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MARQUIS OF POMBAL WITHIN REPRESENTATIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF BRAZILIAN SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS AND BOOKS

RESUMO

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, known as Marquis of Pombal, is a figure who divides researchers' opinions. He was the minister of Portugal between 1750-1777 and promoted reforms in different areas, such as education. This paper aims to analyze how he is represented in books and scientific texts published in journals and written by Brazilian authors. To accomplish such goal, we worked on a data collection to gather the texts and went through all of them to examine how they characterize Pombal. We have also compared the results of this research with the findings of another study with the same focus, which aimed to analyze how Pombal was represented in texts published by researchers related to the Federal University of Sergipe. We found 341 scientific texts that portray Pombal in diverse ways, from the proto founder of Brazil to the destroyer of education.

Keywords: Marquis of Pombal. Representation. Scientific production.

O MARQUÊS DE POMBAL EM REPRESENTAÇÕES: UMA ANÁLISE DE PERÍODICOS CIENTÍFICOS E LIVROS BRASILEIROS

Resumo

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, conhecido como Marquês de Pombal, é uma figura que divide as opiniões de pesquisadores. Ele foi o ministro de Pombal entre 1750 e 1777 e promoveu reformas em diversas áreas, como a educação. Esse artigo objetiva analisar como ele é representado em livros e textos científicos publicados em periódicos e escritos por autores brasileiros. Para tanto, realizamos o levantamento de textos e os examinamos com ênfase na maneira em que eles caracterizam Pombal. Também comparamos os resultados dessa pesquisa com os de um outro estudo com mesmo foco, cujo propósito é analisar como Pombal estava representado em textos publicados por pesquisadores relacionados a Universidade Federal de Sergipe. Foram encontrados 341 textos científicos que representam Pombal de diversas formas, de proto-fundador do Brasil a destruidor da educação.

Palavras-chave: Marquês de Pombal. Representação. Produção científica.

EL MARQUÉS DE POMBAL EN REPRESENTACIONES: UN ANÁLISIS DE PUBLICACIONES CIENTÍFICAS Y LIBROS BRASILEÑOS

Resumen

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, conocido como Marqués de Pombal, es una figura que divide las opiniones de los investigadores, fue ministro de Pombal entre 1750 y 1777 y promovió reformas en diversas áreas, como la educación. Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar cómo está representado en libros y textos científicos publicados en revistas y escritos por autores brasileños. Con este fin, encuestamos textos y los examinamos con énfasis en la forma en que caracterizan a Pombal. También comparamos los resultados de esta investigación con los encontrados en otro estudio con el mismo enfoque cuyo propósito era analizar cómo Pombal estaba representado en textos publicados por investigadores relacionados con la Universidad Federal de Sergipe. Encontramos 341 textos científicos que representan a Pombal de varias maneras, desde el proto-fundador de Brasil hasta el destructor de la educación.

Palabras clave: Marqués de Pombal. Representación. Producción científica.

INTRODUCTION

“When we take up a work of history, our first concern should be not with the facts which contains but with the historian who wrote it” (Carr, 1987, p. 22).

In Brazil, history of education has been the subject of studies since the second half of 19th century; however, as Vidal and Faria Filho (2003) put it, only in 1986, writing that addresses this field grew substantially. The first book to narrate the history of education in Brazil - *L'Instruction publique au Brésil: histoire et législation* (1500-1889) - reserved a few pages in its introduction to talk about the colonial period, 10 of them regarding the pombaline reforms. This symbolizes the little importance given to the impact of colonial initiatives in education. Authors like Júlio Afrânio Peixoto in the 90's referred to pombaline reforms in education as disastrous. Ruy de Ayres Bello and Theobaldo Miranda dos Santos, similarly, define them as darkness and the death of education, respectively (Vidal; Faria Filho, 2003). Another author, Fernando de Azevedo, one of the pioneers of the Progressive education movement, narrates the history of education in Brazil, highlighting heroes and villains; Pombal was put in the latter (Anjos, 2014). For years, the pombaline reforms were disregarded in the history education field, due to representations which are defined as the construction of meaning, based on ideological and situated conceptual systems (Hall, 1997). The representations on the Marquis of Pombal are diverse and, very often, dissonant, considering that some describe him as villain and others acclaim his doings.

