

The Both Lisbons Pamphlet – Folheto de Ambas Lisboas (1730 – 1731) and pamphlet literature: uses and appropriations / O Folheto de Ambas Lisboas (1730 - 1731) e a literatura de folhetos do nordeste: usos e apropriações

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ABSTRACT

The Folheto de Ambas Lisboas (1730 - 1731), attributed to the editor Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora and his collaborator Vitorino José da Costa, and virtually unknown within Brazilian and Portuguese historiography, is the object and corpus of this article. The first comic Portuguese pamphlet in the 18th century, the Folheto was written in a humorous style, primarily parodying the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. One of many publications in circulation, the Folheto was well-received in 18th century Lisbon. The periodical has similar characteristics to other successful periodicals, such as *Anatomico jocoso* (1755 -1758), by Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina, and *O Pinto Renascido Empenado e Desempenado - Primeiro Voo* (1732), by Tomás Pinto Brandão. At the end of the 18th century, the latter's "editorial formula" was copied by José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, in *Almocreve de Petas* (1798), mistakenly taken as a precursor of Portugal's comic pamphlets. These periodicals circulated primarily through the retail sale of pamphlets that contained articles and content that humorously dialogued as much with popular culture as with genres consecrated by Rhetoric and Poetics. Using Chartier's (1991) concept of "appropriation" as a theoretical contribution, this article demonstrates, among other aspects, the relationship between this particular Portuguese pamphlet and the *Auto da Rainha Porcina* (1660), by Baltazar Dias. This relationship can also be seen between the news of the death of a puppy present in the Folheto de Ambas Lisboas, with the chapbook *O dinheiro* (BARRROS, 1909), by Leandro Gomes de Barros, which will also be pointed out here.

KEYWORDS: Folheto de Ambas Lisboas; Auto da Rainha Porcina; Brazilian popular literature (Pamphlet Literature).

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RESUMO

Desconhecido de parte da historiografia literária brasileira e portuguesa, o *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* (1730 – 1731), atribuído ao editor Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora e a seu colaborador, Vitorino José da Costa, é objeto e corpus do presente artigo. Trata-se do primeiro periódico de humor publicado em Portugal no século XVIII. Escrito em estilo jocoso, parodiava principalmente a *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Inscrito no conjunto dos papéis que circulavam e tiveram grande sucesso na Lisboa do Século XVIII, o *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* apresenta características semelhantes a de outros periódicos de sucesso que o sucederam, tais como: *Anatômico jocoso* (1755 – 1758), de Frei Lucas de Santa Catarina e *O Pinto Renascido Empenado e Desempenado - Primeiro Voo* (1732), de Tomás Pinto Brandão. Sua fórmula editorial foi copiada em fins do século XVIII por José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, com seu *Almocreve de Petas* (1798), erroneamente tomado como precursor dos folhetos humorísticos de Portugal. Esses periódicos tinham como forma principal de circulação a venda avulsa em folhetos, cujas matérias e conteúdo, em forma jocosa, dialogavam tanto com a cultura popular, quanto com os gêneros consagrados pela Retórica e Poética. Utilizando como aporte teórico o conceito de “apropriação” de Chartier (1991), este artigo demonstra, entre outros aspectos, a relação entre esse folheto português e o *Auto da Rainha Porcina* (1660), de Baltazar Dias. Essa relação também pode ser percebida entre a notícia da morte de uma cachorrinha presente no *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*, com o cordel *O dinheiro* (BARROS, 1909), de Leandro Gomes de Barros, que também será aqui apontada.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*; *Auto da Rainha Porcina*; *Literatura de folhetos*.

1 Introdução

The present research on the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* (1730-1731) is part of the *Reading and writing in the Portuguese periodicals of the 18th and 19th centuries project*¹. This project aims to give visibility to a media support rarely studied in Brazil or Portugal. In Portugal, the pamphlets² are considered merely as "humorous periodicals and pure fun"(TENGARRINHA, 1989, p. 54)³, characteristic of the early days of the Portuguese press. According to the author, the "importance is limited to testimonies or documents of the greatest importance for the knowledge of social criticism and the liberation of the critical spirit of the time about society"⁴. Thus, when tracing the general characteristics of what he considered as the origin of the Portuguese press, Tengarrinha presents the same teleological stance highlighted by Belo (2004): they are imperfect, faulty objects, with "limitations imposed on the newspapers transformed them into docile instruments of political and religious powers or into mere means of entertainment,

¹ "Ler e escrever nos periódicos jocosos portugueses do século XVIII". Research project developed at PPGL/UFPB, with funding from CNPq.

² TN: For *folhetos*, we are adopting the term "pamphlets" as it corresponds to the anglophone pamphlet literature, which is analogous to the *folheto* literature as a short, 18th century, publication of varied content, primarily political, religious, and sometimes humorous. Examples from the 18th century can be found from England to Nigeria, and all the regions of English colonization. This term is used except in cases referring to a longer version of printed published material from the 18th century, called "chapbooks", which are primarily accounts of crime, adventures, news, and often with verse versions, as well as longer – more closely corresponding to Brazil's *literatura de cordel*. We also use the standard, anglophone term, "broadsides", to indicate the single sheet publications of content such as news, proclamations, denouncements, advertising, etc., and "handbills" to designate publications of similar content though more loosely defined in editorial terms, and that are more than one page.

³ "periódicos humorísticos e de diversão pura" (TENGARRINHA, 1989, p. 54).

