

The Myth Of The Marquis De Pombal In Fictional Narratives / *O Mito Do Marquês De Pombal Em Narrativas Ficcionalis*

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SUMMARY

This article is linked to a larger project, entitled Demiurge and Antichrist: the myth of the Marquis of Pombal in literature, whose general objective is to identify, describe and analyze the moments of tension, ambiguity and oscillation of the negative or positive representations of his political economic and cultural action in the literary works that have him as a theme, as well as in those that are set or make reference to his time, during the years of the reign of King José I (1750-1777). In the specific case of this text, we seek to investigate the ways in which the representations of the Marquis of Pombal are mobilized in the novels that have him as a character or protagonist, verifying how such works and/or authors contribute to the process of (de)construction of its mythology, either confirming or contesting the historiographical and biographical narratives about it. In order to do so, we will make use of historiography and documental, legislative and epistolary sources, handwritten or published, as well as some theoretical assumptions related to myths and representations (ELIADE, 2000; BARTHES, 2007; CHARTIER, 2002).

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RESUMO

Este artigo vincula-se a um projeto maior, intitulado “Demiurgo e Anticristo: o mito do marquês de Pombal na literatura”, que tem como objetivo geral é identificar, descrever e analisar os momentos de tensão, ambiguidade e oscilação das representações negativas ou positivas de sua ação política, econômica e cultural nas obras literárias que o têm como tema, bem como naquelas que são ambientadas ou fazem referência ao seu tempo, durante os anos do reinado de D. José I (1750-1777). No caso específico deste texto, buscamos investigar os modos como as representações do Marquês de Pombal são mobilizadas nos romances que o têm como personagem ou protagonista, verificando como tais obras e/ou autore(a)s contribuem no processo de (des)construção de sua mitologia, seja ratificando, seja contestando as narrativas historiográficas e biográficas a seu respeito. Para tanto, faremos uso da historiografia e de fontes documentais, legislativas e epistolares, manuscritas ou publicadas, bem como de alguns pressupostos teóricos relacionados aos mitos e representações (ELIADE, 2000; BARTHES, 2007; CHARTIER, 2002).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Marquês de Pombal; Literatura comparada; Mito, Romance.

1 Introduction

The Marquês de Pombal (1699-1782) is a perfect example of myth as something alive in society, present in the popular imagination and cultural representations. On the one hand, if we think of it as a myth of origin (ELIADE, 2000), it assumes a redemptive character, as it seeks to identify the causes of moral, economic, social and religious decay in Portugal, attributing them to the Jesuits (FRANCO, 2006) or to the English (OLIVEIRA, 2014a). On the other hand, if we conceive it as a myth of the end, it comes to represent the breakup of a period of peace and prosperity, as depicted by the Jesuit priest Gabriel Malagrida (1689-1761) in his *Juízo da Verdadeira Causa do Terramoto* (1756)¹, in which he attributes the reasons for the catastrophe to the Portuguese’s lack of zeal for the spiritual life and to Pombaline anti-Jesuitism, or, more than a hundred years later, to Camilo Castelo Branco (1825-1890), in his *Perfil do marquês de Pombal* (1882)², in which, in contrast to the Pombaline glorification promoted by Portuguese Freemasonry in commemoration of the centenary of his death, he established his image as a bloodthirsty and oppressive despot.

¹ *Judgment of the True Cause of the Earthquake.*

² *Profile of the Marquis of Pombal.*

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which was followed by fire and a tsunami, and at the same time represents a myth of the end and a new beginning, placing Pombal in the dual position of demiurge (re)creator of a new Lisbon and of antichrist, would assume a central place both in his political career and in his mythology, since it was from then on that his authority as a minister would be consolidated, assuming the project of rebuilding the city and restoring order, with an authoritarian and radical policy in your goals. In the myths of the end of the world, whether by water, such as the diluvians, or by fire, through catastrophic fires, its symbology is configured as a return to chaos and cosmogony, thus giving rise to hopes in the reappearance of an earth virgin and of a new humanity (ELIADE, 2000).

This bipolarity of the myth of the Marquis of Pombal and the Pombaline period, already identified by Franco and Rita (2004), led us to inquire how this mythology configures itself in literature, and more specifically in the novels that have him as theme, character or protagonist, as well as those that are set or refer to their time, that is, the Pombaline period, referring to the years of the reign of King José I (1750-1777). Thus, in this article, we seek to investigate the ways in which the representations of the Marquês de Pombal are mobilized in novels that have him as a character or protagonist, verifying how such works and/or author(s) contribute to the process of (de)construction of his mythology, either confirming or contesting the historiographical and biographical narratives about him. To do so, we will make use of historiography and documentary, legislative and epistolary sources, handwritten or published, as well as some theoretical assumptions related to myths and representations.

For Barthes (2007), the myth is a speech, that is, a communication system, and cannot be conceived as an object, an idea or form. Thus, everything that is capable of discourse is a myth. However, mythical discourse does not emerge from the nature of things, but from concrete historical circumstances, constituting itself as a semiological system in which language is understood not only in its verbal form, but as a meaningful unit that can encompass images and objects, provided they can become "speech". Indeed, the word myth, in Greek, means "speech, narration, conception". In the Enlightenment, it became a term to designate traditional narratives that, although they could be held as cultural manifestations of fundamental importance for the creation of national mythologies, could not be taken seriously because they were not "true" stories. In this sense, mythology is a specific domain of general research on narrative (BURKERT, 1991).

Thus, ancient mythology presents itself as a history of literature, since the “classic” Greek myths represent the triumph of the literary work over religious belief, which is why we only know them in the condition of politically and artistically worked documents or texts. Even so, the myth survives the shackles of written culture, inscribing itself, in a secularized or Christianized way, in rural traditions or religious folklore. As Eliade (2000) points out, we do not know any Greek myth in its cultural context, so we cannot conceive it in its performative, living and popular dimension.