As Carr (1987, p. 22) explains, “the facts of history never come to us pure”, they go through the mind of those who share them. Representations are eminently ideological and permeate every process of reading and text production, that is why historical facts cannot reach us in pure form. In this paper, we aim to analyze how Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo is represented in books and scientific texts published in journals. We compare the results of this research with the ones published in Silva (2019). This paper presents partial

results of a Scientific Initiation Research, conducted at the Federal University of Sergipe (PIBIC-UFS) which is linked to an international project that aims to renew pombaline studies, headed by José Eduardo Franco, Pedro Calafate, and Viriato Soromenho-Marques, part of the Centre for Lusophone and European Literatures and Cultures (CLEPUL), in Portugal.

SEBASTIÃO JOSÉ DE CARVALHO E MELO, THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo was born in Lisbon in a modest family which was not noble. He married for the first time around 1723 with Teresa de Noronha e Bourbon Mendonça e Almada, despite her family being against it. The union brought him closer to the high nobility. Pombal married for a second time, in 1746, when his first wife died. His marriage with the countess Maria Leonor Ernestina Daun resulted in five children and gave Sebastião the opportunity to become minister in Lisbon. Before that, Pombal was sent to London to represent Portugal in St. James' court, replacing his cousin Azevedo Coutinho. He occupied this position from 1739 to 1743, until he was sent to Austria. He succeeded in the latter which gave an impulse to his career. Pombal became minister in 1750 with diplomatic experience and ideas he was introduced to in the countries he lived in (Maxwell, 1996). For that, he is considered *estrangeirado* – influenced by foreign ideas at a level that makes the person see and understand the world from a different perspective. *Estrangeirados* were separated from natural and “pure” Portuguese who were not influenced by foreign ideas (Falcon, 1993).

According to Maxwell (1996), in 1755, an earthquake affected Lisbon. The royal family was not in the city when it happened which is why they survived. The king, D. José, gave Pombal all the authority to handle the situation. His power, consequently, was consolidated. The minister had to deal with another issue in 1758: an attempt of regicide against D. José whose carriage was shot when he was coming back from a meeting with his mistress, wife of the Marquis Luís Bernardo de Távora. The king got hurt but survived. The whole Távora family was punished for the crime.

The torture and public destruction, in 1759, of members from the two most prominent families of Portugal, accused of attempted murder against the king D. José in the infamous Távora case shocked particularly foreigners. Even though such dismay [...] has little to do with the torture, arms and legs broken, and burn in bonfire, and more to do with the fact that the victims were aristocrats and not ordinary people (Maxwell, 1996, p. 17, our translation).

This sort of punishment was employed before, but not in noble people. For his participation in the trial, in 1759, Sebastião got the title of count of Oeiras. Like this one, his titles were given as rewards for his actions, not as birth right. The title he is known for was granted in 1769, when he was 71 years old.

Maciel and Shigunov Neto (2006, p. 467, our translation) contend that the phases in Pombal's life can be divided into four categories:

The first one refers to his private interests, that is, the phase of the citizen Sebastião José de Carvalho and that includes the period from 1699 to 1738. In this period of time, the citizen would dedicate himself exclusively to his interests as nobleman. This phase ends with his frustrated attempt to integrate king D. João V's Council of Finances. The second phase is the diplomatic one, referring to the period from 1738 to 1749, in which he exerts his diplomatic responsibilities in London and Vienna. The third phase is governmental and becomes his life's most important one because, during D. José I's rule, which lasted from 1750 to 1777, he governed the country. The last phase refers to the exile period, from the death of D. José I, in 1777, to his own in 1782.

Pombal's reforms concern different spheres, such as politics, administration, culture and education. They affected the whole Portuguese empire (including its

colonies), which means that Brazil is included. The Brazilian territory was a great source of wealth, especially during D. José I's rule, due to the discovery of gold. Maxwell (1996) defends that the Portuguese crown relied on this gold, and they did not have to appeal to tax collection. It was, indeed, a rich ground; for this reason, it suffered attempts of invasion from other nations, such as Spain. Pombal believed that populating Brazil would be necessary; however, it was not possible to send a large number of Portuguese people, so he determined that Indians, as long as they married Europeans, would be treated as Portuguese subjects and should be respected (*Diretório dos Índios* - 1755). It was decreed that Indians should be free from religious custody, which was dissonant with the Jesuit¹ dogma that was against Indians exploration and integration to the Portuguese (Maxwell, 1996).

