the internal consolidation of power and (more) lasting peace with Spain in Iberia.<sup>87</sup> This moment was an important precondition for the reform of the monarchy—an idea that could mean many things to many. The first acts included diplomacy and the elevation of Portugal’s prestige with the Vatican and other European courts.

Then, in the 1720s and until the end of João V’s rule, Lisbon and its surrounding area were also subjected to the construction of magnificent buildings meant to amplify the sovereign’s power and project his magnanimity. This included, in particular, the formation of the Royal Academy of History (1721) and the construction of a new, baroque library in Coimbra (1717). If the construction of the new monastery-palace-library of Mafra is added to this list, then the investment in the acquisition of thousands of purchased books—including scientific works censored by the index—acquires a new dimension. Plans to reform medical structures and education fit neatly within this moment of internal transformation.

One of the first changes to medical knowledge and praxis arrived in 1722 with the Catalan anatomist António Monravá y Roca. In a clear departure from the hegemony of the scholastic medical tradition at Coimbra, Monravá was hired for the Royal Hospital of Todos-os-Santos in Lisbon. It is not clear what procedures were put in place to obtain bodies for dissection; but the creation of a space for empirical research and experimental methods was a unique moment of departure from tradition.<sup>88</sup> The break with the past was further signified through the

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<sup>87</sup> Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *O Mapa Que Inventou o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Versal Editores, 2013); Avelino de Freitas de Meneses and Artur Boavida Madeira, *Portugal da paz da Restauração ao ouro do Brasil*, 1a. ed., Nova história de Portugal ; v. 7. (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 2001).

<sup>88</sup> However, the fact that the Hospital, where an anatomical theater was installed, shared its walls with the Estaus Palace, where the Inquisition was located, should not be neglected as a “source” of bodies for research.

installation of the anatomical theater in the Royal Hospital—under the patronage of the monarch—rather than in Coimbra. Lisbon was gradually asserting its position as a novel center for knowledge production about health for the Monarchy.<sup>89</sup> Rather than concentrating on theory and metaphysics, medicine in Lisbon engaged in material concerns with the physical body. Lisbon was the epicenter of modern reform and its embrace of the material world.

In 1732, Monravá was replaced in Todos os Santos by the Italian anatomist Bernardo Santucci (1701-1764). Santucci was a self-professed modern—he said as much in his book *Anatomia do Corpo Humano Recopilada* (1739).<sup>90</sup> In while Monravá continued to lead his own “Academy of the Four Sciences,” where he trained anatomists in a private capacity and under an austere and nocturnal system of study.<sup>91</sup> Monravá’s academy was instituted in 1732, around the time of his replacement by Santucci. The four sciences named indispensable for the training of a competent physician were anatomy, surgery, medicine, and physics. The selection of four domains essential for the study of a kind of medicine defined as “scientific” in the modern rather than scholastic sense, was compatible with Monravá’s focus on the laws of fluid motion inside bodies.

The notion that each human body obeyed the same universal laws of disease and health instantiated a radical departure with the scholastic past of idiosyncratic humors. In the classical humoral view, each person’s bodily constitution was uniquely subject to the influence of heavenly bodies, climate, diet, geography, and seasons. The mechanistic view of the body

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<sup>89</sup> The Royal Academy of History was also installed in Lisbon.

<sup>90</sup> Bernardo Santucci, *Anatomia do corpo humano recopilada com doutrinas medicas, chemicas, filosoficas, mathematicas, com indices e estampas representantes todas as partes do corpo humano ... por Bernardo Santucci ...* (Lisboa occidental: A.P. Galram, 1739).

<sup>91</sup> Antonio de Monravá y Roca, *Noticia curiosa do novo, e grave estilo, com que se ensina toda a Materia Scientifica, pertencente à Medicina na Escola do Doutor D. Antonio de Monravá, e Roca, Lente Regio Jubilado de Anatomia do Hospital Real de Todos os Santos de Lisboa, &c. da qual he Presidente, e Fundador, que se começou, em 5. de Janeiro de 1739* ([Lisboa Occidental: s.n, 1739).

disrupted this system of endless mutability. While the language of humors persisted—as was the case with Monravá—they no longer adhered to Galenic principles.<sup>92</sup> Rather, humors were material entities circulating inside the body. This view tethered health to material fluid motion determined by function and physiological form.

Physiology made the population into a possibility for government. For Monravá, in particular, epistemic change entailed new bodily ontologies. For two decades, from his arrival in Lisbon in 1722 until his death in 1744, he outlined a comprehensive approach to the improvement of the republic and the prevention of disease of all its subjects.<sup>93</sup> This resulted in the development of a system of medical knowledge, termed *Medicina Monravista*, and the demand for a complete reinvention of medical training and praxis. For him in particular, this vision hinged on the abolition of the old hierarchies that kept surgeons and physicians apart. Medicine and surgery were symbiotic sciences, in his view. For Monravá, it was insufficient to

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<sup>92</sup> Hippocrates continued to be widely cited in the eighteenth century. In Portugal, Monravá was one of the few who wished to supplant and abandon him entirely. Contrary to Galen, who was perceived as a physician prone to speculative flights of theorization not substantiated in the study of physical bodies—Galen was famously physician to gladiators but used animal bodies for dissection and extrapolated from them to apply its principles on human physiology. Hippocrates, conversely, was both perceived as the “father” of medicine and garnered admiration from moderns such as Ribeiro Sanches because his medicine was perceived as naturalistic and founded on empirical observation. To an extent, Ribeiro Sanches makes the argument that modern medicine was returning to the standard that the Greeks had established and “religious physicians” had usurped. António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dissertação sobre as Paixões da Alma (14 de Dezembro de 1753)* (Penamacor: Câmara Municipal de Penamacor, 1999).

<sup>93</sup> Antonio de Monravá y Roca, *Oracion medico-anatomica que... al Conde de Atouguia* (Lisboa Occidental: en la Imprenta de Musica, 1725); Antonio de Monravá y Roca and António Isidoro da Fonseca, *Desterro critico das falsas anatomias, que hum anatomico novo deu a luz, em Lisboa, neste presente anno de 1739* (Lisboa Occidental: na Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca Impressor do Duque Estribeiro Mór, 1739); Antonio de Monravá y Roca and Pedro Ferreira, *Cinco preciosos remedios tirados da mais rica Mina, e Frutuoso campos*, Impressam segunda, emendada, e acrescentada. Tratado singular (Lisboa Occidental [sic]: na Offic. de Pedro Ferreira, 1734); Antonio de Monravá y Roca, *Breve curso de nueva Cirugia: al... Infante D. Francisco* (Lisboa Occidental: en la Imprenta de Musica vende-se en casa su autor, en la rua dos Escuderos, 1725); Antonio de Monravá y Roca and Gerónimo Roxo, *Antiguedad, y Ribera impugnados, sobre las obras del clarissimo doctor Ribera, contra su Cirugia Sagrada* (En Madrid: en la Imprenta de Geronimo Roxo, 1729); Antonio de Monravá y Roca, *Academicas oraçoens Phisico-Anatomico-Medico-Cirurgicas, em que practicam os mais eruditos discipulos da nova Academia das quatro Sciencias, para a converçam do errado lastimoso povo apolino: dedicam-se ao... medico, P. D. Francisco Xavier Leitam* (Antuerpia: a Officina Plantiniana, 1732); Monravá y Roca and Monravá y Roca, *Do D. Monravá Novissima Medicina impugnante à nova, velha e velhissima dos autores antigos, e modernos, em quatro tomos dividida*.

pronounce a diagnosis based on the external observation of the body. Health dictated cutting the body open and knowing it from within. Hence, anatomy and surgery were domains of expert knowledge complementary to physics and medicine. By observing physiological form, the physician could also determine whether or not an organ or body part performed its optimal function. This was the only way to understand illness and remove it from the body. This medical approach was radically material. From the body itself, to the humors, and every organ or artery, all was material. Because all knowledge demanded observation and experience, chemistry was rejected and replaced by only that which the anatomist could see.

While Monravá proposed himself as the physician whose system would replace that of Galen or Hippocrates, Ribeiro e Sanches had maintained less grandiose plans. Throughout his life, he would produce a series of texts on pedagogy and how to reform medicine. The bulk of this production would take place in the 1760s, with the publication of *Letters on the Education of the Youth* (1760) and the production of a long manuscript from 1761 titled: *Method to learn and teach Medicine*.<sup>94</sup> However, in 1730, when Sanches first met Cunha in The Netherlands, the latter asked him to produce a plan on how to reform medicine.<sup>95</sup> The manuscript was known through correspondence exchanged by Sanches but was deemed as lost by several accounts.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, “Método para aprender e estudar a Medicina, Paris 26 de Março 1761,” in *Obras Vol. I e Vol. II* (Coimbra: Almedina, 1959); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Cartas sobre a educação da mocidade* (Em Colonia: [publisher not identified], 1760).

<sup>95</sup> Maximiano Lemos, *Ribeiro Sanches: a sua vida e a sua obra: obra escripta sobre novos documentos, no desempenho de uma comissão do governo portuguez* (Porto: E.T. Martins, 1911), <http://archive.org/details/b28985217>.

<sup>96</sup> Lemos; António Alberto de Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1966); José Silvestre Ribeiro, *Historia dos estabelecimentos scientificos* (Tip. da Academia real das sciencias, 1873); *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor Mário Vilela* (Universidade do Porto, 2005); Ana Cristina Araújo, *O Marquês de Pombal e a Universidade, 2ª Edição* (Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra / Coimbra University Press, 2014).

However, I was able to locate it among Cunha's papers from the Paris embassy at Portugal's National Library.<sup>97</sup>

Dated June 29, 1730, Sanches the program of pedagogical renewal was submitted along with a 390-page list of "Books of Medicine" and a 550 page "Catalogue [of books] of Modern Philosophy" to furnish the libraries of the "the University of Coimbra." In the introduction to the plan of reform, Sanches mentioned he "had spoken with the Professors of said University and all said that having [new] books was not enough, if in Coimbra another method for the study of Medicine was not administered."<sup>98</sup> For them, the most critical contribution of new method lay in the need of having a "shorter and more useful [method] for Healing."<sup>99</sup>

Built on a foundation of "modern Philosophy and Medicine," Sanches placed special emphasis on their capacity to practice as well as teach. Admittedly, the plan also drew from Sanches' consultations of "Professors that by profession teach in this Famous University of Leiden where these two Sciences flourish more than in any other place."<sup>100</sup> The plan divided authors into three classes. First, "those who follow Galileo [and] who, observing the constant effects and appearances in nature, devise laws to the mode of their operations demonstrated by Geometrical rationalization."<sup>101</sup> The second group concerned "those who follow Descartes and Gassendi and produce systems to explain natural Phenomena." The third and last group was composed of "Authors who wrote Numerical Arithmetic" as well as "Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections and Analyses." These were the authors, according to Sanches, who addressed

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<sup>97</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240.

<sup>98</sup> "Eu faley com os Professores da dita Universidade e todos me disserão que não bastava ter os ditos livros, se em Coimbra não se desse outro methodo ao estudo da Medicina." BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.1.

<sup>99</sup> "Que seria mais breve e mais util ao Curativo." BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.1

<sup>100</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.2.

<sup>101</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.2.

“Experimental Mechanical Philosophy, including Astronomy.”<sup>102</sup> In addition to this division, medical authors were also apportioned into five classes. The first class was “Anatomy and Surgery, starting with Vesalius.” The second class was organized around “Rational Mechanical Authors,” like Bellini or Sydenham who, “founded on true Anatomy and Laws of [both] liquids and solids, as well as movement, [provide] demonstrations on the causes of illness and the operation of remedies.”<sup>103</sup> Thirdly, were “Systematic Chemical Authors,” like Willis or van Helmont, “who explain infirmity and the operation of remedies through Chemistry as well as Anatomy.” Fourthly, Sanches elected authors dedicated to “Botany, Pharmaceuticals, and Natural History.” And lastly, Sanches chose “ancient Chemical” authors “regarded as modern” because of modern engagement with them.

In agreement with the Coimbra professors he spoke with, Sanches did not believe books alone would do it. Moreover, he also believed that there was no time to waste and training more physicians in the modern method would take too long. For this reason, he saw an imperative to hire foreign professors. Not only were there “no professors in Portugal capable of teaching in the new method,” but also the professoriate’s deep commitment to “studying and teaching Galenic and Arabic Medicine,” meant that education in Coimbra had to be started anew. As part of this plan, the Portuguese court tried to lure Herman Boerhaave, Sanches’ Professor at Leiden, to come to Lisbon in 1735. This was an invitation he did not accept. However, a few other initiatives such as the sponsoring of translations of Bacon and Newton also took place. One of the key protagonists of the dissemination of English empiricism and deism in Portugal was the New Christian émigré in London, Jacob Castro Sarmiento (1690-1762). All through the 1730s,

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<sup>102</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.2.

<sup>103</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.2v.

Sarmento wrote Newtonian works as well as a *Materia Medica* (1735) that dispensed index censorship through a direct royal decree.

The goal of the book was aligned with Sanches and Cunha's stated objectives: to combat the "backwardness" (*atraso*) Portuguese medicine had sunk into when compared to other "Famous Courts of Europe." The transformation of medical education would transform the state and bring Portugal onto a footing equal to other empires. Only medicine, the chief domain of modern expertise, could "remedy the [ills] of the political Body for the glory and conservation of the Fatherland [*Patria*]." <sup>104</sup>

Scientific insights developed through medical interaction with the ailments of individual bodies enabled the physician and administrator to extrapolate to the body of the state. Therefore, the modern medical method "afforded the means of bringing the Kingdom of Portugal and its Dominions into a better and more perfect condition, through a Science that will be of great interest to both Princes and Vassals." <sup>105</sup> That science was medicine, the domain of universal natural law. Medicine, Sarmento concluded, was "an instrument as effective in contributing to alleviating Complaints and conserving the Health of the Human body in benefit of the Republic." <sup>106</sup> For Sarmento, if the monarch was intent on improving Portugal's image abroad—as, indeed, his diplomatic actions of the 1720s and 1730s seemed to indicate—that goal could not be reached without the advancement of new medical methods and education.

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<sup>104</sup> Jacob de Castro Sarmento, *Materia medica physico-historico-mechanica, reyno mineral: parte I a que se juntam, os principaes remedios do prezente estado sa materia medica; como sangria, sanguesugas, ventosas sarjadas, emeticos, purgantes, vesicatorios, diureticos, sudorificos, ptyalismicos, opiados, quina quina [sic] e, em especial, as minhas agoas de Inglaterra* (Em Londres: s.n., 1735), 6.

<sup>105</sup> "A ancia que muitas vezes ,e tem causado o ouvir falar os estranhos com tanto desprezo da Medicina dos nossos Portugueses. Donde poderá proceder, em respeito das mais Nações, o acharem-se nesta parte of nossos tam atrasados, sendo tanto melhores as suas dospozições, e engenhos para quaisquer estudos? [...] para, assim como nos mayores negocios, trazer a melhor, e mais perfeito estado do Reyno de Portugal, e seus Dominios, huma Sciencia, em que tem igual, e o mayor interesse assim os Principes, como os Vassalos." Sarmento, 5.

<sup>106</sup> Sarmento, 5.



The quality of the teaching at Coimbra would become a frequent theme for Sarmento and Sanches in the decades subsequent to the reformist momentum of the 1730s. But it was Sanches who transformed this preoccupation into an *idée fixe* well until his later work in the 1770s. More than medicine, the problem lay with the dominance of legal studies, namely canon law at Coimbra. Why was canon law, in particular, so problematic? Because it was an emblem of the chief, intertwined ills ravaging the nation: Church power, scholasticism, and depopulation. Firstly, canon law promoted adherence to decrees issued by the Vatican over those promulgated by the sovereign's civil code (i.e., ultramontanism). Secondly, it preserved the medical methodological approach so mistaken and misleading Sanches compared it to “killing with bullets.”<sup>107</sup> Thirdly, because ecclesiastical celibacy created depopulation—the most visible manifestation of Portuguese national weakness. Put differently, the Church was the most hostile force to Portugal's imperative of fertility. Be it either through the abandoned fields, the foregoing of land cultivation, or the obstacles to family formation and procreation, ecclesiastical and scholastic institutions not only “bled” the state, they ran it dry or resources.

Sanches' concerns with the Church's imprimatur on education—regardless of whether it was medical or not—over the course of decades was not accidental. Over decades, a great deal of his energy was spent on regulating access to the ecclesiastical branch so as to reduce its size—and therefore its power. Much like the influx of new books at Coimbra was insufficient to alter the culture and method there, “the mere production of more bodies,” as historian Carol Blum comments about the French case, did not suffice to heal the nation.<sup>108</sup> Portugal's rehabilitation

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<sup>107</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.2v.

<sup>108</sup> Blum, *Strength in Numbers*, 10.

demanded a healthier and “augmented people,” none of which could be achieved with the modern method.

Drawing on the tone of French population debates—and their shared anti-ecclesiastical sentiment—Sanches argued that education of children and even women was essential to promote health and fertility.<sup>109</sup> Based on this belief, Sanches’ 1730 reform proposal suggests that the king should elect a few already trained students and send them to Paris to learn anatomy, surgery, and botany. After Paris, they should be sent to London to learn philosophy and mathematics, and Leiden to medicine and chemistry. This plan of travel abroad had the goal of avoiding any syncretism between the old and the new. Providing the example of Utrecht, where the coeval study of Aristotle and Descartes divided the student body in two camps, he argued that sending students on travels was the best method to assure “a quiet union of [medical] studies.”<sup>110</sup> After these students returned to Portugal, Sanches proposed they should work in a College of Physicians founded in Lisbon. Here, they would impart their knowledge to new generations.

Despite his wish for a radical departure, Sanches was careful to not openly antagonize the Church. At one point the reform plan addresses a possible accusation of anti-ecclesiastical sentiment by noting: “I do not wish to say, My Lord, to say that [Scholastic Philosophy] should not be learned by Theologians, for its [domain] is necessary in the defense of matters that are not

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<sup>109</sup> Several examples of scholarship and Sanches own writings where these matters are discussed: Ana Cristina Araújo, “Ilustração, pedagogia e ciência em António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches,” *Revista de história das idéias* 6 (1984): 377–94; Edward Brudney, “(P)Reimagining the Nation: Citizenship, Labor, and the State in António Ribeiro Sanches’s *Cartas Sobre a Educação Da Mocidade*,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 57, no. 1 (2020): 4–29; Cláudia Duarte, “A Proposta Pedagógica de António Ribeiro Sanches: A Educação Pública Da Mocidade Portuguesa,” *EDUCAÇÃO E FILOSOFIA* 33, no. 69 (January 10, 2021): 1659–94; António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Obras Vol. I e Vol. II* (Coimbra: Almedina, 1959); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Manuscrits Du Docteur Antonio Ribeiro Sanchès*, 18, [http://archive.org/details/BIUSante\\_ms02015](http://archive.org/details/BIUSante_ms02015); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dificuldades que tem um reino velho para emendar-se e outros textos* (Livros Horizonte, 1980); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches and Faustino Cordeiro, *Sobre Agricultura, Alfândega, Colónias e Outros Textos* (Penamacor: Câmara Municipal de Penamacor, 2001); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Cartas sobre a educação da mocidade*, Brazilian and Portuguese history and culture: The Oliveira Lima Library, part II (Place of publication not identified: publisher not identified, 1760).

<sup>110</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.3v.

subjected to the senses.”<sup>111</sup> Quite simply, he argued, “Scholastic Philosophy,” which “encompasses the near entirety of all the Philosophy learned in the Studies of the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus],” was not useful for a physician. Building on the case of Salamanca, where he initially trained in medicine, and Gassendi, Sanches returned to a key argument of anti-scholasticism: medicine and theology demanded distinct philosophical methods because they represented different domains of knowledge with disparate goals. Only “Theologians who ignored True Philosophy” could make such a mistake “these two Sciences of Theology and Philosophy.” Physicians and theologians, however, were entirely distinct figures. While one was concerned with “holy Scripture, the other [dealt with] Nature.”<sup>112</sup>

Because modern physicians dealt with the natural human body—and the balance between “theory and practice of Medicine”—mechanical philosophy and anatomy were in close alliance. The use of mechanical philosophy lay on a mechanistic view “of the human body as a Hydraulic machine.” From here, Sanches displaced the humoral use of balance to relocate it to the rapport between matter and motion. In this sense, Mechanical philosophy was essential for the physician because it “determined the laws [of motion] while ascertaining the properties of the [matter].” By deploying these insights to the domain of human anatomy, physicians would know how to locate symptoms and identify causes of disease “inside the human body.”<sup>113</sup> In other words, modern medicine and the reform of statecraft hinged on the materiality of the human body and in understanding health and disease through natural and universal laws. By permitting the treatment of every human according to the same laws, modern physicians medicalized the body politic and rendered themselves into the experts of that emergent object of rule. In other words, the modern

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<sup>111</sup> “Não quero dizer, meu Sr., que as não devão aprender os Theologos, pois lhes são necessárias para defenderem as matérias que não se sujeitam aos sentidos.” BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.4v.

<sup>112</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.4v.

<sup>113</sup> BNP, Cx. 52 – M – 2, doc. 240, fl.5v.

medical method, anatomy, and physiology made the population into an object of governance and a site of intervention.

### **Scholastic Medicine and the Microcosm**

Cunha's focus on preventing future incidences of disease was coherent with an eighteenth century move towards a deistic use of natural law to anticipate danger. This meant that for partisans of the modern method, to govern was no longer an art but a science. Put differently, governing necessitated a method informed by experience and observation instead of adherence to dogma. Because it was inductive not deductive, modern methods also stressed the accumulation of different data points to uncover laws of nature. This procedure was diametrically opposed to scholastic approaches based on universal, logical syllogisms. In addition, authors within the scholastic tradition emphasized the correlation between real or true knowledge and certain knowledge. Certainty, in turn, was drawn from the works of Ancient Authors which scholastic authors cited, reinterpreted, and amended. As such, scholasticism was far from representing a static epistemic tradition. Instead, it prefigured a worldview that valued stability.

*Accommodatio*—the tailoring of message to audience—was one of the most emblematic examples of the flexibility permitted by the scholastic toolkit.<sup>114</sup> Accommodation was particularly useful to calibrate the message of the gospel as Jesuit missionaries engaged with interlocutors across the globe. It was a key resource of the mission to catechize in Asia, Africa,

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<sup>114</sup> According to Andrés Prieto, *accommodatio* i.e., the “notion of accommodation, or the adaptation of one’s message to one’s audience, has been regarded as a central feature of the Jesuit way of proceeding at least since the seventeenth century. In recent years, scholars have come to understand accommodation as a rhetorical principle, which—while rooted in the rules of classical oratory—permeated all the works and ministries performed by the Jesuits of the Old Society.” Accommodation, in short, allowed the adaptation “of the Christian message to native cultures and vice versa” Andrés I. Prieto, “The Perils of Accommodation: Jesuit Missionary Strategies in the Early Modern World,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 4, no. 3 (June 1, 2017): 395. See also Ananya Chakravarti, *The Empire of Apostles: Religion, Accommodatio, and the Imagination of Empire in Early Modern Brazil and India*, First edition (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2018).

and the Americas by allowing them to adjust the content of the message to the specificities of their audience. Thus, much as Cunha, Pombal, or Verney tried to portray scholasticism as static, its power lay precisely in the capacity to preserve its core message while adapting the delivery.

In addition to the metaphor identifying the sovereign as father of the nation, in the scholastic worldview the king was also the physician of the macrocosm, i.e., state. This view largely reflected a concept of rule tethered to the divine right of kings. As the mortal body of an immortal (and immaterial) institution meant to outlive any of its rulers, the king was elected as the earthly mediator of divine will. This symbolic system of beliefs was expressed in the scholastic medical work *Portugal Médico*. In it, Brás Luís de Abreu tellingly referred to João V as the “the only sovereign [and] Physician of all Portugal.” According to Abreu, the sovereign’s government had the power to “heal all the infirmities & weaknesses of his Lusitanian People.”<sup>115</sup> This view adhered to a juridical view of the law as restorative, and royal magnanimity in the government of the republic as therapeutic. Justice was healing and virtue assured balance between the disparate groups composing the body politic. This view was also mirrored by another scholastic physician, Bernardo Pereyra. Both on his book on prodigies, *Discurso apologético em defesa dos prodigios da natureza* (1719), and his *Anacephaleosis Medico-Theologica, Magica, Juridica, Moral e Politica* (1734), Pereyra adhered to this view.<sup>116</sup> He argued that because “Jurisprudence, [produces] resolutions which are Laws,” said laws, in turn,

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<sup>115</sup> “Como elle só o único soberano Medico de todo o Portugal [...] elle ultimamente, à maneira de Deos, sâra todas as enfermidades, & fraquezas do seo Povo Lusitano” Abreu, *Portugal Medico Ou Monarchia Medico-Lusitana, Historica, Practica, Symbolica, Ethica, e Politica ...*, iii.

<sup>116</sup> Bernardo Pereira, *Discurso apologetico que em defesa dos prodigios da natureza vistos pela experiencia, & qualificados por fore, a de hum successo para conhecimento de muytos effeytos, & occultas qualidades escreve Bernardo Pereyra medico do partido da villa do Sardoal ...* (Coimbra: No Real Collegio das Artes da Comp. de Jesus, 1719); Bernardo Pereira and Francisco de Oliveira, *Anacephaleosis medico-theologica magica, juridica, moral, e politica na qual em recopiladas dissertações: divizões se mostra a infalivel certeza de haver qualidades maleficas, se apontão os sinais por onde possuem conhecerse* (Coimbra: a Officina de Francisco de Oliveyra Impressor da Universidade, 1734).

had the same effects as “medicaments and antidotes.” For this reason, administrators or any other “executor” of the law were equated to “Physicians of the Civil Republic.”<sup>117</sup>

These views, which Cunha continued to deploy, seized on the notion of law and rules to create equivalencies between the two main languages of government of the early modern period: medicine, theology, and jurisprudence. It was precisely this close allyship that moderns wished to upend. Modern medicine was no longer an ally of theology, for its goals and objectives were entirely distinct. The change in the rapport between theology and medicine—and scholastic jurisprudence—beget a different medical view of body, soul, and the human, all the time preserving the Scholastic metaphor of the body politic

Scholasticism and Catholic theology emphasized the duality between the immortal body and the mortal body. Unlike a Cartesian dualism, which posited these two domains as separate but equal entities, Catholicism did no such thing. Rather, Catholic views adhered to the idea of corporeal heteronomy.<sup>118</sup> That is, because Catholicism deemed the soul as incorruptible, it also asserted the superiority of the soul over the ailing, mortal, and corruptible body. This view carried important ideological consequences in Catholic healing cultures—it was also essential to assert the role of the priest and confessor as an agent of healthcare. For, as it was posited, the

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<sup>117</sup> “E porque não poderá, não digo escrever, allegar quem hê Medico, como Theologias e mais quando tem huã e outra sciencia tanta semelhança respeito do fim, quanta dessemelhança respeito do Objecto, por huã tem por contemplação a immortalidade da alma, e outra o corpo mortal, e caducvo, e se a alma em quanto a este alligada segue do mesmo corpo o temperamento, e imita por isso a mesma condição, bem se vê que a Theologia hê taõ necessaria aos Medicos para curar, como hê precisa a Medicina, por segundi Plutarcho in Charmde...e sendo assim, mal pode curar-se o corpo pela Medinina. Se não concorrer para medicar a alma, a theologia. E porque não poderá quem hê Medico, torno a repetir, allegar com as mais scientias, e artes liberais, e especialmente com a Jurisprudência, \*cujas rezoluções, são Leis; e se estas são medicamentos, e antidotos, e os administradores, e executores dellas são Medicos da republica civil, como lhe chama o Direito em muitos textos, que transcreveo Tiraquelo....tratando a medicina de medicamentos, bem podem os medicos da republica politica valer-se das Leis; que se no Direito são remedios para curar a peste dos delictos, na Medicina os remedios, são Leis para attender à saude dos enfermos.” Pereira and Oliveira, *Anacephaleosis medico-theologica magica, juridica, moral, e politica na qual em recopiladas dissertações*, 4.

<sup>118</sup> For a larger discussion on corporeal heteronomy see Chris L. De Wet, *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015).

confessor could address the problem within the physical body by directing its aim at the soul. In this manner, churchmen were elected as intermediaries and administrators of health in the community. Modern medicine, conversely, could either presuppose a dualism on equal footing—such as Descartes did—or as was the case with Sanches, adopt a vitalist and holistic view. These latter points became particularly dominant throughout the eighteenth century and were essential for the later establishment of “the sciences of man.” In essence, what vitalism and holism did was assert that body and soul were inseparable, and both existed within the body. As the physical body was part of nature and *the* expert domain of the physician, there was no role at all for the theologian in the prescription of therapeutics or the administration of the somatic body.<sup>119</sup>

In 1742, however, as the King lay incapacitated and Cunha began writing down his view on the science of government, scholasticism was the most institutionalized epistemic force in Portugal. The consolidation of power over the course of two centuries assured its supremacy. In addition to the Inquisition, Jesuit pedagogy became an established force both at the University of Évora and at Coimbra.<sup>120</sup> The two fundamental pillars of scholasticism were Aristotle and Aquinas. The synthesis between the two authors—the former more valued for natural philosophy and the latter for theology—assured that scholastic authors could reason about nature and draw from biblical exegesis. Given the centrality of theology, axiomatic proposals drawn from

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<sup>119</sup> Jerome Carroll, *Anthropology's Interrogation of Philosophy from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018); Raphaële Andrault et al., eds., *Médecine et philosophie de la nature humaine: de l'âge classique aux Lumières anthologie*, Textes de philosophie 8 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014); Stephen Gaukroger, *The Natural and the Human: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1739-1841* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Catherine Packham, *Eighteenth-Century Vitalism: Bodies, Culture, Politics* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Charles T. Wolfe and Motoichi Terada, “The Animal Economy as Object and Program in Montpellier Vitalism,” *Science in Context* 21, no. 4 (December 2008): 537–79.

<sup>120</sup> The University of Évora, which was a Jesuit institution, was extinguished by the Pombaline reforms. Casalini, *Aristotle in Coimbra*.

scripture had the value of certain truth. The modern method, conversely, with its emphasis on observation, Cartesian dualism, and sensory perception had nothing of the sort to offer.<sup>121</sup>

This distinction became all the more critical in the 1740s. In 1744, the physician António de Monravá y Roca—who, in the meantime, was dismissed from his position as royal anatomist and replaced by the Italian Bernardo Santucci—took on the argument of certainty to argue against Aristotle and for a new method. In the first volume of his four-tome *magnum opus* (1744-1752), Monravá addressed pro-Aristotelian positions about certainty in relation to theology. Because “theologians,” he argued, “have already attained the purest truth [...], they must only guard it.” Whereas “Physicians,” conversely “still have many Truths to uncover. Many of [medicine’s] points [of reasoning] are doubts, conjectures, and almost entirely Opinions.”<sup>122</sup> And since “disputations and experiments are the only means of advancing” knowledge, they also constituted the “reason we philosophize in a way different from the Peripatetics [i.e., Aristotelians].” To advance medical knowledge, he maintained, it was necessary to “desert the captivity of Aristotle (much like that of Galen and Hippocrates) and take on the Philosophical liberty of speculating on feats of Experimentation.”

With this argument of method and disciplinary fit, Monravá tried to walk the fine line between heresy and the modern rejection of Aristotle. After all, as he recognized, the method of scholastic axiomatic reasoning was essential for theological engagement with scripture. He

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<sup>121</sup> Waddell, *Jesuit Science and the End of Nature’s Secrets*.

<sup>122</sup> “Os Theologos já conseguirão a purissima Verdade, já esta por eles plantada a Coluna Non-plus ultra: Só tem q defendella. Mas os Medicos tem ainda muitas Verdades, que achar. Os mais pontos são conjecturaveis, e quase tudo he Opinioes; necessitamos pois de instrumentos e varias Maquinas para Filosofar; mas cada qual se acomoda com aquelles, que lhe parece melhor; sempre ficando o campo aberto para a Duvida, e para a Conjectura. Porque disputando, e experimentando, he o único meyo para adiantar. Digo tudo isto, para que se saiba, com quanta razao nós agora filosofamos de outra sorte do que os Peripateticos.” Antonio de Monravá y Roca and Monravá y Roca, *Do. D Monravá Novissima Medicina impugnante à nova, velha e velhissima dos autores antigos, e modernos, em quatro tomos dividida: que dedica ao vigilante monarca D. João V... tomo I [-IV]* (Lisboa: na Officina do mesmo autor, 1744), bk. 1, p. 28.



concluded with a self-aware declaration. The conjectures upon which the improvement of medical knowledge rested had to pay “close attention so as not to trip in a Sentence incompatible with our Holy Faith’s Dogma.”<sup>123</sup> Perhaps against his own best advice, in 1747, the third tome of *Novissima Medicina* moved towards “diseases of the head.” Monravá carefully described the complete symptomatology, cause, and “essence,” in that order, of epilepsy, paralysis, and convulsion. While Monravá made no direct mention of the monarch, it is hard to imagine that he had not attained any knowledge of the purges, relics, and the “lethargy” of the sovereign.

As the decade advanced and the monarch’s health continued to deteriorate, the momentum affirming that medicine as a science of the state, only grew. This move was most noticeable in the defense of the scholastic method mounted by jurist Diogo Manuel de Campos in his *Critical Discourse...on which science is most useful to the Republic, if the exercise of Jurisprudence, or Medicine?* (1746).<sup>124</sup> Campos rejected Cunha’s propositions and presented the law as the only means of ordering and achieving the “good of the republic.” Citing Plato and Aristotle, Campos presented a clear argument for the law and against medicine: “Laws as the spirit of life and soul of Cities.” Contrary to the law, that always organized and ruled, medicine “was often prejudicial to the ill,” for “the more remedies are multiplied against the disease, the closer one is to death.” “Men,” he added, “need Laws so that they can live in accordance with

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<sup>123</sup> “...para o Adiantamento da Medicina, tomar a acertada resolução de desatarme do Cativo de Aristóteles, (assim como de Galeno, e de Hypocrates), tomando a liberdade Filosofica para discorrer, e obrar pelos rumbos Experimentaes. Mas fugindo sempre, com grande atenção de não tropeçar com alguma Sentença imcompetivel com algum Dogma da nossa Santa Fé, cuidando somente em buscar instrumentos para analisar a Natureza, e para entender os Fenomenos: tudo em adiantamento das Materias Medicas.” Monravá y Roca and Monravá y Roca, bk. 1, p. 29.

<sup>124</sup> Diogo Manuel de Campos, *Discurso critico em que se defende a primeyra parte deste problema: qual he mais util à republica, se o exercicio da Jurisprudencia, se o da Medicina?* (Porto: na Off. de Manoel Pedroso Coimbra, 1746).

them, for in any other way they would turn into beasts.”<sup>125</sup> One of the most definitive proofs offered on the superiority to jurisprudence was the role of Jesus Christ as lawyer.

Campos challenged the view presenting Christ as a physician, arguing that he was in fact a jurist. It was not through medicine, he argued, that Christ healed “leprosy, paralytics, lunatics, the blind, deaf, mute, and many other infirm people.” Rather, it was thanks to “the singular virtue of His Divine tact” that such acts were possible. Along the same line, and in disagreement with Brás Luís de Abreu, the king was also not a physician. Making special reference to “the August King João V, who has thankfully governed us for many years and with great inclination for books,” he presents the monarch as a man of wisdom not medicine: “The wise King and not the King Physician; because to heal the infirmities of a republic contaminated with vice, only Laws have utility not medicine.”<sup>126</sup> The health of the “mystical body of the republic,” he added, necessitated saints and jurists not medicine.

Campos concluded with a note on specialization and domain. If it may hold that “the solid sentences from Galen, Avicenna or Hippocrates can give possible remedies to our diseases and preserve the thousand unhappinesses of our nature,” they cannot heal the state. Rather, the “deadly diseases of the republic,” can only be faced through jurisprudence. It was “only Law,”

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<sup>125</sup> “Assim como *Aristot. Lib. 3. politicar. cap. 6.e* o grande *Platão* seu mestre ensina que necessitão os homens de Leis para que vivão conforme a ellas, pois de outra sorte serião ás fêras semelhantes [...] As as Leis o espirito da vida, e a alma das Cidades. [...] Deos manda honrar ao medico conforme ao quillo fo Ecclesiastico. [...] não poucas vezes são motivados de nos parecer, que alguma hora podemos carecer de suas assistências; mas o quão prejudiciais são muitas vezes estas aos enfermos; pois quanto mais se multiplicão remedios à enfermidade tanto mais se a pressão os passos à morte, quanto mais se repetem medicinas.” Campos, 2–3.

<sup>126</sup> “Pois entre tantos Monarchas sábios, que empunharão o Lusitano ceptro sobre sahiu excelso a todos o Augustissimo Rey D. João V. que felizmente nos governa, e dilatados anos viva, Principe a todas as luzes tão sabio, e tão inclinado aos livros, que o seu quotidiano divertimento he a lição deles, com que setem [sic.] feyto universalmente conhecido por hum dos mais sábios Principes, que tem respeitado o Orbe. Isto sim, que he ser Rey sabio, e não Rey Medico; porque para curar as enfermidades da republica contaminada com os vícios, só são de utilidade as Leis, e não as medicinas; aquellas, e não estas são o verdadeiro, e único antidoto contra os roubos, mortes, violências, tyrannias, e outros semelhantes execrandos procedimentos de que superabunda o corpo mystico da republica.” Campos, 8–9.

after all, “that can restrain unrestrained peoples, repress the seditious and rebellious, punish evil-doers; stop homicides; forbid scandals; and finally punish vice.” Unlike Cunha, Campos was not interested in transforming the size of the people or improving agriculture. What Campos wanted was adherence to a preordained order and its preservation *ad aeternum*. That was the purpose of jurisprudence—the *scientia* whose procedures, like theology, demanded certainty and deductive inference from universal principles. Cunha’s view, as we have seen, stood on the opposite camp. Both he and other moderns rejected the preservation of received truths instead wishing to alter the established order by wielding the knowledge of natural law.

### **Healing the Monarchy**

Given Sanches, Sarmiento, and Cunha’s physical distance from the King’s household in Lisbon, their texts were prolific in rhetorical strategies where medicine became a strategic tool to manifest royal authority and project Portugal’s imperial prestige. Complementarily, they also appealed to the monarch’s authority as father of the state. This discursive move hinged on a traditional imaginary of the sovereign as paterfamilias of the community. It was in that capacity as both patriarch and progenitor—the source of life for the community—that the body politic was both tacitly raced and gendered. The idea of race and monarchy was most visible in France, where *race* meant nobility. In Portugal, however, on account of the introduction of blood purity statutes across several institutions, *raça* came to be equated with the presence of an inextricable “blood defect” attributable only to those with “impure blood.” Thus, as Bluteau’s *Vocabulário Português*, published in the 1720s noted, *raça* a blemish (*mácula*) that only non-Christians possessed.<sup>127</sup> For Cunha, Sanches, and Sarmiento—both of whom had Jewish descent—blood

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<sup>127</sup> Raphael Bluteau, “Raça,” in *Vocabulário Portuguez e Latino, Aulico, Anatomico, Architectonico, Bellico, Botanico, Brasilico, Comico, Critico, Chimico, Dogmatico, Dialectico, Dendrologico, Ecclesiastico, Etymologico*,

purity laws were key factors in contributing to Portugal's backwardness and its excessive "bloodletting." At the same time, persistent adherence to the statutes also reified the superiority of the monarch's bloodline as the purest, and his descent as the most perfect exemplar of the human. 1742 placed those ideals in check.

Future chapters will analyze how the extrapolation of the analogy of creation to the paterfamilias became the backbone of the modern project of reform via the medicalization of the state and all its subjects/children. For now, the issue that matters most concerns 1742 and the subsequent years of flagging health. What ideal of the masculine could be mirrored in a monarch whose incapacitating illness had forced a "descent into infancy"?<sup>128</sup> Virility, as historian Georges Vigarello notes, was not simply about the masculine but the embodiment of perfect and ideal qualities: "the 'active' husband, powerfully built, [the] procreator, who was also pondered, vigorous but restrained, courageous but measured."<sup>129</sup> The idealization of virility as domination and virtue was even more acute in the case of the sovereign. However, both disease and a depopulated nation stretched the boundaries of idealization in the 1740s, as the monarchy lay in paralysis. Since João V, as head of state, was the steward of his land and people, his absence beget a void that only physicians of the body politic could fill.

For Sanches and Cunha, the crisis of sovereignty only deepened the importance of the reproductive imperative. Which, in turn, was the reason it was necessary to medicalize the state and bring statecraft under the purview of universal natural laws. In 1744, the modern António Monravá y Roca also addressed this topic in the first tome of *Novissima Medicina*. Monravá

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*Economico, Florifero, Forense, Fructifero... Autorizado Com Exemplos Dos Melhores Escriitores Portugueses, e Latinos*, vol. 7 (Coimbra: no Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu, 1720), 86.

<sup>128</sup> "Le Roy [...] est depuis longtemps tombé en enfance" Letter by Duverney to the minister Puyzieulx, Lisbon 7 August 1748. AMAEP, Corr. Pol. Portugal, vol. 84, fl. 67.

<sup>129</sup> Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, eds., "Préface," in *Histoire de La Virilité. Histoire de La Virilité: L'invention de La Virilité. De l'Antiquité Aux Lumières*, vol. 1 (Paris: Seuil, 2011), 1.

explored how the condition of “Medicine compared to the Republic.”<sup>130</sup> Inserting himself in the debate about a depleted population, Monravá insisted the Republic was a “fantastic Body,” and for that very reason “if one of its members was corrupted,” the entire body would suffer. The chief reason for this “corruption” was the “neglect” of medical study and care among humankind. By insisting in a method that was completely divorced from any knowledge of anatomical and physiological function, physicians killed instead of instilling health. Health, however, was indispensable for the monarchy. Just like a healthy human body presupposes that each organ is correctly performing its righteous function, so in the body politic each “Citizen” must also adhere to its duties “*advincem*.”

*Advincem*, in this context, referred specifically to mutuality, a key principle of health and social harmony. As members of a society divided into smaller bodies—or corporations—it was vital that each group performed their given function. If the physician is moved by an incorrect method, Monravá adds, he will be “like a Plague to the Republic, beheading the sick more than sickness itself.” The “restauration and reform” that “Medicine clamored for” was an imperative for the recomposition of the population. People could not labor, defend the state, or engage in commerce without health. Thus, “if the number of Citizens decreases,” as was the case of 1740s Portugal, then “the Republic also diminishes” causing a great deal of damage. His method of *Medicina Monravista*, however, promised to deliver the opposite. A “flourishing state” to the exact proportion of the “many subjects it possesses.”

The population, therefore, was the palliative for the crisis of Portuguese sovereignty and empire building. And, as discussed, the population was only possible with the modern medical method. One of the fundamental ways of instantiating the population as a cognitive and

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<sup>130</sup> Monravá y Roca and Monravá y Roca, *Do D. Monravá Novissima Medicina impugnante à nova, velha e velhissima dos autores antigos, e modernos, em quatro tomos dividida*, bks. 1, 76.

conceptual category was the elevation of anatomy, physics, surgery, and physiological function to the apex of medical practice and education. After all, these were the four principal domains subjected to the rule of universal natural law. Given the goal of “multiplication” of the people for the state, attention to surgery and anatomy was also accompanied by a novel ontological model of the body. The modern episteme posited soma as a material and physical entity that had to be known from within. This model advanced an unequivocal rejection of astrology, metaphysical visions of the body as microcosm, and the power of confessors and theologians over matters of health. Yet, the ontological turn towards the materiality of soma did not displace the analogy between the individual, physical body and the body politic. In other words, the heart of the epistemic battle over method hinged on a completely novel conception of the social order, political rule, empire, and of the human. In spite of these battles, the move to the anatomical as truth continued to rest on a binary division of sexual difference. Gendered divisions of humanity were critical to pro-natalist desiderata—all of which rested on the *advincem* functional inequality of the sexes inbuilt into the reproductive order.

## CHAPTER 2

### “Perfect and Without Defect”:

### Refusing Reproduction, Anatomy, and the Government of Sex<sup>131</sup>

#### The Body as Destiny<sup>132</sup>

Maria Christina de Escalhão e Pinos was the alias adopted by this chapter’s protagonist when, skirting all marital obligations to Ignacio Sulsona in her native Catalonia, she crossed the Iberian border sometime in the 1730s and relocated to Portugal. Traveling first to Lisbon and later to Setúbal and Évora—both towns in the Southern province of Alentejo—Maria Christina was a name designed to render Maria Duran untraceable. According to the Lisbon Inquisition, process number 9230, Maria Duran first arrived at the Convent of Santo Antão in Lisbon, in the late 1730s. From there, Duran remained in Lisbon but relocated first to the *recolhimento* (an Alms House or Magdalene Home) of *Menino de Deus* and months later to the convent of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.<sup>133</sup> At the time of her arrest, on April 6, 1741, Maria Duran was a novice in the Dominican Convent of Our Lady of Paradise (*Nossa Senhora do Paraíso*), in Évora.

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<sup>131</sup> Kathleen Long analyses the early modern category *sexe*, noting the instability of the concept. “In an era obsessed with the (re-)establishment of “natural law,” the distinction between the natural/biological and the cultural was not evident; in fact, theologians and jurists often deliberately effaced the line that separated the two.” Long specifically emphasizes the figure of the “hermaphrodite” or “men and women change their sex at will – or against their will – or disguise it; they conjoin and share their sexed identities, to form a more perfect, hermaphroditic, whole. All this directly violates the “natural laws” separating and distinguishing the sexes, laws imposed by Church and State. Thus, the codification of sex roles seems contemporaneously accompanied by subversion of those very roles. The insistence upon the naturalness of these roles is accompanied by the suggestion that they are not natural.” Kathleen P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2006), 1.

<sup>132</sup> I would like to thank Jack Hughes for this formulation.

<sup>133</sup> The *recolhimento*, as Margaret Boyle explains, was a multifarious and polyvalent institution in the early modern Catholic world, created to either “conserve” or “rehabilitate” the honor women—which could happen through prayer, marriage, work, and corporal punishment. In the case of Maria Duran, the *recolhimentos* where she lived were financed by church authorities and lay patrons offered hospices for destitute women to live as lay sisters and inmates who lived strictly regimented lives. Margaret E. Boyle, *Unruly Women: Performance, Penitence, and Punishment in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014); François Soyer, *Ambiguous*

Duran's trial lasted for four years and spanned 700 pages of witness accounts, requested written testimony from Barcelona, and medical examinations of Duran's body.<sup>134</sup> The charges levied against Duran grappled with the problem of aligning "sex" (i.e., physical attributes and gendered identity) and sexual behavior.<sup>135</sup> The denunciations leading to Duran's arrest accused her of engaging in "sins against nature" with other women in the *recolhimento* where she lived. The text of the accusation read that despite "being taken and reputed for a woman," Maria was "found exercising all the acts of man, such as carnal copulations with various women."<sup>136</sup> The confusion created around Maria's sexual behavior was deepened by repeated accounts of her dressing as man, travelling widely, and abandoning her marriage in Catalonia.

To reconcile the paradox between Maria's legible identity as a woman and the masculine nature of her acts, inquisitors called several witnesses and medical experts. Yet, the "truth" about Maria's anatomy remained elusive. Set in the same years (1741-1744) as João V's illness, the trial exposes the failed promise of modern anatomical knowledge as a site of unambiguous empirical verification of "truth to nature."<sup>137</sup> This failure was owed to two fundamental factors.

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*Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms, The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 1569-1934* ; v. 47 (Leiden ; Brill, 2012).

<sup>134</sup> 367 folios.

<sup>135</sup> From the latin *sexus*, early modern writers collapsed both a physical and socio-cultural category in their use of the word "sex." I, however, write "sex" intentionally with the goal of emphasizing the problematic nature of this merge between the natural and the social. In addition, my use of "sex" refuses the reification of an essentialist view of either gender or sex as fixed or deterministic somatic entities. My purpose is to highlight that while this was the only category available in the eighteenth century, this category is problematic in its essentialist nature. Therefore, by alluding to "sex" I am highlighting the early modern effort of aligning body with gendered identity and sexual behavior.

<sup>136</sup> "Sendo tida e reputada por mulher, se acha exercitando todos dos actos de homem, sendo cupulas carnaes from varias mulheres." ANTT, TSO, IL, nº 9230, fl. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Truth-to-nature was as an epistemic virtue in the early eighteenth century reacting against earlier naturalists' focus on the variability of the natural world. For Daston and Galison, it amounts to a "version" of objectivity whose aim is to produce universal truth from what can be empirically observed by the naked eye. It hinges on an epistemic focus on a type which represents the species, instead of any individual specimen per se. "It is an image of the characteristic, the essential, the universal, the typical" (p. 20). Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).



First, while inquisitors and physicians tried to align anatomical “truth” with Maria’s “sex”—thus producing an overlap between her physical body and her subjective being—the use of clothes, comportment, and gendered social codes as evidence of “sex” seemed to confound the purported unambiguity of anatomy. Characterizations of Maria as violent and dominating by inquisitors and witnesses associated Duran to masculine traits.

Another confounding indicator of Duran’s “sex” were the “loving words” (*palavras amatórias*) professed towards other women and the tendency, described by several witnesses, of taking the initiative to seduce and initiate physical intimacy. Along these lines, many of the witnesses also described having felt (but never seen) a “virile member.” Throughout the trials, these “signs” of masculine “sex” frequently trumped the remarkable coherence of the various medical assessments of Duran requested by the Inquisition or other clergymen: Maria was neither man nor “hermaphrodite” but a woman “perfect and without defect.”

Second, for scholastic and modern agents alike, Duran’s sexual agency was anti-natalist since same-sex desire instantiated a refusal of reproductive futurity. From a theological and scholastic perspective, Duran’s acts of female same-sex desire configured a “crime against nature.”<sup>138</sup> Non-procreative acts of same-sex desire violated the order of nature because they defied the telos of woman: submission to male authority and procreative sex. For moderns, Duran’s sexual agency refused the reproductive mandate to multiply the people for the benefit of the state. In either case, Duran represented a subject whose manifest sexual autonomy simultaneously rejected the mandates of the orders of the natural, social, and of the reproductive order. Importantly, both scholastic and moderns were united in a shared vision of marriage as the

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<sup>138</sup> “Just as the order of right reason is from man, so the order of nature is from God himself. And so in sins against nature, in which the very order of nature is violated, an injury is done to God himself, the orderer of nature.” Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*.

great stabilizer of “sex” and of social relations. As Zeb Tortorici has demonstrated, inquisitors defined “sins against nature [...] in social terms as contravening the institution of marriage.”<sup>139</sup> Carol Blum, conversely, documented how modern activism on the topic of marriage in eighteenth-century France sought to medicalize and regulate domestic relations with the goal of promoting “procreative unions.”<sup>140</sup>

The identification of marriage as the shared *fulcrum* between scholastic and modern visions of method, humanity, and social order reveals the patriarchal moorings of the modern reform movement. Indeed, modern pronatalism continued to emphasize “sex” as the only fundamental divider of humankind.<sup>141</sup> Modern anatomical treatises like Bernardo Santucci’s *Anatomia do Corpo Humano* (1739) and Ant3nio de Monrav3 y Roca’s *Nov3ssima Medicina* (1742-1746) located the difference between “man” and “woman” in the organs of the reproductive anatomy. In doing so, they replaced the account of Adam and Eve’s sin, for an emphasis on tangible observable body parts. By promoting the modern method, modern physicians also sought to promote themselves. This in no way transformed the basic structure of gendered rapports or altered essentialist readings of women as purveyors of wombs and children for the state.

In the context of this dissertation, Maria Duran’s case reveals how scholastic and modern agents shared a patriarchal view of social relations founded on the natural inequality between

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<sup>139</sup> Zeb Tortorici, *Sins against Nature: Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 5.

<sup>140</sup> Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 152.