For Eliade (2000), the least imperfect definition of myth is that it tells a sacred story in which events took place in a primordial time. Thus, myths narrate the deeds of supernatural beings, which resulted in the beginnings of the cosmos, or of a specific earthly place, or even of some institution or human behavior. In this sense, myths are always “myths of origin”, as they relate how things came to exist, functioning as exemplary models of the most significant human activities. But the desire to know, celebrate and recite the origin of things is not restricted to traditional societies, for it is also found in Western culture, from medieval epics and chronicles that sought to justify the sacred origins of certain events, kingdoms or reigns, to historiography and the modern and contemporary novel. This is how it assumes a redemptive character, seeking to identify the causes of the moral, social or religious decay of a given people or kingdom, for which purpose it is proposed to replace the “scheme of descent” by that of “ascension”, which is presented as the utopia of a new era, or as the reconquest of a lost Golden Age. In such a process, as identified by Franco (2006), the “myth of *complot*” plays a fundamental role, given its mobilizing function to meet ideological ends. Indeed, the speech of the *complot*, which can be understood as a rhetorical device that allows the enemy to be depicted as a global threat devoid of any feeling of humanity, gives rise to a conspiracy theory that ends up confusing the opponent with evil itself, even if he appears transfigured in the form of a monster, a dragon or Satan, exactly as Pombal did with the Jesuits, or as Father Malagrida (1689-1761) did with Pombal himself, to stay with these very close to our research.

2 The Nineteenth Century Romance

The Marquis of Pombal, his singular personality and his political action have fertilized some imaginaries of Portuguese and European literature from Voltaire to the present day, with the events of his time and his role being represented in literary works published in Portugal, France, England and Brazil. Philopombaline literature contemporary to the minister of D. José I, being sponsored or encouraged by him, was very numerous, and many are the examples of poems and eulogic speeches, in his honor or that of his relatives, and even allegorical, as the famous *Uruguay*, by Basílio da Gama (1741-1795) (TEIXEIRA, 1999), as well as the *Cantigas de escárnio e mal-dizer do marquês de Pombal, ou a crônica rimada da viradeira*³, as Ferreira de Brito calls them, in a work from 1990, referring to the large amount of critical and satirical writings dedicated to Pombal after his fall. In the following century, especially during the commemorations of the centenary of his death, there were publications of plays, poems, speeches and satires in favor of and against Pombal. Among the dramaturgical representations prior to 1882, *O Marquês de Pombal, Sebastião Jozé de Carvalho e Mello, ou o terremoto de 1755: drama original em trez epocas e sete quadros* (1839)⁴, by Luiz José Baiardo, and *A sobrinha do Marquês* (1848)⁵, by Almeida Garrett.

In the case of *Cândido* (1759), by Voltaire, there is a conceptual issue related to the genre of the work. Although it can be characterized as fictional prose, the account, too long for a short story and too short for a novel, escapes the usual classifications of modern literary theory, although it finds in the subgenre “novella” a comfortable and comfortable middle ground for the analysts. In any case, *Cândido*'s narrative, for our purposes, that is, for a general overview of fictional narratives about Pombal or the Pombaline period, is configured as a first example, since two chapters are dedicated to the earthquake in Lisbon. Even though there is no mention of the minister of D. José I, the narrator critically describes the Portuguese rituals of “auto-da-fé” and insists on defending his thesis that there is evil on earth, despite the optimistic statements of the character Pangloss. This absence of Pombal in Voltaire's writings on the Lisbon earthquake, a topic addressed before *Cândido* (1759), in his *Poema sobre os desastres de Lisboa* (1756)⁶, and later, in *Resumo do*

³ *Songs of mockery and ill-speaking by the Marquis of Pombal, or the rhyming chronicle of the viradeira.*

⁴ *The Marquis of Pombal, Sebastião Jozé de Carvalho e Mello, or the 1755 earthquake: original drama in three periods and seven frames.*

⁵ *The Marquis' niece.*

⁶ *Poem about the disasters of Lisbon.*

*século de Luís XV (1764)*⁷, called the attention of Marques (2004), who claims that it is something to regret, since both were admirers of England, where they had spent several years of their lives.

In 1881, when José Palmella (1838-1932) published in Rio de Janeiro his book *O centenário e a vida do Marquez de Pombal: estudo biográfico sobre a vida do primeiro gênio político de Portugal, adornado de um novo retrato, algumas notas críticas e muitos documentos interessantes, que muito honram a memória do imortal avô do Duque de Saldanha*⁸, the author surprised many of his readers by revealing a supposed indigenous ancestry – and, therefore, Brazilian – from Pombal, because, on his mother's side, he would have originated from the “leafy trunk of the most opulent and strong Tupi race” (PALMELLA, 1883, p. 14). Such a thesis, in the following year, would make the pages of some newspapers, such as the Ceará *A Constituição*, which justified the celebration of the centenary of Pombal in the country due to its supposed indigenous origins (apud OLIVEIRA, 2014b).

As far-fetched as it might seem, the myth of Pombal's Brazilian origin had been born in a work of fiction: *O Marquez de Pombal, ou o attentado de 3 de setembro de 1758, “romance historico traduzido em português*⁹, as the title page informs. without indication of author, in the edition published by Imprensa Nacional in 1843, which deals, in a laudatory tone, with the protagonism of Sebastião José and his diligence in arresting and punishing the supposed culprits of the attack against King D. José. It is, in fact, an unsigned translation of *Le marquis de Pombal*, by Antoinette Henriette Clémence Robert (1797-1872), a work reprinted several times in the 19th century, in the form of a serial or book, in various parts of the world, including in Brazil. We had access to an edition from 1860, but, according to Silva (2018, p. 77), the *Diário de Belém*, as well as many contemporary and contemporary newspapers, published not only other historical novels but also various short stories by the French author.

⁷ *Summary of the Louis XV century.*

⁸ *The centenary and the life of Marquez de Pombal: a biographical study on the life of Portugal's first political genius, adorned with a new portrait, some critical notes and many interesting documents, which greatly honor the memory of the immortal grandfather of the Duke of Saldanha*

⁹ *The Marquez de Pombal, or the attack of September 3, 1758, “historical novel translated into Portuguese”*

During the 19th century, four more novels were published that had the Marquis of Pombal as their theme, character or protagonist: *Prime minister: an historical romance* (1845), by William H. G. Kingston; *Um motim ha cem annos (chronica portuense do seculo XVIII)* (1861)¹⁰, by Arnaldo Gama; *O Terramoto de Lisboa: romance original* (1874)¹¹, by Pinheiro Chagas; and *O Marquez de Pombal: romance histórico* (1899)¹², by António de Campos Júnior.