The Society of Jesus was responsible for education in the Brazilian colony, and the Indians under their responsibility were taught through the *Ratio Studiorum* pedagogy (Saviani, 2005). The Jesuits' pedagogy was considered advanced by many authors since the priests learned Indian's languages (*Língua Geral*) to teach them, instead of imposing the colonizer's language. This Society of Jesus also accumulated goods and land and exerted great power in the Brazilian colony. For political and economic reasons, considering that the Jesuits were resistant to the deployment of pombaline reforms, they were expelled from Portugal and its colonies (Charter June 28, 1759), on the grounds that the Jesuits were to blame for the backwardness in Portugal and its colonies and that all of the nefariousness observed in the Portuguese domains was a consequence of Jesuit influence. The expulsion, however, was a political decision against the Society itself, and the expulsion can be explained in a context in which a process of invention of tradition is observed (Hobsbawn; Ranger, 1990).

Pombal also established Portuguese as the official language in the Portuguese empire and promoted changes in education. In the table below, we highlight the main legislative actions regarding education and the national language.

Table 1: Pombaline legislative actions regarding education and the national language.

Year	Legislation	Main Decrees
1757	<i>Directorio dos Índios</i>	The first step towards the establishment of Portuguese as national language. Determined the creation of two public schools (one for boys, the other for girls) in every village.
1759	Charter of April 19	Publication of the School of Commerce statute which addressed education to form “perfect traders”
1759	Charter of June 28	Education was officially put as the State’s responsibility; the teaching profession was institutionalized. Royal classes of Latin, Greek and Rhetoric were created.
1761 ²	Letter of Law of March 7	It addressed, for the first time, teaching of modern languages. The Statutes of the Royal College of the Nobles were published.
1770	Charter of September 30	Latin classes and the teaching of Portuguese grammar were made mandatory.
1772	Law of August 28	Publication of new Statutes to Coimbra University.
1772	Law of November 6	Lesser Schools (in Portuguese, <i>Escolas Menores</i>) were created and their administration was regulated.

Source: authors’ elaboration based on Oliveira et al. (2010) and Santos (2010a).

Oliveira et al. (2010) defend that the pombaline legislative actions contribute to a discourse construction of Portugal as civilized and modern; the country was, due to the Jesuits, tardy in relation to other European nations, as the laws and charters put it. The legislation presents historical consciousness and promise to make the country develop. Oliveira et al (2010, p. 41-42, our translation) explain that “the pombaline legislation takes on a redemptive aspect that meanwhile projects the structural changes which proposes and orders for the future; it looks at the past and (re)writes it, constructing – or inventing – a tradition.” In addition, religion is put a position of serving the State which should be sovereign. Falcon (2015) highlights that there is a belief that all of Pombal’s actions result from his and his alone thinking, ignoring that he was influenced by many thinkers and incorporated others’ ideas in his

reforms.

Education, specifically, is often put as the means to change society and is given a utilitarian function, given, for instance, the School of Commerce which educated to make good traders who would, in turn, contribute to the improvement of commerce. And, even though, the State was supreme, religion still predominated in education.

We also highlight that the implementation of these reforms was challenging and, many times, unsuccessful, due to lack of money to pay (the small number of) teachers, and work overload to the State which lacked in employees. In addition, there is no proof that the legislation was extended to the Portuguese territory as a whole (Maciel; Shigunov Neto, 2006; Fávero, 2006).

Pombal’s actions were paradoxical; he propagated illuminist ideas, defended the sovereignty of the State, yet continued to hold on to religion; he wanted to civilize the nation and free the people through the light of science, but reinforced despotism (Maxwell, 1996), and this fact can explain why so many different representations may be associated to him. As it was stated, the Marquis is represented in different ways due to his actions, sometimes, in extremist ways. In the following topic, we discuss the concept of representation.

REPRESENTATION AND ITS PLACE IN THE NEW CULTURAL HISTORY

History studies followed the traditional positivism which became hegemonic in the 19th century, as Fonseca (2009) points out. It holds that the historian is not affected by social conditioning and, hence, can analyze history facts impartially; therefore, historian and object are understood as independent from one another. History is, as this theory outlines, objective and self-sufficient; it exists regardless of the historian’s perceptions, so it can be acknowledged impartially. The historian does not change or recreate facts, he or she puts them objectively – free of judgements – as they happened, like a mirror reflects an image. Regarding the sources a historian should study, Leopold von Ranke (pioneer of the movement) defends that only official documents are trustworthy, capable of showing the facts as they

really are. Vieira (2015) contends that, as opposed to the traditional positivist history, the cultural history emerges in the 20th century, valuing other sources, besides the written texts of official documents and establishing dialogues with other areas of study, rather than considering history an end in itself.