<sup>141</sup> These anatomical treatises did not refer to race at all. Instead, they used the category “Man” as a synecdoche for all of humankind. Marta Vicente documents the same phenomenon on the part of self-titled “modern” physicians in eighteenth century Spain. See Marta V. Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Invention of the Sexes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

men and women. Both scholastic and modern agents affirmed the superiority of masculine bodies and reason. Drawing from the mold of Aristotelian theories of generation, scholastics and moderns alike identified masculinity with agency, domination, and control. Underwritten by a teleological view, women's roles were, conversely, reduced to passive condition of matter to be inseminated by active "male seed." This scaffold is critical to understand the naturalization of inequality between men and women through theories of generation. In other words, the asymmetrical functions performed by active "male seed" and passive "menstrual blood" in the process of generation formed the scaffold legitimating women's confinement to the domestic realm under the rule by a male sovereign.<sup>142</sup> Indeed, it is argued in this chapter, precisely because agency and sovereignty were qualities attributed exclusively to men that Maria Duran became illegible as a "woman" for either inquisitors or modern physicians. The ascription of sexual autonomy to her acts of female same-sex desire violated the very natural and theological essence of woman. These theories remain at play, albeit in the background, in chapters 3, 4, and 5. On the

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<sup>142</sup> In *Politics*, Aristotle determined that the role of women in the Polis, i.e., part of their teleology is within the household. The household, in turn, is epicenter of *oekonomia*, the science of its management—and, as such, as masculine domain. This confinement to domesticity naturalizes the subordinate position of women in collective life through their natural confinement to the domain of the domestic domesticity—which, in turn, rendered women unable to reach true *eudaimonia*, a necessary precondition to participate in the life of the politics and act for the common good. These views of the role of women in the household and polis, I argue, cannot be separated from Aristotle's views of generation and the primacy attributed to "male seed" over female matter. Richard Mulgan, "Aristotle and the Political Role of Women," *History of Political Thought* 15, no. 2 (1994): 179–202; Dana Jalbert Stauffer, "Aristotle's Account of the Subjection of Women," *The Journal of Politics* 70, no. 4 (October 2008): 929–41; Cendejas Bueno and Jose Luis, "Economics, Chrematistics, Oikos and Polis in Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas," *The Journal of Philosophical Economics : Reflections on Economic and Social Issues* X, no. 2 (May 19, 2017): 5–46; Devin Henry, "Aristotle on the Mechanism of Inheritance," *Journal of the History of Biology* 39, no. 3 (2006): 425–55; Charlotte Witt, "Form, Reproduction, and Inherited Characteristics in Aristotle's 'Generation of Animals,'" *Phronesis* 30, no. 1 (1985): 46–57; Thornton C. Lockwood, "Justice in Aristotle's Household and City," *Polis: The Journal for Ancient Greek and Roman Political Thought* 20, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2003): 1–21; Ignacio De Ribera-Martin, "Movement (Kinêsis) as Efficient Cause in Aristotle's Generation of Animals," *HOPOS: The Journal of the International Society for the History of Philosophy of Science* 9, no. 2 (September 2019): 296–326; Joseph Karbowski, "Slaves, Women, and Aristotle's Natural Teleology," *Ancient Philosophy* 32, no. 2 (October 1, 2012): 323–50; D. Brendan Nagle, *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); María Luisa Femenías, "Women and Natural Hierarchy in Aristotle," *Hypatia* 9, no. 1 (1994): 164–72; Adriel M. Trott, *Aristotle on the Nature of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

one hand, they help explain the reformist privileging of the figure of the patriarch and progenitor as agent of modern reformist improvement and sovereign of the household, analyzed in chapters 3 and 4. On the other hand, they are vital to the visions of racial pliability and indigenous assimilation into whiteness through marriage and reproductive processes debated in chapters 4 and 5.

### **Models of “Sex” Difference**

Situating Maria Duran within eighteenth century population debates departs from previous analyses of the case to reveal continuities between modern and scholastic medico-theological epistemes. Patriarchal power and the institutions of marriage acted as vital social stabilizers of “sex” differences across the early modern period. They enabled the naturalization of male domination. From the sphere of the quotidian and of the intimate to the domain of the state, theories of generation were the conduits that codified “man” as progenitor, sovereign, and the active ruler both within the *casa* (household) and outside of it.<sup>143</sup> Situating Duran’s case within Portugal’s pronatalist zeitgeist allows me to theorize same-sex desire as a means of resisting patriarchal power and its procreative mandates. In this regard, female same-sex liaisons were especially subversive in their capacity to unsettle the (imagined) primacy of men in sexual acts. Furthermore, this analysis demonstrates that despite a refocusing of “sex” from the humors

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<sup>143</sup> On the polysemic value as a physical structure and as a social apparatus structuring relationships to land, labor, kinship, and property see Pablo Hernández Sau, “A ‘Global’ Casa : The Bouligny Family (1700-1800)” (PhD diss., Department of History and Civilization, Florence, European University Institute, 2020); Romina Zamora, *Casa Poblada y Buen Gobierno. Oeconomía Católica y Servicio Personal En San Miguel de Tucumán, Siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo, 2017).

and bodily temperature towards the anatomical body, scholastic and modern models of “sex” drew on an equally patriarchal commitments.<sup>144</sup>

My analysis here departs from François Soyer’s examination of Maria Duran’s case in several dimensions.<sup>145</sup> Firstly, my preoccupation with the ideological significance of same-sex desire allows me to disinvest in the problem of classification—i.e., whether to apply the word “lesbian” to Duran or not—embraced by Soyer. Instead of debating the applicability of that nomenclature, I shift my focus to unpacking efforts of fixing “sex” through anatomy. Secondly, based on my reading of the case, my position on Laqueur’s “one-sexed body” adopts a more skeptical stance than Soyer’s.<sup>146</sup> Building on scholar of early modern sexuality Valerie Traub, my position accepts the opacity surrounding Duran’s identity, thus rejecting the modern category “lesbian.”<sup>147</sup> Jen Manion, similarly, also eschews the use of modern categories of sexual identity by focusing processes and practices of sexual agency. According to Manion, this methodological approach aims to avoid “claiming to understand what it meant to that person or asserting any

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<sup>144</sup> Scholastic models drew principally from Aristotle and Aquinas. Throughout the middle ages and renaissance, these models drew also on Hippocratic-Galenic Humoralism and bodily temperature to explain “sex” differences between “men” and “women.” Therefore, scholastic and humoral models tended to overlap.

<sup>145</sup> Soyer was the only other historian to have worked on this case. His biographical account of Maria Duran is currently under contract with a publisher. Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms*; François Soyer, “The Inquisitorial Trial of a Cross-Dressing Lesbian: Reactions and Responses to Female Homosexuality in 18th-Century Portugal,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 61, no. 11 (2014): 1529–57.

<sup>146</sup> The one-sexed body was based on the Galenic text *On the Nature of the Parts*, which posited that every anatomy possessed both male and female genitalia, despite the fact that only one would be exposed. Already in a 1985 text on hermaphrodites in France, Park and Daston noted how Galen’s work on generation and sexual difference received disproportionate attention considering, firstly, how little and how late Galen’s *On the Use of the Parts* circulated in medieval and early modern Europe; and, secondly, that the most dominant ideas adopted in the medical, legal, and theological realms came from Aristotle *De Generatione*, Hippocrates, and Soranus. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Revised edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, “The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature: Sexual Ambiguity in Early Modern France,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 419–38.

<sup>147</sup> Valerie Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

kind of fixed identity on them.”<sup>148</sup> I follow both scholars in this case and suspend any assessment of Duran’s self-identification.

Regarding my skepticism towards Laqueur’s “one-sexed body” model, my rationale is twofold. Firstly, drawing on the work of historians of gender and medicine Helen King, Katharine Park, and Joan Cadden, Laqueur’s account of a unitary model of “sex” seems excessive. Through studies of Galen’s translations and commentaries across medieval and early modern Europe, Park established how Galen’s *On the Nature of the Parts*, the text that anchored Laqueur’s analysis, was marginal to the Galenic canon. It not only reached Europe relatively late, but it was only very infrequently translated.<sup>149</sup> Prior to Laqueur’s publication, Park and Daston noted how Galen’s *On the Nature of the Parts* received disproportionate attention considering how little it had circulated and that the most influential text was Aristotle’s *De Generatione*.<sup>150</sup> Since Aristotle was one of the fundamental pillars of scholasticism at Coimbra, engaging his ideas seems vital in the context of the trial of Maria Duran.

Helen King and Joan Cadden, in addition, authored the most comprehensive critiques of Laqueur’s schematic evolution between the premodern body and modern sex.<sup>151</sup> Cadden, for

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<sup>148</sup> Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 11.

<sup>149</sup> Katharine Park, “Medicine and Natural Philosophy: Naturalistic Traditions,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199582174.013.026>; Daston and Park, “The Hermaphrodite and the Orders of Nature.”

<sup>150</sup> According to Park, between 800-1300 “Latin writing on sex difference in early medieval Europe was dominated by the influence of Soranus, [whereas] the situation was very different in the eastern Mediterranean, where Galenic and, to a lesser degree, Hippocratic teachings were authoritative in the medical tradition, and Aristotelian teachings in the natural philosophical one.” See Park, “Medicine and Natural Philosophy.” Soranus (early second century CE) viewed male and female bodies as structurally and functionally alike, except for a few non-essential procreative organs. Hippocrates saw generation as the result of the mixture of “male seed” (semen) with “female seed.” Aristotle, conversely, held a similar view but differed from Hippocrates in what he only attributed the possession of “seed” to semen but not to menstrual blood. Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, “Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England,” *Past & Present*, no. 92 (1981): 20–54.

<sup>151</sup> Helen King, “The Body beyond Laqueur: Hippocratic Sex and Its Rediscovery,” ed. Andreas Höfele and Beate Kellner (Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2020), 199–216, <https://www.fink.de/view/title/56524>; Helen King, *The One-Sex*

instance, revealed the intricacies of the caloric model of “sex” difference. Rather than centering the body, Cadden identifies greater and lesser bodily temperature as the chief factor determining whether one was male (cold) or female (warm). Patricia Parker, in addition, also documented how the caloric emphasis on the Hippocratic humoral polarity cold/warm dry/wet lent itself to explain transformations from female to male that did rely on Galen’s thesis.<sup>152</sup> For all these reasons, while I do not outright reject the possibility that some of the actors who intervened in Duran’s case knew Galen’s work, it seems prudent to avoid embracing it without considering other models.

Soyer’s adherence to Laqueur’s “one-sexed body” was especially informed by a medical experiment conducted before the trial, by the Inquisition surgeon António Soares. Soares placed Maria Duran inside a vessel of warm water to force the penis that Duran hypothetically possessed, to become manifest.<sup>153</sup> Throughout the case, another witness, a woman who went by the name of Agostinha and was one of Duran’s former sexual partners, makes similar mention to a cold-water bath.<sup>154</sup> According to this witness, not only did Maria Duran entertain a demonic covenant, but had confided in Agostinha that Duran hid a penis by placing her body in cold water. From these accounts, it is not clear whether these were caloric models, the Galenic one sexed-body, or quite possibly widely held popular beliefs about the sexual and human transformation.

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*Body on Trial: The Classical and Early Modern Evidence* (Routledge, 2016); Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>152</sup> Parker is particularly emphatic that the transformation followed the scriptural idea of perfection. Thus, it was always from female (misbegotten male) to male. Patricia Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change: The Case of Marie Germain,” *Critical Inquiry* 19, no. 2 (1993): 337–64.

<sup>153</sup> ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230, fols. 35r-37v.

<sup>154</sup> ANTT, TSO, IL, n° 9230, fl. 71v.

### **“The Uncertain Corporal Quality of her Sex”**

The suspicion that Maria Duran’s “sex” did not match her “female” presentation had followed her around since Spain. The exact date of Maria Duran’s arrival in Portugal was not reported in the trial, but according to her own account, she first sought refuge in the Jesuit College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon. Upon confession, Maria declared having worn male clothes across her journeys. After the confession, the acts of contrition followed. Maria was told by Father Ignacio Vieira to pray for the absolution of all sin. Once the Jesuit priests realized she was Catalan, she was put in contact with another Catalan, Father José Jofreu, who arranged for her to be placed in the Lisbon *recolhimento do Menino de Deus*. However, Father Jofreu made this admission contingent on a physical examination of Maria Duran’s genital parts. The inspection was performed at the house of the royal midwife (*parteira do paço*), Luisa dos Santos, who found Maria to be “a true woman” (*era verdadeira mulher*).<sup>155</sup> Why the analysis was performed is, however, not explained at any point.

While in Lisbon, Maria lived for eight months in *recolhimento do Menino de Deus* and then for eight weeks in *recolhimento Nossa Senhora da Encarnação*. When asked to explain the reasons for the move, Maria noted that an anonymous accusation was made against her, stating that she was a man. As soon as Father Jofreu heard of the news, he ordered a new anatomical exam. This time, he climbed one tier of the medical hierarchy and had the Inquisition’s surgeon, António Soares, observe her. The exam took place in the house of Luisa Francisca de Chagas, in the area of Castelo. Duran resisted but to no avail. With three women as witnesses, António

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<sup>155</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230 fl. 92r.



Soares probed Maria's genitalia, finding that she was not only a woman but, in fact, a *donzela* (a virgin).<sup>156</sup>

This conclusion, however, proved unsatisfactory for Father Jofreu who specifically wanted to know whether or not Maria Duran was a "hermaphrodite."<sup>157</sup> As a consequence, Maria Duran was taken to the house of Francisco Nunes Cabral to be subjected to yet another intrusive "experiment." According to the record, the possibility of a new set of exams made the tone of Maria's resistance rise. Out of revenge for this insubordination, Jofre instructed Maria should be thrown into the streets.

After the expulsion, Maria Duran began wearing male clothes again and traveled to Aldeia Galega, outside of Lisbon. While the reasons for this new sartorial transformation were not specified, it is clear from Duran's second deposition, that freedom of movement and safety from sexual assault were important considerations. Shortly after Maria's departure, Father Jofreu reconsidered his position and offered to find her good *recolhimento* in Lisbon. However, Jofreu would instead house Maria with another unnamed Catalan compatriot, his wife, and children. On the third month of this temporary arrangement, Maria grew impatient and left that home, readopting masculine attire. Out of a growing frustration with Jofrey, Duran petitioned Cardinal da Mota. According to her retelling, Maria gave Mota a full account of the situation, explaining she was a woman who wished to join a *recolhimento*. The Cardinal, however, punted to Jofreu. Displeased with the course of things and fearing for her safety after Maria realized some men had been asking her neighbors about her and there were knocks at her door, Maria Duran headed southward of Lisbon, to the town of Setúbal.

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<sup>156</sup> ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230 fl. 93r.

<sup>157</sup> ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230, fl. 93v.

It was at this point that Maria Duran eventually reached Évora, and the Dominican Convent of *Nossa Senhora do Paraíso* (Our Lady of Paradise). It was roughly after nine months in residence at this *recolhimento* that Maria was arrested and most of the facts brought to bear by the accusation came to light. After inquisitors concluded this first sketch of Maria's life, Duran was returned to her prison cell. After Maria's testimony, the trial proceeded with the calling of witnesses: several of the women with whom Maria Duran had lived in the *recolhimentos*.

The witnesses called included former sexual partners in the *recolhimentos*, physicians, and other nuns. The thirty-eight years old Josefa Maria Xavier was the first to be called on 9 February 1741. Josefa stated that both her and many of the other *recolhidas* suspected Maria was a man who relied on the devil to change her bodily appearance. Josefa was followed by Maria de Jesus, who confirmed the consummation of sexual act with Maria Duran. Unable to state whether or not Duran possessed a "virile member," she nonetheless confirmed feeling a "protuberance" in the genital area. Before this event, Maria de Jesus relayed acts of seduction such as uttering "loving words as if a man [were] courting a woman" and an attempt to consummate "lascivious acts" (*actos torpes*)<sup>158</sup> These three facts together were enough for Maria de Jesus to conclude that Maria Duran "was a man dressed in the clothes of a woman, because [Maria] resembled one in her actions."<sup>159</sup> To strengthen her case, Maria de Jesus mentioned the account of Agostinha, a woman from a different *recolhimento* who became pregnant with Duran's child. This portrait of Maria's masculine "sex," was concluded when Maria de Jesus averred that Duran shaved every day and owned a box of blades.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> "Palavras amatórias como se fossem de homem que solicitava mulher." ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230, fl. 13r.

<sup>159</sup> "Era homem vestido em traje de mulher, assim porque em tudo o parecia nas açoes." ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230, fl. 13r

<sup>160</sup> "*Fasia a barba todos os dias*" ANTT, TSO, IL, N° 9230, fl. 13r.

From this short account, “sex” was characterized principally, although not exclusively, as a somatic category. While medical exams by “expert people” were repeatedly performed to determine “true sex” through ocular analysis and physical probing, the women questioned also insisted on aligning things like “words,” “looks,” and presentation with masculine “sex.” Another *recolhida*, Vitória da Rosa, testified on February 13, 1741. The third witness to be called, Vitória confessed engaging in “lustful and carnal acts” (*actos torpes e carnaes*) with Maria Duran multiple times—and mostly under duress. Vitória relayed that Duran ejaculated semen because Maria was “both a man and woman.” Vitória maintained that Duran possessed “both sets of genitalia [...] the upper half of her body being that of woman and the lower half of man.”<sup>161</sup> Vitória stated that Maria’s breasts only grew upon her arrival in Portugal as part of a covenant with the Devil to help Maria evade detection. Vitória concluded her reasoning with a reference to male clothing with a telling phrase: “that [Maria Duran] *was so much a man*, that in this city she had always worn the clothes of one.”<sup>162</sup>

### **The “Devices to Supply her Defect in Sex”<sup>163</sup>**

For all intents and purposes, Vitória accused Maria Duran of being a “hermaphrodite” without ever uttering the word. Her rationale hinged on Duran’s ability to acquire breasts at will. By claiming that the upper part was feminine and the lower masculine, however, Vitória also seemed to imply that before arriving in Portugal Duran was simply a man. But Vitória would not be alone. Teresa Maria, for example, declared Duran urinated like a man, did not have

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<sup>161</sup> “A dita christina para a facilitar, e persuadir a cahir em ella testemunha nas referidas torpezas, lhe declarou que era homem, e mulher, o que foy antes dos ditos actos diciendolhe, que tinha ambos os sexos, o de mulher pela parte de cima, e o de homem pela parte de baixo.” Fl. 21r.

<sup>162</sup> “Que ella [Maria Duran] era tanto homem, que nesta cidade andara sempre vestida em traje dele.” Fl. 22r.

<sup>163</sup> “Des inventions illicites à suppléer au default de son sexe.” Montaigne cf. Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change,” 337. Translated in Patricia Parker.

menstruation, and bragged about being a hermaphrodite (fl. 62r.-62v.). Another woman, Isabel Elena confessed to having “carnal assemblage with the defendant as if she was a man.” One a marginal note on the side, the scribe added: “the defendant did not consent that the said [Isabel] felt her venereal parts” and “for that reason [Isabel] does not know with all certainty the corporeal quality of her [Maria Duran] sex.” Despite this, Isabel confirmed that Maria Duran “urinated like a woman and had her menses.”<sup>164</sup>

Other women had no qualms confirming Maria Duran had a penis and that she was a “hermaphrodite.” Among these, Verónica Maria went as far as relaying that Duran was a man whose real name was António. Several of the other witnesses latched onto Duran’s gender performance, clothing, and the caloric model to assert that Duran was both a man and a “hermaphrodite.” Verónica Maria denied the possibility of a demonic pact while Agostinha confirmed its existence. Vitória, Agostinha, Verónica Maria, and Teresa Maria—who all confessed having intercourse with Duran—concurred in presenting Maria Duran both as a man and a “hermaphrodite” who hid the penis by placing her body in cold water.

The insistence by women of varying social status and literacy on identifying cold water as the vector of genital transformation evinces a vernacular reliance on the predicates of humoral theory. Given the wide circulation and popularity of Humoralism in Europe since Antiquity, this possibility seems more straightforward than reliance on the “one-sexed body.” Furthermore, these women were also drawing on a tradition of monstrous, prodigious, and marvelous bodies—as did inquisitors. As Patricia Parker has documented, when these accounts concerned “sex” change, they always followed the trajectory of female to male. The early modern French surgeon

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<sup>164</sup> “Teve ajuntamento carnal com a Re, como se ella fosse homem vide...”; “não consentio a Re que a ditto lhe apalpassem as suas partes venereas”; “e por isso não sabe com toda a certeza a qualidade dos seu sexo”; “orinava como mulher, e tinha os mezes.” Fl. 71r-71v.

Ambroise Paré discussed a similar case in his 1573 *Des monstres et prodiges*. His discussion centers the case of Marie German who, while exerting herself “jumping,” saw her body transformed with the “descent of virile members.”<sup>165</sup>

Paré explains the transformation of male to female by adapting the language of Pythagorean polarities to the conceptual framework of religion and natural history.<sup>166</sup> While masculine virility was linked to the ideal of human perfection, women were described as “defective” or, in Thomist language, as “misbegotten males.”<sup>167</sup> Parker called this “the model of the defectiveness of women, [for] their failure to reach nature’s goal.”<sup>168</sup> Masculinity, therefore, was the embodied form of the human who most closely approximated the creator’s ideal. Within the teleological structure of scholastic philosophy, this amounted to saying that man was the telos of the human.<sup>169</sup> Women, by contrast, were defective versions of the masculine form. Drawing from Aristotle’s *De Generatione*, who delimited the need for women to the role of being a “helper to man [...] in the work of generation,” the teleology of woman was circumscribed within the mandate of generation as “the noblest vital function.” Women “helped” by affording matter for insemination (menstrual blood and reproductive organs), whereas man as

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<sup>165</sup> Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change,” 337.

<sup>166</sup> The system of polarities detailed in Aristotle’s *Metaphysics* and used to disburse value according to male and female “sex,” was drawn by him from Pythagorean philosophy. As a scaffold and heuristic, polarity proved immensely effective. It lent itself to a variety of domains; be it quotidian oppositions (left vs. right), or in the domain of geometry (square vs. oblong), physics (at rest vs. moving), mathematics (one vs. plurality), morals (good vs. evil), optics (light vs. dark), and medicine (health vs. disease). For this reason, too, polarity became a key constitutive feature of the Hippocratic medical corpus—as well as its subsequent early modern, Hippocratic-Galenic iterations. In medicine, and as previously discussed through the intricacies of the caloric model of sex-difference, male heat and female cold produced two functionally distinct beings. For a more detailed discussion see Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999).

<sup>167</sup> For a larger discussion of women as “misbegotten males” see Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change”; Monica H. Green, “Bodily Essences: Bodies as Categories of Difference,” in *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Middle Ages*, ed. Monica H. Green (Oxford: Berg international, 2010), 149–72.

<sup>168</sup> For an elaboration of this argument see Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change,” 339.

<sup>169</sup> For more on the idea that man was the telos of the human see Katharine Park, *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection* (New York: Zone Books, 2006).

the source of soul, reason, life, and agency.<sup>170</sup> In this view, female sexual agency and non-reproductive sex both violated what Aquinas saw as “nature’s intention as directed to the work of reproduction.”<sup>171</sup>

Returning to Paré’s discussion of the case of Marie German—a discussion which endorses the caloric model, he starts by noting that “women have as much hidden within the body as men have exposed outside; leaving aside, only, that women don’t have so much heat, nor the ability to push out what by the coldness of their temperament is held as if bound to the interior.”<sup>172</sup> These qualities of temperament, in turn, were related to one’s functional, teleological role in procreation and thus functioned as proxies for the differing rank between the sexes. The central importance of the heuristic of polarity and teleology for scholastic and early modern thinking, is used by Paré to logically conclude that “metamorphosis [...] in Nature” can never take place from male to female. Because, Paré adds, “we never find in any true story that any man ever became a woman, because Nature tends always toward what is most perfect not, on the contrary, to perform in such a way that what is perfect should become imperfect.”<sup>173</sup> A similar view of Nature’s telos aiming towards betterment (i.e., a more perfect condition), and therefore the transmutation of woman into man, was conveyed by the Spanish Jesuit and demonologist Martín del Río. In his *La Magia Demoníaca*, del Río said in no uncertain terms that “nature always seeks the most perfect, not because it always seeks to engender a male, but because when

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<sup>170</sup> Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, Q. 92. art. 3 “One is servile, by virtue of which a superior makes use of a subject for his own benefit; and this kind of subjection began after sin. There is another kind of subjection which is called economic or civil, whereby the superior makes use of his subjects for their own benefit and good; and this kind of subjection existed even before sin. For good order would have been wanting in the human family if some were not governed by others wiser than themselves. So, by such a kind of subjection woman is naturally subject to man, because in man the discretion of reason predominates.”

<sup>171</sup> Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, Q. 92

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Parker, “Gender Ideology, Gender Change,” 337.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Parker, 337–38.

it seeks the perfect it does so in the best way possible and the same happens when [nature] proposes to make a woman.”<sup>174</sup>

Cases of “sex” metamorphosis, however, were not delimited to Renaissance Europe. In eighteenth-century Portugal, scholastic medical literature continued, through reliance on the method of commentaries, to recirculate similar accounts. In works like Bernardo Pereira’s *Discurso Apologético que em defesa dos prodígios da natureza* (1719) “monsters and prodigies” —like androgynous, hermaphroditic bodies—represented signs of divine omnipotence.<sup>175</sup> This reading followed the Augustinian tradition, for whom “marvelous” bodies expressed the unlimited capacity of the creator as *Summum Artifex*.<sup>176</sup> Pereira recognized how “monsters and prodigies” instantiated the impossible through their facticity. At face value, their existence alone violated the natural order and endangered the narrative of creation.

Fully aware of these risks, Pereira made an Aristotelian methodological move. He presented the chasm between the inherent fallibility of human cognition and God’s perfect omniscience as a problem of “causes” and “effects” in the world. For Pereira, since humans were beings with a mortal and sinful nature, they were also inherently bound to operate within the confines of the microcosm (*mundo pequeno*). That is, they can inhabit only the “small world”

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<sup>174</sup> “Hay que decir, pues, que la naturaleza siempre procura lo más perfecto, no porque sempre tienda a engendrar varón, sino porque cuando tiende a ello procura hacerlo lo mejor possible y lo mismo cuando se propone hacer hembra.” Martín del Río, *La Magia Demoníaca: Libro II de Las Disquisiciones Mágicas [1599–1600]* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1991). 116.

<sup>175</sup> F. Vázquez García, “La Imposible Fusión. Claves Para Una Genealogía Del Cuerpo Andrógino,” in *Variaciones Sobre El Cuerpo*, ed. J.B. Díaz-Urmeneta Muñoz, J. López-Lloret, and D. Romero de Solís (Seville: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 217–35.

<sup>176</sup> Francisco Vázquez García and Richard Cleminson, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites in Iberia, 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, n.d.), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315655147>; Patrick Graille, *Les hermaphrodites: Aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2001); *L’Hermaphrodite de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, xviii siècle, n° 1 in *Masculin/féminin dans l’Europe moderne* 5 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.15122/isbn.978-2-8124-1270-7>; Kathleen P. Long, *Hermaphrodites in Renaissance Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016); Geertje Mak, *Doubting Sex: Inscriptions, Bodies and Selves in Nineteenth-Century Hermaphrodite Case Histories, Doubting Sex* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Patrick Graille, *Le troisième sexe - Être hermaphrodite au XVIIe et XVIIIe si* (Paris: ARKHE, 2011).

God created for them. This world is itself a byproduct of God’s omnipotence and omnipresence—or, in other words, an *effect* of the Creator’s infinite capacity for thought and action. As a result of this disparity, knowledge of *causes* belongs only to the Creator—even if humans may pursue theology, medicine, or natural philosophy to understand the uses and purpose of all of God’s natural designs. Thus, humans are limited to acquire knowledge of the causes of either an object or a being they are given to observe. That is because what they can observe is only the phenomenon itself as an effect in the world. Thus, Pereira concludes that the remit of human knowledge is incommensurable with the divine and bound to accept “prodigies and monsters” (*monstros e prodigios*) as manifestations of perfection.

It is in line of this mode of reasoning that Pereira presents a series of nonbinary, nonnormative, and hermaphroditic bodies to his reader. A physician by training and a familiar to the Inquisition, Pereira was well acquainted with the substance of scholastic arguments that the Index was judiciously in charge of preserving. Citing Augustine, Pereira was unequivocal: “the Theater of the World is of a consummate and absolute perfection, [because it is] a work of the supreme Artificer.”<sup>177</sup> Portents and monsters, consequently, manifest the inscrutable “subtlety of the Artificer, who ideates and molds” beings that may otherwise seem “fantastical and monstrous to human eyes.”<sup>178</sup> Given the shape of this argument, it is interesting to note how it is designed to lead immediately into a presentation of exemplars, like hermaphrodites.<sup>179</sup> Taking his reader through a syncretic path of citations and medical authorities—Seneca, Lucretius,

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<sup>177</sup> Bernardo Pereira, *Discurso apologetico que em defesa dos prodigios da natureza vistos pela experiencia, & qualificados por forc, a de hum successo para conhecimento de muytos effeytos, & occultas qualidades escreve Bernardo Pereyra medico do partido da villa do Sardoal ...* (Coimbra: No Real Collegio das Artes da Comp. de Jesus, 1719), 4.

<sup>178</sup> Pereira, 7.

<sup>179</sup> Gianna Pomata and Nancy G. Siraisi, eds., *Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe*, Transformations (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2005).



Avicenna, Aristotle, Aquinas, Augustine, and the Bible—the reader, eventually, reaches the case of Luiz Rosel. Rosel was said to have “conceived a man from within himself” (*concenber um homem de si mesmo*).<sup>180</sup> Pereira critiques all who, following “natural reason, are persuaded that “beings like Luiz are both of a “fabulous of impossible nature.” One day, it is reported, Luiz felt an “intolerable pain on his right thigh, which formed a tumor that grew more each day. [Then,] at the end of nine months, a live boy exited him.”<sup>181</sup> Luiz is not presented as a hermaphrodite but as a perfect and nearly “miraculous” being: a man who birthed another man; a progenitor capable of generation without women or procreative sex.

Another case singular to the early modern Portuguese medical canon was that of Maria/Manoel Pacheca/o.<sup>182</sup> When Bernardo Pereira (1719) and Brás Luís de Abreu’s *Portugal Medico* (1726), cited the account of a woman (Maria Pacheca) who turned into a man (Mario Pacheco), Maria/Manoel’s case had circulated in Portuguese medical culture for at least two centuries. Both Pereira and Abreu, attribute its origin to Amato Lusitano (1511-1568), a Portuguese Jewish physician who died exiled in Thessaloniki. Given Lusitano’s Jewish *raça* and the contents of his medical manuals, his books circulated only in a limited manner. Most were either censored or outright forbidden by the Inquisition.<sup>183</sup>

In *Portugal Médico*, Abreu cites Amato Lusitano’s rendition of a “hermaphrodite [who] was said to be a woman, named Maria Pacheca, and who [remained] so until the age of her first

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<sup>180</sup> Pereira, *Discurso apologetico que em defesa dos prodigios da natureza vistos pela experiencia, & qualificados por forc, a de hum successo para conhecimento de muytos effeytos, & occultas qualidades escreve Bernardo Pereyra medico do partido da villa do Sardoal ...*, 7–8.

<sup>181</sup> Pereira, *Discurso apologetico que em defesa dos prodigios da natureza vistos pela experiencia, & qualificados por forc, a de hum successo para conhecimento de muytos effeytos, & occultas qualidades escreve Bernardo Pereyra medico do partido da villa do Sardoal ...*, 8.

<sup>182</sup> This case was cited both by Pereyra and Abreu. Originally, it was first cited by the Portuguese renaissance physician Amato Lusitano.

<sup>183</sup> Hervé Brandy, *Livro Médico e Censura Na Primeira Modernidade Em Portugal* (Lisboa: CHAM, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017).

menstruation, & in that time was suddenly converted into a man, & was called Manoel Pacheco.”<sup>184</sup> Citing the same case, Bernardo Pereira offers a few more details placing Maria/Manoel’s metamorphosis in the geography of empire. Maria’s “conversion” into Manoel was described as “sudden” (foy de repente convertida em homem) and presented as a fact that preceded Maria/Manoel’s departure to India. After spending an indeterminate amount of time in, what is assumed, Portuguese India, Maria/Manoel was able to amass a great wealth and decided to return to Portugal, marry, and start a family. The conclusion of the story—whether Maria/Manoel managed or not to have offspring—is not revealed to the reader. Instead, Pereira opts to emphasize that different sexes entail distinct “generative faculties” (faculdade formatris), because “the organization of the genital parts of one, & the other sex” is unique to each. In other words, Pereira sides with an Aristotelian view of sexual polarity by positing each sex as physiologically distinct—a categorical distinction that rested on reproductive anatomy.

In their discussion, Abreu and Pereira continued to draw on the tradition of monsters and marvels literature. In a section dedicated to “androgynous men” and “hermaphrodites,” Brás Luís de Abreu notes how androgyny meant “perfection & complementarity.”<sup>185</sup> After reflecting on the errors of people who “regard hermaphrodites as monsters,” Abreu reflects on “four species of *Androgynos*”: those with “perfect & valid virile member” and imperfect feminine genitalia, since it is “without use, both for semination and the excretion of urine”<sup>186</sup>; cases with “a perfect female

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<sup>184</sup> Abreu, *Portugal Medico*, 12.

<sup>185</sup> “Entre os Latinos vale a palavra *Androgynos* o mesmo que *perfeição & complemento*.” Brás Luís de Abreu, *Portugal Medico ou Monarchia medico-lusitana: historica, practica, symbolica, ethica, e politica. Fundada e comprehendida no dillatado ambito de dous mundos creados Macrososmo, e Microcosmo repartida e demarcada em tres amplissimos reynos: animal, vegetal e mineral...Parte I* (Coimbra: na Officina de Joam Antunes, mercador de livros, 1726), 11. Emphasis original.

<sup>186</sup> “Quatro são as espécies dos *Androgynos*: a primeira he quando o hermaphrodita tem sexo viril perfeito, & valido, & o feminil imperfeito; porque só no períneo, ou intersemineo tem uma rima da forma da vulva, ou via ordinária, mas pouco pervia, ou manifesta, & tem uso, assim para a seminação, como para a excreção da ourina.” Abreu, 11.

sex [...] and little appearance of the “virile member.” Third, when “both sexes are found to be perfect but without efficacy for seminal profusion & generation.”<sup>187</sup> The fourth kind was the most desirable, albeit a typology rejected by Aristotle. When “the hermaphrodite has both sexes with perfection and also enjoys the perfect use of both, sometimes as male, & other times as female.”<sup>188</sup>

Despite Aristotle’s disbelief, Abreu mentions several other authors who proved these beings existed. There was, for example, the case of Hieronymo Montuo, who “knew a certain hermaphrodite, which despite being raised as a Woman and [having] several sons & daughters of her Husband.” After the husband’s passing, they dressed like a man and “had children with another Woman, with whom they lived for many years.”<sup>189</sup> The telos of transformation, female to male, reverted the ideal of the human back to its primordial condition. As such, it enacted an improvement from the misbegotten towards the perfect.

### **“A Man Dressed in the Clothes of Woman”**

Two characteristics of the Maria/Manoel Pacheca/o case seem salient in the context of Maria Duran’s trial. The first concerns the female to male direction of “sex” change. The second reveals how both cases hinged on the (strategic) embodiment of masculinity through clothing. Given the number of times that Maria Duran admitted to inquisitors wearing male clothes, it becomes apparent that “looking male” afforded her privileges of movement and safety from

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<sup>187</sup> “A terceira he quando se achão comperfeição ambos os sexos, mas sem eficácia para a profusão seminal, & para a geração.” Abreu, 11–12.

<sup>188</sup> “A quarta espécie he quando o hermafrodita tendo ambos os sexos com perfeição, tem também perfeito uso de ambos, humas vezes como varão, & outras como femea.” Abreu, 12.

<sup>189</sup> “Hieronimo Montuo afirma, que elle conheceo certo hermafrodita, que criando se como Molher teve vários filhos, & filhas do Marido co que cazou; & ficando viúva passou a exercitar-se como homem, & teve também filhos de huma Molher, com quem viveo por alguns anos.” Abreu, 12.

sexual assault. The latter point, in fact, became central to Duran's second deposition. Maria Pacheca, for instance, could have never traveled to India, as Lusinato reports, to amass a fortune and return to Portugal with the ambition of forming a family before consummating the metamorphosis into Manoel Pacheco. Maria's transformation into Manoel took place during puberty. Similarly, without male clothes, Duran was bound to the household where she was unhappy and at risk of contracting syphilis (*galicado*) from her husband.<sup>190</sup> The act of transforming "sex" through clothing, mannerisms, and the performance of cultural mores afforded access to freedoms otherwise not available to her. In the case of Maria/Manoel, for instance, these privileges are manifested in the acquisition of property and the ambition to become the paterfamilias.<sup>191</sup>

But Duran and Maria/Manoel also differed in some respects. Rather than endorsing the institution of marriage and its function as a social stabilizer, Maria Duran escaped from it. These points of tension revealed contradictions between the social and the anatomical. Whereas Humoral somatic frameworks posited the body as a porous domain undergoing constant transformation, the exigencies of the reproductive social order demanded fixity. It was here that genitalia became critical; viewed from the discrete lens of reproductive anatomy, the somatic offered a very concrete illusion of facticity. The enduring failure to locate the seat of Maria Duran's sexual agency in the body, manifested the social capaciousness of the early modern category "sex." When the body proved perfect, the telos of heterosexual desire and of the household political economy rendered her incommensurate with the body politic.

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<sup>190</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 88v-89r. "Disse que a rezão que ella teve para deixar seu marido e se absentar da sua pátria foi o não querer fazer vida marital com ele, por estar muito galicado, e assim o dizer ella declarante o cirurgião que o curava chamado Barasol [...] e para que o dito seu marido não a enficionar com o mal tam contagioso[morbus gálico, i.e., syphilis]."

<sup>191</sup> Metamorphosis, in that sense, unsettled social ontologies of "sex" and refused the fixity inherent to the gendered hierarchy of the reproductive social order.

Clothing seemed to be one of the variables that most troubled the seeming fixity of anatomy and the social stability of marriage. Clothing, it seems, also contained truths about “sex.”<sup>192</sup> This much was visible both in the witness accounts of the other *recolhidas* as well as the questions posed by inquisitors to Duran. During Maria’s first deposition, while inquisitors filled in the details of her early life in Spain, she was asked about her early education and rearing. This included whether or not Duran had been brought up wearing male or female clothes. Maria clarified that she had always worn female clothes as she “raised in the habits used by the women of their fatherland [*patria*].”<sup>193</sup> Education and rearing, as will be explored in the following chapters, were critical to the social stabilization of “sex.”<sup>194</sup>

Another important detail from Maria Duran’s life before the arrest was her marital status. Born in the Pyrenean village of Prullans, in the Catalonian Parish of San Esteban, her father, António Duran was a laborer. The only information relayed about her mother was her French nationality and her name: Margarida Duran. According to Maria, at the time of the trial, both António and Margarida were deceased.<sup>195</sup> At fourteen years of age, seemingly while both were still alive, Maria Duran was married to a man called Ignacio Sulsona, in the same Parish of San Esteban, by Father Francisco Carol.<sup>196</sup>

At the time of the first interrogation, on 13 March 1741, she declared to not be able to recall when precisely whether the marriage took place, if sixteen or seventeen years ago, but she did claim that her husband was deceased at the time of the trial.<sup>197</sup> Three or four years after the

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<sup>192</sup> For more on this see chapter 3 of Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*.

<sup>193</sup> “Desse ella que sempre foi criada como mulher que era, e no habito de que as mulheres usão na sua pátria.” Fl. 87r.

<sup>194</sup> Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, chap. 3.

<sup>195</sup> (fl.86r-87v).

<sup>196</sup> (88r.).

<sup>197</sup> (88r-88v).

marriage, Maria became pregnant with a boy, who was baptized and “received the name of Pedro,” but who died as an infant when he was nine or ten months of age.<sup>198</sup> According to Maria’s testimony, she continued to live with Ignacio for a period of three or four more years, until she decided to escape to the neighboring village of Sant Julià de Lòria. As Maria Duran recounts it, at that initial stage of her new life alone, she made no efforts to disguise her gender with clothing. And not only did she continue to dress like a woman, her husband, being fully aware of her whereabouts, never made any efforts to bring her back.

Maria Duran’s determination to leave the household was the first act of subversion of gender roles and patriarchal authority that concerned her inquisitors. Asked to explain more than once her rationale for leaving the household, Maria’s answer remained coherent. The most poignant argument, however, was fear for her safety and health. Shortly after Pedro’s death (her son), Maria noted she was warned by a surgeon named Barasol, who lived in the neighboring town of “*bellix*” (sic., most likely, the town is called Bellver de Cerdanya), that her husband had syphilis. Maria used this knowledge to justify, or perhaps inform, her departure to the inquisitors: “the reason that she had to leave her husband and become absent from her fatherland [*patria*] was that she did not wish to have marital life with him, for he was very infected with syphilis [*galicado*].”<sup>199</sup> Reference to a sexually transmittable disease was likely to win the inquisitor’s sympathy. Syphilis, after all, was not only a disease associated with lax morals but one likely to render Maria infertile.

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<sup>198</sup> (fl 88r).

<sup>199</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 88v-89r. “Disse que a rezão que ella teve para deixar seu marido e se absentar da sua pátria foi o não querer fazer vida marital com ele, por estar muito galicado, e assim o dizer ella declarante o cirurgião que o curava chamado Barasol [...] e para que o dito seu marido não a enficionar com o mal tam contagioso[*morbis gálico*, i.e., syphilis]”

During the first two months of absence from the household, Maria did not travel very far—and neither did she take any active steps to hide her whereabouts. However, with time, she alleged that her husband’s family, growing increasingly more bitter about her departure, began posing threats on her life. It was at that point that she decided to leave Sant Julià de Lòria, cross the border to Languedoc, and adopt masculine clothing for personal safety. Asked to clarify how Maria obtained such clothing, she specified she was merely speaking of “a few trousers, a vest, and some shirts.” (89v) After traveling across various areas of French Languedoc for a period of about two years, she returned to Catalonia through Roussillon (*Rouçilhon*), and stayed in the house of a widow who sought to marry Maria (dressed in male clothes). At this point, Maria left for Barcelona, but was arrested, not because of the use of male clothes, but because carrying a sword in Barcelona was forbidden to the laboring classes.

On this instance, after more than two years of dressing in male clothes—and, for all intents and purposes, passing as a man—Maria Duran was forced to reveal what inquisitors called her “true sex” (*verdadeiro sexo*). Put in jail, this was seemingly the first instance when Maria’s bodily morphology and genitalia were examined by authorities. The presiding magistrate in Barcelona, Dom Antonio de Serra Portel, ordered that Maria’s claims that “she was not a man, as displayed through clothing, but [a] woman,” should be verified.<sup>200</sup> As a consequence, two women were brought to “examine if she was [a woman in body and speech], and having known that she was, [both women examiners] said this much to the magistrate.”<sup>201</sup>

After leaving jail, Maria moved to Zaragoza, continued using man’s clothes, and alleged in her testimony to have joined a military regiment—first an infantry division and later the

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<sup>200</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 90v. “ella [Maria Duran] disse ao meirinho que não era homem como mostrara no trage se não mulher.”

<sup>201</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 90v. “foi vista por duas mulheres, examinada se o era tambem, e conhecido que o era, assim o forão dizer ao dito ministro.”

cavalry *Regimento de los Dragones de la Reina*.<sup>202</sup> However, once they were mobilized to fight in the Spanish invasion of Naples, in 1734, Maria was again forced to reveal that her anatomy did not align with that of a man. This episode did not arouse a great deal of interest in the inquisitors. Swiftly, Maria continued describing how, as a consequence, she decided to move to Aragón and then Madrid.<sup>203</sup> At this point, she seemed to be traveling in woman's clothes. In Madrid, Maria lived with a brigadier called António Morisco for about eight months, after which point, she definitively headed towards Portugal via the border town of Almeida. Soon thereafter, Maria would arrive in Lisbon to start a new life.

### **The Crucial Experiment of “Sex”**

On 18 June 1742, the Inquisition called a new set of medical experts to perform more tests on Maria Duran's body. This time, the royal anatomist, Bernardo Santucci, hired to replace Monravá y Roca at the Todos os Santos Royal Hospital, was summoned along with the queen's midwife, Mariana Lopes, and two surgeons, José Ricord and the same António Soares Brandão. Four days after the exam, on June 22, the entire corpus of experts was called to depose on their discoveries. The most pressing issue for the Inquisition unequivocally lay with Maria Duran's bodily indeterminacy. The group of experts was called to “develop knowledge [about] whether she is true woman as she represents [herself], true man, or if it is Hermaphrodite and has some participation of one or the other Sex.”<sup>204</sup> Santucci's focus was eminently sensorial. Both through touch and sight, the royal anatomist declared having “examined not just the external part but also

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<sup>202</sup> PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 91r-91v. The attribution of the regimento is found in Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms*.

<sup>203</sup> She lived with a brigadier of the King's Guard's called António Morisco. PT/TT/TSO-IL/028/09230, fl. 91v.

<sup>204</sup> “Para servir no conhecimentose ella he verdadeira mulher, como representa, se verdadeiro homem, ou se he Hermafrodita, e tem participação alguma de hum, e outro sexo?” fl. 318v.



the interior of all parts of which [women] are composed and which are perceptible by the eyes.”<sup>205</sup> Following this exercise, he attested that Maria Duran possessed “all the parts composing the genital member [*membro pudendo*] of any woman.”<sup>206</sup> Santucci then concluded by noting that all other experts concurred with him in this assessment.

This time, seemingly, the physical exam sufficed for the Inquisition and the caloric model did not come into question. Maria Duran’s anatomy became, in view of these “expert witnesses,” a more fixed domain of “true sex.” This focus on somatic fixity figures in Santucci’s account, who “saw clearly that the said prisoner is not a hermaphrodite, nor had any parts that belonged to male since there was no virile member, nor testicles or seminal bladder.”<sup>207</sup> However, Santucci did take time to comment on the “very small and concealed” size of Maria’s clitoris, the lower location of Maria’s public bone, and the high unlikelihood that Duran ever bore children. Santucci concluded by remarking that all evidence pointed towards Maria Duran being a virgin because of lingering matter inside their uterus.

This account opened a new line of interrogation—one which forced Maria Duran to face inquisitors again and confirm whether or not she had ever conceived and carried a pregnancy to term. Besides Santucci, the surgeon José Ricord also made comments on the size of Maria’s labia and clitoris. The morphology of the labia and clitoris, seen as “flatter than what is usually the case for other women,” Ricord averred it was not possible for Maria’s genitalia to transmute into a penis, and neither they have relied on them to have penetrative sex.<sup>208</sup> In this affirmation, it

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<sup>205</sup> “Examinou não só pela parte exterior, mas ainda pela interior todas as partes de que estas se compõem, e são aos olhos perceptíveis, e achou que na dita preza havia todas as partes de que se compõem o membro pudendo de qualquer mulher.” Fl. 319v.

<sup>206</sup> See the previous footnote for this transcription.

<sup>207</sup> “E claramente que á dita preza não é hermafrodita, nem tinha parte alguma, que pertencesse a varão por não ter membro viril, nem testículos, ou bexigas seminais.” Fl. 319r.

<sup>208</sup> 321v.

seems Ricord was referring to a phenomenon detailed by Ambroise Paré in 1573. Namely, the “very monstrous thing that occurs in the labia of some women” and which, when stimulated and erect, becomes “like the male penis, so that they can be used to play with other women.”<sup>209</sup> The association between “hermaphrodites, women with enlarged external genitals, female homoeroticism, and clitoridectomy was, as Katharine Park notes, a common feature of early modern medical texts on female genitalia beyond Paré. Jean Riolan, too, wrote at length about the sexual involvement between two women with “clitorises as large as fingers.”<sup>210</sup> As Park points in her research on the rediscovery of the clitoris by sixteenth-century French anatomy, this focus on female genitalia elicits a broader set of concerns about male authority, the economy of the household, and the (re)productive role of women within it. Furthermore, it evokes the possibility of female sexual agency and desire as a sort of mimetic monstrosity. While men are naturally endowed with penises, women possess something more monstrous when they manifest sexual autonomy *contra natura*.

However, unlike the cases in French Renaissance medicine during what Park has termed “the rediscovery of the clitoris,” Maria Duran’s genitalia did not resemble a penis. Santucci stated as much and cited Philip Verheyen’s (1648-1711) work. According to the Flemish physician, “in some women, the clitoris is extended in the lascivious act [...] imitating the virile member.”<sup>211</sup> Contrary to this description, Santucci and the other medical experts noted how Maria Duran’s could not possibly extend to produce the same effect. , The morphology of the clitoris attributed to Maria Duran fit a different standard from that of Paré, Riolan, or Verheyen.

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<sup>209</sup> Paré is cited here from Katharine Park, “The Rediscovery of the Clitoris: French Medicine and the Tribade, 1570-1620.,” in *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*, ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (New York: Routledge, 1997), 170.

<sup>210</sup> Park, 172.

<sup>211</sup> “A que chamão = clitoris = em algumas mulheres no acto de lascívia se estende [...] que imita o membro viril,” fl. 319v.

Despite its failure to concretize mimetic monstrosity, it still was presented as smaller, flatter, and “lesser than.” As, in other words, the impossibility of agency or desire outside the heteronormative and procreative ideal. The way the clitoris was analyzed and studied in its anatomy was entirely referential; it existed only in relation to the male penis, either as “homologous or oppositional.”<sup>212</sup> As a consequence, according to Valerie Traub, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century medicine used anatomy to reinvent the “the hierarchical relation between male and female bodies.”<sup>213</sup> Rendered unintelligible, sexually agential female bodies were destined to either become deformed, hyperbolic monstrosities or the failed imitations of men.

### **The Anatomy of “True Sex”**

The anatomical “crucial experiment” performed by Santucci on Duran at the Inquisition’s behest was coherent with his written work on “sex” difference. In the treatise, *Anatomia do corpo humano* (1739), Santucci separated between “the parts, in the body of men, which serve for generation and the nature of the semen,” and “the parts in the woman’s [anatomy] that serve for generation, and the fetus in the uterus.”<sup>214</sup> While performing all the necessary gestures of a learned physician, such as citing ancient authors or more recent anatomical work, Santucci’s engagement with genitalia seems almost devoid of theoretical scaffolding because of his exclusive focus on form and function. He lists the names of parts of the body, their location, and use. However, at one point, in a note that further solidifies the incompatibility of his view with

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<sup>212</sup> Valerie Traub, “The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 1 and 2 (April 1, 1995): 84.

<sup>213</sup> Traub, 82.

<sup>214</sup> Bernardo Santucci, *Anatomia do corpo humano recopilada com doutrinas medicas, chemicas, filosoficas, mathematicas, com indices e estampas representantes todas as partes do corpo humano ... por Bernardo Santucci ...* (Lisboa occidental: A.P. Galram, 1739), 68 and 79.

the one-sexed body, Santucci mentions how “the uterus is firm in its place, through the means of four ligaments.”<sup>215</sup>

That is, not only was humanity fundamentally separated between the categories of man and woman due to their different anatomical structures, but the uterus’ fixity also further implies the absence of a penis in what Santucci calls “the occult parts” of women’s bodies—the hymen, the uterus, the cervix, the fallopian tube, and the ovaries. One key point of departure vis-à-vis the knowledge of ancient authorities comes in Santucci’s descriptions of the semen—which in his words was the male “cause of fecundity—as small creatures (*bichinhos*).<sup>216</sup> His description of the ovaries, in turn, cites “the ruling of the Moderns, [who argued that it is in the ovaries] that the eggs are.” It is *in* these eggs, according to Santucci, that “all the principles suitable for the formation of the fetus, which [will] then grow and augment inside the uterus,” exist.<sup>217</sup>

The focus on anatomy, however, as Marta Vicente argued for the case of modern medicine in eighteenth-century Spain, was critically affirmed as the century progressed. For moderns, the ontology of sex was firmly situated in the body and determined by observable differences in reproductive function. Vicente adds, how “the imperative division of the sexes responded to principles of social organization, based on a division of work between men and women that paralleled their role in reproduction.”<sup>218</sup> This is exemplified in Tome IV of Monravá’s *Novissima Medicina* (1746). The Catalan anatomist reiterates the Hippocratic

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<sup>215</sup> Santucci, 83.