William H. G. Kingston became known in England as a writer of children's stories. His long, three-volume novel presents a series of third-person antics involving the “Prime Minister” and a Jewish character who, through his personal efforts, gets the powerful Marquis to sign the law abolishing discrimination between new and old Christians. According to Santos (2010), who analyzed the novel in his Master's Dissertation, as a romanticized version of the Pombaline era, Kingston's work, instead of weaving the narrative around all the aspects that marked the reign of King José I, focuses on the figure of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, choosing the moments she considers the most emblematic, among them the earthquake in Lisbon, the expulsion of the Jesuits and the execution of the Távoras. Thus, although it uses events inscribed in historiography as a scenario, it combines fictional and historical elements, in a way that offers the reader a vision of eighteenth-century society and the main events that marked the period.

Um motim ha cem annos (chronica portuense do seculo XVIII) (1861), by Arnaldo Gama, was a great editorial success, as it reached several reprints, one of the last being dated from 2014. The theme of the novel, as the title announces, is the creation of the Companhia das Vinhas do Alto Douro and the popular revolt it provoked, motivating one of the most violent repressive actions of the Pombaline government. Already in the Introduction, the narrator introduces us to the character of the antique dealer Gonçalo Antunes, who, based on a letter about the topographical state of Porto in 1757, tells him in detail the events that occurred at the time in a romantic way (GAMA, 1896, p. 13).

In 1874, *O Terramoto de Lisboa* (1874) was published, an “original novel” by Pinheiro Chagas about what was one of the most talked about European tragedies of the 18th century. The

¹⁰ *A mutiny a hundred years ago (portuguese chronicle of the 18th century).*

¹¹ *The Lisbon Earthquake: original novel.*

¹² *The Marquez of Pombal: Historical Romance.*

story, which had a second edition in 2011, begins with the chapter “Dawn of a great reign”, a kind of historical preamble to the reign of King José I, preceded by the condemnation of the lazy and feiratic reign of King João V and succeeded by the biography of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. However, the Marquis de Pombal is not the protagonist of the novel, although his actions are decisive for the progress of the story and the destiny of the other characters, among them the poet Pedro António Correia Garção, who also populates the universe of this narrative interspersed with literary references. From a dismal scenario of tragedies, rubble and death, and from a narrative interspersed with grandiloquent and sometimes artificially constructed dialogues, the love triangle of Thereza, D. Carlos and Luiz Correia emerges, which is resolved in a Shakespearean way, with the involuntary murder of Thereza for Carlos, who, upon revealing that he has an incestuous relationship with his own sister, burns to death, with the flames licking his face.

Worth mentioning is *O Marquez de Pombal: romance histórico* (1899), published in two volumes at the end of the century, having reached its fifth edition in 1938. The author, António de Campos Júnior (1850-1917), soldier, journalist, writer and playwright, articulates the information and sources he had on the period and the biographed, which he exposes in erudite footnotes, his assumptions, positions and beliefs in the feuilleton figuration of his story, which he seeks, in his own words, in the letter that serves of Introduction to the first edition of the work, published by the newspaper *O Século*, from Lisbon, to carry out the “romanesque fabulation of the historic episode” (sic.) and present to its reader(s), “before the eyes, standing, the prominent individuality that was not fantasized, in the reminiscences of the heart the capital move that was not invented”. What draws attention, in Campos' work, is the way in which the author resorts to literary tradition and his own imagination to recreate scenes and passages from the childhood and youth of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, gallant among the girls of the court and rebellious as a swordsman in the night streets of Lisbon. Thus, in more than one chapter, he recounts the adventures and misadventures of his first love, Leonor de Riba d'Anta, “the most beautiful girl of the nobility, perhaps even more beautiful than Marqueza de Távora” (CAMPOS, 1899 , p. 52), as well as his amorous adventures with the gypsy Joanna Ruiva, with whom he had a bastard daughter who, ironically, ends up marrying a Távora.

These 19th-century works, largely anachronistic because they are riddled with political and ideological assumptions and prejudices, are part of a larger picture related to the process of bipolar

mythification of the Marquis of Pombal, which linked the works about him either to philopombalism, whose paradigm became *O Marquês de Pombal. Lance d'olhos sobre a sua ciência, política e administração; ideias liberais que o dominavam, Plano e primeiras tentativas democráticas* (1869)¹³, by Emídio Garcia, which establishes the pattern of appropriation of the historical figure of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo to serve causes that did not exist in his time, especially since 1882, when the centenary of the death of the Marquis of Pombal was celebrated; or to anti-pombalism, whose greatest expression is the book *Perfil do Marquês de Pombal* (1882), by Camilo Castelo Branco, which serves as a counterpoint to the Pombaline glorification promoted by Portuguese Freemasonry, establishing its image as an incarnation of evil.

4 The Lisbon earthquake

In the 21st century, however, the 1755 earthquake, already addressed by Voltaire both in his *Poema sobre o desastre de Lisboa* (1756) and in *Cândido* (1759) and fictionalized by Pinheiro Chagas in 1874, once again aroused the interest of researchers and writers, especially in the commemorative year of the 250th anniversary of what was one of the greatest tragedies in Europe, becoming the subject of journalistic texts, academic works and fictional narratives, with significant appeal in the publishing market, as witnessed by some works re-edited and translated into several languages, such as *O mal sobre a terra: uma história do terremoto de Lisboa* (2003)¹⁴, by Mary Del Priore; *O pequeno livro do grande terramoto* (2005)¹⁵, by Rui Tavares; *A ira de Deus: a incrível história do terremoto que devastou Lisboa em 1755* (2011)¹⁶, by Edward Paice; *O último dia do mundo: fúria, ruína e razão no grande terremoto de Lisboa de 1755* (2011)¹⁷, by Nicholas Shrady;

¹³ *The Marquis of Pombal. A cast of an eye over your science, politics, and administration; liberal ideas that dominated him, Plan and first democratic attempts.*

¹⁴ *Evil on Earth: a history of the Lisbon earthquake.*

¹⁵ *The little book of the great earthquake.*

¹⁶ *The Wrath of God: the Incredible story of the earthquake that devastated Lisbon in 1755.*

¹⁷ *The last day of the world: fury, ruin and reason in the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755.*

and *O abismo de fogo: o grande terramoto de Lisboa ou Apocalipse na idade da ciência e da razão* (2019)¹⁸, by Mark Molesky.