⁴ "importância se resume apenas a testemunhos ou documentos da maior importância para o conhecimento a crítica social e a libertação do espírito crítico da época sobre a sociedade" (TENGARRINHA, 1989, p. 54).

usually frivolous" (TENGARRINHA, 1989, p. 116)⁵. Contrary to this perspective, the only reason to value these writings, Lisboa characterize the humor of these pamphlets as "explicitly conservative from a moral and social point of view, opposing the pretensions of mobility and social ambition"(LISBOA, 2011, p. 403)⁶.

In addition to letters, published in these pamphlets, in a humorous way, were other literary and non-literary genres, which first circulated in book format or even in print and manuscripts, in their erudite form, among them novels, sonnets, epigrams, odes that were associated with other *minor genres*, such as anecdotes, comic novels, fortunes, and riddles. It is clear that the pamphlets and handbills gained *new status* when they were transformed into books, organized into chapters, similar to news periodicals. Therefore, "to understand the meanings of the widely circulated booklets, it is obviously necessary to return to the printed matter, in its own materiality" (CHARTIER: 2004, p. 275)⁷. Chartier's "editorial formula", identified in the French chapbook can be applied to these pamphlets. This formula can be conceived as something that "gives the object specific forms, that organizes the texts according to specific typographic devices"⁸, whose repertoire is "contemporary to the reader, to his horizon of expectation, is not the more or less older text, but the printed form currently given to read"⁹ (CHARTIER, 1988, p. 178).

In Portugal, this kind of publication began in 1730, when Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora published the pamphlets known as *Both Lisbons Pamphlet - Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*¹⁰, which appeared as a parody of another periodical that held prestige in the Court, and had permission to circulate in the kingdom – the *West Lisbon Gazette - Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental*. The jocose periodical, which circulated for a year, revealed its purposes in its first issue: *God willing that they find piles in as many as he charmss*. According to Bluteau (1728, p. 3)

⁵ "limitações impostas aos jornais transformavam-nos em instrumentos dóceis dos poderes políticos e religiosos ou em meros meios de diversão, normalmente frívolos" (TENGARRINHA, 1989, p. 116).

⁶ "explicitamente conservador do ponto de vista moral e social, opondo-se a pretensões de mobilidade e à ambição social" (Lisboa (2011, p. 403).

⁷ "para compreender as significações dos livretos de grande circulação, é necessário evidentemente voltar ao impresso, na sua própria materialidade" (CHARTIER: 2004, p. 275).

⁸ "que dá ao objeto formas próprias, que organiza os textos de acordo com dispositivos tipográficos específicos" (CHARTIER, 1988, p. 178).

⁹ "aquilo que é contemporâneo do leitor, do seu horizonte de expectativa, não é o texto mais ou menos antigo, mas a forma impressa na qual ele é dado a ler" (CHARTIER, 1988, p. 178).

¹⁰ In 1798, José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa launches his *Almocreve de Petas* and copies, without ceremony, the "editorial formula" pioneered by Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora and his collaborator Vitorino José da Costa. The *Almocreve de Petas* is an editorial success and its author is not ashamed to inform his reader that it is a copy and many times taken as the precursor of periodic humor in Portugal.

the term *pile – pilha* means “from those who are funny in conversation, we say they have piles of salt or piles of charm”¹¹.

The pamphlet was printed at the *Oficina da Música* and had 26 issues, one of which was dedicated only to Western Lisbon, changing the title from *Both Lisbons Pamphlet - Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* to Pamphlet for the Pickled Gazette - *Folheto pelo Escabeche de Gazeta* (17/08/1731). The following excerpt presents the origins of the titles of “both Lisbons”. Similar to the Lisbon Gazette - *Gazeta de Lisboa*, its content was presented from various places; in the case of the pamphlet, these were the districts of Lisbon: Bairro Alto, Rossio, Remolares, Mouraria and Costa da Ribeira, among others. In these, the news, letters, poetry, etc., continually made fun of the news that ran in the Lisbon Gazette *Gazeta de Lisboa*, as is seen in the following excerpt about the effect of the drought on the Tagus River:

East Lisbon

Ribeira. September 2nd

Through a battalion , which arrived here from Chamusca, loaded with watermelons, news came that the Tagus was suffering from gallstones , and that it had wasted away so much so, bones were showing. . Water has been sent for from Zêzere, and Nabon for treatment, and what arrives is not enough. Zambrana struggling to understand, has been taking its pulse, and is very unhopeful about its health, saying that only favors from Heaven, like rain, can improve its condition. The fishtrap setters are praying it won't rain, because it makes the fishtraps overflow (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 15/09/1730, N.º 4, p 5-6)¹².

Clearly, from its inception, its goal was to poke fun. In its first issue, the editor is also concerned with explaining to the reader what a pamphlet is, which is why it is possible to suppose that the term and genre were foreign to the readers:

Pamphlet, my lords, is a strange word, originating in Italy, and it boils down to tomfoolery, it's the kick-me sign on the back of the Gazette, and newsy jokery, it is an innovative free-for-all, and a, and it is a funny sketch , like an appetizer , a toothpick at the banquet of idleness as one Novel critic called it, what I am sure is, which is a cause, which at little cost makes us laugh if she wants. All the rage in France with the madames, whose podiums are, with the

¹¹ “de quem tem muita graça na conversação, dizemos que tem pilhas de sal ou pilhas de graça” (BLUTEAU, 1728, p. 3).