<sup>216</sup> Santucci, 78–79.

<sup>217</sup> “Nestes ovários, conforme a sentença dos Modernos, estão os ovos, os quaes em quanto ahi estão, apenas excedem a grandeza dos ovos, que se achão nos peixes, mas depois que entrão no útero, se augmentão notavelmente. Nelles em todo o tempo estão todos os principios aptos para a formação do feto, os quaes depois no útero sensivelmente se augmentão, e crescem.” Santucci, 87.

<sup>218</sup> Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, 27.

category “diseases of woman,” denoting that only the female constitution demanded an etiological specification with regards to “sex.”

This speciation demarcates “woman” as an exemplar divergent from the “generic human body, understood as male.”<sup>219</sup> The contrast between the tacitly male imaginary of the human and the special emphasis given to female reproductive morphology by anatomists is coherent with Katharine Park’s work *Secrets of Women*. In addition, it also closely aligns with the increasing attention paid to embryological development and the representation of fetuses known to eighteenth-century anatomy.<sup>220</sup> The contrast between woman and the human is exemplified in the section preceding “diseases of women”, titled: “diseases that belong to the entire body.”<sup>221</sup> On what concerned specifically “female diseases,” somatically, these were located by Monravá in “parts” of the body such as womb, menses, the flux, sterility, nausea in pregnant women, miscarriages, and difficult deliveries.

With regards to Monravá’s definition of “sex” (*sexo*), his was squarely tethered to genitalia: “[Sex] is a distinction of kind [*genero*], with respect to the human Body, of its actions, and especial of its Genital Parts.”<sup>222</sup> Differences in “sex,” therefore, were divided along a gender binary: “male and female.” This binary served to distinguish the differences contained in bodies. Man, with his “more slender and hard Body, its fleshy parts have muscle [and are] robust.”

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<sup>219</sup> Park, *Secrets of Women*, 14.

<sup>220</sup> William F. Bynum and Roy Porter, *William Hunter and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); Andrew Cunningham and R. K. French, eds., *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Andrew Cunningham, *The Anatomist Anatomis’d: An Experimental Discipline in Enlightenment Europe*, 1st edition (Routledge, 2016); Elsa Dorlin, *La matriz de la raza: genealogia sexual y colonial* (Tafalla, Navarra: Txalaparta, 2020); Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*.

<sup>221</sup> Antonio de Monravá y Roca and Antonio de Monravá y Roca, *Do D. Monravá Novissima Medicina impugnante à nova, velha e velhissima dos autores antigos, e modernos, em quatro tomos dividida: que dedica ao vigilante monarca D. João V... tomo I [-IV]* (Lisboa: na Officina do mesmo autor, 1744), bk. IV: 223-326.

<sup>222</sup> Monravá y Roca and Monravá y Roca, *Do D. Monravá Novissima Medicina impugnante à nova, velha e velhissima dos autores antigos, e modernos, em quatro tomos dividida*. Tome I, 199.

Despite his criticisms of Aristotle and Hippocrates, Monravá's view of gendered bodies reiterates the caloric model—only this time the system is supported not by four, but by his *medicina monravista* of 25 humors. Other defining characteristics of the male body were a well-nourished heart pulse, a warmer body, a deeper voice, beard after puberty, “grave Judgement, firm and confident spirits (*animo*),” and “a Virile Member and a Scrotum, where the Testicles which launch the Seed to produce offspring, are enclosed.”<sup>223</sup>

Symmetrically to the category man, woman was equally defined by her body. In one paragraph, Monravá y Roca contains the category woman by bounding it to a discrete set of features and qualities:

A “lax and soft Habit of Body, less nourished pulse of the heart, smaller Veins more profusion of Humors in the porous parts, distinct sensibility, Breasts [which] are formed during puberty and from henceforth the Menses run every month, the genital Organs are accommodated for Generation, Conception, Gestation, and Nutrition of the Fetus; after giving birth, Milk appears in the Breasts, and other Filtrations of laudable state. An inconstant Spirit (*Animo*), fearful, and arrogant, inclined towards Venus, to Idleness and Rage, and [commits] excess with ease in the passions of the spirit.”

Despite Monravá's declarations on the ability of the system of *medicina Monravista* to surpass the teachings of both ancients and moderns, his definition of woman continued to repeat both Hippocratic and Aristotelian scripts about “sex” difference. The fact that the caloric framework, along with its projection of gender-based moral attributes onto the body, continued to mark woman as the definitional deviation of the male telos, manifests the power of this model of heat-based sex difference. This is even more the case when considering Monravá's animus against

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<sup>223</sup> Monrava, *Novissima*, Tomo I, 199 “tem o Hábito do Corpo estricto, e duro, as partes carnosas, musculosas, robustas” *Novissima Medicina*, Tome I, 199.

several parts of the Hippocratic corpus and his anti-Aristotelian stance. The endurance of polarity as the index used to rank male and female differences in kind through heat and bodily morphology, reveals the appeal of ancient Greek medical models.<sup>224</sup>

It was through anatomy—and the empirical value placed on somatic evidence—that an alignment between natural and social worlds was made possible. Much like the Spanish counterparts Vicente studied, Monravá’s entire life project was similarly driven by attempts “to discard old theories of the study of the human body, which were based on the traditional humoral model.”<sup>225</sup> As discussed previously, Monravá’s own system of medical science centered surgery and anatomy as conduits allowing one to uncover the physiological structures of the human body. Monrava’s gendered division of humanity was coherent with this view. Because differences between masculine and feminine genitalia were linked to “reproductive faculties,” the elevation of anatomy as irrefutable empirical evidence also assigned a degree of immutability unknown to the humoral, Hippocratic-Galenic body.<sup>226</sup> As a consequence, this gendered division of the human, which was now governed by universal natural laws, also permitted a novel conception of the body politic.

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<sup>224</sup> Polarity was a Pythagorean model of sexual difference that determined man and woman were opposites in every respect.

<sup>225</sup> Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*, 22.

<sup>226</sup> Greta LaFleur, Masha Raskolnikov, and Anna Kłosowska, eds., *Trans Historical: Gender Plurality before the Modern* (Ithaca [New York]: Cornell University Press, 2021); Leah DeVun, *The Shape of Sex: Nonbinary Gender from Genesis to the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021); Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2021); Greta LaFleur, *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America*, 2020; Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *Hermaphroditism, Medical Science and Sexual Identity in Spain, 1850-1960* (Cardiff, UNITED KINGDOM: University of Wales Press, 2009), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ucsd/detail.action?docID=496649>; Francisco Vazquez Garcia, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites in Iberia, 1500–1800* (Routledge, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315655147>; King, *The One-Sex Body on Trial*; Sarah Toulalan, Kate Fisher, and Kate Fisher, *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body: 1500 to the Present* (Routledge, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203436868>; Vicente, *Debating Sex and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Spain*.

But there were more echoes of extant Aristotelian ideas in Monravá's system of "sex" difference. In addition to the basic binary structure of opposites—i.e., the weaker spirit, less nourishment to the heart, and excessive passions—the hierarchy becomes visible in the way how everything female is represented as less than. Thus, in Monravá's medical system, "sex" merged genitalia with the reproductive social order that was built to preserve what early modern historian of gender Laura Gowing calls, "patriarchal equilibrium." While theology asserted woman's subjugation through Genesis, physicians, be they ancient, scholastic, or modern, repeatedly used the body's anatomical sex—either through physiology and fluids or morphology and genitalia—to establish the legitimacy of socially gendered embodiment.

### **Maria Duran Predicament of Perfection**

Beyond the issue of female same-sex desire, or "imperfect sodomy"—a term used by inquisitors for similar cases—Duran's trial revealed incongruences deeper than the contrast between caloric, humoral, or anatomical models of "sex."<sup>227</sup> After four years of proceedings, several witnesses had been called and "rigorous exams [performed] by expert people." Despite this, "no *signs* of a man were found and only all the parts of woman, *perfect and without defect*."<sup>228</sup> This sentence, I submit, captures key tensions illuminated in this chapter. The first contradiction emanated from the incongruity between looking for mere "signs" of "man" while insisting on locating the definitive ontology of "sex" in specific anatomical "parts." The second comes in the form of a question: why, after determining that Duran's body was deemed "perfect and without defect" both by the physician's and the final verdict, was Maria Duran punished to a

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<sup>227</sup> A discussion of "imperfect sodomy" as applied to female same-sex desire can be found in Ronaldo Vainfas, *Trópico dos pecados*, 1ª edição (Civilização Brasileira, 2011). See also Zeb Tortorici, ed., *Sexuality and the Unnatural in Colonial Latin America* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016).

<sup>228</sup> ANTT, TSO, IL, nº 9230, fl. 3.



harsh public sentence and expelled from Portugal? Why and what made Duran's perfection so undesirable for the state? Answering these questions reveals the social naturalization of male superiority and patriarchal power through medical theories of generation. Despite the growing affirmation of the anatomical model of sex at play in the trial, Duran's sentence reveals the tacit endurance of Aristotelian heuristics of male agency and female passivity in the sentencing. This scaffold, I argue, rendered female same-sex acts into an ontological and cognitive impossibility for inquisitors.

Therefore, Maria Duran's perfection was situational and conditional. It pertained only to her body's procreative potential and her obeisance to predetermined reproductive roles. In this sense, Duran was a "perfect" woman because this category was stripped down merely to "the parts" of her reproductive anatomy that surgeons, anatomists, and midwives could probe in order to ascertain "sex." Yet after repeated examinations of Duran's genitalia, the same results were yielded with consistency: Duran was neither "man" nor "hermaphrodite" but a "true woman."

Given the stubbornness of Maria's physical form, anatomical observation was eschewed for a metaphysical standard of evidence. Duran was found guilty of the "greatest scandal to reason." Despite "having used the virile sex, which with all evidence was hidden [*recolhido*]," Duran was charged as guilty for "having a pact with the devil, who covered the signs of such sex from the exams of the most expert [people] in the art of Surgery." However, given how anatomical observation did not align with what "was experienced" by other witnesses as well as what "surgical experts attested to. It is believable," the accusation reads, that "with well-founded judgment, said woman had a pact with the Devil, whose power lay in hiding the signals [of such penis] from the most expert [people]."<sup>229</sup> The value placed on medical expertise and the

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<sup>229</sup> "Ultimamente se recolheu ao convento do Paraíso de Évora, aonde em grande ruina do dito mosteiro e mayor escândalo da Razão está uzando do sexo viril, do que com toda a evidencia se colhe, ter pacto com o demónio, que

willingness to abandon the conclusions of expert observation when the evidence contradicted the trial's foregone conclusion, exposes the instrumental nature of anatomical "crucial experiments." Moreover, it reveals the tension between two cultures of evidence: an empirical and a dogmatic one.

The phrasing of the sentencing articulated many of the contradictions of Duran's case. Inquisitors both valorized the power of the "experiences" relayed by other women—former sexual partners or woman who lived in the same *recolhimentos*—and insisted on the value of empirical evidence produced by medical experts.<sup>230</sup> Yet, despite the investment in a definitive physical ontology of "sex," the verdict was anchored to the language of "signs." That is, when the bare minimum standard of empirical evidence was not met (i.e., signs), the accusation proceeded with an occult charge premised on the intervention of supernatural forces. While this epistemic volte-face is not too hard to comprehend—after all, those who withstood accusations were often brought in without knowing why and made to guess what their transgressions were—the case still reveals a lot about dominant beliefs about sexual desire, sexuality, and the gendering of agency.

The predicament of Maria Duran's perfection stemmed from the interaction of two key elements. First, the incommensurability between Maria Duran's "perfect" female body and testimony of her violation of a key natural quality inherent to "woman": passivity. Through

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lhe encobria os sinais de tal sexo, ainda aos exames dos mais peritos na arte da cirurgia: e como se experimenta o contrario do que os ditos cirurgiões attestavão, crível hé com bem fundado juízo, que a dita mulher tem pacto com o Demonio, em cujo poder está encobrir os ditos sinais aos mais peritos." ANTT, TSO, IL, n° 9230, fl. 4.

<sup>230</sup> In attempting to square the circle of Duran's case, inquisitors drew from an empiricist conceptual worldview. However, this emphasis on experience was highly selective. After four years of trial, the proceedings drew to a close when the "experiences" of the women who cohabitated with Duran—and engaged in intimate congress with her in the various *recolhimentos* where she lived—trumped the "experiments" performed by "expert people in the art of Surgery." This outcome coheres with the nature of an Inquisition trial; for seldomly were those charged ever deemed innocent. However, the insistent recourse to anatomy to make genitalia determine sexual behavior seems remarkable.

expressions of sexual autonomy and personal agency, Duran was rendered incompatible with “woman” notwithstanding all anatomical evidence proving otherwise. This mismatch illuminates efforts, in eighteenth-century Portugal, to move to a distinct model of anatomical sex—an effort that included Inquisition circles.<sup>231</sup> Moreover, it shows how distinct models of sexual difference—caloric, humoral, anatomical—coexisted despite the move towards the stabilization of “sex” in reproductive “parts” or anatomy.<sup>232</sup>

The second dimension of this argument centers the problem of non-reproductive sex within eighteenth-century anxieties about Portugal’s demographic decline. Female same-sex desire violated the telos of woman and the Thomist view of sex which, as Zeb Tortorici noted, “emphasized its procreative aim above all else.”<sup>233</sup> Thus, Duran’s act of non-reproductive sexual agency violated the (desired) fixity of the reproductive order. For either modern physicians or scholastic theologians, this order was defined by the natural essence of male and female “sex”—which, in turn, legitimated the socio-political hierarchy between men and women on the grounds

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<sup>231</sup> As Timothy Walker showed, as the first half of the eighteenth century progressed, members and *familiares* (i.e., associated albeit external experts) the Inquisition engaged more and more with the modern method and anatomical expertise. At the time of the trial, the Lisbon Royal hospital counted with 20 years of studies of anatomical dissection, which were first introduced in 1722. Timothy Dale Walker, *Doctors, Folk Medicine and the Inquisition: The Repression of Magical Healing in Portugal during the Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

<sup>232</sup> Eighteenth century views of generation began challenging the dominance of Aristotle’s *De Generatione* by adopting preformationist ideas. Preformationism was a theory of embryological development from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In essence, preformationists argued that the human organism already exists preformed before birth. In essence, sperm was believed to consist of a homunculus. These ideas focused on the human as a living and growing organism whose body was the chief site of evidence. As a theory of growth, it claimed to explain the development of both human organisms, animals, and plants. For larger discussions of preformationism see Sebastian Pranghofer, “7. Changing Views on Generation – Images of the Unborn,” in *7. Changing Views on Generation – Images of the Unborn* (University of Toronto Press, 2018), 167–94; Sara Ray, “Monsters in the Cabinet: Human Anatomical Collecting and the Question of Organic Change, 1780-1850” (PhD diss., Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 2022).

<sup>233</sup> Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 5.

of their distinct functions in the process of generation.<sup>234</sup> By violating the predicate of female passivity Duran became unintelligible as a subject.

The illegibility of Maria Duran's sexual sovereignty reveals the endurance of modes of thought committed to the naturalization of female inferiority along the lines delineated by Aristotle and Aquinas. According to Aristotle's *De Generatione*, the existence of man and woman was undergirded by a cause, a purpose, and an inexorable destiny intrinsic to the very essence of being.<sup>235</sup> Because all existence has a cause (generation i.e., the "motion" of male seed towards female seed), and an aim (reproduction), in Aristotelian philosophy, semen represented the efficient cause of creation while menstrual blood afforded only matter for inception. Drawing on Aristotle, Aquinas declared that women were but "misbegotten males."<sup>236</sup> Thomist views of sex difference continued to be marked by the heuristic of polarity between woman as the unagential purveyor of matter (menstrual blood and reproductive organs), and man as the source of soul, reason, life, and agency.<sup>237</sup> Put together, these two authors central to scholastic

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<sup>234</sup> The ascription of passivity first stems from Aristotle, through the idea of matter, but as Londa Schiebinger and Anne Fausto-Sterling document, became a common trope with which female bodies, humoral constitutions, and reproductive anatomies were identified. Londa L. Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2004). Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*, Revised edition (New York: Basic Books, 2020).

<sup>235</sup> "The final cause is what a thing exists for, or its ultimate purpose. The formal cause is the definition of a thing's essence or existence, and Aristotle states that in generation, the formal cause and the final cause are similar to each other, and can be thought of as the goal of creating a new individual of the species. The material cause is the stuff a thing is made of, which in Aristotle's theory is the female menstrual blood. The efficient cause is the "mover" or what causes the thing's existence, and for reproduction Aristotle designates the male semen as the efficient cause." <https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/generation-animals-aristotle>

<sup>236</sup> Aquinas saw "woman as defective and misbegotten men," with regards to their "individual nature." (I, Q. 92. art. 1). Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica Complete in a Single Volume* (Claremont, CA: Coyote Canyon Press, 2018).

<sup>237</sup> Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, Q. 92. art. 3 "One is servile, by virtue of which a superior makes use of a subject for his own benefit; and this kind of subjection began after sin. There is another kind of subjection which is called economic or civil, whereby the superior makes use of his subjects for their own benefit and good; and this kind of subjection existed even before sin. For good order would have been wanting in the human family if some were not governed by others wiser than themselves. So, by such a kind of subjection woman is naturally subject to man, because in man the discretion of reason predominates."

philosophy—and therefore, inquisitorial proceedings—asserted a view of a natural hierarchy between man and woman based on their respective fixed roles in the process of generation.<sup>238</sup>

Functional inequality between active semen and passive menstrual blood was mapped on the conceptual possibilities for male and female autonomy and subjecthood. As discussed in previous sections, this heuristic established female inferiority as a natural and fundamental condition. Female inferiority was so naturalized in the socio-political fabric of everyday life that eighteenth-century ruptures only rejected Aristotle’s description of the process of generation and not its functional hierarchies. Moreover, drawing on Aristotelian teleological thought, semen was not only “male seed” but, in effect, the human *in potentia*.<sup>239</sup> While eighteenth-century preformationist embryological theory abandoned Aristotelian epigenesis,<sup>240</sup> it ultimately did not displace the seat of life away from male seed.<sup>241</sup>

Indeed, the opposition between epigenesis and preformationism hinged more on the problem of matter. These two views maintained that the growth of the living organism was undergirded by two very distinct processes. One, did human descend from “preformed

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<sup>238</sup> Aquinas reasoning for female natural servility recapitulates Aristotle’s *De generatione*. While “male seed,” is active and “tends towards the production of a perfect likeness in the masculine sex, [...] the production of woman, [conversely], comes from defect in the active force of from some material indisposition, or even some external influence, such as that of a south wind, which is moist. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, q. 92, 1, ad 2.

<sup>239</sup> Raymond Stephanson and Darren Wagner, *The Secrets of Generation: Reproduction in the Long Eighteenth Century*, 1st edition (Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2013); Linda Deer Richardson and Benjamin Goldberg, *Academic Theories of Generation in the Renaissance: The Contemporaries and Successors of Jean Fernel (1497-1558)*, 2018th ed. (Cham: Springer, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-69336-1>; Valeria Finucci and Kevin Brownlee, eds., “Contradictions of Masculinity: Ascetic Inseminators and Menstruating Men in Greco-Roman Culture,” in *Generation and Degeneration* (Duke University Press, 2001), 81–108, <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822380276-004>; Justin E. H. Smith, ed., *The Problem of Animal Generation in Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Anthony Preus, “Science and Philosophy in Aristotle’s ‘Generation of Animals,’” *Journal of the History of Biology* 3, no. 1 (1970): 1–52; Ray, “Monsters in the Cabinet: Human Anatomical Collecting and the Question of Organic Change, 1780-1850”; Park, *Secrets of Women*.

<sup>240</sup> Epigenesis posited that development of different parts occurred sequentially, from an unformed mass. Stephanson and Wagner, *The Secrets of Generation*.

<sup>241</sup> “Preformation held that the full body existed in miniature and that gestation was simple growth process.” Ray, “Monsters in the Cabinet: Human Anatomical Collecting and the Question of Organic Change, 1780-1850.”

individuals waiting to be sparked into growth by sexual congress” (preformationism); two, did humans come into being from the sequential growth of an unformed mass? The epigenetic viewpoint was more consensual among the church, while Santucci’s reference to semen as *bichinhos* articulates a preformationist, homuncular viewpoint. However, embryological preformationism did not displace the privileging of masculinity and the association between semen, reason, and agency.<sup>242</sup>

The continued focus on semen in eighteenth century embryology—including through developments in microscopy and the visualization of sperm—recapitulated the preexisting Aristotelian hierarchy of reproductive function.<sup>243</sup> These theories shed light on Maria Duran’s trial most insoluble problem: the impossible overlap between Duran’s female embodiment, her sexual autonomy, and a penis. Masculinity provided the only framework capable of explaining how Duran acted, spoke, and gazed at other women. Given her body’s undetectable penis, the onus of evidence shifted towards circumstantial facts and, ultimately, to supernatural intervention. Anything but female agency, especially one who refused the reproductive mandate, could be accommodated into the trial’s resolution. Hence, the devil became a more viable solution against the inconvenient fixity of anatomical form. I submit, this problem of female

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<sup>242</sup> Peter Reill argued that preformationism “was very easily adapted during the early eighteenth century to serve as a support for the status quo – for political absolutism, religious orthodoxy, and established social hierarchies” Peter Hanns Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 5. For the problema of agency specifically see Jessica Riskin, *The Restless Clock: A History of the Centuries-Long Argument over What Makes Living Things Tick* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

<sup>243</sup> “Spermism was one of two models of preformationism, a theory of embryo generation prevalent in the late seventeenth through the end of the eighteenth century. Spermist preformationism was the belief that offspring develop from a tiny fully-formed embryo contained within the head of a sperm cell. This model developed slightly later than the opposing ovist model because sperm cells were not seen under the microscope until about 1677.” Cera R. Lawrence, “Spermism,” in *The Embryo Project Encyclopedia* (Phoenix: Arizona State University. School of Life Sciences. Center for Biology and Society., August 13, 2008), <https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/spermism>.

same-sex agency and sexual sovereignty evinces a gendered divide between the ideal of virility as the embodiment of reason, virtue, and power and the natural inferiority of women.

Duran's case was emblematic of that natural inequality. Understanding this asymmetry is critical to situate eighteenth century pronatalist fantasies and the role of women in them.

According to Nina Gebart, because of the mercantilist emphasis on growing populations and expanding empires "women's bodies came to be thought of as a kind of national property, [...] counted on to ensure the fecundity of the state."<sup>244</sup> The valorization of reproductive potential and population futures made Maria Duran, who acted in contravention to the telos of woman, into an impossible subject.

Duran's impossible perfection pushed against the boundaries of procreative futures. As agency, autonomy, and sovereignty could only acquire a masculine form, anatomy fixed "sex" to multiply the state. Nature was consummated on the body and so was reproductive destiny. But Duran's trial revealed how the body, enlightenment's object of government *par excellence*, eluded containment. Mercantilist political economy demanded more subjects while anatomy stabilized "sex" and reiterated inherited hierarchies. The potentiality of kinetic semen, sperm, and of the fetus—all surrogates of man—became the *fulcrum* of the new fertile future. Reaching it demanded control over bodies, reproduction, and sexual agency.

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<sup>244</sup> Nina Rattner Gelbart, *The King's Midwife: A History and Mystery of Madame Du Coudray*, (1999), 102.

## CHAPTER 3

### **“The Population is Everything”<sup>245</sup>**

#### **Political Medicine, Medicalizing the Household, and Healing the People**

##### **Introduction**

When on July 31, 1750, King João V died in the eighth year of his incapacitating illness, the news was received by the nation’s elites with a tone of hopeful solace. The debilitating uncertainty surrounding the future of both monarchy and monarch had finally subsided. Yet, despite the undeniable sense of possibility surrounding the ascension to the throne of the new monarch, King José I (r. 1750-1777), no one could have predicted the turns of events that the next decades would bring. Among them, the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755 occupies a particular place of prominence.

There are many reasons for the important place occupied by this natural disaster in Portuguese history. The unheard-of scale of the calamity that would forever alter Lisbon’s topography and urban spatial arrangements, killing at least one third of its population, left scars that continue to echo in contemporary public memory nearly three centuries later. But this chapter will decenter the Lisbon earthquake. It will explore not the earthquake per se but, rather, all the ways that the ground was already laid, before 1755, for the radical transformations of Portuguese social, political, economic, and imperial institutions that ensued in its wake. The timing of the earthquake, on November 1, 1755, the Catholic holiday of All Saints, was especially concerning for Portuguese political elites, and the significant death toll endured at the

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<sup>245</sup> “a Povoação he ao meu fraco entender, o tudo.” Manuel Teles da Silva and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal,” in *Anais Da Academia Portuguesa de História*, vol. VI, II (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1955), 328.



heart of the seat of Portuguese imperial power heightened their anxieties. But the mortality caused by an earthquake of roughly 8.5 Richter scale, followed by a large tsunami, and one week of fires played did not echo in a void. Rather it resonated loud and clear with preexisting concerns about Portugal's key debility: its depopulation.

The following chapter analyzes efforts to augment the population in Portugal during the Pombaline period (1750-1777). It explains how population was tethered to political economy and public health via the household, the family, and patriarchal authority. Three mutually nested structures—the *casa or household*, its sovereign, the paterfamilias, and the hereditary lineage of descent used to transmit property—all configured key technologies of health and colonization. As such, the patriarchal family served as the foundation for a new civilizational project premised on the multiplication of the people to ensure the prosperity of the state.

My focus on infrastructures of subjecthood reveals how eighteenth-century ideas about public utility, medical improvement, and anthropological difference coalesced to produce not sovereign individuals (usually considered the classical unit of modern liberal governance), but sovereign families. Rather than accounting for the birth of either the modern mind or of the individual citizen, this chapter historicizes the Enlightenment's truncated promise of universalism. Through my focus on political medicine and pro-natalist efforts to "augment the peoples," I show how reform was calibrated to elevate the authority of the patriarch as progenitor and head of household. Instead of enshrining individual agency, as the mythology of Enlightenment has so often claimed, the link between economic prosperity and population centered the masculine authority of the progenitor to the family and patriarch of the *casa*. Every other member of either unit—the family or the *casa*—only counted in relation to their bonds of affiliation. Patrilineal lineage was the demarcator used to attain political autonomy, the right to

property, and the capacity to rule over others. For that reason, the project of reform and the population centered the progenitor of generation as delegate of medical rule. Under this analysis, the failure of the Enlightenment project to achieve universalism was not so much oversight – a temporary failure to include some members of the polity – as it was an ineradicable part of the whole structure and intent of reform.

Medicine was, of course, central to this effort. Achieving the Pombaline population, I contend, demanded viewing women as fertile vessels for the future nation and children as pliable matter ready to be molded into virtuous subjects. In addition, it also required an epistemic transformation in views of nature and modes of government. Much like Pombaline reform dispersed the king’s authority among “expert” institutions supervised by the minister Pombal, paternal sovereignty was also subordinated to universal natural laws.<sup>246</sup> This chapter explores how popular medical manuals, a genre introduced in Portugal after the 1755 earthquake, served as conduits to the medicalization of the household. It studies them as circulating objects and exemplars of the project of universal medical reason. Through the manuals, I argue, physicians subordinated the feminized and racialized space of the *casa* to their expert authority on health, body regimen, and childrearing.

Against the irrationality of vernacular knowledges and practical remedies administered by “empirics,” women, and enslaved people, the post-1755 earthquake salubrious home demanded the uniformity of medicalized rule. Since the Aristotelian method of *Oeconomics*—the science of the household—had led to the degeneration and depopulation of the state, political medicine emerged in the 1750’s as the modern solution against both ills. Health manuals were the key

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<sup>246</sup> The 1760s and 1770s are rich in the emergence of government institutions administered by experts. For example, in 1760 the Real Mesa Censória largely replaced the Inquisitorial Index and its censoring capacity.

technology used to meet this goal: public health, a modality of patriarchal and patrician rule, was used to reorganize quotidian and informal care into a domain of universal natural law.

Following a mechanistic model of natural philosophy, popular health manuals were used to disseminate medical reason, and through it, also a particular model of political power. Producing healthy homes entailed transforming the role of the patriarch: from a discretionary sovereign, into an executor of the Pombaline project of health and the “multiplication” of the people. Drawing on an amalgamation between William Petty’s *Political Arithmetic*, deism, and mechanistic natural philosophy, “political medicine” (*medicina politica*) a term coined by the New Christian physician Ribeiro Sanches (1699-1783) in his *Treaty on the Conservation of the Health of the Peoples* (1756), sought to automate the production of more vassals and virtuous subjects.

As a domain of medical knowledge, political medicine was collective in scale and preventative in its approach. Indeed, it was through the problem of prevention—i.e., the capacity to mobilize natural law to anticipate risks and act to counter their occurrence—that medicalized reason was deposited in the progenitor and refused to women and racialized servants.<sup>247</sup> Understanding the mechanical aspects of this population entails delving into the eighteenth-century image of the machine, a schema made of inert matter whose movement was dependent on the external action of a “prime mover.” In cosmology, this role rested in God, as creator of the macrocosm; in the monarchy, the King became a mediator of divine designs; and in the household, the paterfamilias initiated the act of generation. All three were sovereigns of their

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<sup>247</sup> Chapters 4 and 5 will reveal how prevention was a demarcator used to render Amerindians and Africans into social and racial inferiors. While Amazonian nature is described as untamed and dangerous, African appears as a diseased imperial geography. The bondage of Black Africans was legitimated as peoples who refuse the role of reason to intervene in their milieu to improve it.

respective macrocosmic and microcosmic domains, physicians of their units of rule, and patriarchs of lineages: Christian humanity, the nation, and the family.

The *casa*, or household, was the crux of this law-abiding mechanized system of the production of more vassals. Understanding its proper role requires considering its conceptual polysemy. Like the English household, the *casa* was both a social and a physical structure. That is, it was both a social arrangement that structured relations to labor, land, and offspring, but also a physical site subject to new and health inducing spatial arrangements. Health activists like Ribeiro Sanches believed the medicalization of the *casa* could produce a revolution in demography by preventing unnecessary death and promoting births. This move entailed regulating domestic norms and reimagining the utility of sex. Similar to Luís da Cunha's attribution of the disease of monarch and monarchy to religious power, Sanches' political medicine deemed celibacy as wasteful and the family as a salvo. This rendered divorce, polygamy, vagrancy, and the orphan state into dangerous conditions and possible contaminants.

As a scientific ambition, political medicine marked the rule of a universal natural law for the household and the state. This project, it will be shown, was specifically anchored to four manifestations of “enlightened” medical thought and action: pedagogy, childrearing, vitalism, and the holistic bond between cognitive development and physical self-discipline. It is in the linkage and emphasis in these four aspects of human nature and physical health that I situate one of this chapter's key interventions. Based on a naturalistic definition of the human and the assumption of a link between mind and body, “enlightened” medicine became a science of social and political life. The inclusion of sciences such as pedagogy—which was tied to physical education, childrearing, and infrastructural interventions to combat “bad air”—stemmed from the belief that medical reason could control human development in both soul and soma. Hence,

pedagogy was not merely a science of learning and effective cognition. Rather, its ambitions took on the epistemic authority of embryology—another important eighteenth-century medical domain—and extended it by setting out to control the growth of humans as natural organisms, and shape their most desirable qualities throughout their life cycle.

Vitalism, and the holistic union of body and soul inherent to it, was another important precondition for the tethering of moral development of human nature to the physical body—as was deism.<sup>248</sup> In its original formulation, Newton’s God was the “prime mover” of the universe who both created nature and endowed it with mechanical laws. If irregularities occurred, Newton’s God could resort to direct, corrective action. Throughout the eighteenth century, especially after Newton’s death in 1727, alternative deistic formulations became less interventionist.<sup>249</sup> God retained preeminence as creator, but universal natural laws and the earthly power of human reason became more autonomous. In the context of the Sanches’s project of political medicine, the *casa*, I contend, was a key domain of the anthropological pursuit of reshaping human nature.

### **The Population as Project**

Until Thomas Malthus’ *Essay on the Principle of the Population* (1798) advocated reproductive responsibility and abstinence, most “Enlightenment” physicians, political thinkers, and *philosophes* were embroiled in anxieties about demographic decline. However, “depopulation anxieties,” as Carol Blum has shown, were neither factually accurate nor part of a heightened confrontation with disease. Rather, as Blum argued, “the notion that France was

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<sup>248</sup> Deism was a strand of cosmological thought first developed by Isaac Newton to synthesize the tension between laws of nature and divine intervention in the operations of the universe.

<sup>249</sup> These were especially popular in France and took up in the period after Newton’s death in 1727.

losing population [...] became one of the eighteenth century most effective entrees into, and pretexts for, a widespread, sustained critique of the monarchy and its validating body, the Catholic Church.”<sup>250</sup> In other words, despite its factual inaccuracy, the perception of a depleted population served important, instrumental purposes: to critique absolute monarchy and the power of the Church. Sylvana Tomaselli, in addition, has named “theories of population growth and decline” as an “Ariadne’s thread to anyone wishing to make their way into the Enlightenment.”<sup>251</sup> That is because, as Tomaselli noted, achieving a populous state was the sort of project that touched on virtually every dimension of collective life. From health, to primogeniture, climate, suicide, polygamy, divorce, heredity, luxury, labor, prostitution, slavery, torture, monasticism, racial hierarchy, and colonial settlement in the new world, no domain was unmarked by the project of population multiplication.

Sean Quinlan, in turn, has also documented how the task of combatting degeneration in mid-eighteenth-century France animated the health activism of “modern” physicians. This 1750s moment was critical to the professional affirmation of the physician as an expert of all bodies— anatomical, politic (i.e., the state), and the population. In a recent dissertation, Scottie Buehler followed this thread by focusing on French eighteenth-century ambitions of the medicalization of childbirth (*accouchement*).<sup>252</sup> The coupling of depopulation anxieties with “health activism” and a neo-Hippocratic commitment to the transformation of the social and physical environment as a

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<sup>250</sup> Carol Blum, *Strength in Numbers: Population, Reproduction, and Power in Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 2.

<sup>251</sup> Sylvana Tomaselli, “Moral Philosophy and Population Questions in Eighteenth Century Europe,” *Population and Development Review* 14 (1988): 7, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2808088>.

<sup>252</sup> Scottie Hale Buehler, “Being and Becoming a Midwife in Eighteenth-Century France: Geographies of Pedagogical Practices and Objects” (PhD diss., Los Angeles, UCLA, 2020), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2qx8b6bb>.

source of illness, led French physicians to seek state regulation of midwives and promote new pedagogical practices.

This chapter deals with similar themes while also challenging more Anglo- and French-centric accounts of depopulation anxiety. Unlike these more northern-European counterparts, the idea that the Portuguese empire traversed a complex crisis of decline was, by the 1750s, at least two centuries old.<sup>253</sup> However, in the eighteenth century, as the crown confronted its limited capacity to compete against other empires in the Atlantic, the sense that Portugal's sovereignty was always at the knife's edge was intensified. The population, it will be seen, became an ideal site to negotiate such anxieties. This happened, I contend, for reasons that render Portugal's case unique. Because Portugal was a smaller state with a limited demographic basis and an expansive empire, its "depopulation crisis" was tied to the very viability of its sovereignty.<sup>254</sup> Put differently, for Portugal, the population was a lifeline against its financial fragility vis-à-vis rival empires and the intensification of commercial competition in the Atlantic.

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<sup>253</sup> Stemming, first, from the losses inflicted by the Dutch in Asia, and subsequently consecrated in the demise of the Avis dynastic line, which led to the incorporation of Portugal into the Hispanic Monarchy (1580-1640). However, even with the expulsion of Habsburg Spanish rulers and the crowning of the Bragança dynastic line, the sense of crisis did not abate. In addition to the constant military pressure from Spain (which only waned in 1715, with the Treaty of Utrecht), formidable challenges were also faced on the imperial front. Be it because of wars to expel the Dutch from Brazil (which only ended in 1754), the loss of commercial monopolies to other empires whose plantation complexes gained strength in the 1600s, or the rising number of enslaved revolts in Brazil. Here, the war against the Marron community of Palmares, which lasted several decades, having only ended in 1695, provides a prime example.

<sup>254</sup> As António Manuel Hespanha showed, pragmatism and legal pluralism emerged as the chief answers to this problem. These solutions allowed a great deal of discretion and variability in the handling of specific disputes. In the mid-eighteenth century, however, we start to not only observe the end of pluralism for a unique model of Portuguese subjecthood, but also new legal regimes. Justice seized to rely on ad hoc and case specific solutions to, instead, hinge on the universal, abstract norm of the law. António Manuel Hespanha, *As vésperas do leviathan: instituições e poder político Portugal - séc. XVII* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1994); António Manuel Hespanha, *Caleidoscópio do antigo regime* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2012); António Manuel Hespanha, "Da iustitia à disciplina, textos, poder e política penal no antigo regime," *Anuario De Historia Del Derecho Español*, 1984, 493–578; António Manuel Hespanha, *Filhos Da Terra: Identidades Mestiças Nos Confins Da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2019); António Manuel Hespanha, *Pluralismo Jurídico e Direito Democrático: Prospetivas Do Direito No Século XXI*, 4a. Edição, *História e Filosofia Do Direito* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2019); Mont Serrath and Pablo Oller, "O Império Português no Atlântico: poderio, ajuste e exploração (1640-1808)" (text, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.11606/T.8.2013.tde-06112013-094942>.

In addition, Portugal also had to contend with the crisis in population and mercantilist growth unleashed by the 1755 Lisbon earthquake. Unlike Britain, where depopulation was linked with Catholic celibacy, or France, where it hinged on republicanism and anti-ecclesiastical activism, in Portugal, depopulation created an existential crisis of state and empire. Yet, both Petty's *Political Arithmetic* and French depopulation debates proved critical to Portuguese men of science. While the former offered methods of accounting for the number of subjects and techniques to transmute their qualities, the latter both attached reason to commerce and modern medicine while turning the Church into population's deadliest enemy. Given the power of the Inquisition, canon law at Coimbra, and Portuguese reliance and Jesuit missionary work, this was no small deed.

Secondly, much like Buehler's project, my account is not one of male usurpation of a traditionally female function. Indeed, to these physicians, the idea of a household that dispensed with the labor of women, servants, and enslaved people was absurd. Rather, Portuguese physicians—and specifically Ribeiro Sanches, who lived most of his long life in Paris—sought to subordinate feminized spaces and racialized practices to (male) medical reason. I argue that the move to regulate the household through universal medical laws of disease and health was, to a large extent, both deistic and neo-Hippocratic. Because the environment—namely the air—was seen as the principal cause of pathology, preventing illness hinged on a pedagogy of health and virtue, rational spatial design, and transforming the paterfamilias from household sovereign into a deputy of medical reason.

My approach to the medicalization of the household, therefore, observes how the *casa* was both a social and physical structure of health and population-making. As a space, the *casa* also became subject to the infrastructural interventions of medical expertise. As such, the *casa*



both helped configure relationships to land, kin, and labor as well as offer a spatial stabilizer for the family, namely through childrearing efforts. My focus on the *casa* as a technology of health and civilization calls attention to the role of intimacy and kinship in quotidian arrangements of health.

Ultimately, health activists' grand efforts of medical state regulation relied on the transformation of household hierarchies. Rather than discrete rules and specific arrangements, the model of medical reason demanded patriarchal supervision of the "universal order." Religious and popular healing were the enemies of professional medicine. This chapter therefore adds to scholarship on medical professionalization and popular healers by showing how crafting the "modern" medico-political physician was incompatible with household healing and recipe books.

This account is in dialogue with scholarship on women and healing, practical healers, recipe books and domestic medicine. Such scholarship, which has long revealed a history of subaltern healing agents and vernacular knowledge practices about the body, has delineated exactly the universe that health activists sought to abolish. Since practical healing knowledge was not supported by a system of philosophy, it stood for the unruliness that caused depopulation.

More concretely, these kinds of agents and their ubiquity spoke to the limits of university medicine. Hence, "modern" physicians built up "empirics" and the Church as paragons of superstition and antagonists of reason. This move was important to shore up physicians' expert authority and professional gravitas. Being both outnumbered and inaccessible to most, professional physicians contended against centuries of disparaging comments on doctors and the currency of popular healing practices. Given how outnumbered "modern," university-trained

physicians were in mid-eighteenth-century Portugal, the medical manual was the key to the dissemination of the method and its government at a distance. This was all the more important for men like Sanches, who despite ambitions of promoting Portugal's improvement, had no plans to switch Paris for Lisbon. For this reason, too, pedagogy became a vital strategic element in his approach to reform.

From here, I forge my third contribution to the field of eighteenth-century medical history: the inclusion of pedagogy and the sciences of childrearing as integral parts of the history of medicine. The naturalization of the human by modern physicians was premised on the vitalist union of mind and body. As Stephen Gaukroger has shown this process was integral to “anthropological medicine.”<sup>255</sup> The union between natural and moral philosophy produced a reliance on stadial theories of human development.<sup>256</sup> In this context, the human hierarchies of gender and race that privileged white masculinity were linked both to reason and civilization. In practical terms, this entailed equating more developed nations with more complex forms of social and political organization. Complexity, in turn, was linked to European superiority—as

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<sup>255</sup> Stephen Gaukroger, *The Natural and the Human: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1739-1841* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Stephen Gaukroger, *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1680-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>256</sup> In stadial theory and the link between early anthropology and medicine see: Giulia Calvi and Silvia Sebastiani, “La Querelle Des Corps. Acceptions et Pratiques Dans La Formation Des Sociétés Européennes,” *L'Atelier Du Centre de Recherches Historiques. Revue Électronique Du CRH*, no. 11 (2013); Silvia Sebastiani, “Nations, Nationalism and National Characters,” in *The Routledge Companion to Eighteenth Century Philosophy* (Routledge, 2019), 617–41; Bruce Buchan and Silvia Sebastiani, “‘No Distinction of Black or Fair’: The Natural History of Race in Adam Ferguson’s Lectures on Moral Philosophy,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 82, no. 2 (2021): 207–29; Silvia Sebastiani, “Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: The Polygenetic Discourses of Kames and Pinkerton,” *Cromohs* 8 (2003): 1–14; Silvia Sebastiani, “Race as a Construction of the Other: ‘Native Americans’ and ‘Negroes’ in the Eighteenth-Century Editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica,” *Europe and the Other, Europe as the Other* (2000); Jean-Frédéric Schaub and Silvia Sebastiani, *Race et Histoire Dans Les Sociétés Occidentales (XV-XVIIIe Siècle)* (Albin Michel, 2021); Silvia Sebastiani, “Storia Universale e Teoria Stadiale Negli ‘Sketches of the History of Man’ Di Lord Kames,” *Studi Storici* 39, no. 1 (1998): 113–36; Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress* (Springer, 2013); Bruce Buchan and Linda Andersson Burnett, “Knowing Savagery: Australia and the Anatomy of Race,” *History of the Human Sciences* 32, no. 4 (2019): 115–34; Bruce Buchan, “Scottish Medical Ethnography: Colonial Travel, Stadial Theory and the Natural History of Race, c. 1770–1805,” *Modern Intellectual History* 17, no. 4 (2020): 919–49; Bruce Buchan, “Subjects of Benevolence: Concepts of Society and Civilisation in Early Colonial Indigenous Administration,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 29, no. 85 (2005): 37–48.

manifested in the desirable moral and physical virtues of specific “national characters.”<sup>257</sup> These developments of “Enlightenment” human science cannot, I contend, be adequately understood without considering the anthropological dimensions of household medical pedagogy, childrearing, and the role that the *casa* played in reconstructing Portuguese civilization in accordance with the dictates of rationality.

The Portuguese *casa* and family were, I contend, both a homunculus of the nation and a laboratory for the new social order of health and civilization. Borrowing from Daniel Nemser, the *casa* was an infrastructure of race.<sup>258</sup> In this chapter, however, given its tethering to Portugal, racial categories emerge as implied rather than explicit analytical fulcrum. Yet, the dynamics of racialization that attend to the reinvention of what Portuguese meant in the Pombaline period, remained present in this moment. Quite simply, as chapter five will explore in more detail, the racial project for Portugal was one of whiteness—and whiteness, in turn, owing to the centuries of influence of centuries of “blood purity” statutes, was perceived as the absence of race.<sup>259</sup>

The salubrious and medicalized home was, I argue, a critical preamble to the Portuguese colonization of the Amazon in the second half of the eighteenth century. Creating ideal settlers—i.e., virtuous colonial fathers and husbands—first entailed crafting ideal Portuguese subjects in the metropole. Ideally, the new medical paterfamilias was the delegate of this civilizational ambition. With the guidance of medical manuals, he was urged to promote in his offspring the

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<sup>257</sup> Sebastiani, “Nations, Nationalism and National Characters”; Sebastiani, “Race and National Characters in Eighteenth-Century Scotland”; Buchan and Sebastiani, “No Distinction of Black or Fair.”

<sup>258</sup> Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race: Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

<sup>259</sup> Raphael Bluteau, “Raça,” in *Vocabulário Portuguez e Latino, Aulico, Anatomico, Architectonico, Bellico, Botanico, Brasilico, Comico, Critico, Chimico, Dogmatico, Dialectico, Dendrologico, Ecclesiastico, Etymologico, Economico, Florifero, Forense, Fructifero... Autorizado Com Exemplos Dos Melhores Escriitores Portugueses, e Latinos*, vol. 7 (Coimbra: no Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesu, 1720), 86; Eduardo França Paiva, *Dar Nome Ao Novo: Uma História Lexical Da Ibero-América Entre Os Séculos XVI e XVIII: (As Dinâmicas de Mestiçagens e o Mundo Do Trabalho)* (Belo Horizonte, MG: Autêntica, 2015).

virtues of agricultural labor, industry, utility, commerce, and procreation. This medico-political project was anthropological at heart, that is, centered the human as its object of knowledge turning it into a scientific domain. It aimed to transform subjects from a disordered Catholic flock into a set of industrious vassals. As this chapter will show, this transformation relied on the sciences of human nature and natural philosophy to secularize the pedagogy of minds and bodies. In addition to its link to medical notions of sensibility and nervous fiber, problems of cognition and civilization also exposed how the human was reconfigured into a living and growing organism of natural history. Thus, understanding “enlightened” health activism and the medicalization of the family requires acknowledging how health was a physical and moral category knowable only through medicine. This brings anthropology into the foray of the medical, and embryology into the domain of the pedagogical sciences of mind and body. The telos of these projects of human government was the shaping of metropolitan Portugal into a space of whiteness. This chapter examines how the *casa*, the family, and the patriarchal household were its laboratory.

### **Agriculture, Patriarchy, and Civilization**

The term “Political Medicine” was first coined by William Petty in a 1672 letter on the land settlement of Ireland by the English.<sup>260</sup> It is unclear whether Sanches was aware of this genealogy. Nevertheless, his *medicina politica* expressed a view of the physician’s role in the life of the community: rather than treating disease individually, on a case-by-case basis, the goal was to reform society and lead to its improvement through knowledge of mechanical natural laws. Hence, Sanches’ “Political Medicine” laid out a “Political Order” and a method of “Universal

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<sup>260</sup> Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Medicine.”<sup>261</sup> What Sanches meant by this was unequivocal: he was offering a tool to prevent disease on a collective scale through the development of a method “founded on the laws of Nature and good Physics.”<sup>262</sup> The term itself first appeared in his *O Tratado da Conservação da Saúde dos Povos* (1756), or *Treatise on the Conservation of the Health of the Peoples*, a book first published in the year following the Lisbon earthquake. While Sanches’ exact timeline is unknown, an appendix on “Considerations on Earthquakes” indicates he started laboring on the book before 1755. Thus, Sanches’ inroads into preventative, population medicine just before the earthquake struck seems to be a sheer coincidence. Moreover, based on the list of Sanches’ complete library at the time of his death in 1783, it is likely he incorporated some of Petty’s thinking on *Political Arithmetic*, since he owned a 1755 edition of Petty’s work.<sup>263</sup>

As Petty’s biographer, the historian Ted McCormick, notes, Petty’s preoccupations with accounting, quantification, and land use were key vectors in his project of “transmuting the Irish into English.”<sup>264</sup> A physician by training, Petty regarded medicine as far more than a mere source of metaphors.<sup>265</sup> In Petty’s case, the expansion of his pursuits beyond the “body natural” proper to the “body politic” were manifested in the application of alchemy, Baconian inductivism,

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<sup>261</sup> António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix: considerações sobre os terremotos, com a noticia dos mais consideraveis, de que fas menção a historia, e dos ultimos que se sentirão na Europa desde o 1 de novembro 1755*. (Em Paris e se vende em Lisboa, em casa de Bonardel e Du Beux, mercadores de livros. M DCC LVI, 1756).

<sup>262</sup> Sanches.

<sup>263</sup> António Nunes Ribeiro-Sanchés, *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Ant. Nunes Ribeiro-Sanchés dont la vente se fera ... le 15 Décembre 1783* (Paris: Chez de Bure, 1783).

<sup>264</sup> William Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*. (London: D. Brown & W. Rogers, 1691), 29. For a detailed analysis of Petty’s politics of transmutation and Irish land settlement see: Ted McCormick, “Alchemy in the Political Arithmetic of Sir William Petty,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 37, no. 2 (2006): 290–307, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.shpsa.2005.07.012>; McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic*; Ted McCormick, *Human Empire: Mobility and Demographic Thought in the British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Ted McCormick, “Political Arithmetic and Sacred History: Population Thought in the English Enlightenment, 1660–1750,” *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. 4 (October 2013): 829–57.

<sup>265</sup> Given how early modern divisions of knowledge were structured, medicine was a common entry point into the study of nature, physics, and mathematics—a system which remained well into the nineteenth century, when the modern disciplines of e.g., anthropology and biology emerged.

Boyle's theory of matter, Cartesian physics, and Hobbesian notions of space and geometry.<sup>266</sup> All these influences were deeply formative of the Portuguese "modern" circle. Several of these authors' books can be found among the library built by Pombal for himself during his time as ambassador in London and with the aid of the New Christian physician Jacob Castro Sarmiento.<sup>267</sup> In addition, similar references can also be found in the plan for the reform of medical education that Ribeiro Sanches handed to Luís da Cunha in the 1730s.<sup>268</sup>

From these early programmatic efforts towards medical reform, we can begin to see how the nexus between natural philosophy, medicine, and pedagogy was gradually developed in Sanches' thinking. Central to this project was a commitment to universalism. As a collective goal, the pursuit of health entailed a standardized method applicable to every single subject. Pursuing this change demanded strict regulation and an unequivocal condemnation of established practices and popular practitioners. In addition, Sanches' engagement with the Parisian circle of *philosophes* exposed him to French depopulation anxieties.

In 1751, in a series of letters and manuscript essays that likely contributed to his *Treatise on the Conservation of Health*, which today kept at the Spanish National Library, Sanches diagnosed Portugal's many ailments through a series of themes echoing French debates. One of the chief themes is the depopulation of the countryside and the centrality of agriculture to national wealth. While several historians have equated this particular dimension of Sanches' thinking with physiocracy, it is important to note that Sanches' preoccupations with this "art of life in society" precedes Quesnay's coinage of physiocracy by several decades.<sup>269</sup> To be clear, I

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<sup>266</sup> For a detailed discussion of these influences see McCormick, "Political Arithmetic and Sacred History."

<sup>267</sup> PBA Cod. 165, 167, 342, 343.

<sup>268</sup> This plan was said to have disappeared with the earthquake; however, I found an undated copy among Luís da Cunha's papers at Portugal's National Library. This specific set of papers related to his time as ambassador in Paris. BNP. Cx 52 – M – 2, doc 240.