Among the fictional narratives with this theme, the following novels were published: *Lillias Fraser* (2001), by Hélia Correia; *O terramoto de Lisboa e a invenção do mundo* (2004)¹⁹, by Luís Rosa; *A voz da terra – romance histórico sobre o Marquês de Pombal e o Terramoto de 1755* (2005)²⁰, by Miguel Real; *O Segredo Perdido - Lisboa, Terramoto 1755* (2005)²¹, by Júlia Nery; *O Profeta do Castigo Divino* (2005)²², by Pedro Almeida Vieira; *Quando Lisboa tremeu* (2010)²³, by Domingos Amaral; *A jesuíta de Lisboa*²⁴, by Titus Müller; *Retratos e imperfeições do tempo* (2018)²⁵, by Gesivaldo Santos; and *Ressurrecta* (2022)²⁶, by Vich Echegoyen.

Lillias Fraser (2001), by Hélia Correia, won the P.E.N. and is considered by many to be the author's best fictional work (JAMEL, 2011, p. 147). The title character of the novel is a young Scottish woman who, thanks to her gift for predicting death, survives the Culloden massacre, the last battle of the Jacobite rebellion (1745-1746) against the British crown, in which she loses her entire family. and migrates to Portugal. The narrative focuses on Lillias more than on the earthquake and its implications, which does not prevent the narrator from describing the rubble of the city, the suffering of the people and the measures taken by the Marquis of Pombal to rebuild Lisbon. An unusual passage is the one that narrates how the protagonist conquers the sympathy of the English Colonel Francis MacLean, who is enchanted with her and takes her as a lover, impregnating her and making her adopt her last name. However, at the moment her true condition is revealed, Lillias is abandoned and finds herself wandering homeless in the streets of Lisbon,

¹⁸ *The abyss of fire: the great Lisbon earthquake or apocalypse in the age of science and reason.*

¹⁹ *The Lisbon earthquake and the invention of the world.*

²⁰ *The voice of the earth – historical novel about the Marquês de Pombal and the 1755 earthquake.*

²¹ *The lost secret - Lisbon, earthquake 1755.*

²² *The prophet of divine punishment.*

²³ *When Lisbon shook.*

²⁴ *The jesuit of Lisbon.*

²⁵ *Portraits and imperfections of time.*

²⁶ *Resurrected.*

when she is rescued by a witch, Blimunda Sete-Luas - a character from *Memorial do Convento*, by José Saramago, as Jamel observes. (2011, p. 148) -, who promises to take care of her and the child she carries in her womb.

In *O terramoto de Lisboa e a invenção do mundo* (2004), by Luís Rosa, which reached its third edition in 2009, the author uses two narrative focuses to tell the love story of Eugênio dos Santos, a military engineer and architect responsible for the reconstruction of Baixa Pombalina in Lisbon after the 1755 earthquake and Migrela, “the most beautiful girl in Aljubarrota” (ROSA, 2009, p. 22). The novel begins with a first-person witness narrator, “Serafim Melícias, whom they call Father Melro” (ROSA, 2009, p. 18), who, from page 32 onwards, passes the word to his interlocutor, Coxo das Águas Livres.

O terramoto de Lisboa e a invenção do mundo has the plot punctuated by digressions about the history of Portugal, whenever the narrator finds the opportunity to do so, as in the case of Freemasonry and Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic relations. There is also a chapter dedicated to the poet António Correia Garção, whose case of his amorous adventure with the daughter of the Scottish intendant MacBean is narrated in detail. Luís Rosa uses poetic language, which makes reading the novel enjoyable, despite the excess of digressions, as in the scene in which the protagonist has the idea of designing an arch with superb columns in Praça do Comércio, inspired by the involuntary movement of his beloved, who, naked, while making love to the protagonist, dipped her toe in paint and made an arch on the plant lying on the ground (ROSA, 2009). His interpretation of Pombal is psychological, as shown in the chapter entitled “The long root of hatred”, with which the narrator seeks to indicate what incited him in his reforms. His assessment of Pombaline governance is not the most sympathetic, as he considers him a despot, but such statements are always counterbalanced by the advances in his reforms.

In the case of *A voz da terra*, by Miguel Real, published in 2005 and winner of the Fernando Namora Literary Prize in 2006, the narrator, omniscient and in third person, tells the story of Julinho, recently returned from Brazil, who in a short time witnesses and narrates with long and detailed descriptions the tragedy that occurred in 1755. Attention is drawn to the scenes of Lisbon before the earthquake, populated by immigrants, sellers of “cordel” literature, blacks, Indians, Jews, mulattoes, African rites and rituals, in the whirlwind of people moving in Terreiro do Paço. Amidst the physical and psychological characterization of the protagonist, the narrator, who is sympathetic

to Pombal and his measures, takes the opportunity to talk about his Brazilian past, the imaginaries and folkloric tales, in which heroes who become jaguars appear, together with the figure of Zumbi dos Palmares. The positive assessment of the Pombaline government made by the narrator, even though it is opposed by the main character, ultimately prevails, as Julinho ends up agreeing with the minister's anti-Jesuitism and with the Pombaline criticism of the Portuguese aristocracy.

According to Valle (2014, p. 18), the discourse about the European Economic Community is very similar to the policies that the author emphasizes in the figure of Pombal, making him a myth in the history of Portugal with the idea of progress and modernity and thus favoring trade as an instrument of “good reason” for policy. *A voz da terra*, published three years before the beginning of the economic crisis, would constitute a critique of a process of integration into the new European economic order. Miguel Real does not hide the sources he uses, placing as an appendix to the work, in addition to a basic bibliography, in which the work of Mary Del Priore, *Evil over the earth: a history of the Lisbon earthquake* (2003), stands out as a book that clearly influenced him in the descriptions and repercussions of the catastrophe, a series of reproductions of paintings and drawings from the period that served as his motto.

O Segredo Perdido - Lisboa, Terramoto 1755 (2005), by Júlia Nery, tells the story of a safe that, passed from hand to hand since the time of the earthquake, ended up falling, at the beginning of the 20th century, in the tent of an antique shop, where a journalist (the author, also the narrator), rescues it almost a century later and discovers that it contains a series of manuscripts, which will lead her to evoke the people who were connected to them, thus initiating a historical reconstitution from which emerges the figure of the protagonist, Beatriz. The safe, which ultimately serves as the motto for the main plot of the novel, is also a link between the narrated story and the intimate and contemporary dramas of the narrator, who discovers that, during World War II, the sale of the object she had guaranteed the repayment of the Jews' gambling debts, which made it possible to pay for her trip, in 1942. Thus, the problems experienced by the journalist and the situation of Beatriz, who is tormented by a pituitary cancer and by the separation of the character Walter, are intertwined amid descriptions of the reconstruction of Lisbon, the daily life of the noble families, the measures taken by the minister of D. José I, the execution of the Távoras and the eloquent sermons of Father Malagrida, as well as his execution .