¹² Lisboa Oriental

Ribeira 2. de Setembro

Por uma bateria, que aqui chegou da Chamusca, carregada de melancias, veio notícia, que o Tejo estava com uma grande dor de pedra, e se ia fazendo tão tísico que lhe apareciam os ossos. Tem-se mandado buscar água do Zêzere, e Nabão para a cura, e não chega bastante. Tem dado muito que entender isto ao Zambrana, que lhe tem tomado o pulso, e desconfia muito da sua saúde, e diz, que só com favores do Céu como chuva, poderá ter melhora. Os armadores dos caneiros fazem orações para que não chova, porque lhe tira a água as gajes da pesca (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 15/09/1730, n.º 4, p 5-6).

FOLHETO, lectures of laughter on Thursdays, and there is beauty, read more in it, than in the book of souls (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOA, S/D, 1730, N° 1, p.02)¹³.

With itsoking character and accessible price, in it the term ‘tomfoolery’ (*bugiarias* in Portuguese) refers to "gestures, moments of fooling around, or the ridiculous. § Earrings, dolls, and cheap trinkets" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p. 201)¹⁴. Thus, the *pamphlet* had two characteristics that cannot go unnoticed: a) the comic character, particularly jocular or provoking laughter; "comic, and ridiculous subject, sung, but as if serious compositions" (SILVA, 1789, p. 189)¹⁵. Moreover, the editor regards it as a gift, since the term funny sketch (*sainete*) refers to "n. m. § a present, a treat, with which we bait slippery adversaries " (SILVA, 1789, p.367)¹⁶. The funny style runs through the whole periodical, including the funeral reports. The second characteristic is: b) the fact that it is an apparently anonymous publication.

To achieve our objectives, this work is divided into three parts. First, we aim to situate the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* as a media support that serves the circulation of humorous literary writing in the eighteenth century, in order to better understand the context of its emergence; secondly, we analyze the writing practices used by writers in the appropriation of the news, originally published in the *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental*, emphasizing the process of the stylistic downgrading of genres considered noble. Finally, we reflect on this process of appropriation, discussing the relationship between the literature of the Lusitanian chapbook (*cordel*)¹⁷ and the literature of pamphlets of the Northeast. It is worth mentioning that we adopted the denomination of Márcia Abreu (1993), who prefers to refer to the literature traditionally called chapbook (*cordel*) literature as *pamphlet literature*. According to the author, this was the denomination used by the first popular poets of the Northeast, who attributed the epithet "string literature" to only the Portuguese pamphlets. According to the author, the denomination, "*Literatura de Cordel*

¹³ FOLHETO, senhores meus, é palavra estranha, natural da Itália, e vale o mesmo que bugiaria, é um rabo-leva da Gazeta, e uma noticiosa chocarrice, é um desenfado por modo de novidade, e é um sainete, como esgaravador do apetite, palito no banquete da ociosidade lhe chamou um crítico de Romance o que eu seguro é que é uma causa, que a pouco custo faz rir a gente se ela quiser. Usam-no em França como moda as senhoras mães xarifes, cujos estrados são com o FOLHETO palestras de riso às quintas feiras, e há formosura, que lê mais por ele, que pelo livro das almas (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOA, S/D, 1730, N° 1, p.02).

¹⁴ "gestos, momos de bugios, ou ridículos. § Brincos, bonecos, e frandulagens de-pouco preço" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p. 201).

¹⁵ "assunto cômico, e ridículo, cantado, porém ao modo das composições sérias" (SILVA, 1789, p. 189).

¹⁶ "s. m. § presente, mimo, com que se ameiga a gente esquivá" (SILVA, 1789, p.367).

¹⁷ TN: In Portuguese, the word *cordel* literally means "string" or "line" or "cord", referring to the string, line or cord on which these chapbooks hang in the open markets where they are sold. In this article we are using the generic denomination of *chapbook literature* to refer to the Northeastern *literatura de cordel* and *pamphlet literature* to refer to the *literatura de folheto* for the reasons previously cited in footnote 4.

(Chapbook Literature) was attributed to this production by scholars, importing the Portuguese term. From the 70's on, some Brazilian poets began to use the term, perhaps influenced by contact with critics" (ABREU, 1993, p.5)¹⁸.

2 The *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* and its editors

The playful tone of the pamphlet can be seen from the title Both Lisbons - *Ambas Lisboas*, which alludes to the division of the city of Lisbon, and to the name of the periodical it parodied, West Lisbon Gazette - *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental*, which was addressed to only one part of the city. By using the title "Both Lisbons", the authors reinforced the absurdity of the situation, promoted by the Papal bull of Pope Clement XI, who created the Patriarchate of Lisbon, establishing an ecclesiastical division with two jurisdictions: "the Archbishop in the former See and the Patriarch in the royal chapel, now called the Patriarchate church" (SILVA, 2006, p. 184)¹⁹. The ecclesiastical division was followed by an administrative division:

Constituted by the Western city with 22 parishes in the city, and 24 in the surrounding areas, and nearly 700 streets both bigger and smaller, two squares, the Rossio and Terreiro do Paço, and numerous temples that numbered 124, among convents, chapels and hermitages, not counting the parochial churches. The oldest part of the city was called the Eastern city, contained within the walls, whose fragments served to mark the limits of the jurisdiction of each of the prelates (patriarchate and archbishop) (SILVA, 2006, p. 184)²⁰.