<sup>269</sup> BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 42v.

am not claiming that Sanches was either a pioneer or a “creator” of physiocracy;<sup>270</sup> only that, much like Quesnay and the other *économistes*, attempts to combat national degeneration through better agricultural output dated back (at least) to the seventeenth century.<sup>271</sup> In fact, it was both prominent in mercantilist political economy and political arithmetic—especially given the emphasis placed on the latter’s rapport between population, labor, and land production.<sup>272</sup>

For Sanches, the goal of conserving both the health and life of all of the monarchy’s subjects demanded an alliance between medicine and agriculture. Portugal’s “lack of inhabitants” was, in that respect, seen as both a symptom and an effect of injurious policies.<sup>273</sup> To counter them, Sanches enlisted both knowledge of natural philosophy and natural law as the cement that would bind public health to political economy. Agriculture was critical. Good agricultural practice promoted better air, healthy households, salubrious cities, and a prosperous state. It was for that reason that Sanches identified agriculture with “the art of life [...] the first and principal necessity of men in society.”<sup>274</sup> In addition, agriculture also promoted effective

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<sup>270</sup> The key texts in physiocratic thinking were first published in the 1760s and 1770s. Thus, ways of framing Sanches work through this lens have been premised on erroneous assumptions. Rather than informed by physiocracy, people like Sanches participated in the debates that ultimately helped inform the formation of that school of economic thought. Quesnay, “Mémoire sur les avantages de l’industrie et du commerce” (1765); Mercier de la Rivière, *L’Ordre naturel* (1767); Baudeau, *Introduction à la philosophie économique* (1771).

<sup>271</sup> Liana Vardi, *The Physiocrats and the World of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Blum, *Strength in Numbers*.

<sup>272</sup> Indeed, be it in the case of Graunt’s *Observations on the Bills of Mortality* (1662) or Petty’s *Political Arithmetic* (1671), both men’s interest on the population was founded in Baconian thought. In the last section of *The New Organon*, titled “History of Life and Death,” Bacon offered an experimental method for the pursuit of “Histories of Men.” According to McCormick, it was from this intellectual apparatus that Petty derived his model of political arithmetic. Concerned both with tallying and determining the qualitative composition of the population, Petty used methods equated with “political anatomy” to derive a “Science of Man” based on the extension of inductive empiricism to the social sphere. His ultimate goal was clear: to furnish the conditions for the multiplication of mankind and the remolding of Irish inner natures into English subjects. McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic*; Ted McCormick, “Food, Population, and Empire in the Hartlib Circle, 1639–1660,” *Osiris* 35 (August 2020): 60–83, <https://doi.org/10.1086/709104>; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

<sup>273</sup> “O Aumento e a Falte de Habitantes.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 43v.

<sup>274</sup> “A Agricultura é a primeira e principal necessidade dos homens em Sociedade.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS/18370 Vol III, fl 42v

land occupation and settlement, so important in the imperial projects of early eighteenth-century Portugal. In this respect, Sanches instigated the “State” to combat depopulation by “promoting Agriculture by any means possible, not just to augment and the conservation of its subjects, but also for its defense.”<sup>275</sup> Given the long-standing practice of incursions from the Spanish side since 1640, Portuguese officials—such as Luís da Cunha—were often anxious about Portugal’s effective capacity to withstand Spanish attacks. The populational settlement that agricultural labor promoted was seen to increase Portugal’s chances at a defense of its sovereignty.

Lastly, physical labor had an important role in promoting better dietary regimens, economic self-sufficiency of the state, and the physical health of all subjects. Sanches, for instance, intimated that “hose paterfamilias who sow their fields” could both promote “the sustenance of their families” as well as, through the accrual surplus, profit from cultivation and make their *casa* grow.<sup>276</sup> With more vigorous and healthy subjects, the state, too, would thrive with more and healthier people. Ultimately, land fertility was a perfect metonym for the project of health reform: more fertile subjects

The scientization of agriculture was the first step towards the medicalization of the household. After all, the gendered and racialized hierarchy of the *casa* was also critical to determine access to property, establish labor functions, and anchor the political economy of surplus accumulation to trade. Ideally, these were also the characteristics inherent to the ideal paterfamilias and settler—property, progeniture, commerce, and labor. As it will be seen in

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<sup>275</sup> “O Estado deve promover esta por todos os meios, não só para o aumento e conservação dos súbditos, mas ainda para a sua defesa.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS/18370 Vol III, fl 43.

<sup>276</sup> BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS/18370 Vol III, fl. “43v “do Aumento e da Falta de habitantes. Suponhamos que os pais de famílias, lavradores, os quais semeiam tanta quantidade de grãos, que não somente tenham para o sustento das suas famílias, mas que vendam com proveito o que lhe sobrar: o dinheiro, ou valor dele que recebeu pelo superabundante que vendeu lhe servirá a comprar animais e bestas, e instrumentos para continuar a sua lavoura, mas ainda a aumentá-la.”



chapters 4 and 5, these qualities were foundational to the definition of what “Portuguese” and “white” (*branco*) meant in colonial Brazil and Angola.<sup>277</sup> For this reason, Sanches equated agriculture’s role in the conservation of life with creation itself. Adding that “Conservation [is], after Creation, the most universal law of the Universe that was birthed and experienced. Every State or Republic is mandated to attend to that chief obligation; much like the paterfamilias is forced to provide for the family.”<sup>278</sup> A few lines later, Sanches established a link between agriculture and civilization. Stating that it is “the art that the need of [one’s] own conservation forced [man] to find and develop.” Thus, “agriculture also was an art of life in society, [since], before it, chaos ruled.”<sup>279</sup>

From this perspective, Sanches uses agriculture and the patriarchal family as indices of the political and economic health of the state. In addition, he deploys it as part of a stadial theory of human development and race.<sup>280</sup> “Agriculture,” he noted, “was the first and principal necessity of men [who live] in Society.” In that sense, it involved much more than land cultivation. Not only did it “promote the conservation and augmenting of the subjects,” but it also promoted surplus, profits, and commerce.<sup>281</sup> Thus, as Sanches noted, improving Portugal’s condition demanded a reform of agriculture both in Portugal and Brazil. This goal could only be

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<sup>277</sup> I would even argue that given the central role that projects of irrigation and agricultural settlement occupied in Portuguese late colonialism, namely through the “importation” of white paupers in the 1950s and 1960s from Portugal to Angola and Mozambique, the theme of settlement through the *casa* and via means of agricultural labor, remained a key through line in Portuguese colonialism until the very end of its empire, in the 1970s.

<sup>278</sup> “depois da Criação e do nascimento da lei mais universal que experimenta o Universo é a Conservação. Todo o Estado ou República é obrigado a prover a esta primeira principal obrigação; assim o pai de famílias é obrigado a sustentar a família.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 42v.

<sup>279</sup> Agricultura é a “arte que a necessidade de conservação própria obrigou a achar e aperfeiçoar.” Era ainda também “uma arte da vida em sociedade; antes dela, o caos imperava.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 42v

<sup>280</sup> For accounts of stadial theory see Silvia Sebastiani, *The Scottish Enlightenment: Race, Gender, and the Limits of Progress*, 1st edition, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Sebastiani, “Storia Universale e Teoria Stadiale Negli” Sketches of the History of Man” Di Lord Kames”; Buchan and Sebastiani, “No Distinction of Black or Fair.”

<sup>281</sup> BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 43.

accomplished if two essential preconditions were fulfilled: first, if Portuguese settlers were taught to apply more rational techniques of land cultivation; and second, by better managing enslaved labor.

These lines echo Sanches' own thinking on how to best rule Brazil and extract more natural surplus. Brazil, it was believed, remained underdeveloped due to the influence of Jesuit missionaries and their willingness to accommodate indigenous idleness and “lazy” habits (*preguiça*). Several decades later, the natural philosopher Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1756-1815) would, in his travels throughout the Amazon (1783-1794), echo the thesis that agriculture was a measure of intelligence and civilization. While lauding the unique virtues and abundance of Brazilian nature, he also noted how “Nature offers them [Amerindians] everything without charging any labors or struggles in return.”<sup>282</sup>

This lax relation with the natural world was, for Rodrigues, manifested in the effeminacy of Amerindian male bodies—a feature principally marked by hairlessness or the lack of a beard—polygamy, and how the absence of a hierarchy between led to unstructured families and gendered relations. For this reason, “domesticated Tapuias”—*Tapuia* being a racializing term historically used to designate Amerindians who resisted Portuguese colonization—were seen as “exceeding in force and robustness” their “savage” counterparts.<sup>283</sup> Seemingly, their physical strength and mental stamina was a byproduct of the labor they performed—and therefore, their approximation to Portuguese culture. Put differently, agriculture was a way into whiteness. The capacity to labor the land, accumulate and trade its fruits for a profit, and to develop techniques

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<sup>282</sup> “A natureza tudo lhes oferece sem cobrar fadigas e trabalhos.” Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica* (Conselho Federal de Cultura, n.d.), 84.

<sup>283</sup> Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica*.

to augment surplus thus became a proxy for race and civilization. This was also manifest in how Black Africans, who were supposedly born to perform hard, physical labor, were also seen as lacking the “intelligence” to engage in trade.

Unlike Amerindian societies that lacked a sense of property or properly demarcated relations between the sexes, and who were accused of engaging in polygamy and non-reproductive sex, the Portuguese paterfamilias labored under the aegis of civilization.<sup>284</sup> This meant that, unlike his subordinates, he had the capacity to reason and exercise self-discipline. Sanches’ definition of health departed from this foundational assumption: to prevent disease demanded access to reason and the capacity to rule with the goal of anticipating danger. Only the patriarch, as sovereign of the household, possessed such qualities. Yet, Portugal’s present depopulation demonstrated the dire need to reform both households and relationships to land, labor, and property. For this reason, the state’s malaise could not be countered without a clear program of pedagogical intervention designed to teach the father how to become a modern physician. If the nation’s debility was announced by its deserted countryside and uncultivated fields, as Sanches denounced, then surely the promotion of population salubrity had to start with agriculture.

The first entryway into a healthy home was nourishment, trade, and hygiene. If “healing men” was the physician’s destiny, Sanches noted, “it is no less useful to render them happy” when medical intervention is inaccessible or cannot cure. This was the juncture at which “conservation” (*conservação*) of life and health was visible in the opposition between men who seek to destroy and those who seek to conserve.<sup>285</sup> In the following line, this dichotomy is further

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<sup>284</sup> Ferreira; Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Antropologia* (Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1974).

<sup>285</sup> BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 41.

elaborated. Drawing on Francis Bacon, Sanches opposes those who conserve to those who conquer. Conservation was medical and started with nourishment. Sanches' task, in this context, was to lay out a "universal order" that could render the *casa* into a rational and productive unit.

Concerning population, one of his interventions was to appeal to fathers, trying to convince them that a farmer occupied a more honorable position than a clergyman. Agriculture was more useful and commercially sensible, and also engaged people in the salubrious work of cultivating their land and physique. Agricultural contributions to the republic were vital to rationalize the *casa*. They instilled the spirit of discipline, trade, and the ability to plan for the future through the laws of nature. Instead of seeking to elevate the household's prestige by committing one of its sons to a religious vocation—and therefore to celibacy and idleness—land labor was the key to the state's improvement. Indeed, as Sanches argued, religious education was profoundly wasteful. Not only did "agriculture lose this portion" of labor—and potentially more surplus—but because one of its sons was raised outside the *casa*, the household squandered both money and the opportunity of placing the father's imprimatur on a son's education.<sup>286</sup>

Throughout the manuscript notes that were laid out by Sanches in the 1750s, he pursued a medical method of diagnosing the republic's ills. It started by identifying and setting out the problem; then, he defined its causes; ultimately, he laid out the "remedies" necessary to combat the pathologies of the nation. The chief illness of the state was depopulation; its principal symptom the abandonment of the state. However, devising a solution was neither simple nor linear. To combat the maladies of the state took time. Above all, it took a commitment to changing relations to land, undoing the Church's power, and committing to a project of pedagogy where the cultivation of land could not be separated from the cultivation of selves and

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<sup>286</sup> BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 49v.

subjects. The following sections analyze how this idea stemmed from neo-Hippocratic medical thinking—the notion that air was the principal vector of health and disease—and the vitalist holism developed at Leiden, by the Swiss medical polymath Albrecht von Haller and others, during the time Sanches spent there in the 1720s and 30s.<sup>287</sup> Holism, because it promoted the inextricable union of mind and body, also helped Sanches redefine ideas on human nature with new sets of educational tools in mind.

For Sanches, Pombal, and the other Portuguese ‘moderns,’ the mandate of fertility was found in the Old Testament, in the Book of Genesis. God endowed Adam with a prelapsarian capacity to procreate and exercise domination: “be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth” (Genesis 1:28). Population, domination, and the colonial transformation of life into commodities—vegetable, animal, or human—were codified in scripture. Moreover, this mandate was also implicitly not only human but specifically masculine, with Adam’s status as humanity’s first and original progenitor.

Given the strength of this legacy—and the naturalization of the patriarch as purveyor of form in the generation of life—neither Sanches, nor any of the other “moderns” rejected the theological legacy of male inception and agency. What is new to the mid-1700s, however, is the displacement of scriptural views of dominion in favor of natural philosophy.<sup>288</sup> This transformation entailed a move from divine agency to deism. Deism was important to the

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<sup>287</sup> G. S. Rousseau, ed., *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought: Clark Library Lectures, 1985–1986*, Publications from the Clark Library Professorship, UCLA 12 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); David Willemsse, “António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, élève de Boerhaave - et son importance pour la Russie.,” *Janus: Revue internationale de l’histoire des sciences, de la médecine, de la pharmacie et de la technique. Suppléments*, v.6 (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1966).

<sup>288</sup> On the early modern Iberian concept of dominium: Daniel Nemser, “Possessive Individualism and the Spirit of Capitalism in the Iberian Slave Trade,” *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 19, no. 2 (2019): 101–29.

medicalization of the household and the scientization of agriculture for two connected reasons. It both preserved God's role as the omnipotent creator while also licensing His ongoing absence due to the self-sufficiency of mechanical laws of nature. This philosophical perspective, in turn, also created a very clear argument for the social role of the physician contra the theologian.

Contra Catholic theology, transforming moral constitutions was a project for the body rather than the soul.<sup>289</sup> As seen in this section, agriculture was the point of convergence where better air, physical health, diet, and commerce met. But none of these projects of political hygiene and moral health were possible without a fundamental change of the role of the father as progenitor and head of household. The precepts<sup>290</sup> of mercantilist and medical rationality inculcated by the moderns ordered that, more than “the sustenance of his family,” the paterfamilias (*pai de familias*) had to seek the profit (*o proveito que lhe sobrar*) needed to purchase animals and procure instruments to “augment his harvest.” This was the only means to repopulate the countryside and strengthen the state's health and immunity against invasions.<sup>291</sup>

This orientation broke with the traditional view of the Aristotelian father, as manager of the *Oeconomia*—the science of the household. Much as in the Pombaline monarchy, the patriarch should not rule as an absolute sovereign who can dispose and decide alone. Rather, the modern paterfamilias was an agent of improvement, and the most critical node in the normalization of medical government. King João V's incapacitating illness left a long legacy.

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<sup>289</sup> Georges Vigarello, *Le corps redressé: histoire d'un pouvoir pédagogique*, Nouvelle éd., Histoire et sociétés (Paris: le Félin, 2018); Mickaël Bouffard-Veilleux et al., eds., *Le Corps Dans l'histoire et Les Histoires Du Corps (XVIIe-XVIIIe Siècle): Travaux de Jeunes Chercheurs Précédés d'entretiens Avec Georges Vigarello*, Les Collections de La République Des Lettres. Symposiums (Paris: Hermann, 2013).

<sup>290</sup> Jerome Carroll, *Anthropology's Interrogation of Philosophy from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018).

<sup>291</sup> “Do Aumento e da Falta de habitantes.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 43v  
Suponhamos que os pais de famílias, lavradores, os quais semeiam tanta quantidade de grãos, que não somente tenham para o sustento das suas famílias, mas que vendam com proveito o que lhe sobrar: o dinheiro, ou valor dele que recebeu pelo superabundante que vendeu lhe servirá a comprar animais e bestas, e instrumentos para continuar a sua lavoura, mas ainda a aumentá-la.” BNE, Ribeiro Sanches, MSS. 18370 V. III, fl. 43.

Whether in the state or in the household, regimes of absolute rule bore the risk of the religious encroachment of unreason. A healthy republic was governed by natural law, which only modern medicine could elucidate.

### **Patriarch as Physician: Healthy Bodies and Minds**

Eighteenth-century idioms of improvement, utility, and happiness were marked by a new relationship with nature and the human. In natural philosophy and medicine, this change was signaled by the desire to transform the world. The ambition to augment and control the growth of natural species marked a decisive departure from the previous orientation to study nature in order to reconstruct how God went about creating the world and with what aim. Rather than a reenactment of Genesis, “enlightened” improvement expressed a dissatisfaction with the world as it was handed to humans. As active beings endowed with reason, humans were not to passively accept nature as it was. To receive God’s work was quite simply an incomplete ambition. And so, through deistic ideas, to render the world better became a new means of establishing a more intimate rapport to the divine.

According to deists, especially the variants of this philosophy that were developed following Newton’s death in 1727, God continued to rank as creator while its everyday role in natural and human affairs became less interventive. In allowing this transformation, deism crafted a larger space for human agency and knowledge to produce directed and intentional change in the world. As this section will discuss, the realm of education was no different. My discussion here looks at pedagogy as an “enlightened” practice which, ideally, would be disseminated through each household and ultimately seep into the welfare of the state. This section, therefore, links the sciences of human learning and cognition with household hygiene

and embryology. The medicalization of the household, I contend, was an anthropological project that saw humans as susceptible to change through reasoned control of the shaping of their surrounding milieu. As seen in the previous section, the first piece of this puzzle entailed re-educating the father. This section will delve into the next stage of the process: the problem of how children and household members could be shaped into physically healthy and morally hygienic subjects.

Before Sanches delved into the problem of pedagogy through his medical treatises and dissertations on the soul, other Portuguese authors had already begun engaging with Locke's problem of cognition. One such example was Martinho de Mendonça de Pina Proença Homem (1693-1743). Mendonça was royal commissioner in the rebellious and booming gold-mining region of Minas Gerais (Brazil) between 1734 and 1737 and a defender of a new method of acquiring knowledge.<sup>292</sup> In his 1734 *Apontamentos sobre a educação de um menino nobre* (Notes on the education of a noble boy), a book published one year past his departure to Brazil, Martinho de Mendonça set out to solve the problem of Portugal's elites through a new educational method. Mendonça's key goal, as Kristen Schultz notes, was the redirection of "nobility away from privilege and toward the deployment of rational inquiry in service of the crown."<sup>293</sup> This work is analyzed here as the first effort of reforming paternal household discretion through the "modern" method, thus attempting to produce an entre-deux between modern empiricism and absolute government.

Based on Lockean empiricism—which Mendonça cites—and Rollin's *Traité des Études* (1730), Mendonça's view was still tethered to the absolute monarchy and its vision of "corporate

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<sup>292</sup> Kirsten Schultz, "Learning to Obey: Education, Authority, and Governance in the Early Eighteenth-Century Portuguese Empire," *Atlantic Studies* 12, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 435–56.

<sup>293</sup> Schultz, 436.



pluralism.”<sup>294</sup> However, as Schultz notes, despite his adherence to the absolute model of royal power, Mendonça’s treatise also pursues new paradigms of knowledge and personal edification based on the modern method. This apparent contradiction is not so hard to explain. After all, Mendonça had traveled to Brazil to serve the crown as Governor. His approach to pedagogy, therefore, was rooted in a commitment to social hierarchy and the status he himself was afforded by his own birth and office. Hence, his *Notes* do not question the existence of privilege, only what Portuguese elites have done with it—which, in his view, resulted in a dire evaluation of very scarce contributions to the state.

The task of the educational method involved producing a uniform method of paternal instruction across the Portuguese empire.<sup>295</sup> Mendonça’s method was thus crafted with the preoccupation of enforcing a model of aristocratic paternal authority. Implicitly, this model was not only gendered as male but also racialized as white and linked only to the aristocratic class. Through engagement with Locke and the tradition that conceived of the father as sovereign, Mendonça named the “moderation of the passions” as the key to attain “prudence, wisdom.” The inability to exercise self-restraint, led to the three most important errors against “good

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<sup>294</sup> The idea of corporatist pluralism was key to the juridical order of ancien régime Portugal and the government of its overseas territories. This notion marks how justice was applied along varying geometries and often on a case by case basis. Until the late eighteenth century, the Portuguese empire was ruled by pluralism rather than via a single, uniform juridical rule. This is the equivalent to what Hespanha’s analysis of the distinction between “jurisdiction” and law. João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso and Manolo Florentino, *O Arcaísmo Como Projeto: Mercado Atlântico, Sociedade Agrária e Elite Mercantil Em Uma Economia Colonial Tardia: Rio de Janeiro, c.1790-c.1840*, 4a ed. rev. e ampliada (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001); João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Maria Fernanda Bicalho, and Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, eds., *O Antigo Regime Nos Trópicos: A Dinâmica Imperial Portuguesa, Séculos XVI-XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001); Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *O crepúsculo dos grandes: a casa e o património da aristocracia em Portugal (1750 - 1832)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2003); Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, *D. José: Na Sombra de Pombal* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2008); Hespanha, *Pluralismo Jurídico e Direito Democrático*; Hespanha, “Da iustitia à disciplina, textos, poder e política penal no antigo regime.”

<sup>295</sup> “Estes apontamentos para o uso de quem na minha falta cuidasse na educação dos meus filhos; e comunicando-os a algumas pessoas de superior esfera, e talento, quase todos forão de parecer, que serão de alguma utilidade, reduzindo-se a termos, que pudessem servir para a educação dos meninos, cujos Pais, vivendo nas Provincias, e desejando instruillos, ignorão o methodo, que devem seguir na educação.” Martinho de Mendonça de Pina e de Proença, *Apontamentos para a educação de hum menino nobre* (Na Offic. de Francisco Mendes Lima, 1761), 8.

education”: excess luxury; neglect in the face of vice; and the use of punishment instead of admonishment. If, however, fathers adopted measures to inculcate good habits and combat misconduct, households would not only prosper and become more morally sound, but they would also be imbued with the “invincible force of clear reason.”<sup>296</sup>

From here, Mendonça stressed the importance of “Christian education” but also its shortcomings: despite its rigor, it failed to understand the value of moderation. The rigidity of such an approach, with its stress on memorization of ideas detached from reality, was perceived as dangerous.<sup>297</sup> Citing the rationalist philosopher Ehrenfried von Tschirnhaus’ text *Medicina mentis* (1687), Mendonça advanced a method tethered to experience. *Medicina mentis* was an important reference, as Tschirnhaus offered a model to approach the physical effects that ideas produced on somatic health. Intellect, he argued, was a branch of conscience whose development led to the attainment of the material essence of reality and natural truths.<sup>298</sup> This development, as Tschirnhaus argued, occurred both in mind and body (*mentis et corporis*). The text also proposed that mental health was as critical as physical health to the wellbeing of mankind. Diseases of the soul, such as unruly passions and other “errors,” produced illnesses that could only be defeated through mental hygiene. Since *medicina mentis* could “remedy” problems of logic or intellect, paternal household supervision was the key to fostering good mental habits.

Far from mere disquisitions, Mendonça’s consideration on method and the mind established the very meaning and purpose of reason: the capacity to control the passions through

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<sup>296</sup>“Só a invencível força da razão clara, e experiencia repetida, pode obrigar a que deixe o caminho trilhado nas escolas, quem nellas gastou a mayor parte da vida.” Proença, 12.

<sup>297</sup> Proença, 18–21.

<sup>298</sup> Massimiliano Savini, “La Medicina mentis de Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus en tant que ‘Philosophie première,’” *Les Cahiers philosophiques de Strasbourg*, no. 32 (December 15, 2012): 147–72, <https://doi.org/10.4000/cps.2062>; Franco Crispini, review of *Review of Medicina Mentis*, by Ehrenfried Walter von Tschirnhaus, Lucio Pepe, and Manuela Sanna, *Rivista Di Storia Della Filosofia* (1984-) 44.

moderation and self-rule. Reason, therefore, hinged on exercising individual judgment; to care for what is said not who is saying it. This was a principle borrowed from Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693). Locke, whom Mendonça repeatedly cited, equated rational judgment with adulthood. Thus, to assent to be placed under government and become the household's sovereign was the epitome of the development of the mind's faculties. Becoming a patriarch was the zenith of one's education into moral responsibility—and a precondition for the primogenital child to succeed the father and occupy their station of responsibility in the polity. In this sense, pedagogy was a science of social and biological reproduction. It paid attention to the “child” at every stage; from its existence *in potentia*, as an embryo, through the processes of gestation in the womb, birth, and growth into adulthood. Continuing to borrow from Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, Mendonça insisted on the paternal duty of crafting an environment, the *casa*, conducive to moral rectitude and reason. This idea had two key influences: first, neo-Hippocratic thinking about air, centering on concerns about the healthy moral economy and the salubrious spatial disposition of the *casa*; second, how the role of environment aligned with stadial theories of human improvement and ideas about the cognitive malleability of the child.

Here, it is important to clarify the difference between stadial theses and forms of evolutionary thinking that emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century with Lamarck and Erasmus Darwin. Stadial theory conceived the progress of either humans or their civilization as a step-by-step process. As already discussed in the case of Ribeiro Sanches, the entryway into urbanity and civilization started with agriculture. As the first science of the “conservation” of life and physical health, agriculture fostered labor and land cultivation while freeing humans from the caprice of nature and the chaos of nomadism. It was from this so-called “chaos,” in Sanches’

wording, that the household emerged. It was also from this scaffold that the household became the key site of the Portuguese civilization mid-eighteenth-century “modern” thinkers sought to will into being.

As the homunculus of the nation, the *casa* represented the ability to establish a sedentary rapport with nature. Through ingenuity, humans transformed land into property, thus improving both their human and social condition. This scaffold then also structured relations of labor and social rank. Because the *casa* was at once a social and physical infrastructure, it also propagated the family’s reproduction on a social and biological front. It was here that fostering the appropriate moral and physical milieu for a successful education became vital to the republic. Seen as children were, in Lockean terms, “only as White Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases’,” the example impressed upon their empty, malleable minds left an indelible mark.<sup>299</sup> Bringing a subject into the condition of reason, therefore, started with the acquisition of ideas in the womb.<sup>300</sup> The method of paternal supervision ought to cultivate moral and physical habits capable of transforming the mental capacity of children and bring them into adult reason—thus turning them into subjects of the state.

Attention to the first stages of children’s cognitive development placed pedagogy into dialogue with the sciences of life and generation, such as embryology. After all, as Locke argued, the human mind began developing in the womb. The precociousness of this process rendered household health and virtue into an imperative. In this sense, the household *oconomia*, political medicine, and pedagogy were anthropological sciences: taking man as their object, they

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<sup>299</sup> John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education: By John Locke, Esq* (J. and R. Tonson, 1779), paras. 1, 83.

<sup>300</sup> Taking into account storied medical debates about the role of maternal imagination, the idea that cognitive development and the inculcation of specific features started at conception was part of popular culture.

became platforms to explore the union and complex rapports between body and soul.<sup>301</sup>

Moreover, as sciences, they also became domains of self-control that demarcated the power of reason in overcoming desire.

The idea that childhood was driven by desire whereas adulthood was an age of reason, was something Mendonça and Sanches drew from Locke. Both reason and paternal example taught the renunciation of pleasure and the taming of desire. For this reason, the “modern” method of child-rearing was a vital cog in the making of Portuguese civilization—one that naturalized privilege as male and patrician. However, as it will be seen in the following chapter, this mode of thought also marked how both Africans and Amerindians were racialized—and if, indeed, they were perceived as susceptible of assimilation into whiteness. Put differently, the imprimatur of stadial racial thinking must account for the role the household played as a physical infrastructure wherefrom social relations, labor, and reproductive futurity were organized. Doing so also entails appreciating how the “modern” method codified health as both reason and physical prowess.

However, this sphere of personal discretion also had strict limits, as Mendonça recalls. If someone possessed either legislative or sovereign power—as the paterfamilias of the *casa* did—then children had to conform to their determinations. The same applied to “secular or ecclesiastical superiors [...] who must be obeyed, even when the reason or fundament [for their commands] cannot be devised.”<sup>302</sup> Mendonça’s emphasis on moral rectitude and the rule over the passions of the soul had a dualistic, materialist anchor. After asserting how reason was relayed in noble boys by their fathers and educators through a mixture of Lockean liberty and

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<sup>301</sup> Andrault Raphaële et al., eds., *Médecine et philosophie de la nature humaine: de l’âge classique aux Lumières: anthologie* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), 27.

<sup>302</sup> “As pessoas de juízo costumam ponderar a razão do que se diz, e não a autoridade de quem o diz, se lhe falta o poder legislativo, e soberano, que obrigue a conformar aos seus dictames.” Proença, *Apontamentos*.

ancient régime patriarchal political rule, the *Notes* also explored regimes of the body. The “admirable union” of body and soul of which “man is composed” combined the immortal soul with the body’s “constitution and the temperament of its material organs.”<sup>303</sup> While, Mendonça continues, “the principal goal of good education must be to adorn the soul, it must also, whenever possible, attend to the body.” Specifically, it must seek the body’s “perfect disposition, robustness, and capacity not just for studies but also for [all the] laborious exercises of an active and military life.”<sup>304</sup>

Intentionally avoiding the scholastic style of “medical aphorisms,” which in his view was the duty of “expert Physicians,” Mendonça nevertheless drew a connection between the “health of the body” and “the virtues of the soul.” Here, citing the “physician Locke, who wrote expertly on the education of children,” Mendonça advises fathers to treat their sons as they would treat housekeepers. As to clothing, he advised “the consultation of Anatomists, and not allowing oneself to be blindly governed by fashion” to promote blood circulation and avoid “defects on the body’s configuration.”<sup>305</sup>

Across several more pages, Mendonça expanded his engagement to new domains of male education and the promotion of health. Although the *Notes* focus on providing practical advice to the paterfamilias and progenitor, Mendonça does not shy away from deferring to the expert authority of the professional physician. It will be in this space, between the need for a modern

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<sup>303</sup> “Consta o homem de alma, e corpo, cuja admirável união todos a experimentão, e ninguem a sabe explicar, pois sendo a alma espirito imortal, por sua natureza independente do corpo accomoda, e proporciona as suas operações (em quanto ovivifica) à constituição, e temperamento dos órgãos materiais.” Proença, [1] 49.

<sup>304</sup> “assim ainda que o principal fim da boa educação deve ser adornar de virtudes a alma, também pôde adquirir para o corpo, disposição perfeita, robusta, e capaz, não só do estudo, mas de todos os laboriosos exercícios da vida activa, e militar, não somente a saúde e vigor do corpo, he meyo para os adiantamentos do estudo das Sciencias, e nos empregos da Republica, mas também parte, ou condição da pefeita felicidade humana na vida, e assim devem os pays desde que nascem os seus filhos aplicar todo o cuidado de aumentar o vifor, e conservar a saúde.” Proença, *Apontamentos*, [2].

<sup>305</sup> “Esta matéria se teria de consultar com Anatomicos doutos, e não se governar cegamente pela moda.” Proença, [4].

method to assist the science of child-rearing and the promotion of the universal laws of physical health, that subsequent popular medical treatises will intervene. Regarding the *Notes*, Mendonça remains committed to a balancing act between paternal authority and scientific authority. For this reason, the thematic reach of the *Notes* spans widely, from debates on what to eat, how much, and when, to expositions about physical exercise and considerations of when a physician must be called to the *casa*. To call a physician, an expert authority on healing, he noted, was a matter reserved for only occasions when the father could not personally intercede.

Reason, as Mendonça defined it, was about the exercise of careful judgment and the capacity to assess a situation. Matters pertaining to physical health and “virtuous thoughts” were first and foremost a paternal prerogative. Similar to the Aristotelian attribution of logos to male seed, during the process of education, the example of the father’s capacity to demonstrate reason was determinative of the son’s future ability to rule. This approach to the development of ideas was stadial. If children, as Locke argued, presented blank slates; then a preceptor knowledgeable on the method would shape the milieu of the *casa* and mold a healthy subject.

Pedagogy, the science of education, represented a domain for medico-anthropological intervention with a vital role in shaping the meaning of reason and determining who could embody it. Emblemized in paternal authority, reason referred to the moral and corporeal alike. A healthy body was, therefore, also reasoned and virtuous. In this regard, it is worth noting that moderation, the key feature manifested by the paterfamilias, was essentially a homeostatic (*avant la lettre*) concept. As a quality, it aimed for harmony between extremes and the balance of competing ideas. In that sense, it inherited (or perhaps replayed) a humoral mode of thought about cognition and intellect. Its offspring, reason, marked a healthy mind. The novelty brought by the the eighteenth century, by Mendonça and other thinkers, was the move away from a static,

or fixed, concept of the human being and the early stages of a philosophical engagement with the problem of change in nature. Stadial frameworks offered resources to think through the “enlightened” ambition of improvement. Pedagogy offered a model to think about the development of human physique and cognition side by side. This mode of thought gave a naturalistic explanation for pre-existing hierarchies of sex, gender, race, and class. Although never explicit as such, pedagogical health manuals were sites for the negotiation of the political. In the post-1755 earthquake phase, their medical dimension only strengthened. Texts like Sanches’ *Treatise on the Conservation of the Health of the Peoples* (1756) sought to attain both the medicalization of the household and of the state.

### **Medical Manuals, Popular Remedies, and the Medical Casa**

This section explores the realms of popular healing that rational management sought to displace. The *Manuscritos da Livraria* collection, as it is called, spans thousands of manuscripts collected by the Portuguese state in the aftermath of the liberal revolution, namely the 1834 extinction of all religious orders. Given the somewhat chaotic conditions under which this collection was assimilated into the national archives, the collection lacks coherence, and there is little information regarding the context for its production, use, and authorship. Most of what can be known about these documents on healthcare provision relates to their provenance: normally either a convent or a monastery. Despite all these limitations, these early modern books offer a unique glimpse into what everyday practices of healthcare management used to look like in conditions of seclusion and relative isolation. Judging from the length of some of these manuscripts and the variety of handwritten script, these books were often palimpsestic and



deeply localized—for instance, recipes often resorted to known plants and other natural resources.

Of course, nuns and monks were far from the only people who used recipes for the everyday management of ailments, big and small. University-trained physicians, too, leaned on dietary advice, as well as recipes and *materia medica*, to heal their patients.<sup>306</sup> Doctors such as João Curvo Semedo (1635-1719), for example, used Galenic humoralism to produce books detailing mixtures used to heal specific diseases. In addition, as exemplified by Curvo Semedo's *Bezoartico*, physicians relied on the commercialization of these recipes to make a living.<sup>307</sup>

When “enlightened” medical manuals emerged from the mass of popular health literature circulating in Portugal, they articulated a unique episteme and professional ambition. The first and foremost reason for their difference lay in the ambition to provide universal panaceas. The second difference concerns the instrumental role these manuals played in the project of disseminating a universal medical system, and therefore in advancing the prestige of professional physicians. Third, popular “enlightened” manuals abandoned Galenic Humoralism but persisted with neo-Hippocratic ideas. Fourth and most important for the present purposes: these manuals tried to standardize and systematize approaches to the promotion of health with a view of intervening in the new eighteenth-century domain of scientific intervention: the population. It is in this context that works like Ribeiro Sanches' *Treatise on the Conservation of the Health of the*

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<sup>306</sup> Of course, the practice of medical books continued into nineteenth and even the twentieth century, but eighteenth century popular health was a theme du

<sup>307</sup> João Curvo Semedo, *Proposta que o Doutor Joam Curvo Semmedo, Medico, morador em Lisboa, faz aos amantes da saude, & conciencias* ([S.l: s.n, 17); João Curvo Semedo et al., *Observações medicas doutrinaes de cem casos gravissimos, que em serviço da Patria, & das Nações estranhas escreve em lingua Portugueza, & Latina: offerecidas ao... Ruy de Moura Telles Arcebispo de Braga*, Impressas segunda vez por seu filho o Reverendo Ignacio Curvo Semmedo (Lisboa Occidental: na Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1727).

*Peoples*, the most widely disseminated manual of the Lusophone eighteenth century, must be understood.

But before advancing a close reading of Sanches's thoughts on population, it is important to explore the sort of world his "political and universal medicine" sought to abolish. This world is exemplified by several of the recipe books held at Torre do Tombo, archived under the *Manuscritos da Livraria* collection. I chose to briefly approach one of them, a translation of John Benjamin Wesley's *Primitive Physick*.<sup>308</sup> First published in 1747, the unattributed manuscript translation into Portuguese may date from the 1770s, an inference I made judging from the date of the annotated French translation used by the Portuguese author.<sup>309</sup>

This palimpsestic example of a popular recipe book stemmed from the hands of a Church minister, rather than a physician. The Portuguese copy is interesting in many regards, but in the context of this chapter, it particularly reveals the failures of universal schemas and how deeply localized remedies and medical treatment continued to be. This idea is exemplified through a comparison of the English, French, and Portuguese versions. Each book not only offers different recipes but also a different order of priorities when it comes to disease. Wesley's first edition started with a recipe against "Ague" (malaria or fever). Interestingly, Wesley's additional editions all start with prescriptions to prevent "abortions" (i.e., miscarriages). Both the French and the Portuguese translators seem to concur with Wesley's prioritization of reproductive matters. The French author, however, was principally concerned with childbirth. Specifically, the manual emphasized "easy childbirth" (*accouchement aisé*). As Scottie Buehler documented in her doctoral dissertation, this preoccupation was entirely in line with French physicians' attempts

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<sup>308</sup> ANTT/PT/MSLIV/0134.

<sup>309</sup> The French translation used an edition from 1760, which was published in Paris in 1772.

to regulate midwifery and claim childbirth as domain of medicalized government.<sup>310</sup> The Portuguese story, on the other hand, emphasized the “multiplication of the people.” Be it through recipes *para prevenir abortos*—in Portuguese, *aborto* refers both to miscarriage and abortion—or methods for reviving drowned bodies, the manual seemingly prioritized prevention of (perceived) death over cure of disease.

To someone like Sanches, Wesley’s *Primitive Physic* provided nothing but haphazard and dangerous advice. This opinion was, of course, reinforced by the fact that Wesley was a Methodist minister and not at all a trained physician. Wesley’s religious outlook was announced in the first pages of his manual, with a retelling of disease as a consequence of the Fall. Nevertheless, still very much within the spirit of his times, Wesley identified the father, as physician of his household and the embodiment of reason, as the protagonist of his endeavor: “But if any is sick, or bit by a Serpent, or torn by a wild Beast, the Fathers immediately tell their Children what Remedy to apply.”<sup>311</sup>

The popularity of Wesley’s book, which was far greater than that of Sanches, speaks to the limits of political medicine. The new, “modern” method of quotidian medical praxis lay, perhaps, too far from the familiar to really take off. The fact that Wesley was relying on the old idea of the sovereign as physician while resorting to the well-known and established genre of the recipe book, seems to have given him an advantage. After all, as a father of sons himself, Wesley then arrogated to himself the prerogative of providing advice on health and the prevention of sickness. While this goal was, in general terms, aligned with Sanches’, their methodology was still fundamentally at odds. This is visible in Wesley’s presentation of his topic, e.g.: “’Tis

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<sup>310</sup> Buehler, “Being and Becoming a Midwife in Eighteenth-Century France.”

<sup>311</sup> John Wesley, *Primitive Physick ... [By John Wesley.] The Second Edition Inlarged* (Bristol; sold by G. Woodfall, 1750), vi.

probable PHYSICK, as well as RELIGION, was in the first Ages chiefly traditional: Every Father delivering down to his Sons, what he had himself in like Manner received.”<sup>312</sup> To make matters worse, this was the same John Wesley who, following the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake, proffered a series of sermons attributing the cause of the disaster to Catholic sin, specifically to the “bloodshed” caused by the Inquisition.<sup>313</sup> Although Sanches responded to neither Wesley’s supernatural thoughts on the earthquake nor to his approach to household health, both men sided with two co-existing and competing visions on the “conservation of health.”

Sanches’ *Treatise on the Conservation of the Health of the People* was nothing if not naturalistic—and, as already mentioned, it was deistic in its approach to natural law and the role of human agency. This ambition was visible in the very first pages. He both identifies his project as “Political Medicine” and as a “Universal Medicine” and a “Political Order.” This way of announcing that his view of the political exceeded the sphere of the father and his respective household. Rather, the link between medicine, natural law, and the political sought to expand the reach of his *Treatise* to the entire state—including all of Portugal’s overseas territories. Like the work of those before him, Sanches’ labor of universal health still started with the household—*oeconomia*. However, because his work hinged on population medicine through prevention, his target was the reinvention of Portugal’s political economy. In the move from the household to the state, medical care had to become a preventative science of the polity.

Sanches drew a fundamental dividing line between his approach to the traditional genre of the popular health manual and his medicalized approach. His emphasis on a medical “Political Order” that was “founded on the Laws of Nature and good Physics” did a lot of work in this

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<sup>312</sup> Wesley, vi. Capital letters in original.

<sup>313</sup> John Wesley, *Serious Thoughts Occasioned by the Late Earthquake: At Lisbon* (printed in the year, 1755).

respect.<sup>314</sup> Yet, through this seemingly banal rhetorical move, Sanches did a lot to redefine reason. Unlike what Wesley, Mendonça, or Locke posited, reason no longer lay in the paterfamilias's capacity to exert "temperance" and good judgment in his daily management of the household. Sanches was not interested in appealing to the virtue of the father. What Sanches ultimately wanted—what his political medicine aimed to do—was to redefine reason to fit the mold of medicine's "laws of Nature and good Physics."<sup>315</sup> And, in doing so, he aimed to advise the paterfamilias by making the patriarch and progenitor into the first object of his pedagogical project. From here, much like in Locke or Mendonça's views the son had to first learn to obey before becoming the sovereign of his *casa*, Sanches' approach in the *Treatise* followed the same logic. Before the progenitor could instill the universal political order of medicine in their *casa*, they had to first learn from the "modern" physician; only afterwards could the father orient his action based on medical teachings.

Because the "modern" physician was the mediator *par excellence* of natural law, in Sanches' account, creating a healthy household and body politic demanded medical expertise. Sanches' bid to medicalize the *casa*—by way of the medicalization of paternal authority—started with a dispute about the meaning of "man" (*homem*). To understand this move, it is important to briefly move to another of his important texts. In his 1753 *Dissertation on the Passions of the Soul* (*Dissertação sobre as Paixões da Alma*), Sanches advanced an argument on the union of body and soul. Despite the absence of any direct remarks on Descartes' dualistic theory, it is clear from the eponymous title that Sanches aimed to intervene in the Cartesian thesis.<sup>316</sup> This

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<sup>314</sup> Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix*.

<sup>315</sup> Sanches, [ii].

<sup>316</sup> António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Dissertação sobre as Paixões da Alma (14 de Dezembro de 1753)* (Penamacor: Câmara Municipal de Penamacor, 1999); António Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, "Desertassaõ sobre as paixões da alma, pelo doutor Antonio Ribeiro Sanchez [sic]." (Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de santé (BIS), BIS. Ms 43 1753).

dialogue was not only owed to Descartes' dominance in natural philosophy, but specifically to his preeminence in France, where Sanches lived at the time. As someone who trained in Leiden under Boerhaave—and who studied there with Haller, among others—Sanches' orientation was both deistic and informed by vitalist holism. In other words, body and soul could not be separated from one another in any attempt to understand the course of disease in “man,” nor could “man” be reducible to a purely materialist account of the body.<sup>317</sup> For this reason, Sanches proposed a functional, binary division of the human into “two men” (*dois homens*): the “sanguine man” (*homem sanguineo*) which spoke to the circulatory system; and the “nervous man” (*homem nervoso*), which spoke to the nervous system.<sup>318</sup> In this manner, Sanches asserted how life, reason, and health were reducible to two key bodily functions: blood circulation and sensibility.

In the context of 1750s Portugal, Sanches' claim to the soul bore deeper, more strategic consequences; it presented an anti-ecclesiastical point of view. Chiding the “sterile” contribution of priests, bishops, inquisitors, and confessors on the health of the nation, Sanches rejected what he called the teachings of “Christian doctors.”<sup>319</sup> His goal was, through a neo-Hippocratic emphasis on the legacy of Greek medicine and its treatment of the soul, to reject how theologians came to assert exclusive jurisdiction over the soul. Instead, by arguing the presence of an “inextricable bond” (*imperscrutável vínculo*) between both, Sanches noted how sentiments, sensibility, and mental states produced somatic effects that metamorphosed into illness.<sup>320</sup> Hence, much as in ancient Greece, “modern” physicians had to assert authority over this

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<sup>317</sup> Sanches, *Dissertação sobre as Paixões da Alma (14 de Dezembro de 1753)*, 2.

<sup>318</sup> Sanches, *Dissertação sobre*, 3.

<sup>319</sup> Sanches, *Dissertação sobre*, 3.

<sup>320</sup> Sanches, *Dissertação sobre*, 4.

essential domain of health and wellbeing in order to displace the errors perpetrated by theologians—namely, how they cared for the soul rather than body. By adhering to the Hippocratic legacy, Sanches redefined reason, rendering medicine into the principal conduit for its operation. Instead of Lockean moderation or Wesley’s temperance—concepts that appealed to humoral theories of balance—Sanches’ reason was tethered to natural law and the physical forces governing the motion of blood within bodies.

By the same token, Sanches also redefined the meaning of health as a natural state whose preservation was possible when given appropriate knowledge.<sup>321</sup> Acting in a reasoned manner became an attribution associated with adherence to Sanches’ own preventative method. The link between *physis* and *psyche* brought both human bodies and minds into the purview of medical reason. Given that Sanches ultimate goal was to “augment the peoples,” his political medicine had to think beyond the traditional pairing of paterfamilias and household. That is not to say that he neglected them as, indeed, his view of population and political economy was anchored to the health of the *casa*. Nevertheless, the direness of the depopulation crisis in Portugal demanded more capacious, pragmatic solutions. This meant that instead of informing his intervention based on the kind of society he would rather see—one in which fewer fathers rendered their sons useless to the state by committing them to a religious life—the *Treatise* addressed the *actual* social constitution of the monarchy—i.e., its peoples (*povos*). Specifically, this meant that Sanches directed his prescriptions on how to promote “the health of subjects” to the superiors who administered each respective sphere. The measures proposed in the treatise were produced to direct the work of “Legislators,” as well as “Magistrates, Sea and war captains; and Captain

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<sup>321</sup> Peter E. Pormann, “Medical Conceptions of Health from Antiquity to the Renaissance,” in *Health* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Tom Broman, “Health in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Health*, ed. Peter Adamsom (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 222–45.

Generals, in their armies.” In addition, Sanches also acknowledged religious and civic figures such as “Prelates in Convents, Abbesses, and Hospital inspectors and each Paterfamilias.”<sup>322</sup>

The universal scale of political medicine forced Sanches to supplant the *casa* and the traditional scale of medical treatises. Without forgetting the importance of the household and family medicine, the *Treatise* emphasized spaces of collective living. Effectively, some of these spaces, such as monasteries and convents, replaced the hereditary family. Nevertheless, these spaces were still integral to household management. It was common practice for last-born sons, and daughters who were unable to secure access to the *casa*'s patrimony or a dowry, to commit to religious life. In a Catholic context, therefore, entering religious life was far from a mere matter of vocation; it was, in fact, part and parcel of the practice of household *oeconomia*.

Despite his stark disagreement with the anti-natalist idleness of a life dedicated to religion, Sanches nevertheless recognized their role as collective spaces where health also had to be maintained. Similar concerns with devising universal rules to prevent disease in spaces of collective cohabitation were extended to the management of hospitals, ships, and prisons. The lack of a proper method, which was especially marked by deficient ventilation, denoted just the extent to which the rule of “empirics,” theologians, and scholastic physicians had damaged the monarchy.

In this context, the household remained the most important biosocial structure of the mid-eighteenth-century Lusophone Atlantic. The physical conditions of cities, and the “many defects” (*muitos defeitos*) in habitational and urban design accumulated over the centuries, become a special object of concern. Sanches attributes the many “plagues and Epidemics ravaging European cities” to the “very narrow streets, directionless, [...] with no cleanliness, no

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<sup>322</sup> Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix*, [ii].



aqueduct to evacuate [either] the waters or rain.” Given how poorly built the houses were in these settings—with wood and thatched roofs—Sanches concludes: “everything contributed to the infection of the Air, [instead of working towards] the conservation and vigor of its inhabitants.”<sup>323</sup> What was worse, both design features of urban homes and their relation to urban space propagated disease. Narrow and unventilated streets were replete with ground floor homes built with primitive materials—wood, stucco, or mortar—and lacked exposure to either wind or sunlight. Life for those who lived on the first or second floors was not much better. With small windows, their homes received neither ventilation nor light.<sup>324</sup> In a rhetorical move that only deepened the sense of the irrational insalubrity of such urban spaces, Sanches linked these specific design features to Constantinople and the “Mahometan dominions.”

The unprecedented destructiveness of the 1755 earthquake kick-started the reform of such urban chaos. The new Pombaline urban grid followed straight lines and rigorous standards of proportion and symmetry. The structures of the new, rational downtown both took anti-seismic technology—the Pombaline wood cage (*gaiola Pombalina*)—and health into consideration. The bonds that linked Sanches to Pombal were documented since the 1730s and 1740s. Judging from Sanches’ recommendations directed at “Magistrates for the reforms of said defects,” they were kindred spirits. The “broad streets, in straight lines, and with large squares” did, in fact, become a hallmark of Pombaline urban space both in Portugal and the Amazon.

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<sup>323</sup> “Só as nações civilizadas fundaram cidades, não só para se utilizarem pela sociedade, [...] assim as primeiras povoações participaram de muitos defeitos, como [...] as ruas são muito estreitas, sem direcção, nem termo nos lugares mais frequentados dela: [...] nenhuma limpeza, nenhum aqueduto para se evacuem as águas ou da chuva, ou do uso dos habitantes; as casas eram cobertas de colmo, de ramos, ou de tábuas; o que tudo contribuía antes para infectar o Ar, que para conservação, e vigor dos habitantes: essa era a causa das frequentes pestes, e Epidemias que desolavam a Europa até o fim do Século passado.” Sanches, chap. XII.

<sup>324</sup> “Além destes defeitos, as casas eram de taipa, ou de argamaça outras de madeira encruzilhada; a maior parte delas eram térreas: aqueles que moravam no primeiro, e segundo andar não tinham nem claridade nem ventilação do Ar, por causa da pequenez das janelas, e portas: e desta sorte de edificios usam ainda hoje os Turcos em Constantinopla, no Grão Cairo, e na maior parte do domínio Maometano, onde a peste faz horrorosos estragos tão amiúde.” Sanches, chap. XII.

As the city became its own technology of health, changes to urban design also affected the design and infrastructure of the *casa*, featuring bigger windows, *pedra e cal* (a firmer structure), gutters, and a firm roof, capable of withstanding rain. Of this list, Sanches only missed an anti-seismic scaffold. The ideal *casa*, thus, should promote ventilation, have light, and consist of more construction materials allowing shelter from the seasonal storms. In addition, the new regime of medical reason should also be marked by a greater investment of the head of household in matters relating to cleaning and the promotion of healthy diet.<sup>325</sup>

Regarding the design of the physical structure proper, Sanches advises that the walls should have cement and be thinner if they are covered in tile. The traditional custom of placing bedrooms near the main door should be abandoned, and rooms moved to the first floor. Other recommendations included always having a barn with seeds, building aqueducts to evacuate water, regular street cleaning, and public pavements (*calçadas consistentes*). Without following these instructions, he added, the conditions that “created Air corruption would be corrected.” Given the extent to which the historiography of public health and urbanism has centered France and the nineteenth-century Haussmann reforms (1853-1870), it is important to note how the Lisbon post-earthquake urban experiment anteceded the redesign of Paris by a century. A similar diagnostic of urban squalor, pauperism, and poorly constructed homes informed the reinvention of that city. Haussmann cannot be understood without considering the precedent set by eighteenth century medicine, which found an opportunity for implementation after 1755.

### **From the Household to the State**

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<sup>325</sup> Sanches, chap. XX.