The case of *O profeta do castigo divino* (2005), by Pedro Almeida Vieira, is more specific, as the story focuses on the protagonist Gabriel Malagrida, a priest who, as is known, lived as an enlightened saint and died as a heretic, burned in a bonfire, but also tells of the main historical characters of the period, such as Sebastião José himself, who at the age of 50 became the most powerful man in Portugal, and Mendonça Furtado, brother of the minister, who was governor of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão and became responsible for initiating the persecution of the Society of Jesus. The main motto of the narrative is his prophecy about the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, set out in the judgment of the true cause of the earthquake, suffered by the Court of Lisbon, on November 1, 1755 (1756), according to which the tragedy occurred as an act of revenge by God, on account of the debauchery and lack of zeal of the Portuguese for the spiritual life. As a narrative strategy, the author chooses to let the story be told by a character narrator, emphasizing his ability to witness past or distant events. However, the narrator himself admits that he cannot tell the story impartially, without getting involved with it, which is why, when he describes a miracle by Father Malagrida, he insinuates that he resorts to beautiful words and cunning attitudes to deceive the faithful, as in the case in which he obtains drinkable water from balls of wax dipped in sea water. The hatred of the minister of D. José I to the Jesuits and their expulsion, for the narrator, was a calamitous mistake, because if Malagrida's preachings were taken seriously, Lisbon would not have been destroyed by the earthquake. The author takes special care with language, resorting to the lexicon of the time with a subtle touch of humor, and avoids, at least explicitly, making judgments and taking positions. The work reached its second edition in 2011.

In *Quando Lisboa tremeu* (2010), by Domingos Amaral, Pombal is not a central character, but his actions are not described with disapproval. The book, which had a second edition published in 2015, is narrated in the first person by a witness narrator who tells the story of the protagonist Sister Margarida. The descriptions of the earthquake, as well as in the two previously commented novels, rely heavily on the reports of the English, such as the character Hugh Gold, whose lines are graphically represented with his accent and specific errors: “Oh girl, my wife, my wife, are you going to mass?” (AMARAL, 2011, p. 23). The narrator introduces himself to the reader in chapter 4, and thus we learn that he is forty years old and has been arrested on three occasions: by Arab pirates, who took him hostage to Africa; by the French, three months before the earthquake; and in Limoeiro, where the catastrophe overtook him and from where he fled with his Arab helper, Muhammed, who, despite being faithful to his friend, is described with reproach, as he was given to sodomy practices, especially with boys. In a metalinguistic movement, the narrator, in chapter 11, explains his method, through which he resorts to memory to order emotions and facts: “but my memory is not independent of me, of my ideas and my feelings, not it is? (AMARAL, 2011, p. 90).

A jesuíta de Lisboa, by Titus Müller, was published in German in 2010 and translated and published in Portuguese the following year. Here, the conflict between science and religion is represented by the young protagonist Antero Moreira de Mendonça, who opposes the Jesuits with arguments based on the natural sciences. In the midst of the descriptions and extreme situations imposed by the earthquake, a tortuous love story unfolds in which Leonor, the daughter of a German merchant, helps him escape from being hanged but, on the other hand, proves to be a faithful follower of the prophecies of the priest Gabriel Malagrida. The story, narrated in the third person and interspersed with dialogues, develops quickly, even with the historical information that the narrator is obliged to insert to contextualize it. Due to the protagonist's anti-Jesuitism, it is easy to infer that this is a novel in which the Marquis of Pombal is represented positively.

In 2018, *Retratos e imperfeições do tempo*, by Gesivaldo Santo, was published, which won the Professora Zélia Saldanha Prize in the novel category and puts Pombal on stage as a character in a plot in which, however, he is not the main figure in relation to the scenes that portray the tragic event of the Lisbon earthquake in 1755. The narrator, omniscient and in third person, tells a love story interspersed with correspondence written in anachronistic language between the protagonist José Ângelo and his beloved Eugênia. Some historical characters, such as the minister of D. José

I, referred to as José de Canto e Melo, and Father Gabriel Malagrida, mentioned as Josué Malagrida, have changed names, and many events of the time appear with an altered chronology, nobody knows whether intentionally or unconsciously, since there is no explanation in this regard. Anyway, although the narrative does not innovate in its form, the plot presents incidents and denouements that make its reading enjoyable.

Resurrecta (2022), by Vich Echegoyen, narrates in detail, in third person, the six hours of the catastrophe that shocked the world and transformed the history of Europe. Despite the emphasis on the figure of Sebastião José, whose political action is seen with sympathy, the novel presents a story in which all the characters have an important role to play, from the animals and elements of nature to the doctor who takes care of the wounded. Thus, in the author's novelistic universe, historical characters emerge, such as Carlos Mardel, ambassadors, aristocrats and poets of the time, as well as anonymous characters, such as the city's poor, prostitutes, wet nurses, the girl who risks her own life to save her beloved son, the castrato who sings to the victims and the nun who runs away from the convent to help them.

5 The biographical novel

The biographical production related to the Marquis of Pombal had a significant appeal in the publishing market of the 21st century, not only due to the re-editions of classic works of Pombaline studies, something that had already been happening since the time of the Pombaline bicentenary, but also, and above all, due to of new books based on sources and reflections provided by academic dissertations and theses on the subject. In *As Mulheres do Marquês de Pombal* (2014)²⁷, by María Pilar Queralta del Hierro, the author presents a simple, traditional, linear narrative based on fixed images or visions of Pombal: ambitious with women, illuminist, vindictive with the Jesuits and Távoras, cruel in his methods, precursor of modernity. Her narrative motto is thought-provoking, but it is not sufficiently developed, with many dispensable digressions. *A vida e a obra*

²⁷ *The women of the Marquis of Pombal.*

do *Marquês de Pombal* (2016)²⁸, by José Barata, in turn, is a summarized and well-written biography that starts from two premises: the negative views of an ambitious Pombal, full of hatred for the Jesuits and the Távoras, not very bright, but competent and pragmatic, and a D. José unfit for government and influenceable in decisions. In the part relating to his experience in London, he pertinently highlights key names: Robert Walpole, British Prime Minister at the time, and Lord Tirawlei, British Ambassador to Portugal, as well as the influence of D. Luiz da Cunha and Azevedo Coutinho and the London climate, who did him wrong. *De quase nada a quase rei: biografia de Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquês de Pombal* (2020)²⁹, by Pedro Sena-Lino, is based on unpublished or little-explored documentation and focuses on gaps in his biography, such as his youth and his passage through London and Vienna, which made him an enlightened and foreign intellectual. Pedro Sena-Lino's work had editorial success, reaching the fourth edition in 2022.