Burke (2008) explains, however, that the cultural history has been practiced in Germany for more than 200 years, which means that it is not a new way to conduct studies on history. However, its consolidation happens in the 20th century, after its rediscovery in 1970. There was a shift from a belief in an unchangeable rationality in human sciences to an interest in which values are defended by certain groups in society within determined periods of time and space. This cultural turn is related to the change in understanding of what culture is. The author shares a division of cultural history in four groups, even though the boundaries amongst them are unclear: classical, social history of art (1930), history of popular culture (1960), and new cultural history. We shall focus on the latter. The term “new cultural history” started to be used in 1989, after the publication of Lynn Hunt’s book with same name (Hunt, 1992). When explaining this field of study, Chartier (2002) criticizes the notions predominant in historical studies, especially within the Intellectual history. He defends that it is not possible to maintain a transparent relation between an author’s intention and his work, and one’s intellectuality is not individual, but resultant of social constructions. One thinks and makes sense of the world, based on the representation systems, intellectual categories and outillage mental available in his or her context. According to the author, cultural or intellectual consumption constitute themselves within representations which can never be exactly as the ones an author intended to put in his or her work, because every text is the product of readers’ construction. Something else, rather than the author’s intention, is important in this process; his or her ability to create a space that allows diverse interpretations. Given that, no text (including official documents) can show reality in a transparent and neutral way.

Barros (2011) explains that representation is related to how things are seen and understood; it involves men-

tal translations of reality permeated by ideologies. The way things are represented affects social practices. The author uses the example of a beggar to clarify this idea: the medieval beggar was represented as a necessity for the rich to continue rich, they were also seen for their human value; the social practices, therefore, were to help beggars. In the Modern Age, on the other hand, beggars were associated with marginality; the social practices were to exclude them. Hence, “practices related to beggars generate representations, and their representations generate practices” (Barros, 2011, p. 50) in a complex way that blurs the boundaries between one and the other.

Representation is, therefore, essential to the process of meaning making within social groups. Hall (1997) defends that we construct meanings because of a “system of representation” that is, in short, ways to organize and establish relations between concepts and ideas. Because it is socially constructed and constructs reality, people who are part of the same social groups share a similar system of representation.

At the heart of the meaning process in culture, then, are two related ‘systems of representation’. The first enables us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things - people, objects, events, abstract ideas, etc. - and our system of concepts, our conceptual maps. The second depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organized into various languages which stand for or represent those concepts. The relation between ‘things’, concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call ‘representation’ (Hall, 1997, p. 19).

Meanings are constructed and fixed in a way that, after some time, they seem natural. Therefore, meanings are not in things, they are built, and we use codes to refer to them. Given that, no historian can expose historical

happenings in a neutral and completely objective way. His or her representation system – which is ideological – enables him or her to understand the facts, then language is used to share them, and as a consequence of this usage, different representations can be seen on the same subject or historical fact. In the following topic, we analyze how the Marquis of Pombal is represented in studies conducted by Brazilian authors.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL

Even though people who transit between common social groups share similar systems of representation, interpretations are hardly ever the same. We are individuals in addition to part of social groups, and the way we see the world is complex and mutable. The Marquis of Pombal is represented in distinct ways which get, sometimes, to extremes: loving or despising him. As Maxwell (1996, p. 1, our translation) puts it,

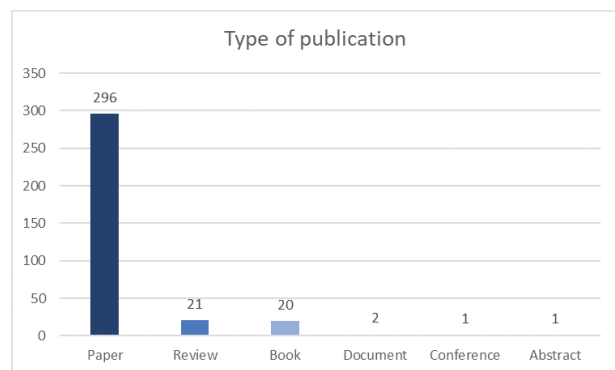
To some, Pombal, who for all intents and purposes governed Portugal between 1750 and 1777, is a big figure of enlightened absolutism [...]. To others, he is nothing but an inexperienced philosopher and a mature tyrant. Even before Pombal took power, his contemporaries were divided in their opinions about him.