With regard to the humorous, joking style, despite the relegation that defines the genres as noble or high, these should not be confused with revolutionary texts, contrary to political and religious institutions, but rather considered as texts "that in various operations manifest the ruin of the human body, for the correction of the wanton"²¹ and that, consequently, aimed to correct the vices, and criticize them (LISBOA, 2011, p.399). Throughout literary history, first of all, within the

¹⁸ "Literatura de Cordel é uma atribuição dos estudiosos a esta produção, numa importação do termo português. A partir da década de 70, alguns poetas brasileiros começaram a empregar o termo, talvez influenciados pelo contato com os críticos" (ABREU, 1993, p.5).

¹⁹ "o acerbispado na sé velha e o patriarcado na capela real, agora denominada igreja patriarcal" (SILVA, 2006, p. 184).

²⁰ Ficando a cidade ocidental com 22 freguesias na cidade, e 24 no termo, e cerca de 700 ruas entre maiores e menores, duas praças, a do Rossio e a do Terreiro do Paço, e numerosos templos que chegavam a 124, entre os conventos, as ermidas e as capelas, sem contar as igrejas paroquiais. Ficou-se chamando cidade oriental à parte mais antiga contida dentro das muralhas, cujos fragmentos serviram para assinalar os limites à jurisdição de cada um dos prelados (patriarca e arcebispo) (SILVA, 2006, p. 184).

²¹ "que em diversas operações manifesta a ruindade do corpo humano, para emenda do vicioso" (LISBOA, 2011, p.399).

parameter of the novel, this type of publication was devoid of aesthetic value and originality. As far as the point of view of positivism was concerned, this production was alien to the reality of the writing modes of the eighteenth century and, therefore, of lesser value. For example, Nelson Werneck Sodr s positivist understanding of the value of this type of publication is illustrated thus:

Papers, gazettes, books were sold on the pier by English sailors. [...] The Almanac of the city of Rio de Janeiro, of 1792, mentioned the existence of only one bookstore; but the almanac of 1799 acknowledges the existence of two. What books would be sold in them? The book by Charles Magnus, the Mule Driver of Sketches - *Almocreve das [sic] Petas*, almanaces, handbills. All printed in the Kingdom, of course. Good books, authentic books, were smuggled in (SODR , 1999, p. 14)²².

Contrary to these negative considerations, we start from the assumption that the *Both Lisbons Pamphlet - Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* is an important support for the circulation of literary texts in the 18th century, considering that we are facing another society, with cultural practices, values and knowledge different from our own. Thus, for Lisboa "moderate jocose texts have a humor that, over the years, escapes understanding, which is difficult to capture, which depends on the context and taste of the moment"(LISBOA, 2011, p. 391)²³.

By taking these pamphlets as the literary support, it is possible to reconstitute, from the material production of the writings, the announcements and, above all, the prologues, the ways of writing and reading of certain presses at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th, supposing, in line with McKenzie (2004), that the demand of new readers, and the typographic forms form new genres. In this context, we are interested in

the way the appropriation of other news genres - cases; letters and dreams; relations; news - and also of other rhetorical-poetic genres - maxims and dissertations; epigrams, glosses, sonnets, apologists, enigmas and riddles, as preferred by the author - occurred through the support of the pamphlet, in a context in which, at the same time, the pamphlets gained the periodic character of the press (BARBOSA, 2017, p. 674)²⁴.

²² Papeis, gazetas, livros eram vendidos no cais por marinheiros ingleses. [...] O Almanaque da cidade do Rio de Janeiro, de 1792, mencionava a exist ncia de uma s  livraria; mas o de 1799 acusa a exist ncia de duas. Que livros seriam vendidos nelas? O livro de Carlos Magno, o *Almocreve das [sic] Petas*, almanaques, folhinhas. Tudo impresso no Reino, evidentemente. Os bons livros, os livros aut nticos, entravam de contrabando (SODR , 1999, p. 14).

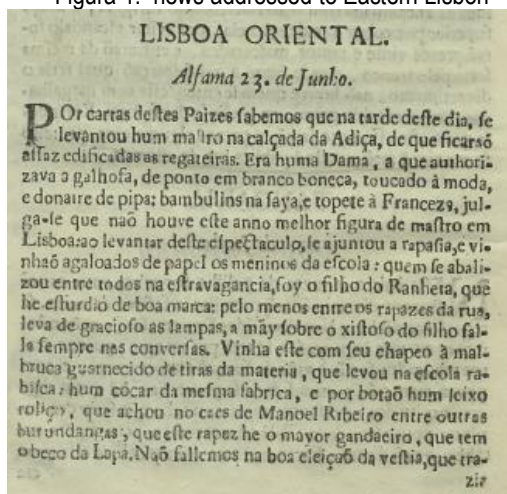
²³ "os textos jocosos moderados t m um humor que, com o passar dos anos, foge ao entendimento, que se capta dificilmente, que depende do contexto e do gosto do momento" (LISBOA, 2011, p. 391).

²⁴ o modo como se deu a apropria o de outros g neros noticiosos – casos; cartas e sonhos; rela oes; not cias – e tamb m de outros g neros ret rico-po ticos – m ximas e disserta oes; epigramas, glosas, sonetos, ap logos, enigmas e adivinha oes, como os preferidos do autor – pelo suporte do folheto, em um contexto no qual, ao mesmo tempo, os folhetos ganhavam o car ter peri dico da imprensa (BARBOSA, 2017, p. 674)

In this way, the readers, and the typographic forms that inform their senses, directly influence the emergence of new genres and the transformations of former ones. The study of literary objects resulting from cultural practices of a time and a former time was only possible thanks to Cultural History, which launched a new look on the media in which these little noble texts circulated, as well as on the community that consumed them and produced them. Thus, the study of literary texts requires attention to the forms - the material supports - that participate in the process of meaning of the text, as well as to the readers, who at different times construct different meanings for the writings.