In the field of novels, we have selected a set of works that deal either with the personal and political trajectory of the Marquis of Pombal, or with independent plots in which Pombal appears as a main or secondary character. Two of them focus on a much talked about but unproven aspect of his biography: his relationship with Freemasonry, the subject of *O maçom de Viena* (2005)³⁰ and *O príncipe rosa-cruz* (2005)³¹, both by José Braga Gonçalves, in the which Pombal is a forerunner of Freemasonry in Portugal and, as such, is a harbinger of modernity, despite its radical measures; and four on his political action: *O espírito das luzes* (2009)³², by Octávio dos Santos; *A Cidade do Homem* (2010)³³, by Amadeu Lopes Sabino, published in Brazil in 2013; *Mal por mal, antes Pombal: uma memória de Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo* (2012)³⁴, by José Jorge Letria,

²⁸ *The life and work of the Marquis of Pombal.*

²⁹ *From almost nothing to almost a king: biography of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal.*

³⁰ *The Vienna freemason.*

³¹ *The rosicrucian prince.*

³² *The spirit of lights.*

³³ *The city of man.*

³⁴ *Bad for bad, before Pombal: a memory of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo.*

reprinted in 2019; and *A maldição do marquês* (2019)³⁵, by Tiago Rebelo, which has reached more than 90,000 copies.

O maçon de Viena, by José Braga Gonçalves, was published in 2005 and the following year it was already in its fourth edition. According to the author himself, in the Prologue of what he considers a “historical reconstruction with a novel”, the work deals with the Masonic secrets of the years 1743 to 1777, unveiled, and even decoded, through “an epistolary dialectic between characters from Lisbon, Vienna and Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of the 20th century” (GONÇALVES, 2005a, p. 2). The narrative strategy adopted by the author divides the story into two distinct times, articulated around a plot according to which the Marquis of Pombal had kept until his death a rare documentation that was thought to be lost and had been found in Germany, due to a confiscation, because of a systematic operation carried out by the Gestapo on Hitler's orders. Before being released, the documents would have been taken to Moscow by the Red Army, after taking Berlin, returning to East Germany in 1975.

The story begins in Vienna, on July 15, 1927, where the Swiss Otto Lenndorf, member of the Grand Lodge of the Austrian capital and Sovereign Commander of the 33rd Degree, as well as a journalist by profession, witnesses a fire that devastates the entire collection of documents relating to the beginnings of Freemasonry kept in the Palace of Justice. Four days earlier, he had formed the Quatuor Coronati group, made up of four researchers into the history of Freemasonry in Austria, willing to organize all that booty that was burning before their eyes. Returning home, even with kidney failure that would kill him at the age of fifty, he managed to organize two or three boxes, which contained, as the narrator reveals, the secrets of the Masonic relationship between Mozart and Salieri in the Viennese lodge Zur gekrönten Hoffnung and a list of Masonic compositions to be performed in lodge rituals. Among the documentation, a summary of a meeting held in 1745 stands out, which referred to an initiate with the name, or code name, Athayde - supposedly Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo. Seeking to understand the hidden meanings of such Acta, the Quatuor Coronati group had come to the conclusion that the burnt documents would reveal the connection between what they call the “two Masonic extremes” of

³⁵ *The curse of the marquis.*

eighteenth-century Europe: eastern and western, having as “inferior vertices of the triangle of power” the courts of Vienna and Lisbon.

This is how Otto, who had inherited from his father, Oskar, a Prussian banker and Jew, not only the communicative ability, but also an international network of sociability, remembered to write to his “Brother from Lisbon”, his journalist friend Hernâni Cid - likely a reference to Hernâni António Cidade (1887-1975) - , whom he had met during the Austrian peace negotiations in September 1919. In a letter dated from 1929, Hernâni told his friend that no Portuguese had dared to write anything about the Acta, with the destruction of archives caused by the earthquake of 1755 and the Real Mesa Censoria to be blamed, since, although the Marquis of Pombal was an enlightened man, he was an “enlightened despot”. It is from then on that the narrative develops on two planes, that of its present, in which the narrator makes several criticisms of the prisons of the dictatorship, which after the crash of the New York stock market, in that same year of 1929, would spread around the world, and that of the Pombaline period itself, in which the main episodes that marked the political trajectory of “Cabeleira”, nickname of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, stand out.

José Braga Gonçalves continues his search for Masonic elements and signs in the person and work of the Marquis de Pombal with *O príncipe rosa-cruz* (2005), a novel published in the same year as the previous one. Referring, in the book's Prologue, to his functions as a prisoner, the author states that, “if the prisoner's state of mind is not one of the most favorable to writing, these bibliographic difficulties deepen it deeply”. Thus, he justifies his method by resorting to “foreign sources of the time” to seek out this “unknown Marquis”, the main motto of history and the object of his “historical analysis of Masonic symbolism” (GONÇALVES, 2005b, p. 3-4). Here, as in the previous novel, the narrator assumes that Pombal was a Freemason, secretly referring to all the confreres as “brothers”, and tells his story in two different times: that of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, who is about to assume the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs and War, in 1750, and that of the character Otto, who is in Lisbon, in 1931, a year after the murder of Hernâni Cid, in cold blood, by the police. In the course of history, in addition to the digressions about the origins of Freemasonry, in general, and the Rosicrucian order in particular, with its initiatory rites and its symbology, various interpretations of pictorial and architectural details are made, all with encrypted inscriptions of Masonic signs, especially in the works that were carried out after the earthquake of 1755, under the direct or indirect supervision of the Marquis of Pombal, the prince who gives the

book its title, whose mortal remains, many years after his death, were deposited in the coffin of a Rosicrucian temple, in Ajuda, Lisbon, a city that, due to its Masonic inscriptions, could only be seen from above, by God.