Pombal is represented in contrasting ways, sometimes, by the same author, given that one cannot be defined based on only one feature. Take the beggar, for instance. We shared representations that were based on one characteristic (his or her socio and economical position in society in a given period of time). This person could be represented from many other perspectives, such as age, gender or political opinions.

In order to find scientific works of Brazilian authors, we worked on a data collection in the CAPES (Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Graduate Education) Portal of Journals. Considering that the Scientific Initiation Research focuses on books and

journals, they were the only scientific works considered. The keywords we used were (all in Portuguese): pombaline reforms (194 results), pombaline reforms in education (133 results), pombalism (4 results), and Marquis of Pombal (19 results). Some keywords would show texts that had been already found with other keywords, so the repeated publications were not considered twice. This has changed the real number of texts that can be found using the keywords separately. The results we present here are partial, which means that we have gone through all of the texts that regard the Marquis of Pombal. So far, we found 341 written productions. Another data collection (Silva, 2019) – to which we shall compare these results – also included thesis and dissertations, reaching up 110 texts.

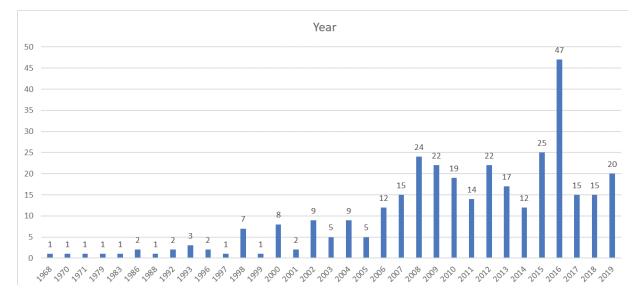
Graph 1: Type of publication



Source: authors' elaboration based on data collection

Most texts (86,80%) were papers. Differently, most works found in Silva (2019) were master's degree dissertations (54), followed by papers (32). Even though the publications are spread in different years, most of them are in 2016, similarly to what has been found in Silva (2019).

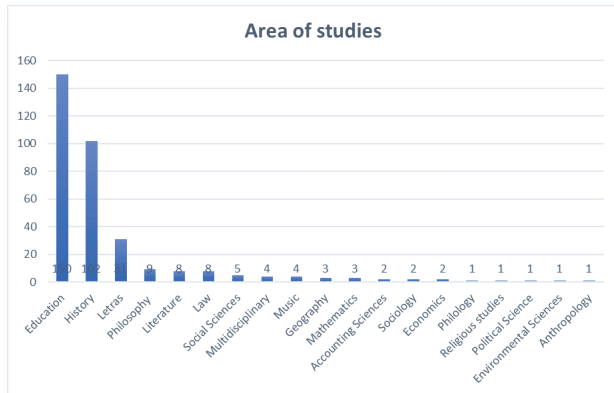
Graph 2: Year of publications



Source: authors' elaboration based on data collection

The second year with more publications is 2015, followed by 2008. Authors are linked to different Brazilian universities, most of them public. The researchers have studied Pombal from different perspectives and fields which we show in the graph below.

Graph 3: authors' area of studies



Source: authors' elaboration based on data collection

Most studies (150) are concentrated in Education, which is followed by History (102) and *Letras*³ (31). The results in Silva (2019) are very similar: Education (44), History (21) and *Letras* (18). Therefore, the national – the ones collected in this research – results and the local ones – Silva's (2019) research within the context of the Federal University of Sergipe – are very alike.

In Silva's (2019) analysis of representation, Pombal was put most frequently as powerful. He was also represented as the one who expelled the Jesuits, destroyer of education (as it was under the Society of Jesus), a violent tyrant, modernizer, and founder of a unified nation. In the referred research, as well as in this one, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo was associated with the title of Marquis of Pombal in 100% of the texts, sometimes authors would use only the title (not his name) to refer to him, which demonstrates that he is highly linked to the title he got in 1769, in the end of his career and close to his death.

Pombal was represented in some papers as a man who seized opportunities to become more powerful, and he desired to be known and remembered for his actions, as we display in passages extracted from the texts.