Augmenting the peoples and building a healthy population in mid-eighteenth-century Portugal was a project that entailed scientizing the household and patriarchal authority. The 1755 earthquake has traditionally taken the spotlight as the vector of transformation in this moment. My goal in this chapter is not to disprove this thesis but rather to add both nuance and historical contextualization to it. If the dimension of physical destruction brought with it permitted new ways of governing, why was the Pombaline program of reforms seemingly ready to hit the ground running? Traditionally, this story has focused on institutional transformation. The dimension of the changes enacted on every dimension of everyday life; from novel philosophies of spatial governance, to new governing bodies, laws, and transformations of social hierarchy, political philosophies, and scientific epistemes, every aspect of collective and individual life was touched by reform.

However, in this chapter, I also wanted to emphasize two aspects often omitted from discussions about this period in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian world. First, I have drawn attention to how the goal of reform only produced social transformation inasmuch as it promoted a reshuffling of elites and the expansion of subordinate, laboring classes. Second, I have emphasized how the remaking of society—and, as it will be seen in the following chapter, of empire—and the project of the population hinged on the medicalization of household management, patriarchal rule, and the scientization of land. Until now, both these issues have been neglected in Pombaline historiography in the Afro-Luso-Brazilian Atlantic. By linking these two topics, my goal was to emphasize how depopulation was deployed to critique scholastic, church authority, and absolute monarchical rule. The modern method's remaking of household rule—first through pedagogical manuals like Mendonça's *Notes*, and later via manuals like Sanches' medico-political *Treatise*—fostered a mode of political subjecthood that

decentered the father's absolute power and discretion to govern. This remaking of the ethos of household government was also applicable to the *casa* and state. Not by coincidence, the Pombaline period was a moment of deep institutional overhaul, marked by the creation of expert institutions like the Royal Board of Censorship, the Medical Board, and the Police.

With regards to the goal of reform, Chapter 1 explored how the discourse of modern reform was used by those who possessed power against those who wanted it. In Portugal's case, power lay squarely with the absolute monarchy, with Church figures and institutions, and with scholastic institutions. In their bid for more social power and political preeminence, the side I termed the "moderns," composed of Pombal, Sanches, and Mendonça, anchored a dire diagnosis of empire and the state on the influence of these institutions. That diagnosis hinged above all on emphasizing the cause of "depopulation." As Carol Blum showed in her book on depopulation debates in eighteenth century France, population debates became a key site to attack those who held power. In the French case, these critiques focused on the monarchy and the church. Yet, while France fears that France was depopulated and its countryside abandoned seemed factual, the Portuguese case was different.

In the mid- to late-eighteenth century, fears of a waning Portuguese population were linked to four concrete realities: the continued population exodus to the gold mining regions of Brazil; the expansion of imperial borders in the Americas in 1750; an erroneous method of medicine and child-rearing; and the way the power of the Church rendered the country more sterile and less productive. When in 1755, the great earthquake suddenly reduced the imperial capital to rubble, these four concerns were expanded to a fifth: the earthquake's death toll. The task of imperial and institutional reconstruction presented in the chaotic aftermath to 1755 afforded the space and to reimagine the possible in entirely novel and revolutionary ways. The

potential for change in 1755 was, as a consequence, enormous. But the project of overall reform would not have been possible without the hard lessons instilled by royal paralysis of the 1740s.

Unlike their French counterparts, the “modern” protagonists of depopulation debates in Portugal were not republican. They had no ambition of overhauling the monarchy and they held deep beliefs on the importance of hierarchy, social fixity, and the fulfillment of rank-based duties. What the moderns wanted—and what they got after 1755—was to be included in the higher echelons of political, social, and cultural power. However, this is something that only happened with the death of King João V. With the transfer of power from João V to José I, a new paradigm of power also emerged. And, while it may be true that this system was longer the absolute monarchy of before, the period nevertheless continued to center the hegemony of a single protagonist: the Marquis of Pombal.

The dislocation in the axis of executive power from the monarch to the minister was emblematic of deeper transformations in the body of the state. The scientization of the household under the purview of Sanches’ political medicine was one of them. Much as in the state, the administration of the household ceased to be the exclusive domain of paternal power. Instead, like the battles fought over the diagnosis of monarch and monarchy during King João V’s prolonged illness, a depopulated nation demanded new forms of household management. As this chapter tried to show, these projects hinged on pedagogy. At first, the focus was all on educating the paterfamilias. By providing advice on how to implement universal medical methods, the patriarch and progenitor was expected to maintain a healthy household and rear children with vigorous bodies and minds.

This genre of literature, the popular pedagogical and medical manual, was emblematic of “enlightened” ambitions of improvement. What I have shown in this chapter was the extent to

which these ambitions articulated an anthropological project of bringing both individuals and human collectives under the purview of natural law. As explained, this move was possible because of the assimilation of deistic philosophy by modern physicians such as Sanches. Deism allowed the adoption of mechanistic ideas about a social order undergirded by natural law. These modes of thought were critical to imagining how health and pro-natalism would acquire the natural qualities of self-rule once each component of the population machine was put into motion. This chapter focused specifically on the remaking of households under the universal laws of nature, as the most vital means of accomplishing this goal. But also paid attention to how the *casa* ought to promote the transformation of the state.

Pro-natalist fantasies about population were critical in this respect; for they stood at the heart of the new monarchy and empire in-the-making, animating ambitions of increasing trade, an unbridled growth of the labor force, and unparalleled surplus accumulation. Reconstructing the monarchy necessarily started with the modern reform of the household and the expansion of medico-anthropological questions about human hierarchies into the science of pedagogy. These processes were essential to redefine reason and reduce its meaning to a set of cultural habits and practices. It also importantly gave it a uniquely embodied form, associated with white patriarchal power, more than masculinity alone. As a science, pedagogy extended the kinds of anthropological questions that embryology and comparative anatomy already asked about the exceptionalism of human cognition, the genesis and development of ideas, and the relation between regimes of reason and of body health and government.

The following chapter follows the career of ideas about population multiplication in the Americas. It will continue to pay attention to the household, the family, and agriculture as the three key technologies of colonization. Together, they allowed both the conditions of the

multiplication of the people and the scaffolding of a civilizational project premised on the cultivation of human and vegetable natures. In Portugal, the medicalization of households and the reinvention of pedagogical practices centered gender and class; the transporting of these techniques to the Americas brings the problem of race into view. Pro-natalism in the Amazon entailed the conditional admission of Amerindians into whiteness—and therefore into the Portuguese body politic—while demanding the exclusion of blackness through slave status. The project of cultivation of human and vegetable natures with the goal of “multiplication” used the *casa* and reproduction as the principal means to render Amerindians into white vassals. The conditions of possibility for those pro-natalist, whitening campaigns were laid out in Portugal, through processes set in motion in the 1730s and 1740s but strengthened and rendered visible in the post-1755 stage.

## CHAPTER 4

### **“Many Marriages and Few Useless Wombs”:**

#### **The Political Mechanism and the Alchemy of Race in Portuguese America (1750-1798)**

##### **Introduction: The *Casa* as *Techné* and a Laboratory of Civilization**

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Portuguese empire was in a process of metamorphosis and crisis.<sup>326</sup> With the rise to power of King José I and his minister, the future Marquis of Pombal, the imperial economy entered a new stage. The gold mining boom that had kept the monarchy afloat during the first half of the century was coming to an end. New solutions became necessary to feed the fiction of Portugal’s unmitigated imperial abundance. Still during João V’s reign—a time when gold became *the* principal tool of Portuguese diplomacy with the Vatican and in other European courts—measures to prevent the continued population exodus from Portugal to Brazil were followed by the introduction of higher taxation on gold and measures against contraband.<sup>327</sup> While the former measure was simply ineffectual, the two latter decisions created tensions across Portuguese America that were often manifested through popular revolts.<sup>328</sup> The degree of resistance against mandates from Lisbon speaks to the limits of centralized authority in

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<sup>326</sup> Ricardo de Oliveira, “As metamorfoses do império e os problemas da monarquia portuguesa na primeira metade do século XVIII,” *Varia Historia* 26 (June 2010): 109–29, <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-87752010000100007>.

<sup>327</sup> Royal orders were issued in 1709, 1711, 1713, 1720 and 1744 prohibiting people from leaving for Brazil.

<sup>328</sup> Two examples of popular revolts in this period are the revolt of Vila Rica and Serro do Frio. For more on this topic see Alan Lopes, “RELAÇÕES DE PODER EM MINAS NO SÉCULO XVIII: Tributação e fiscalidade,” n.d., 6; Kathleen J. Higgins, *Licentious Liberty in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabar, Minas Gerais* (Penn State Press, 2010); Danilo Arnaldo Briskievicz, “‘No Maior Silêncio’: Um Estudo Sobre a Revolta Do Serro Do Frio, de 1718 a 1720,” *Asa-Palavra* XIX, no. 36 (2022): 8–27; Carlos Leonardo Kelmer Mathias, “Jogos de interesses e estratégias de ação no contexto da revolta mineira de Vila Rica, c. 1709 – c. 1736” (Master Thesis, Rio de Janeiro, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2005); Adriana Romeiro, *Um visionário na corte de D. João V: revolta e milenarismo nas Minas Gerais* (Editora UFMG, 2001); Adriana Romeiro, *Corrupção e Poder No Brasil: Uma História, Séculos XVI a XVIII*, Coleção História e Historiografia 17 (Belo Horizonte, MG: Autêntica Editora, 2017).



Portuguese colonialism. In addition, it marks a significant new dynamic: after more than two centuries of settler colonization, many of Brazil's colonial inhabitants were no longer *reinós* (born in Portugal), but born and raised in the Americas.

With gold on the wane, the imperial economy descended yet again into crisis. It was against this backdrop that the Amazon, until then the least explored and less known area in Portuguese America, was chosen as the new hope for Portuguese imperialism. Imperial expansion into the depths of the Amazonian region was only possible due to two significant political developments, which redrew the borders of the empire. First, with the signing of the Utrecht Treaty in 1715, the crown was able to agree with France on a demarcation between French Guyana and Portuguese America. This treaty also temporarily settled Portuguese borders of possession by La Plata by agreeing with Spain that Colonia do Sacramento (Montevideo) was a Portuguese possession. Second, was the 1750 signing of the Madrid Treaty with Spain, which sanctioned the expansion of Portuguese frontiers in the Americas by several orders of magnitude. One of the key axes of the Portuguese empire territorial expansion afforded by the Madrid Treaty lay precisely in the Amazon. According to the terms of the treaty, Portuguese monarchs ceded Montevideo to Spain while expanding their claims over land possession in the areas surrounding the Amazonian basin. As Júnia Ferreira Furtado documented, this “success” of Portuguese diplomacy was in part owed to the use of a map, *Mapa das Cortes*, which mischaracterized both the size and location of the Amazon river and its tributaries.<sup>329</sup>

However, the seeming success of these feats of territorial expansion also presented significant challenges to a monarchy whose elites were preoccupied with the threat of

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<sup>329</sup> As demarcation campaigns on both sides took top the ground, Spanish cartographers and military engineers realized what had happened. New negotiations were opened until the Treaty of Saint Hildefonso was signed in 1777. Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *O Mapa Que Inventou o Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Versal Editores, 2013).

depopulation. This concern was especially deepened by the terms of the treaty. The idea of *uti possendis*, i.e., as you possess, essentially made Portuguese legitimacy over the territories secured under the new treaty contingent on the effective occupation of the territory. In other words, the land had to be settled by vassals of the monarch in order to belong to the monarchy. In a century prolific in depopulation anxieties among Portuguese elites, the Pombaline period (1750-1777) dawned with a clear mandate to promote the “multiplication” of the people.

This chapter will focus on those projects of the population in the Amazon, with a special focus on the Pombaline period. My key concern will be to track how the civilizing project of the medicalized household traveled to the Americas, becoming a technology of race and land settlement. While the Pombaline project of remaking subjecthood in mid-eighteenth-century Portugal emphasized both social class and patriarchy, the issue of race was only implied. In the Americas, however, the function of the *casa* as the social and biological milieu for the production of white, settler subjecthood was explicit. This is visible in indigenist legislation for this period, especially the *Directório dos Índios*, or “Indian Directorate” (1757-1798), which will be this chapter’s main object of analysis.

As in the previous chapter, the *casa*—understood as a physical, political, and familial structure—plays a critical role. In this chapter, it frames Portugal’s “population machine” for Brazil; one that illuminates the racial dynamics linking pro-natalism to patriarchal, colonial settlement. The medicalized *casa* was, I argue, both a technology of colonization and a conduit for the crafting of white subjects. As such, it was a project with both short- and long-term goals. It sought to “multiply population” through marriages, families, and reproductive futurity.

At the same time, Portugal’s population machine also relied on the capacity of turning indigenous peoples into settlers, agricultural laborers, and productive economic subjects. These

two main strands of the Directorate's field of action—productive and reproductive labor—were settled through the *casa*. The house was both the physical structure inhabited by the Portuguese family and the microcosm of empire to which the pursuit of land settlement and cultivation was moored. In the context of what Pombal called the “political mechanism,” the *casa* was a laboratory of civilization.

The “political mechanism” (*mecanismo político*) was an idea Pombal developed as an elaboration of his study of William Petty's colonization of Ireland as described in his *Political Arithmetic*.<sup>330</sup> The Pombaline political mechanism, I argue, offered a novel way of imagining the settlement of Portuguese America. Reduced to its key components, it consisted of a method of population-making through the “multiplication” of homes and cities (*povoamento*). Much like Sanches' political medicine, which was also codified in dialogue with Petty's thinking, Pombal's political mechanism followed the natural laws ruling the social order to magnify population growth. In other words, it existed to improve upon the current polity and ameliorate the human condition.

Pombal's solution was also mechanistic. That is, once the “prime mover,” in this case, Pombal's legislative action, initiated the system, the mechanism would thereafter function in a self-ruled and self-perpetuating manner. In practice, the expectation was that once marriages between indigenous peoples and white settlers were formed, a household established, the land cultivated, and offspring born, the process of indigenous “domestication” would be complete. Both through bio-reproductive and social processes, indigenous peoples would be assimilated into whiteness.

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<sup>330</sup> This is not a conjectural argument. Not only had Pombal, who did not read English, ordered that a French translation of Petty's *Political Arithmetic* be made for his consultation. For more details see. BNP, PBA 165, 167, 342, and 343.

In this investigation of the Portuguese household, I explore how the eighteenth-century medicalized structure studied in the previous chapter became the scaffold of whiteness in Brazil. The physical and social structure of the household was, I argue, the axis of the Pombaline population mechanism. The *casa* with its attachment to land, labor, surplus accumulation, and commerce was the key to both populating the Amazon and “domesticating” indigenous peoples. Put differently, the *casa* was the redemptive way into whiteness via the Portuguese family and reproduction. In this respect, the patriarchal household both fixed people perceived as itinerant to the land and rearranged their rapport to political economy and sexual intimacy.

The stated aims of the Directorate’s legal text articulated a clear connection between “Portuguese” and “white” (*branco*). Pombal himself had spent a considerable part of his time as Portuguese ambassador in London studying British political economy, mercantilist charter companies, and population policies.<sup>331</sup> It was during this time in the late 1730s and early 1740s in London that Pombal became acquainted with the work of William Petty’s *Political*

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<sup>331</sup> London was a particularly important epicenter for deistic philosophy in the Portuguese intellectual context. Jacob Castro Sarmiento, the New Christian physician who was born and trained in Portugal but who spend most of his life in London, as a particularly prominent example of deistic philosophy. Sarmiento engaged deeply with Newtonian philosophy and even translated some of Newton’s work into Portuguese. One of his translations, *Theorica verdadeira das Marés conforme à Philosophia do incomparável cavalheiro Isaac Newton* (1737), was commissioned precisely by Cunha and Pombal. Other translation, while they never circulated in printed format, remained nonetheless in circulation among learned elites. For instance, both the National Archives of Torre do Tombo and the Portugal’s National Library possess a manuscript copy of a Newtonian work, *Chronologia Newtoniana epitomizada* from the same year as *Theorica verdadeira das Marés*, 1737. See Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, “Cronologia Newtoniana Epitomizada, Por Jacob de Castro Sarmiento” (Manuscript, ANTT, Manuscritos da Livraria N° 509, s.d.); Jacob de Castro Sarmiento, “Chronologia Newtoniana epitomizada” (Manuscript VIII, 80 p., BNP, COD. 593, 1737). Portuguese archives today in manuscript form. Pombal, who was ambassador in London for the Portuguese Crown, knew Sarmiento well and even commissioned Matt Goldish, “Newtonian, Converso, and Deist: The Lives of Jacob (Henrique) de Castro Sarmiento,” *Science in Context* 10, no. 4 (1997): 651–75. Hence, his training was scholastic through and through. In 1721, after being denounced to the inquisition for the practice of Judaism, Sarmiento left Portugal and moved to London, where he would reside until the end of his life, in 1762. Importantly, much like the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam had been an epicenter for exiled Iberian Jews in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the 1700s, this role was somewhat taken by the Bevis Marks Synagogue, which opened in 1701 to congregate Sephardim Jews (Spanish and Portuguese Jews). Sanches, during his British sojourn between (1727 to 1728), crossed paths with Sarmiento and became acquainted with British philosophy of mind, practical uses of chemistry, and hygienic practices of urban management that were subsequently cited in the *Tratado*.

*Arithmetick* and his alchemical project of “transmuting the Irish into English.”<sup>332</sup> Pombal’s adaptation of Petty’s *Political Arithmetic* shared similar goals.<sup>333</sup> Specifically, he was all too aware that given the expansion of Brazilian borders in 1750, Portugal did not have the luxury of time that pro-natalist policies relied on. Rather, imperial expansion required more expeditious solutions. Assimilation and the naturalization of foreigners neatly fit within that mold. In that sense, the Directorate policy exposes the paradox of legal race-making.

As well as exploring the assimilative aspects of the directorate, this chapter also examines the violently exclusionary dimensions, detailing how the law was simultaneously used to codify Amerindians as free by abolishing the nomenclature “blacks of the land” (*negros da terra*) (1757), thereby reasserting African slavery, and rendering blood purity laws against Jews null (1773). “Blacks of the land,” as John Monteiro documented in his groundbreaking and homonymous book, was the designation the Portuguese used to mark Brazil’s indigenous peoples as enslavable. Monteiro showed how the expansion of agricultural settlement into new areas of Brazil—namely around present-day São Paulo—propelled several bandeirantes expeditions into the hinterlands to capture and enslave Amerindians.<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> Ted McCormick, *William Petty and the Ambitions of Political Arithmetic* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Ted McCormick, “Transmutation, Inclusion, and Exclusion: Political Arithmetic from Charles II to William III,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, no. 3 (2007): 259–78, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.2007.00313.x>; Ted McCormick, “Alchemy in the Political Arithmetic of Sir William Petty,” *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 37, no. 2 (2006): 290–307, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.shpsa.2005.07.012>; Antonio Cesar Santos, *Aritmética Política e Governo No Reinado de D. José I (Portugal, 1750-1777)*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.4025/6cih.pphuem.132>.

<sup>333</sup> Pombal’s time in London (1739-1744) as ambassador, was critical for both his engagement with Petty and deistic ideas. The principal channel for his assimilation of deistic philosophy was his rapport with the Portuguese New Christian émigré and physician, Jacob de Castro Sarmiento (1692-1762). Sarmiento, who initially attended the Jesuit College of Arts of Évora, ultimately completing a medical degree in Coimbra (1717) was a professed Newtonian.

<sup>334</sup> The bandeirantes were men who integrated these violent expeditions with the purpose of enslaving “Índios.”

Borrowing from Daniel Nemser, this chapter studies how the medicalized household already historicized for Portugal, became an infrastructure of race in the Amazon.<sup>335</sup> The *casa*, as will be seen, was the anchor for a series of reconfigured relationships between land, labor, and people. The ultimate goal of the *Directório dos Índios* was the promotion of indigenous dispossession and extinction through the project of *branquamento* (whitening). Reproduction and land cultivation rendered the “Indian” into a settler, and ultimately also into an extinct humankind. This argument sets up one of the chapter’s key interventions: the historicization of discourses on *miscigenação* (miscegenation) both in the Brazilian past and in the history of Portuguese colonialism. Against the pervasive myth of *lusotropicalismo*—through which it was argued that Portuguese colonization was exceptional in its absence of racial animus and, thus, essential to the formation of Brazilian “racial democracy”—this chapter exposes how miscegenation was part and parcel of the colonial process.

Through this argument, I propose a twofold reevaluation of the role that race, patriarchy, and reproduction played in the early modern Afro-Luso-Brazilian world. First, while the link between white patriarchy, political economy, and sexual power has occupied a place of prominence in the canon of Brazilianist studies, the study of sexuality and mixed-race people has predominantly focused on the bodies of Black and Indigenous women.<sup>336</sup> This dynamic implicitly reified white patriarchy as normative, thus defining it as the absence of race.<sup>337</sup> The

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<sup>335</sup> Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race: Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017).

<sup>336</sup> In *Casa Grande & Senzala*, Gilberto Freyre centres patriarchy as the axis of Brazil’s political economy. As the original title indicates, structures of enslavement (the meaning of *senzala* was slave quarters) were deeply tethered to a patriarchal scaffolding of political economy. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933); Sergio Buarque de Holanda, *Raizes do Brasil* (Brasil: J. Olympio, 1936).

<sup>337</sup> Ruth Frankenberg, “The Mirage of an Unmarked Whiteness,” in *The Making and Unmaking of Whiteness*, ed. Birgit Brander Rasmussen et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 72–96.

limited scrutiny to which colonial patriarchy was subjected may help explain the longevity of Gilberto Freyre's lusotropical thesis. Yet, the endurance of the myth of racial harmony between white settlers, enslaved people, and indigenous women omits Freyre's own admission of a link between the household (*the casa grande*), the "patriarchal economy" and "the Brazilian family."<sup>338</sup>

For a long time, Freyre's mutual imbrication of these three key elements of settler colonialism in Brazil has been hiding in plain sight. They were present in the title and subtitle of Freyre's first and most reprinted work: *Casa Grande & Senzala, or "The Big House and the Slave Quarters: The Formation of the Brazilian Family under the Regime of Patriarchal Economy"* (1933). Using the literal rather than the conventional English translation—the English editions go under the title *The Masters and the Slaves*—matters here.<sup>339</sup> For it illuminates the extent to which white patriarchal rule and the transformation of life into property were naturalized in Brazil. Beyond turning white patriarchy, pro-natalism, and land ownership into a default setting, the lusotropicalist narrative also elided the pervasiveness of colonial and sexual violence.<sup>340</sup> In addition to not examining patriarchal violence, these narratives also framed ambitions towards indigenous extinction into an outcome of the natural order.

Against this backdrop, the *Directório* is critical to understanding how the colonial domination of land and people was veiled by the language of science. What is more, I argue that this was when miscegenation became a matter of colonial policy for Portugal. Historicizing this

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<sup>338</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regimen de economia patriarcal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Schmidt, 1933).

<sup>339</sup> *The Masters and The Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*.

<sup>340</sup> Cassie Osei and I have co-organized two panels on this topic with the goal of linking early modernist research on colonial Brazil with debates on modern Brazil. Both these discussions took place in 2022, respectively, in the Brazilian Studies Association Annual Conference (BRASA) and in the Latin American Studies Annual Conference, LASA. The panels were titled: *Universal Occlusions: Power and the Production of Silences in Afro-Luso-Brazilian History*.

moment allows me to situate mixed-race reproduction as a tool of colonization intrinsic to Portuguese colonialism and Brazilian nation building. While the fields of race and whiteness studies are robust in Brazilian studies, these studies rarely discuss the colonial period. My approach counters this omission, by revealing the colonial roots of *branquamento* (whitening) as both a cultural and bio-reproductive process.

Regarding scholarship on the *Directório* and the booming field of Indigenous studies and Ethnohistory, my account both adds to and departs from these approaches by unpacking the scientific implications and naturalistic character of this legislation. How, in other words, the *Directório* sought to govern people through science by treating them as natural creations. This work places the wealth of social histories about Amazonian indigenous peoples in dialogue with Portuguese ideologies of colonial domination. Through an intellectual history of scientific ideas about population, reproduction, and race I offer an account of the natural philosophical foundations of colonial legislation and the assumed Portuguese capacity to improve natives. Like in Portugal, pedagogy and the joint cultivation of land and people stood at the crux of this system of ideas.

The medicalization of the household symbolized what legal historian Bartolomé Clavero has named “the deepening” of the ideological matrix established by *oeconomia*, the science of household management. As Clavero notes, this matrix that was “generated in Europe, was [further] extended to the Americas through colonization.”<sup>341</sup> Thus, my focus on the *casa* as a physical and social structure allows me to connect the Luso-Brazilian Atlantic, in order to appreciate how the medicalized household became the scaffold for white settler ideology.

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<sup>341</sup> Bartolomé Clavero, “Presentación,” in *Casa Poblada y Buen Gobierno: Oeconomia Católica y Servicio Personal En San Miguel de Tucumán, Siglo XVIII*, by Romina Zamora (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2022), 19. Translation my own.



Linking the *casa* to agriculture and idioms of natural government allows a more nuanced historicization of early modern race. The *Directório* demonstrates that rather than a sequence of paradigms—biblical, epidermic, Linnaean, legislative—racial ideas were negotiated at the juncture of these four epistemes. Skin color was important but *branco* (white) was never simply reducible to embodiment. “Portuguese” and “white” also referred to cultural qualities: Catholicism, agricultural labor, commerce, and marriage to a settler. The *casa* was the primordial space that allowed the synthesis between race as lineage and race as culture. As such, it was the symbol of who could become civilized, white, and part of the population.

### **Indigenous Policies in Portuguese America and the Directorate**

By the mid to late eighteenth century—the time of the Directorate—the Portuguese crown possessed a storied past of relationship with Brazil’s indigenous peoples. This past was marked by tension, violence, and dispossession. Yet, by the eighteenth century—the third century of colonization—settlement was also more structured and geographically ample than before. More and more, people of Portuguese descent were born as Luso-Brazilians rather than settler *reinóis*. This, too, altered perceptions around the fixity and pliability of race in intimate settings.<sup>342</sup> While it is risky to offer broad strokes and general rules for a period of two centuries, in the context of this chapter, some enduring dynamics appear worthy of note. First is the fight between religious missionaries and lay settlers—sugar planters and others—to assure access to indigenous labor. Unlike the Spanish empire, where indigenous slavery was abolished by the New Laws of 1542,

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<sup>342</sup> Barbara A. Sommer, “Why Joanna Baptista Sold Herself into Slavery: Indian Women in Portuguese Amazonia, 1755–1798,” *Slavery & Abolition* 34, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 77–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2012.709046>; Barbara A. Sommer, “Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Indian Slave Trade,” *The Americas* 61, no. 3 (January 2005): 401–28, <https://doi.org/10.1353/tam.2005.0053>.

the regulation of indigenous freedom in Brazil was more hesitant and less definitive. This situation was maintained through the Hispanic Monarchy (1580-1640), when both kingdoms were ruled by the Spanish Hapsburgs.<sup>343</sup>

Starting in 1548, the Portuguese crown and its settlers began enslaving indigenous peoples.<sup>344</sup> The first effort to regulate this practice emerged in 1570, where the condition of “just war” was named as the only legitimate reason for enslavement. This early regulatory effort aimed to divide indigenous groups allied with the Portuguese crown from those who resisted colonization. The former group was generally designated as *Tupi* (coastal groups) while the latter group was generally known as *Tapuya*—thus, “*Tapyua*” (“*tapuia*”) was a racializing nomenclature that did not refer to a specific indigenous group but rather pointed to their resistance.<sup>345</sup> In 1587, in his *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil*, Gabriel Soares de Sousa separated the more sedentary Tupi from the “*Tapuia*,” by referring to the latter as “an ancient caste of heathen.”<sup>346</sup>

As Manuela Carneiro da Cunha has shown for the sixteenth century, the imaginary of resistance was consolidated in this period through the image of the cannibal.<sup>347</sup> Accusations of

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<sup>343</sup> For an analysis of how, despite the passing of the New Laws in Spain, subjects of the Spanish monarchs continued to be able to access indigenous, enslaved labor via the Lisbon harbor and Portuguese merchants see: Nancy E. Van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Narrating Native Histories (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

<sup>344</sup> John M. Monteiro, “De Índio a Escravo: A Transformação Da População Indígena de São Paulo No Século XVII,” *Revista de Antropologia* 30/32 (1987): 151–74; John M. Monteiro, *Negros Da Terra: Índios e Bandeirantes Nas Origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994).

<sup>345</sup> This opposition and the specific analysis of the use of “*tapuya*” to establish indigenous alterity can also be consulted in the introductory chapter of Hal Langfur, ed., *Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500-1900*, Diálogos (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014). See also John Monteiro, “The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies: Coastal Brazil in the Sixteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas: Volume 3: South America*, ed. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz, vol. 3, *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 973–1024.

<sup>346</sup> Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado descritivo do Brasil em 1587* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1851), 88, <https://digital.bbm.usp.br/handle/bbm/4795>.

<sup>347</sup> Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, “Imagens de índios do Brasil: o século XVI,” *Estudos Avançados* 4, no. 10 (December 1, 1990): 91–110.

“cannibalism,” however, functioned as a synecdoche: through a single idea, they represented a plethora of “savage” or “barbaric” characteristics that rendered Brazilian Amerindians into legitimately enslavable peoples.<sup>348</sup> In addition, John M. Monteiro also shows in his analysis of Soares de Sousa’s *Tratado*, how the racialization of indigenous peoples hinged on other tropes. For instance, Sousa’s descriptions of the Guaianá (a group not amenable to colonization) renders them as “people of little work and much leisure” who “do not work the land” while “living from the game they hunt and the fish they take from the rivers.”<sup>349</sup> By framing Brazil’s natural abundance as the cause of indigenous “savagery,” the discourse of colonization through labor and resource management began to take shape.

The indigenous separation between “allied” and “enemy” is essential to understand how relations with the Portuguese crown were established. Enemy groups, like the “Tapuia,” fell under the category of enslavable because of their “heathen” status. These were the same groups that came to be classified as “blacks of the land,” a designation only abolished with the Directorate (1757-1798). This binary offered the scaffold used to apportion the status of natural slave or freed person among Amerindians and manage crown sponsored settlement. After the 1548 *Regimento de Thomé Souza* laid out the terms regulating the free/slave dichotomy, a new charter from 1596 determined that once Amerindians settled in villages, they could claim lordship over those same lands. As per the terms of a 1587 law, this would also make them eligible to enter waged contracts.<sup>350</sup> As Brazilian ethnohistorian Patrícia Alves-Melo notes, the

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<sup>348</sup> Jared Staller offers a similar exploration of the cannibal theme, but in the context of early modern Angola and the Kongo, Jared Staller, *Converging on Cannibals: Terrors of Slaving in Atlantic Africa, 1509/1670* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2019).

<sup>349</sup> Sousa, *Tratado descritivo do Brazil em 1587*, 104.

<sup>350</sup> The payment of wages had already been stipulated in a law from February 24, 1587.

establishment of allied Amerindian villages was a tactic employed by the Portuguese since early colonization to lay claim to settlement vis-à-vis rival empires.<sup>351</sup>

Until the Directorate was implemented, several other attempts to regulate access to indigenous labor and assure a steadfast supply of slaves took place. These fractures generally opposed missionaries, who advocated for free status and gave priority to religious conversion, to settlers, who were unwilling to cede access to this source of free labor. For this reason, relations between Jesuits and settlers were often tense.<sup>352</sup> In 1684 and 85 the Beckman Revolt tried to overrule the terms of the 1680 Freedom Law. The 1680 Freedom Law established limits on settler's capacity to enslave Amerindians; however, these measures were always met with great resistance on the part of Portuguese and land-owning colonists. One of the key mechanisms used to circumvent the effects of the "Freedom Laws" was the insertion of exceptions allowing the enslavement of "heathen" peoples. It was for this reason, too, that accusations of cannibalism, polygamy, or that a people were simply "undomesticated" became both common and pervasive. Settlers in Maranhão attacked and expelled the Jesuits, seeking to overrule the right ceded by the crown over the administration of Amerindian villages. The Jesuits returned to Maranhão in 1686 and regained the right of temporal administration of all Indigenous peoples of Grão-Pará and Maranhão. However, in 1688 the terms of the Freedom Law of 1680 would once again be curtailed by when new *resgates* (rescues) were authorized by the crown. The *resgate* was a legal expedient that permitted indigenous enslavement. In essence, this legal argument worked when

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<sup>351</sup> Patrícia Alves-Melo, "Indigenous Peoples and the Portuguese Crown in the 17th and 18th Centuries," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

<sup>352</sup> The Beckman Revolt (1684-85) in Maranhão, marks one of these moments. Settlers expelled the Jesuits in an attempt to reject their jurisdiction over the administration of "Indian" villages and claim access to their labor. The revolt also hinged on a first attempt to create a trading company that would trade African slaves into his Amazonian region. Marcia Eliane Alves de Souza e Mello, "O Regimento das Missões: Poder e Negociação na Amazônia Portuguesa," *Clio: Revista de Pesquisa Histórica* 27, no. 1 (2009).

Portuguese settlers claimed to “rescue” an indigenous group from an interethnic war and the likelihood of sacrificial death due to an anthropophagic ritual.<sup>353</sup>

In addition to *resgates*, settlers also resorted to *descimentos* and *apresamentos*. The former, was by definition a peaceful operation led by missionaries. Legally, they involved contracts with Amerindian groups or their leaders in exchange for protection, clothing, among other goods. A successful *descimento* was assessed through the voluntary movement of Amerindian groups into a mission or an *aldeia*. Amerindians classified as *descidos* were then “given” to either Crown authorities or settlers interested in using their labor for a given period of time. *Descimentos* were one of the chief expedients through which missionary Jesuit *aldeias* in the Amazon were maintained.<sup>354</sup> *Apresamentos*, also known as *entradas e bandeiras*, were illegal but also exceedingly normal. Groups violently captured through *apresamento* were reduced to enslaved labor. The Indian *repartição* (labor conscription) was yet another means of settler access to indigenous labor. Settlers, the crown, and Jesuit missions were all entitled to access labor through this legal solution. The *repartição* was especially used against men between the ages of thirteen and fifty. Most women and children (below thirteen) were excluded, with the exception of wet nurses and those who made flour.<sup>355</sup>

The *Directório dos Índios* was imagined against the backdrop of these laws. Faced with settler resistance to the previous Freedom Laws (1609, 1680) while also forced to acknowledge the imperious need for Amerindian labor and reproductive capacity, Pombaline action put in

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<sup>353</sup> Anthropophagy and cannibalism are distinct phenomena. While cannibalism involves eating human flesh per se, anthropophagy was a highly ritualized event that involved eating human flesh only on specific occasions and for specific purposes.

<sup>354</sup> Antonio Porro, *O povo das águas: ensaios de etno-história amazônica* (Vozes, 1996).

<sup>355</sup> Alves-Melo, “Indigenous Peoples and the Portuguese Crown in the 17th and 18th Centuries.”

place what Ângela Domingues called a “legislative complex.”<sup>356</sup> Its pillars were the promotion of interracial marriages (1751); the Great Law of Freedom, prohibiting Indian slavery (1755); the creation of the trading company of Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1755-1774) to trade Amazonian crops and bring in African bondspople; the secularization of the missions, and the ultimate expulsion of the Jesuit order from Portugal and its empire (1759). Together, these laws encompassed Crown control over indigenous labor force, more subjects for the monarchy, agricultural surplus, monopoly in trade, and higher labor capacity through slavery. The vast literature on the Directorate has often called the Portuguese Crown’s impulse to secularize indigenous administration and promote demographic growth as an assimilationist effort.<sup>357</sup> Yet,

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<sup>356</sup> Both Laws of Liberty tried to limit indigenous slavery. However, they often included—or added with time in some cases—clauses of exception allowing the subjection to bondage of peoples who were “enemies of the faith.” Ângela Domingues, *Quando Os Índios Eram Vassallos: Colonização e Relações de Poder No Norte Do Brasil Na Segunda Metade Do Século XVIII* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000). John M. Monteiro, “De Índio a Escravo: A Transformação Da População Indígena de São Paulo No Século XVII,” *Revista de Antropologia* 30/32 (1987): 151–74; John M. Monteiro, *Negros Da Terra: Índios e Bandeirantes Nas Origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1994); Patrícia Maria Melo Sampaio, “‘Vossa Excelência Mandará o Que for Servido...’: Políticas Indígenas e Indigenistas Na Amazônia Portuguesa Do Final Do Século XVIII,” *Tempo* 12 (2007): 39–55; Patrícia Maria Melo Sampaio, “Espelhos Partidos: Etnia, Legislação e Desigualdade Na Colônia, Sertões Do Grão-Pará, c. 1755-c. 1823,” *Rio de Janeiro: UFF*, 2001; Patrícia Melo SAMPAIO, “Índios e Brancos Na Amazônia Portuguesa: Políticas e Identidades No Século XVIII,” *T (r) Ópricos de História: Gente, Espaço e Tempo Na Amazônia (Séculos XVII A XXI)*. Belém, PA: Editora Açai/Programa de Pós-Graduação Em História Social Da Amazônia (UFPA)/Centro de Memória Da Amazônia (UFPA), (2010), 99–116.

<sup>357</sup> Rita Heloísa de Almeida, *O Diretório Dos Índios: Um Projeto de “Civilização” No Brasil Do Século XVIII* (Brasília, DF: Editora UnB, 1997); Mauro Cezar Coelho, “Do sertão para o mar - um estudo sobre a experiência portuguesa na América, a partir da colônia: o caso do diretório dos índios (1751-1798)” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2006); João Paulo Peixoto Costa, “A Saga Dos Índios Da Ibiapaba e Outras Ações Indígenas Diante Da Lei Do Diretório No Ceará Oitocentista,” *Tempo (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)* 26, no. 2 (2020): 383–403; Patrícia Maria Melo Sampaio, “‘Vossa Excelência Mandará o Que for Servido...’: Políticas Indígenas e Indigenistas Na Amazônia Portuguesa Do Final Do Século XVIII,” *Tempo* 12 (2007): 39–55; Patrícia Melo Sampaio, “Viver Em Aldeamentos: Encontros e Confrontos Nas Povoações Da Amazônia Portuguesa, Século XVIII,” *Direitos e Justiça No Brasil: Ensaio de História Social*. Campinas: Editora Da Unicamp, 2006; Kenneth Maxwell, “The Spark: Pombal, the Amazon and the Jesuits,” *Portuguese Studies* 17 (2001): 168–83; Manuel Nunes Dias, “Política pombalina na colonização da Amazônia: (1755-1778),” *Stvdia*, no. 23 (1968): 7–32; Mello, “O Regimento das Missões; Hélio Abranches Viotti, ‘O pombalino império da Amazônia na regência de Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado,’” *Revista de História* 50, no. 100 (December 18, 1974): 315–34; Patrícia Melo Sampaio, “Índios e Brancos Na Amazônia Portuguesa: Políticas e Identidades No Século XVIII,” *T (r) Ópricos de História: Gente, Espaço e Tempo Na Amazônia (Séculos XVII A XXI)*. Belém, PA: Editora Açai/Programa de Pós-Graduação Em História Social Da Amazônia (UFPA)/Centro de Memória Da Amazônia (UFPA), 2010, 99–116; Rafael Chamboleyron and Karl Heinz Arenz, “« Indiens Ou Noirs, Libres Ou Esclaves »: Travail et Métissage En Amazonie Portugaise (XVII e et XVIII e Siècles),” *Caravelle (1988-)*, no. 107 (2016): 15–29; Heather F. Roller, “From Missions to Towns: Amazonian Settlements in an Era of Reform,” in *Amazonian Routes*, 1st edition, Indigenous Mobility and Colonial Communities in Northern Brazil (Stanford University Press, 2014), 16–56; Francisco Jorge dos Santos and Patrícia

the endpoint of assimilation was not fully characterized. The next sections focus on examining how Amerindians could become transformed into white vassals.

### **The Political Mechanism and the Multiplication of the People**

Since the earliest stages of Portuguese colonization, indigenous groups were classified by the Portuguese into the binary of the “ally” (Tupi) and the “enemy” (the Tupinambá and Tapuia).<sup>358</sup> Hal Langfur has elaborated on this idea, noticing an overlap between the convert (ally) and the cannibal (enemy).<sup>359</sup> In the absence of a modern, biocentric vocabulary of race, Amerindian alterity (and the attribution of *raça*) both hinged on images of cannibalism and idioms of “blood defect;” hereditary degeneration from the biblical primal, human form; the “Indian” association with blackness, and “heathenism.” This racializing vocabulary used symbols that demarcated Catholic truth (associated with being white) from the blackness intrinsic to “heathenism” (and seen as a condition of enslavability).<sup>360</sup> Given the depth of Pombaline concerns with the viability of interracial marriages, it became imperative to abolish indigenous slavery, reject exceptions through “just war,” and legally prohibit racial epithets such as “blacks of the land” (*negros da terra*). The attribution of blackness to indigenous Brazilian reiterated its power as a marker of inferiority and subjection. In addition, Blackness was also

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Maria Melo Sampaio, “1755, o Ano Da Virada Na Amazônia Portuguesa,” *Somanhu: Revista de Estudos Amazônicos* 8, no. 2 (2008): 79–98.

<sup>358</sup> John M. Monteiro, “The Heathen Castes of Sixteenth-Century Portuguese America: Unity, Diversity, and the Invention of the Brazilian Indians,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (November 1, 2000): 697–719; Cunha, “Imagens de índios do Brasil”; Monteiro, “The Crises and Transformations of Invaded Societies.”

<sup>359</sup> Langfur, *Native Brazil*.

<sup>360</sup> Giuseppe Marcocci, “Blackness and Heathenism. Color, Theology, and Race in the Portuguese World, c. 1450-1600,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de La Cultura* 43, no. 2 (July 2016): 33–57; Giuseppe Marcocci, “Escravos ameríndios e negros africanos: uma história conectada. Teorias e modelos de discriminação no império português (ca. 1450-1650),” *Tempo* 16 (2011): 41–70; Marina de Mello e Souza, *Além do visível: poder, catolicismo e comércio no Congo e em Angola (séculos XVI e XVII)* (São Paulo: Edusp, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2018).

associated with the Christian binary that identified Catholicism with whiteness (and light) while marking “enemies of the faith” with the stain of blackness.<sup>361</sup>

As already discussed above, the signature of the Madrid Treaty had a significant impact on the racial and pro-natalist orientation of Pombaline legislation. These goals were aligned with eighteenth century mercantilist emphasis on agricultural surplus, population, and national wealth. The same calculus was also part of William Petty’s *Political Arithmetic*, a text which Pombal explicitly used to build his notion of the political mechanism (*mecanismo político*). In his notes on the “political mechanism,” in a direct annotation of various chapters of *Political Arithmetick*, he noted: the “first element [of the political mechanism and the interest of the State] consists of(?) the examination(?) of the number of inhabitants of a Country to which the practical use of this element is being addressed.”<sup>362</sup> Other “elements” of Pombal’s examination of Petty included domains that became prime subjects of reform in the Pombaline period: land possession and use, taxation, trade, maritime commerce, military forces. While management of the earthquake and the loss of life intensified the sense of urgency around the issue of the population in the metropole, in the Americas, population shortage was no less severe. Pombal addressed the problem bluntly in a 1751 letter to the Governor General of Brazil, Gomes Freire de Andrada. In

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<sup>361</sup> Giuseppe Marocci, “Blackness and Heathenism. Color, Theology, and Race in the Portuguese World, c. 1450-1600,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de La Cultura* 43, no. 2 (July 2016): 33–57; Marina de Mello e Souza, *Além do visível: poder, catolicismo e comércio no Congo e em Angola (séculos XVI e XVII)* (São Paulo: Edusp, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2018); João de Figueirôa-Rêgo and Fernanda Olival, “Cor Da Pele, Distinções e Cargos: Portugal e Espaços Atlânticos Portugueses (Séculos XVI a XVIII),” *Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil) 16, no. 30 (2011): 115–45; Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Erin Kathleen Rowe, “After Death, Her Face Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness, and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World,” *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (June 1, 2016): 727–54; Carmen Fracchia, “‘Black but Human’: Slavery and Visual Art in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700, First edition (Oxford ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>362</sup> “Apontados necessários para sobre eles estabelecerem que elementos políticos, de cujos princípios resultava atrasadas para interesses de Estado. Primeiro elemento consiste no Exame do numero dos habitantes do pays, de que se quer tratar. Uso pratico deste elemento. Petti, Arithm.” BNP, PBA 686, fl. 141v.



the “very secret” (*secretíssimas*) instructions to the governor, he gave directions on how to execute the “Preliminary Treaty of Limits, signed in Madrid on January 13, 1750.”

The question of the population steered a special sense of urgency. Paragraph 33 summed Pombal’s multidimensional approach. Alluding to the historical model used by the crown of attributing land privileges (*sesmarias*) to the first settlers (*povoadores*) in the Brazilian districts of Santa Catarina and Mato Grosso, Pombal sought to both build on customary methods to establish Portuguese villages (*povoações*) in the backlands (*sertões*), as well as expand settlement with more population. On this latter point, his vision for what became the *Directório* synthesized mercantilist political economy with anxieties about national depopulation and its consequences for imperial sovereignty. In addition, it also devised a solution to render Brazilian natural and human resources more useful to the state. In this context, Amerindian assimilation into the Portuguese body politic became a resource deployed towards collective safety and prosperity:

[T]he strength and wealth of all countries consists principally in the number and the multiplication of the people [*da gente*] which inhabit it: because the number and multiplication of people has become more indispensable now in the [areas of] demarcation [*raia*] for its [Brazil] defense because of how much the Spanish have propagated [themselves] along the borders of this vast continent, where we will not be able to have safety without peopling our deserted regions [i.e., *sertão*] in to the same proportion, which are on the confines of those peopled by Spaniards.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> “E como a força e a riqueza de todos os países consiste principalmente no número e multiplicação da gente que o habita: como este número e multiplicação da gente se faz mais indispensável agora na raia do Brasil para a sua defesa em razão do muito que têm propagado os espanhóis nas fronteiras deste vasto continente, onde não podemos ter segurança sem povoarmos à mesma proporção as nossas províncias desertas, que confinam com as suas povoadas; e como este grande número de gente que é necessário para povoar, guarnecer e sustentar uma tão desmedida fronteira não pode humanamente sair deste reino e ilhas adjacentes; porque ainda que as ilhas e o reino

This brief paragraph outlined the magnitude of the challenges encountered with some force. The challenge however, as Pombal detailed to Andrada, was to be met by seizing on Petty's lessons of transmutation of the Irish into English. Given the "unmeasurable frontier" (*fronteira desmedida*) separating Spanish and Portuguese interests, it was not "humanly [possible] for [people] to leave this kingdom and adjacent islands; because even if the islands and kingdom [Portugal] were to be entirely deserted, that [effort still] would not suffice for this extremely vast boundary to be peopled."<sup>364</sup> Andrada's very secret instructions then noted how populating post-Madrid Portuguese America would entail the mobilization of "civilized" vassals, be they *reinícolas* (Portuguese born) or *Americanos*, as well as non-civilized, such as the *tapes* (i.e. *Tapuia*)<sup>365</sup> In the words of a Jesuit missionary

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ficassem inteiramente desertos, isso não bastaria para que esta vastíssima raia fosse povoada: não só julga s. Majestade necessário que v. S.<sup>a</sup> convide com os estímulos acima indicados os vassalos do mesmo senhor, reinícolas e americanos, que se acham civilizados, mas também que v. S.<sup>a</sup> estenda os mesmos e outros privilégios aos *tapes*, que se estabelecerem nos domínios de s. Majestade examinando as condições que lhes fazem os padres da Companhia Espanhóis, e concedendo-lhes outras à mesma imitação, que não só sejam iguais, mas ainda mais favoráveis; de sorte que eles achem o seu interesse em viverem nos domínios de Portugal antes do que nos de Espanha. O meio mais eficaz em semelhantes casos e o de que se serviram os romanos com os sabinos, e com as mais nações, que depois foram incluindo no seu império; o que à sua imitação estabeleceu o grande Afonso de Albuquerque na primitiva índia oriental; o que os ingleses estão atualmente praticando na América setentrional com o sucesso de haverem ganhado 21 graus de costa sobre os espanhóis." Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (Marquês de Pombal), "Primeira carta secretíssima de Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, para Gomes Freire de Andrada, para servir de suplemento às instruções que lhe foram enviadas sobre a forma da execução do tratado preliminar de limites, assinado em Madrid a 13 de Janeiro de 1750. Lisboa, 21 de Setembro de 1751," in *O Marquês de Pombal e o Brasil*. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1960), 188.

<sup>364</sup> "...e como este grande número de gente que é necessário para povoar, guarnecer e sustentar uma tão desmedida fronteira não pode humanamente sair deste reino e ilhas adjacentes; porque ainda que as ilhas e o reino ficassem inteiramente desertos, isso não bastaria para que esta vastíssima raia fosse povoada." "Primeira carta secretíssima de Sebastião..." Mendonça and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), 188.

<sup>365</sup> *Tapes* or *Tapuia/Tapuya* was the term generically used to designate Amerindians who resisted colonization. It was, therefore, a racializing term to signify "heathen" or "savage." Maria Carneiro da Cunha, *Cultura com aspas* (São Paulo: UBU, 2017); Langfur, *Native Brazil*; Cunha, "Imagens de índios do Brasil." "The term *Tapes* (*Tapuya* or *Tapuíá*) was deeply racializing and was used to denote indigenous groups who resisted colonization. As Carneiro da Cunha shows, early positive images of amiability and nakedness as innocence were replaced by the trope of the cannibal without polity, monarch, or faith only after continued resistance to the gospel." Cunha.

to Rome, trying to work with these indigenous peoples was like laboring on a “sterile vineyard.”<sup>366</sup>

According to orders from 1751, the *Tapes* Pombal spoke of were to be granted the same privileges as “civilized” vassals. This willingness to include peoples deemed as “savages” and seen as enemies of the crown, marked a shift in the priorities of Portugal’s colonial policy. Instead of stratification and exclusion, even peoples deemed most distant from Portuguese civilization were now seen as subjects of rule and capable of improvement. As explored in chapter 3, the mechanism away from savage infancy and towards reasoned adulthood was routed through the *casa*. This entailed providing instructions on what the *casa*, as a physical structure, should look like. In addition, the Directorate text was also explicit regarding its organization: a *casa* should only have one family, proper furniture, and have a proper demarcation of its distinct, functional divisions. These included spaces of sexual intimacy and areas demarcated by quotidian, gender-based divisions of labor. However, inhabiting a *casa* in the Amazon was already step two in the mission to civilize. The first movement towards the colonization of the “savage” into “civil” was “domestication” (*domesticar*).

To “domesticate,” of course, implied a movement towards the *casa* which was distinct from subjecthood or civility. To belong to a “domesticated” indigenous people meant to have been “tamed” through commerce, settlement, religion, or language. Thus, the “domesticated” and the “savage” appear in the eighteenth century as an ever more solidified classificatory binary. “Domestication,” and the teleology of the house (*domus*),

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<sup>366</sup> Castelneau-L’Estoile, *Les Ouvriers d’une Vigne Stérile. Les Jésuites et La Conversion Des Indiens Au Brésil (1580-1620)*.

articulated a plethora of characteristics that were constitutive of whiteness.<sup>367</sup> Under the aegis of Pombalism, catechism was supplanted for the desire to pursue the conversion of “Indians” away from nomadism, polygamy, enemy status, and idleness. That the crown believed in the capacity for domestication spoke a great deal of the role of the *casa* in the Pombaline population mechanism. But, in addition, it also tacitly articulated a belief in humankind’s stadial development. The first step away from the “savage” was to accept domestication—and like in plants and animals, to be domesticated implied accepting to serve or work towards an economic purpose.

Knowing full well the length of the work ahead, Pombal ordered Andrada to study how Portugal could “capture” Amerindians living in Jesuit missions on the Spanish side. In other words, the goal was to bring to the Portuguese side “Indians” who had already been “domesticated” by missionary labor. Andrada was to “examine the conditions granted to them by the Spanish fathers of the Company [of Jesus]” the goal of equaling or improving them that Amerindians “find it is in their interest to live in Portugal’s dominium rather than in Spain’s.”<sup>368</sup> Pombal’s willingness to include “savage” enemies of Portugal, demonstrated the extent of his belief in the mechanism.