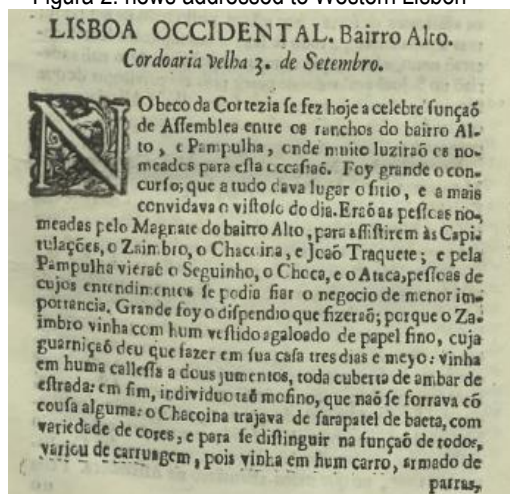
The *Both Lisbons Pamphlet - Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* circulated weekly in Lisbon (Portugal), and was printed by *Oficina da Música*. However, there were some interruptions in its circulation, 26 issues were published, of which the first was published in August 1730 and the last in August 1731. Each issue contained 8 pages with no paget numbering. On these pages you could find lyrics, sonnets, *xácaras* (sung versed narratives), letters, oracles, mottos, glosses, sung verses with specific metrics called *redondilhas*, and *voltinhas*, comic funeral laments, , book releases, and stories of daily events, identified by neighbourhood and date. Many of the genres cited are strange to today's reader, since they have disappeared or fallen into oblivion, while others, such as the sonnet, have survived the passage of time. Each pamphlet has a title, followed by a woodcut, which can vary from one pamphlet to another. The text begins with a drop cap letter, often used in the periodicals of the time. In addition, leafing through it, the reader notes it is addressed to the two Lisbons (Western and Eastern), so that in each pamphlet there is a part dedicated to one as well as to the other as in Figure. 1:

Figura 1: news addressed to Eastern Lisbon



Source: *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* (1730)

Figura 2: news addressed to Western Lisbon



Source: *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* (1730)

One of the first periodicals to be published in Portugal, the *Folheto* was attributed to the editor Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora and his collaborator Vitorino José da Costa. It is noteworthy to say that these men were educated people, men of letters. Jerônimo Tavares Mascarenhas de Távora was "[...] a forensic lawyer in Lisbon, and then a outside judge (*Juiz de fora*) in Marvão [sic], in the Province of Alentejo. He was a member of the *Academias dos Juvenis e dos Aplicados*" (SILVA, 1858, p. 278)²⁵ and Vitorino José da Costa was a " Secular priest, egress of the Order of Benedictine Monks, in which he had professed and was already a priest, under the name of Fr. Victorino de Santa Gertrudes" (SILVA, 1858, p. 444)²⁶.

Therefore, the editors knew well the rhetorical and poetic norms that governed the production of discourse in their time, that is, they knew how to use classical language and its mechanisms of persuasion and dissuasion, since one was a lawyer, member of academies and judge, and the other member of an institution of religious character. Thus, we perceive that the playful style of the pamphlet is programmatic, as it is observed in the Prologue to the reader:

This PAMPHLET addresses gallant novelties; it will refer to ours, leaving the readers or listeners free to believe what it refers to; professes gallantry with grace; which I extravagantly imitate: : we were the foolery, in which perhaps fumbled by careless use of energy, but even in this the curious will find wonderfully charming, at least because the boldness will entertain them. This is, Lords of the PAMPHLET, the news; now you will know better by seeing it carried out. (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, s/d, 1730, nº. 1, p. 2).²⁷

The term *galanterie* means "to be gallant, and to serve ladies with honest love; or dishonest. I. 6. § Discretion in words. § Neatness, well-placed adornment, and well dressed, and employed" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p.649)²⁸. Thus, the pamphlet refers to a composition with ornaments (effects) that can be honest or dishonest - it could tell truths or lies - referring perhaps to the fictitious news that this periodical published. The compositions refer, therefore, to

²⁵ "[...] advogado de causas forenses em Lisboa, e depois Juiz de fora de Marvão [sic], na provincia do Alentejo. Foi Sócio das Academias dos Juvenis, e dos Aplicados" (SILVA, 1858, p. 278).

²⁶ "Presbítero secular, e egresso da Ordem dos Monges Beneditinos, na qual professara e já era sacerdote, com nome de Fr. Victorino de Santa Gertrudes" (SILVA, 1858, p. 444).

²⁷ Trata este FOLHETO novidades galantes; o mesmo referirá o nosso, deixando aos Leitores, ou ouvintes, os alvedrios livres para crer o que ele se refere; diz galantarias com graça; farei por imitá-lo na extravagância: nos fora a frioleira, em que talvez tropece por descuido da energia, mas nisso mesmo acharão os curiosos a melhor graça, ao menos porque os divertirá a confiança. Esta é Senhores do FOLHETO a notícia; agora se conhecerá melhor vendo-a tratada. (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, s/d, 1730, nº 1, p. 2)

²⁸ "galantear, e servir damas por amor honesto; ou desonesto. I. 6. § Discrição nas palavras. § Asseio, alinhno adorno, e boa composição no trajar, e em alguma obra" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p.649).

something "vulgar, sayings/, cold actions, it flavorless, indiscreet; inappropriate, frivolities, senseless things" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p.638)²⁹ as indicated by the term *frioleira* - foolery.