Pombal, counting on the unrestricted trust the monarch [D. José I] confined in him, knew how to use the earthquake of Lisbon to project himself to a central position of power (Cardoso; Cunha, 2011, p. 73, our translation).

The Marquis of Pombal took advantage of the inauguration of the equestrian statue to celebrate the reforms accomplished so far [...] He himself delivered to his sovereign the text that proclaimed this reform (Santos, 2011, p. 79, our translation).

The Marquis of Pombal acted according to the manners of a patron of the Portuguese Empire, seeking to bequeath his name and image to posterity (Chauvin, 2016, p. 68, our translation).

The place from where the discourses were produced was determining to the creation of a *rhetoric for personal gain* and to the tessitura of a representation of power which the Marquis of Pombal owned (Nunes; Barbosa, 2012, p. 9, our translation and emphasis).

The last quote brings up the issue of power. Nunes and Barbosa (2012) defend that Pombal's position gave him the opportunity and means to invest in discourses that would build a positive and powerful image of himself. Chartier (1991) explains that power and representation are related, given that certain groups or individuals can use their power to validate and/or propagate specific representations that will (most likely) favor them or put others in a submissive position. Pombal seemed to be worried about how he would be represented in posterity, since he built a pombaline patronage, as it was registered in researches conducted by Teixeira (1999) and Santos (2010a).

Pombal is also put as a modern man who could think beyond what his contemporaries could, as we show below:

Pombal was modern as far as one could be in the Portugal of his time. He was the possible conscience [...] of a generation

of *estrangeirados* (Boto, 2010, p. 296, our translation).

The Marquis of Pombal uses all his prestige and political influence and throws himself in a fight to try to “modernize” (Silva; Simões Neto, Rodrigues, 2018, p. 176, our translation).

The Marquis of Pombal was a man *ahead of his time* (Bezerra; Lima, 2018, p. 354, our translation and emphasis).

He was also mentioned once as a corrector of the many problems of the old system:

The centralizer effort of pombaline policies aimed to *correct the multiple problems* that were accumulated in the economical administration which was typical in the old system that characterized Portugal and its colonies (Vasconcelos et al, 2008, p. 11, our translation and emphasis).

In the quote above, Pombal seems to be seen as the solution to administrative problems and his actions towards the centralization of power in the hands of the government were helpful in solving the issues. Centralization is mentioned more times, often associated with despotism and power. In the first excerpt we display below, Pombal’s representation as despotic is associated to, besides his actions, what people say about him. Silva’s (2012) utterance brings up the relation between language and representation; through our systems of representation we link ideas and concepts to make sense of the world, and we use language to stand for these concepts and share them with others, that is, to propagate representations (Hall, 1997). Once shared, they can become the representations people believe in and share as the real ones; taking advantage of these representations a nation can be invented (Hobsbawn; Roger, 1990).

Pombal became by far *the most despotic* Portuguese minister of the 18th century, not only because of his actions, but also for what has been said about him throughout the

years (Silva, 2012, p. 5, our translation and emphasis).

The Marquis of Pombal aiming to recover the Portuguese economy makes use of power concentration and culture modernization (Shigunov Neto; Strieder; Silva, 2019, p. 119, our translation).

Pombal, when he took over as *over-powerful minister in an absolute way* pushed the clergy away of its supremacy in regard to decision making (Silva; Simões Neto; Rodrigues, 2018, p. 639, our translation and emphasis).

In the *illustrated despotism* way, Pombal imposed *Indians’ freedom* to settlers who enslaved them, as well as to the Jesuits, who defended them, but were unsubdued to the government with the support of the old Portuguese nobility (Weffort, 2005, p. 19, our translation and emphasis).

Weffort (2005) represents Pombal with contrasting ideas: the one who gives freedom to Indians⁴ while imposes his will to settlers and Jesuits. Considering that identity is not a fixed essence, but mutable and always being reshaped, a unified and coherent sense of self is an illusion (Hall, 2006). Identity is inherently complex and conflicting, so representing someone based on a single feature or on a coherent and unified narrative takes the complexity of identity for granted and contributes to the creation and reinforcement of stereotypes.

In addition to powerful, Pombal is also represented as violent and wicked.

In spite of the sovereign refusal in participating in public acts, he [...] received credit for the reforms carried during his reign, while the *episodes of “horror” and “unbelievable violence”* which were part of different moments have marked, unquestionably, the “despotic career” of the government headed by the Marquis of Pombal (Santos, 2011, p. 85, our translation and emphasis).