O espírito das luzes (2009), by Octávio dos Santos, is a science fiction story that takes place in a dystopian future. In the opening chapter, an “Interstellar Passarola” enters the atmosphere of “planet Portugal” and lands in the astroport of Cais das Colunas. Inside the nave is the English millionaire William Beckford - a reference to the historical character William Thomas Beckford (1760-1844), British Prime Minister who was also a writer and art critic and who lived in Sintra and Lisbon in 1787, becoming popular among the Portuguese nobles. Waiting for him is his friend, the poet Manuel du Bocage, who accompanies him on his journey, in which, among “little flying automatons”, they will come across important historical figures of the period, in addition to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo himself.: Voltaire, the intendant Pina Manique, the Marquise of Alorna, the queen D. Maria I, Ribeiro Sanches, Kant, Verney, among others. The narrative, in third person, is punctuated by a series of unusual adventures and situations related to religious, scientific and cultural issues of the time, which are mixed with a police-like plot in which a mysterious character takes them to a place where “the most extraordinary secret of Portugal” is kept. The references to the Marquis of Pombal or to his governance - seventy-seven in all - are all positive, even in the description of his death, especially when it comes to his anti-Jesuitism, corroborated, albeit tacitly, by the narrator.

In 2010 Amadeu Lopes Sabino published *A Cidade do Homem*, an “imagined biography of António Diniz da Cruz e Silva, Arcadian poet and judge of the Inconfidência Mineira”, as announced on the cover of the Brazilian edition of the book, from 2013. Something which initially calls our attention is the place occupied by the narrator, who omnisciently positions himself beyond the story and its context, placing himself, at times, as a kind of contemporary commentator on the narrated facts, sometimes acting as a historian of 19th-century culture, sometimes assuming the distanced position of a literary critic, which brings us to one of the striking aspects of his own novelistics, as noted by Souza (2015), who states that his prose does not fit into a pure genre, as many of his achievements configure points of intersection between fiction, essay, chronicle and memorialism.

A Cidade do Homem tells the intellectual and professional trajectory of António Diniz da Cruz e Silva (1731-1799), Elpino Nonacriense from Arcadia Lusitana, of which he was one of the founders in 1756, from Elvas, where he lived between 1764 and 1774, as auditor judge in one of the city's regiments and had the opportunity to witness the protocol controversy between the bishop and the dean of the respective cathedral, theme of *O Hissope*, a heroic-comic poem that circulated orally and in manuscripts, being translated into several languages, until Rio de Janeiro, where he served as Judge of the Court of Appeal and died in 1799, already as Chancellor and member of the Overseas Council. The references to Pombal, both those made by the characters, in dialogues or through free indirect discourse, and those made by the narrator, whether positive or negative, are always associated with a new order, that is, with a lexicon and a repertoire of illustrated ideas and principles that exclude the Jesuits and the traditional nobility and of which the protagonist considers himself an integral part, as a man of letters (SABINO, 2013, p. 556). The narrator makes us witness the protagonist's initiatory rites of Freemasonry, as well as a session at the Academia dos Aplicados Elvenses, where it is read, in French, Voltaire's poem about the Lisbon earthquake, of which António Diniz brings the bitter memory of the loss of his beloved. In his meeting with the then Count of Oeiras, he is impressed by the robust and patriarchal bearing: "Younger and thinner in the painting, finished almost ten years before, he nevertheless maintained the same bearing, erect and firm, which inspired respect" (SABINO, 2013, p. 152).

The narrative of *A Cidade do Homem* flows in an agile and pleasant way, even when it makes room for the narrator's critical and historiographical digressions, whose language reaches moments of blatant poetry, especially when describing the protagonist's psychological torments, dealing with ethical, political, philosophical, erotic and even ideological issues, something expressed in the recurrent fear of a Revolution - "with a capital letter", as an English character, Captain Howard, states in a passage of the novel (SABINO, 2013, p. 208) - that could subvert values which he considered fundamental in the civilized world, imposing the will of the people over those of men of letters. The main motto of the plot - which involves many historical figures from Portugal and Brazil as characters, such as Alvarenga Peixoto, Cláudio Manuel da Costa, Tomás Antônio Gonzaga and Tiradentes himself -, in our view, is the erasure of Cruz e Silva from Brazilian historiography, something that the narrator explicitly argues, in Chapter XV of the book, as unfair, since the poet had lived and exchanged ideas with many of the Arcadians today considered to be

precursors of Brazilian literature, in addition to having adopted, or absorbed, tropical elements in his poetry (SABINO, 2013, p. 294).

Another positive assessment of the political legacy of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo already appears in the title of a novel by José Jorge Letria published for the first time in 2012 and reprinted in 2019: *Mal por mal, antes Pombal*, a popular expression used in Lisbon when the marquis de Angeja, who replaced the minister of D. José I at the “Viradeira”, ordered that all the works for the recovery of the city initiated by him be suspended. Written in the first person in the form of a memoir by the Marquis himself, the narrative starts from the moment after his fall, in 1777, when he was already away from Lisbon, exiled in Pombal, responding to a process that tortures and annihilates him every day, little by little, as he actually did and left on record, in long reports that praise and justify his government's measures (LETRIA, 2012, p. 19).

Throughout the narrative, excerpts from letters from the Marquis are reproduced, such as the one addressed to his son Henrique, Count of Oeiras, with updated spelling. Although the author seeks to balance the opinions of his supporters and opponents, the fact that the story is told from the point of view of the character Pombal entangles it in the discursive plot that constitutes the official propaganda of the ministry of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, which produced about himself impressive series of sources for posterity, annotated and classified according to his own method, practiced and perfected already in the time of his diplomatic experience in London and Vienna. The book had the support of the Municipality of Oeiras and was recommended by the National Reading Plan to support projects related to the History of Portugal in Secondary Education.

A maldição do marquês (2019), by Tiago Rebelo, seeks to tell the entire political trajectory of Pombal, from the times when, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and War, he had his address in Rua Formosa, until his ordeal end and death. Narrated in omniscient third person, with a traditional structure, but with a well-prepared lexicon and historical context, the novel reproduces some stereotyped views already contested by historiography, such as that of an indolent, freiratic and lecherous D. João V and of a D. José I uninterested in State affairs, preferring hunting, music and the company of his mistress D. Teresa Leonor Távora. The protagonist of the story, however, is José Policarpo, one of the servants of the Duke of Aveiro, who shot the king. Having managed to escape, and for that reason being burned in effigy on the day of the execution of the Távoras,

he lives a love story with D. Carlota Justina, the only daughter of the count of Montargil, after losing his beloved Arlete, killed in the earthquake suffocated by the rubble. Policarpo blames Pombal for the death of his beloved, because the moment he sought help he was arrested by his guards, which makes him an anti-Pombaline on principle, along with D. Carlota Justina, who, like her father, represents the old nobility that was feeling excluded from power with the measures taken by the minister of D. José I. After several searches in Portugal and Spain, Policarpo was presumed dead and was finally able to live with the count's daughter in his palace.