In other correspondence between Pombal and the Portuguese ambassador in Vienna, Manuel Telles da Silva, the latter believed that assimilation via naturalization and reproduction could render the Portuguese empire as great as that of China, France, or

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<sup>367</sup> Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica* (Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1972); Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Antropologia* (Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1974).

<sup>368</sup> “Examinando as condições que lhes fazem os padres da Companhia espanhóis, e concedendo-lhes outras à mesma imitação, que não só sejam iguais, mas ainda mais favor.” Mendonça and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Primeira carta secretíssima de Sebastião,” 188.

Germany.<sup>369</sup> The potential for all this lay in Brazil. Brazil was not only vast but “fruitful and habitable,” with the exception of a territory covering a single third of its size. If, as Telles e Silva continues, “Portugal has about two million souls,” then, “by the same proportion, there could be 60 million in Portuguese America [...] since Brazil is at least thirty times larger than Portugal.”<sup>370</sup> The potential for change in 1752, when the letter was addressed to Pombal, seemed limitless.

Telles e Silva’s belief in the crown’s capacity to rehabilitate empire through population was not unique, but the forcefulness of this language is striking. “Population,” he added, “is the safest source of wealth for a State.” For Telles e Silva, Portugal already possessed several of the tools required to accomplish this vision. For example, it had the Lisbon harbor and a storied, maritime past. But to grow, Portugal also needed more people, agriculture, industry, and trade. In this respect, the population was a rather versatile solution. If the policy of “multiplication” succeeded, according to Telles e Silva, then Portugal would not even need to trade with other empires but only “with our own Colonies and Conquests.” He then concluded: “let us then, try to people them [our colonies and conquests] in any way possible. Moor, white, Negro, Indian, Mulato, or Mestiço, all are useful, all are men, [and] are good if well governed or regulated in proportion to the intent.”<sup>371</sup> This phrase articulates just how much imperial expansion was a priority. At the same time, it demonstrates how the conditional terms of assimilation—which, it should be

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<sup>369</sup> Manuel Teles da Silva and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal,” in *Anais Da Academia Portuguesa de História*, vol. VI, II (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1955), 324.

<sup>370</sup> Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), 324–25.

<sup>371</sup> “Podíamos utilizar no comercio das nossas próprias Collonias e Conquistas: Cuidemos pois em povoalas de qualquer modo que seja. Moiro, branco, Negro, Indio, Mulatico, ou Mestiço, tudo serve, todos são homens, são bons se os governão ou regulão bem e proporcionalmente ao intento.” Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), 325.

noted, was a violent process—were goal-oriented and instrumental. Inclusion came with a price: reproduction and subordination to another.

The political and economic significance of an abundant population for Teles e Silva lay in a series of mutually reinforcing variables. An abundant people could labor the land, own cattle, pay taxes, and reduce the state's trade dependence on other nations. To reach this goal, Portugal had to engage in a fierce pro-natalist policy. This policy conviction was expressed as a wish: “may there be many marriages and very few useless wombs.”<sup>372</sup> However, because fertility increase would take a long time to produce new vassals, Teles e Silva noted the added value in also promoting the naturalization of foreigners. The contours of this solution tacitly stated a preference for European, white, and Catholic settlers.

The model for this policy was British. Indeed, before Teles e Silva, Luís da Cunha's *Testamento Político* had already used British willingness to naturalize foreigners in the Americas as a model—as did Pombal, in his very secret instructions.<sup>373</sup> Stating how undesirable it was to create tensions with the Vatican on account of foreign naturalizations, Teles e Silva suggested the migration of (Catholic) Germans, “who could be conveniently settled in [Brazil], with the exception of merchants, who would need to come and go.”<sup>374</sup> Despite not being mentioned in this correspondence, the “importation” of white settlers was not restricted to the possibility of attracting German settlers. In fact, the Portuguese islands of the Azores became one of the main sources of white settlers. Because of the lack of resources in relation to the scale of this small Atlantic archipelago, the population of the

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<sup>372</sup> “Haja muitos casamentos, e pouquíssimos ventres inúteis.” Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), 325.

<sup>373</sup> Mendonça and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Primeira carta secretíssima de Sebastião.”

<sup>374</sup> Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal,” 326.

Azorean islands was often deemed to exist in excess rather than shortage. As part of its pro-natalist efforts, the crown sponsored a policy of sending Azorean couples (*casais*) to people the Amazon.<sup>375</sup>

Teles e Silva's letter then concluded by appealing to Pombal with a mechanistic imagery. Noting how Pombal was "the mainspring of this clock" whose components—population, trade, agriculture, and territorial expansion—were put in place to operate the restitution of the Portuguese empire to its former glory.<sup>376</sup> Pombal, not the sovereign, was the "prime mover" of this universe. Phillip Kreager remarks on the plurality of early modern methods of demographic expansion and economic growth, and notes how: "to develop and gain influence, polities had to structure and expand their numbers [...] by absorbing immigrants; by gaining control of adjacent populations through war, elite marriage or treaty; and by extending influence [...] through trade and colonization."<sup>377</sup> Far more than mere ideas Portuguese elites were open to, the naturalization policy route had clearly been the object of much study and comparative analysis. This study hinged on Petty. However, judging from the many books on political economy consumed by Pombal during his time as Portuguese ambassador in London, the British empire was at once Portugal's oldest ally as well as its antagonist, rival, and model for the future.<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> José Damião Rodrigues, "Da periferia insular às fronteiras do império: colonos e recutas dos Açores no povoamento da América," *Anos 90* 17, no. 32 (2010): 17–43; Paulo Teodoro de Matos, "Colonos para o Império: Os Açores e a emigração para o Maranhão," 2019; António Manuel Hespanha, *Filhos Da Terra: Identidades Mestiças Nos Confins Da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2019).

<sup>376</sup> Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), "Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal," 326.

<sup>377</sup> Philip Kreager, "The Emergence of Population," in *Reproduction: Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Lauren Kassell, Nick Hopwood, and Rebecca Flemming (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 255.

<sup>378</sup> Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Marquês de Pombal), *Escritos Económicos de Londres (1741-1742)*, ed. José Barreto (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1986). For an account of Pombal's library on matters of political economy, trade companies, population, etc. see Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kenneth Maxwell, *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kenneth R. Maxwell, "Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian

The policy of “many marriages and very few useless wombs” lay at the heart of the *Directório*. After all, marriage was the social contract undergirding the *raison d’être* of the household. No family could survive without either marital alliances or offspring. Nevertheless, the reduction of women to a discrete part of their reproductive anatomy marked how pro-natalists viewed women much like they viewed the land: matter to be labored and rendered fertile for greatness of the nation. The second stage of this policy was also acknowledged in Teles e Silva’s letter: to secularize “Indian” government and remove Jesuit jurisdiction. Lastly, Teles e Silva also touched on a more strategic vision of spatial planning and urban settlement. Thus, ending his disquisition to Pombal by noting that “the most effective way of multiplication of the people is to establish many [places], even if small, rather than large but very few [*vilas*].”<sup>379</sup>

### ***Republicar and Cultivate the Indians***

The Pombaline belief in the ability to assimilate and transform “Indians into vassals,” followed the mercantilist and pedagogical spirit of the time. The next motions of the political mechanism reflected a conviction in the plasticity of human inner natures and the modern method’s capacity to govern and bring about collective improvement. This viewpoint manifested ideas about stadial development and race. This section will explore how racial hierarchies in the Pombaline Amazon were negotiated through a homology between the wild nature of the natural

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Economy,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (1968): 608–31; Miguel Dantas da Cruz, “Pombal and the Atlantic Empire: Political Impacts of the Foundation of the Royal Treasury,” *Tempo*, 2015; Dias, “Política pombalina na colonização da Amazônia”; Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *O Marquês de Pombal e o Brasil*. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1960); Antonio Cesar de Almeida Santos, “O ‘Mecanismo Político’ Pombalino e o Povoamento da América Portuguesa na Segunda Metade do Século XVIII.,” *Revista de História Regional* 15, no. 1 (2010): 78–107.

<sup>379</sup> Teles da Silva and Mello (Marquês de Pombal), “Correspondência Entre o Duque Manuel Teles Da Silva e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, 1º Marquês de Pombal,” 327.



milieu and the “savagery” of the “Indian.” Thus, the project of cultivation—the key to agriculture and civilization, as seen in chapter 3—linked labor with domestication of the land; and, in turn, with “mastery” over Indigenous peoples. These ideas were anchored to neo-Hippocratic pathology, namely the link between air and illness, the household and reason. As Amerindians learned to “tame” their natural environments, they would also deepen the pedagogical exercise of physical and cognitive development. Reason, as a consequence, would become manifested both in the self-discipline of their whitening bodies and in the transformation of the unworked abundance of the Brazilian landscape into a well-ordered harvest.<sup>380</sup>

The pedagogical and stadial imprimatur placed on the structure of the Directorate was first marked in the figure of the Director and the language of education used all throughout. To become “*branco*,” seemingly, was something one could learn. Moreover, the director had the legal status of “tutor.” This, in turn, meant that indigenous peoples deemed as not yet brought into “the means of civility [...] and rationality” would remain under tutelage—and therefore, unable to claim autonomous self-rule.<sup>381</sup> In other words, becoming a subject was the culmination of a process that started with the physical aggregation of Amerindians in the *vila*. Yet, while subjecthood was a noble objective, it was also a goal for the *longue durée*. Before Amerindians

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<sup>380</sup> “Unworked abundance” is a formulation I owe to Valeria Mantilla. The description of changing physical bodies as a result of life in a Portuguese household can be found in Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira. The notion of the air affecting the moral and physical constitution of the people in the tropics can be found in Ribeiro Sanches, *Treatise on the Health of the People*. All will be analyzed with more detail in the following pages. Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica*. Antônio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix: consideraçõins sobre os terremotos, com a noticia dos mais consideraveis, de que fas menção a historia, e dos ultimos que se sentirão na Europa desde o 1 de novembro 1755*. (Em Paris e se vende em Lisboa, em casa de Bonardel e Du Beux, mercadores de livros. M DCC LVI, 1756), chap. XXI.

<sup>381</sup> As Manuela Carneiro da Cunha notes, until the 1988 Brazilian constitution, Indigenous peoples still had the legal status of a 16-year-old—a status shared with married women. In other words, until the present, post-military dictatorship Constitution, neither group were legally counted as adults. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Índios No Brasil: História, Direitos e Cidadania* (São Paulo, SP: Claro Enigma, 2012). I explored the themes of infancy and race in this text Patrícia Martins Marcos, “Decolonizing Empire: Corporeal Chronologies and the Entanglements of Colonial and Postcolonial Time,” *Práticas Da História. Journal on Theory, Historiography and Uses of the Past*, no. 11 (2020): 143–79.

could accomplish it, they had to first be brought into the stage of vassal. This distinction is made clear in a letter written by the Municipal Council of the City of Nossa Senhora das Neves (Paraíba). This letter, from July of 1766, frames the labor of colonization as “excessively laborious.” The council had been tasked with the mission of “*republicar* the Indians, which until then lived scattered all throughout the *sertão* of this captaincy, without the regime of vassals.”<sup>382</sup> To bring into the Republic, therefore, meant to assimilate into the body politic but not necessarily to render into an equal. For Amerindians, vassal status assured access to some prerogatives—e.g., legal and political representation, ability to speak in court—whereas for the Crown it legitimated the expansion of territorial “dominium” built through indigenous dispossession.

In the context of the Directory, dispossession happened through two main channels. First, through the expansion of land claims into heretofore unsettled hinterlands. The Amazon was scattered with cities built anew and bearing the same well-ordered and salubrious grid as post-earthquake Lisbon.<sup>383</sup> Some of these Pombaline *vilas*, however, reused Jesuit *aldeias* but changed their names to emulate Portuguese cities. The second main means of dispossession came through the intentional movement of indigenous peoples from their ancestral lands and into the new *vila* or *lugar*. Dislocation was important for the crown because it afforded the capacity to not only plan where cities should exist and how many “souls” should people each *vila*, but also

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<sup>382</sup> “Para republicar os Índios, que até então viviam aldeados, no esperso sertão desta capitania, sem aquele regime de vassalos.” AHU, Paraíba, Cx 13. Representação da câmara municipal da cidade de Nossa Senhora das Neves, 21 July 1766.

<sup>383</sup> Sampaio, “Viver Em Aldeamentos”; Sandrielle Pessoa dos Santos, “Tempo e espaço na Amazônia Colonial: da Vila de Ega a cidade de Tefê século XVIII e XIX,” October 21, 2016, <https://tede.ufam.edu.br/handle/tede/5457>; Viotti, “O pombalino império da Amazônia na regência de Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado”; Graciete Guerra da Costa, “Fortificações na Amazônia,” *Navigator* 10, no. 20 (2014): 109–18; Graciete Guerra da Costa, “Fortes portugueses na Amazônia brasileira,” 2015, <https://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/21809>; Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça, *A Amazônia na Era Pombalina. Correspondência inédita do governador e capitão-general do Estado do Grão Pará e Maranhão Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 1751-1759* (São Paulo: Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 1963).

to count, name, and control their movements.<sup>384</sup> At this stage, the Pombaline administration introduced more robust systems to tally people, account for demographic change, and grasp whether or not the *vilas* remained “civil and dignified.”<sup>385</sup> These accounts were also important to assure trade, the Directorate's other main goal. One of the main ways to account for people, the taxes they owed, and how much their productive labor contributed to the welfare of the state came from the position of Director itself. The Director was the person who, while Amerindians remained in a state of civilizational infancy for lack of commerce, labor, monogamy, or patriarchal familial sociabilities, had the obligation of “tutelage” of the “*índios*.” Indeed, as the Directorate mentions, before the full conversion into whiteness took place, as testified by the capacity to manage money, it was the Director who should handle any of the profits accrued by “Indians.”<sup>386</sup>

On a legal and symbolic level, the Director performed two roles attributed to the paterfamilias: he was tutor of the “Indians” and progenitor *in lieu* of traditional fatherly sovereign for the *casa*. In line with pedagogical literature of the time, the director's role was one of persuasion. After all, reason could not be compelled through violence but had to be pursued through the morose task of education. Thus, civilization was a question of lifting Amerindians “from the lamentable rusticity and ignorance within which they have, until now, been

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<sup>384</sup> Paulo Teodoro de Matos, “Counting Portuguese Colonial Populations, 1776–1875: A Research Note,” *The History of the Family* 21, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 267–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1081602X.2016.1147371>; Ana Scott and Paulo Teodoro de Matos, “Demografia Do Brasil Colonial: Fontes, Métodos e Resultados, 1750-1822,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 34 (September 1, 2017): 433–38.

<sup>385</sup> AHU, Paraíba, Cx 12, Letter from the Governor of Paraíba, Luís António de Lemos Brito, to the Secretary Diogo Mendonça de Corte Real, 12 May 1756.

<sup>386</sup> Indigenous peoples would maintain the legal status of children until the 1988 Brazilian constitution. For the section of the *Directório* focused with money see paragraphs 8 and 40. After the Directorate was abolished, the system of tutelage would be maintained. Rather than a Director, Amerindians fell under the jurisdiction of the Judge of the Orphans (*Juiz dos Orfãos*). Patrícia Melo Sampaio, *Espelhos Partidos: Etnia, Legislação e Desigualdade Na Colônia* (EDUA, Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas, 2012).

educated.”<sup>387</sup> From here, it can be seen how a way of life different from that of the Portuguese colonizers could be interpreted as a knowledge anomaly. Once ignorance was combatted through education, Amerindians would acquire the “necessary aptitude for Governance, without needing someone to direct them [...] not only in the means of civility, [...] and persuading them in the dictates of rationality of which they have been deprived.”<sup>388</sup> The error was the outcome of faulty reason—or even of an inability to attain it to the same level as a white subject. Thus, by persisting in the errors of their ways of living—refusing settlement, monogamy, Catholicism—Indian self-government became only a promise.

The idea of error built on a dichotomous mode of thought that construed indigenous cultures as racial types, thus setting a clear boundary between reason and “heathenism.” Despite the *Directório*’s goal of assimilation, the law’s promissory design *de facto* preserved a racial border. This was partly owed to the stadial ideology undergirding the Pombaline view of indigenous progression to civilization. In other words, change happened gradually, step by step. By investing the figure of the Director with the role of tutor (i.e., a progenitor *in absentia* of a competent paterfamilias), it was implied that progressing from infancy to adulthood was a protracted process that demanded supervision. In addition, slowness was also a product of its emphasis on intergenerational reproduction. The transformation of “wild” humans into “domesticated” and “civilized” subjects demanded engaging with the temporality of procreative

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<sup>387</sup> Portugal Sovereign (Joseph), “Directorio, que se deve observar nas povoaçoens dos indios do Pará, e Maranhão em quanto Sua Magestade não mandar o contrario.,” in *Collecção das leis, decretos, e alvarás, que comprehende o feliz reinado del rei fidelissimo D. José o I. nosso senhor desde o anno de 1750 até o de 1760, e a pragmatica do senhor rei D. Joaõ o V. do anno de 1749*. (Lisboa: Na officina de Miguel Rodrigues, impressor do eminentissimo senhor cardinal patriarca, 1758), 1.

<sup>388</sup> Portugal Sovereign (José I), Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado Furtado, and Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, *Directorio, que se deve observar nas povoaçoens dos indios do Pará, e Maranhão em quanto Sua Magestade não mandar o contrario*. (Lisboa: Na Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, Impressor do Eminentissimo Senhor Cardinal Patriarca, 1758).

natural cycles as well as with the seasonal rhythms of agricultural production. One year would never suffice—and likely neither would one generation—to transform “Indians into vassals.”

Ideas of lengthy human transformation were not foreign to the Portuguese empire. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira engaged with them in the 1780s, when wondering how latitude, sun exposure, and time could coalesce to render a white person into the color of a Tapuia.<sup>389</sup> Similarly, he also speculated how a Tapuia could be whitened. For him, either trajectory took time. Immediacy was not a crux; continued labor and unrelenting effort were. Along similar lines, in 1789, the future imperial administrator, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (1763-1838), who at the time was a student at Coimbra and an aspiring man of science, proposed a spatial division of Brazil along racial and geoclimatic lines. Informed by Linnaeus and Franklin, Andrada believed it was ideal to match each racial time to the environment most amenable to its constitution. As such, Andrada argued that “in Brazil, the mountains of the warm Provinces and the cold Provinces should be inhabited and cultivated by Whites and Indians.” Conversely, “lands [located] on warm planes should be inhabited by Blacks, *cabras*, and *mulato* sons of *negras*.”<sup>390</sup> This led him to conclude that “Indians must be progressively mixed with whites through marriage and [an] address.”<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica* (Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1972), 47.

<sup>390</sup> The category “*cabra*,” which means goat, was a mixed-race category. Its meaning was highly contingent but generally meant a person whose precise racial heredity could not be determined with clarity. “No Brazil devem as Serras das Provincias quentes e as provincias frias, serem habitadas e cultivadas só por Brancos e Indios; e as terras baixas e quentes por negros, cabras, e mulatos filhos de negras.” ANTT, ACP José Bonifácio DL 191,73) 811. Doc 3. *Notas feitas por José Bonifácio de Andrada da Silva, desembargador da Relação do Porto, sobre o projecto de miscigenação de brancos, negros e indios; instrução, formação e modos de comportamento dos negros e indios, projectos para a agricultura, pecuária e pescaria da região; emigração; conservação das matas; projectos gerais sobre a sociedade em formação; distribuição geográfica*, Coimbra, 1618 - 1789-03-09.

<sup>391</sup> “Os Indios devem progressivamente ser misturados com os brancos por casamento e morada.” ANTT, ACP José Bonifácio DL 191,73) 811 doc. 04. - Coimbra, 1618 - 1789-03-09.

Gradually improving Brazil entailed a very strict policy of racial mixture. The process started by “imprinting ideas of honor and social necessity in the Indians.” If they “mixed with the Portuguese, and blacks, a better race” would emerge. This “better race” was determined by a stadial trajectory towards whiteness and the telos of “Portuguese civilization.” While “white” and “black” ought not to mix, the “Indian” could gradually improve blackness through intergenerational reproduction. In the following page of this note, Andrada argues for an inversion of the role between father and son. His goal was to “bring in the Indians of the Jesuits but not their political system” which had allowed the preservation of native languages. Since the goal was for every person to speak Portuguese, then the “son had to become the Father’s master.” This was only applicable, however, to “Indians” who continued to refuse the Directorate *vila*.<sup>392</sup> To live like the Portuguese, he argued, could “give new ideas” to Amerindian peoples and “unearth their sleeping mental faculties.” To become Portuguese, in other words, entailed “waking them from the lethargy of barbarism and their natural and habitual sloth,” to through “enthusiasm and [good] example” teach them to avoid any of the “sterile reasonings put into action by the passions.”<sup>393</sup> The project of civilization was premised on reason and discipline. The crux was for assimilated citizens to labor, pay taxes, marry, and be useful to the state.

As with the cannibal and the convert, the ally and the enemy, or the “domesticated” and the “wild” (*silvestre*), the Directorate inaugurated the introduction of the dichotomy between “error” and “civility” (*civilidade*). Through the heuristic of polar opposites, the language of the Directory emphasized the extremes—the white, laboring settler versus the uncultivated “heathen.” Rhetorically, this was an effective device. Everything and everyone placed in-

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<sup>392</sup> “Adoptar os meios de convencer os Indios dos Jesuitas, mas não a sua politica de deixar os Indios conservalos na sua lingoa – He preciso que os meninos sejam os mestres dois Pais,” ANTT, ACP José Bonifácio DL 191,73 811 doc. 04. - Coimbra, 1618 - 1789-03-09.

<sup>393</sup> ANTT, ACP José Bonifácio DL 191,73 811 doc. 04. - Coimbra, 1618 - 1789-03-09.

between occupied an ambiguous middle ground that afforded ample space for interpretation. Filling in the gaps between the no longer “barbarous” but not quite civilized created the interstices where resistance and abuses of power both thrived. It was in this space of ambivalence that the everyday ambiguity of rank and idiosyncratic racial negotiations could register, and where space for negotiation of the ideal and its subversion could emerge. The stadal progression that was circuited through the Directório depended on the *casa* and the promise that land cultivation led to inner “civilizing.” For this reason, “Paganism” and the “the uncultivated *Sertões*” were part of the same semantic field, whereas progress was symbolized by an emphasis on “the means of civility, Culture, and Commerce.” These transformations called for signifiers placed on land, bodies, sex, labor, and *modus vivendi*; and were the route to whiteness.

To accept civilization was to place oneself under rule and submit to the Portuguese imaginary of order. This worldview of political life started in the *casa* and thrived through its relation to the city and the state. And that was the meaning of *republicar*. The rendering of a political system (the republic) into the active verb (*republicar*) marked the paradoxical role of movement in Amerindian transformation: as “Indians” settled, their human condition progressed towards adjacency to the white imperial body.

Inevitably, the colonial archive for the Amazon is replete with examples of failure. In 1759 in Piauí, for instance, the crown representative João Pereira das Caldas wrote to the governor, Mendonça Furtado, alerting him that both settlers and Amerindians seemed to rebuke the crown’s intent. To “civilize” and bring Amerindians into the “means of civility” was, after all, contrary to the interests of white settlers accustomed to prey upon and enslave indigenous peoples. At the same time, the report also accused the “Timbaras, Gueguês, and Acroás” of

rebellious against the crown's wishes by attacking farms and destroying crops.<sup>394</sup> This was only one example among many. In Ceará, crown officials became increasingly preoccupied with *vadios* (vagrants). The same João Pereira das Caldas, governor of Piauí, was concerned with an increase in populations which, despite not being "Indian" by birth, behaved in every way like them.

Vagrants and vagabonds filled a new category separate from whiteness and which shared many common denominators with Amerindians.<sup>395</sup> Through the language of crime and pathology, João Pereira das Caldas condemned the "criminals and vagabonds which infest [the *sertões*] of this captaincy with many abuses." In a subsequent line, he elaborated exactly how their behavior was similar to Amerindians and divergent from whiteness: they live "like beasts, separated from civil society and commerce among humans."<sup>396</sup> As a response, the King issued a Royal Letter (Carta Régia) ordering that "all the men whom are found [living] as vagabonds or in itinerant locales in said *sertões*, are immediately mandated to find settled locations near Civil populations with more than fifty homes."<sup>397</sup> Pombal's policy against vagrancy took on the paterfamilias responsibility for the *oeconomia* of the *casa*. For this reason, he ordered the Governor of São Paulo to "establish a policy of horror against sloth and idleness."<sup>398</sup>

The tone of these letters was in every way similar to the reports found in the Police books against Roma people who were both accused of crimes and pathologized "like plagues who prey

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<sup>394</sup> AHU, Piauí, Cx 8, Letter from João Pereira Caldas to Mendonça Furtado, 5 July 1765.

<sup>395</sup> Antonio Cesar de Almeida Santos, "Vadios e política de povoamento na América portuguesa, na segunda metade do século XVIII," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 27, no. 2 (December 31, 2001): 2–30, <https://doi.org/10.15448/1980-864X.2001.2.24432>.

<sup>396</sup> AHU, Piauí, Cx9, Report by João Pereira das Caldas, August 3, 1769.

<sup>397</sup> "Que todos os homens vagabundos, que nos ditos sertões se acharem vagabundos, ou em sítios volantes, sejam logo obrigados a escolherem lugares acomodados para viverem juntos em Povoações Civis que, pelo menos, tenham de cinquenta fogos para cima." AHU, Paraíba, Mç 27, cópia de Carta Régia ao Conde da Cunha, July 22, 1766.

<sup>398</sup> "Estabelecer a politica de horror contra a preguiça e ociosidade." AHU, Cod. 423, Letter from Pombal (Conde de Oeiras) to the Governor of São Paulo, July 22, 1766.



upon this land [of Alentejo]” for their itineracy.<sup>399</sup> In addition to bringing “disorder” and “poverty” due to the “bad exploration of the land,” to live in a dispersed manner was also inimical to “civility,” “tillage and commerce.”<sup>400</sup> “Domestication” was a way into this ideal, but alone it was also insufficient. Specifically, the Portuguese had to contend with the problem of how to persuade people into the ways of urbanity. Due to these enduring difficulties, the crown turned to cities and to counting inhabitants, births, and marriages.<sup>401</sup>

The goal of *republicar* was health and civilization. The act of congregation into Amazonian cities civilized and improved the moral and physical constitution of its indigenous peoples. Through better designed spaces and homes, Sanches' patrician and patriarchal method of disease prevention could also be applied. Based on specific population subgroups (i.e., *the peoples*) and the organization of their respective spaces, more reasoned methods of improving both natural and built environments could transform the atmosphere. Reason and organization, here, denoted both traditional acts of everyday management in these collective spaces—e.g., determining diet, cleanliness regimens, or physical activity—as well as a preoccupation with architecture and ventilation. It is true that Sanches' preoccupation with spatial arrangements preceded the earthquake, but his view that architects should seek the advice of physicians also had a colonial dimension. Specifically, it built on his view of the universality of the air and the link established between civility, salubrious cities, and health.

These notions played on the importance of Pombaline urban planning in the Amazon. Be it the design of homes, street planning, or the location of cities, this grid of health drew on the neo-Hippocratic ideas that Ribeiro Sanches and others expressed about the disordered “tropics.”

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<sup>399</sup> ANTT, IGP, Mç 453,

<sup>400</sup> AHU, Cod. 239, Letter from Luís de Souza Botelho to Pombal, December 1, 1767.

<sup>401</sup> Santos, “O ‘mecanismo político.’”

As seen in chapter 3, Sanches believed every built environment should be informed by the universal laws of health. To assure the applicability of such a measure, Sanches focused the first half of the book on the problem of air, its corruption, and appropriate circulation. Since antiquity, namely in Hippocrates *Airs, Waters, and Places*, air had been identified as the principal conduit of disease. Air touched on and interacted with every surface of the body, being necessary for every operation—not to mention, life itself. It was, as Sanches put it, “the universal storage of our globe, where everything that is exhaled from it is deposited.”<sup>402</sup> While air was universal, its qualities and salubrity changed dramatically across geographies. Sanches demonstrated specific concern for this problem when discussing “the tropics” and specifically the problem of where to build cities across the Portuguese empire.

Emphasizing his neo-Hippocratic orientation, the other main element he urges his readers to consider in terms of disease prevention was temperature—equated with the quality of the atmosphere. Exposure to(?) hot air revealed the body’s porosity as well as its susceptibility to putrefaction. Perspiration was the sign the body was reacting to the elements. In turn, sweat also exposed the body to corruption and the noxious air of the tropics. The link between air, perspiration, and exhalation is critical to understand Sanches’ theory of personal health. Breath and sweat “are the last excrements of our body,” he added.<sup>403</sup> Both were physical manifestations of “rot separated from the blood; they are acid, salty, and corrosive.” Their danger resided in the fact that they always surrounded the body, “like a cloud of rotten exhalations.”<sup>404</sup> Consequently,

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<sup>402</sup> “Devemos logo considerar o Ar, como armazém universal do nosso globo, aonde se deposita tudo, o que se exhala delle.” Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix*, 16–17.

<sup>403</sup> “Esta transpiração, e o bafo soa os últimos excrementos do nosso corpo.” Sanches, 18.

<sup>404</sup> “São tantas partes podres separadas do sangue; são acres, salinas, e rodentes mais, ou menos, conforme a natureza de cada corpo. Deste modo he que estamos sempre cercados de huma nuvem de exalações podres, e fétidas: as quais, se pelo Ar não se sacodissem, e alimentassem, senão se depositassem no Ar, em poucos instantes sentiríamos a perda de Saúde.” Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos ... com hum appendix*, 18.

if architecture did not take personal hygiene and good ventilation in mind, disease would become an inevitability. Thus, to understand “good physics” and wind was critical for health.

In the link between the *casa*, race, and urbanism, rot became in Sanches’ discourse a proxy for tropical illness and race. In a discussion on “the effects of temperature in the Air between the tropics,” Sanches speaks of “Brazil, Mina Coast, Angola, Mozambique, and India” as “Portuguese Colonies” where “all diseases stem from this acquired quality [of the air].”<sup>405</sup> For Sanches, not only did this noxious air produce pathological effects on the moral and physical constitution of its native peoples but improving the monarchy also demanded a careful study of where to establish cities.<sup>406</sup> The fact that the utility of the state—and of imperial expansion—demanded that “cities [had] to be founded in places less convenient to the conservation of its inhabitants,” made the problem of the *casa* all the more important. When forced to locate a city in a “less healthy place” (*lugares menos sadios*), the only way of overcoming the effects of nature” was to “fabricate *casas*” capable of withstanding its impact on the human body. As it will be seen in the next section, these principles would be extended to an overt project of race-making and whiteness in the context of the Directorate and Portuguese Amazon.

### **The *Casa* as a Laboratory of Civilization**

In a letter from July of 1765, addressed to Pombal’s brother and overseer of the Directório, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, the governor of Piauí, João Pereira Caldas expressed his contentment with the progress made to bring civility into the *sertões*. He declared that “more than could be expected, many houses have been erected in all those *vilas*, and in the

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<sup>405</sup> Sanches, 37.

<sup>406</sup> Sanches, *Tratado da conservação da saúde dos povos*, chap. IX.

case of some [vilas]” there were many houses indeed.<sup>407</sup> However, in 1773, just a few years past, his successor had shared an entirely different assessment. In a detailed report, Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro reported that few to no public buildings had been erected. But the absence of a building for the town hall or city council was not the *vila*’s main issue. What was far worse was that the houses built to shelter inhabitants of the *vila* and fix them to the land, existed but were abandoned.<sup>408</sup> Rather than signifying a divergence, the letter bluntly stated the enormous difficulties the crown had in concretizing its ambitions. Pereira Caldas, the person who ordered the report as the new governor of Maranhão, had seen his high hopes for population and civility shattered in the space of a few short years. The urban *vilas* of civility in the Amazon had not neither yielded the inhabitants nor the cultivation promised by the *Directório*.

Despite these failures, the priority given to the construction of *casas* rather than public buildings only underlines the crown’s driving concern with population, land cultivation, and settlement through planned cities. This mutual imbrication of key symbols of civilized life was, as already noted, a trademark of Pombal’s *mecanismo politico*. The thematic order of the Directorate’s 95 paragraphs both reveals a lot about the stadial labor of the mechanism’s operations and how progress would entail adherence to every element. As it was for Sanches, for whom civilization started with agriculture—as a science that involved labor, management, and planning to anticipate a fertile future of the familial unit—agriculture in the Directory was the first sign of whether or not a people was ready for self-government. For this reason, agriculture was a critical part of the Director’s duties of persuasion as tutor to the “Indians.” The introduction of the habit of “Cultivation of the lands, [developing] plantations with [tradeable]

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<sup>407</sup> “Mais do que se podia esperar, havendo-se erigido muitas casas em todas aquelas vilas, e em algumas delas em grande numero.” AHU, Pauí, Cx. 8, Letter by João Pereira Caldas to Mendonça Furtado on July 6, 1765.

<sup>408</sup> AHU, Piauí, Cx 11 Report

goods, and paying taxes,” would demonstrate both the value of commerce, as well as inculcate “reason.”<sup>409</sup> From here, already “domesticated” Amerindians would proceed into the *sertões* to expand the gospel of fertility. Clearly, however, land cultivation *de per si* was not enough. Agriculture was only valuable in relation to the utility added to the state through taxation: “in order to bless the work of the Indians on the Culture of the land, it will be necessary to unearth from all these Settlements (*Povoação*) the diabolical abuse of not paying Dizimos (Church Tax).”<sup>410</sup> To transform the “uncultivated *sertões*” into civilized nature demanded institutional mooring to the Portuguese crown.

Language was another important element of the stadial progression from the “savage” into the subject. As Diogo Ramada Curto has noted, however, until this point adopting a single language had not been part of the Portuguese imperial project. In fact, Brazilian colonization took place through recourse to *lingua geral*, a variation of Tupi-Guaraní. In the Amazon specifically, everyday affairs—including courts and town administration—relied heavily on the use of *nheegatu*. The ethno and social historian of the Amazon Patrícia Alves-Melo noted how the sudden outlawing of *nheegatu* because of the Directorate wrought chaos on several of these institutions.<sup>411</sup> Simultaneously, adopting Portuguese as the idiom of colonization also solidified efforts to convert the system of legal pluralism, in a single domain of state rule. And since language was vital to the project of subjecthood, all Directorate towns had schools.

The logic of the political mechanism informing the Directorate shared several points with Sanches’ political medicine. Yet, the rapport between household and state functioned in entirely distinct ways. While for Sanches the house was the homunculus wherefrom the reality of the

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<sup>409</sup> *Directório*, 16.

<sup>410</sup> *Directório*, 12.

<sup>411</sup> Patrícia Melo Sampaio, *Espelhos Partidos: Etnia, Legislação e Desigualdade Na Colônia* (EDUA, Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas, 2012).

state could be rebuilt and extrapolated, for Pombal the *vila* took precedence over the *casa*. That is not to say the *casa* was unimportant, since the two existed in harmony and dialogue in the design of the *Directório*. Rather, the first motion towards metamorphosis was operated through the Pombaline town. The difference between these two views reflected nuances in stadial, racial thinking. While Portuguese subjects were placed farther ahead in the route to progress, despite needing direction from the physician with regards to the problem of the proper rearing method, “Indians,” conversely, lacked markers of progress exemplified in the way of life Portuguese subjects: integration in the corporatist social order; sedentary life in villages or cities; labor; agriculture; clothing; marriage; Catholicism; inhabiting a *casa*. Because the “*Índios*” knew none of that, the process had to be set in motion differently.

Distinctions between Portuguese and Amerindians help explain why regulations on how to order the physical space of the *casa*, and maintain both sexual and familial discipline, emerge only towards the end of the text, in the few last paragraphs of the decree. Before the household could definitively induce “civil” life in Amazonian peoples, they had to be educated into the fundamentals of collective life in a Pombaline *vila*. In contrast to the “lamentable [state of] ruin to which Indian villages have been reduced,” directors were charged with exercising “particular care in persuading the Indians to build decent *casas* for their domiciles.” The formation of the family, therefore, was a process only conceivable after Amerindians “unearthed the abuse and the villainy of living in cottage dwellings (*choupanas*) much like those who, as barbarians, inhabit the uncultivated center of the *Sertões*.” The natural consequence of the movement towards the household was the “augmenting of the Populations, therefore contributing to the nobility of its Buildings.”<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> *Directório*, §74.

Over and over, throughout the text of the law, the link between the *casa* and the family emerged as the crux of the settler project of whitening. In its earliest references, it is noted how “it is indubitable that the incivility and abatement of the Indians” was a result of the indecency with which they treat their *casas*.<sup>413</sup> Not only were the construction materials used of the physical structure unfit for moral and physical health, but the co-habitation of several families under the same roof was unfit for sexual hygiene. The fact that a single *casa* could be shared among “several Families” signified how “they live as brutes, lacking in the Laws of honesty, that are owed to the diversity of the sexes.”<sup>414</sup> A disordered house was a danger to a healthy and well-ordered polity, since it became a chief source of “vice.”

From here, innumerable ills were wrought onto the Republic. The exposure of children to the exercise of “vice,” especially that of “villainy” (*torpeza*) represented an unsurmountable danger as “the very first elements with which the Paterfamilias educate their sons” would be lacking. Therefore, since Amerindians were but children to civilization themselves, the directors of each *vila* were instructed to eradicate the practice of cohabitation by “persuading the Indians to fabricate their own *casas* in imitation [of those used by] Whites.” What were the key components of this model of white, healthy home? This *casa* should assure a functional and sexual division of labor that separated families. By having “different compartments” to “separate the Families,” they “could guard, as Rationals, the laws of honesty and police.”<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> “Sendo também indubitável, que para a incivilidade, e abatimento dos Índios, tem concorrido muito a indecência, com que se tratam em suas casas,” *Directório*, §12.

<sup>414</sup> “A indecência, com que se tratam em suas casas, assistindo diversas Famílias em uma só, na qual vivem como brutos; faltando àquelas Leis da honestidade, que se deve à diversidade dos sexos; do que necessariamente há de resultar maior relaxação nos vícios; sendo talvez o exercício deles, especialmente o da torpeza, os primeiros elementos com que os Pais de Família educam a seus filhos” *Directório*, §12.

<sup>415</sup> “Cuidarão muito os Diretores em desterrar das Povoações este prejudicialíssimo abuso, persuadindo aos Índios que fabriquem as suas casas a imitação dos Brancos; fazendo nelas diversos repartimentos, onde vivendo as Famílias com separação, possam guardar, como Racionais, as Leis da honestidade, e polícia” *Directório*, §12.

Implicitly, the stress put on the link between the *casa*, the family, and augmented population continued to replay Teles e Silva's words: "many marriages and very few useless wombs." While women were not named, they played perhaps the most critical role in this newly imagined social order. The entire edifice of the Directorate relied on the ability to mutually imbricate the two sexes in a marital union, from a family, build a *casa*, form a household, and harvest the land attached to it. Paradoxically, the Directorate's most essential goal—the population—relied on the reproductive potential of a subgroup absent from its formal language. This silence bore the mark of a patriarchal social order interested in the pursuit of whiteness. In fact, marriage was part of "the conditions of [...] peace, union, public concord without which no Republic can subsist." To this end, Directors, as the paterfamilias of the *vila*, had to "totally extinguish the odious and abominable distinction that ignorance and inequity" have perpetuated among "Indians and Whites." Rather, both should be "united in Civil society."<sup>416</sup> To this end, no "Indian" should ever either be enslaved. Hence, it was decreed that the "infamy and villainy" of being mistaken for a "Negro" should never again occur. "Indians" were "blacks of the land" no more.

The abstract "union" of all subjects depended on the formation of intimate and sexual kinship—a process also marked by violence. Given their role as tutors, Directors were instructed to "promote and facilitate [...] matrimonies between White [settlers] and Indians." Through the occasion of a marriage, the role of the director *qua* paterfamilias returned. In the absence of fully formed families—or what was worse, given how Amerindians did not value the patrilineal

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<sup>416</sup> "Para se conseguirem pois os interessantísimos fins, a que se dirigem as mencionadas condições, que são a paz, a união, e a concórdia pública, sem as quais não podem as Repúblicas subsistir, cuidarão muito os Diretores em aplicar todos os meios conducentes para que nas suas Povoações se extinga totalmente a odiosa, e abominável distinção, que a ignorância, ou a iniquidade de quem preferia as conveniências particulares aos interesses públicos, introduzia entre os Índios, e Brancos, fazendo entre eles quase moralmente impossível aquela união, e sociedade Civil tantas vezes recomendada pelas Reais Leis de Sua Majestade," §87.



family unit in the same way—the state had to take an active role in creating settler “couples.” To assure more balance in the ratio between the races on matters of matrimony and offspring, it was also mandated that the Directors should seek “to persuade White Persons to assist in these Settlements.” It was not that, as the letter of the law clarified, “Indians were of inferior quality with respect to them [white settlers]”; quite simply, the crown urgently needed people who were ready to settle, govern, and rule their households.<sup>417</sup>

### **The Alchemy of Race: Framing the Soil, Harvesting New Natures**

To meet the end of multiplication, both Pombal and his brother, Mendonça Furtado, who oversaw the implementation of the Directorate, recognized the risks presented by a long history of colonial violence. The enduring struggles of previous centuries over the capacity to access Amerindian force through *resgates* and slavery informed a Pombaline acknowledgement that the ambition of turning “Indians into vassals” would be all but unattainable. The territory was too vast, too unknown, and the crown too desperate to secure the expansion of its American borders. Hence, specific directions were given to avoid the many “violences forcing [Indians] who lived in settlements to evacuate them [...] and seek refuge in the Bush [*Mattos*] where they were born.”<sup>418</sup> Thus, in some sense, the task of Pombaline policy is presented as one of both “conservation” and “restitution.” Restitution, in fact, was an ambition central both to Pombaline reformism and eighteenth-century debates on medical reform and imperialism. The

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<sup>417</sup> “Para facilitar os ditos matrimônios, empregarão os Diretores toda a eficácia do seu zelo em persuadir a todas as Pessoas Brancas, que assistirem nas suas Povoações, que os Índios tanto não são de inferior qualidade a respeito delas, que dignando-se Sua Majestade de os habilitar para todas aquelas honras competentes às gradações dos seus postos, consequentemente ficam logrando os mesmos privilégios as Pessoas que casarem com os ditos índios; desterrando-se por este modo as prejudicialíssimas imaginações dos Moradores deste Estado, que sempre reputaram por infâmia semelhantes matrimônios,” §89.

<sup>418</sup> *Directório*, §75.

recapitulation of a forgone past of imperial glory constituted the most obsessive object of political action across the 1700s and beyond. In this sense, while depopulation was a useful proxy used to critique the absolute monarchy and the Church, the ultimate goal of modern reformist action was not just more people but the codification of a model of subjecthood premised on rendering “Portuguese” and “white” into synonyms. This dynamic only becomes apparent when the framework of Pombaline reform is taken to the Amazon.

In pursuit of the goal of “conserving,” “augmenting,” and “multiplying” the number of vassals and the size of existing *vilas*, the *Directorate* mandated that “Indians” who trespassed the remits of the law should not be harshly punished by either judges or directors. During the Directorate’s inceptive phase, it was critical to assure that newly assimilated vassals had no motive to refuse the project of civilization. That was because, in Pettyan fashion, the size of a city was equated with proximity to civilization: “it is indisputable that the proportion of the number of inhabitants in a Settlement (*Povoação*) introduces civility and Commerce in them.”<sup>419</sup> Only “Populous settlements” (*Povoações populosas*), it was assumed, could bring these peoples into the fold of the “most civilized and Polished Nations in the World.”<sup>420</sup> To assure the stable size or population in a city, the Crown introduced yearly accounting reports, including a “list of all the Indians.” The move to list, name, and account was, on the part of Portuguese imperial power, a move that sought to assure Amerindian fixity and faithfulness to the Crown. Rather than a bid for integration, this was an effort of colonial expansion.

Ever since the Portuguese first set foot in Brazil, descriptions of its native peoples confounded them with metaphors of its untamed, abundant, and “undomesticated” nature. The

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<sup>419</sup> *Directório*, 33.

<sup>420</sup> *Directório*, 29.

chronicler Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, in 1570 built on this homology of nature when he spoke “of the barbarous heathen that Nature has planted throughout this land of Brazil.”<sup>421</sup> Centuries later, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the natural historian Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira lamented how, in Brazil the “fertility of the terrain cooperates with its vegetable abundance.” However, the vast majority “of these terrains have been reduced into impenetrable forests covered in thick and tall brush.”<sup>422</sup> As he finished nearly a decade of travels across the Amazon, Ferreira chastised the useless and abandoned Pombaline *vilas* he visited along the way. Places “without people, without crops, and without commerce. I do not know what purpose similar *vilas* serve.”<sup>423</sup>

Ferreira, who was Brazilian born, was also one of the first graduates in Natural Philosophy at the University of Coimbra—something only possible because of the Pombaline reform of that institution in 1772. In his views, there was a tension between an admiration for Brazilian nature and deep pessimism: “what we see is a savage and somber country, a brute land abandoned to itself.” This wild nature reflected Brazil’s deeper problem: the idle and “savage” moral constitution of Amerindian inner natures: “there is neither sufficient prudential authority to compel whites who are mixed with Indians, to work as whites and not as Indians.” Then, Ferreira adds: “whatever the land can produce [...] it is boundless, but what is effectively produced is very little; because the labor that has yet to be done is considerable, but sloth is much more”

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<sup>421</sup> Pero de Magalhães Gândavo, *Tratado da terra do Brasil: história da Província Santa Cruz, a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil (1570)* (Brasília: Edições do Senado Federal, 2008), <https://www2.senado.gov.br/bdsf/handle/id/188899>.

<sup>422</sup> Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica Pelas Capitânicas Do Grão-Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá: Memórias Zoologia Botânica*, 70.

<sup>423</sup> “Sem gente, sem lavoura e sem comércio, não sei para que servem semelhantes povoações!” Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, *Viagem Filosófica ao Rio Negro* (Belém: Museu Paranense Emilio Goeldi, s.d.), 500.

abundant.<sup>424</sup> Similar to his criticisms of the town, Ferreira's contempt for Amerindians revealed the Directorate's many failures: the inability to improve agriculture and commerce and ultimately, to render Amerindians into white subjects. In fact, from Ferreira's account, untamed Amazonian nature had brought white subjects into the "native" way of life. It appears that "enlightened" optimism about the capacity to inculcate progress into less developed humans had failed.

In another disquisition by Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, he implicitly presented arguments on why the crown wished to bring enslaved Africans into the Amazon. Ferreira noted that Africans, whether "working under constraints or not" were less agile than "Indians" but "much stronger working with a hoe and an ax." Whereas "heathens (*gentio*)," whether fed or not, are enemies of labor and cannot perform it even when they lack nourishment."<sup>425</sup> The cause for this "debility in the character of their bodies and the coldness of their soul" was abundance. Since "nature offers everything to them without charging any strain or labor in exchange for sustenance and joy." This kind of moral and physical environment created weak bodies and idle souls. As noticed above, absence of agricultural labor and refusal to form a familial and propertied structure like a household proved their degeneration. These conditions created effeminacy in male bodies, thus potentially upsetting the natural telos of the reproductive order. In addition to the nakedness of Amerindian bodies, Ferreira's ethnographic accounts often insist on describing whether marital unions existed, how families were structured, and the strength of those ties. In the case of the *Tapuias*, for example, he notes how: they had "liberty in relation to the two sexes, [as well as about] where, [or] how they please" to have sex.<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> "Nem há forças nem autoridade prudencial bastante para obrigar aos brancos misturados com os índios a que obrem como brancos e não como índios." Ferreira, 17.

<sup>425</sup> Ferreira, 83.

<sup>426</sup> Ferreira, 84.

The *casa* produced adjacency to whiteness by several means in overt, racial terms. The salubrious effect of being included in a household was visible in both the physical and moral constitution of indigenous bodies. Such variations in skin color were contingent on climate, geography, and the type of labor performed. For example, “Tapuias” who lived in mountainous areas, had fairer skin, resembling *mamelucos* (mixed-race kind between white and Amerindian). If, however, a “Tapuia spent two years laboring [...] exposed to the sun and heat, he would differ in very little from a black” person. If a white person was exposed to the same conditions, then they would resemble a “mulato.” But if, conversely, a “Tapuia was employed in domestic services, [then] their [color] was always lighter (*alvos*).” This even happened when ill and their bodies became whiter and paler (*mais esbranquiçados e pálidos*).<sup>427</sup>

Themes of sexual chaos and moral vice hinged on the unworked abundance of the natural milieu; an uncultivated nature produced uncultivated beings. The correspondence between being and space possessed both humoral and neo-Hippocratic resonances. Indeed, it was for this reason that the medicalized household became the crux of the project of health and improvement. In the case of Ferreira, the resonance of these ideas was also manifested in his discussion of “domesticated Tapuias.” The “domesticated” kind of *Tapuia*, Ferreira argued, “exceeded in strength and robustness their savage” counterpart because of the healthy effects that labor and discipline exerted on his bodily constitution. The reason for this range of effects was multicausal. It was neither just climate, nor temperature, or humidity. Instead, it was all these things combined together as the effect of the *casa*. In the journey from “savage” to approximate white vassal status, Ferreira remarked, the “domesticated Tapuia” benefited from “having been

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<sup>427</sup> Ferreira, 76.

accustomed to labor since birth.” Because labor “makes of the weak, strong.”<sup>428</sup> Amerindian effeminacy was the stadal product of a lax regime of both labor and discipline.<sup>429</sup> This *modus vivendi* was a double-edged sword: it both caused “ a longevity far superior to that of Europeans,” but also infantile irrationality.<sup>430</sup> Because “their bodies are neither oppressed by labor nor are their spirits [agitated] by the cogitations and troubles that disquiet and trouble civilized men.”<sup>431</sup> In the Amazon, civilization was a white man’s burden.

### **Remaking Subjecthood**

Through the Directorate, Pombal and his allies hoped to not only “multiply the population” but to do so with useful subjects. By tracking Petty and the study of the political mechanism to the Amazon, the specific ideal of “the augmented people” acquires greater clarity. The Pombaline project of the population rested on an ideal of indigenous extinction through assimilation into whiteness. To accomplish this, women’s bodies formed the contours of a new colonial frontier. Despite emphasis on marriage and reproduction, the stress on “moral virtue” of labor, commerce, population, education, sedentary life, and marriage also showed how whitening was a biocultural process.

Given the absence of an evolutionary paradigm to think about change and natural transformation, marriage and patrilineal lineage offered good points of reference for the colonial project. Under the Aristotelian paradigm of generation and sex difference, the dominant and causal element in generation was male seed. Tacitly, this idea informed assumptions on the

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<sup>428</sup> Ferreira, 84.

<sup>429</sup> Hair was the main proxy used to demarcate European virility, specifically beard (*barba cerrada*). Ferreira described a case of “Tapuias” who, “imitating whites, have a lot of hair in their arms and legs,” 81.

<sup>430</sup> Ferreira, 85.

<sup>431</sup> Ferreira, 85.

directionality of human stadial improvement. Progress happened through procreation and its directionality was assured by the dominance of male seed in the process of generation. That is, it was assumed that out of the union between white men and Amerindian women, a white and laboring subject would emerge. If, however, as the crown also permitted, these marital unions were to be constituted between a white woman and indigenous man, then other devices like the *casa*, the Director, the school, and commerce would do the trick.

As built environments incepted with the principles of reason and order, the Pombaline towns played key neo-Hippocratic roles in impressing the air of civilization onto “Indians.” As Sanches had noted in his Hippocratic considerations on where to build cities, if the natural milieu proved difficult, human reason and the laws of nature could join forces to build healthy environments for human inhabitation. The science of human transformation and racial improvement the Portuguese built in the Amazon drew on the medicalization of the ideological structures developed in post-earthquake Lisbon to build salubrious households. The Directorate extended the project of medicalization of intimacy, kinship, and human improvement by linking the medical to an overt project of racial amelioration. While the *vila* created urbanity, the *casa* promoted the rearing of more and better subjects. In addition, it also worked to improve the environment for human inhabitation and childrearing.