Pombal's sometimes wicked practicality translates itself in the activities and reforms established by the Marquis in defense of absolutism (Seco; Amaral, 2006, p. 9, our translation and emphasis).

In the most recurrent interpretation of texts about the period that goes from 1750 to 1777, the Marquis of Pombal turned into a true tormentor of *hidalgúia*: besmirched their honor, despised their services, mocked their privileges given and assured by the successive occupiers of the Portuguese throne (Santos, 2004, p. 307, our translation).

The mentioned perversity is associated with Pombal's actions: as part of his "despotic career" (Santos, 2011, p. 85), being inherent to it; linked to his "practicality" (Seco; Amaral, 2006, p. 9); and in his attitudes towards the nobility, the punishment of the Távora family being one example (Santos, 2004). The Jesuits are also put as Pombal's victims in many papers and the destruction of the Jesuit system of education and subsequent reforms are described as setback to education in Brazil. This type of representation is the most frequent, we show some examples of it below.

They [Jesuits] protected the minister in the beginning of his ascension to the State Department but *ended up being persecuted and expelled* from Portuguese territories, after a tireless fight of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (Ribeiro, 2016, p. 64, our translation and emphasis).

These [paper's] notes highlighted the *practical and ideological hostility* from Pombal and his allayed against the Society of Jesus (Salantino; Serres, 2016, p. 54, our translation and emphasis)

The pombaline reform was a *setback to education*, destroying an educational organization already consolidated, without implementing a new model that could replace it (Shigunov Neto; Strieder; Silva, 2019, p. 125, our translation and emphasis).

With the expulsion of the Jesuits and the pombaline reforms in Portugal, we watched

the complete dismantling of Brazilian education (Zotti, 2006, p. 137, our translation and emphasis).

The Pombaline teaching reform can be said to have been *disastrous to Brazilian education*, and also, to a certain extent, to education in Portugal, for *it destroyed a consolidated educational organization* which had shown results (Maciel; Shigunov Neto, 2006, p. 10, our emphasis).

If the laicization of teaching was an advance to Portugal, to Brazil the pombaline reforms meant a *setback* in terms of school education (Zotti, 2006, p. 138, our translation and emphasis).

The pombaline reforms caused a drop in the teaching level; the results of this reform are felt even nowadays, given that we have an Education oriented to the State and its interests (Ribeiro, 1993, p. 16, our translation).

The authors justify their claim that the pombaline reforms were a setback to Brazilian education by explaining that they destroyed a system of education and would not implement another one that was just as efficient, that is, they defend that Pombal's reforms did not have practical results, like the Jesuit system did. Maciel and Shigunov Neto (2006) extend this claim to Portugal; Zotti (2006), on the other hand, defends that the reforms were good to Portugal, but not to Brazil. Ribeiro (1993) provides a different explanation: the problem with the reforms was that they built a system of education focused on what the government wants, so education serves its interests. Vale and Lima (2016, p. 192) state that Pombal was not concerned about ensuring that the reforms were executed, he cared only for "dominating and consolidating domination over the colony [Brazil]". He is represented, by Vale and Lima (2016), as thirsty for power and careless about education. Differently, the same reforms are cause to put Pombal as revolutionist and futurist, in some papers (Boto, 2010; Dias, 1966; Santos Filho, Andrade, Santos, 2015; Teles, 2017), although this representation appears less often.

Pombal is also represented as the unifier of a nation, especially regarding Brazil, even though it was not seen as a country but as part of the Portuguese empire. In one occurrence, he is said to be a “proto founder” of Brazil:

After the last pending issues regarding the demarcation of Tordesillas were resolved, Pombal unified it in mid-18th century (Weffort, 2005, p. 23, our translation).

It might seem strange to make the Marquis of Pombal one of the historical protagonists of the construction of a unified and immense Brazil, speaking one language [...]. However, this idea is not totally misplaced, as we aim to show [in their paper] (Oliveira; Franco, 2016, p. 27, our translation).

Pombal [...] can be considered a *proto founder* of Brazil (Oliveira; Franco, 2016, p. 35, our translation and emphasis).

Finally, Pombal is described as competent and his active role in the government is compared to the D. José's inactive role. Pombal's representation affected the king's who, in comparison to his minister, is characterized as “frightened and insecure”.