Notably, the supposedly anonymous publication of the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* obeyed this common practice at the time, as well as the use of the pseudonym, whose process goes hand in hand until the end of the 18th century, with the strong awareness of the collective dimension of all textual productions (and not only theatrical) and the weak recognition of the writer as such" (CHARTIER, 2012, p. 267)³⁰. On the other hand, assumedly the anonymity of the authors of the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* was intended to protect the authors themselves, after all it was a cheap publication, written in a mocking style, parodying an official newspaper, as well as criticizing the Academy and its members. Thus, the anonymous publication preserved their reputations before Lisbon society.

Belo's studies (2001) reveal another interesting aspect worth analysing, namely the parodic relationship between the Both Lisbons Pamphlet - *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* and the West Lisbon Gazette - *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental*. These studies point out that, unlike the *pamphlet*, the *Gazette* intended to reach a restricted reading public, circulating the news and academic contests especially among the court and the aristocracy, because it was "considered relatively expensive, of unusual consumption" (BELO, 2001, p.44)³¹. The high price made it impossible for the poor to have access to the periodical, unlike pamphlets that "are referred to and written at the time as having a more accessible consumption - and therefore cheaper" (BELO, 2001, p. 44)³². However, we share Barbosa's conception that "the pamphlets, contrary to the assumption that identified them with the public and popular culture, had a broad readership, which could involve several classes of readers"(BARBOSA, 2017, p. 685)³³.

In the Both Lisbons Pamphlet - *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* representations of social types abound, and are satirized, as they refer to the life of Lisbon society and the academic world of the time, in the absence of international news. In addition, due to the playfulness of the pamphlet, intended for all social classes given its low price, there weres no social restrictions on its

²⁹ "chulo, ditos/, ações frias, sem sabor, indiscretas; desproposito, tolices, coisas desenxabidas" (SILVA, 1789, TOMO I, p.638).

³⁰ "processo segue de mãos dadas até o final do século XVIII, com a forte consciência da dimensão coletiva de todas as produções textuais (e não somente teatrais) e o fraco reconhecimento do escritor como tal"(CHARTIER, 2012, p. 267).

³¹ "considerada relativamente cara, de consumo pouco vulgarizado" (BELO, 2001, p.44).

³² "são referidos e escritos na época como tendo um consumo mais acessível – desde logo mais baratos "(BELO, 2001, p. 44).

³³ "os folhetos, ao contrário da suposição que os identificava com o público e à cultura popular, tinham uma destinação ampla, que podia envolver várias classes de leitores" (BARBOSA, 2017, p. 685).

circulation, nor restrictions in the issues dealt with in the pamphlet. Furthermore, even the high rates of illiteracy did not impede the reception of pamphlets such as the Both Lisbons Pamphlet - *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* since the practices of reading in the eighteenth century were diverse, with the possibility of, through oral and collective reading, reaching the poorest social classes (CHARTIER, 1999). Consequently, the circulation of this type of publication was, according to Barbosa and Santos "responsible for the popularization, in the literary field, of various poetic genres that were first published as sublime and had in these pamphlets their reading and popularization"(SANTOS, 2015, p. 62)³⁴.

3 Circulation and appropriation of themes jocosos by the brochures of the northeast of Brazil

The parodic relationship between the Both Lisbons Pamphlet - *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* and the West Lisbon Gazette - *Gazeta de Lisboa Ocidental* analysed by Belo (2001) requires a discussion on the difference between copying and appropriation. Before it is necessary to state that there is no innovation in the copy, i.e., it is an identical reproduction of the original; in the case of appropriation something new is created. Thus, we believe that the portuguese brochure appropriates *Gazette* by parodying it. Parallel to the appropriation of the Lisbon Gazette - *Gazeta de Lisboa*, we observe that these pamphlets reproduce the same mechanism of appropriation identified by Roger Chartier in the chapbooks of the French Blue Library, which consists of "drawing on the repertoire of consecrated texts, those that seem to most suit the expectations of the general public that it will reach"(CHARTIER, 1999, p. 20)³⁵.

It is this type of appropriation that this article focuses on, specifically with regard to the quote from the Empress Porcina Play - *Auto da Imperatriz Porcina*, written by Baltazar Dias, in 1660. In the pamphlet, the writer refers to a *bagpiper*, who arrived from Vienna and on the day of *Cirio da Pena*, sings the beautiful *Verse of the Empress Porcina Play*:

Zabelinha if you wash,
Do so on the riverbank,
that I don't want the waters
of this stream to offend you.

³⁴ "responsáveis pela popularização, no campo literário, de vários gêneros poéticos que foram publicados primeiramente como sublimes e tiveram nesses folhetos sua leitura e popularização" (SANTOS, 2015, p. 62).

³⁵ "beber no repertório de textos consagrados, aqueles que mais parecem convir às expectativas do grande público que ela vai atingir" (CHARTIER, 1999, p. 20).