As Sanches mentioned in his *Treatise on the Health of the Peoples*, given how the extension of the Portuguese empire stretched into the “tropics,” some of the “dominions” in need of settlement were located in less-than-ideal locales. However, this ought not to impede the Portuguese project of expanding civilization. Instead, medical reason and neo-Hippocratic laws about the nature of the air and how to transform through built environments and personal comportment could be enacted. The first step towards this goal was the creation of *vilas*. The

scaffold of streets and urban planning organized the rapport between the wild and the domesticated, the rule of the passion versus reason, and between disease and the health that only discipline, and labor could bring. The second step was closely aligned with the former. Since households structured labor, land possession, and agriculture, they tamed wild nature and disciplined “the natives.” Thus, they improved the quality of the physical and environmental milieu from unworked abundance into fertile and fruitful natures.



## CHAPTER 5

### **The Body of the Monarchy:**

### **Pathologizing Blackness, Slavery, and the Reform of Empire**

#### **Introduction**

In 1790, the Baron of Moçâmedes, Portugal's Governor of Angola since 1784, wrote a letter to his Brazilian counterpart, the Duke of Resende, asking for a military contingent of 600 men to be sent from Brazil to Luanda and adjacent territories.<sup>432</sup> According to Moçâmedes, at stake was the wellbeing of "the body of the monarchy" (*o corpo da monarquia*). Unlike previous visions of the body politic, this one was divided into two parts: Angola and Brazil. No Portugal. The metropole's absence from Moçâmedes' corporeal metaphor was remarkable on a formal and symbolic level. However, its omission was quite apt when considering Portugal's absolute material dependence on the slave trade and the Brazilian plantocracy for its survival. After spending nearly two decades of service in the tropics, Moçâmedes noted that a military force was the most expedient "remedy demanded" to heal the many "ills [*males*]" afflicting the Portuguese empire. And so he wrote to his counterpart asking for urgent assistance.

At the time of the letter, 1790, the most urgent danger to the viability of Portugal's imperial economy and colonial enterprise, wrote Moçâmedes, was the "price of slaves." Following this diagnosis, Moçâmedes speculated on the dangers wrought by this disease across Portuguese possessions in Africa and the Americas. In a different letter from the same year, Moçâmedes' elaborated on other dangers. He spoke of the danger of increasing "rebellion" of the

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<sup>432</sup> Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, diversos, cx. 502.

“Heathens of these *Sertões*” since the defeat faced by the crown in Cabinda (Northern Angola) and the failure to “tame” that area.<sup>433</sup> According to Moçâmedes, that volte face animated African resistance and “rattled Your Majesty’s Faithful Vassals,” who began fearing for their precarious position after observing such violence and defiance.<sup>434</sup> The climate of internal instability was only worsened by the increasing presence of French vessels along the coast of Angola. The “current state of Anarchy” under which France had sunk proved dangerous for Portugal’s imperial balance. Not only did they play a role in “influencing the insubordination of Negros, paying more for their Heads,” but also the French were quite indistinguishable from the Portuguese for local, African merchants. To this, was added the “little Religion” and “Machiavellian doctrines shed by a thousand mouths” which intensified the spirit of sedition among local peoples and sunk “Angola into a Critical State.”<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> The Portuguese were defeated in Cabinda, northern Angola, in a series of battles in the 1780s. Because the crown faced a shortage of supply of enslaved people to trade, the second half of the eighteenth century were marked by systematic attempts to expand Portuguese settlement in Angola. The town of Moçâmedes, south of Luanda, still bears the name of that governor because that was the moment when settlement expanded out of the two main urban centers of Luanda and Benguela. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato Dos Videntes: Formação Do Brasil No Atlântico Sul, Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Mariana P. Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and Its Hinterland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>434</sup> “Esquecido há muitos annos o Gentio destes Certoens da severidade com que foram Conquistados, e da obediencia devida à Corôa Portugueza, tem depois da malograda empreza de Cabinda, exaltado progressivamente a Sua Rebelião, a ponto de aturdir os Fieis Vassalos de V. Mag.[esta]de; não só por verem o desmarcado daquella Ouzadia, mas por observarem na practica das Suas Violencias, hum Simulado, e alheio Artificio.” ANTT, MR, EXP, 034, 606, Nº 11, Sam Paulo de Luanda, 15 de agosto de 1790.

<sup>435</sup> “A pouca Religião dos Commerciantes Francezes, o actual estado da Sua Anarchia, e a multiplicação dos Seus Vazos por toda esta Costa, tem persuadido a todo o Mundo; que elles influem na falta de Subordinação dos Negros, confirmando-os pelo interesse da maior paga das Cabeças, da ventagem do Seu Negócio, única Regra que deve dirigilos, na certeza de ser o Continente proprio, e de poderem usar indistinctamente com os Europeos do Seu Trafico. Estas machiabelicas doutrinas, derramadas por mil bocas industrias, produzem effeitos, que a Alta-Providencia guardou para punir-me, retendo-me neste Paiz da desgraça, á testa dos Rebeldes, de Facinorozos, e de Estupidos, sem Gente, sem Muniçoens, e sem Reccurços, cansado de esperar há dous annos pela Não única via em que pode terminar a minha aspectação, pela Resposta dos Offícios dirigidos á Nossa Augusta Soberania, em todo o decurso do mais complicado Governo de Seis annos.” ANTT, MR, EXP, 034, 606, Nº 11, Sam Paulo de Luanda, 15 de agosto de 1790.

The spirit of the French Revolution (1789) had reached Angola—bringing fears for Portugal’s ability to preserve the trade and empire itself. The domino effect of unsustainable prices risked emptying the *engenhos* (i.e., plantations)<sup>436</sup> of laborers, and voiding all the credit notes accumulated by the merchants that profited from and financed this system from Portugal.<sup>437</sup> Without tackling “the ills” besetting the “body of the monarchy,” Portugal’s economy and the viability of its empire faced a deathly threat. Stabilizing the price of “human commodities” in Brazil was imperative. It both safeguarded Angolan merchants by avoiding their bankruptcy, while preserving the credit terms that sustained slaving and accumulated wealth for the metropole.<sup>438</sup> The best solution, Moçâmedes concluded, was to secure the port of Luanda with a larger military contingent, thus assuring the continued flow of the “merchandise” most intensely traded from Angola to Brazil over the course of centuries.

The metaphor of an ailing “body of the monarchy” brings this dissertation full circle. In 1742, the incapacitated royal body offered a living metaphor for a crisis of depopulation used by advocates of the modern method to critique Church power and scholastic medicine. Moçâmedes’ body of the monarchy, conversely, reveals how the Portuguese empire was built on the backs of people who simultaneously were its most important and impossible population: the enslaved. As Africans, as people with Black skin, and as slaves, these human commodities became incommensurable with the imaginary of the civilized metropole the reform movement tried to

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<sup>436</sup> Importantly, *engenho* meant both sugar mill and plantation in Portuguese.

<sup>437</sup> As Joseph Miller documented, because enslaved people were the “most perishable” commodity in the Atlantic, Portuguese merchants refused to “receive them” as guarantees for payment. Thus, Lisbon played an especially prominent role in the accumulation of credit notes. Planters, or *senhores de engenho*, in turn, borrowed from them in order to be face their existing debts and to be able to purchase more enslaved people, so as to keep the plantations in operation. Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

<sup>438</sup> Diogo Ramada Curto, *Cultura Imperial e Projetos Coloniais: Séculos XV a XVIII* (Campinas, SP, Brasil: Editora Unicamp, 2009); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

build since the 1760s. Thus, in 1790, as the Atlantic slave trade reached its apogee, and abolitionism gained momentum, and the Age of Atlantic Revolutions sent shockwaves of revolt against the old order, Portuguese imperial officials confronted change with increasing trepidation.

The sense of crisis was not new, but its force was intensified in the last quarter of the century. Perennial problems of financial solvency and social disorder across the Lusophone Atlantic piled up on long-standing doubts about the viability of empire.<sup>439</sup> This sense of fragility was also partly due to an impasse in government that was provoked by yet another incapacitated sovereign. The mental and physical health of Queen Maria I (1777-1818) deteriorated throughout the 1780s, until in 1792 a group of twelve court physicians deemed her “noticeable impediment” as hopeless.<sup>440</sup> With no end in sight to the sovereign’s hallucinations and fits of anxiety about the afterlife, the Queen was replaced by Prince regent, the future King João VI.<sup>441</sup>

This final chapter gathers up the threads of the dissertation, contending with the mutual imbrication between changing ideologies of empire, race, and disease in the late-eighteenth century. It is centrally concerned with understanding how a novel disease category, “diseases of blacks,” aligned with new ideas about race and the defense of slavery. This defense of the indefensible emerged through the vocabulary of health reform and the use of scientific and medical tools—elements largely absent from current scholarship on reformism. According to

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<sup>439</sup> Kirsten Schultz, “The Crisis of Empire and the Problem of Slavery: Portugal and Brazil, c. 1700-c. 1820,” *Common Knowledge* 11, no. 2 (2005): 264–82; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores Do Corpo, Missionários Da Mente: Senhores, Letrados e o Controle Dos Escravos Nas Américas, 1660-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Gabriel B. Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Fernando A. Novais, *Portugal e Brasil Na Crise Do Antigo Sistema Colonial - 1777-1808, 2ª Edição (revista)* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2019).

<sup>440</sup> ANTT, CS, H, 0002, 00006, m 0001. (Old reference system: Feitos Findos, Diversos, Documentos referentes ao Brasil, maço 2, nº 6.)

<sup>441</sup> ANTT, CS, H, 0002, 00006, m 0001.

scientifically- and reform-minded elites, in order to preserve slavery, it was necessary to improve it. This could be accomplished through human ingenuity. That is, by designing better ships, transporting fewer people, improving diets, and developing new technologies to assist in labor and ventilation. I call this vision “scientific slavery.”

While couched in the language of happiness and humanism, the impulse to reform both empire and slavery stemmed from a deep-seated commitment to both institutions and to all the ways that they were mutually interdependent. This allegiance was an acknowledgement that the Portuguese empire was not viable without enslaved labor. It is against the backdrop of a slave-dependent economy that literature on “diseases of blacks” became an increasingly popular genre. In line with the arguments of chapters 3 and 4, these manuals sought to *medicalize plantations*, thereby introducing into the sovereign domain of the planter (*senhor de engenho*) more rational principles of scientific management. In chapters three and four, I examined the way that the patriarchal household became the unit of governance. This chapter extends that analysis, arguing that in the context of Portugal’s imperial ambitions, the plantation became the target of the modern method.

### **Paradoxes of the *Casa Grande*:**

The genre of plantation manuals emerged at the end of the seventeenth century. As a genre, the plantation manual was pedagogical in nature and chiefly concerned problems of paternal authority, the delimitation of reason, and the analysis of the plantation as a sovereign domain by analogy with the household. As sites of political articulation, they centered paternal and patriarchal authority as the domain of sovereign and reasoned deliberation. As such, they delimited what knowledge meant and how the plantation could best embody it.

However, the reformist plantation manual also articulated all the tensions and paradoxes inherent to the development of the Brazilian plantocracy and settler colonialism in “the tropics.” It illuminated the contrast between the real conditions experienced by settlers against the ideal empire professed by elites.<sup>442</sup> Not only were Portuguese *reinóis* outnumbered in the Americas, but settlement relied on social outcasts—Roma people, orphans, vagrants, and those convicted for crimes.<sup>443</sup> For this reason, Brazil figured in the Jesuit and Crown imaginary both as a site of hopeful abundance and incredible peril.

This section explores how this tension of empire, race, and political hierarchy was embodied by the “*mulato*”—and, in turn, how the “*mulato*” became a proxy for the disorder and the diseases of the colonial world. The perceived need for the plantation manual—the first effort to reform the *engenhos*—was emblemized by the threat of this racialized hybrid. Through an ancestry combining “white blood” with the “defects” that rendered slave labor necessary, the “*mulato*” manifested how *oeconomia* failed in the tropics. The blood, skin color, and other hybridized physiognomic attributes of the “*mulato*” made evident the downfall of marital discipline and the abandonment of sexual restraint across Portugal’s imperial possessions. The manual emerged as a corrective against the visible debacle of imperial ideology.

Giorgio Benci’s *A Economia Christãa dos Senhores no Governo dos Escravos* (1705) and André João Antonil’s *Cultura e Opulência* represent the two main scholastic examples of this form of literary production.<sup>444</sup> As the two Italian Jesuits traveled across Brazil—often

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<sup>442</sup> For a discussion of informal empire and mixed race status see António Manuel Hespanha, *Filhos Da Terra: Identidades Mestiças Nos Confins Da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2019).

<sup>443</sup> Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Timothy J. Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740-1932: Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

<sup>444</sup> Giorgio Benci and Antonio De Rossi, *Economia christãa dos senhores no governo dos escravos* (Em Roma: na Officina de Antonio de Rossi, 1705); André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas* (impresso em Lisboa, 1711).

visiting plantations (*engenhos*) that belonged to the Company of Jesus—they recorded many of the abuses that were part of everyday life. These are works replete with ethnographic observations of life on a Brazilian sugar *engenho*. In fact, Antonil’s work was deemed so rich in information about the sugar economy that subsequent to an initial order to print the book, most copies of the first edition of *Cultura e Opulência*’s were promptly destroyed.<sup>445</sup>

The manual was intended to deter planters from “the lack of government” that would be responsible for burying them in debt from their very first crop.<sup>446</sup> Debt, as Joseph C. Miller has noted, was a problem endemic to the Brazilian plantation economy.<sup>447</sup> In fact, as Miller has documented, because enslaved death and expendability was part of the profit base for slave merchants, Lisbon financiers refuse to accept enslaved people as collateral. This, in turn, set Brazilian planters into cycles of debt only relieved through more purchases. As such, as Miller explained, cycles of debt made disease, debility, and death integral to the Brazilian slave economy.

Benci and Antonil authored their accounts around the same time—the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries respectively. In addition to recording with great and vivid detail the regular order of labor on the plantation, their goal was principally to offer advice on how to improve and reform the regular order of everyday business. Both Jesuits had grown increasingly concerned with the sustainability of the plantation economy as they observed it, and the close dates of the books bespeaks a general sense of crisis around the turn of the eighteenth century. In addition to the casual violence, the evident malnutrition, and the diseases induced both by labor

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<sup>445</sup> Of the handful of surviving exemplars, I was able to consult the original 1711 copy owned today by the John Carter Brown Library.

<sup>446</sup> André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas* (impresso em Lisboa, 1711), 3.

<sup>447</sup> Miller, *Way of Death*.

and living conditions, their descriptions also emphasized a moral economy riddled with vice, sex, and prostitution.

These internal problems were all the more concerning when considering the effects produced in the collective imaginary by the lengthy war that the Portuguese crown fought against the maroon community of Palmares (c. 1670s-1710).<sup>448</sup> The image elicited by Africans in revolt against imperial and Church power was incredibly powerful, forcing colonial agents to consider how to avoid a recapitulation of this war. The conflict was long and difficult, and ended with the elimination of Palmares. However, the fact that a maroon community of roughly 20.000 formerly enslaved people could rise in such a long and fierce war against the crown, was alarming to Antonil and Benci. The rationale for these manuals stems from this moment. And, as historian Rafael Bivar Marquese also noted, offered the clear motivation for their production.<sup>449</sup>

As texts representative of the scholastic tradition, both Benci and Antonil followed the models offered by Roman antiquity. They drew on the scaffold of *oeconomia* and focused on the *engenho* as a household that ought to be managed with virtue, reciprocity, and justice. Antonil, in particular, made this argument when declaring that “as Father,” the planter had three obligations: to provide nourishment (*pão*), clothing (*pano*), and discipline (*pau*). The enslaved, in turn, as

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<sup>448</sup> Silvia Hunold Lara, *Palmares & Cucaú: O Aprendizado Da Dominação* (São Paulo: Edusp, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2021); Luiz Geraldo Silva, “Palmares and Zumbi: Quilombo Resistance to Colonial Slavery,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.632>; Phablo Roberto Marchis Fachin and Silvia Hunold Lara, eds., *Guerra Contra Palmares: O Manuscrito de 1678* (São Paulo, SP: Chão Editora, 2021). Dating the start of the conflict against the largest community of escaped enslaved people in the Americas is a difficult exercise. Silvia Hunold Lara largely placed the intensification of the conflict in the 1670s. At this time, Quilombo Palmares had reached the formidable size of circa 20 thousand people—all revolting and escaped slaves. The war ended in 1695 but the definitive end of the community can only be traced to 1710, when its leader Zumbi was killed by crown agents. In contemporary Brazil, both Zumbi and Palmares remain the main symbols of Black resistance and the struggle for Black lives.

<sup>449</sup> Marquese, *Feitores Do Corpo, Missionários Da Mente*; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Administração & Escravidão: Idéias Sobre a Gestão Da Agricultura Escravista Brasileira*, Estudos Históricos 37 (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec: FAPESP, 1999). Moreover, as Marquese also noted, these measures also tried to assuage the crisis of the sugar economy in the late 1600s, increasing prices caused by heightened inter-imperial competition for enslaved labor.



members of the Catholic polity were entitled to rest on Sundays and benefit from the planter's mercy (*misericórdia*) after the administration of an appropriate punishment. This view was based on a notion of the reciprocity of rule: the planter, as father, ought to be a just ruler, while the enslaved, as children, were obliged to labor in order to see their station in life improved. In addition, the notion of reciprocity attending the Catholic view of slavery also posited that captivity, especially the physically destructive labor performed, was salvific. Through the sacrifice of the mortal body, the eternal soul could be healed.<sup>450</sup> This view was especially reflected by another Jesuit, Father António Vieira, who in a sermon from a plantation in Sergipe (Bahia) compared the corporal punishment endured to Christ's calvary.<sup>451</sup>

Antonil's concerns with the casual violence he saw as he visited the plantation of Sergipe, seemingly instilled in him two key concerns. First was the effect that such casual and ubiquitous violence produced on the planter's offspring. As future sovereign of that space, to be reared surrounded only by undesirable examples of vice and violence represented a key concern. Second was the potential that such discretionary violence and lax morals created for future slave uprisings. Antonil's concerns started with the physical space; namely, how far from cities the *engenhos* traditionally were. The physical distance from any civil space was deepened by the absence of participation in any institutions concerned with the government of the Republic.

While for Antonil the planter was a sovereign and father—both to his offspring and to the enslaved—the distance from a city and participation in the polity threatened the moral and political economy of the plantation. These factors created an insalubrious atmosphere for both

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<sup>450</sup> For a larger discussion of this issue see S. Hunt-Kennedy, *Between Fitness and Death: Disability and Slavery in the Caribbean* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020); Erin Kathleen Rowe, *Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Erin Kathleen Rowe, "After Death, Her Face Turned White: Blackness, Whiteness, and Sanctity in the Early Modern Hispanic World," *The American Historical Review* 121, no. 3 (June 1, 2016): 727–54.

<sup>451</sup> Vieira, Sermão XIV, 1633.

bodies and minds. This was visible in the administration of excessively harsh punishments or the refusal to allow a day of rest and permitting the cultural expression through dance or song.<sup>452</sup>

The “total denial of their feasts, which is their only means of respite against captivity,” produced nefarious effects both on the moral and physical health of the *engenho*. For Antonil, these denials were dangerous since they “rendered them disconsolate, melancholic, [and] with little life & health.”<sup>453</sup> As sovereign and paterfamilias, the *senhor de engenho* had the duty of healing, nourishing, and clothing. By withholding one of these obligations, he failed to fulfill his duties as sovereign.

This genre of literature represented the first attempt to intervene in the interpersonal legal rapport between *senhor de engenho* and slave. Thus, the scholastic plantation manual worked first by appealing to authority and reason of the paterfamilias. Pernicious practices on the plantation were identified with either “error” or shortcomings in education. And since education worked by example—and this was true both for scholasticism and the modern method—the first step to reforming the plantation was to appeal to the moral qualities of a good sovereign: virtue, justice, reason.

Since the environment of an *engenho* already encouraged several dangers, for Antonil it was vital to introduce order and rule. One of the first changes needed was the education of the sons of the *casa grande* (*Filhos da Casa*), as citizens, for which purpose they must be taught

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<sup>452</sup> I realize it is problematic to use the term African in such a broad ranging manner. However, given how difficult it is to determine exact places of origin, this is a term I am using in a specifically delimited manner. Whenever grammatically possible, my use of African subscribes to James Sweet idea of “Africanization.” That is, it reflects a syncretic view of Afro-Brazilian culture, deeming it the result of forced dislocation and diasporic movement. For James Sweet definition see: “religious and cultural exchanges between Africans of various ethnic backgrounds were part and parcel of a process of Africanization that began in Africa and continued in Brazil, a distinct and intermediate step in the long, slow process of becoming Afro-Brazilian.” James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 7.

<sup>453</sup> “Negarilhes totalmente os seus folguedos, que são o unico alivio do seu cativo, he querellos desconsolados, & melancolicos, de pouca vida & saude.” Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas*, 28.

beyond the basics: to “read, write, & count.” Recognizing how such “large fields” also afforded many “liberties, [...] harsh lessons, and thorns,” paternal action had to be “circumspect” and “prudent.” “Experience has shown,” Antonil concluded, “that limits have to be imposed on the Sons, both inside and outside the *casa*.”<sup>454</sup> Through a careful and deliberate education of the sons, many of whom would be future *senhores de engenho* themselves, fathers delivered the most effective method of education of all: “the imitation [by example] of acts of mercy, which will make them very rich.”<sup>455</sup> Through the Catholic reference to the exercise of authority with magnanimity, Antonil framed discipline—including corporal punishment—as a duty paternal power. In addition, as sovereign the *senhor* was also the supreme arbiter of justice both on and over those on his property. In this respect, he always had to balance between self-rule and the capacity to exercise control over his subordinates.<sup>456</sup>

The argument that pedagogy was a fundamental conduit for moral and political reform worked within the paradigm of sovereignty applied both to the monarchy and the *oeconomia* of the household. As such, on a symbolic level, the planter occupied the position of physician to his polity, like the sovereign to the republic. Learning how to treat everyone justly was crucial to a well-functioning life in the colony. Because, as Antonil argued, no one can rule by humiliation. Rather, “much like a Physician wishes, and seeks to remove the malignant [element], or an abundant sinful humor which renders the body indisposed & ill,” so too, the *senhor* must be educated into the ways of virtuous rule. The goal, Antonil concludes, “is not simply to give life [to the body] but to [instill] perfect health.”<sup>457</sup> The problem with the *engenho*, however, was that

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<sup>454</sup> Antonil, 30.

<sup>455</sup> Antonil, 32.

<sup>456</sup> Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Administração & Escravidão: Idéias Sobre a Gestão Da Agricultura Escravista Brasileira*, Estudos Históricos 37 (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec: FAPESP, 1999).

<sup>457</sup> Antonil, 8.

much as Antonil, Benci, or others tried to reform it, it was a landscape inhabited by too many enslaved people to foster health. Be it from drunkenness or prostitution, plantations were also riddled with vice.

Metaphors of bodily health and illness were key devices in scholastic rhetoric. Jesuit manuals drew on the image of the body to articulate the idea of a space of sovereign rule and community. For example, Antonil suggests that “Slaves are the hands and feet of the *Senhor do Engenho*, because without them [the enslaved] in Brazil it would not be possible to [either] augment Wealth or have a working *Engenho*.”<sup>458</sup> Ideally, in order to assure the highest output, the *engenho* would seek to include new slaves every year.

Eschewing a simple dichotomy between whiteness and blackness, Antonil used place of origin on the African continent to predict mental and cognitive abilities. Making a new purchase required knowledge of these different predispositions and aptitudes. People kidnapped and transported from São Tomé and Cabo Verde were deemed “the weakest.” The Adas and Minas from Angola, represented the most physically “robust” group, while Angolan enslaved people raised in Luanda “were the most capable of learning a mechanical trade.” The Congolese, lastly, were not only “industrious and good to serve in cutting the [sugar] Cane, [or laboring in the] Workshops, but also to work in the *casa*.”<sup>459</sup>

As built environments and spaces of health and reform of “heathen” peoples, both the *casa* and the *engenho* impressed their salubrious effects on enslaved bodies. For instance, Antonil advises planters against selling or moving younger bondspeople to other *engenhos* against their will. Among the most feared consequences for this action were “ire & death.” It is

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<sup>458</sup> Antonil, 12.

<sup>459</sup> Antonil, 22.

not clear if Antonil's theory of human variability hinged on a humoral presupposition about seasoning (a slow, climatic adaptation to a new climate),<sup>460</sup> or if he was advancing a Hippocratic hypothesis about the effect of the air and environments; both could coexist. In addition, Antonil could also be deploying a pedagogical hypothesis about civil rearing and habituation. It is possible all three applied to this specific case. In the case of enslaved children brought or brought to Brazil as *crias* (enslaved children), however, Antonil does espouse a Hippocratic theory of civil, ecological, and racial habituation. For instance, he notes that one single slave who was either "born in Brazil, or raised from childhood in the house of Whites, [thus] gaining affection for their *Senhores*," was as "valuable as four *boçaes*."<sup>461</sup> The *Boçal*, being newly arrived and without knowledge of the language, ranked lowest in the enslaved hierarchy due to their lack of habituation to service.

The humankind who most excelled both on the Brazilian ecology and the plantation milieu was the "*Mulato*." This suitability to the environment and labor demands was owed to their Brazilian birth and mixed-race condition. In fact, Antonil intimates that because of their fairer skin and mixed blood the "*mulato*" formed the only type of human who could excel in Brazil. This seeming accolade was inflected with a condemnation. The "*Mulato*," he posited, could both "be the best at any office" in the *engenho* and embody the contradictory qualities of being "arrogant, vicious, & valued for their bravery, equipped to take on any challenge."<sup>462</sup> These unique and dangerous predispositions lay in their blood. Here, Antonil drew on the

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<sup>460</sup> Suman Seth, *Difference and Disease: Medicine, Race, and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Mark Harrison, *Climates & Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment, and British Imperialism in India, 1600-1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002); David Arnold, ed., *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500-1900* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996).

<sup>461</sup> Antonil, 22. A *boçal* was a recently arrived slave who did not speak Portuguese.

<sup>462</sup> "São soberbos, & viciosos, & prezão-se de valentes, aparelhados para qualquer desaforo." Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas*, 23–24.

ideology of blood purity (*limpeza de sangue*) to present the “*mulato*” as a hybrid of both the good and the bad.<sup>463</sup>

At least since 1603, the stain (*mácula*) of *raça* that initially was only attributed to Jews and Muslims, was also applied to “*mulatos*” and Blacks across the Lusophone world. The principal mechanism of transmission of this inextricable *mácula* was both the breast milk and womb of mothers. To place the onus of *raça* on women’s bodies represented a significant inversion of dominant theories of generation and heredity. Jennifer Morgan noted in her analysis of *partus sequitur ventrem* (status follow the womb) in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic, the ideology of maternal lineage hinged on a peculiar condition: the mobilization of natural laws and juridical rules used to rule animal husbandry rather than bastardy when dealing with mixed race progeny.<sup>464</sup> From here, a second paradox all too visible in Antonil’s concerns about mixed blood was derived: in order to become progeniture born as property, the status of the “*mulato*” hinged on denied paternity. The patriarchal regime of the *Casa Grande*, paradoxically, could not recognize paternal authority over reproductive matters when race and access to labor-as-property came into play.

The dominance of maternal heredity sustained a system of racial dispossession integral to Old Regime *oconomia* and the moral economy of the *engenho*. Antonil develops this idea by equating fairer skin and “that part of White blood they have [running] in their veins” with a unique capacity to endure the pathological Brazilian climate. Either by virtue of the “defects” inherent to blackness and the *vice* that permeated atmospheres with enslaved people, both the *engenho* and Brazil were equated with a hellish and diseased space. With the exception of the

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<sup>463</sup> Giuseppe Marcocci, “Escravos ameríndios e negros africanos: uma história conectada. Teorias e modelos de discriminação no império português (ca. 1450-1650),” *Tempo* 16 (2011): 41–70.

<sup>464</sup> Jennifer L. Morgan, “Partus Sequitur Ventrem: Law, Race, and Reproduction in Colonial Slavery,” *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism* 22, no. 1 (55) (March 1, 2018): 1–17.

“*mulato*,” no other body or soul could thrive in Brazil. Brazil, Antonil insisted, was “Hell for Negros, Purgatory for Whites, & Paradise for *Mulatos & Mulatas*.”<sup>465</sup>

The rationale for this assessment, once again, drew on humoral theories linking blood, to climate, and *raça*. “*Mulatos*” were dangerous because of their very hybrid nature. The “white blood” running in their veins rendered them simultaneously cunning and volatile. If, as was the case in Brazil, these conditions were combined with the absence of proper government on the *engenho*, then Brazil’s innate problematic nature could only be deepened out of its hybrid and degenerative status. Unlike Portugal, where hierarchies and status were more evidently fixed, in Brazil the “*Senhores* or *Senhoras* are more sheepish [*remisso*], for there is not shortage [of examples] among them of those who allow themselves be governed by *Mulatos*.” The problem of Brazil’s innate pathologies—often paradoxically juxtaposed with the image of Brazil as a verdant, and nearly disease-free space—was race. Specifically, the hybridization of white with the degenerative mark of blackness configured Brazil into a geography where moral health was nearly impossible.

Antonil’s imaginary of vice and pathology tacitly hinged on the condemnation of what the “*mulato*” really meant: the degeneration of the human primal form as a result of sexual indulgence and the failure of patriarchal power. The absence of household rule engendered racial hybridization and the corruption of whiteness. Thus, despite its promise of fertility and natural wealth, Brazil could not but bear the mark of sexual depravity and the pathologies of *raça*. These diseases were inextricable from the Antonil’s condemnation of Brazil as the natural environment of mixed-race people—i.e., “Paradise for *Mulatos*.” The *engenho*, in this respect, was a symbol

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<sup>465</sup> Moreover, in the Catholic imaginary, Blackness and hell were frequently equated as symbolic synonyms. Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas*, 23.

of the household gone awry. Hence, the first step to reform empire started with the restitution of social and sexual order.

The failure of Brazilian prosperity—the reason the *engenhos* worked under cycles of ruinous debt—was sex. This moral collapse was only possible because of the power that “*mulatos*” exercised over their *senhores*. Antonil, in this regard, offers multiple condemnations of a social order inverted. The subversion of the duties of *senhor* and paterfamilias—to clothe, feed, heal, and punish—were instantiated in the way “some did not dare to reprehend their [*mulatos*]; [and] are rather spoiled” with indulgences.<sup>466</sup> Indeed, this inversion seemed so common that Antonil further wondered “whether in these parts the *Senhores* and *Senhoras* are more negligent, for there is no shortage [of examples] among them of those who allow themselves to be governed by their *Mulatos*, who are not the best.”<sup>467</sup>

The “*mulato*” became a hypervisible body; a signifier of social collapse and inter-racial sexual intimacy. There was no mention of the rape and sexual abuse, which we know was rampant.<sup>468</sup> Antonil, rather, advises caution. It was best, he noted, to “use them for their talents, when they are so inclined to use them, [...] however, not to hold them by the hand or they will claim [ownership over] the arm, and from Slaves, they will become *Senhores*.” Worse even, according to Antonil, was to grant mixed race women, i.e., “*mulatas*,” their freedom (*fornar*). It was, quite bluntly, “manifest perdition, because the money they use to purchase their freedom; rarely leaves other mines but their own bodies, with [use] to repeated sin.” As their sins did not stop after *alforria* (freedom), “they continue to bring ruin to many.”<sup>469</sup> Responsibility for the

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<sup>466</sup> “& parece que não se atrevem a reprehendellos; antes todos os mimos são seus.” Antonil, 24.

<sup>467</sup> “E não he fácil cousa decidir, se nesta parte são mais remissos os Senhores, ou as Senhoras; pois não falta entre eles, & ellas, quem se deuxe governar de Mulatos, que não são os melhores.” Antonil, 24.

<sup>468</sup> On the erasure of sexual violence and rape from histories of slavery in Brazil see Lamonte Aidoo, *Slavery Unseen: Sex, Power, and Violence in Brazilian History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

<sup>469</sup> Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas*.



plantation's saturated climate of moral peril lay squarely with black or mixed-race women. Reproduction, the viral cog used by the first Portuguese slave traders to ensure the perpetuity of their trade, was thoroughly condemned when used by enslaved women as a vehicle to acquire freedom.<sup>470</sup> Antonil's condemnation of mixed-race people reveals different dimensions to the construction of Brazilian racial exceptionalism via interracial reproduction. Rather than a desirable figure that could dilute racial barriers, in Antonil, the *mutala* served as a reminder of social and sexual chaos. Thus, instead of praising the virtues of *mestiçagem*, Antonil's scholastic and Jesuit analysis hardened hierarchies of race by emphasizing the dangers of sexual leniency in the colonies. Ultimately, this gesture also reinforced hierarchies between Europe and the New World by presenting Brazil as a racialized geography of moral corruption and pathology.

### **Civilization, "Free Wombs," and Blackness as Pathology**

Since its inception in the 1400s, Portugal's colonial empire was inextricable from the slave trade.<sup>471</sup> Because of the financial gains accrued through sustained acts of kidnapping and bodily commodification, as well as the labor extracted from enslaved people working on Brazilian plantations (*engenhos*), in mines, and in urban households, both the longevity and geographical expanse of Portuguese colonialism were unthinkable without "the trade in the living."

Enslavement, as it has been amply documented, was a phenomenon with deep roots both in classical antiquity and other historical civilizations bordering the Mediterranean basin. Portugal

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<sup>470</sup> For more on this topic see Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, Illustrated edition (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Jessica Marie Johnson, *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

<sup>471</sup> The first enslaved Africans arrived in Portugal, in Lagos, in 1441. In the subsequent decade, the Portuguese Crown secured two Papal Bulls (1452 and 1455) from the Vatican, assuring both the monopoly over the trade of enslaved people from Africa as well as the perpetuity and inheritability of this condition.

did not invent the institution of slavery, but it did change it. The entrance of Portuguese interests onto the stage in the mid-fifteenth century fundamentally marked the history of slavery in three fundamental ways.

The first change was a decisive geopolitical shift away from the Mediterranean and towards the Atlantic. With the mid-sixteenth century arrival of enslaved Africans in Portuguese and Spanish America, Portuguese merchants developed intra-African, Atlantic networks between the coast and its Atlantic islands.<sup>472</sup> The second was the redefinition of enslaved status into a perpetual, rather than contingent condition.<sup>473</sup> Third and last came the specific mechanism that secured perpetuity: the inheritability of the legal status of the slave across generations through reproduction. This latter innovation, as discussed in the previous section, demanded a fundamental change to theories of generation and heredity.<sup>474</sup> The emphasis on the transmission of maternal status rather than patrilineal inheritance drew on the medieval legal tradition codified in the *Siete Partidas* and Thomist scholasticism.<sup>475</sup> Moreover, it also aligned with contemporaneous theories of “blood purity” (*limpeza de sangue*) gaining ground in early modern Iberia. According to these views, both the womb (*ventre*) and breast milk (*leite*) were responsible

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<sup>472</sup> Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589*, African Studies (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Roquinaldo Ferreira, “Othering Slavery: Race, Ethnicity, and Enslavability,” *A Deep History of Slavery: Antiquity and Modernity in Dialogue* (New Haven: Yale University, 2020).

<sup>473</sup> The Papal Bull *Dum Diversas* (1452) and the subsequent *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) deemed slavery “healing work” thought the spreading of Christianity. The former instituted Portuguese monopoly over the enslavability of non-Christian Africans. It made slavery perpetual and integral to Christianity and into a preferable method of conversion. The latter linked perpetual slavery with blackness (i.e., *Negros*), and blackness with heathenism.

<sup>474</sup> Olivier Grenouilleau, *Christianisme et esclavage* (Paris: Gallimard, 2021); Cleiton Oliveira, “A prole de Caim e os descendentes de Cam: legitimação da escravidão em Portugal e a influência das Bulas *Dum Diversas* (1452 e *Romanus Pontifex* (1455))” (Dissertação de Mestrado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Ibérica da Universidade Federal de Alfenas. Área de Concentração: História Ibérica., Alfenas, Brasil, Universidade Federal de Alfenas, 2017); Giuseppe Marcocci, *A Consciência de Um Império: Portugal e o Seu Mundo (Séc. XV-XV)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012).

<sup>475</sup> Jennifer Morgan provides an analysis of how both these Iberian legal traditions seeped into the codification of *partus sequitur ventrem* (status follows the womb) in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic. For more see: Morgan, “Partus Sequitur Ventrem.”

for the transmission of the “stain” (*mácula*) or *raça* across the generations. Based on this theory, *raça* was something one either had or did not have at all. As a consequence, laws segregated Jews and Muslims to ghettos, banned wetnurses “with *raça*,” and through blood purity attestations marked some lineages as “pure” while identifying non-Christians with “infectious races” (*raças infectas*).<sup>476</sup>

This contextual preamble situates the scale of the transformations enacted during the Pombaline period (1750-1777) to Portugal’s slavery system. First in 1761 and subsequently in 1773, the Pombaline administrative apparatus passed the first two laws limiting the slave trade and the inheritability of slave status. The law of 1761 declared Portugal as “Free Soil,” thereby legally attributing free status (*alforria*) to any of the enslaved people who landed on Portuguese soil. The goal of this law was to prevent any further influx of Black and enslaved people into Portugal, thereby concentrating the totality of the transatlantic slave trade in the Portuguese South Atlantic. This decision consolidated the Pombaline manufacturing policy and its

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<sup>476</sup> For scholarship on blood purity in Iberia and specifically Portugal and the Lusophone Atlantic see: María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Fernanda Olival, “Rigor e Interesses: Os Estatutos de Limpeza de Sangue Em Portugal,” *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, no. n° 4 (2004): 151–82; João Figueirôa-Rêgo and Fernanda Olival, “‘Cor da pele, distinções e cargos’: Portugal e espaços atlânticos portugueses (séculos XVI a XVIII),” 2011; Fernanda Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno: Honra, Mercê e Venalidade Em Portugal (1641-1789)* (Estar, 2001), <https://dspace.uevora.pt/rdpc/handle/10174/2394>; João Figueirôa-rego, “Em torno das questões de sangue no brasil colônia anteriormente à reforma pombalina,” *E-Humanista*, 2016, 128–44; Grayce Mayre Bonfim Souza, “Uma Trajetória Racista: O Ideal de Pureza de Sangue na Sociedade Ibérica e na América Portuguesa,” *Politeia: História e Sociedade* 8, no. 1 (2008), <https://periodicos2.uesb.br/index.php/politeia/article/view/3865>; Maria Luiza Tucci Carneiro, *Preconceito Racial Em Portugal e Brasil-Colônia: Os Cristãos Novos e o Mito Da Pureza de Sangue* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2005); Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O nome e o sangue: uma parábola genealógica no Pernambuco colonial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009); J. de Figueirôa Rêgo, *A Honra Alheia Por Um Fio: Os Estatutos de Limpeza de Sangue Nos Espaços de Expressão Ibérica, Sécs. XVI-XVIII*, Textos Universitários de Ciências Sociais e Humanas (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2011); Marcocci, “Escravos ameríndios e negros africanos”; Giuseppe Marcocci, “Blackness and Heathenism. Color, Theology, and Race in the Portuguese World, c. 1450-1600,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de La Cultura* 43, no. 2 (July 2016): 33–57; Jean-Frédéric Schaub and Silvia Sebastiani, *Race et Histoire Dans Les Sociétés Occidentales (XVe-XVIIIe Siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2021); Jean-Frédéric Schaub and Silvia Sebastiani, “Savoirs de l’autre? L’émergence Des Questions de Race,” *Pestres, Histoire Des Sciences et Des Savoirs* 1 (n.d.): 283–304; Hespanha, *Filhos Da Terra*; Ronald Raminelli, *Nobrezas Do Novo Mundo: Brasil e Ultramar Hispânico, Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2015); Ronald Raminelli, “Impedimentos da cor: mulatos no Brasil e em Portugal c. 1640-1750,” *Varia Historia* 28 (December 2012): 699–723.

investment in creating a metropolitan population who lived on salaried labor. Additionally, it established that the metropole should not compete with Brazil in the purchase enslaved laborers. By declaring any newly arrived enslaved people free as soon as they set foot on Portuguese soil, the crown hoped to create an incentive structure strong enough to prevent the continuation of the trade to the metropole. However, in practical terms, the 1761 proved limited in reach. Not only did enslaved people continue to be traded into and arriving in Portugal, but the law also produced an unintended consequence: the pursuit to reproductive strategies among those who already owned slaves before the passing of the “free soil” law.<sup>477</sup>

Dissatisfied with the limited outcomes of the 1761 decree, Pombal moved to pass a “Free Womb” law in 1773, thus breaking with the reproductive principle perpetuating the heredity of enslaved status. Faced with the persistent breach of the 1761 Law, attention was redirected towards a new locus of freedom: the wombs of women. This was the brief genesis and political context for the 1773 law. Faced with the persistence of slavery and people who were visibly racialized, the object of Pombaline reform moved the wombs of enslaved women. Here, given the inbuilt limits of the law, the term “abolition,” often been used with regards to 1773, seems hyperbolic. Rather than an automatic mechanism similar to that established by the 1761 decree, the 1773 would only give free born status to progeny born from the wombs of enslaved women from the fourth generation forward. That is, the law merely instituted the wombs as a vessel of freedom if the child stemmed from a lined of enslaved women with knowledge and familiarity with Portuguese culture. First, second, and third generation of offspring born in Portugal continued to retain enslaved status.

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<sup>477</sup> Cristina Nogueira Da Silva and Keila Grinberg, “Soil Free from Slaves: Slave Law in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Portugal,” *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 3 (September 2011): 431–46.

Despite the fact that these limiting terms were explicit and inbuilt into the letter of the law, discussions about both 1761 and 1773 largely continue to simply class them as law of abolition laws without clarifying any of its limits. The endurance this view in public memory and discourse was visible on 13 April of 2017, during Portugal’s President official visit to Gorée (Senegal), a large slave port on the West African coast used by Portuguese merchants. Standing on a former slaving port used by the Portuguese on the West African coast, President Sousa praised the Marquis of Pombal and the 1761 law declaring: “it was a decision taken by Portuguese political power in recognition of the dignity of man.”<sup>478</sup> This reading of the Pombaline decrees—by a professor of constitutional law, no less—reveals the enduring silences that envelop the study of slavery in Portugal.

The broader background informing the laws of 1761 and 1773 has been outlined across the other four chapters that make up this dissertation: how anxieties about sovereignty were tied up with fears of demographic decline, a shortage of labor force, pro-natalism, and efforts to regulate sex in order to “civilize” and whiten the body of the state. Antonil’s condemnation of the power wielded by “*mulatos*” in Brazil, in particular, exposed the dangers of a social order where racial mixture was the rule rather than the exception. In addition, as Moçâmedes’s letter from Angola to Brazil well remarked, Portugal’s imperial economy was entirely dependent on enslaved labor.

The laws of 1761 and 1773 emerge against this backdrop. Pragmatically, their the most pressing economic goal for the state was to safeguard “the body of the monarchy”—i.e., to concentrate the slave trade in the South Atlantic at a time when prices were at an all-time high

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<sup>478</sup> Lusa, “Portugal reconheceu injustiça da escravatura quando a aboliu em 1761, diz Marcelo,” *Público*, April 13, 2017, <https://www.publico.pt/2017/04/13/politica/noticia/portugal-reconheceu-injustica-da-escravatura-quando-a-aboliu-em-1761-diz-marcelo-1768680>.

and rivalry for purchases as close as ever. The 1761 decree, in specific, condemned “the extraordinary number of black Slaves which being direly needed in my Overseas Provinces to cultivate the Lands and Mines, only come to this Continent [Europe] to occupy the [same] positions as servants.”<sup>479</sup> According to the law, the existence of slaves disrupted the social order by subverting class-based duties to labor. This dangerous perversion threatened the “Common Good” because “idleness” and “vice” were “natural consequences” of work avoidance. If the phenomenon of vice, idleness, and lax sexual behavior became too widespread, as the law intimated, then the Republic would lose its best mechanism to access civilization.

Simply put, as far as the Pombaline calculation went, slavery represented a public health problem. This rationale was, of course, demographic. Labor avoidance was the surest sign of an unhealthy household and an unruly state. In Pombal’s political mechanism, it was also the harbinger of depopulation. The heart of Portugal’s demographic anxieties was not simply depopulation, but the kind qualitative composition of the people needed to enact Pombal’s plans of a new imperial force. The answer to these questions, I contend, lay with the 1761 and 1773 decrees. For Pombal and his allies, Portugal needed a more civilized people (i.e., white, industrious, and healthy) in the metropole. According to Kirsten Schultz, this project of imperial reform started with efforts to elevate Portugal’s reputation among rival empires.<sup>480</sup> This plan was made up of two essential components. First, after recognizing that Brazil was the wellspring of imperial prosperity, the second entailed the preservation of political hierarchies within empire.

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<sup>479</sup> “Que sendo informado dos muitos e graves inconvenientes que resultam do excesso, e devassidão, com que contra as Leys, e costumes de outras Cortes polidas se transporte anualmente de Africa, America, e Asia, para estes Reinos hum tão extraordinário numero de Escravos pretos, que fazendo nos Meus Dominios Ultramarinos huma sensível falta para a cultura das Terras, só vem a este Continente ocupar os lugares dos Moços de Servir, que ficando sem commodo, se entregam á ociosidade, e se precipitam nos vícios, que della são naturáes consequências.” Decreto de 19 de Setembro de 1761.

<sup>480</sup> Kirsten Schultz, “The Crisis of Empire and the Problem of Slavery: Portugal and Brazil, c. 1700-c. 1820,” *Common Knowledge* (Duke University Press) 11, no. 2 (April 1, 2005): 264-282–282.

This demanded the creation of discursive strategies to legitimate Brazil's subalternization. The solution came in the form of a "colonial exclusive" (*exclusive colonial*) which enforced a ranking of imperial geographies and a respective division of labor, involving a separation between sites of raw material extraction with enslaved labor and metropolitan transformation of these materials into manufactured goods by white vassals. The last stage of the "exclusive" system was determined by the colonial obligation to import metropolitan goods.

In 1794, Bishop Azeredo Coutinho offered a comprehensive defense of this system. Brazil's colonial condition, he maintained, was defined by the difference separating the "barbarous" (i.e., raw material) from the "civilized" (i.e., manufactured good). The "harmony of interests" at the heart of the Portuguese empire, he argued, was determined by "how the interests and utility of the mother country are tied to those of the colonies, her children." Hence, the more Portugal "owes to its colonies," Azeredo continued, "the happier and more secure it will be." In Old Regime fashion, Azeredo identified rank with mutuality; the functional inequality separating Portugal from Brazil was thus part of nature's harmony.<sup>481</sup>

In this context, the 1761 and 1773 laws were created to enforce a particular vision of the body politic: the white republic. For Pombal, civilization lay in the demographic calculus of the nation. Only a well-ordered republic of healthy and functional households could deliver the population necessary for his political mechanism to continue in operation. The link between civilization and whiteness was first announced in the preamble to the 1761 law. Namely, it came through the form of a contrast between Portugal and the "customs of other polished Courts." Unlike France, where, as Sue Peabody has documented, the number of slaves did not exceed a

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<sup>481</sup> José Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho and Ernesto Jardim de Vilhena, *Ensaio Economico sobre o Comercio de Portugal e suas Colonias oferecido ao Serenissimo Principe[sic] do Brazil* (Lisboa: na Oficina da mesma Academia, 1794), 155.

two thousand, Lisbon gained notoriety in the early modern period for its considerable Black population.<sup>482</sup> During his travels through Portugal, the Duke of Chatêlet remarked upon the “infestation” of Blacks and “*mulatos*” across Lisbon’s urban space.

Against this backdrop, as Cristina Nogueira da Silva and Keila Grinberg have noted, the 1761 decree “expressed more a desire to ‘free’ the kingdom from slaves than to put into effect a doctrine of ‘free soil’.”<sup>483</sup> It was an effort to intervene in the demographic composition of the metropolitan population by rechanneling a subjugated people to a subaltern colonial space. The promulgation of the 1761 decree was intended neither to free enslaved persons nor to combat the institution of slavery; rather, its aim was to populate the metropole with white salaried laborers while depending on slave labor in Brazil.

The production of a white republic mobilized a political arithmetic that presented slavery as a threat to the social order and blackness as a contagious pathology. In this regard, Pombal was hardly alone in fearing what a population with Black slaves meant to the future of the state. For example, Benjamin Franklin provided a similar calculus on the effects that slavery and blackness on the composition of the nascent republic of the United States.<sup>484</sup> Through a “*Moral or Prudential Algebra*”—Franklin’s own calibration of Petty’s *Political Arithmetic* to the United States—Franklin argued against the importation of enslaved people. His first comments dated from the 1751 essay “Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries,

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<sup>482</sup> Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). For other scholarship on free soil see: Pierre Marie Félicité Dezoteux de Cormatin, *Travels of the Duke de Chatelet, in Portugal: Comprehending Interesting Particulars Relative to the Colonies; the Earthquake of Lisbon; the Marquis de Pombal, and the Court* (London: John Stockdale ... and J.J. Stockdale, 1809).

<sup>483</sup> Cristina Nogueira Da Silva and Keila Grinberg, “Soil Free from Slaves: Slave Law in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Portugal,” *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 3 (September 2011): 432.

<sup>484</sup> Eric Herschthal, *The Science of Abolition: How Slaveholders Became the Enemies of Progress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).



&c.” There, Franklin speculated on the composition of the population of colonial America and its future transformations. At the center of his concerns lay the problem of racial homogeneity. Franklin’s critiques focused on detailing how slavery “greatly diminish’d the Whites.” In short, he believed that slave labor posed an etiological threat to the moral and physical integrity of white subjects. In this sense, the essay established a strict causal relation between “Whites who have slaves,” and children “rendered unfit to get a Living by Industry.” Because of this, Franklin argued that white subjects became “enfeebled [...], [and were] not so generally prolific,” whereas “the white Children bec[a]me proud, [and] disgusted with Labour.”<sup>485</sup> As Eric Herschthal noted, Franklin “made no mention of the harm, physical or otherwise, that slavery did to the enslaved, instead focusing only on the harm it did to white colonists.”<sup>486</sup> As in Antonil’s treatise, the calculus of the population identified a healthy and desirable people with whiteness and civilization. As long as these white subjects lived in such close proximity to slavery, this ideal would become all but impossible.

As discussed in previous chapters, any remedy for this situation started in the *casa*. However, across Franklin’s fears and Pombal’s “abolitionist” action, the common denominator was a view that slavery threatened white subjects and thus the very ideal of a Portuguese civilization. As such, Pombaline reforms sought to transform systems of legal bondage to

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<sup>485</sup> “The Introduction of Slaves. The Negroes brought into the English Sugar Islands, have greatly diminish’d the Whites there; the Poor are by this Means depriv’d of Employment, while a few Families acquire vast Estates; which they spend on Foreign Luxuries, and educating their Children in the Habit of those Luxuries; the same Income is needed for the Support of one that might have maintain’d 100. The Whites who have Slaves, not labouring, are enfeebled, and therefore not so generally prolific; the Slaves being work’d too hard, and ill fed, their Constitutions are broken, and the Deaths among them are more than the Births; so that a continual Supply is needed from Africa. The Northern Colonies having few Slaves increase in Whites. Slaves also pejorate the Families that use them; the white Children become proud, disgusted with Labour, and being educated in Idleness, are rendered unfit to get a Living by Industry.” Benjamin Franklin, “Founders Online: Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, 1751” (University of Virginia Press), accessed September 27, 2022, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0080>.