In this moment of big challenges, the career of a man is consolidated, the minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, who took over with enough *competence and discernment* the tasks required for the situation, ascending enormously in prestige in the eyes of the *frightened and insecure* monarch D. José I (Marques, 2004, p. 40, our translation and emphasis).

Pombal is represented in diverse ways, even by people who live in the same epoch, this is something that happens since his contemporaneity because meaning is not in his actions, it is constructed and, consequently divergent.

BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo was, initially, representing Portugal in London and Austria, until he became the minister of the country. He promoted reforms in different sectors, such as education, economy and politics. His ideas were paradoxical and (still) challenge(d) researchers who try to understand who he was and what motivated his actions. For occupying public positions, especially as minister, Pombal was subjected to the public opinion and, since then, he has divided judgments. The divergent, conflicting, and inconstant ways of understanding this figure can be explained through the theory of representation which holds that meaning is constructed based on systems of representation socially developed. As inherently complex, mutable, and incoherent, we read texts (in a broader sense) in conflictual ways, in a process that is individual and, at the same time, social, given that systems of representation are social conventions.

The analysis in this paper involved 341 papers and books written by Brazilian authors (in some cases the coauthor was Portuguese) that address Pombal or pombalism. Most of the texts were papers. The year with more publications is 2016; one of the reasons that can explain that is the call for papers in thematic issues and consequent publication this year. The studies are mostly in the area of education where the pombaline reforms are discussed; followed by history, which presents a more varied range of aspects, such as economy, international relations, social conventions, etc. The third area with more studies is *Letras* in which the reforms that regard languages (Portuguese, modern languages, Latin) and, more frequently, literature are given focus. More than 90% of the authors of the texts were linked to public universities all over Brazil. In comparison to the local results in Silva (2019) which addressed texts written by scholars who were associated to the Federal University of Sergipe, the results are very similar: most texts were published in 2016 and were part of education studies. Regarding representations in Silva's (2019) analysis, Pombal is asso-

ciated with limitless power which is often connected to violence and tyranny in his actions against the Távoras and the Society of Jesus. He was also described as modernizer, founder of a unified nation that is part of the Portuguese empire. In the texts analyzed in Silva (2019) and in the ones addressed in this paper, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo is referred to as Marquis of Pombal, often with no mention to his name, this shows that he is associated to the title to the extent that it represents more who he was than his birth name, in spite the fact that he got the title later in his life. As Hall (1997) explains, we use codes to refer to things which, after some repetition and propagation, seem the natural way of calling them. These codes evoke meanings that are constructed based on texts (in a broader sense) one got in contact with and, as we explain, no text is pure and neutral, it goes through the author's system of representation and through our own when we read it.

The purpose of this paper was not to find a representation that could best characterize Pombal, since, as highlighted here, identifications cannot be fixed or unchanging and the same person may be associated with different representations, depending on who analyzes the facts or the actions that were analyzed. The objective of this text was to identify the most recurring representations and not to point out the one(s) that should be followed.

In the scientific works we analyzed here, Pombal was represented as an astute man who knew how to use the odds in his favor to accomplish his goals. In addition to that, he is put as a modernizer who could think ahead and fix problems, as well as unifier of nations, although these representations are less frequent. He is often associated with power and despotism and, sometimes, characterized as wicked. The most recurring representation of Pombal appears in association to his reforms in education, in which he is put as the destroyer of an educational system (the Jesuits'). In general, the representations are diverse and linked to Pombal's actions, especially as minister. Finally, we highlight that authors' representations are associated to the texts they used as source; for instance, many of the researchers who describe pombaline reforms as a setback used Fernando

de Azevedo as reference. This reinforces that historical facts do not get to us in a pure form, they are permeated by representations which are socially constructed and solidified over time.

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NOTAS

- 1 The Society of Jesus was sent to the Portuguese territories to civilize Indians and save their souls, by transforming them in Catholics and providing them with education. They were established in the Brazilian colony since 1540. The society was founded under the rule of Papa Paulo III by Inácio de Loyola in 1534 in the context of Protestant growth, as a means to get more followers for Catholicism (Santos, 2010b).
- 2 It came into force one year later, in 1762.
- 3 Brazilian universities offer undergraduate courses which prepare students to become language and literature teachers. They are often entitled *Letras* (Letters).
- 4 Pombal is also represented as extinguisher of Indian slavery in Seco and Amaral (2006).

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