Refrain

While one washes well
The other hopes harder,
I fell in love with your washing.
(FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 08/06/1731, nº 25, p. 7)³⁶

Given the current unfamiliarity with the *Xacara*, briefly it is a “type of romance or popular narrative, in verse, that was sung to the sound of the viola” (SILVA, 1789, p. 538)³⁷, and that was erased from literary history. This small passage in the playful consists of an appropriation of the known history of the Empress Porcina, until that moment only mentioned by Teófilo Braga (1885, p.458, II, apud, CASCUDO, 1952, p. 9). The Brazilian researcher, however, does not seem to have had access to the Portuguese jocose pamphlets, given he only cites Braga. Márcia Abreu (1993), in her fundamental and exhaustive study on the dialogue between the Portuguese pamphlet of the chapbooks – *cordel*, and the pamphlet of the northeast of Brazil, does not analyze, however, the jocose-mocking pamphlets the mid 18th century. However, according to Gilda Verry (2014) it is possible to identify the latest pamphlet of the genre, of great editorial success³⁸ and audience, *The Mule-Driver of Sketches - O Almocreve de Petas [1798]*, by José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, among the titles sent to the Province of Paraíba. About the source of the *Almocreve*, its author leaves no doubt that it imitates the pamphlets of 1731, in this case, the *Both Lisbons Pamphlet - Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*:

This work is an imitation of the pamphlets, which came out every week in 1731, and although its Author enjoys a more unburdened spirit, he has not followed another path; his praise is low and jocose, because a sheet of

³⁶ Zabelinha se lavares,
Seja na borda do rio,
que não quero vos ofendam
as águas dessa ribeira.
Estrilho Se uma bem lava
Outra melhor torce,
Namorou-me seu lavar.
(FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 08/06/1731, nº 25, p. 7).

³⁷ espécie de romance ou narrativa popular, em verso, que se cantava ao som de viola (SILVA, 1789, p. 538).

³⁸ About the editorial success of *Almocreve de Petas*, Abreu (1993) identifies it in 4 advertisements, in several catalogues of bookstores in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: catalogue of B. L. Garnier's bookstore; catalogue of Garraux, de Lailhacar & Cia; catalogue of Eduardo & Henrique Laemmert's universal bookstore. Nobre (2009, p. 50) finds the announcements of the *Almocreve de Petas*, in the *Diário do Grão-Pará*, for sale at the João Batista da Costa Carneiro store, in Belém.

sketches is not susceptible to a grandiose and elevated phrase (COSTA, XIII, 1819, p.7. our emphasis.)³⁹.

However, reading the Both Lisbons Pamphlet - *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*, we discovered a possible version of the burial-for-a-puppy-by-its-owner theme, yet to be mentioned by scholars regarding this publication. It is a theme that can also be found in the pamphlet *The Money - O dinheiro* (1909), by Leandro Gomes de Barros, and in the Compassion Play - *Auto da Compadecida* (1975), by Ariano Suassuna, in which the puppy is buried as a Christian. It is in pamphlet number. 25 that there is a report referring to the death of a puppy who lived ostentatiously, and was buried by the owner in tears. The example is presented in the following excerpt:

Costa do Catello, May 30th.

A diapered puppy died to a certain Maid, and the bitch was called Butterfly, she was buried on this same coast amongst the hefty tears of her owner, for the great love she had for her,, for her beautiful gifts, barking, biting, and pissing the house, & the like. Of the fleece that was sheared, there weren't twenty-seven mattresses full, apart from the wetness; and there was even, leftover cloth for sleeves, if not stuffing for three pillows, well-stuffed. (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 08/06/1731, n° 25, p. 7)⁴⁰.

This is an animal that is spoiled by its owner, who offers it a burial worthy of a person. Attention is drawn to the irony and exaggeration contained in the description of what was produced by the puppy, as if it were a useful animal. *The Money - O dinheiro* (1909), by Leandro Gomes de Barros, is composed of 34 sextillas, verse form following an ABCBDB rhyme scheme, and tells the story of an Englishman who bribes a vicar to carry out a Christian burial of his pet dog who, incidentally, had left a will. Upon learning of this, the vicar by-passing the laws of the church, carries out the burial:

And so died a dog
And the Englishman then:
Said Go bury me dog
Even if itsa million I spend.

³⁹ Esta obra é uma imitação dos folhetos, que em 1731 saiam todas as semanas, e não obstante o seu Autor desfrutar um espírito mais desfogado, nem por isso seguiu outro trilho; a sua elocução é baixa e jocosa, porque um papel de petas não é suscetível de uma frase grandiloqua e guindada [...] (COSTA, XIII, 1819, p.7, grifos nossos).

⁴⁰ Costa do Castello 30 de Maio.

Morreu uma cachorrinha de fralda a certa Recolhida, e chamavam lhe à cadela Borboleta, foi a sepultar nesta mesma costa com grandes lágrimas da dona, pelo grande gosto que dela fazia, por ter lindas prendas, ladrava, mordida, e mijava a casa, & c. Da felpa que lhe tosquiaram, se tem cheios vinte e sete colchões, fora as molhaduras; e ainda sobejou, senão pano para mangas, miolo para três almofadinhas, bem joeiradas. (FOLHETO DE AMBAS LISBOAS, 08/06/1731, n° 25, p. 7).

He went to the vicar and said:
My dog is right dead
And Brazilian buzzards
Can't take him from toe to head,
Did the dog leave a dime::Asked the vicar, thus??