<sup>486</sup> Herschthal, *The Science of Abolition*, 22.

alleviate the danger blackness posed against civilized life. This was the true reason why Portugal was to no longer have slaves after 1761. The presence of “black Slaves” subverted public order because idleness upended both race and rank. While sexual encounters contaminated white bodies, leaving them visibly “blemished,” to carry blackness was tantamount to the embodiment of moral and physical “degeneration.” That is, as prices for enslaved people were on the rise and competition for this labor force intensified, slavery became incommensurate with the “civilized” metropole. These transformations were coeval to the creation of the Grão Pará and Maranhão trading company (1750-1777), developed to introduce enslaved labor in the Amazon and pursue the whitening of Amerindians.<sup>487</sup>

The alteration of state priorities mobilized new discursive practices condemning slavery by presenting Black slaves as sources of pathology. The move to construe blackness as a source of contagion was especially stark in the 1773 “free womb” law. Despite the terms presented in 1761, between 1771 and 1775 circa 3000 African slaves were still transported to Portugal. This was in addition to all the enslaved people such as the two who were arrested by the police and kept in the Bairro Alto prison (Lisbon), awaiting to be returned to Brazil because, as the police intendant remarked, the terms of the law did not apply to them.<sup>488</sup> The two unnamed slaves found in Bairro Alto were far from the only ones to try their luck. However, the terms of the law had already precluded these cases, specifying that the new ruling ought not to apply to slaves in any other Portuguese domains.

While the interests of the state ramped up the rhetoric tying slaves, blackness, and “*mulatos*” to disease and social disorder—crime, vagrancy, vice, and social promiscuity—agents

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<sup>487</sup> Enslaved Africans traded into the Amazon were not only from Angola but Chacheu and Bissau (Guinea-Bissau).

<sup>488</sup> Case found in a consultation of the *Intendência* da Polícia books. It is worth noting how blackness and slaves become subject to another new scientific domain: the police sciences. ANTT, IGP, A, 2, 1, n° 35 and 35.

on the ground in Portugal, continued to be determined to maintain slaves. There seemed to be a total mismatch between the interests of the state and those of slave owners. Indeed, one of the strategies adopted against the 1761 law was the pursuit of reproduction with the slaves of their household.<sup>489</sup> The “free womb” law emerged as a direct reaction against this practice. As noted, neither of these decrees was truly anti-slavery. Rather, the intent was to concentrate the trade in the South Atlantic and attend to Moçâmedes’ “body of the monarchy.” Yet, as was customary in the mid to late eighteenth century, the rhetoric of the law is replete with condemnations against captivity and appeals to “sentiments of Humanity and Religion.” The 1773 decree, in particular, identifies the southern region of Algarve and other “Portuguese provinces” as the cause of the problem. The disharmony between what happened in the *casas* where enslaved women already lived and continued to retain that status and the new orientation of Pombaline policy threatened the regular operation of Pombal’s political mechanism. In addition to a higher quantity of people, reforming the metropole required more white subjects to engage in salaried and factory labor. The persistence of slavery worked against that end. The accusation made by the law evoked the failure of patriarchal rule and racial dysregulation feared by Antonil. Some keep “guarding in the Homes Slaves (*Escravas*), some whiter than they are [their *senhores*] with the names of Black women, and of Negroes; others Mestiças; and others truly *Black*.”<sup>490</sup> This process not only reified the importance of gender and reproduction to the making of *raça* but established how race was an instrumental and goal-oriented production which the state could tweak and transform for

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<sup>489</sup> However, the 1761 effort of “eradicating” the admission of more new slaves failed. In 1769, for example, the crown was forced to clarify that the law applied to “mulatos” as well as “black Slaves.” Nogueira Da Silva and Grinberg, “Soil Free from Slaves.”

<sup>490</sup> “Tive certas informações de que em todo o Reino do Algarve, e em algumas Ptovincias de Portugal existem ainda Pessoas tão faltas de sentimentos de Humanidade, e de Religião, que guardando nas suas Cazas Escravas, humas mais brancas do que eles e com os nomes de Pretas, e de Negras; outras Mestiças; e outras verdadeiramente Negras.”

its own gain. However, the law was also clear in stating that not all “wombs” were instantly freed. Only fourth generation progeny qualified for the law’s magnanimity.

In addition to reflecting anxieties about what the visible presence of slaves in Portugal meant for its prestige as “a polished nation,” the assimilationist purview of the 1773 law was only extended to white-passing progeny of enslaved women. In this respect, the crown’s anxieties about labor and racial order were palpable. Suddenly, the moral economy of sexual abuse and reproduction of beings as property became a “great inconvenience” to the state. With this move, the law entered the sphere of private and sexual intimacy, driven by fears of a polity that would soon become ungovernable. The “mulato” became an emblem of all the sexual and racial confusion that centuries of unchecked patriarchal rule had produced, threatening the Pombaline project of the population. Rather than clear boundaries and pre-determined strata, the perpetuation of slavery promised disorder.

It was precisely at this intersection that slavery—its mere existence, that is—became a public health problem. However, the risk of contagion seeped into the social body through “abominable Commerce of sins” which resulted from “successive and profitable concubinage under the pretense that from the Wombs of Enslaved Mothers free Children cannot be produced in accordance to Civil Law.”<sup>491</sup> As this makes plain, the law was not concerned with the physical violence or sexual abuse endured by enslaved women. Rather, the principle orienting the reform was the utility of the state. The preservation of slavery caused “damages” (*prejuízos*) to the state because of the “many Vassals [who were] harmed, malingered, and useless.” Coincidentally, as the law pointed out, the number of “idle” and “ineffectual” subjects was directly proportional to

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<sup>491</sup> ANTT, Leis e ordenações, Leis, mç. 7, n.º 108, fl. 1r.

the quantity of “those miserable [people] whose unfortunate condition [had] rendered unsuitable for public Office, Commerce, Agriculture, trade, and contracts of all kinds.”<sup>492</sup>

As imperial priorities began valuing the concentration of enslaved labor in the South Atlantic to maintain the integrity of “the body of the monarchy” in a slave-dependent empire, the policing and pathologization of blackness gained ground. This, too, as internal priorities shifted towards the creation of factories in Portugal and preference for salaried laborers. To this end, reformist action tried to appeal to the reason and priorities of white patriarchs and progenitors because it identified the causes for the degeneration of the state in their governing of the household. The Pombaline’s state failure to implement its medico-political designs for the population lay in a *casa* where the presence of enslaved women and racially mixed progeny stood as evidence of the failure of patriarchs to uphold the ideal of self-control and discipline. Unable to acknowledge the failure of patriarchal authority, the onus of responsibility was passed to either Black or *mulata* enslaved women as symbols of lax morality, promiscuity, and vice.

While the failure of patriarchs was attributed to errors in method that could be corrected through science and reason, the prophylactic against contamination became the regulation of Black women's and *mulatas'* reproductive capacity. The conditional Pombaline “freeing” of slaves utilized the power of the law against the enslaved contagion of the white republic. By singling out Black slaves as the visible cause of Portugal’s imperial ailments, reformers furthered the sense that science and medicine could act as correctives. In the late 1700s, hereditary slavery, a key innovation introduced with the transatlantic slave trade, became identified as the cause of

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<sup>492</sup> “E os prejuízos que resultam ao Estado, de ter tantos Vassallos Lezados, baldados, e inúteis, quantos são aquelles miseráveis, que a sua infeliz condição fez incapazes para os Offícios públicos; para o Commercio; para a Agricultura; e para os tratos, e contratos de todas as espécies” ANTT, Leis e ordenações, Leis, mç. 7, n.º 108, fl. 1r.-1v.

Portugal's imperial demise, just as the Age of Revolutions forced old model into the brink of collapse.

### **Political Economy, Imperial Prosperity, and Health**

On October 6<sup>th</sup> of 1780, the Lisbon Police Intendant brought an appeals case to the attention of authorities. The occurrence concerned a twenty 24-year-old man, a laborer at the soap Factory created under the auspices of Pombaline industrial policy, who was arrested for selling soap without a license. The case was taken to court and the man, who was deemed guilty, sentenced to six years of *degredo* (penal, forced labor) in the Captaincy of Grão Pará and Maranhão. The destination was far from accidental; the policy of populating the Amazon had shifted the nexus of Portugal's centuries old *degredo* from the Angolan penal colony towards Grão Pará.<sup>493</sup> However, this case also marked a changing tide. The police intendency books report on a request to commute the man's sentence. The rationale presented by the police argued that "because he is married to a 19-year-old Woman, whom I ordered to be collected [recolhida] in the same prison in which the Supplicant, her husband [was arrested]." The couple was childless and, it seemed that, in the days between his arrest and wait to travel to the Amazon, his wife had fallen under the spell of "a Cleric named Jozé Alexandre, who had disquieted her for illicit ends."<sup>494</sup> But this was not all. This fact was only made more egregious when considering

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<sup>493</sup> Indeed, this sentence exemplified one of the oldest tools of Portuguese settlement across the Afro-Luso-Brazilian Atlantic: penal punishment to labor. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans*; Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire, 1740-1932*.

<sup>494</sup> "Um homem fora prezo pela achada de uma fabrica de sabam [e] ... julgado e condenado a seis anos de prizão, e como esta exuberante, e faz muitas vezes com que os Reos estropiados, fiquem inuteis com o largo tempo de prizão, ao Estado; me parece que S. Magestade devia commutar esta pena em seis annos de Degredo para a Capitania do Pará, ou Maranhão, haver-lhe por perdoada a mesma culpa, se for servida, pois hé cazado com huma Mulher de 19 annos, que eu mandei recolher à mesma prizão, em que esta o Supplicante, seu Marido, por ser informado q hum Clerido chamado Jozé Alexandre a tinha dezinquietado para fins illicitoas, como já fiz presente a V. Ex<sup>a</sup> este hé o meu parecer" ANTT, Intendência Geral da Polícia, A, 4, Livro 1, fl. 32.

how few advantages the state drew from prison sentences and how many men were “rendered crippled and useless to the State” because of them.

This account is emblematic of a shift in population management. It details who stood to gain—or be pardoned—due to the state’s demand for white laborers in the metropole. The crux of pro-natalism hinged on transforming Portuguese subjects into white, laboring paterfamilias. The heart of pro-natalism lay precisely in the goal to produce not just more people but to craft a particular vision of political subjectivity: the role of the paterfamilias was no longer as a discretionary sovereign, but a delegate of medical reason and the mechanistic laws of nature. As noted in the previous section, shifting metropolitan priorities also beget novel discursive practices around the issue of slavery. From a necessary social fact, Black and “*mulato*” social subalterns were construed as contaminants of the body politic; a threatening the moral and physical health of white laborers with vice, disease, prostitution, and idleness.

As the end of the century approached, the need for enslaved labor on Brazilian soil only expanded. Assuring the availability of captives, as Moçâmedes’ letter noted, became a matter of increasing concern.<sup>495</sup> In the second half of the eighteenth century, a time when Atlantic empires expanded their plantation economies, Brazilian planters faced increasing difficulties in accessing captive labor. The stable channels of previous times—i.e., the South Atlantic “body of the monarchy”—were more fragile than ever before. Heightened prices and piracy made all this complex seem as frail as ever.

Knowing all too well that the Portuguese empire could not survive without profiting from the “trade in the living” and labor extraction, “men of science” in Lisbon and Brazil began contemplating ways to reform slavery. This section deals with how the commitment to slavery

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<sup>495</sup> For a review of prices and problems with supply of enslaved labor in Brazil, see Marquese, *Feitores Do Corpo, Missionários Da Mente*.

on the part of elites fed a commitment to the improvement of slavery through institutional reconfiguration, a medical focus on disease prevention, and the scientific redesign of vessels, auction blocks, and other spaces. Efforts to render it more rational followed the mold of the pedagogical and medical manuals outlined in previous chapters. Their target audience was the paterfamilias; who was both the sovereign of the household and manager of the *engenho* where enslaved people went to die.

Reformist literature set out to achieve the impossible: reduce the levels of death, debility, and disease induced through a system premised on violence, malnutrition, and physical and sexual abuse. Yet this was not all. The crux of this impossible task lay with in the target audience for this literature: slavers, *senhores de engenho*, and anyone else capable of purchasing bondspeople. This privileging of the patriarch recapitulated established models of *oeconomia*. However, the late eighteenth century was also defined by a few recalibrations to that schema. Just like in post-earthquake Lisbon, an increasingly greater focus was placed on preserving health and preventing unnecessary death of maiming of the enslaved. Couched in the language of humanism, these medico-political interventions in slavery reformist literature<sup>496</sup> had the augmenting and utility of the imperial economy as their guiding light.

Such a practice is exemplified in the Portuguese translation of Jean-Berthélemy Dazille's *Observations sur les maladies des nègres, leurs traitements et les moyens de les prévenir* (1776). Written in 1776, one year before Pombal was deposed by Queen Maria I (1777-1818), Dazille relayed observations made in Saint-Domingue and Guadeloupe. As historian of science Meghan Roberts has pointed out, Dazille's study on the "diseases of blacks" was propelled by an administrative effort to "reform and stabilize the practice of slavery" in two of France's most

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<sup>496</sup> Jean-Barthélemy Dazille, *Observations Sur Les Maladies Des Nègres, Leurs Causes, Leurs Traitements et Les Moyens de Les Prévenir, Par M. Dazille ...*, 1776, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k823169>.



profitable colonies.<sup>497</sup> These colonies, in turn, were in direct competition with the Portuguese both with regards to trade and access to enslaved labor. Known to physicians and “men of science,” Dazille’s work was translated into Portuguese in 1801 by the surgeon in Minas Gerais, António José Vieira de Carvalho.<sup>498</sup> Its circulation codified a novel nosological class: “diseases of blacks.”

Nosology, the science of disease classification, was an “enlightened” scientific domain.<sup>499</sup> Its creator, Francois Boissier de Sauvages (1706-1767), was a Montpellier vitalist. In his work, Sauvages was especially concerned with the deployment of a method of disease classification and the indexation of symptoms to produce “the science of man.”<sup>500</sup> This ambition was deeply aligned with the eighteenth-century predilection to study the “human species”—another novel eighteenth-century scientific development, locating the human animal as part of the natural world.<sup>501</sup> Sauvages’ sensibility towards disease was inflected with the modes of separating humanity into different somatic and pathological categories. Furthermore, as a mode of indexing empirical phenomena, nosology established a significant dialogue with other eighteenth-century scientific practices such as Linnaean taxonomy. Dazille’s “diseases of blacks” (*maladies des*

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<sup>497</sup> Meghan Roberts, “The Health of Enslaved Workers in Dazille’s Observations,” *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 2022, <https://harvardlibrarybulletin.org/health-enslaved-workers-dazille-observations>.

<sup>498</sup> Jean-Barthélemy Dazille, *Observações Sobre as Enfermidades Dos Negros, Suas Causas, Seus Tratamentos, e Os Meios de as Prevenir*, trans. António José Vieira de Carvalho (Lisboa: na Typographia Chalcographica, Typoplastica, e Litteraria do Arco do Cego, 1801).

<sup>499</sup> Andrew Cunningham and Roger K. French, eds., *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>500</sup> On Sauvages and the link between disease classification and a science of man see Roy Porter, “Medical Science and Human Science in the Enlightenment,” in *Inventing Human Science: Eighteenth-Century Domains*, ed. Christopher Fox, Roy Porter, and Robert Wokler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>501</sup> Stephen Gaukroger, *The Natural and the Human: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1739-1841* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Stephen Gaukroger, *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity, 1680-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Paul L. Farber, “Buffon and the Concept of Species,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 5, no. 2 (1972): 259–84, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00346660>; Peter J. Bowler, “Bonnet and Buffon: Theories of Generation and the Problem of Species,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 6, no. 2 (1973): 259–81; Phillip R. Sloan, “The Buffon-Linnaeus Controversy,” *Isis*, October 21, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1086/351629>.

*nègres*) was the distillation of these two logics combined. As a category, it greatly advanced the medicalization of race since it posited blackness, rather than slavery, as the significant etiological variable in disease causation.<sup>502</sup>

In 1801, when Dazille's "*maladies des nègres*" became Vieira's "*doenças dos negros*, the work had already circulated widely. In particular, it became the object of great interest on the part of "men of science" both in the Portuguese Royal Academy of Sciences and across the Luso-Afro-Brazilian world. Created in 1779, the Royal Academy of Sciences became an epicenter for debates on imperial reform through agriculture, political economy, and enslaved health. While the Academy emerged after Pombal's deposition by the new monarch, the vital and energetic role that some of his protégés—like Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho—played in its meetings assured a degree of continuity with Pombaline reform.<sup>503</sup> At the Academy, medicine played an instrumental role. The redeployment of political medicine toward the "conservation of health" of enslaved populations mobilized the language of "universal humanity" to frame disease as a problem of labor management and political economy. As the empire was slave dependent, it could no longer afford to squander enslaved lives and risk the welfare of the "body of the monarchy." Indeed, political economy was *the* chief science of late eighteenth century reformist minded "men of science." By the late eighteenth century, ambitions to ground socio-political rule

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<sup>502</sup> Rana A. Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

<sup>503</sup> This fact becomes especially important in light of what the historiographical convention of positing a radical shift between the Pombal's government and Maria I's reign. The term *viradeira* was thus coined to express how a radical opposition between Pombal's "modernizing" reforms and the return of the Old Regime ecclesiastical rule to power. While it is true that the Court was largely anti-Pombaline, a great deal of the "men of science," members of the Academy of Sciences, diplomats, and other high ranking crown officials sided with a secular view of government and reform. Souza Coutinho is one example of this line of continuity and Andrada e Silva is another. Looking at interpersonal connections and intellectual trajectories can reveal a far more nuanced view of change than the simple notion of a complete and outright reversal (i.e., *viradeira*) of Pombaline transformations.

and colonial pursuits in natural law led to the assimilation of medicine, mathematics, agriculture, and natural philosophy into the chief science of the state and empire: political economy.

Indeed, the medicalization of slavery and *engenhos* found in late-eighteenth-century plantation treatises reflects the dominance of political economy over all other knowledge-making domains. To combat “the origin of [Portugal’s] depopulation and degeneration of the human species” continued to be a medical domain. However, the goal of the medicalization of the family was the production of “robust vassals for the State” in order to avoid its demise. To meet this end, the Luso-Brazilian physician Franco’s *Treatise on Physical Education* (1790) stressed “physical education directed by the dictates of nature” to produce “the multiplication of the species and its conservation.”<sup>504</sup> For only strong bodies could avoid “a paralytic and strengthless state.”<sup>505</sup> Franco’s medical preoccupations mobilized the language of disability to voice a concern about Portugal’s place amid other empires. The reason was puzzling, “despite possessing the most benign [conditions] in all Europe to foster population,” Portugal kept lagging behind all other countries. Franco’s solution continued to stress the scientization of domestic spaces and the role of the paterfamilias in managing the physical and cognitive development of the child. However, in Franco’s view, the paterfamilias is framed as a functionary whose duty is to “form men” (*formar os homens*) for the state.<sup>506</sup> Health and patriarchal rule had both become subordinate to political economy.

While Franco omitted any direct references to the problem of race, his focus on child rearing, robustness, and health as the symbols of national vigor were directly tied to anxieties about Portuguese racial rank. Portugal’s “degeneration” vis-à-vis other empires was a sign of its

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<sup>504</sup> Francisco de Mello Franco, *Tratado da educaçãõ fysica dos meninos: para uso da naçaõ portugueza* (Lisboa: Na Officina da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1790), vii–viii, <http://archive.org/details/tratadodaeducaaf00mell>.

<sup>505</sup> Mello Franco, vii.

<sup>506</sup> Mello Franco, *Educaçãõ Fysica*.

racial “impurity” within Europe. Thus, preoccupations with populations and physical prowess manifested concerns with Portugal’s status as a white and civilized nation. The hygienist concern with the metropole’s racial purity and physical vigor, pursued by Franco in this *Treatise*, were concomitant to Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho’s ambition of creating a single Portuguese identity.<sup>507</sup> Contrasting to the principle of pluralism that had propelled and sustained Portuguese expansion in previous centuries, the end of the 1700s was marked by a desire to render imperial administration, the identities of its various peoples, and its customs into a uniform reality. This idea, which was inflected with whiteness, was also pivotal to the reinvention of empire and of the role of enslaved people in it.<sup>508</sup> Defining enslaved people as a category of labor but not part of the population, Coutinho sought to end the legal principle of plural identities across the empire, to institute “an unbreachable and sacrosanct principle of Unity, [as] the first foundation for the Monarchy.” Coutinho thus insisted that any “Portuguese born in the four Parts of the world will think of himself as just Portuguese.”<sup>509</sup>

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<sup>507</sup> “Este deve ser sem duvida o primeiro ponto de vista luminoso do nosso Governo, e já que ditozamente, segundo o incomparavel systema dos primeiros Reys desta Monarquia, se fizerão descobertas, todas ellas forão organizadas, como Provincias da Monarquia, condecoradas com as mesmas honras, e privilegios, que se concederão aos seos Habitadores, e Povoadores,, todas reunidas ao mesmo systema admnistrativo, todas estabelecidas para contribuirem á mutua, e reciproca deffesa da Monarquia, todas sujeitas aos mesmos uzos, e costumes.” ANTT, CLNH, 0021 N° 36, fl. 2-2v.

<sup>508</sup> Matheus Fernandes Albuquerque, “D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho no alvorecer do oitocentos: o projeto de império com sede no Brasil,” *Revista Cantareira*, no. 35 (August 5, 2021), <https://periodicos.uff.br/cantareira/article/view/44479>; José Luís Cardoso, “D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho em Turim: cultura económica e formação política de um diplomata ilustrado,” *Tanto ella assume novitate al fianco: Lisboa, Turim e o intercâmbio cultural do século das luzes à Europa pós-napoleónica*, 2019, 19–48.

<sup>509</sup> “Mas antes, que falle particularment do objecto de Fazenda, seja dos Dominios Ultramarinos em geral, seja daquella da Capitania das Minas, que mais principalmente deve ser o objecto da discussão, seja-me licito tocar ligeiramente sobre o systema Politico, que mais convem, que a nossa Corôa abraçe para a conservação dos seos tão vastos Dominios, particularmente dos da America, que fazem propriamente a baze da Grandeza do nosso Augusto Throno. Os Dominios de S. Mag.e na Europa, não formão senão a Capital, e o centro das suas vastas possessoes. Portugal reduzido a si só, seria dentro de hum breve periodo huma Provincia de Espanha, em quanto servindo de ponto de reunião, e de asento à Monarquia, que se estende, ao que possui nas Ilhas // da Europa à Africa, ao Brazil, às Costas Orientaes e Occidentaes de Africa, e ao que ainda a nossa Real Coroa possuhe na Asia, he sem contradição huma das Potencias, que tem dentro de si todos os meios de figurar conspicua, e brilhantemente entre as primeiras Potencias da Europa. Com huma extensão territorial na Europa trez vezes menor, com Possessoes muito inferiores às nossas, pode a Republica das Prinvincias-Unidas, ter o maior pezo na Balança Politica da Europa, que serve de centro ao Comercio do Norte, e Meio dia do mesmo contrinente, e do melhor entreposto paera o

## Diseases of Slavery and Remaking Race

In the closing decades of the 1700s, the Portuguese Academy of Sciences, founded in 1779, became an epicenter for knowledge production about the theme of the “humanization” of slavery. The ample literature published by the Academy on the topics of natural history, agriculture, and health became instrumental to the pursuit of the economic interests of the state. This was also the framework within which writings on plantation management and the “conversation of health” of enslaved people also emerged. Literature like Luiz de António Oliveira Mendes’ *Essay with Respect to Slaves and the Slave Trade Between the Coast of Africa and Brazil* (1793) were emblematic of this trend.<sup>510</sup> The essay recapitulates many of the contradictions of the pro-slavery reform movement. While recognizing how malnutrition and the conditions inherent to capture, transportation, and labor caused disease and “expedited death,” commitments to bondage informed a view of improvement marked by appeals to patriarchal reason. This approach denoted the normality of bondage—and of the violence that inhered the

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Commercio da Europa com a outras trez partes do Mundo, faz que este enlasse dos Dominios Ultramarinos Portuguezes co a Sua Metropole, seja tão natural, quam pouco o era, o de outras Colonias, que se separarão da sua May-Patria; e talvez sem o feliz nexo, que une os nosso Estabelecimentos, ou elles não poderião conseguir o grau de prosperidade, á que a nossa situação os convida, ou serião obrigados á renovar artificialmente os mesmos vinculos, que hoje ligão felizmente a Monarquia, e que nos chamão á maiores destinos, tirando deste systema, todas as suas naturaes consequencias. Este deve ser sem // [fl. 2v ]duvida o primeiro ponto de vista luminoso do nosso Governo, e já que ditozamente, segundo o incomparavel systema dos primeiros Reys desta Monarquia, se fizerão descobertas, todas ellas forão organizadas, como Provincias da Monarquia, condecoradas com as mesmas honras, e privilegios, que se concederão aos seos Habitadores, e Povoadores,, todas reunidas ao mesmo systema admnistrativo, todas estabelecidas para contribuirem á mutua, e reciproca deffesa da Monarquia, todas sugeitas aos mesmos uzos, e costumes, he este inviolavel, e sacrosanto principio da Unidade, primeira baze da Monarquia, que se deve conservar com o maior ciume a sim que o Portuguez nascido nas quatro Partes do Mundo se julge somente Portuguez, e não se lembre, se não da Gloria, e Grandeza da Monarquia, á que tem a fortuna de pertencer, reconhecendo, e sentindo os felizes effeitos da reunião de hum só todo composto de paetes tão differentes, que separadas, jamais poderião ser igualmente felizes, pois que emquanto à Metropole, se privaria do Glorioso destino de ser Entreposto Commum, cada Dominio Ultramarino sentiria a falta das ventagens, que lhe rezultão de receber o melhor depozito para todos os seos Generos, de que se segue o mais feliz venda no Mercado Geral da Europa.” ANTT, Casa de Linhares, 0021, 36, fl. 1v-2.

<sup>510</sup> Luiz António de Oliveira Mendes, *Memória a Respeito Dos Escravos e Tráfico Da Escravatura Entre a Costa D’África e o Brazil, Apresentada à Real Academia Das Ciências de Lisboa - 1793*, ed. José Capela (Lisboa: Publicações Escorpião, 1977).

system. Importantly, these treatises assimilated all the principles of political medicine and political arithmetic to manage enslaved lives and preserve as much labor potential as possible. However, the very centrality of the “body of the monarchy” for empire demanded exclusion from the population. Commitments to slavery mobilized new racial discourses that relied on a new nosological category: “diseases of blacks” (*doenças dos negros*).

In his *Essay on Slaves*, Mendes tried to square the circle between necessity and pathology. His initial approach was neo-Hippocratic; principally concerned with “nature and the quality of the air.” These two factors combined, he believed, explained “the character” (*indole*) of “African Blacks” (*Pretos de África*). Other climatic factors such as the “salubrity of their waters,” “the liberty in which they live, or their “customs and clothing” figure in Mendes’ calculus of disease causation. In Hippocratic fashion, the account starts by linking the “intemperance of the climate” of the “Torrid Zone they inhabit” with their own way of life. The “very ardent and intemperate” climate induced an “excess of evaporation and perspiration” in Black bodies. For this reason, the atmosphere was “crass, the air heavier and less pure, without sufficient variation and successive winds.”<sup>511</sup> All these factors combined rendered Africa—for Oliveira Mendes does not offer more specificity—into a “diseased” (*doentio*) climate of extremes. The fact that the “Black, born in its midst” seem to thrive in these conditions, says a lot about their nature. “They enjoy a nearly perfect health,” Mendes notes, but then contradicts himself, reflecting on how “they bring with themselves vestiges, even if degenerated, of those diseases” that they nevertheless endure.<sup>512</sup> The remark resembles an accusation. Black bodies endure diseases which stir no reaction in them. Despite this lack of sensation, the essence of the

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<sup>511</sup> “A Atmosfera, que sobre eles carrega e circula, é a mais crassa, e o ar mais pesado e menos puro, que se pode considerar; sem que, por essa mesma causa da situação, possa haver variação e ventos sucessivos, que refrescando-os, os refaça de um novo ar, e este saudável que os vivifique.” Oliveira Mendes, 26.

<sup>512</sup> Oliveira Mendes, 26.

pathology remains in them dormant, albeit in a “degenerated” condition. These conditions are only worsened by the night fog (*cacimba*), which “infests” the air “with infirmities. This *cacimba*, in turn, also produced an abundance of “stagnated waters, arrested in filthy lagoons,” near where they inhabit.

After this Hippocratic preamble on airs, waters, and places, Mendes ventures into the elements demarcating between blackness and civilization. The capacity to intervene in one’s milieu, seek to alter the environment and improve became a boundary object in this case. Separating reason from “uncivilized” life was the very way Black bodies became so inured to the diseased African climate, they lost any capacity to feel ill (despite holding on to its germ). This was not the only peril caused by habituation. Because of the successful seasoning of Black bodies to the climatic extremes of the “Coast of Africa” and its *sertões*, they refrained from engaging in any kind of preventative intervention. Such behavior produced several nefarious consequences for health. Prevention, as a form of intentional political intervention, belonged to the domain of the rational—and within it, of futurity. It implied forethought, calculation, and planning. These were, of course, all qualities which the “Black character” seemed to lack and which white, Portuguese civilization claimed to possess.<sup>513</sup>

The absence of any intentional acts to stave off or alleviate the inevitable occurrence of illness delineated another boundary with the rational. With the unwillingness to prevent came the incapacity to improve. This became especially visible with the government of the *casa*—or rather, its absence. Their huts (*pagos*) were located near “deep wells” with only “tepid, thick, corrosive, and turbid water” they neither seek to avoid nor combat.<sup>514</sup> That is, in addition to the

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<sup>513</sup> Mendes uses Black (“*Preto*”) and African (*Africano*) interchangeably. Sometimes he uses both together.

<sup>514</sup> Oliveira Mendes, *Memória a Respeito Dos Escravos*, 27–28.

pathological propensities of the climate, Africans are also presented as people without *oeconomia* and capacity to self-rule. Such signs of disorder were only worsened by the lack of rules and the “liberty in which they live,” nearly “without laws.” The absence of a jurisprudence was a mark of “barbarism, heathenism” and an inconstant spirit, constantly traveling between extremes of feeling. For Mendes, this way of life was tantamount to a total lack of cultivation (*incultura*) only furthered by “idleness” (*inércia*) and “Polygamy,” the symbol of non-Christian sexual intimacy and kinship models beyond the household.<sup>515</sup>

Mendes’ observations defined Africa through an oppositional lens. All that Europe was Africa was not. Throughout the text, it is never made clear whether or not Mendes made such broad ethnographic and medical remarks from immediate experience. The generic tone of his language intimates he never traveled to any of the places described with such authority. Yet, as someone speaking for the universality of science and reason, the knowledge he had gathered along the way seemed to suffice.

As the account proceeds, subsequent chapters make the case for the reform of slavery. At no point does the *Essay on Slaves* touch upon the topic of abolition. Instead, its Hippocratic preamble sets up the case for the necessity of slavery. After all, enslaved status transformed their “idle” life, with excessive liberty and no laws, through labor and patriarchal supervision. Given the number of unnecessary deaths of “this most precious cargo,” the remaining part of Mendes’ essay focuses on deploying science and medicine to identify errors and detail preventative strategies.

The belief that scientific improvement applied to the process of enslavement posited bondage as a practice that could be regulated and managed into reason. By implication, the

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<sup>515</sup> Oliveira Mendes, 27–29.



institution's necessity entailed a commitment to the expendability of Black life. The main entryway into the domain of health and prevention was political medicine. The redesign of spaces and the improvement of ventilation would ensure the "conservation of health."<sup>516</sup> Thus, Mendes suggested new ways to dispose of enslaved people on decks, improve ventilation, permit physical movement, and grant access to the surface for sunlight exposure. In no way were these measures described as ways to alleviate enslaved suffering. Rather, the goal was to apply public health principles and preserve this cargo and prevent more deaths.

As in the case of the African "Torrid Zone" and its diseased air, changes inherent to travelling induced effects on the body. These were only worsened due to "sickening air" (*ar doentio*) maintained aboard ships. For this reason, Mendes focused a great deal of his *Essay* on the topic of ventilation. The ship magnified all the undesirable qualities of the African air. With perspiration, heat, and the overcrowding of "two to three hundred bondspeople" stacked against one another, "only the most robust" could survive. Mendes knew conditions were unsustainable for Angolan merchants or Brazilian planters. Providing health—a classic patriarchal obligation—was the only solution for more profits.

Mendes' effusions about the suffering of "this most unfortunate human species" did nothing to either end or assuage it. The goal, rather, was to preserve slavery by maintaining or expanding its profits for the state. Methods designed "augment the people" in post-earthquake Lisbon were recapitulated at the end of the century to preserve slavery. Mendes' *Essay* threads the line of the paradoxical. In the same paragraph, Mendes both denounces how ill captives endure "beatings" (*espancado*) instead and being treated with remedies for their diseases (*curativo da doença*) and offers advice on how to ensure healthy infrastructures to avoid their

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<sup>516</sup> Oliveira Mendes, 48.

flight (*pátio seguro, de altas paredes*). To Mendes, these deadly conditions were unsustainable. It was impossible to save face, and with it the legitimacy of the slave trade. Poor clothing and nutrition create “the poor economy in which slaves are conserved.” Of the “ten to twelve thousand slaves that descend to Luanda,” only “six of seven thousand make it to Brazil.”<sup>517</sup> As Mendes describes the process from Luanda to the auction block in Brazil, he qualifies the transition as “continual martyrdom.”<sup>518</sup> Even as he describes the many suicides or murders common during the Middle Passage, he remains resolute in redeeming the system and working towards its improvement.<sup>519</sup>

This narrative endures until Mendes offers a presentation of “chronic diseases” that most affect Black slaves. It is here that blackness and disease combine as “race-medicine.”<sup>520</sup> Echoing the introductory lines of his *Essay*, blackness and dysregulated extremes of sensation become pathologized as *banzo*. *Banzo* was not only one of the main illnesses to affect enslaved people, but also one of the deadliest. Its key symptoms aligned with the Hippocratic racialization of sensation introduced by Mendes in the first lines. It manifested a “violence” and “volatility” of sensibility that rendered the enslaved despondent, suicidal, and unable to labor. It was defined as “longing for community of homeland; love nourished for someone; ingratitude or evilness; [...] profound cogitation on the loss of liberty; continued meditation on the rough conditions with which they are treated.” Given the symptomatology provided, *banzo* aligned with “melancholy,” a similar disease said to envelop the enslaved of the Spanish and French Atlantic in despondent

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<sup>517</sup> Oliveira Mendes, 48.

<sup>518</sup> “O banzo e um ressentimento entranhado por qualquer princípio, como por exemplo; a saudade dos seus, e da sua pátria; o amor devido a alguém; a ngratidão e aleivosia, que outro lhe fizera; a cogitação profunda sobre a perda de liberdade; a meditação continuada da aspreza, com que os tratam; o mesmo mau trato, que suportam; e tudo aquilo, que pode melancolizar.” Oliveira Mendes, 61.

<sup>519</sup> Oliveira Mendes, 53.

<sup>520</sup> Suman Seth, *Difference and Disease: Medicine, Race, and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

idleness. As Mariana Fraga has noted for the Cuban context, *melancholia* was a disease of “Black feeling” owed to the inability to work. Kale Kananoja, discussing the case of the late-eighteenth-century Lusophone Atlantic, argued that *banzo* was a racialized illness linked exclusively to blackness.

More than blackness, *banzo* was a disease of slavery. Therefore, its nosology was anchored to social status as well as race. Simply put, *banzo* pathologized the captive for their reaction against the loss of liberty, community, and kin.<sup>521</sup> This was exemplified by Mendes in a case study of a nameless woman who, after being enslaved, sold to Brazil, and separated from her daughter, refused food for days on end until her ultimate death.<sup>522</sup> Mendes’ language renders the contrast between the definition of a reason legible to imperial bureaucrats and the enslaved woman’s reaction to the loss of her kin. The terms of administrative reason speak of the enslaved as collectives to be managed: “in one of the lots purchased.” In doing so, Mendes displayed what Jennifer Morgan called the delimitation “of reason and intellect as the province of only the European man.”<sup>523</sup> For Mendes, this Black woman had feeling but could not access universal concepts of reason. Because reason was the province of administrators, patriarchs, and physicians, *banzo* described the reactivation of the dormant germ of pathology in Black constitutions. A feeling so violent it killed. *Banzo* exposed the violent sensations the African climate impressed upon its native peoples, thus equating race with etiology. For this reason, Africans represented a critical labor force but never an imperial population.

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<sup>521</sup> Jennifer L. Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery: Gender, Kinship, and Capitalism in the Early Black Atlantic* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

<sup>522</sup> Oliveira Mendes, *Memória a Respeito Dos Escravos*, 62.

<sup>523</sup> Morgan, *Reckoning with Slavery*, 21.

## CONCLUSION

### **The Empire of White Patriarchs**

Like empire, whiteness is an aspirational project.<sup>1</sup> *Configurations of the Human* tracked how eighteenth-century ambitions to reinvent the Portuguese empire hinged on the central concept of the population (*povoamento* and *população*) and efforts to (re)produce more white subjects for the prosperity of the state. This project, I argued, hinged on the emergence of a new subject of government in the Luso-Afro-Brazilian space: the white, salaried laborer. The goal of multiplying the people was a core principle of mercantilist political economy that eighteenth-century Portuguese reformers took to heart in their bid to rescue both state and empire from the brink of crisis.

Portuguese reformers saw a depopulated Portugal as the symbol of a weakened empire and an ever more imperiled sovereignty. Without sufficient people to labor, defend, and procreate, the continuity of the great national family was imperiled. The first sign of crisis was marked by the confluence between the diagnosis of depopulation (through Cunha's metaphor of the four bloodlettings), and the incapacitating illness of King João V, the republic's paterfamilias, and head household for the entire nation. Anxieties about uncertain population futures—and their present scarcity—fed into the development of medico-political tools designed to govern all humans through the power of universal natural law. This was the aim and method of political medicine, Ribeiro Sanches took on public health via the standardized government of

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<sup>1</sup> Project will be a recurrently used heuristic throughout this dissertation. This is an intentional conceptual choice. As Keller and McCormick note in the special issue of *Early Science and Medicine* they co-edited on projecting as a category of analysis, the eighteenth century was an especially proficuous “projecting age.” That is to say that it was a moment when the figure of the “projector” emerged, “linking new knowledge and technology with changing articulations of the public good and the improvement of society” (424). Improvement, of course, is both a contingent and relational category. For neither are its yields equally distributed nor do projects necessarily depart from a universal consensus with regards to what improvement may mean specifically. Vera Keller and Ted McCormick, “Towards a History of Projects,” *Early Science and Medicine* 21, no. 5 (December 5, 2016): 423–44.

household salubrity to attain population growth. However, as discussed across the five chapters, enlightened medical claims to universal law and rule were also riddled with occlusions.

This work historicized how and why the ideal of the universal fell short of its self-appointed, totalizing mark. Blinded by tacitly naturalized beliefs about human hierarchies, universal laws of nature replaced theological ecumenism as a way of making knowledge, without reconsidering its biases. Namely, the modern method reproduced the Catholic centering of white patriarchy as the key vessel for political agency, pedagogical discipline, and procreative power.

Based on a diagnosis of demographic decline that overlapped with the incapacitating illness of Portugal's sovereign, modern reformers forged a project for the new nation premised on ambition to produce new quantitative and qualitative population futures. Doing so implied governing all bodies in a standardized, rule-governed manner. But, at the same time, it also implied reinventing patriarchal rule through the affirmation of naturalistic, medical epistemologies. However, modern claims of a rupture with the scholastic past proved to be overdetermined. Partitioned into a male-female "sex" binary, the modern, anatomical division of humanity ultimately recapitulated the same hierarchies of gender and race already embedded in Aristotelian theories of generation: "male seed" was the seat of movement, agency, and logos, while female subjects were reduced to embodying passive matter that awaited inception and fertile cultivation. Deference to the primacy of "male seed" manifested an inability to break with the mold of sexual hierarchies accustomed to locating reason and authority in the households of white patriarchs.

Cognitive limits to imaginaries of self-rule started with the gendering of sovereignty. Through a confluence between a virile royal body and a vigorous body politic—a theme explored in Chapter 1—the monarch's physical wellbeing mirrored the nation's fecundity. This

imagery was only deepened by the construction of the ruler as physician and paterfamilias of the state. Chapter 2 built on this image to illuminate how patriarchal and sovereign power were naturalized via theories of generation. The Aristotelian primacy given to male agency posited seminal fluid as the seat of logos and thereby reified the progenitor as the dominant party in generation, the household, and the state. Such a scaffold proved incredibly resilient and powerful throughout the eighteenth century. Even as modern physicians vociferously rejected Aristotle, emphasis given to sperm—which was a relatively novel scientific object for eighteenth century physicians—continued to posit masculine progenitors as the veritable and “active” source of life imperative for the creation of future beings.

In chapters 2 and 3, I began tracking how these theories of generation scaled up into a political system intent on the unequal treatment of its subjects through the preservation of the reproductive order. As semen, embryo, and fetus contained “latent men” *in potentia*—either in the modern model of a preformed homunculus or as an unformed epigenetic mass—women’s place in Portugal’s project of the population was reduced to their mere embodiment of “wombs.” This predicament of “body parts” renders the case of Maria Duran all the more puzzling. When inquisitors faced a woman whose anatomy was, for all intents and purposes, “perfect and without defect,” they were also confronted with a cognitive impossibility: how to equate sexual sovereignty with the absence of male genitalia?

The solution to this puzzle was arrived at by eschewing the anatomical framework of sex, thereby dispensing with the input of medical experts, and adopt the catch-all framework of supernatural intervention. In other words, the inability to conceive of female sexual autonomy informed a verdict that externalized sexual agency away from Maria Duran and onto a demonic force. Duran’s case was made all the more transgressive as same-sex sexual acts violated the

reproductive mandate expressed by Aquinas and needed to deliver Portugal's project of the population. Female non-reproductive sex rejected the reproductive order by violating the telos of woman and contradicting the order of nature whereby "sex" was fixed to the body as destiny.

Because theories of generation naturalized the authority of white patriarchs as embodiments of reason and political authority, progenitors were the target audience for the project of political medicine studied in Chapter 3. The selection of the *paterfamilias* as the delegate of medical reason entailed a reversal of traditional roles and household hierarchies. The medicalization model, therefore, traced a change in which the feminized space of the household became the subject of masculine, medical reason. Discipline, salubrity, and collective hygiene were not only the prerogative of patriarchs and progenitors, but of medicalized rationality. As such, and through the mandate of health and population growth, the father ceased to be the sole sovereign of the household to, instead, become a deputy of medical reason and the modern method of universal health. In addition, the medicalization of the household ideally subdued the unruliness of vernacular knowledges in the *casa* by rejecting everyday care practices performed by women, servants, and the enslaved as insalubrious and dangerous.

Chapter 4 engaged with the problem of fertility and respective projects of population multiplication in the Amazon in the second half of the eighteenth century. Set against the background of the expansion of Portugal's imperial borders in the Americas, Pombaline indigenist policies in Brazil hinged on the principle of "many marriages and no useless wombs." The Directorate of the Indians policy (1757-1793) policy configured, as I argued, a project of transmutation and "Indians into vassals." In other words, it was a project of white subjecthood—one marked by the goal of creating more salaried laborers. The preconditions for Amerindian assimilation hinged on the transplanting of the white, medicalized household of the metropole to

the Americas. Agriculture, it was assumed, would transform the “wild” and undomesticated Brazilian environment of uncultivated abundance into a civilized space of planned surplus. The medicalized, Pombaline *casa* was the anchor of this new system of settlement. Drawing on neo-Hippocratic thought, it was believed that by cultivating their milieu, Amerindians would also eventually cultivate themselves, thereby gaining promissory access to white subjecthood.

Through interracial and monogamous marriages, Amerindian subjects would settle, become productive, engage in agriculture, and commerce as well. In other words, they would come to embody the ideal of the salaried laborer. Theories of generation were deployed here, too, to facilitate the linear pace of racial transmutation. Since male seed was dominant in creation, Brazil would obtain white progeny within a few generations.

For this reason, the Directorate marks the inception of a state-sponsored policy of “whitening” in Brazil. The chief goal at this mid-eighteenth-century point was Amerindian “cultivation” and cultural? eradication. Furthermore, the stated aim of indigenous assimilation into whiteness only hardened the distinction between indigeneity and blackness. That was why removing the goal of abolishing indigenous slavery went hand in hand with the outlawing of the racial nomenclature “blacks of the land” (*negros da terra*). Amerindian admission into the condition of the white, salaried laborer was, in turn, contingent upon the doubling down of distinctions under which the Black and enslaved people were introduced to the Amazon under the Directorate. Hence, while Amerindian transmutation embodied a stage of stadial racial development in their path towards white civilization, the “*mulato*” could only signify the undesirable mark of racial slavery.

Schemas like the Directorate instrumentally valorized the “wombs” of metropolitan and indigenous women while pathologizing enslaved women and their progeny—especially the



“*mulato*,” who, as the Jesuit André Antonil noted, carried “white blood.”<sup>2</sup> Chapter 5 analyzes this dynamic, in particular, by tackling the intentional exclusion of enslaved people from the population despite being seen as “the body of the monarchy.” In the metropole, the effort to reform slavery focused on the elimination of slaves from Portugal—Portugal being the imperial capital in Europe with the largest share of enslaved and Black people. Concerns with the dilution or removal of blackness from metropolitan territories also dovetailed with Portuguese anxieties about its inferior standing among other European empires—specifically, concerns that Portugal was perceived as blacker and therefore less “civilized” than other European empires.

Chapter 5 explores how as a response to the emphasis on a white body politic made up of salaried laborers, two “abolition” laws were passed in the Pombaline period: the 1761 “free soil law” and the 1773 “free womb” law. Both produced very limited effects in terms of the actual number of enslaved people freed. Nevertheless, they were emblematic of the commitment to “whiten” the metropole *and* concentrate the slave trade in the South Atlantic. The problem of race—i.e., blackness—was linked to the danger of social and moral contagion. In this case, blackness threatened the purity of the white body politic. The scenario in Portuguese America was no different. In Brazil, blackness threatened the purity of white settler bodies and the metropolitan body politic with the pathological threats of “vice,” “idleness,” and lax sexual compartments. As it is shown, the “*mulato*” became the emblem of this threat of collective pathology; thereby configuring Black, enslaved women into vessels of transmission of this collective disease. As a response, both physicians and ecclesiastical authorities produced arguments pathologizing blackness and medicalizing race.

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<sup>2</sup> André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brazil, por suas drogas e minas* (impresso em Lisboa, 1711).

Part of the problem of Black “infection” lay in the fact that slavery reversed the patriarchal logic of male dominated generation. In that sense, the “*mulato*” not only symbolized but stood as evidence of the failures of patriarchal logic and discipline for it represented a body that became “tainted” (*maculado*) rather than white. This danger was codified in the legal principle *partus sequitur ventrem* (status follows the womb), used in the early modern Atlantic to ensure the perpetuity and reproducibility of enslaved status. Against the backdrop of racial slavery, the “*mulato*” instantiated the failure of the ideal of patrilineal lineage. For this reason, both the reform of slavery and the production of plantation manuals ultimately recapitulated the logic of popular health manuals used in the metropole.

By appealing to the reason and self-control of the planter—who simultaneously was father, sovereign, and physician to his enslaved population—reforms sought to preserve slavery precisely at the moment when abolitionist pressure rose during the time of the Age of Atlantic Revolutions (c. 1760s-1830s). Through the language of pathology and the production of arguments that racializing Black bodies by construing them as as inherently diseased, management manual authors’ effectively identified slavery as a dangerous source of contamination. In other words, they pointed out the chasm between the ideal and ideology of white patriarchal power and the lived reality of violence, disarray, and sexual abuse that pervaded Brazil’s slave society and which was embodied by the “*mulato*.”

Ultimately, despite its high-minded intentions and all-encompassing ambitions, the modern project of modern reform failed to achieve most of its self-appointed goals. Why? First and foremost because it contained far fewer ruptures than those promised by its paragons. Namely, because they themselves recapitulated the truncated universal standard of white patriarchal dominance—which medicine only helped naturalize through theories of generation.

The modern project of social, political, cultural, epistemic, and imperial transformation ultimately reaffirmed the same assumptions of masculine medico-political dominance contained in Aristotelian and Scholastic theories of generation. Hence, the centering of patriarchal authority revealed, above all, a view of change that privileged elites by advancing a narrow definition of the modern method and its attending epistemological orientation—as masculine, medical, and materialist. In this context, the diagnosis of depopulation and a weakened sovereignty, which cast the Church as the malignant agent responsible for the crisis of state and empire, served primordially as a rhetorical device to undermine the preeminence of ecclesiastical authority. Moderns mobilized these resources to levy their epistemic authority, consolidate their social ascent, and affirm their political gravitas as experts of all bodies, natural and political. However, in the end they could not see past the figure of the paterfamilias and sovereign as the embodiment of reason, and thus their chosen delegate. Fundamentally, reform was a project focused on elite transition which remained deeply preoccupied with the preservation of the social order. This was visible in the persistence of the reproductive order and male sovereignty.

The dynamics detailed in the previous pages excavate a scaffold of naturalized inequalities which endure today. At present, these dynamics are visible in the domains of reproductive justice, the continued insistence on the anatomical analysis of bodies to determine “true sex,” and the patriarchal devaluation of women’s sexual agency. Mobilizing early modern pronatalism can help understand why contemporary “pro-life” movements center the moment of conception to define life rather than focusing on women’s health and personal sovereignty. The early modern patriarchal elevation of embryos, fetuses, and any other latent equivalents of men *in potentia* remains an operable mode of thought. The fantasy of better reproductive future becomes all the more seductive as it only deals with the abstraction of the futurity and the

promise of controlled replication. Yet, such links between the modern and the early modern are more than mere abstractions. Indeed, they became especially visible when Supreme Court Justice Samuel Alito cited seventeenth century jurisprudence as precedent for his decision to repeal *Roe v. Wade*.

Additionally, the ideology of “seeing” sex to establish an unequivocal and essential ontology also continues to play in the present. A prime example is anti-trans legislation. Some of these laws, like an anti-trans Ohio bill, endowed the power of performing a “genital inspection” on children and adolescents gendered as female in case of suspicion of a trans person passing. Indeed, the crux of anti-trans ideology—especially that coming from trans exclusionary feminists—tends to insist in the ontology of “woman” as a category defined by genitalia and reproductive capacity. Against this backdrop, the case of Maria Duran shows how ambitions to “fix sex” to the body were not unique to modern epistemologies and bodily ontologies.

By centering patriarchy and whiteness, *Configurations of the Human* historicized a naturalized regime of power: the empire of white patriarchs. Beyond abstractions, attention was paid to the physical and embodied form as well as the ideologies and acts that render whiteness and male superiority both normal and unproblematic. Racial exclusion, sexual discrimination, and the regulation of sexual intimacy remain present day struggles; understanding why these battles are resistant to the ideals of equality demands undoing mythologies of liberal humanity and universal citizenship. Rather, the rule of white patriarchs—through institutions, epistemes, and legally encoded inequities—sheds light on the coexistence of abstract equality before the law and laws which, through their legitimation of unequal status, posit some subjects as pathological to the ideal of white patriarchy and therefore in need of tutelage.

In the switch from scholastic to medicalized rule, heads of household continued to reign as embodiments of sovereignty, reason, and autonomy. Indeed, the long nineteenth-century struggles over citizenship and universal voting rights exemplify how, following 1789, the regime of patriarchal government continued to rule under a novel hegemonic discourse of life in community: republicanism and the refusal of hereditary privilege. But have these dynamics really been extinguished? It is both my firm belief—as well as the source of my interest and fascination for this period—to reassert that the early modern period remains a problem of the present. Denaturalizing the certainties the present holds about its own universality and superior status in relation to the past is key to forging new paths towards an effective praxis of equality capable of disregarding taxonomies of sex, class, gender, or race. As such, I am tempted to paraphrase a famous book in our field (subverting its subtext slightly). We have never been modern because, after all, we still remain deeply early modern. Understanding how the production of a white Luso-Afro-Brazilian empire hinged on the naturalized rule of white patriarchs thus contributes to a historically grounded critiques whose ultimate aim is balance to understanding with liberation.

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