José Policarpo has become an enigmatic character, both in historiography and in fiction, and there are several versions of his final destination. In some narratives, he disfigured his own face with oil of vitriol to avoid recognition. In others, he grew a beard and became the owner of a kind of inn in a place of difficult access. Be that as it may, he always appears as one who managed to escape the pursuit of the powerful minister, who sent for him wherever he was, offering a reward to whoever found him, dead or alive. In *A maldição do marquês*, the Távoras' process is seen as a farce, the “greatest state crime of the century”, but the narrator seems to share with Pombal his anti-Jesuitism, justifying his radical measures with his modernizing reforms, in the reconstruction of Lisbon, in teaching, in training military personnel (REBELO, 2019, p. 449).

We can see that the author carried out exhaustive research on the subject, as he explains in the final note and exposes in his bibliography, but his narrative, even pointing out the injustices and cruelty of episodes such as the Távoras trial and the Trafaria massacre, ends up making a kind of apology for the Pombaline governance, entirely compatible with what the Marquis sought to exclude and emphasize in his own narrative, or in the narrative he sought to build throughout his career and shortly before his death, when he wrote his memoirs in agony, justifying the acts of his government with historical examples, mostly French, and attributing the motivation of his actions to the king himself, on whose endorsement he depended. The story ends with the appearance, one hundred years later, of a young lawyer named Valetim Mascarenhas, who tells Camilo Castelo Branco, at the moment the author is writing his famous libel against the minister of D. José I, *Perfil do marquês de Pombal*, who was the grandson of José Policarpo Azevedo and D. Carlota Justina, and who had adopted the same nickname as the Duke of Aveiro because his father had heard from his mother, already a widow, that he was the bastard descendant of a nobleman with the same name.

A novel that deserves to be highlighted, both because it escapes the classification outlined above and because it deals with the Pombaline period from the perspective of a female character, is *A amante do rei: o lado feminino do processo dos Távoras* (2013), by Sara Rodi. The protagonist, as the title announces, is responsible for narrating the story in the first person: D. Teresa Leonor, wife and aunt of D. Luís Bernardo and younger sister of the Marquis of Távora, Francisco de Assis, as well as sister-in-law by Leonor Tomásia de Lorena e Távora. Her status as King José I's lover, as it is known, served as a pretext for, with a single shot, Sebastião José, as the nobles called him with spite, to put an end to the Távora family and the Jesuits, accusing and condemning them as the intellectual and moral authors of the regicide attempt, in 1758, when the monarch returned to Real Barraca, in Ajuda, after an encounter with his mistress. As depicted in other fictional representations, Tereza is described as a sensual and seductive woman, who cheated on her husband when he was out of the country, accompanying the family when her father became Viceroy of the Indies. After witnessing the ordeal of her husband and other family members, she was locked up in a convent of nuns in Rato, where she died.

Conclusion

Based on our survey, there are 24 (twenty-four) novels in which the Marquis of Pombal appears as the theme, character or protagonist, or which are set or refer to his time, that is, the so-called Pombaline period, referring to the years of the reign of King José I (1750-1777). This is if we consider Voltaire's *Candido* (1759), a novel (or novella), which is a short narrative in which the earthquake in Lisbon serves as a motto and as an event in two chapters.

With regard to the theme, 12 (twelve) novels have the Lisbon earthquake as their topic; 4 (four) seek to make a complete biography of Pombal, highlighting some relevant passages of his governance; 2 (two) novels explore Pombal's supposed relationship with Freemasonry; 3 (three) focus on independent plots in which Pombal or important events from the Pombaline period are referred to and play an important role in the unfolding of the story; 3 (three) focus on the episode of the Távoras process and 1 (one) is dedicated to the episode of the revolt in Porto. In 4 (five) novels, Pombal is the protagonist. In the others, he appears as a secondary character or as an

internal reference to the story.

The novels produced in the 19th century are all Philopombaline, as they exalt its economic, cultural and social reforms, the legislation that reformed public education and inaugurated a new era of tolerance and integration, such as the abolition of anti-Semitic prejudices against "new Christians", the prohibition of slavery in the metropolis, the freedom of the Indians in Brazil and the promotion of mixed marriages in overseas territories, including India, as well as the archiving of accusation processes against the emerging Masonic lodges. The exception is *Prime minister*: an historical romance (1845), by William Kingston, which makes some critical comments about Portuguese culture and the actions considered to be the most cruel of D. José's minister, such as the Távoras trial and the suppression of the revolt in Porto. Even in *Um motim ha cem annos (chronica portuense do seculo XVIII)* (1861), by Arnaldo Gama, there is a relativization of his repressive action, as the blame is attributed to the historical character José Mascarenhas, and not to Pombal.

In the novels of the 21st century, likewise, the mythification of the Marquis of Pombal is positive, although it is complexified with the exposition of characters and/or anti-Pombaline speeches. The case of *A Cidade do Homem* (2010), by Amadeu Lopes Sabino, is a point outside the curve, as it presents a degree of formal and thematic complexity that causes new aspects and new questions to be added to the consensual points of his biography and of historiography itself. *Retratos e imperfeições do tempo* (2018), by Gesivaldo Santos, is a *sui generis* narrative, as some historical episodes disrespect the official chronology and Pombal, which rarely appears in the story, has another name, but whenever it is referred to it is accompanied by several commonplaces already consolidated in their respect.

Both pombalism and anti-pombalism, in their discursive representations, contributed to make Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo a "bipolar myth", even after the more distanced approach of the texts produced after 1982, the year of the bicentennial of the death of the marquis from Pombal. Thus, some traits present in literary representations of Pombal or the Pombaline period are reinforced and consolidated, despite being questioned or partially refuted in at least three novels: *Prime minister*: an historical novel (1845), by William Kingston, *O terramoto de Lisboa e a invenção do mundo* (2005), by Luís Rosa, and *Quando Lisboa tremeu* (2005), by Domingos Amaral. We can conclude that, as an international literary character, the positive myth of the

Marquis of Pombal is consolidated, as his Enlightenment or modern aspects, whether as a regenerator or demiurge of a new Lisbon after the 1755 earthquake, or as responsible for the political and cultural reforms that supposedly took the country out of the backwardness in which it found itself, despite its despotism.

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