[...]
Before he died

He made a will
Only four dubloons
Left for the vicar
Before Englishman died
The vicar sighed

Poor guy! The vicar said,
Of what did this poor guy die?
What an intelligent animal!
What a noble style !
(BARROS, 1909, p. 5)⁴¹

In the news of the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* the little dog is said to have been found in a diaper, which refers to the fact of having been treated in life as a baby (human being). Contrary to the northeastern pamphlet, in which the dog leaves a will and therefore is said to have goods, the puppy leaves countless mattresses with his fur. It should be noted that this is a case, whose mood we cannot recover, as stated in the Lisbon passage, previously cited, in which it states that "moderate jocular texts have a mood that, over the years, escapes understanding"(LISBOA,

⁴¹ Morreu o dito cachorro
E o inglês disse então:
Mim enterra esse cachorro
Inda que gaste um milhão.
Foi ao vigário lhe disse:
- Morreu cachorra de mim
E urubu do Brasil
Não poderá dar-lhe fim,
Cachorro deixou dinheiro:
Perguntou o vigário, assim?
[...]
Ele antes de morrer
Um testamento aprontou
Só quatro contos de réis
Para o vigário deixou
Antes do inglês findar
O vigário suspirou
Coitado! Disse o vigário,
De que morreu esse pobre?
Que animal inteligente!
Que sentimento tão nobre!
(BARROS, 1909, p. 5)

2011, 391)⁴². In the Compassion Play - *Auto da Compadecida*, by Ariano Suassuna, the appropriation of Leandro Gomes de Barros' pamphlet, *The Money - O dinheiro* (O willamento do dogro), is clearly observed, a fact recognized even by common sense. In both cases, it is observed that appropriation is not only between one periodical and another, but between different literary genres and even supports. However, so far, there have been no studies, at least in Brazil, that recognize the debt of the Northeast Pamphlets on the humorous periodicals, of the Portuguese 18th century.

Conclusion

More research is needed with regard to the humorous pamphlets, created in the 18th century in Lisbon, and circulated in Brazil up to the end of the 19th century, as attested by the catalogues of publishers, and the Library Foundation, as well as the newspaper advertisements of the 18th and 19th centuries.

In short, the discursive practices of the humorous Portuguese publications of the period should be understood from a heterogeneous perspective, considered within the permanence of former genres, and the possibility of creating new ones, "remembering that genres do not have to be pure or inalterable in their provisions" (PÉCORA, 2001, p.12)⁴³. Thus, although it recognizes that older genres, even humorous ones, have their own protocols, forms of argumentation, and deciphering that should serve to give them legibility, we agree with Pécora that "the basic historical trend of the most varied genres is to develop mixed forms, with dynamism [...] that definitely prevent the description of any object as simple a collection of generic applications" (PÉCORA, 2001, p. 12)⁴⁴. In addition to this process of imitation, circulation and appropriation, it can be observed how these pamphlets contributed to the romantic process of desacralization of the classic genres of Poetics and Rhetoric. Reiterating José Daniel Rodrigues da Costa, it is observed that "one should not expect from such a work the traces of a Poem, the Unity of a

⁴² "os textos jocosos moderados têm um humor que, com o passar dos anos, foge ao entendimento" (LISBOA, 2011, 391).

⁴³ "lembrando que o gênero não tem que ser puro ou inalterável em suas disposições" (PÉCORA, 2001, p.12).

⁴⁴ "a tendência histórica básica dos mais diferentes gêneros é a de desenvolver formas mistas, com dinamicidade [...] que impedem definitivamente a descrição de qualquer objeto como simples coleção de aplicações genéricas" (PÉCORA, 2001, p. 12, grifo do autor).

Tragedy, or the Flights of an Ode: the styles should be provided to subjects, to do the opposite is to commit a crime by the Laws of the critic of the Novel” (COSTA, XIII, 1819, p.8)⁴⁵.

Although periodicals such as the *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas* have been forgotten or underestimated both by the history of literature and by journalism, it is from them that we can analyze the debt that romantic literature, in the revolution promoted in traditional poetic and rhetorical genres, has with them regarding the process of formulation of mixed genres and even with the rupture of traditional genres.

In other words, to analyze these pamphlets represents, for the study of the cultural and literary history of the XVIII, to restore the *modus operandi* of construction of meaning of the writings, from the present of the utterance in that medium, restoring at the same time its legibility. As Chartier points out, "the transactions between the works and the social world do not consist solely in the aesthetic and symbolic appropriation of common objects, of ritualized or everyday languages and practices" (CHARTIER, 2007, p. 13)⁴⁶. Understanding the relationship of the works with the social world that forged them implies recognizing more "fundamentally the multiple, mobile and unstable relationships established between the text and its materialities, between the work and its inscriptions" (CHARTIER, 2007, p. 13)⁴⁷.

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⁴⁵ "não se deve esperar de uma tal obra os traços de um Poema, a Unidade de uma Tragédia, ou os Voos de uma Ode: os estilos devem-se proporcionar aos assuntos, fazer o contrário é cometer um crime pelas Leis do crítico Romano" (COSTA, XIII, 1819, p.8).

⁴⁶ "as transações entre as obras e o mundo social não consistem unicamente na apropriação estética e simbólica de objetos comuns, de linguagens e práticas ritualizadas ou cotidianas"(CHARTIER, 2007, p. 13).

⁴⁷ "fundamentalmente às relações múltiplas, móveis e instáveis, estabelecidas entre o texto e suas materialidades, entre a obra e suas inscrições" (CHARTIER, 2007, p. 13).

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